

Identity salience, change and stability in Amman

Rand M. Qaddoumi, Aseel Zibin and Marwan Jarrah

This study investigates identity salience of four types of identities; national, religious, cultural and global, for Ammani people in view of the post-structuralist perspective on identity (Baxter 2016). It also examines the extent to which age, gender and the social context affect identity change and stability in light of Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles *et al.* 2012). The analysis of the data reveals that the most salient identity for the participants is the religious identity for both genders and all age groups, except in certain circumstances namely traveling, where national identity was shown to be the most salient. Gender and age play an important role in the extent to which each group attaches itself to each type of identity and the way they view these attachments. The results suggest that Amman could be witnessing a change in its identity construction and the way its people express their identity.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, identity, accommodation, code-switching.

1. Introduction

It is almost impossible to ignore the power of identity in shaping certain social images that construct specific ways of thinking in any society, in general, and in Jordanian society, in particular. This is because the latter is a multi-cultural society that exhibits diversity in its structure. Being attached to a certain group could grant people a sense of belonging, yet these attachments and identity references with certain attitudes can also result in communication obstacles among individuals and groups. These attachments might lead to the feeling of superiority over others which prompts categorizing, labeling and marginalizing, resulting in prejudice and racism. Besides that, identity is a double-edged sword concept, some people use it in a wrong way. They think that by being attached to a country and its traditions, or to a religion, that gives them the right to feel superior and make them blind of seeing others which leads to the idea of “othering”. The latter results in discrimination, ethnocentrism and stereotyping. These concepts are the core of conflicts among individuals and even among countries. Realizing this can contribute to the general and broader debate on identity issues, not only in Amman but in the Arab world. The current study attempts to examine which identity (cultural, national, religious and global) is more salient to Jordanians and Ammanis in particular (taking into account age

and gender as social variables). The cultural identity is how individuals viewed and identified with a certain culture (Jandt 2013; Tucci 2019). The reason for choosing cultural identity is due to its impact on societies since culture reflects a country's history, power and improvement process (Li 2015). In addition, the influence of culture on individuals' life is major and it has a gradual effect on their motives and behavioral choices. National identity is the way a person identifies himself/herself as a part of a specific nation (Liu *et al.* 2011). It is important to study this identity especially in Jordan; since the majority of its people are Arabs with diverse origins, which resulted in a society with a mixture of cultural, national and economic backgrounds (Al Oudat and Alshboul 2010). Religious identity is the person's attachments to a certain religion and its group (Jackson 2014). It is important to study this identity type since an individual's attachment to a religion is a core element in identity construction (Jackson 2019).

Studies that investigated identities in Jordan are scarce, most of them focus only on one or two types of identity (e.g., Brand 1995; Abu-Ghazze 1997; Nanes 2003; Al Oudat and Alshboul 2010; Pilder 2011; Culcasi 2016; Darwish and Bader 2014; Salameh and El-Edwan 2016; Tweissi and Frehat 2016; Subheyin *et al.* 2017; Qashmar 2018; Aboutorabi and Zalloom 2019; Melnik 2019; Alhusban and Alhusban 2020; and Wojnarowski 2021). The current study can help fill a gap in the relevant literature; it contributes to a better understanding of a concern that is essential in cultural studies by giving a broader understanding of identity constructions in Jordan. This study investigates how much Jordanians are attached to their cultural, national, religious and global identities, taking into consideration age and gender as social variables since they are identity indicators (Holmes 2008). It examines whether Jordanian people see themselves more as Jordanians, Muslims or individuals who belong to a global culture. The answer of this question will give more understanding of Jordanian identity negotiation especially in the recent time. Furthermore, it examines whether their identities shift based on the social context and if age and gender affect that. The study adopts the poststructuralist approach (Baxter 2016) in addition to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles *et al.* 2012). Adopting CAT as a framework reveal age and gender differences among people in communication, and whether such behavior make them act in a certain way due to their identity salience. This is because this theory provides a potential explanation by predicting when why and how individuals change their communication styles during an interaction, and accounts for the significance of these changes. Although the theory's essential focus was on speech, recently, "it may account for how people perceive, assume and express their identity in a boundless community" (Hordila-Vatamanescu and Pana 2010: 287).

In particular, the study seeks answers to the following research questions:

- Based on the social variables, age and gender, what type of the four identities(s) does each group of participants associate themselves with more?
- Taking the social variables age and gender into account and in light of Communication Accommodation Theory, to what extent does the social context affect the change and stability of identity for each group of participants?

2. Literature review

2.1. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) proposes that language might be utilized as an identity marker that either leads to stronger or weaker bonds with individuals that have different cultural and linguistic background from others (Giles *et al.* 2012). Additionally, linguistic identities might affect people's attachments to a community making it stronger, or result in making them eliminated (Hozhabrossadat 2015). People who do not have a stable identity would start converging to the identity of the other group. Conversely, when we find ourselves in an environment where nearly everyone acts or believes differently from us, then our race, language, ethnic -or other identities, become more obvious and we may start diverging from the identity of the other group (Soliz and Giles 2014). Thus, CAT mainly focuses on two main processes: Convergence and divergence. Giles *et al.* (2005) define convergence as a technique by which people adapt their communication pattern in a way to be more similar to their speaker's behaviour. Divergence is the opposite of convergence. It leads to "an accentuation of differences between self and other" (Gallois *et al.* 2005: 123). Accommodative behaviours are largely based on the communicator's own features, their social identities, the context and the characteristics of the situation (Fisk and Vaarala 2017).

Code-switching is one of the means of accommodation and stating identity (Gourari 2019). When people interact, they change their language either by converging to or diverging from their speaker's language variety (Bissoonauth and Offord 2001). That is to say, people modify the code they use depending on the different contexts they come across in their daily lives. For example, the code used with a manager of a company differs from the code used with a family member.

This study explores the underlying motives behind speech accommodation behaviors and strategies such as code-switching, code-mixing and style-shifting and their influence on identity construction in Amman.

2.2. Language and identity

Earlier studies of language and identity was investigated from a variationist perception (Hazen 2002). Variationists examined the relationship among social factors namely gender and social class with regard to variation concerning the usage of linguistic variables such as the use of vernacular grammar (Drummond and Schleeff 2016). More recently, applied linguistics offers a variety of approaches, both analytical and theoretical, to create an understanding of the relationship between identity and language; one of these is 'poststructuralist'. The poststructuralist perspective posits that identity is fluid, subject to change and in constant process (Baxter 2016). This proposes that identity is not fixed but rather it is constructed and discursively co-constructed by language, discourse or through interactions with others in different social contexts. Language use therefore acts as a force where people negotiate their identities (Noels *et al.* 2020). Through language and communicative behaviors, a person can convey various facets of his identity. Using mother tongue for instance may be an indicator of one's cultural identity. Another example, when someone travels to a new country, familiar language or dialect can grant him a feeling of relief and belonging.

Versluys (2007) suggests that identity is the need of humans for belonging. In other words, identity, in many instances, can be explained as what, where, or who people see themselves belong to. People's sense of identity reflects their relations with other people as well as their relation to the place where they live. This suggests that the geographical residence area could intervene in the identity definition. For instance, when a person is in a place where most of people believe in a certain religion or speak a certain dialect or language, this might influence their identity construction in a direct way.

