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*The Expanding area turn: modelling and defining 'English as a Potential Variety'.*

*The case of Egyptian English*

**TESI DOTTORALE**

SUPERVISOR

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## PART 1: THE EXPANDING AREA TURN: MODELLING AND DEFINING 'ENGLISH AS A POTENTIAL VARIETY' (EPV)

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>3CM</b>	Three Circles Model
<b>AmE</b>	American English
<b>AuE</b>	Australian English
<b>BELF</b>	Business English Lingua Franca
<b>BrE</b>	British English
<b>CA</b>	Classical Arabic
<b>CanE</b>	Canadian English
<b>CAH</b>	Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis
<b>CLI</b>	Cross-Linguistic Influence
<b>CS</b>	Code-Switching
<b>DM</b>	Dynamic Model
<b>EAL</b>	English as an Additional Language
<b>ECA</b>	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic
<b>EE</b>	Egyptian English
<b>EFL</b>	English as a Foreign Language
<b>EML</b>	English as the Main Language
<b>EGL</b>	English as a Global Language
<b>EGLF</b>	English as the Global Lingua Franca
<b>EgyE</b>	Egyptian English
<b>EIL</b>	English as an International Language
<b>ELC</b>	English Language Complex
<b>ELF</b>	English as a Lingua Franca
<b>ENL</b>	English as a Native Language
<b>EPCs</b>	English-based Pidgins and Creoles
<b>EPV</b>	English as a Potential Variety
<b>ESD</b>	English as a Second Dialect
<b>ESL</b>	English as a Second Language
<b>ESP</b>	English for Special Purposes
<b>EIF</b>	Extra- and Intra- territorial
<b>FM</b>	Fluid Model
<b>GEs</b>	Global Englishes
<b>GhaE</b>	Ghananian English
<b>GlobEs</b>	Globalisation Englishes
<b>IBE</b>	International Business Language
<b>ICE</b>	International Corpus of English
<b>ICLE</b>	Corpus of Learner English
<b>IE</b>	Indian English
<b>IntE</b>	International English
<b>JaE</b>	Japanese English
<b>KEs</b>	Koiné Englishes
<b>LCT</b>	Language Contact Typology
<b>LEs</b>	Learner Englishes
<b>LKVEs</b>	Lesser-Known Varieties
<b>LL</b>	Linguistic Landscape
<b>LP</b>	Language Policy
<b>LPP</b>	Language Policy and Planning
<b>MSA</b>	Modern Standard Arabic



<b>NE</b>	Nigerian English
<b>NZE</b>	New Zealand English
<b>Non-PCEs</b>	Non-Post Colonial Englishes
<b>PCEs</b>	Post Colonial Englishes
<b>RE</b>	Russian English
<b>RP</b>	Received Pronunciation
<b>SAfrE</b>	South African English
<b>SgE</b>	Singapore English
<b>SLE</b>	Sri Lankan English
<b>StdE</b>	Standard English
<b>TA</b>	Transnational Attraction
<b>WEs</b>	World Englishes
<b>WLS</b>	World Language System
<b>WSE</b>	World System of English
<b>WSSE</b>	World System of Standard English

## Transcription and spelling

The Arabic transcription in this work is based on the BGN/PCGN 1956 System of Transliteration applied by BGN and PCGN in the systematic romanization of Arabic geographical names in Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen, the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

ا	ʾ
ب	b
ت	t
ث	ṭ
ج	j/g
ح	ḥ
خ	x
د	d
ذ	ḏ
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	š
ص	ṣ
ض	ḏ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʿ
غ	ġ
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
هـ	h
و	w
ي	y



## Abstract

As the world order continuously evolves and English, as the ‘Global language’ (Crystal, 2003) and language of globalisation, incessantly spreads worldwide, new varieties or mixed linguistic forms emerge reaching also places of the Expanding area where, according to previous studies, they were not supposed to emerge, encouraging the development of new hybrid linguistic forms (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld, 2014a). This is what is occurring in ‘emerging contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) like the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), China (Bolton, 2003; Chen & Hu, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Lo Bianco, Orton & Yihong, 2009; Xu, 2010; Xu, Deterding & He, 2017), Japan (Takeshita, 2000; Stanlaw, 1988, 2004, 2010; Seargeant, 2009; Ike, 2012; Philpott & Alami, 2013, among others), Cyprus (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011; Buschfeld, 2013), or Russia (Proshina, 2010: 299-315; Bondarenko, 2014) among others.

In such a renewed context, old WEs theories and their related theoretical models for the study of WEs prove incapable of describing the current situation of English in the world, especially if applied to the case of newly emerging varieties of English in the Expanding Circle (Bruthiaux, 2003; Jenkins, 2003a; Pung, 2009; Schneider, 2014; Edwards, 2016; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017, among others) which, despite the efforts Schneider (2014) or Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) made to include them in a more integrative frameworks made by remain excluded from any model and categorisation, suspended “somewhere between ESL [here EAL] and EFL status” (Buschfeld, 2013: 11) without a proper room or definition. This creates a theoretical void in WEs studies and the necessity of ‘building a bridge’ (Biewer, 2011: 9) between the two categories. The first aim of this dissertation is trying to fill this theoretical gap through the revision of old paradigms and terminology, and advancing the hypothesis that an alternative and more up-to-date model is needed, namely the ‘Fluid model of the development of Potential Varieties’ (FM) presented as a new tool for the description of the current linguistic situation of English in the world and for a more adequate positioning and definition of new emerging varieties of English of the Expanding area, defined ‘English as Potential Variety’ (EPV).

In order to verify the validity and applicability of the FM to the Expanding contexts, the case of Egypt will be investigated to understand whether English is there developing an indigenised form (Shaub, 2000; Bruthiaux, 2003; Lewko, 2012, Al-Sayadi, 2016). In Egypt, indeed, English is officially considered an EFL, but it is recently satisfying functions which make it go beyond this definition. English in Egypt is not only used internationally, but it is also used in intranational domains such as in local music, the Internet (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006), social media, local advertising, local TV and radio broadcasting (Ibrahim, 2006; Yacoub, 2015a), with informal functions, as for communication among friends, which are usually attributed to ESL [here EAL] varieties, and even for creative expressions in low and high cultural genres such as street signs (Mohamed, 2017), popular music (Bibars, 2017), or literature (Albarkry & Hancock, 2008; Widdowson, 2019). This is contributing to a major intensity and frequency of language inputs with consequent increasing occasions of linguistic contacts between English and (Egyptian) Arabic, which are supposedly leading to the emergence of a new EPV in Egypt which can legitimately been inserted within the WEs framework.

### *Theoretical framework*

At the beginning of the XXI century, English, the language of the American global force, became “the first truly global language in the history of the planet” (Mair, 2016: 18; see also Crystal, 2003, Halliday, 2003; Schneider, 2013; Gohil, 2013; Jenkins, 2014, among others) acquiring an increased role as Lingua Franca (ELF) (Spierts, 2015) of the modern era (Gohil, 2013) functioning thus as “a common linguistic bridge facilitating cross-cultural communication” (Onysko, 2009: 25) and “connecting speakers of different languages” (Smokotin, Alekseyenko & Petrova, 2014: 511) and cultural backgrounds (Jenkins, 2009). With this function, it became the primary choice in all forms of global communication (Deshors, 2018, among others) with its consequent and inevitable dominant widespread in the globe (Waldhaugh, 2010). It became “superior to practically all other languages in terms of power” (Mair, 2016: 20) and the current most spoken language with its 1.35 billion people (Szmigira, 2021 in Statista.com) in more than one hundred countries around the world (Schneider, 2017: 35) where it is an “official, semi-official, or national language, or the language of political and/or educational institution” (Schneider, 2017: 35). As such, the spread of English may be described as an “universal phenomenon” (Aboelezz, 2014: 2) that “has no parallel in the history of the world languages” (Smokotin, Alekseyenko & Petrova, 2014: 510).

Not only is English the current ‘Global language’ (Crystal, 2003), but it is also viewed as “a symbol of globalization” (Seargeant, 2009: 64). In fact, the economic globalisation has “dramatically changed the role of English in the past 20 years” (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 142) with English being employed as the main linguistic tool in new sociolinguistic trends which include: the internet revolution (Crystal, 2004) with the web increasingly becoming multilingual (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018); the increasing use of new technologies (Cenoz, 2013); the increase in international travel which has developed the practice of

transnational mobility of the population; the spread of global products like the media and social Networks in which English circulates freely and without control, and so on. That being so, globalisation is definitely a factor which “promotes its [of English] usage” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 38) and leads to its ‘grassroot’ use (Schneider, 2016c) everywhere in the world. The employment of English as the ‘language of globalisation’ is thus another main factor leading to its spread in the ‘global village’ (Modiano, 1999a: 27).

In such a context, in which spatial and cultural distances are reduced, and in which English as the ‘Global language’ (Crystal, 2003) and ‘language of globalisation’ is so widely and incessantly spreading across the globe, new contact situations emerge with English representing “a potential contact language for virtually *every* other language spoken in the world” (emphasis added) (Mair, 2016: 22 see also Mair, 2018), giving way to a “language contact situation of unprecedented scale” (Paolillo, 2007: 424; Seargeant & Tagg, 2011; Takahashi & Samida, ?). Indeed, being used abroad, English enters in contact with the local languages it meets (Onysko, 2009) influencing them and being influenced in. This creates new contact-induced language changes (Siemund & Davidova, 2014) which inevitably alter local language practices (Singh, Zhang & Besmel, 2012). Certainly, “linguistic variation is the ‘linguistic price’ the English language pays for being used in a new linguistic and cultural setting” (Kachru, 1992c: 309) and it mainly occurs because ELF users adapt it to their linguistic habits (Smokotin, Alekseyenko & Petrova, 2014; Firth, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011) modifying it in sound, lexis, and structure with variations in “accent patterns, speech forms, grammatical choices, [and] even [in] orthographic representations” (Pung, 2009: 72) mainly due to their L1 influxes. In this fashion, English “necessarily becomes mixed and diversified” (Seargeant, 2012: 59).

Interestingly, this occurs, not only in territories in which English has already a certain stability and an official status as in the Outer countries (Schneider, 2013), but also in many other linguistic communities of the Expanding area (Berns, 2005), in which it is not spoken natively, but it is acquiring important functions becoming a fundamental additional language for people who want to participate to the world change and development. In these contexts, English is not used with international purposes only, such as for international communication or for ‘transnational encounter’ (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018: 43), or uniquely in prestigious formal domains such as for diplomatic relations, politics, business and so on, but it has also started to experiment some *intranational* functions (Modiano, 1999a; Jenkins, 3003a, 2007; Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018, among others) being used by individuals as “an additional language for [...] intranational communication” (Ho, 2008: 42) even in informal interactions.

All these factors give these contexts a higher status than the simple EFL and the potentiality to develop an indigenised linguistic form. Scholars have already noticed the rise of ‘emerging varieties’ (Schneider, 2014: 18-26, see also Edwards, 2011; Buschfeld, 2013, among others) in 20 countries (Edwards, 2016) including in many Asian areas, Europe (Especially Northern Europe and Scandinavian countries) (Edwards, 2016), Central and South America, as well as Africa and many Islamic countries (Yano, 2001) between the Maghreb and the Mashrek, all ‘emerging contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) where English is officially classified as a foreign language, but where a tendency towards nativization is becoming gradually more evident (Yano, 2001) and is “inching slowly but surely towards ESL [here EAL] status” (Edwards, 2016: 16). However, since these new emerging varieties approximate but do not reach the EAL status definitely, they are treated as borderline hybrid forms (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld, 2014) with neither a legitimate place in categorisations nor an exact definition.

In such a changed linguistic situation in the world, old WEs theories and their related theoretical models for the study of varieties of English in the world result no longer valid and limited when applied to the case of newly emerging varieties of English in the Expanding Circle (Bruthiaux, 2003; Jenkins, 2003a; Pung, 2009; Schneider, 2014; Edwards, 2016; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017, among others). Indeed, they were based on outdated paradigms and centred almost entirely their attention on Inner areas where English is used as a native language, and on Outer countries where English mainly entered through colonialism giving rise to post-colonial varieties. The WEs field “has largely remained, dominated by research into varieties of English in former colonies, especially in Asia and Africa” (Edwards, 2016: 1) while the Expanding areas, where English is a non-native language and which “do not have historical colonial ties with a native speaker English coloniser” (Ho, 2008: 12, see also Bennui & Hashim, 2014; Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018), have been generally overlooked (Edwards, 2016). This mainly depended on the fact that according to old theories, no independent varieties were supposed to emerge in Expanding area nations with scholars being sceptic in recognising a certain varietal status to non-native Englishes and to varieties that developed through “forces other than the Outer Circle experience of colonialization” (Edwards, 2016: 11, see also Berns, 2005; Jenkins, 2006).

As a consequence of this belief, and of the fact that existing theoretical models did not take into consideration the development of varieties of English in the Expanding area, when trying to apply them to the new ‘emergent contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) the models show some deficit, resulting inadequate or totally unapplicable, leaving varieties “out in the cold”

(Edwards, 2016: 4). This implies that, due to the current sociolinguistic landscape (Mair, 2016), “the WE model’s exclusive focus on the ‘Outer Circle’ began to feel somewhat restrictive” (Saraceni, 2010: 84) and since there is evidence that interesting novelties are emerging in Expanding areas mainly due to the Global force, efforts to include them in a more integrative frameworks have started to be made in more recent times, especially through the proposal of a more integrative approach theorised by Schneider (2014) through his ‘Transnational Attraction’ (TA) model, and by Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) through their ‘Extra and Intra Territorial Forces Model’ (IEF model), both based on a more current vision of English in the world, at least theoretically. Practically, however, also using these two models, new varieties remain excluded from any categorisation, suspended “somewhere between ESL [here EAL] and EFL status” (Buschfeld, 2013: 11) without a proper room or definition. This creates a theoretical gap in WEs studies that pushes researchers towards the necessity of ‘building a bridge’ (Biewer, 2011: 9) between the two categories. The void is so large that it is legitimate to think that a “re-positioning of World Englishes research” (Mair, 2016: 17) and new theoretical “models that account for the ever-expanding roles it [English] plays in an increasingly large number of contexts” (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018: 281) are necessary.

### *Scientific aims and main questions*

Considering that the current models for the categorisation of Englishes (Kachru, 1981) do not fit the case of many Expanding area varieties, and embracing the idea that “the field of world Englishes research is faced with new challenges in the categorization of the many different existing types of English” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 104), the first aim of this dissertation will be to propose a more up-to-date and alternative theoretical model for the study of the linguistic varietal development. This will be done by trying to answer the questions about how the theoretical void can be filled in order to connect WEs studies with the new English linguistic landscape, and about how the problem tied to the hybrid cases can be solved in order to give space and value to those varieties of English that represent borderline cases between the EFL and EAL categories. The validity and applicability of the model to Expanding contexts would be then analysed through the case-study of Egypt, starting from the presupposition that “there are relatively few [or no] models or frameworks which can be used to map the spread of English and its particular situations within specific regions, such as Egypt or the Middle East” (Schaub, 2000: 225), as well.