2.3. Previous studies on identity in Jordan

A considerable body of literature deals with Jordanian national identity (e.g., Tweissi and Frehat 2016; Subheyyin *et al.* 2017). The majority of them are mainly concerned with the national identity from a political frame of reference. The concept of nationalism in Arab countries has been continuously evolving, which paved the way to new forms of national identity (Albirini 2016). According to Pappi (1994, as cited in Culcasi 2016: 8), the national identity of Jordan is multifaceted; it has emerged from several discourses about Islam, Hashemite Dynasty and Bedouin culture in addition to "multi-scalar geopolitical issues" concerning Arab, Jordanian and Palestinian identity. To understand what is meant by national identity for Ammanis, it is important to realize three historical processes while contextualizing citizenship: the role of tribalism in shaping attachments to the nation, Jordan's vision of nationalism and the influence of Palestinian's crisis on Jordan (Smith 2019). According to Massad

(2001: 273), “many nationalists question the Jordanianness” of several other groups in Jordan, Syrians, Chechens, Christians and some of the Bedouin tribes.

Many of the studies focus on the question of identity among Jordanians and Palestinian-origin Jordanians (e.g., Brand 1995; Nanes 2003; Culcasi 2016, Salameh and El-Edwan 2016), while others explore topics related to Jordanian tribes (e.g., Al Oudat and Alshboul 2010; Wojnarowski 2021). The Jordanian archaeological as well as architectural influence on national identity has likewise received tremendous attention (e.g., Abu-Ghazzeah 1997; Pilder 2011; Al-Shanti 2014; Qashmar 2018; Aboutorabi and Zalloom 2019; Melnik 2019; Alhusban and Alhusban 2020). However, the researchers in the current study do not study national belonging based on purely national citizenship, but based on people affiliations towards their nationality. This usually appears in their acts of patriotism such as saluting the flag, love of national songs and in other national values.

In relation to the global identity, Albirini (2016) points out that one of the most recent challenges that the Arab parents and educators are facing is how to sow the seeds of the genuine Arab identity in Arab youth and children keeping in mind the fact that their daily social life, education and media are drastically using foreign languages. In this context, a study conducted by Al Musa and Smadi (2013) explores the influence of globalization on education and culture in Jordan. They argue that Jordanian people, due to the influence of globalization, changed their language style by using more English than before. This can be noted in the fact that English has become a prestigious language among Jordanians (Salem 2015). Al Musa and Smadi argue that this phenomenon has both positive and negative impacts; people get to know a new culture which provides them with more opportunities. However, they may gradually start giving up their own Jordanian culture as they look down upon it since language globalization causes culture globalization that means shared cultures with no specific sense of belonging. Eventually, the upcoming generation will lose their own original cultural identity. The solution for that, as they believe, lies not in preventing individuals from being exposed to the new culture, but by teaching people how to have balance which is indeed the main role of teachers. What differentiates the current study from these studies is that it studies the concept of global identity, not only globalization. Against this background, the current study provides further explanation of the construction of the Jordanian identity from a socio-cultural and sociolinguistic point of view. It examines four different types of identities and investigates the effect of the social context upon identity formation in Jordan, its types and stability.

3. Methodology

3.1. Sample

The researchers designed a short survey via Google forms in the form of a 5-point Likert scale about identity salience. They also conducted Oral Discourse Completion Tasks (ODCTs) followed by semi-structured interviews. The population of the study included all speakers of Ammani-Arabic living in Amman (approximately 2 million). The sample of the study included 100 Ammani-Arabic speakers; they all responded to the online survey and 30 of them answered the ODCTs and interviews.

The researchers divided the age groups into three groups in order to represent three different generations based on Lawton *et al.*'s (1992) classification: young adults (18-29), middle-aged (30-59) and older adults (60+). The researchers chose this classification since it was adopted in several research studies (e.g., Dubios *et al.* 2007; Lindqvist *et al.* 2000). Additionally, this classification reflects identity changes and stability in light of educational and work experiences.

All the 100 participants responded to the online survey question; males and females were divided equally for the purpose of the study (50 males and 50 females). Thirty four participants aged between 18 to 29, thirty three participants aged between 30 to 59, and thirty three participants aged above sixty took part in the study. The 30 participants who answered the ODCTs and the interviews included 16 females and 14 males. These participants were divided into the 3 age groups with only 10 participants from each group.

Concerning the sampling procedure, a 'friend-of-a-friend' technique (Milroy 1987; Milroy and Gordon 2008) was used. By this technique, the researchers conducted the online survey, the ODCTs, interviews with friends and acquaintances which in their turn, introduced her to other potential candidates, taking into consideration that they are from Amman, the capital of Jordan and they speak Ammani Arabic. The researchers selected Amman since it is the capital city; and hence, has a more diverse population. It was also selected due to its heritage as well as the history behind it, the influence of refugee movements on its population and its quick development (Pilder 2011). Amman has become the place of jobs opportunities, seats of learning and wealth which has a number of spoken language varieties (Albirini 2016). This in turn, may influence identity salience. Religious identity for example, could become more or less salient with the exposure to new people and cultures. In addition to its influence on identity, it may raise the chance of divergence and convergence to take place among speakers of different varieties.

3.2. Data collection procedures

A 5-point Likert scale question (cf. Dollinger 2001) about identity salience was formulated as an online multiple-choice survey on Google forms as mentioned earlier (see Appendix C for the survey form). In the description box, the researchers introduced a definition for each type of identity (a. cultural/ b. national/c. religious/ d. global) identity. The survey contained seven questions. First question was to specify the age of the respondent from the three age categories. The second question was about specifying the gender of the respondent. The third question was about specifying the place of living to make sure that all participants are living in Amman. In the last four questions, the participants were asked to choose from a number 1 to 5 that represents his/her attachment to each type of identity (1= not important; 5=very important). The survey was distributed online via Whatsapp application to 100 individuals that are friends and friends of friends.

After that, the researchers asked 30 participants out of the 100 to respond to Discourse Completion Tasks (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989) orally, then they conducted semi-structured interviews with them to identify their attitudes towards the different types of identities (Zibin and Al-Tkhayneh 2019). To ensure the exactness and reliability of the results, the use of the online survey, the DCTs, and the interviews was meant to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data is concerned with numbers and statistics that exemplify the data numerically, whereas the qualitative data can provide explanations for these statistics (Gourari 2019).

The researchers also asked the participants to respond to an oral DCT (ODCT), where they provided them with some situations that resemble real life situations and examined how they responded in a way to show their most salient identity and if they converge or diverge from the other interlocutor that speaks differently. When they converge, this may indicate that their identity is not stable. When they diverge from the speaker, this may suggest that they have their own unique identity. They did not know what exactly the researchers are looking for so they provided more spontaneous answers. In scenarios 1 and 2, the participants were asked to choose a type of identity to represent themselves in an international conference and to help their children choose a specific identity for a presentation at school. In scenarios 3 and 4, they were asked to imagine themselves in situations where they to respond to a person who cod-switches between the Arabic and English when he\she speaks. The same applies to scenarios 5 and 6, but the addressee is code-mixing rather than switching. In scenarios 9 and 10, they were asked to imagine themselves in situations where they to respond to a person who shifts styles between Standard Arabic and colloquial.

Semi-structured interviews which ranged from 15 to 40 minutes in length were audio recorded to be thoroughly analyzed. The participants were promised full anonymity which helps in providing

honest responses. Furthermore, they were informed that the recordings will be kept confidential to make them feel more comfortable. The researchers started each session at first by asking the participants basic questions (e.g., age, if they have travelled, etc.). Secondly, they introduced the meaning of each type of identity of the four chosen identities of this study. They are: national, religious, cultural and global. Thirdly, the researchers read every DCT situation, the participant responded (orally) to the scenario. This continued until all the situations were done. After that, the researchers conducted semi-structured interviews that had several questions investigating identity salience, change and stability pertaining to the variables gender and age in order to compare the answers with the DCTs outcomes. The data was generally gathered over a period of two weeks.¹ The ODCTs and interviews were all done in family gatherings, the workplace, one of the Jordanian banks in Amman and the University of Jordan, except for three that were done online on Zoom because of difficulty in accessing the interviewees.

3.3. Data analysis procedure

Frequencies alongside Excel Pivot Tables were employed in this study and both are regarded as reliable statistical tools (Dierenfeld and Merceron 2012). More specifically, in the Likert scale question, the researchers extracted the cells with obtained data to create a Pivot Table. Then calculated the average for each type of identity (out of 5). It should be noted that the identity salience was measured relatively to the four chosen types of this study (cf. Uemura 2011). The obtained results were rounded to the nearest first decimal number. A table was created that has the four types of identities and the average rank for each one of them, then it was converted into a chart. The same steps were carried out, but the results were filtered according to two variables; gender and age each one at a time. The researchers created tables that represent the results of the pivot table and turned them into charts (Palocsay *et al.* 2010). Regarding the scenario questions (the ODCTs), each scenario had a separate sheet. In each sheet, the researchers extracted the cells with obtained data to create a Pivot Table. Then counted the answers by choosing “count” from the "summarize data by" option for each row. A table was created that has the frequency of each answer (count of each answer). After that, it was converted into a chart. The same steps were done, but with filtering the results according to two variables; gender and age each one at a time. The results were inserted into a table, then they were turned into charts (Palocsay *et al.* 2010). An Independent Sample t-Test and a One-way ANOVA test were conducted to determine whether there is a statistically significant effect of gender and age on identity salience and change (McCrum-Gardner 2008).

The ODCTs and interview questions were then analyzed qualitatively through thematic analysis, which is employed to analyze classifications and provide patterns that relate to the qualitative data (Alhojailan 2012). To avoid subjectivity of data analysis, the themes were evaluated by a linguist who is familiar with the study to validate data analysis. This process of validating themes in data analysis is fundamental, and the major goal of it is to increase data analysis reliability (Miles and Huberman 1994 as cited in Alhojailan 2012).

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Quantitative analysis of the 5-point Likert Scale

This section aims to provide an answer to the first research question. It was analyzed quantitatively. The results are reported in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

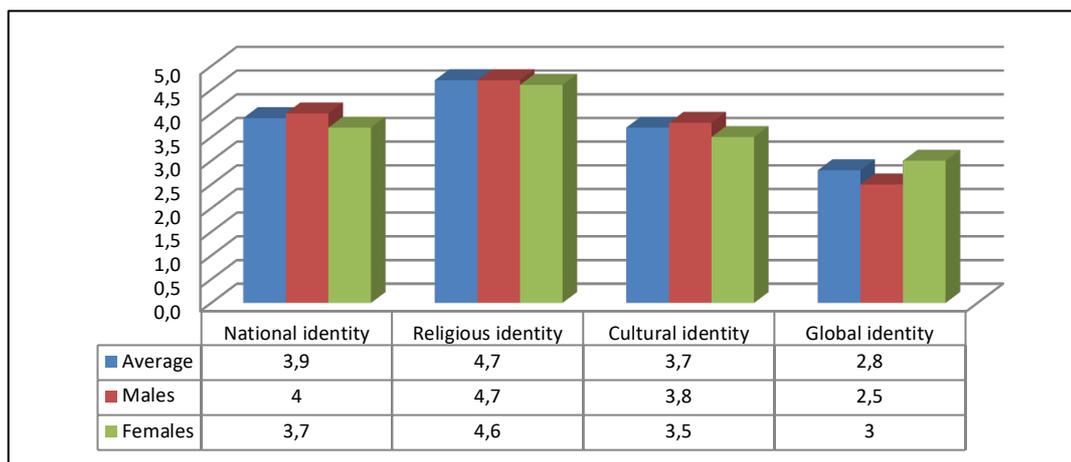


Figure 1. Identity salience based on gender

Figure 1 shows identity salience based on gender (males/females). The p-value of the conducted T-test was more than 0.05 for all the types which means that gender's effect was not statistically significant.

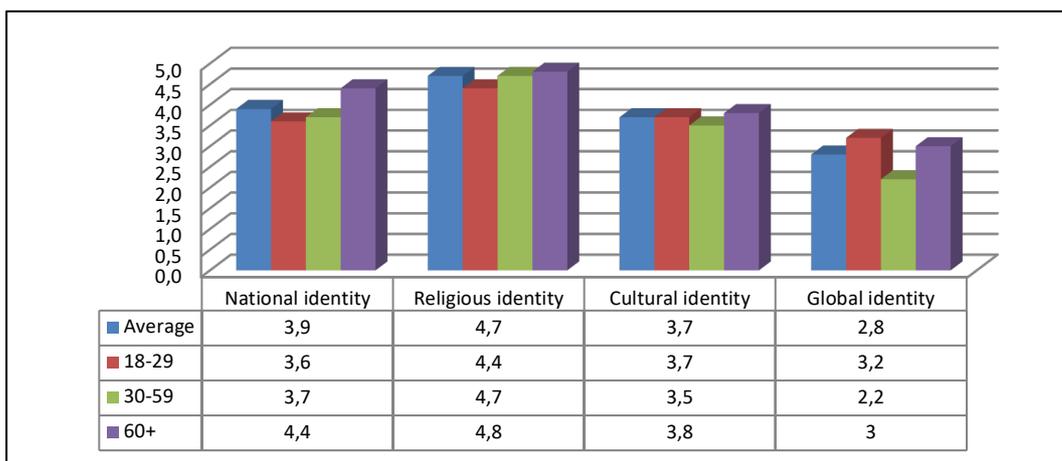


Figure 2. Identity salience based on age groups

Figure 2 presents identity salience based on the 3 age groups of the study (18-29/ 30-59/ 60+). Religious identity ranked 1st for all age groups and global identity ranked 4th. For the young adults (18-29), cultural identity ranked 2nd and national identity ranked 3rd with very similar ratings. For middle-aged (30-59), national identity ranked 2nd and cultural identity 3rd. For older adults (60+), national identity ranked 2nd and cultural identity ranked 3rd. The p-values –obtained by the One-way ANOVA test- for the religious identity and for the cultural identity were more than 0.05 which is not statistically insignificant. The p-values for the national identity (p=.017) and for the global identity (p=.005) were less than 0.05 which is regarded as statistically significant. This suggests that, in the current study, national identity was shown to be more salient for the older adults than the other two age groups, and the global identity was shown to be more salient for the young adults age group.

4.2. Analysis of the ODCTs

The purpose of the ODCTs was to examine how the participants respond to the first 2 scenarios in a way that reflects their most salient identity, and whether they converge to or diverge from their interlocutor who uses English, Standard Arabic and a different dialect than the participant in the other 6 scenarios. Although answers of the Likert scale question showed that religious identity is the most salient for Ammani people with a high record, followed by national and culture identities, none of the participants chose the cultural identity in the first scenario. This could be an indicator that identity salience varies due to different factors such as travelling or participating in an international event. For example, many people who chose religious identity as their most salient identity and chose 5 out of 5 score for the religious identity, when they were asked to choose an identity that represents them and that is the most important for them, and thus they were urged to capitalize it more in an international

conference or choose an identity for their child at school, they chose national identity instead. This appears to support the assumption that when identities are challenged, the attachment to a certain identity becomes more important.