The second aim of this work will be investigating whether English is developing an indigenised form in Egypt (Shaub, 2000; Bruthiaux, 2003; Lewko, 2012, Al-Sayadi, 2016), the ‘Egyptian English’ (EgyE), which could be categorised as a potential new variety of English similar to other emerging varieties such as Cyprus English (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011), English in the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), Chinese English (Bolton, 2003; Chen & Hu, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Lo Bianco, Orton & Yihong, 2009; Xu, 2010; Xu, Deterding & He, 2017), Honk Kong English (Joseph, 1996; Bolton, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2007), Korean English (Shim, 1999; Takeshita, 2000; Stanlaw, 1988, 2004, 2010; Seargeant, 2009; Ike, 2012; Philpott & Alami, 2013, among others), Thai English (Kirkpatrick 2010; Schneider, 2014; Bennui & Hashim, 2014b), Russian English (Proshina, 2010; Bondarenko, 2014), and Persian English (Sharifian, 2010; 2010b), among others. Indeed, although Egypt is placed in the Kachruvian Expanding circle (Kachru, 1992b; Schaub, 2000) and English is classified as EFL, it is recently developing its functions so widely that it is going beyond the EFL status (Shaub, 2000; Bruthiaux, 2003; Lewko, 2012, Al-Sayadi, 2016). English in Egypt is not only used internationally, but it is also used in intranational domains such as local music, the Internet (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006), social media, local advertising, local TV and radio broadcasting (Ibrahim, 2006; Yacoub, 2015a), with both formal and informal functions as in interactions among friends, and even for creative expressions in low and high cultural genres such as street signs (Mohamed, 2017), popular music (Bibars, 2017), or literature (Albarkry & Hancock, 2008; Widdowson, 2019). This leads to a major intensity and frequency of language passive exposure with consequent increasing occasions of linguistic contacts between English and (Egyptian) Arabic which, in turn, inevitably head towards linguistic interferences and changes at the lexical and phonetic level but also in syntactical and morphological structures.

### *Previous literature*

This dissertation lies within the framework of Sociolinguistics, more specifically within the World Englishes studies (Mesthrie, 2006) with its multiple disciplines and approaches<sup>1</sup> (Bolton, 2006). In doing so, it will address a number of studies which have been carried out from the 1960s and with major force from the early 1980s when the study “on the way English has become locally adapted and institutionalized to create different varieties of English

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<sup>1</sup> The term WEs “functions as an umbrella label” (Bolton, 2006: 240) which comprises different linguistic disciplines and approaches such as: English studies, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, lexicography, Critical Linguistics, futurology (Bolton, 2006), contact linguistics, corpus linguistics, diachronic linguistics (Siemund & Davydova, 2014: 1), sociolinguistics of globalisation (Blommaert, 2010; Coupland, 2010).

(different Englishes) around the world” (Pennycook, 2003: 8) emerged as an independent discipline (Mair, 2016).

This dissertation will draw from English linguists, such as Randolph Quirk who was one of the first to discuss varieties of English (Bolton, 2006), David Crystal, Tom McArthur (founder and editor of the academic journal *English Today*, from 1985), Manfred Görlach (the founding editor of the academic journal *English World-Wide*) (Bolton, 2006), from scholars inserted into the ‘Applied Linguistics studies’ discipline like Peter Strevens and David Graddol, and scholars belonging to the proper ‘WEs studies’ with a special attention to Braj Kachru’s work (editor of the academic journal *World Englishes* and founder of the conferences on world Englishes held by the *International Association for World Englishes* (IAWE)) and Yamuna Kachru’s one (Bolton, 2006) to whom the term ‘World English’ have been attributed (Bolton, 2006). The term “emphasizes ‘WE-ness,’ and not the dichotomy between us and them (the native and non-native users)” (Kachru, 1992e: 2) together with the pluralisation of the term English into *Englishes* (Bolton, 2006: 241) which better reflects the ‘sociolinguistic realities’ of postcolonial territories (Sergeant & Tagg, 2011) eventually “break[ing] down the myth of a single monolithic English language” (Sergeant & Tagg, 2011: 498) . After the publication of their works a ‘Kachruvian approach’ (Bolton, 2006: 248) began.

Indeed, with Kachru’s (1985) ‘Three Circle model of World Englishes’, based on McArthur’s (1998) ENL-ESL-EFL distinction, the WEs tradition of classifying varieties through the use of theoretical models, begun with Barbara Strang (1970) and Quirk (1972), reinforced giving rise to a ‘language modelling’ approach. A series of scholars who followed this approach will be referred to in this dissertation, namely Graddol (1997/2000) and Yasukata Yano (2001) with their revisions of Kachru’s model, Marko Modiano (1999) with his English as an International Language model, Rajend Mesthrie and Rakesh M. Bhatt (2008) with their English Language complex model, Christian Mair (2013) with his World System of English model, Edgard W. Schneider (2003-2007) with his Dynamic Model of the Evolution of Postcolonial Englishes. All of the scholars gave their enormous contribution to the understanding of the heterogeneous nature of English and documented the “remarkable spread of English worldwide” (Bolton, 2006: 241) with a prevalent, or sometimes exclusive focus on varieties which emerged due to colonialism with the development of ‘New Englishes’ around the world.

More recently researchers have continued, and are still continuing, to give contributions expanding the research towards the study of “varieties that have been opened up through more recent aspect of globalisation” (Mair, 2016: 17). In this dissertation, many studies on the topic

which have been published lately, are mentioned, as among them are Schneider's published in 2014 and Sarah Buschfeld and Alexander Kautzsch's in 2017, based on a more integrative approach for inclusion of non-PCEs within the '*WE-ness*' paradigm, (emphasis in the original) (Kachru, 1996: 135), starting from the idea that "even in countries without a British colonial history [or with a less-prototypical colonial history] and in absence of English-speaking founders, a similar evolutionary process can be observed" (Schneider, 2017: 53) as well.

Other sociolinguists who have tried to explain the phenomenon of the emergence of new local forms of English in the world trying to establish criteria for assessing variety status will be referred to as well. These are Teodoro Llamzon (1983), Susan Butler (1997) in her analysis of Southeast Asia English, Kachru (2005), Kingsley Bolton (2003), Sandra Mollin (2006, 2007), Buschfeld (2013, 2014), Kautzsch (2014) and Alison Edwards (2016) who, in their investigations of varieties of English in Outer and Expanding countries, established some "essential categories of figures" (Bolton, 2003: 46) in order to more adequately decide how and where within models a variety may be classified.

In addition, even though it is not strictly linked with the present study, it is worth mentioning the ICE project (International Corpus of English) which aims at creating corpora of different national and regional varieties of English that thanks to the wideness of the sample size offers a more ample view over the potentiality that the WEs research offers.

### *Approach and methodological framework*

The approach chosen for this work is highly experimental given the aim and context. Since EgeE is not established yet as a potential new variety of English, previous literature is not extensively available and in-filed work is much needed.

In this study, as it generally occurs in recent WEs research, three different approaches are adopted for the description and analysis of English worldwide and English in Egypt: sociolinguistic analysis, language modelling and a corpus study.

The sociolinguistic analysis mainly carried out by means of ethnographic and sociological tools like questionnaires, surveys, and interviews of a sample of Egyptians English speakers, bearing in mind the diastatic, diatopic, diamesic and diaphasic linguistic variabilities. Language modelling techniques were exploited to construct a theoretical model which despite generalising and abstracting the reality is useful to capture the complexity of language and language users (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018; Deshors & Gilquin, 2018). The corpus

study focused on the creation of a corpus of Egyptian English built through a contrastive analysis between English and (Egyptian) Arabic linguistic productions, with the aim to capture the “wider semiotic repertoire” (Seargeant & Tagg, 2011: 498) of (Egyptian) Arabic- English bi-/multilingual users and the typical features of their supposed new local variety. Data for this corpus study, collected by hand, have been retrieved through the examination of oral and written language in private message-texts and audio clips by young Egyptian English users and videos and comments from YouTube, Facebook pages and Internet blogs.

### *Thesis structure*

This work is divided into two parts: PART 1, entitled “the expanding area turn: modelling and defining ‘English as a potential variety’ (EPV) comprises Chapter 1 and Chapter 2; PART 2, titled ‘Egyptian English’ as a new potential English variety: a sociolinguistic analysis’ is composed by Chapter 3.

Chapter 1 is an introductory part, in which a review of the most significant models used in previous WEs studies will be presented, from the tripartite models by Quirk (1972)/McArthur (1998) and the concentric circle model by Kachru (1985) to the most recent ‘Transnational Attraction’ model by Schneider (2014) and the ‘Extra and Intra Territorial forces Model’ by Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017). Strengths and weaknesses of these models will be highlighted, emphasising the advantages and contribution they have given to WEs studies but also, and above all their limitations with the aim of demonstrating their inadaptability for the study of newly emergent varieties in Expanding areas and displaying the theoretical void they produce when trying to describe the new linguistic situation of English in the world.

In Chapter 2, the old WEs paradigms and specifically the concept of nativeness, standardness and colonial status, on which old theoretical frameworks are based, together with the related terminology will be revised in order to be readapted to the current linguistic reality. In addition, in this part of the dissertation, a new model for the study of border-line varieties in between the EFL and EAL categories will be presented, namely the ‘Fluid Model of the emergence of English as a Potential Variety’ (FM) followed by a detailed description of the ten criteria on which it is based: socio-historical, acquisitional, ecological, sociolinguistic, motivational, linguistic, cultural, cognitive, attitudinal, and political.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the analysis of the Egyptian case-study, another borderline case. Starting from the evidence that the models used so far in WEs studies are no longer valid when

applied to the ‘emerging contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) of the Expanding area, as previously shown, the development and the spread of such non-native variety in Egypt will be analysed through the use of the model that has been previously designed, with the investigation of the different aspects, socio-historical, ecological, sociolinguistic, motivational, linguistic, cultural, cognitive, attitudinal and political, of English in Egypt.

**PART 1: THE EXPANDING AREA TURN: MODELLING AND DEFINING  
'ENGLISH AS POTENTIAL VARIETY' (EPV)**

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### 1.1 Introduction

In WEs research, the importance of English and its spread has been restricted almost exclusively either to the study of Inner communities where English is spoken as a mother tongue or developed localised varieties defined *native*, or to the analysis of the Outer areas where English mainly entered through British or American colonisation and where enduring contacts with settlers led to the emergence of new varieties later defined post-colonial Englishes (PCEs) or New Englishes sometimes even institutionalised and/or recognised by their speakers. In their studies, researchers have not included Expanding settings which far from being native and post-colonial contexts (even if some of the countries positioned in the Expanding area had a colonial history) they are supposed to have developed “learner varieties [of English] that are not acceptable in their own right” (Edwards, 2016: 4, see also Buschfeld, 2011; Chen & Hu, 2006; Götz & Schilk, 2011; Mollin, 2006; Mukherjee & Hund, 2011; Nesselhauf, 2009) the use of which is believed to be restricted to international functions and limited to few specific domains. For this reason, “Englishes of the Expanding Circle [have been] left out in the cold” (Edwards, 2016: 4).

However, today English is ‘hysterically’ (Imhoof, 1977) extending its domains and proliferating geographically also in Expanding areas such as in many North European, Asian, and North African ones, where it is evolving into a language of wider communication (Bruthiaux, 2003) and where its wide use is leading to diversification and innovative hybrid forms (Schneider, 2016b). Researchers such as Buschfeld, (2013, 2017), Kautzsch (2014), Schneider (2014) and Edwards (2016) among others, have noticed that as a consequence of the intensifying forces of globalisation, about “20 EFL countries [are] potentially transitioning to

ESL” (Edwards, 2016: 5, see also Graddol, 1997) such as Germany (Schneider, 2012; Kautzsch, 2014), Cyprus (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011; Buschfeld, 2013), the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), Sweden (Hult, 2003) Denmark (Preisler, 2003), just to mention few, where ESL features have been detected and where English is acquiring a key role also within these nations’ boundaries. This situation, consequently, induces WEs researchers to review existing categorisations, to question their applicability and, eventually, to elaborate new theoretical models able to account for the current spread and “variegated manifestations” (Edwards, 2018: 163) of English worldwide.

In line with this, and starting from the idea that “[t]heoretical models, in order to be ecologically valid, need to be representative of these new linguistic and sociolinguistic realities” (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018: 282, see also van Rooy & Kruger, 2018), the aim of this chapter is to present the prevalent theoretical models so far suggested in the study of world Englishes and verify whether and to what extent they are adequate and applicable for describing the current situation of English worldwide, emphasising on their strengths and values but also on their weakness and limitations when applied to contact scenarios in the Expanding area.

In WEs research, and specifically in Pung’s (2009) *Beyond the Three Circles: A New Model for World Englishes* and in Schneider’s (2017) *Models of English in the World*, models have been subdivided into different types, dwelling on their graphical shape or on the stasis of categories and dynamics of the developmental process described. According to the shape, there exist tripartite models, language-tree, or maps of English worldwide, ‘Hub and Spokes’ models (Schneider, 2017: 41), and three-dimensional models. As for the second criterion, models have been subdivided into two main groups: ‘static’ which includes all models previously mentioned, and ‘dynamic’ or ‘evolutionary’ models (Schneider, 2017: 45) such as Schneider’s (2003; 2007) which not casually bears the name of ‘Dynamic Model’.

Likewise, in this section, the models presented are subdivided according to the major paradigm on which they have been based namely, *nativeness*, *standardness* and *post-colonial status*. In detail, models are divided into:

- models for the study of native and non-native varieties of English including all tripartite categorisations like McArthur’s (1998) ENL-ESL-EFL distinction, Kachru’s (1985) ‘Three Circles Model of World Englishes’ (3CM) and their consecutive revisions like Graddol’s (1997) and Yano’s (2001).
- models for the study of standard and non-standard varieties of English including all wheel models such as McArthur’s (1987) ‘Circle of World Englishes’ and Görlach’s (1990) ‘Circle Model of English’; centripetal Circles models such as Modiano’s (1999) ‘English



as an International Language model'; three dimensional models such as Yano's (2001) cylindric model; and models describing the English complex or system like Mesthrie & Bhatt's (2008) 'English Language Complex' and Mair's (2013) 'World System of English model'.