With regard to scenarios of code-switching and taking gender as a variable, in scenario 3, more females mixed English words than males. In scenario 4, more females used a mix of Arabic and English than males. In terms of age, in both scenarios, young adults code-mixed more than other age groups. In the 18-29 age group, the participants did not feel uncomfortable towards scenario 3, and 3 of them code-switched except for one male participant who felt angry. The 30-59 age group participants seemed more annoyed if they were in the situation that the third scenario suggests. This is made clear by the fact that only one female chose to code-switch. The others responded in Arabic, while one of them responded in an angry tone that she will only respond to Ahmad's greeting and then she will not continue talking to him.

With respect to code-mixing, in scenarios 5 and 6 and taking gender as a variable, the results show that in scenario 5, females utilized English words in their responses more than males. In scenario 6, females also gave responses that have English words more than the males. If age is taken as a variable, it was revealed that young adults mixed English words in their responses (code-mixing) more than the other age groups.

Concerning style-shifting², 19 participants accommodated their speech and converged to the presenter's speech style by switching to Standard Arabic instead of their colloquial (Amiyya), whereas 11 participants did not accommodate and they insisted on using their daily style of speech. Females showed more convergence than males. Middle-aged (30-59) and older adults (60+) showed more convergence to the presenter more than the young adults (18-29). The number of females that changed their dialect were more than the males although the dialect used in the scenario script is more similar to Ammani males than females since it used the /g/ sound. Thus, to provide an answer to the first research question, the quantitative data analysis of the 5-point Likert scale shows that the most salient identity for both genders and for all age groups of Ammani people is the religious identity. This is not the absolute result; taking into consideration the elicited first two ODCTs responses, quantitative and qualitative data analysis show that when their concept of identity is being challenged, or in particular circumstances, their national identity becomes the most salient one.

In order to investigate the reasons behind these results and to provide more insights, the following section discusses the qualitative data obtained from the interviews in addition to its implications in light of the poststructuralist perspective of identity and CAT.

4.3. Semi-structured interviews analysis

Data analysis of the 30 semi-structured interviews with the participants reveals the most salient identity for each group of the participants and the reasons behind their choices taking gender and age into consideration. This was the concern of the first part of questions, and it is presented in the next section. The second part was concerned with identity change, stability and accommodation. The data analysis of the semi-structured interviews also presents the reasons that drive Ammani people to change or refuse to change their speech style when communicating with their interlocutors in light of gender and age as social variables and referring to CAT.

With regard to the religious identity, males stressed the fact that the religious identity provided them with a set of values and practices they adhere to. These can be manifested mainly in their overall lifestyle, particularly as some participants has expressed; in the Islamic gatherings and events. For females, many of them expressed this attachment by the way they dress, the way they raise their children and also the events they attend:

A9: I am proud of my Hijab and would love to visit other countries and show them my religious identity through my way of dressing.

Young adults (18-29) gave precedence on their feelings towards religion rather than the actual practices. Middle-aged (30-59) indicated that religious identity is the umbrella for national and cultural identities. Many of them clarified that being raised in a conservative society was the roots behind their love and attachment to religion. They expressed fear of the threat of social media on the new generation regarding the attachment to this identity.

The older adults (60+) asserted that they feel the same as the middle-aged group regarding the young adults (the new generation as they stated). They noted that the young generation is not strongly connected to their religion as the old generation. Although the quantitative data results showed that national identity had a high average for females (the average score was 3.7 out of 5), and the qualitative results showed that girls have strong affiliation for this identity and the way they express it, several male participants had a stereotype that females are not attached to this identity (translated from Arabic):

A2: We (youth) have a strong affiliation towards national identity by feelings and deeds, and by deeds I mean real ones. For example, although some guys wear *ḥma:y* [cloth worn on the head] to make them warm, the majority wears it to show a sense of nationality.

However, I believe that females do not have belonging for this identity, it is only appearances, such as when they go to Petra and take photos with the *šmary*.

Such stereotypes stem from judgments and assumptions that may not be true. The difference of belonging to this type of identity does not necessarily vary based on gender. It could differ relying on social class, place of living and level of education among many other factors.

Based on the quantitative analysis, results revealed that older adults are more attached than other age groups to the national identity. The results obtained through discussing these concepts with the participants via semi-structured interviews confirmed the same, age also had an effect regarding the way each age group expresses this affiliation. The young adults stated that they believe that old people have more belonging to as well as more understanding of this identity. Several middle-aged participants clarified that at this age, they started teaching their children about the love of the country. Some of them argued that they started feeling more responsibility towards their country.

The middle-aged group talked about general traditions that are linked to societal traditions related to social events such as weddings and funerals, and the impact of technology and social media. The older adults group expressed that they love attending social events (weddings, funerals, etc.) but they also emphasized that cultural identity should raise national awareness, and decrease racism. Gender had no much influence on the participants' responses towards the discussion about global identity, except for some females' responses. They expressed that sometimes, using English with foreigners gives them a feeling of belonging:

A17: I once used English with American people. I felt I am a part of the group and one of them.

With regard to age, the middle-aged group showed understanding and seemed less attached to the concept of global identity compared to the other age groups. Surprisingly, many older adults showed excitement towards this identity. Some of them expressed that they like the idea of interacting with people from different cultures, and learn languages as English:

A27: I love global identity, I understand English, I love other cultures, but my love to this identity is only to an extent; I will not melt in that identity however.

The idea of using English by the participants' interlocutor seemed more acceptable by females - whether they converge or not/ and whether it is code-switching or code-mixing-- when compared to males. Young adults' viewpoints varied; a group of participants emphasized their use of Arabic even if

their interlocutor uses English (they diverge from their speech style). It seems likely they do so either for their inability to use English or for the purpose of reviving Arabic and keep it vital (as it represents a part of their identity). On the contrary, a second group of the young adults clarified that they use English (mostly they code-switch) frequently especially if their interlocutor uses it (they converge to his/her speech), whereas when they talk to people who use Arabic only, they keep using English (they diverge). They ascribed this to the fact that they can express themselves easily whenever they switch to English. Moreover, many of them indicated that using English, especially for the new generation, has nothing to do with identity stability, rather it is a matter of being used to it. A third group of the young adults age group emphasized that they use Arabic or Arabic and English (both code-mixing and code-switching). The decision of whether to accommodate their speech or not depends mainly on whom they are talking to.

The Middle-aged group seemed to use English less than the young adults, and more than the older adults. The majority of middle-aged group emphasized that using English (without necessity) is a sign of identity instability:

A14: I use English in a few contexts. I believe that “ʿarabi:zi:”³ is part of identity crisis and it causes class distinction.

Regarding shifting from colloquial to standard, males and females responses did not give a clear indication for a difference, whereas it did have an effect on their shifting from a dialect to another. Males showed more attachment to their own dialects and stated that they would not change (they diverge) their speech style. On the other hand, females showed more tendency towards changing their dialect (convergence) to sound like their interlocutor except for some females especially those who had Bedouin or Fallahi dialects. That is to say, males showed a more stable identity than females except in some cases. For example, some responses were:

A23 (male): I never change my dialect, never. I love my Irbidi dialect. If I stayed years in Amman, I would never change my rural dialect. Changing my dialect is like changing my origins.

A30 (female): I speak the Fallahi (rural) dialect of Palestine. Changing it is like changing my origins.