- models for the study of post-colonial and non-postcolonial varieties of English including the evolutionary models such as Schneider's (2003, 2007) 'Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes' (DM) which has later been extended by Schneider himself (2014) through the concept of 'Transnational Attraction' and modified in the most recent Buschfeld & Kautzsch's (2017) 'Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces' model (EIF model).

As evident, "the plurality of Englishes has inspired a range of [...] different theoretical models" (Onysko, 2016a: 196). However, it will be demonstrated that each of these models has depicted the situation of English in a specific moment in the history of the English language spread, following a precise paradigm, so that, "[a]s the world changes, and the use of English in the world changes, models that were adequate at a certain point in the past [could] no longer [be] adequate" (van Rooy & Kruger, 2018: 78) in present time.

## 1.2 Models for the study of native/non-native varieties of English

### 1.2.1 The tripartite models

#### *Quirk's (1972)/McArthur's (1998) ENL-ESL-EFL distinction*

The division of Englishes into a tripartite model dates back to the 1970s when the first formal attempts to classify different varieties of English were made (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011). It has been successfully used in the history of English variationist studies. The first scholar to suggest a division in three categories was Barbara M.H. Strang, Professor of English Language and General Linguistics, who in her *A History of English* published in 1970 divided communities into three kinds: community of A-speakers, referring to places like United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa where English is the peoples' mother tongue. Communities of B-speakers identifying places such as Asia, especially India, and the former British colonies in Africa where English is not necessarily a native language, but is learnt from early childhood, and where it holds a special status as academic and business language for both international and national purposes. Finally, there are communities of C-speakers, namely places where English is a foreign language, and its study is required without holding any official status nor traditions.

Variants of Strang's tripartite model have been published later on. For example, this tripartite categorisation of speakers was reclaimed by Görlach (1991) who, however, added a fourth category. In his *Englishes* (1991), he made a distinction between ENL, 'English as a Second Dialect' (ESD), ESL and EFL. According to him, ENL is used almost dominantly by a linguistic community in different registers and styles (Görlach, 1991), ESD, is the English variety used in spoken and informal contexts which differs from the prestige standardised forms, and is to be found in Scotland, Caribbean, West Africa and part of the South-West Pacific (Görlach, 1991). ESL can be found in countries in which it is used intranationally mainly "in the schools and universities, law and administration, as a book language and, in varying proportions in newspapers, on radio and television" (Görlach, 1991: 13). In EFL communities English is almost exclusively acquired through education and its use, which is much less frequent, is limited to internal functions with the exception of tertiary education and individual specialised domains, such as, for example, banking.

This division was later adopted by Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik's (1972) (McArthur, 1998) who developed one of the most influential models which, however, became well-known thanks to McArthur (1998), who presented it, sixteen years later, in his *The English*

*Languages*. McArthur systematised the three categories introducing the labels ‘English as a Native Language’ (ENL), ‘English as a Second Language’ (ESL) and ‘English as a Foreign Language’ (EFL). According to both Quirk et al. (1972) and McArthur, English is spoken as a native language in the United States, Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the Caribbean and South Africa; as a second language, “that is, language necessary for certain official, social, commercial or educational activities within their own country” (Quirk, 1972: 3), in India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Kenya and many other Commonwealth territories and former British colonies, where English is spoken only by a small portion of people; as a foreign language, in countries in which English is spoken only by few people and mainly for “communication across frontiers or with people who are not his countrymen: listening to broadcasting, reading books or newspapers, commerce or travel, for example.” (Quirk, 1972: 3).

### ***Kachru’s (1985) Three Circle model of World Englishes***

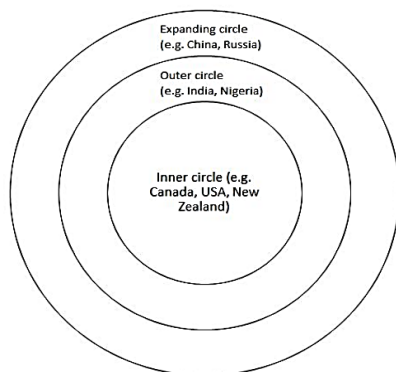
A variant of Quirk’s (1972)/McArthur’s (1998) tripartite model (McArthur, 1998) is Kachru’s (1985) Three Circles Model (3CM) of World Englishes which later became “the most influential model of the spread of world Englishes” (Jenkins, 2003a: 17). Kachru’s division of English-speaking communities into three circles namely, Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle (Figures 1 and 2) first appeared in detail in the paper *Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle* (Kachru, 2005). The difference among the three circles, which largely correspond to the ENL/ESL/EFL categorisation (Schneider, 2007), and thus the difference among the three kinds of communities, lies in the ways English spread (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018), in the different roles it plays in specific contexts and the users’ attitudes towards the language (Kachru, 1985a) according to the “various linguistic, political, socio-cultural, and economic circumstances that might exist for a certain group of language users” (Pung, 2009: 9).

In detail, in the Inner circle countries Kachru inserts all those nations in which English is spoken natively, such as United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and where it is the primary (Kachru, 1985a) official language and the mother tongue of the majority of the population. These countries have developed proper norms, and for this

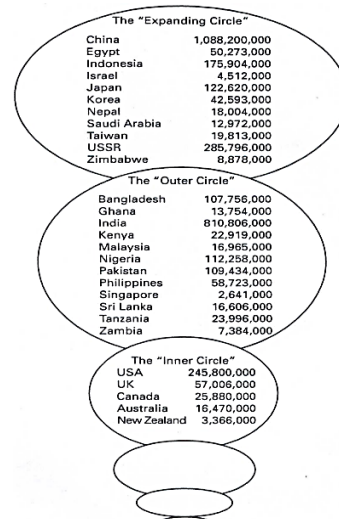
reason are endonormatively oriented being also standard “norm-providing varieties” (Kachru, 1985a: 17) for other countries<sup>2</sup>.

In the Outer Circle, Kachru includes all those bi-/multilingual countries in which English is spoken as a non-native and additional language such as India, Nigeria, and Singapore in which it has acquired an important status (Kachru, 1985a) and has also been declared co-official language. During the colonial and postcolonial period, in these communities, English has been nativized and in numerous cases it has also gone through the endonormative stabilization process, such as in many Asian and African areas, mainly India (Bolton, 2006: 293), with the establishment of new varieties of English. In the Outer circle, speakers are “norm developing” and their deviances from the standard norms should be considered ‘innovations’ rather than ‘errors’ (Kachru, 1983: 43-45; 2006a [1992]: 120-122).

The Expanding Circle includes countries in which English is spoken as a foreign language and it has not official status. The majority of these countries has not necessarily a colonial history (Kachru, 1985a; Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018) and generally, English is only used for international purposes with its functions being restricted to international communication. In this circle, users are typically exonormatively oriented towards the Inner Circle varieties, mainly BrE and AmE (Bruthiaux, 2003; Mollin, 2006) which are generally recognised and accepted as linguistic standard of reference (Schneider, 2003), for which they are also named “norm-dependent varieties” (Kachru, 1985a: 17) and their ‘deviation’ (Kachru, 1965: 396-398) from the standards are considered errors depending uniquely on imperfect knowledge of English as a foreign language (Edwards, 2016).



**Figure 1** Kachru's (1985) Three Circles Model of World Englishes. The Three concentric circles.



**Figure 2** Kachru's Three Circles Model of World Englishes, retrieved from Kachru, 1992d: 356.

<sup>2</sup> The term ‘norm’ is indeed used to refer to the “conformity with the usage of the majority of native speakers” (Kachru, 1983: 31; 2006: 108) of StdE forms.

Kachru's (1985) model has been "convenient and popular" (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018: 32) and extremely useful in WEs studies. For over two decades, it has been the dominant model in the study of WEs (Pung, 2009). It is still today the much-cited (Jenkins, 2000) and it continues to be largely adopted, at least in its terminology, by WEs scholars. It has the merit of being a first attempt to present the English language in its global dimension (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018) having illustrated the unprecedented diversity in the spread of English and the consequent typology of varieties that arose (Pung, 2009). In addition, "it had the great merit of highlighting the non-monolithic nature of English and recognizing the status of non-native varieties of English (especially those in the Outer Circle)" (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018: 281, see also Schmitz, 2014; Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018) increasing the awareness of their potential and prestige (Bruthiaux, 2003).

However, although its merits, its strong influence, and usefulness, the 3CM "is not without its problems" (Jenkins, 2003a: 17, see also Schmitz, 2014). Indeed, many contradictions with the Kachruvian paradigm itself (Pung, 2009) and many limitations can be highlighted when applied to the new linguistic landscape. Many critiques regarding the effectiveness of the model have been picked up by scholars such as Graddol (1997, 2000) and Yano (2001), and more recently Jenkins (2003b), Bruthiaux (2003), and Schneider (2003), Buschfeld (2013), among others, who "address very similar points" (Pung, 2009: 3) all agreeing that, today, mainly due to changes in the current use of English (Jenkins, 2003a) the 3CM has already "outlived its usefulness" (Bruthiaux, 2003: 161).

In detail, comments are the following: firstly, "the Three Circles concept is a nation-based model that draws on historical events which only partially correlate with current sociolinguistic data" (Bruthiaux, 2003: 172). In other words, the model excessively emphasises on the geopolitical and historical spread of English (Kachru, 2005; Pung: 2009) and seems to be too tied to political-historical issues pursuing a "quasi-political mission" (Schneider, 2007: 13) while lacking sociolinguistic data which instead are necessary to have a more truthful and comprehensive description of English in the world (Pung, 2009: 2). Indeed, it is "based on geography and genetics rather than on the way speakers identify with and use English" (Jenkins, 2003a, 17-18) showing, thus, little explanatory power (Bruthiaux, 2003).

Secondly, Kachru's (1985) model is too strict and superficial since it does not present the heterogeneity of speech communities and it does not take into consideration possible variations within each variety. Specifically, it does not offer a clear distinction between ESL and EFL (Schneider, 2007) and it appears too static since it does not consider hybrid mixes or emerging varieties. In addition, it considers neither the possible presence of dialectal forms (Bruthiaux,

2003) nor the possibility of the presence of bi-/multilingual speakers, using different languages depending on the functions they have to fulfil in their society (Jenkins, 2003a), let alone indication of proficiency of speakers (Bruthiaux, 2003; Jenkins, 2003a). The model, instead, implies that the situation is uniform for all countries within a particular circle whereas this is not so (Jenkins, 2003a).

Thirdly, the 3CM does not function either for ELF (Bruthiaux, 2003) or for English for Special Purposes (ESP) (Jenkins, 2003a) and it does not capture other cases of languages of wider communication (Bruthiaux, 2003).

Fourthly, it is too static (Schneider, 2003; Buschfeld, 2014a) since contrary to the Kachruvian paradigm according to which the circles “cannot be viewed as clearly demarcated from each other” (Kachru, 2006b [1985]: 243), in its graphical representation it actually does not permit shifts from one circle to the other or diachronic developments (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018) leaving thus “a grey area between the Inner and Outer Circles” (Jenkins, 2003a: 17-18) as well as between the Outer and Expanding ones, and it is also imprecise since “the exact criteria for inclusion in any of these categories are not always clear” (Schneider, 2003: 237).

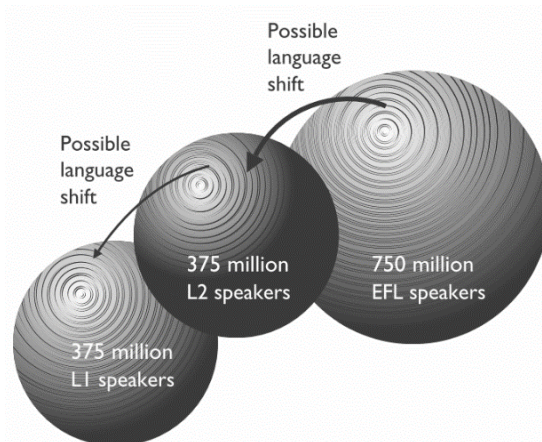
Lastly but not less importantly, although not explicitly suggested by Kachru (Pung, 2009: 17), the model “makes a subtle implication of a hierarchy of circles and thus varieties” (Pung, 2009: 10-11) with an allusion to the centrality and superiority of native or second-language contexts. Even “the term ‘Inner Circle’ implies that speakers from the ENL countries are central to the effort” (Jenkins, 2003a: 17-18) and suggests an idea of a privileged group (Pung, 2009). Indeed, Kachru mainly devoted his studies to the varieties of English that became “acculturated in many ‘un-English’ sociolinguistic contexts” (Bolton, 2006: 250) of the Outer Circle especially in many African and Asian countries but did not consider the Expanding circle and its EFL speakers (Yano, 2001). Contrary, the model “creates and perpetuates a taboo surrounding Expanding Circle Englishes” (Edwards, 2016: 4) and more than this it does not present a clear definition of what exactly constitutes an Expanding Circle variety (Bruthiaux, 2003).

### ***Graddol's (1997, 2000) Three Circles of English overlapping***

In an attempt to overtake the limitations of Kachru's (1985) 3CM, some scholars such as Graddol (2000 [1997]) and Yano (2001) among others, have proposed a revision and modification of the model (Pung, 2009).

Similarly to what Kachru (1985) had proposed, Graddol (2000 [1997]) subdivided users into three categories. The first difference concerns the labels used. Graddol no longer talks about Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle speakers, but he also devised three categories of speakers which he preferred referring to as L1, L2 and EFL speakers (Graddol, 2000 [1997]). Each of them has a different connection with the English language: L1 speakers are those who live in countries where the dominant culture and language is English, and they are native English speakers. L2 speakers, instead, use English as a second or additional language, "placing English in a repertoire of languages where each is used in different contexts" (Graddol, 2000 [1997]: 10) and have the opportunity to choose between a local form of English and international varieties (Graddol, 2000 [1997]). Finally, EFL category includes speakers who are learners of English as a foreign language.

A more important modification was linked to an alternative way of graphically representing these three communities of speakers (Graddol, 2000 [1997]). Following the Kachruvian paradigm, Graddol recognises the possibility of "ongoing shifts in the status of English" (Graddol, 2000 [1997]: 11) in many parts of the world, and thus represents the three categories of speakers subdivided into three circles with an overlapping that highlights the fact that the 'centre of gravity' (Hundt, 1998: 96) could possibly shift from EFL speakers towards L2 speakers and from L2 speakers towards L1 ones (Figure 3).