Regarding shifting from colloquial to standard based on age, the majority of young adults indicated that they do not feel ease when shifting to standard so they prefer not to, therefore, they usually diverge. Middle-aged speakers seemed to have a better command of standard Arabic. The majority of

them have the ability to converge, whereas some of them feel difficulty and choose to diverge. Older adults expressed their proud of Arabic and the love for using standard when needed. Moreover, they have more tendency towards converging to their interlocutor who uses standard.

4.4. Discussion

Regarding the study's first question, the results suggest that among the four identities, the most salient identity for Ammani people is the religious identity. However, a careful consideration of the data, the participants related to more than one single identity. Some participants stressed the importance of one identity (national, religious, cultural and global) over the others, while other participants expressed their attachment to all of the four types or to more than one type. This suggests that the results of this study support the poststructural approach where identities are viewed as dynamic rather than fixed and where the context and other factors can play a role in which identity an individual chooses to reveal based on the context. The participants' choices could be attributed to different factors:

- The participants' lack of understanding of the fact that one can have multiple identities and may choose to highlight one in certain contexts. Some may believe that having more than one identity is like having no identity at all. The conservative culture of Jordan also has its influence on Ammani people, even with the globalization impact and the call for a global citizenship. The vast majority of the young adults and a number of the middle-aged groups emphasized their own style of expressing their attachments to each type of identity. They stated their desire to have a more individualistic culture that does not allow people to judge each other easily. This represents a challenge to key social values and norms that are part of Jordan's identity and culture and could be a possible change in progress.
- Fear of being judged by others; if you are an atheist then you will be treated in a bad way. This possibly led many young adults and middle-aged groups of Amman society to act opposite to what they deeply believe. Sometimes, young adults fear expressing their beliefs or way of thinking so that they will not be excluded by their families or friends.
- The pressure to adhere to the religious identity that some individuals face by the Jordanian society, especially females (their clothes and behavior). This was clear in the female participants' responses where most of their discussion were about this.

However, religious identity is essential for the sense of "who I am" among Ammani people even for the ones who do not consider themselves religious. Referring to Uemura's (2011) study, religious identity is one of the least salient identities for Japanese people. This suggests that societies vary in their salient

identity, and thus their way of living, beliefs and style of communication. For this reason, while an individual's salient identity might be a source of empowerment since it provides meaning and purpose to one's life, in some cases, it can be an obstacle for intercultural communication. Thereby, minorities in the society might start feeling eliminated from the majority's religion or culture. In addition, people might turn out to be less tolerant and accepting of religious, national, or cultural practices and beliefs that differ from theirs (Jackson 2019). This is particularly evident in light of recent events where crises around the world, e.g., the Syrian civil war, the situation in Afghanistan and the Ukrainian war have shown that immigrants are only accepted in Europe and other Western countries if they have a more global identity compared to their own national identities. Thus, for people who are feeling persecution or war or seeking asylum in Europe, adopting a global identity may not be a choice anymore, but an absolute necessity for survival.

In addition, the results of this study are in agreement with the recent critical perspective of poststructuralist in another way, i.e. its view of notions of identity (e.g. Noels *et al.* 2012), which positions the concept of identity as fluid and subject to change. This perspective permits more opportunity for globalization influence and intercultural interactions as well as the emergence of new types of identities, namely the global identity. Around the world nowadays, institutions of education have been revising their role and responsibility in this issue. Meanwhile, there are several questions in this regard such as: how can these institutes train students to be global citizens, what plan can they prepare to facilitate students becoming bilingual or even multilingual and have intercultural competence (Jackson 2014).

Concerning the second research question, several linguists argue that identities are affected by language, cultural contexts, and the desire to be similar to others (Uemura 2011). Based on CAT, the desire to fit in or facilitating understanding is about constructing positive identities with the interlocutors and thus it influences one's own identity. There are different views as to whether the accommodation process varies according to gender as a social variable or not. Females are stereotyped as more convergent than men (Namy *et al.* 2002). This was shown to be true when examined in the current study; females showed more acceptance of converging to the speakers than males in general. One possible implication of this is the way males and females are treated in Jordan and how that affects females' identity stability. Some researchers (e.g. Tagliamonte 2011) argued that since females are usually exposed to more social scrutiny when compared to males, they converge to a more prestigious and polite linguistic behaviors. This also applies to females in Jordan. They are pressured to be more polite as they are under more pressure to use certain forms of language. In particular, Jordanian society expects females to behave more correctly than males as they are expected to preserve the family's

reputation *sumʕa* and have to be good models for their children. It can be argued that due to the nature of Jordanian society which leads some females to feel less secure than males, they develop various linguistic choices to state their identity. Whereas males preferred using English for a necessity such as in an academic discussion. This is also reported by other researchers (e.g. Yaseen and Hoon 2017), who suggested that males usually opt to use Arabic more than females who prefer to use English words. This suggests that males may have a more stable linguistic identity than females generally speaking, unless they communicate with females; the majority of participants (despite their gender and age), emphasized that in that case males show a high tendency for convergence.

Age also plays an integral role in an individual's personality, self-image, language choices and the communication process with others (Jackson 2019). According to the quantitative data analysis, and based on the participants discussion, each age group showed different ways of employing accommodative strategies. Young adults and middle-aged groups indicated that when they talk to old people, they converge their speech style based on their views about old people. As already stated, labeling the interaction with an elderly person as difficult and communicating based on perceived stereotypes, the old person may feel less respectful and does not know how to respond because of uncertainty and dissatisfaction regarding these stereotypes that are based on age and can be untrue (Fowler and Soliz 2010 as cited in Palomares *et al.* 2016). Overgeneralizations and stereotyping based on gender, age, beliefs, nationality, etc. might lead to inequality. Such images can result in prejudiced practices such as excluding women and older adults from certain social positions or jobs in Jordan. Another example is when the strong attachment for a Muslim leads him to socialize only with other Muslims and to be prejudiced towards any other person with different religion, or when a Jordanian who has a deep national belonging to Jordan prevents him from interacting with foreigners or people from different origins. People can be also prejudiced against people who speak a different language or dialect.

It is worth mentioning that there are various factors that the researchers noticed while conducting the semi-structured interviews other than the mentioned in the results section, including personal preferences, geographical differences [the individuals dialects and tendency for accommodation relies on his/her origin, where they were born, and the place of living: East or West Amman], the huge number of refugees in Jordan, travelling abroad, the social dimension of solidarity and distance, and the educational dimension. They seem to play an integral role in accommodative behaviours.

Concerning the educational dimension, the participants who majored in Arabic language mostly considered English as a threat or as an indicator of identity instability. Some male participants from

the middle-aged linked using Arabic without code-mixing to religious people, since using English leads to weaker Arabic which is the language of Quran. This can be attributed to the claim that defending Arabic is defending the language of Islamic religion and its history (Al-Abed Al-Haq and Lahad Al-Masaeid 2009). Whereas the participants who studied English at university, or their major was in English (which is the case of most of the fields of study in Jordanian universities), considered English as their second language and viewed it as a necessity for better job opportunities and better communication in general. The results revealed that Ammani people, mostly, use English favorably. English is not just a foreign language in Jordan; it is very important. Nevertheless, the more people accommodate their speech to a more prestigious language that is not the national language of the country, the more their identity is under threat (cf. Gourari 2019). The young adults ascribed their tendency for converging to the speech style of speakers who use English to their major at the university or to their international and private schools they have studied at. Young adults who studied in international schools since their childhood and mastered English as natives, preferred using English in all social contexts. As mentioned earlier in the current study, learning the speaker's language who belongs to a different social group can be considered as convergence. On the contrary, the failure to learn a language is an accomplishment to maintain in-group ties and can be considered divergence (Giles and Ogay 2007). The results revealed that young adults converge more than the other age groups when their interlocutors use English, whereas they are the ones who diverge more than the other age groups when it comes to shifting to Standard or to different dialect than theirs.

In view of all this, one may wonder about the means by which accommodation can influence identity in Amman. It might strengthen specific forms of a particular dialect assigned to specific group identity (mostly colloquial over Standard Arabic, the urban Ammani dialect over the rural and Bedouin, and the code-mixing and code-switching to English over using Arabic only). Therefore, it could result in dialect change or evolution (see Schneider 2008). That is to say, Amman could be witnessing a change in its identity construction and the way its people express their identity. The results may hint that the Jordanian society is changing from tribal and conservative to a more open society. For instance, the middle-aged group and the older adults emphasized their origins and showed pride towards their own dialects more than younger adults. Younger adults attached themselves more to "Ammani" dialect and the majority of them refused to change to another dialect. This may indicate that the young adults consider themselves as a native population of Amman despite their families' different origins and presume that their Ammani dialect is the most prestigious so they do not feel the need to change to another dialect.

5. Conclusion

The following can be concluded:

- The most salient identity for Ammani people (both genders and all age groups of the study) is religious identity, and the least salient one is the global identity.
- When individuals' identity is challenged in certain circumstances or while travelling, other identities than the religious will mostly appear as the most salient.
- The social context and other features can contribute to reveal certain identities for Ammanis; i.e., their identities are multiple and are most likely changeable over time.
- Amman has a substantial impact as a diverse city on identity salience of its people. This can be shown clearer in the young adults' viewpoint and their different viewpoint from other age groups.
- Females are shown to be more convergent than males in different contexts.
- Young adults are shown to be more convergent than the middle-aged and the older adults, when they switch to a more prestigious language (English in this context), whereas they are the least converging with linguistic behaviors in the same language (Standard Arabic or a different dialect).
- The conservative culture of Jordan is starting to change especially in Amman to a more open and globalized style which may be a result of identity instability among its individuals.

Further research on studying identity salience, change and stability in Jordan is needed. It is recommended that other cities in Jordan other than Amman need to be examined and to conduct comparative studies between Amman and other major cities. Research in this area provides insight into the direction to which societies are headed and what they may look like in the future. As a result, this can be valuable information for governments and decision-makers who are addressing issues related to societal change or matters such as women's empowerment. Finally, since the religious identity is the most salient for Ammanis, more effort is needed to find a moderate Islamic discourse that prevents youth from extremism.

Appendix A: Participants of the Google Form online survey (gender and age)

<i>Serial Number</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>
A1	Male	18-29
A2	Male	18-29
A3	Male	18-29
A4	Male	18-29
A5	Male	18-29

<i>Serial Number</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>
A6	Male	18-29
A7	Male	18-29
A8	Male	18-29
A9	Male	18-29
A10	Male	18-29
A11	Male	18-29
A12	Male	18-29
A13	Male	18-29
A14	Male	18-29
A15	Male	18-29
A16	Female	18-29
A17	Female	18-29
A18	Female	18-29
A19	Female	18-29
A20	Female	18-29
A21	Female	18-29
A22	Female	18-29
A23	Female	18-29
A24	Female	18-29
A25	Female	18-29
A26	Female	18-29
A27	Female	18-29
A28	Female	18-29
A29	Female	18-29
A30	Female	18-29
A31	Female	18-29
A32	Female	18-29
A33	Female	18-29
A34	Female	18-29
A35	Male	30-59
A36	Male	30-59
A37	Male	30-59
A38	Male	30-59
A39	Male	30-59
A40	Male	30-59
A41	Male	30-59
A42	Male	30-59
A43	Male	30-59
A44	Male	30-59
A45	Male	30-59
A46	Male	30-59

<i>Serial Number</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>
A47	Male	30-59
A48	Male	30-59
A49	Male	30-59
A50	Male	30-59
A51	Male	30-59
A52	Male	30-59
A53	Male	30-59
A54	Female	30-59
A55	Female	30-59
A56	Female	30-59
A57	Female	30-59
A58	Female	30-59
A59	Female	30-59
A60	Female	30-59
A61	Female	30-59
A62	Female	30-59
A63	Female	30-59
A64	Female	30-59
A65	Female	30-59
A66	Female	30-59
A67	Female	30-59
A68	Male	60+
A69	Male	60+
A70	Male	60+
A71	Male	60+
A72	Male	60+
A73	Male	60+
A74	Male	60+
A75	Male	60+
A76	Male	60+
A77	Male	60+
A78	Male	60+
A79	Male	60+
A80	Male	60+
A81	Male	60+
A82	Male	60+
A83	Male	60+
A84	Female	60+
A85	Female	60+
A86	Female	60+
A87	Female	60+

<i>Serial Number</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>
A88	Female	60+
A89	Female	60+
A90	Female	60+
A91	Female	60+
A92	Female	60+
A93	Female	60+
A94	Female	60+
A95	Female	60+
A96	Female	60+
A97	Female	60+
A98	Female	60+
A99	Female	60+
A100	Female	60+

Appendix B: Participants of the ODCTs and semi-structured interviews (gender and age)

<i>Serial Number</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>
A1	Male	18-29
A2	Male	18-29
A3	Male	18-29
A4	Male	18-29
A5	Male	18-29
A6	Female	18-29
A7	Female	18-29
A8	Female	18-29
A9	Female	18-29
A10	Female	18-29
A11	Male	30-59
A12	Male	30-59
A13	Male	30-59
A14	Male	30-59
A15	Male	30-59
A16	Female	30-59
A17	Female	30-59
A18	Female	30-59
A19	Female	30-59
A20	Female	30-59
A21	Male	60+
A22	Male	60+
A23	Male	60+
A24	Male	60+

Serial Number	Gender	Age
A25	Female	60+
A26	Female	60+
A27	Female	60+
A28	Female	60+
A29	Female	60+
A30	Female	60+

Appendix C: The online survey on Google Forms (a translated version to English followed by the Arabic version)

Identities in Jordan

Question:
Choose a number (from 1 to 5) that represents your attachment to each type of the following identities:

National identity: the way an individual views oneself as a part of a certain nation or country (the affiliation towards Jordan)

Religious identity: the individual's affiliation to a specific religious group (the affiliation towards Islam)

Cultural identity: the way people are identified and recognized in a culture (certain traditions, clothes, food, etc.)

Global identity: the extent to which a person belongs to a universal culture.

Gender *

Male

Female

⋮

Age *

18-29

30-59

60+

Place of living *

Amman, Jordan

Another city

Out of Jordan

National *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important	<input type="radio"/>	Very important				

Religious identity *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important	<input type="radio"/>	Very important				

Cultural identity *						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important	<input type="radio"/>	Very important				

Global identity *						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important	<input type="radio"/>	Very important				

The Arabic version:

الهويات في الأردن

السؤال: من 1 إلى 5 كم انتماءك لكل هوية (وأهميتها لك) من الهويات الآتية:

الهوية الوطنية: مجموعة من القيم والأخلاق تتعكس أفعالاً بما تحنيه من استقرار في الوطن (الأردن خصوصاً) والدفاع عنه والتعبّد بنظمه واحترام قوانينه.

الهوية الدينية: شعور عضوية المجموعة في الدين وأهمية عضوية هذه المجموعة (الدين الإسلامي).

الهوية الثقافية: القيم والتصورات التي يتميز بها مجتمع ما تبعاً لخصوصياته التاريخية والحضارية (مأكولات تقليدية/ لباس تقليدي/ عادات وتقاليد.. إلخ).