**Figure 3** Graddol's Three Circles of English overlapping, retrieved from Graddol, 2000 [1997]: 10.

With this graphical representation, Graddol succeeded in further developing what was not fully developed by Kachru (1985) who only announced that the circles can have several shared characteristics, and that “the status of English in the language policies of such countries changes from time to time. What is an ESL region at one time may become an EFL region at another time or vice versa” (Kachru, 1985a: 14). However, although less static than Kachru’s (1985), also this model has some limitations. First of all, no explanation about the modality in which these overlaps operate is given (Pung, 2009) and secondly, it is too strict since, not properly in line with the Kachruvian paradigm, the overlaps’ direction is one-way and it does not consider possible shifts in the opposite direction (Pung, 2009). Thus, while Graddol foresaw the possibility of a possible shift from EFL to ESL status, he does not take into consideration the fact that English could reduce its importance over time and that, for example, an ESL can reduce its status to an EFL (Schneider, 2007) as it happened with English in Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2003) and in the Philippines (Llamzon, 1986). “Graddol’s modification thus fails to improve on the explanatory powers of the 3CM and even manage to contradict the Kachruvian paradigm regarding the shifts of speakers” (Pung, 2009: 45) still leaving a ‘grey area’ between circles (Jenkins, 2003a: 17-18).

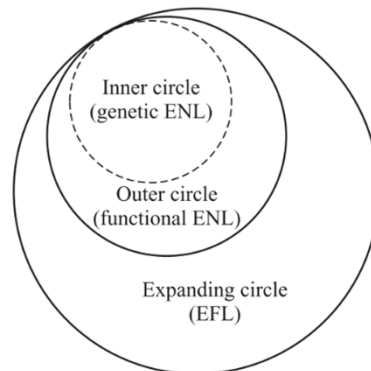
### ***Yano’s (2001) revision of the 3CM and the three-dimensional parallel cylindric model of World Englishes***

Another attempt of modifying Kachru’s (1985) 3CM was Yano’s (2001). Yano started from the awareness that English has changed over the past and still today continues to modify itself coming in contact with other languages. Indeed, “[s]preading at the present rate, English will further increase its importance as the global lingua franca in this [XXI] century” and this “will accelerate the ramification of English into varieties in the ESL [...] regions” (Yano, 2001: 119) where “it is predictable [...] English will develop in ways which reflect local indigenous cultures and languages, diverging from the variety spoken in Britain or North America” (Yano, 2001: 120). Starting from this concept, it was then necessary to redefine “what the inner circle is” (Yano, 2001: 122) in relation (no longer in neat opposition) with the outer circle. Yano’s main idea is that ESL can consider themselves as ‘native’ speakers of English as well (Pung, 2009) and for this reason he does not see a neat differentiation between native speakers and non-native speakers (Yano, 2001). Conversely, starting off from Kachru’s concepts of ‘genetic’ and ‘functional nativeness’ (Kachru, 2005: 12, see also Yano, 2018) he specifies that ESL



speakers can be labelled ‘functionally native speakers’ while EFL speakers might be termed ‘functionally semi-native speakers’.

Trying to convert this belief graphically, he considered it necessary slightly modify Kachru’s model which, as seen, showed a neat separation between Inner and Outer circles. As shown in Figure 4, Yano’s modification of the model is characterised by a dotted line in place of the solid line used to separate the Inner Circle from the Outer Circle in order to illustrate the lability of this distinction (Yano, 2001).



**Figure 4** Yano's modification of the 3CM, retrieved in Yano, 2001: 122.

As evident, even if Yano claimed that “it is possible that some EFL speakers can also become functionally ESL speakers” (Yano, 2001: 123) explaining this possibility in terms of ‘functional nativeness’ (Kachru, 2005: 12), his model, similarly to other models of that time, did not take into consideration a possible blend of the Outer into the Expanding Circle. The two circles indeed continued to be represented as distinct as they already were in Kachru’s 3CM. This represents a big limit of this model in its application to the current situation of English worldwide since also EFL speakers, today, are highly exposed to English which is “used daily in media, business, professional discourse, higher education, and other international communication along with the mother tongues (and a few other languages)” (Yano, 2001: 123).

Thus, because of its strictness in considering Outer and Expanding circles as neatly different categories without considering cases in which EFL contexts are shifting towards functionally native contexts, and for the fact that it is still too tied to the 3CM structure, Yano’s modification of Kachru’s model is “still deficient” (Pung, 2009: 47).

Taking all this evidence and specifically starting from the consideration that “the concentricity of the three circles which indicates the idea of the native speaker-centeredness can be removed”, in the same article, Yano (2001) built “a more radically different model” (Pung, 2009: 47) in which, imagining all the varieties of English “on a parallel with each other”

(Yano, 2001: 123), he depicted the English language situation worldwide “as an equal-sized cylinder with no distinction between ENL, ESL, and EFL” (Yano, 2001: 123) (Figure 5).

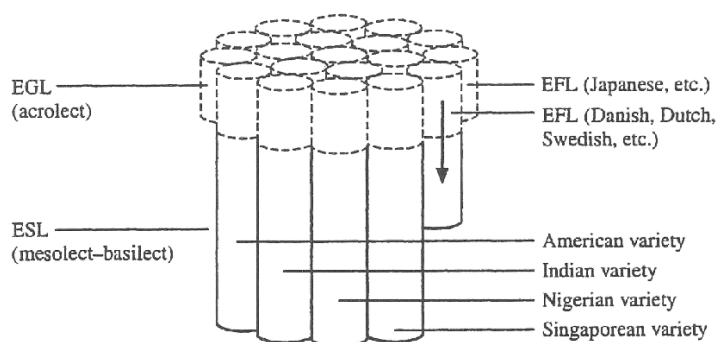


Figure 5 Yano's (2001) model, retrieved from Yano, 2001: 124

In this graphical representation, which is also one of the first attempts of constructing a three-dimensional model (Pung, 2009), Yano distinguished two major groups: at the top there are EGL (English as a Global Language) varieties, including all EFL varieties, with English used as an international language of communication, while at the bottom there are ESL varieties with English used as a native and domestic language. These two categories are divided by dotted lines suggesting that the separation is weak (Yano, 2001) and that an EFL variety could shift towards an ESL status.

This second alternative model built by Yano (2001) going beyond the native/non-native dichotomy and representing a more blurred distinction between the three categories of ENL, ESL and EFL (Edwards, 2016) seems to promote a more “egalitarian conception of world Englishes” (Onysko, 2016a: 216).

### 1.3 Models for the study of Standard and non-standard English

#### 1.3.1 Language tree models

##### *Strevens' (1978) family tree of English*

In the article *English as an international language – When is a local form of English a suitable target or ELT purposes?*, Strevens (1977, 1978) presented the family tree of the English-using communities model. In a branched style, Strevens (1977, 1978) displayed different forms of English geolocated worldwide with a unique common source English on top (Onysko, 2016a).

In his definition, a ‘form of English’ is “that particular constellation of dialect and accent with a particular accompanying array of varieties, having affinities with either British or American English, which is current in a given English-using community” (Stevens, 1978: 28). Stevens then considered BrE and AmE as the two main branches of English, from which other branches depart giving rise to local forms of English. In detail, seven main branches generate from BrE and only two from AmE namely USA and Canadian English. In turn, other local forms of English develop from these and so on (Figure 6).

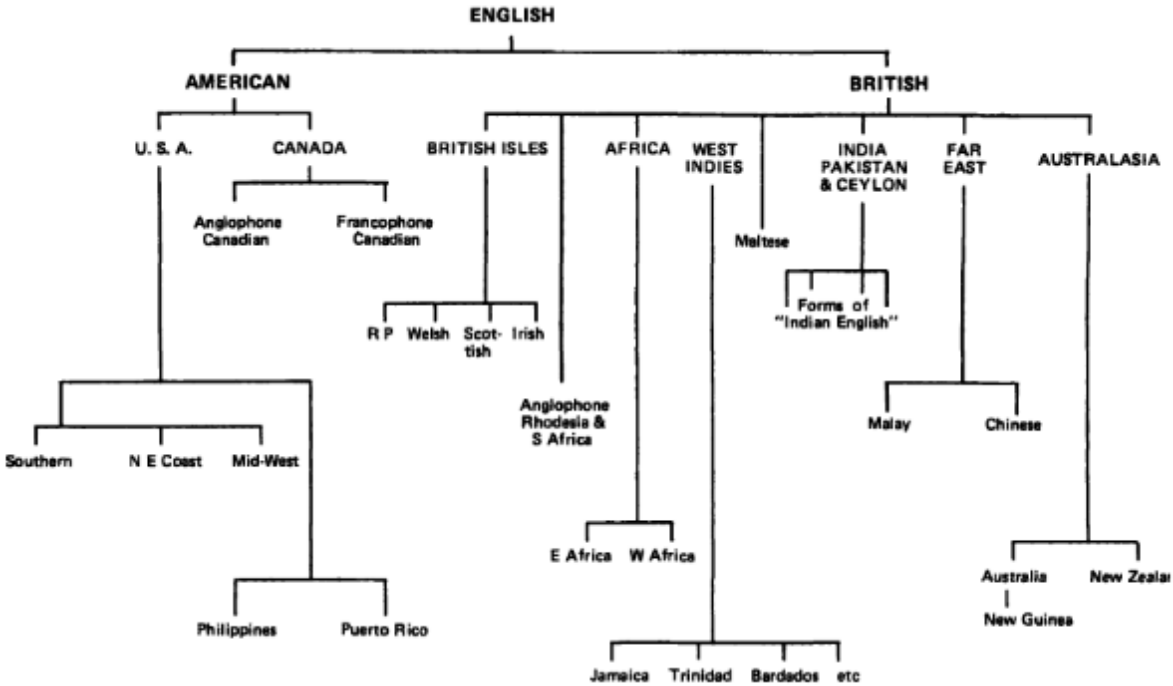


Figure 6 Stevens' (1977, 1978) Family tree of English-using communities, retrieved from Stevens 1978: 33.

Through this “diagrammatic form as a ‘family tree’ of English” (Stevens, 1978: 27) Stevens showed that affinities between BrE and AmE and among the various forms of English exist on the basis of two main factors: geographical and socio-political ones (Stevens, 1978). He clarifies that “a given English-using community does not exist in a vacuum” but, on the contrary, “it normally exhibits similarities with other forms of English in the same geographical area, and it displays socio-political affinities with other forms of English” (Stevens, 1978: 27). This would explain, for example, why ‘West African English’ is much more like ‘East African English’ than AuE (Stevens, 1978).

In opposition to the tripartite models, Strevens identifies only two categories of WEs: one spoken by L1 speakers with English being the mother-tongue, and the other spoken by L2 speakers with English being a foreign language (Strevens, 1978). The former are spoken in countries which are mainly monolingual and do not serve as educational models. The latter are forms of English which develop in multilingual settings becoming, at one point, “embedded in the native socio-cultural and linguistic matrix of the area where they are used” (Strevens, 1978: 29). In those areas, English acquires importance, and is used for a number of functions (Strevens, 1978). EFL countries are excluded by Strevens, since “English has no special presence or role” (Strevens, 1978: 30) in those areas to the point that no local L2 form of English can develop (Strevens, 1978).

Strevens’ (1977, 1978) family tree model seems clearly outdated and not applicable to the current situation. It emphasises the historical, geopolitical, and genetic aspects of the spread of English, resulting in a too hierarchical representation of WEs, while there is no doubt that “the expansion of English today is fundamentally transnational, disregarding the language’s origins and going far beyond the earlier ‘native speaker’ centeredness” (Schneider, 2014: 28). In addition, it is too much England/American-centred since it “reflects the main forces for the spread of English in terms of colonialism and territorial interests of Britain and the US” (Onysko, 2016a: 198) while, today, English spreads worldwide for reasons which are other than colonialism.

### 1.3.2 The wheel models

#### *McArthur’s (1987) Circle of World English and Görlach’s (1988, 1990) Circle Model of English*

As observed by Meierkord (2012) and Schneider (2017), both McArthur (1987) and Görlach (1988, 1990) proposed two models with a “hub-and-wheel design” (Schneider, 2017: 41) showing a standard form of language at the core of the wheel and non-standard forms including regional and dialectal varieties of English along the spokes.

As for McArthur’s (1987) Circle of World English model (Figure 7), it is graphically conceived as a wheel in which the variety he labelled ‘World Standard English’ is placed in the hub, while the numerous local Englishes such as Hong Kong English, Ghanaian English, Indian English (IE), etc. are positioned all around the spokes, including also English-based pidgins and

creoles such as Tok Pisin or Guyanese. Between the hub and the spokes there is an intermediate belt in which McArthur inserts those varieties which can be named ‘regional standards’ (Meierkord, 2012: 20) namely British and Irish Standard English, American Standard English, Canadian English, Caribbean Standard English, African standard(ising) English, South Asian Standard(ising) English, East Asian Standard(ising) English, Australian, New Zealand and South Pacific Standardised English.

This model, whose main purpose was “to highlight the broad three-part spectrum that ranges from the ‘innumerable’ popular Englishes through the various national and regional standards to the remarkably homogeneous but negotiable ‘common core’ of World Standard English” (McArthur, 1987: 11) has the major value of having depicted “the complex web of relationships among the elements of World Englishes” (McArthur, 1987: 11).

One year later, Görlach (1988) presented his ‘Circle Model of English’ (Figure 8). In a similar fashion to McArthur, Görlach placed the “International English’ (IntE) in the hub while all around the spokes there are “regional/national standards”, “dialects, ethnic E (creoles), semi-non-standards” including “pidgins (creoles), mixes related languages” (Schneider, 2017: 43). However, where it differs is in the fact that Görlach added a second belt (Meierkord, 2012) in which he placed “subregional ENL-ESL semi-standards”, so that his model appears even more complex (Schneider, 2017: 43).

Further than the very similar graphical structure (Figures 7 and 8) and the idea of a core standard and international variety of English, what the two models have in common is the tendency of the various local Englishes to converge towards regional and, eventually international standards (Meierkord, 2012) and the fact that they both see “the usage of English as international or world language as emerging from the shared forms of all speakers of Englishes in the world” (Onysko, 2016a: 199). Both models are surely “useful visual representations which illustrate the relationship between standards (close to the core and smaller in number) and varieties (increasingly regionalized and nonstandard, more numerous)” (Schneider, 2017: 43). However, focusing only on standardness, they totally ignore local varieties emerging in places where English is an unofficial language and where it is used as a foreign language. Thus, these two models do not account, for example, for English as spoken in Germany (Schneider, 2012; Kautzsch, 2014), Japan (Meierkord, 2012) or Egypt (this work) as well as in many other EFL countries.

Unfortunately, this is a sever limit which invalidates the use of these two models for the study of the current situation of English in the world.