الهوية العالمية: درجة الانتماء لتقافة عالمية أو مجتمع عالمي "مواطن عالمي".

* العمر

18-29

30-59

60 +

* الجنس

ذكر

أنثى

* مكان السكن

عمان

خارج عمان

خارج الأردن

* الهوية الوطنية

	1	2	3	4	5	
غير مهمة	<input type="radio"/>	مهمة جدا				

* الهوية الدينية

	1	2	3	4	5	
غير مهمة	<input type="radio"/>	مهمة جدا				

* الهوية الثقافية						
	1	2	3	4	5	
غير مهمة	<input type="radio"/>	مهمة جدا				

* الهوية العالمية						
	1	2	3	4	5	
غير مهمة	<input type="radio"/>	مهمة جدا				

Appendix D: The ODCTs Scenarios (a translated version from Arabic to English)

Identity salience scenarios:

1. You are invited to speak in an international conference in another country. They ask you to choose one type of identity to introduce yourself. You would say:

- I would choose to reflect my Muslim identity.
- I would choose to reflect my Jordanian identity.
- I would choose to reflect my cultural identity (e.g. certain traditions, practices, food..etc.).
- I would choose to reflect that I belong to more than one culture (global community).

2. You have a 7 –year-old son. His teacher at school asked them to prepare a presentation (that has one concept with lots of pictures) that best defines their identity. He asks for your help. You would recommend him to define his identity as:

- An Arab
- A Muslim
- A Jordanian
- Not sure.

Identity change and stability scenarios:

Code-switching:

3. You are invited to your friend's graduation party in Amman (Ahmad). After you have arrived, you meet a Jordanian there who introduces himself as follows:

Hi, my name is Khalid, ?ana sa:heb Ahmad.

I love this party, dʒad betdʒannen. ?inta mi:n?

(Hi, my name is Khalid and I am a friend of Ahmad. I love this party, it is really amazing. Who are you?).

You respond to him: -----

4. While having a chat with your friends, one of them suggested to go to a restaurant next week:

Friend 1: saba:b, itru:hu ?ala: dʒabri:? next week I have one day off.

(Guys, would you like to go to Jabri, next week I have one day off).

Friend 2: Yes man, I am in for sure. zama:n ?an mat?am ma?kom.

(Yes man, I am in for sure. It's been long time since we went to a restaurant together).

Friend 3: Nope, I am sorry. ma: bagdar ?aru:h. (No, I am sorry. I cannot go.)

You: -----

Code-mixing:

5. You went with your friends to a restaurant in Amman. Your friends started ordering this way:

Friend 1: biddi: wa:had ?a:y ma? mint please

(I would like a cup of tea with mint, please)

Friend 2: ?ana wa:had ?ahwa sugar free

(I would like a cup of sugar free coffee).

Friend 3: wa:had orange juice law samahet

(Orange juice, please)

You ordering your drink: -----

6. Your brother is going to the supermarket and he asked:

?ana ra:yeh ?lal supermarket, biddi: ?adʒi:b pepsi cans, biddak straw wella ?adi: bidu:n?

(I am going to the supermarket, I will bring Pepsi cans not a bottle. Do you need a straw?)

You: -----

Style shifting:

7. You have been invited to a TV interview to talk about a certain issue. The presenter started welcoming you (using Modern Standard Arabic –MSA-):

Presenter: ?ahlan wasahlan bika, kayfa ha:luka?

(Welcome, how are you?)

You respond to him: -----

8. In a family road trip, you stopped by a restaurant in Irbid to have breakfast. The owner of the restaurant comes to your table, he says:

iflo:nku:? ga:lu: innku: men amman, winniſem walla. badna ind^ʕayyifku t^ʕabag ſala ħsa:bel mat^ʕſam, ta:klu: ‘galla:yet bando:ra willa be:d^ʕ magli:’?

(How are you? I heard you are from Amman, nice to meet you. We want to offer you a free dish, would you like it to be “tomato pan fried” or “fried eggs”?)

You would respond: -----

Appendix E: Interviews questions (a translated version from Arabic to English)

Identity salience questions:

- What are the factors that help in specifying the most salient identity for a person?
- Does your knowledge of English give you a feeling of attachment to a foreign culture?
- How do you show your national affiliation?
- Are there some traditions that you wish to erase from the Jordanian society? If yes, like what?
- If you have travelled to a non-Arab country, did you feel more or less attached to your (each type of identity)?
- Do you think of migration? Why?

Identity change and stability questions:

- Do you mix between English and Arabic when you speak? If yes, what are the reasons for mixing?
- To what extent does language determine “prestige” (a high standing achieved through success, influence, wealth, language.. etc.) for Ammani people?
- Do you change the dialect you use depending on the context? How?
- Do you change your speech style depending on the age of your speaker ?
- How does communication differ depending on the interlocutor’s gender? Can you provide an example?

Wrap up:

I would like to thank you so much for taking the time and agreeing to participate in this study. Is there anything else you would like to add?

References

- Aboutorabi, Mohsen and Bushra Zalloom. 2019. "Transformation of urban identity: The case of Amman since the Post-World War II." *Journal of Engineering* 7/1: 110-114.
- Abu-Ghazze, Tawfiq M. 1997. "The dialectic dimensions of homes as an expression of identity and communality in Amman, Jordan." *Housing Studies* 12/2: 247-263.
- Al Musa, Juhaina N. and Oqlah M. Smadi. 2013. "Globalization and English teaching in Jordan." *Globalization* 4/8: 93-98.
- Al Oudat, Mohammed Ali and Ayman Alshboul. 2010. "'Jordan First': Tribalism, nationalism and legitimacy of power in Jordan." *Intellectual Discourse* 18/1: 65-96.
- Al-Abed Al-Haq, Fawwaz and Amer Lahad Al-Masaeid. 2009. "Islam and language planning in the Arab world: A case study in Jordan." *Iranian Journal of Language Studies* 3/3: 267-302.
- Albirini, Abdulkafi. 2016. *Modern Arabic sociolinguistics: Diglossia, variation, codeswitching, attitudes and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Alhojailan, Mohammed Ibrahim and Mohammed Ibrahim. 2012. "Thematic analysis: A critical review of its process and evaluation." *West East Journal of Social Sciences* 1/1: 39-47.
- Alhusban, Ahmad A. and Safa A. Alhusban. 2021. "Re-locating the identity of Amman's city through the hybridization process." *Journal of Place Management and Development* 14/2: 81-113.
- Baxter, Judith. 2016. "Positioning language and identity: Poststructuralist perspectives." In: *The Routledge handbook of language and identity*, edited by Siân Preece, 34-49. London: Routledge.
- Bissoonauth, Anu and Malcolm Offord. 2001. "Language use of Mauritian adolescents in education." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 22/5: 381-400.
- Brand, Laurie A. 1995. "Palestinians and Jordanians: A crisis of identity." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 24/4: 46-61.
- Culcasi, Karen. 2016. "Warm nationalism: Mapping and imagining the Jordanian nation." *Political Geography* 54: 7-20.
- Darwish, Ibrahim and Saada Bader. 2014. "Language and religion in Jordan." *Journal of Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 4/26: 76-81. ANOT FOUND IN TEXT
- Dierenfeld, Helena and Agathe Merceron. 2012. "Learning analytics with excel pivot tables." Paper presented at the 1st Moodle Research Conference (MRC2012), Heraklion, Greece, 13-15 September 2012. Conference Proceedings: 115-121.
<https://research.moodle.org/56/1/15%20-%20Dierenfeld%20-%20Learning%20Analytics%20with%20Excel%20Pivot%20Tables.pdf>
- Dollinger, Stephen J. 2001. "Religious identity: An autophotographic study." *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 11/2: 71-92.
- Fisk, Mika and Sanna Vaarala. 2017. "The use of communication accommodation strategies in a work group: a case study of four meetings." Master's Thesis, Spring 2017, Intercultural Communication