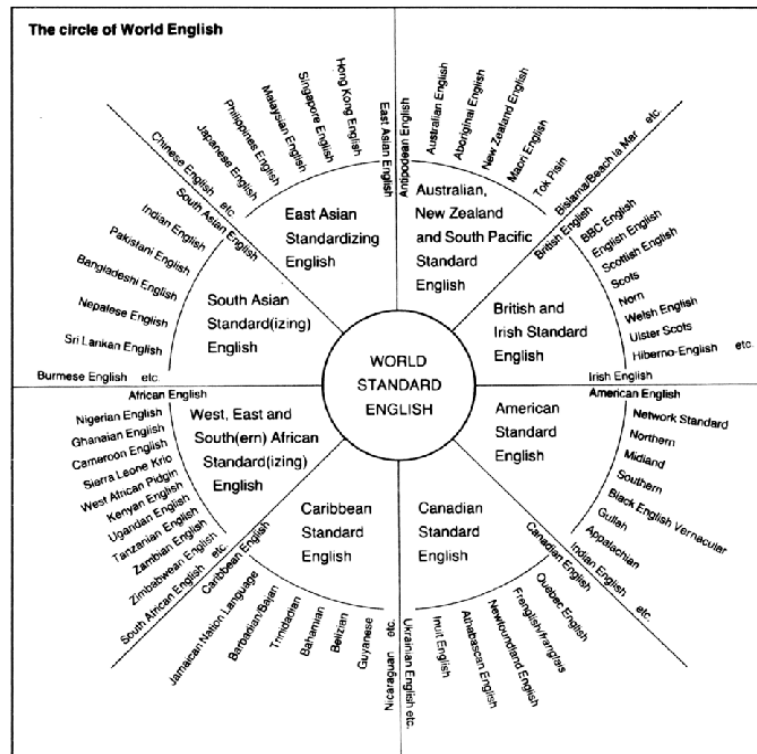


Figure 7 McArthur's Circle of World English, retrieved from McArthur, 1987: 11.

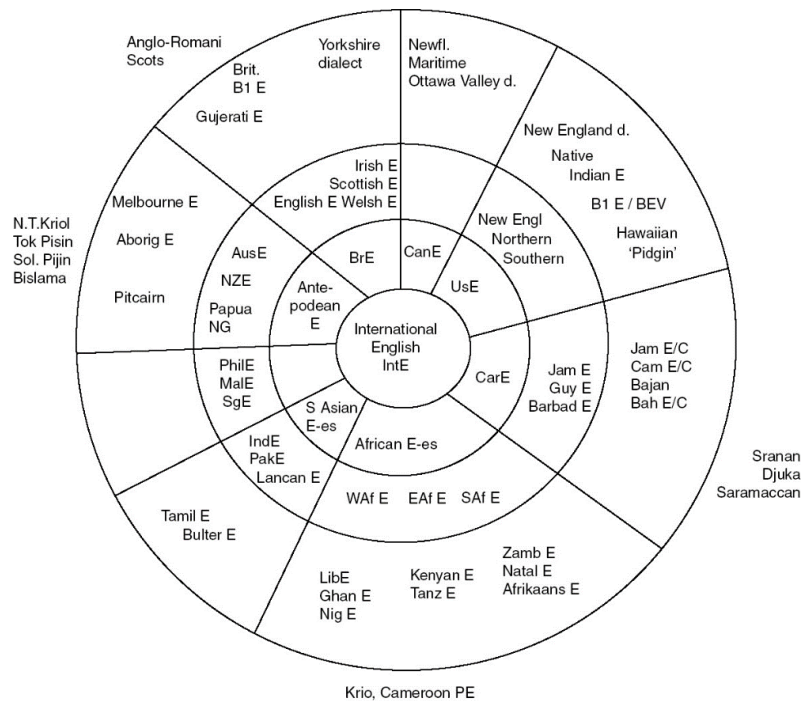
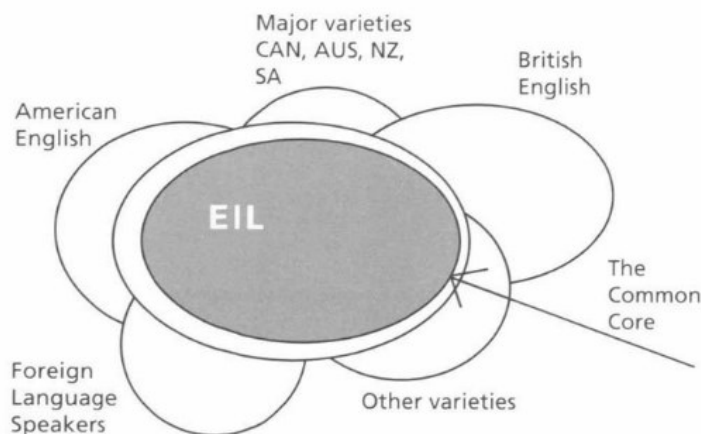


Figure 8 Görlach's (1988) Circle Model of English, retrieved from Meierkord, 2012: 21.

### 1.3.3 The centripetal circles model

#### *Modiano's (1999) English as an International Language model*

The concept of a 'common core' developed by McArthur (1987) and Görlach (1988, 1990) was adopted by Modiano (1999a, 1999b) who, in 1999, in his article *International English in the global village*, proposed the 'English as an International Language' (EIL) model. As shown in Figure 9, similarly to the two previous models, Modiano places EIL at the centre, surrounded by local standards such as BrE, AmE, to which he seems to give particular prominence (Meierkord, 2012: 22), and other major varieties such as CanE, AuE or NZE. What is new is that contrary to McArthur's (1987) and Görlach's (1988, 1990) models, EIL model includes also 'Foreign Language Speakers' and even an additional category labelled 'Other varieties' (Meierkord, 2012: 22) which makes it more open and flexible.



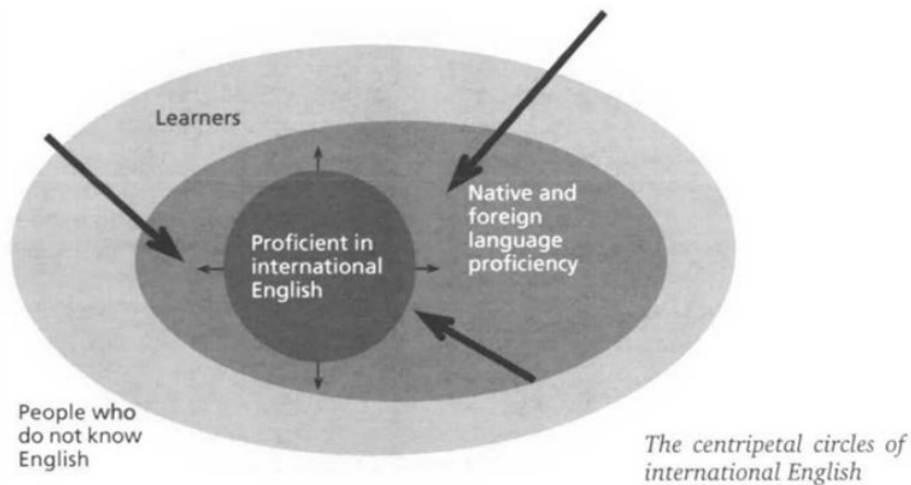
**Figure 9** Modiano's (1999) English as an International Language model, retrieved from Modiano, 1999b: 10.

Structurally, more than to McArthur's (1987) and Görlach's (1988, 1990) wheel models, the EIL model is similar to the 3CM since it is composed by three centripetal circles (Figure 10). Nevertheless, it is conceptually very distant. For example, while for Kachru nativeness in the English language was the fundamental criterion for speakers belonging to the Inner Circle, according to Modiano the central circle is instead represented by proficient speakers of EIL, not necessarily L1 speakers. This circle could include proficient ESL or even proficient EFL speakers who believe that learning English as an international language is "a gateway to greater cooperation and understanding between peoples from divergent cultural backgrounds" (Modiano, 1999a: 26).

The second circle, which seems partially to correspond to Kachru (1985) 3CM Outer Circle, is composed by speakers of English who have achieved varying degrees of proficiency in a variety which is no longer the internationally used one. This group is indeed reserved to

native or non-native speakers who speak regional dialects or have a strong accent, as well as to users of indigenised varieties and creoles who are not intelligible to EIL speakers.

The third category, similarly to Kachru's Expanding circle, is composed by learners of English who are studying English to achieve a good EIL proficiency or, at least, proficiency in one of the local English varieties or accents.



**Figure 10** Modiano's (1999) English as an International Language model, retrieved from Modiano, 1999a: 25.

As evident, Modiano focuses on language proficiency defined as “the ability [to comprehend English and] to generate comprehensible English” (Modiano, 1999b: 25). The immediate result is a classification of speakers into three groups: those who use the language in an internationally intelligible manner, those who use the language only locally and in a manner that is not comprehensible outside the local boundaries, and those who are learning English to become proficient. These three categories are not fixed and Modiano specified that members of the second and third circles, could acquire a better proficiency in English over time to the point out that they could move and shift towards the first circle. Yet, Modiano considered only improvement in proficiency while he overlooked possible worsening in the language skills of a speaker with a consequent move backward from a more inner towards a more external circle.

Since in Modiano's view “the value of moving into EIL when communicating cross-culturally is equally valid for native and non-native speakers” (Modiano, 1999a: 26) the EIL model seems to be more egalitarian and less static than Kachru's 3CM (Modiano, 1999a). Nevertheless, despite being more democratic, Modiano's model is still inadequate for the study of the current spread of English in Expanding circles since it does not explain how, and through



what process a shift from one circle to the other can occur. In other words, a sociolinguistic dimension is absent.

### 1.3.4 The English complex models

#### *Mesthrie & Bhatt's (2008) English Language Complex*

In 2008, in the volume *World Englishes. The study of New Linguistic Varieties*, Mesthrie and Bhatt presented the 'English Language Complex'(ELC) previously suggested by McArthur (2003) who in 2003 wrote:

The idea of such a complex helps one cover, but also get beyond, such issues as 'English', the name of a European people, 'English', the sole language of that people, 'English' the language of places around the world influenced by that people, and 'English' the world's lingua franca. The idea of a complex also helps me handle the term 'English' as shorthand for both 'Standard English' and 'English literature', and to manage the occurrence of 'English' with innumerable attributives: 'British English', 'American English', 'Irish English', 'Indian English', 'New York English', 'London English', 'Oxford English', and of course 'Euro-English', maybe 'Nordic English', and maybe even 'Finnish English'.

(McArthur, 2003: 56).

The ELC include "all subtypes distinguishable according to some combination of the history, status, form and functions" (Meierkord, 2012: 3). Starting from this, Mesthrie and Bhatt divided varieties of English in:

- *Metropolitan standards*: originally uniquely applicable to Standard BrE but today extended to Standard AmE (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).
- *Regional dialects*: varieties distinguishable on the basis of regional variation with metropolis and colony. For these varieties, "A rule of thumb is that the older the settlement of English speakers, the firmer the regional differentiation within the language" (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 4). These include dialects of the UK and USA.

Mesthrie and Bhatt, specified that these first two groups, which largely correspond to Kachru's (1985) Inner Circle, are composed by English mother tongue speakers.

In addition, they identify ESL and EFL varieties. The former is considered as composed by varieties that develop in countries where English was introduced through colonialism such as in Sri Lanka, Nigeria, or Kenya where English is even used in creative writing; the latter is thought as composed by countries in which English influence is only external "rather than via a body of 'settlers'" (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 5), and in which it is used almost uniquely in

international rather than intranational domains being excluded as a tool for the production of literature.

The list of subtypes still continues as follows:

- *Colonial standards*: standard varieties developed as a consequence of British colonialism. This group includes Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and Zambia which are also referred as ‘extraterritorial Englishes’ or ‘colonial standards’. These forms of standards are not fully accepted as such by their speakers which, instead, are oriented towards metropolitan standards. However, although not recognised, “[t]oday colonial standards are much more prominent” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 4)
- *Social dialects*: defined as “varieties within a region along the lines of class and ethnicity” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 4). For example, the case of Cockney working-class dialect in opposition with the Received Pronunciation (RP) of the upper-class.
- *Pidgin Englishes*: This group comprises English-based pidgins like West African pidgin English defined as varieties that arise from trade and other colonial contacts.
- *Creole Englishes*; fully developed varieties formed by the mixing of different linguistic sources. An example is Jamaican Creole.
- *Immigrant Englishes*: distinct varieties which have developed as a consequence of migration of people towards English dominant countries. This includes, for example, Chicano English of the USA.
- *Language-shift Englishes*: varieties that emerge when English replaces the primary language of a community. This occurs through some developmental stages involving adult and child L1 and L2 speakers.
- *Jargon Englishes*: varieties characterised by a great individual variation and instability which can later acquire stability and become pidgin.
- *Hybrid Englishes* or ‘bilingual mixed languages’: these are varieties of English developed in places where the local language enters in contact with English and which are characterised by code-mixing (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 6).

As evident, ELC is a detailed and valuable list of varieties of English. However, it is not without limitations when applied to the situation of English today and its spread in Expanding contexts. Indeed, on the one hand, Mesthrie and Bhatt overtly claimed that “the boundaries of terms are fuzzy, so that some Englishes may have overlapping memberships” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 9). In detail, they observed that “the trend towards globalisation in economics, communication and culture has made EFL prominent in places like China, Europe, Brazil”

(Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 5), Egypt and in many other territories of the South Africa (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) and Europe, especially in the Nordic countries (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) to the point that “[t]he distinction between ESL and EFL [...] must be taken as a soft boundary” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 8). On the other hand, the ELC model still does not allow either clear positioning of current cases of Expanding area varieties or clear information about possible shifts inwards also leaving the question of possible reversible shifts open and unsolved (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). In addition, it emphasises on ‘products’ rather than ‘processes’ (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 7) lacking thus of proper sociolinguistic information about a varietal development.

### ***Mair’s (2013) World System of English model***

In his article *The World System of Englishes: Accounting for the Transnational Importance of Mobile and Mediated Vernaculars*, “in order to better represent and understand the complex relationships obtaining between varieties of standard and non-standard English” (Mair, 2013: 253) in the current ‘English Language complex’ (McArthur, 2003: 56, see also Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008), Mair developed a new theoretical model, based on the sociologist Abram de Swann’s (2002, 2010) World Language System (WLS) presented for the first time in Coupland’s (2010) *Handbook of Language and Globalization* (de Swaan, 2010) with the aim of depicting the dynamics of multilingualism and language shift in a globalising world” (Mair, 2013: 260). De Swann presented a hierarchical stratification of six/seven thousand languages divided into four layers, namely the *hyper-central language*, considering English as the unique and most important language in the world and metaphorically defined “the hub of the World Language System” (Mair, 2013: 260); the *super-central languages* such as French, Portuguese, Spanish, Russian, Hindi, Arabic, Mandarin, Malay which are other transnationally important standard languages; the *central languages* such as German, Dutch, Finnish, Korean, Wolof, Quechua, among others, which are official in the nations in which they are spoken; and the *peripheral languages* comprising most of the languages (more than 6000) which have no demographic weight and no institutional support, and which even lack a stable writing system or media presence.

In a similar fashion to Mesthrie and Bhatt’s (2008) ELC, and on the trail of de Swaan’s (2002) model, Mair (2013) proposed his ‘World System of English’ (WSE) later relabelled ‘World System of Standard Englishes’. In this model, in the same hierarchical division, he presented different varieties of English: at the top of the list, in accordance with McArthur

(1987) who had stated that although “[t]he roots of the language remain unaffected [...] the centre of gravity of English, in terms of population and economics, is now in North America” (McArthur, 1987: 9), Mair identified the Standard AmE as the unique “*hub*” (Mair, 2013: 261, see also Mair, 2016) even at “the risk of causing offence to British readers” (Mair, 2013: 260), meaning that, today, it “represents the ultimate target of acquisition for speakers of other varieties of English” (Onysko, 2016a: 203) and “is a potential factor in the [their] development” (Mair, 2013: 262).

The hyper-central language is then followed by *super-central* varieties of English, including other standards such as Standard BrE, AuE and InE, and no-standards such as JaE whose users, particularly among the elite, are supposed to have a high command of and familiarity with English as well as with other language varieties (Mair, 2013). These, in turn, are followed by a large group of *central* varieties such as the standards NZE, CanE, SLE and GhaE and the non-standard varieties such as Northern English or US Southern which are typically urban-based and contemporary regional vernaculars (Mair, 2013) and by another larger group of standard and non-standard *peripheral* varieties (Figure 11).

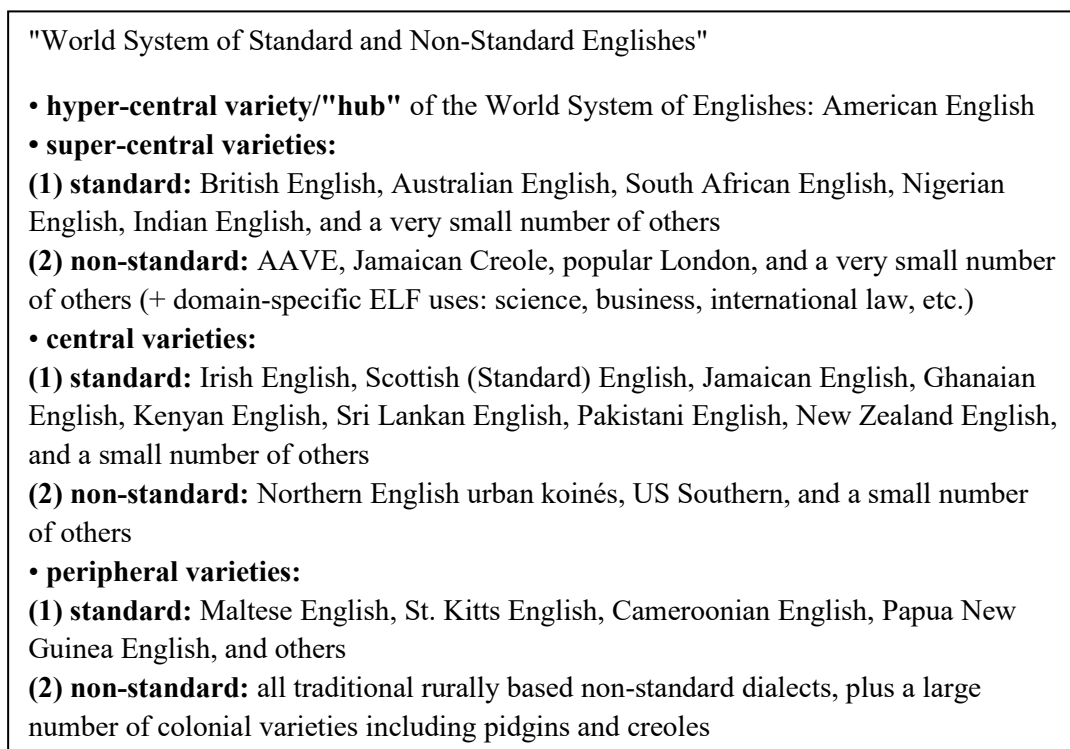


Figure 11 Mair’s (2013) World System of Standard and non-Standard Englishes, retrieved in Mair, 2013: 264.

This model illustrates the situation of Englishes in the world and in Mair's (2013) opinion, it "allows us to refine the useful notion of the "English language complex". It makes it more inclusive by integrating versions of vernaculars, and it warns about complex and sometimes unexpected hierarchies, both on the standard and non-standard levels" (Mair, 2013: 278). In other words, its innovations lie in the inclusion of standard and non-standard, as well as of native and non-native varieties of English, and in the identification of differential power among non-standard varieties of English, particularly among the PCEs (Mair, 2013) which allows it to be also connected "to the research agenda of the emerging sub-field of the sociolinguistics of globalisation" (Mair, 2013: 278).

Despite its detailed description of varieties of English, the WSE has many limitations. First of all, the attribution of the label 'hub' uniquely to AmE, with the consequence that the legitimacy of being the unique standard norm is given only to the AmE variety, is questionable. Indeed, if on the one hand, it seems true that AmE is today the most prevalent model among speakers of English (Gilquin, 2018) due to the fact that "economic globalization is controlled by the US-type market principle" (Yano, 2001: 119, see also Crystal, 2003) and that the US, with the AmE variety being the mother-tongue of its people, "has been the major force in international developments in science and technology in the twentieth century" (Yano, 2001: 125), which allows it to "continuously spread its tentacles all over the globe" (Simo Bobda, 1998: 14 cited in Gilquin, 2018: 189), on the other hand, the great importance of BrE, especially in the education system worldwide, is not to be underestimated (Grzega, 2005). In order to be the unique hub, AmE, apart from being influential through economic affairs and relations and through the internet, media, and popular culture, it should be also the preferred model in all ESL and EFL classroom, replacing BrE in this function. Bestowing this linguistic monopoly to AmE, this model results to be too hierarchical and excludes the existence of a possible other 'standard global hub varieties' which could exert potential influence on other varieties (Mair, 2013: 262).

Secondly, as Mair (2013) recognised, it is not clear where some varieties such as the educated usage by small communities such as Malta, Bahamas, Fiji, etc. are to be placed (Mair, 2013), which makes this model still imprecise.

Thirdly, the model still appears too static since the possibility of a status change is not mentioned. In addition, it does not take into consideration either "a great deal of variation [that] exists and should be taken into account in the model" (Gilquin, 2018: 211) or sociolinguistic information about local contextual factors, and also more general factors such as demographic

weight, and institutional support such as officialization and/or codification of varieties (Gilquin, 2018).

Lastly, and more interestingly, in the same fashion of Mesthrie & Bhatt's (2008) model, there seems to be no room for emerging new varieties such as the one detected in Gibraltar (Weston, 2011), in Cyprus (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011), in Germany (Schneider, 2012: 70; Kautzsch, 2014), in the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), in Sweden (Hult, 2003), Denmark (Preisler, 2003), just to mention but a few. It is not clear where to place them, whether in the peripheral group or elsewhere. If we try to position them in the peripheral group another problem rises since they cannot be considered either "standard" or "traditional rurally based non-standard dialects" or much less "colonial varieties" since the majority of them had not a colonial historical background.

The result is that Mair's model, while focusing its major attention on the question of the standard in opposition to non-standard varieties, provides neither basis for the inclusion of Expanding settings nor sociolinguistic details about their developmental process.

## **1.4 Models for the study of the evolution of postcolonial and non-postcolonial varieties**

### **1.4.1 The dynamic models**

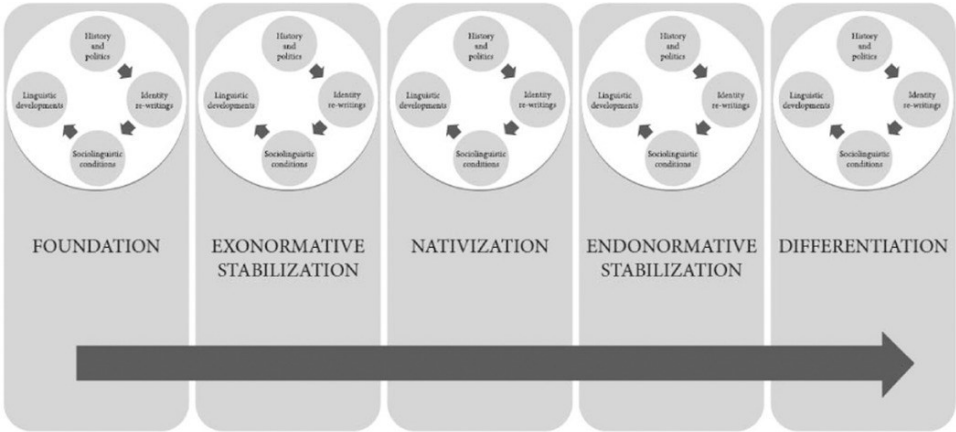
#### ***Schneider's (2003-2007) Dynamic Model of the Evolution of Postcolonial Englishes***

Schneider's (2003-2007) 'Dynamic Model of the Evolution of Postcolonial Englishes' (DM) was built on the basis of Moag's (1992) 'Life Cycle of Non-Native Englishes' which was considered a developmental model since it was characterised by the description of a process, rather than of fixed categories and circles. The process described goes from the transportation of English to a new environment towards other phases, namely indigenisation, expansion in use and function, institutionalisation and ultimately the decline of a new variety of English (Moag, 1992). Similarly, Schneider's (2003; 2007) model, which became one of the most referred to and the most prominent for the study of post-colonial varieties of English, is based on five-phases namely foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization, and differentiation (Schneider, 2003, 2007, 2014) seen from the viewpoint of the two parties involved in a colonisation process namely colonisers (the STL strand) and the colonised indigenous people (the IDG strand) (Schneider, 2003). Thus, first with Moag (1992)

then, and more precisely with Schneider, we witness a shift from a synchronic towards a diachronic approach in the study of WEs (Schneider, 2007; Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018).

In the DM, apart from the five phases above mentioned, Schneider also points out four interconnected parameters that are repeated in each phase. These are the socio-political background, the identity construction, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic structural consequences (Schneider, 2007). These four parameters are regarded as being mutual consequences one of the other so that the socio-political and historical events related to British colonialism affect the identity of the settlers and the indigenous communities. In its turn, the new identity construction is crucial for the development of specific sociolinguistic features which finally result in the emergence of specific linguistic effects (Schneider, 2003, 2007, 2014). This developmental process must be seen as applicable for all PCEs which indeed “accounts for many similarities between them and appears to operate whenever a language is transplanted” (Schneider, 2007: 29, see also Llmazon, 1983).

Due to its one-dimensionality and its “inability to graphically express variation within varieties and proficiency in the particular varieties” (Pung, 2009: 55), Schneider’s (2003, 2007) DM “does not provide a graphical model in the same sense as that provided by [...] the 3CM” (Pung, 2009: 47, 52-53) and by all other models seen, “but does provide a basis for a model” (Pung, 2009: 47). It was only in a more recent time, that a visual display was proposed by Buschfeld, Hoffmann, Huber & Kautzsch (2014) (Figure 12).



**Figure 12** A graphical representation of the Dynamic Model, retrieved from Buschfeld, Hoffmann, Huber & Kautzsch, 2014: 6.

The DM became one of the most cited models in WEs research. It has been discussed by many scholars (Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018) and widely applied to 17 case studies of Inner and Outer countries (Schneider, 2014), including the US, Australia, New

Zealand, Fiji, Malta (Thusat et al., 2009), Hong Kong (Evans, 2009, 2014), India (Mukherjee, 2007), Malaysia, South Africa (Bekker, 2009; Spencer, 2011), Philippines (Bautista, 2010; Pefianco Martin, 2014), Gibraltar (Weston, 2011), Ghana (Huber, 2012; 2014), Kenya, Nigeria (Ugorji: 2015), Barbados, the Republic of Palau (Matsumoto & Britain, 2015), among others (Schneider, 2014). Indeed, one of its strengths lies in its being applicable to a large number of varieties of the outer but also inner-circle (Melchers & Shaw, 2011) thus including them in a unique framework (Van Rooy & Terblanche, 2010: 358) doing “an excellent job of capturing the historical similarities between territories” (Weston, 2011: 365) which have a similar but meanwhile different “back story” (Weston, 2011: 365).

However, although its “robustness and adaptability” (Edwards, 2016: 7), and although being “truly ‘dynamic’” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 36) and despite its numerous advantages and its usefulness, some critics have recognised weaknesses in this model. The first regards its linear progression from phase to phase. Indeed “the model has a predictive aspect - that a variety at phase  $n$  is likely to proceed to phase  $n + 1$  (and not skip a stage in between)” while varieties do not necessarily go through each of the stages, but contrary, as occurred with many varieties of English in West Africa, “it seems possible [...] that a territory could move from phase 3 to 5, bypassing phase 4” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 35). Thus, as Schneider (2007) himself claimed, phases “cannot be regarded as a checklist of ‘necessary and sufficient conditions’” (Schneider, 2007: 310) and as he reiterated seven years later, the distinction in five phases should be seen as “hardly ever clear-cut” since “the stages and their defining criteria may be overlapping to some extent” (Schneider, 2014: 11) and “one may expect to find cases in which features characteristic of consecutive stages arise concurrently” (Schneider, 2003: 272).

Secondly, and consequently to the description of developmental phases, DM is charged of being tied to the concept of evolution in the Darwinian sense since it gives the idea that some varieties are more evolved, and thus superior, than other varieties (Pung, 2009: 54).

Thirdly, despite Schneider’s efforts to relate variation to social classes (Schneider, 2003: 239) and despite his account for the multilingual setup of countries and their linguistic heterogeneity (Schneider, 2003: 243), the DM has also been criticised for its underestimation of aspects like status and class ignoring the “large gap between the middle-class varieties of New Englishes and their [...] basilectal counterparts” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 36).

A fourth weakness regards its strong emphasis on the identity construction, central in both Kachru and Schneider’s models of Englishes (van Rooy & Kruger, 2018), with “identity [...] conceived very much as a ‘public’ concept in terms of nationhood” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 35). Indeed, in the DM, “it is the central claim [...] that identity constructions and realignments,



and their symbolic linguistic expressions, are [...] at the heart of the process of the emergence of PCEs” (Schneider, 2007: 28).