- & Speech Communication Department of Language and Communication Studies, University of Jyväskylä. Retrieved from https://jyx.jyu.fi/bitstream/handle/123456789/53289/5/URN_NBN_fi_jyu-201703161677.pdf
- Gallois, Cindy, Tania Ogay and Howard Giles. 2005. "Communication accommodation theory: A look back and a look ahead." In: *Theorizing about intercultural communication*, edited by William B. Gudykunst, 121-148. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Giles, Howard and Tania Ogay. 2007. "Communication accommodation theory." In: *Explaining communication: Contemporary theories and exemplars*, edited by Whaley, Bryan B., and Wendy Samter, 293-310. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Giles, Howard, Douglas Bonilla and Rebecca B. Speer. 2012. "Acculturating intergroup vitalities, accommodation and contact." In: *The Routledge handbook of language and intercultural communication*, edited by Jane Jackson, 256-271. London: Routledge.
- Gourari, Mohammed. 2019. *The effect of language behaviour on identity in Algeria*. Mémoire de Master, Université Abou Bekr Belkaid - Tlemcen.
- Holmes, Janet. 2008. *Introduction to sociolinguistics* (3rd Ed). Pearson Longman: New York.
- Jackson, Jane. 2014. *Introducing language and intercultural communication*. London: Routledge.
- Jackson, Jane. 2019. *Introducing Language and Intercultural Communication* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Jandt, Fred E. 2013. *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication: Identities in a Global Community*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lawton, M. Powell, Morton H. Kleban, Doris Rajagopal and Jennifer Dean. 1992. "Dimensions of affective experience in three age groups." *Psychology and Aging* 7/2: 171.
- Lindqvist, Ragny, Marianne Carlsson and Per-Olow Sjödnén. 2000. "Coping strategies and styles assessed by the Jalowiec Coping Scale in a random sample of the Swedish population." *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences* 14/3: 147-154.
- Gallois, Cindy, Zala Volcic and Shuang Liu. 2011. *Introducing Intercultural Communication: Global Cultures and Contexts*. London: Sage.
- Massad, Joseph A. 2001 *Colonial effects: The making of national identity in Jordan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- McCrum-Gardner, Evie. 2008. "Which is the correct statistical test to use?" *British Journal of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgery* 46/1: 38-41.
- Melnik, Vlada. 2019. "Urban identity of Amman (a dialogue between tradition and modernity)." *Journal of Engineering and Architecture* 7/1: 68-82.
- Milroy, Lesley. 1987. *Observing and analyzing natural language change*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, Lesley and Matthew Gordon. 2008. *Sociolinguistics: Method and interpretation*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Namy, Laura L., Lynne C. Nygaard and Denise Sauerteig. 2002. "Gender differences in vocal accommodation: The role of perception." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 21/4: 422-432.

- Nanes, Stefanie Eileen. 2003. *Citizenship and national identity in Jordan: A national dialogue*. The University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Palocsay, Susan W., Ina S. Markham and Steven E. Markham. 2010. "Utilizing and teaching data tools in Excel for exploratory analysis." *Journal of Business Research* 63/2: 191-206.
- Palomares, Nicholas A., Howard Giles, Jordan Soliz and Cindy Gallois. 2016. "Intergroup accommodation, social categories, and identities." In: *Communication accommodation theory: Negotiating personal relationships and social identities across contexts*, edited by Howard Giles, 123-151. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pilder, Andrew David. 2011. *Urbanization and identity: The building of Amman in the twentieth century*. Diss. Miami University.
- Qashmar, Dareen Mahmoud Ali. 2018. "The dialectical dimensions of architectural identity in heritage conservation (the case of Amman)." *Arts and Design Studies* 61: 14-22.
- Salameh, Mohammed Torki Bani and Khalid Issa El-Edwan. 2016. "The identity crisis in Jordan: historical pathways and contemporary debates." *Nationalities Papers* 44/6: 985-1002.
- Salem, Essa J. 2015. *Loanwords in Jordanian Arabic*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Manchester: The University of Manchester.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2008. "Accommodation versus identity? A response to Trudgill." *Language in Society* 37/2: 262-267.
- Smith, Holly L. 2019. *Ammani Youth-Paradoxical Citizens on the Margins*. PhD Dissertation, University of South Carolina.
- Soliz, Jordan and Howard Giles. 2014. "Relational and identity processes in communication: A contextual and meta-analytical review of communication accommodation theory." *Annals of the International Communication Association* 38/1: 107-144.
- Subheyyin, Eid H., Baker S. Mawajdeh, Mansour H. Talhouni and Mohammad O. Rfou. 2017. "The Status of National Values in the Books of Social Studies for the Grades of the Upper Primary Stage in Jordan." *Journal of Education and Practice* 8/13: 1-7.
- Tagliamonte, Sali A. 2011. *Variationist sociolinguistics: Change, observation, interpretation*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Tucci, Giulia. 2019. "Depicting the others: Late Bronze Age Southern Levant's cultural identity and adornment from the Egyptian view. Reality vs Perception." *Kervan* 23/2: 117-129.
- Tweissi, Basim and Maram Frehat. 2016. "The Media and the Path of Building the State of Jordan: An Analytical Study of the Transformations of Identity and Society." *Cross-Cultural Communication* 12/5: 9-20.
- Uemura, Ryotaro. 2011 "Relative Rank-order of Salient Identities of the Japanese." *International Journal of Japanese Sociology* 20/1: 73-88.
- Versluys, Eline. 2007. "The notion of identity in discourse analysis: Some 'discourse analytical' remarks." *International Tidsskrift for Sprog og Kommunikation* 26: 89-99.

- Wojnarowski, Frederick. 2021. "The Ghosts at the Feast: Contested Land, Settlement, and Identity in the Jordanian BāDīya." *Nomadic Peoples* 25/1: 36-58.
- Yaseen, Bilal and Tan Bee Hoon. 2017. "Code-switching in online communication among Arabic-English speakers." *Pertanika Journal of Scholarly Research Reviews* 3/2: 1-9.
- Zibin, Aseel and Khawlah M. Al-Tkhayneh. 2019. "A sociolinguistic analysis of the use of English loanwords inflected with Arabic morphemes as slang in Amman, Jordan." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 260: 155-175.

Rand Muen Qaddoumi is Instructor of Arabic Language to non-native speakers at Qasid Arabic Institute, Amman, Jordan. She obtained her Masters in Language, Culture and Communication from University of Jordan. She is mainly interested in pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

She can be contacted at: r.qaddoumi@qasid.com

Aseel Zibin is Associate Professor of English Language and Linguistics at the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan. She obtained her PhD in Linguistics/Cognitive Semantics from Newcastle University, UK. She is mainly interested in cognitive semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics and second language acquisition.

She can be contacted at: a.zabin@ju.edu.jo

Marwan Jarrah is Associate Professor of English Language and Linguistics at the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan. He obtained his PhD in Linguistics/Syntax from Newcastle University, UK. He is mainly interested in generative linguistics, syntax, pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

He can be contacted at: m.jarrah@ju.edu.jo