More interestingly, the fifth major “theoretically under-developed aspect of the Dynamic Model” (Weston, 2011: 365) which was detected in more recent times, regards the fact that it “explicitly relates to Postcolonial varieties” (Schneider, 2014: 16), for which it was expressly designed (Edwards, 2016), consequently excluding the emerging and non-postcolonial contexts of the Expanding area (Schneider, 2014). This raises the question as to whether this model is equally able to explain the process of evolution of Englishes in the Expanding countries (Schneider, 2014) as it does for postcolonial contexts of the Outer area nations, even if they are all countries with no or insignificant colonial history (Edwards, 2011; Buschfeld, 2013; Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017). Nevertheless, out of this reflection, it has already been applied to expanding cases such as Thailand (Kirkpatrick 2010; Bennui & Hashim, 2014), Japan (Ike, 2012), China (Kirkpatrick, 2007) and South Korea (Schneider, 2014).

Its validity and applicability for the analysis of new emerging varieties in non-postcolonial Expanding countries have been recently discussed and questioned by scholars such as Bongartz, Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2010) who, starting from the assumption that the general mechanism operating on the development of all WEs is essentially the same (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017), believe that the model still “accounts for many of the forces which need to be covered for a description of PCEs and non-PCEs alike” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 22) and for this reason they see it as “flexible enough to integrate forms of English which have not arisen from (post)colonial contexts” (Buschfeld, 2013: 76, see also Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2020). Thus, trying to keep the DM alive and accepting Schneider’s (2007) suggestion of “further testing [the DM] against global realities” with “further refinement” (Schneider, 2007: 273), they adapted it to non-postcolonial ‘emergent contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) such as Cyprus (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011; Buschfeld, 2013, 2014), Germany (Schneider, 2012; Kautzsch, 2014), and Namibia (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) by suggesting some modifications and adjustments (Kautzsch: 2014, Buschfeld, 2013).

However, their optimistic view was reduced when trying to extend its use to non-PCEs they faced some problems. These limitations are listed in Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017: 111) in four points: firstly, since “the crucial difference [between postcolonial and non-postcolonial territories] lies in the fact that the first type of territories has experienced (British) colonization, while the latter has not” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 111), a colonial background is missing in the emerging new Englishes; secondly, and as a consequence of the first observation, in non-PCEs the ‘Event X’ (Schneider, 2003: 250, see also Schneider, 2014; Spencer, 2011; Buschfeld,

2011) which is responsible for the foundation moment is not colonialism. In that case, a foundation moment, intended by Schneider (2003, 2007) as the moment in which “English is established in a new territory by colonial expansion, brought by migrant functionaries and settlers” (Schneider, 2014: 11), is not present (Schneider, 2014), as well as a ‘differentiation’ phase (Schneider, 2014) since a diverse modality of language contact is experienced. Indeed, while in PC territories English was brought by colonisers and was concretely transplanted in the new territory, in non-PC territories English has never been transplanted (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) but it was introduced in more indirect and abstract way through globalisation. This explains why in non-PCEs contacts with the English language are slower (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017). Thirdly, non-PC communities lack the STL perspective (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) so that linguistic contacts with the IDG strand are missing. They sometimes even miss the prototypical IDG strand as in the case of Gibraltar (Weston, 2011) where the indigenous population left. As a consequence, the exonormative stabilization phase in non-postcolonial communities occurs in a different fashion (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018). Lastly, since the main two characters of language contact in postcolonial territories, namely the STL and the IDG strands, are missing, there is not “assimilation of identity construction between the two groups” (Edwards, 2016: 7 citing Buschfeld, 2011: 31) and the development of identity constructions (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018) occurs differently. The identity construction, thus, is a parameter which comes later in the varietal developmental process, and which is decisive for the ultimate acceptance of that variety on its right.

Since the use of the DM results problematic when applied to case of emerging varieties in areas which had never been subjected to a British or American colonial power (Pung, 2009) or in which colonialism has not been the key factor for the emergence of a new variety of English, it was finally clear that the model works uniquely on the basis of the colonial experience (Pung, 2009). Hence, being completely centred on colonisation as the driving force behind the spread of English (Edwards, 2016), the DM appears to be inadequate and inappropriate to “fully grasp the complex realities of today’s global status and spread of the English language” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 104) whose position is driven by other dynamics (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) which are other than colonialism. Taking all this for granted, other more moderate scholars such as Weston (2011) who analysed the case of the ‘less prototypical’ postcolonial English (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121) in Gibraltar, Edwards (2016), who first attempted to apply the DM to the case of English in a European non-PCEs, namely the Netherlands, and Schneider (2014) himself who reflected on the applicability

of his models to non-PCEs, concluded that, even if these new emerging cases are characterised by “both the breach and the observance of the Dynamic Model” (Weston, 2011: 361) with the presence of some of its elements (Edwards 2016), the model is not appropriate to “examine some of the ways in which the [English] language exists in other [than postcolonial] parts of the world” (Sergeant, 2012: 155) and believing that modifications would end up “render[ing] the model so fundamentally altered as to necessitate a new one” (Edwards 2016: 159), they directly suggest and/or explore the possibility to directly create an entirely new model designed for varieties that developed and still are emerging “in a missing (post)colonial background” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 112-113).

In line with this, also in this work it is believed that applying or shaping the DM to Expanding area varieties would mean denaturalising it and forcing it towards realities that it was not originally intended for (Schneider, 2014; Edwards, 2016). Thus, in order to “do justice to different realities in different countries” (Kautzsch, 2014: 224), including Expanding ones, it would be more appropriate to leave it and its extreme success to the study of PCE varieties and to create a new framework for varieties that develop through other means different from colonialism.

### ***Schneider’s (2014) Transnational Attraction model***

In his article *New reflections on the evolutionary dynamics of world Englishes* published in 2014, Schneider revised the DM in order to investigate whether the mechanisms responsible for the development of PCEs also accounted for varieties of the Expanding area in which English spread through means other than colonialism, and mainly through globalisation. As seen in the previous paragraph, in agreement with Pung (2009), Edwards (2016), Buschfeld (2013) and Kautzsch (2014), Schneider’s (2014) conclusion is that “[i]n essence, the Dynamic Model is not really, or only to a rather limited extent, a suitable framework to describe this new kind of dynamism of global Englishes” (Schneider, 2014: 27-28) in the Expanding area where “what is happening [...] is distantly related to what the Dynamic Model describes” (Schneider, 2014: 9). Recognising the importance and the strength of ‘English in emerging contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) Schneider explains that “[m]ore systematic attention of research needs to be devoted to the Expanding Circle and these [the current] vibrant processes” (Schneider, 2014: 28). For this reason, Schneider (2014) also approves the idea that a new model is needed (Pung, 2009; Kautzsch, 2014; Buschfeld, 2013), a model that contrary to the “colonisation-driven Dynamic Model” (Edwards, 2016: 190) is able to describe the currently emerging non-

postcolonial contexts and more generally the current linguistic dynamism in Expanding communities (Schneider, 2014).

On the basis of the new condition of English worldwide, and in order to overcome and compensate the lack of attention the DM pays towards new emerging varieties in the Expanding area, Schneider (2014) has introduced the conceptual model of ‘Transnational Attraction’ (TA) which must be seen as a globalisation-driven (Edwards, 2016) supplement or extension of the DM (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017). He explains,

The vibrant dynamics of world Englishes today is driven strongly by the ‘Transnational Attraction’ of English. In many countries and to an enormously large number of individuals all around the globe English serves as a tool and symbol of modernization, globalization, and economic prosperity.

(Schneider, 2014: 28)

The two terms ‘transnational’ and ‘attraction’ refer to the two concepts of ‘transnationality’ and ‘attractiveness’. The former, is closely associated with globalisation (Lo Bianco, Orton & Yihong, 2009 cited in Schneider, 2014: 28), and emphasises on the idea that the spread of English is due to global pragmatic economic motivations with the English language becoming “a linguistic gateway” (Schneider, 2011: 341) and a “stepping-stone toward prosperity” (Schneider, 2014: 28), as well as “a symbol of modernity” (Schneider, 2014: 28) which allows learners of English to improve their status, not only economically (Kachru, 2005, see also Mollin, 2006), but also socially, and intellectually (Ho, 2008; Schneider, 2011; Schneider, 2014) and eventually enjoy a “better life” (Schneider, 2011: 196). The latter indicates that, being English such a powerful and prestigious language, it is ‘attractive’ for speakers in the ‘global village’ (Modiano, 1999a) who “are striving to approximate [it]” (Schneider, 2014: 28).

Among TA’s strong points are replacing the traditional WEs vision of varieties restricted to one category and accounting for the English language “as practice or activity [...] that transcend national borders” (Edwards, 2018: 182, see also Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Heller, 2008; Pennycook, 2010). However, although its significance, even if it actually “grasp[s] the vibrant developments of the Expanding Circle” (Schneider, 2014: 9) and even if “[t]he concept of Transnational Attraction is appealing and powerful” it is also “rather generic, [and] not suitable for explaining details and different facets” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 40). Firstly, the TA model focuses uniquely on the pragmatic and instrumental reasons behind the use of English (Edwards, 2018) describing English as a “mere” instrument for economic success, a commodity that allows users to be connected with the global market

and culture. This is reductive, since commodity and utility of the language are only some of the factors leading to the diffusion of English inside a country. In addition, focusing on globalisation is limiting as well, since once English has spread inside a territory, it no longer remains a simple global product, but, at a certain point, it is indigenised and becomes a local, or maybe ‘glocal’ product (Pennycook, 2010) being used for both internal and external reasons. Indeed, as Edwards (2018) asserted,

English enters countries [...] for reasons that are often (but not always) economic in nature [...]. But once entrenched, it does not remain foreign. Rather, it is territorialized so as to serve the purposes of local meaning-making and identity construction.

(Edwards, 2018: 182)

Thus, the TA is certainly valid to explain the motivational and socio-economic reasons why English is used in an Expanding territory, but it does not account for explanations of the process leading to the potential development of English(es) in the areas.

Besides, the separation between globalisation- and colonisation-driven models operated by Schneider does not take into account overlapping cases (Edwards, 2016; Biewer, 2011) ignoring, for examples, countries with a colonial (or quasi-colonial) history but in which English is spreading through globalisation tools instead.

Moreover, it does not solve the problem of a missing model for the study of current Expanding area varieties. Indeed, far from being a proper model it is rather a ‘simple’ “conceptual framework” (Edwards, 2018: 165), whose aim is integrating Expanding area varieties in the WEs framework.

In conclusion, Schneider’s suggestion still sounds “unsatisfactory”, “simple and premature” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 113) and in accordance with what Edwards (2016) claimed, it is possible to state that “this newly proposed framework needs more detailed elaboration” (Edwards, 2016: 190). Thus, the concern to elaborate a more adequate model for a complex reality such as the current spread of English as the language of globalisation (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) and which could include the emerging varieties of the Expanding area integrating PCEs and non-PCEs in a unified framework (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) remains still open.

### ***Buschfeld and Kautzsch’s (2017) Extra and Intra Territorial Forces Model (IEF model)***

Despite all the efforts “to bridge the gap between realities of English worldwide and adequate theoretical frameworks” (Deshors, 2018: 6) to the new global context, even the latest models

proposed, such as Schneider’s TA, seems to be inadequate, not really comprehensive, and still “in their infancy” (Deshors, 2018: 6).

In order to describe more faithfully the complexity of English varieties in the globe (Deshors, 2018) and, in the meantime, compensate the lacks of DM and account for problems linked to its applicability for the study of non-PCEs or ‘less prototypical’ PCEs (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121), Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017), proposed the ‘Extra and Intra Territorial Forces Model’ (IEF model) whose main aim is to find “a solution that integrates PCEs and non-PCEs in a unified framework” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 113, see also Buschfeld, 2013, 2014; Davydova, 2012; Edwards, 2016).

As showed in Figure 13, this model is structurally built on Schneider’s DM (2003, 2007). In the same fashion, it is characterised by five phases whose labels have been slightly simplified, generalised, and readapted for the study of the Englishes of globalisation. These are foundation, stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization and differentiation. Still in line with Schneider’s DM it is based on four parameters which have been re-envisioned and re-proposed with no modifications (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017).

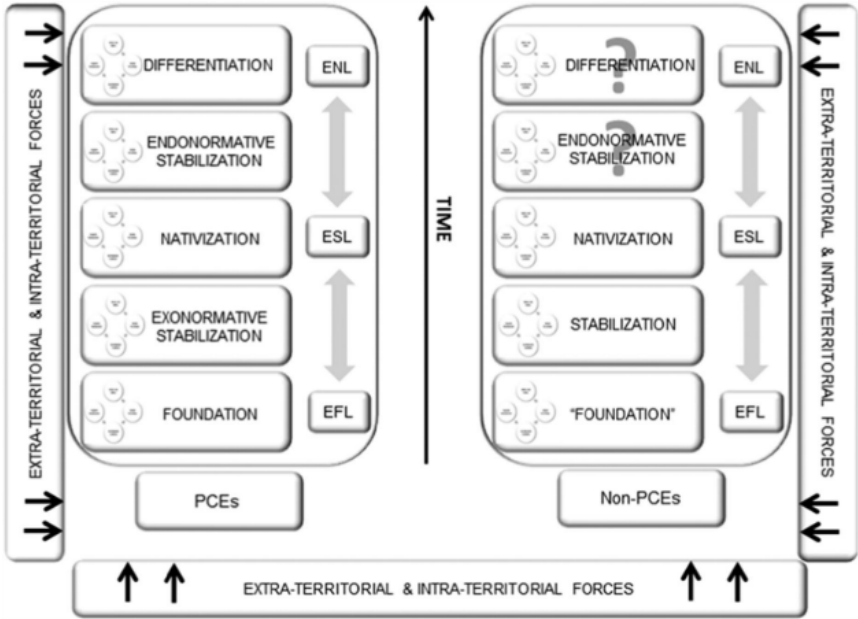


Figure 13 The Extra- and Intra- Territorial Forces Model (EIF), retrieved in Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 117)

The main strength of this model consists of the individualisation of not only Extra-territorial forces, which are driven by “any factor entering the country from the outside” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 113) but also Intra-territorial forces, defined as “such that mainly operate on a local, that is, national or regional, level and therefore influence the cultural and

linguistic development from within” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 113). Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) wrote:

the term extra-territorial suggests, it is the global realities such as global power politics or popular culture which determine linguistic hegemonies, more precisely which language or variety thereof is dominant and thus exerts influence on other languages and varieties at what times. And at the same time, the intra-territorial forces such as the language policies of a country determine to what extent a country officially admits foreign language influence [...] even though there is a limit to such internal control in times of globalization with communicative borders between countries being blurred by, for example, the Internet. [...] the attitudes of the population towards the English language play an important role as an intra-territorial force, as well.

(Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 115)

The idea of both internal and external forces working during the developmental process of a variety of English is not a totally new concept in WEs studies as it was formerly presented by Lowenberg (2000), then resumed by Jenkins (2003, 2007), who refers to both international and *intranational* functions (Jenkins, 2007) of English in Outer communities but also in certain countries of the Expanding area such as Japan, Egypt, and Spain (Lowenberg, 2000). However, prior to the creation of the EIF model, it has been ignored by other models (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017). Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) show that both forces are constantly at work throughout the development of both PCEs and non-PCEs (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) and becoming the predominant factors contributing to the cultural and linguistic influence among languages (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017). In detail, they base their model on five subcategories both of extra- and intra-territorial forces (Figure 14):

1. Colonisation (extra) / attitudes towards colonisation (intra) include feelings such as national pride and resistance against foreign rules or acceptance of them.
2. Language policies (both extra and intra) whose external forces might come from the work of institutions like the British Council, from TOEFL or from a prescriptive attitude. This can include factors such as the development of teaching curricula, the introduction of bilingual school programs or the introduction of English as the tool of instruction.
3. Globalization (extra) / ‘acceptance’ of globalization (intra) include on the one hand, linguistic and, also cultural influences coming from the Internet, US popular culture, media, and trading relations between countries, and on the other hand, the acceptance of this global influences inside the territory.
4. Foreign policies (both extra and intra), forces that could manifest themselves through decision on war, treaties, and diplomatic relations from outside the countries or made by

the country itself which could increase the need for an international language (Seargeant, 2012).

5. Sociodemographic background of a country (mostly extraterritorial but with clear intra-territorial dimensions), a factor including the demographic development of a country (number of inhabitants, ethnic distribution, the average age of a society, etc.) which might affect the linguistic development and the spread and use of English in a country (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017).

Extra-territorial Force	PCE	Non-PCE	Intra-territorial force	PCE	Non-PCE
Colonization	✓	X	Attitudes towards colonizing power	✓	X
Language policies	✓	✓	Language policies / language attitudes	✓	✓
Globalization	✓	✓	'Acceptance' of globalization	✓	✓
Foreign policies	✓	✓	Foreign policies	✓	✓
Sociodemographic background	✓	✓	Sociodemographic background	✓	✓

**Figure 14** An overview of extra- and intra-territorial forces, retrieved in Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 114

According to Buschfeld and Kautzsch, internal and external forces constitute the starting point for the transplantation of English to a territory (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) and “may replace the missing STL strands by creating language contact scenarios that differ from those to be found in postcolonial territories in their modes of interaction but still may lead to similar linguistic results, namely, structural nativization” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121). In doing so, they also succeed in overtaking the problem of the lack of a foundation phase and the lack of a STL strand which certainly miss in a non-colonial setting where no settlement is established and where there is not an external colonizing power (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017).

According to its same creators, another major contribution of this model is to have presented, for the first time and in sharp contrast with earlier models (Deshors, 2018: 6), a more integrative approach which includes non-postcolonial varieties of English (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017, 2020) and which demonstrates “without [however] obscuring the obvious differences between the two types” (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018: 39) that both PCEs and non-PCEs go through the same process of development. In detail, the factors postcolonial and non-postcolonial settings share are “language policies, language features, language in education, attitudes to English, English and identity, and language in use” (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018: 39, see also Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2020). They see only two main differences between PCEs and non-PCEs: the first is the driving force leading to the spread of English in the two types of territory and more specifically, they observe that “the role of colonization in PCEs appears to



be adopted by globalization and its different manifestations in non-PCEs” (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018: 39). In other words, while colonisation was the main driving-force for the origin of PCEs, globalisation is the main medium through which non-PCEs are developing today. The second difference between PC varieties and non-PCEs is the strength of linguistic effects, since in non-PC communities, where the contact does not take place thanks to a direct encounter, the linguistic influences are less strong (Britain, 2002: 609; Fischer, 2013; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) also because “no urgent need develops for the local community to learn English for direct communicative purposes” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 116).

However, this model has some internal contradictions too. First of all, Buschfeld and Kautzsch’s more “recent trend to view the concepts of EFL and ESL as two poles on a continuum rather than dichotomic constructs” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 113, see also Biewer 2011; Bongartz & Buschfeld 2011; Gilquin & Granger 2011; Buschfeld 2013) seems not to be properly illustrated in the graphical representation of the model. Indeed, if on the one hand they theoretically specify that “the EIF model does not picture the three categories as clear-cut and distinct from each other; instead, transitions from one category to the other are possible at all time” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 24) and that they should be regarded “poles of the same continuum” (Buschfeld, 2014a: 189), on the other hand, they still graphically illustrate the old categorizations of EFL-ESL-ENL representing them as distinctive and separated as they appeared in the old models based on the older tripartite categorisation.

Secondly, with the extra- and intra-territorial forces duality, on the one hand, Buschfeld, and Kautzsch remedy “the whole range of problems researchers have encountered when applying the Dynamic Model to non-PCEs” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121) but, on the other, they emphasise only the functions and domains in which English is used across countries and inside a country neglecting other important aspects and factors leading to the spread of English in a territory, such as, the context of use (formal or informal). For example, English could be introduced and used as the language of instruction in the local schools of a country as a consequence of pro-English internal linguistic and educational policies (which even implies a local positive attitude and acceptance of the English language). However, this will not automatically mean that all students will choose to use it in both formal interaction during classes and in their everyday informal communication with classmates inside and outside the classroom. Consequently, the fact that English is used intranationally does not automatically mean that it will spread in informal contexts in that community. It would be more productive to observe in which sociocultural contexts it is used, and with what degree of naturalness and

spontaneity it is spoken in everyday informal interactions. Thus, the criterion of internal use of English, although being a fundamental one, is not sufficient in itself.

Thirdly, while claiming that in non-PCEs there is not an external colonising power (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017), the first subcategory Buschfeld and Kautzsch propose is properly “Colonization (extra) / attitudes towards colonization (intra)” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 113). In addition, by claiming that in current times, the division of varieties of English between EFL and ESL is no longer so strong, and that both categories are developing similar sociolinguistic features (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018) to the point that they can be studied through a unique integrative approach, they are explicitly equating non-PCEs with PCEs, which indeed, according to them, can be studied through the same model and described through the same process. In this fashion, while claiming that globalisation has become the new ‘driving-force’, they still seem to give a strong importance to colonial reasons as a factor leading to the emergence of new varieties and this allows to claim that the EIF model is still not completely free from the link with colonisation, with the result of being a new victim of the ‘colonial trapping’ (Edwards, 2016: 187).

Lastly, and more generally, in the attempt of resolving problems of applicability of Schneider’s (2003, 2007) model on non-PCEs they give rise to a predictable modification and readaptation of Schneider’s DM to which it remains too tied in its structure, with the consequence of becoming a sort of forced and simplified version. In detail, what could be criticised, is the maintenance of the five consecutive phases which had already been evaluated negatively in the DM, since they highlight a linear progression, almost an obligatory passage from phase to phase, without the possibility to bypass a stage in between (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

### **1.5 Preliminary conclusions**

This chapter has presented the major models so far proposed in the WEs research underlining their strength and their weakness in relation to their adaptability for the study of new emergent varieties of English in the Expanding area.

The first types of models described were those based on the nativeness paradigm (Schneider, 2007) and on the tripartite distinction between ENL, ESL and EFL theorised by Quirk’s (1972)/McArthur (1998) and between Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle presented by Kachru (1985). Scholars agree that these tripartite models have become outdated (Sergeant &

Tagg, 2011) mainly for five reasons: firstly, they propose a too strict and static categorisation in which all the countries are seen as monolithic entities; secondly, “it seems clear that both of the tripartite models abstract fairly strongly from complex realities” (Schneider, 2017: 40-41) ignoring details of the sociolinguistic reality and categorise varieties “along fairly generic lines” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 16) taking no notice of significant sociolinguistic parameters such as the diastratic, diatopic, diaphasic and diamesic ones. Thirdly, they largely ignore internal variability (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018) and do not account for the presence of highly mixed varieties in many states such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Kenya, South Africa, etc. or the presence of pidgins or creoles in others such as in Africa or the Caribbean (Schneider, 2017). Finally, what has highly contributed to make these models simple obsolescent categorisations (Schneider, 2017) is the fact that they are not able to capture “the vibrancy of recent developments” (Schneider, 2017: 40-41) to which not enough weight is given (Schneider, 2017). The tripartite models make only a minor contribution to making sense of the current configuration of English worldwide (Bruthiaux, 2003: 161) and “ignores certain facets of [current] complex realities” (Schneider, 2007: 12) such as the existence of EFL varieties sharing similar acquisitional moments, similar linguistic strategies, or developmental features of ESL ones (Edwards, 2016; Biewer, 2011; Buschfeld, 2011; Götz & Schilk, 2011; Schneider, 2012; van Rooy, 2011).

Thus, “although these models have been influential and useful” (Schneider, 2017: 41) they “simply ignore a large number of varieties of English around the world” (Schreier, 2013: 150) “either because they are not labelled or because the areas where they are spoken are not considered” (Schreier, 2013: 152) and the fact that English is “continuously moving, expanding and growing into new regions, functions and application domains” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 16) with the consequent emergence of new potential language contact situations also beyond the Outer Circle. For this reason, they need to be revised and supplemented (Schneider, 2017). As shown in this chapter, Kachru’s (1985) was the most discussed and re-elaborated model in the course of WEs studies. Indeed, in order to “improve the model’s explanatory power” (Pung, 2009: 4), many scholars have explored the possibility of modifying it. Graddol (1997) and Yano (2001), among others, proposed a theoretical and graphical revision, introducing arrows or dotted lines in order to better meet the Kachruvian paradigm according to which “there is no sharp divide between [...] Circles” (Kachru, 2005: 214) and to better account for the idea that fixed boundaries cannot be delineated neatly since, over the time, possible changes can occur depending on the local language policies and attitudes towards the language (Kachru, 1985a). However, despite their attempts to defend and make

Kachru's model more adequate to the real situation of English worldwide, their theoretical and graphical solutions still presented a static view of the English varieties' categorisation. Scholars, thus understood, that it was necessary "a call for a [totally] new model to replace the 3CM" (Pung, 2009: 2). This possibility of creating a totally alternative model (Pung, 2009: 3) was welcomed by Yano (2001) who, in his cylindric model of WEs, represents a hazier distinction between the three categories of ENL, ESL and EFL (Edwards, 2016; Buschfeld, 2011) attributing to all world Englishes a more democratic conception (Onysko, 2016a).

The second type of models described are those based on the standardness paradigm. These include McArthur (1987) and Görlach's (1990) Circle models which later inspired the IEL model by Modiano's IEF model (1999a; 1999b), the old Strevens' (1978) language tree model, as well as Mesthrie & Bhatt's (2008) classification of the English Language Complex which later was resumed by Mair (2003) in the more recent World System of English Model. What all these models have in common is the recognition of a main (or more than one) standard variety serving as 'the hub', the most prevalent form among speakers of English (Gilquin, 2018) used as a model to follow worldwide. A discussion of the concept of standardness has been avoided here as it will be addressed in the next chapter. However, since a standard form is an official and well-established form (Mair, 2013) it is *a priori* clear that these models, each of them in a different style and graphical format (wheels, language tree, list of language different typologies), do not include cases of new emerging varieties of the Expanding countries which are still characterised by an unofficial status and by an undefined linguistic form. This clearly and automatically make them excluded from the standard/non-standard dichotomy. Perhaps, among all these the most inclusive and flexible model is Modiano's (1999a: 1999b) which also considers the existence of 'Foreign Language Speakers' and an additional more open category labelled 'Other varieties' in the system of WEs represented in concentric circles (Meierkord, 2012: 22) all converging towards an international use of English. Modiano also includes both "native and non-native speakers" (Modiano, 1999a: 26), unless proficient, in the central circle. However, none of these models, including Modiano's, gives proper information about the developmental process of a variety nor important sociolinguistic data.

The third and last type of models presented are those based on the colonial status paradigm which include the more dynamic model by Schneider (2003, 2007). Schneider's (2003, 2007) DM has many merits and contrary to the static tripartite model, it describes a dynamic process leading to the development of New Englishes taking thus in consideration many sociolinguistic aspects which, instead, had been neglected or underestimated by previous models. However, although its high applicability for varieties of English in the globe and

although its strength, it has resulted not suitable for the study of non-PCEs since it sees colonial expansion as the first and unique major force that leads to the transplantation of English in a territory (Schneider, 2007; Van Rooy & Kruger, 2018). This results to be problematic when applied to case of emerging varieties in areas which had not a colonial history (Pung, 2009) or in which colonialism has not been the trigger factor for the emergence of a new variety of English. Thus, since linguistic situation today is wholly different and since “the circumstances motivating English language acquisition and use today are not exclusively colonial” (Bonnici, 2010: 23), the DM became inadequate and “no longer in line with the contemporary dynamics of English use” (Deshors, 2018: 7).

So far, the analysis of the WEs models has shown that the old models, even the most dynamic, remain almost exclusively based on colonisation as the main historical factor behind the development of varieties of English (Edwards, 2016: 5) and that such frameworks have been reliable when dealing with Outer Englishes, but questionable when dealing with the Expanding ones (Pennycook, 2008a) since they “fail to capture the transplantation and evolution of English in societies due to forces other than colonisation, notably globalisation” (Edwards, 2016: 5; Bonnici 2010; Bruthiaux, 2003; Buschfeld, 2011; Erling, 2004) and “underestimate [...] the roles that English would come to play in Expanding Circle countries” (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 28-29).

It is necessary to point out that “the English as we know it today is very different from the English as it was used in the 1980s or 1990s, when the traditional models of WE were devised” (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018: 282) so that reasonably, the fact that they “have no place for globalisation” (Edwards, 2016: 5) could be eventually justified by the fact that at the time when they were created, and thus before the rise of the Internet and the new media (Onysko, 2016a; Deshors, 2018), apart from some predictions such as Graddol’s in 1997 in his *The Future of English*, no one could imagine that English would have become the predominant language in the world (Deshors, 2018) and that there would have been a force, such as globalisation, as strong as (or maybe even more powerful than) colonisation, leading to the acceleration of the spread and diversification of English varieties worldwide (Deshors, 2018). Moreover, Expanding contexts have been neglected (Edwards, 2016) or at least underestimated by old models, maybe also because when the models were mapped the WEs research was based on a specific scholarly trend in vogue at that time (Onysko, 2016a: 199). For example, scholars have long believed in the idea that in Expanding areas “there exists no local L2 forms of English” (Strevens, 1977: 31) and that English had no special functions there (Strevens, 1978), being

used by few people, simply as a mere tool for communication across frontiers (Quirk, 1972) whereas currently, this situation has changed.

The “today’s changing linguistic realities are calling for new approaches, theories, and models” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 20). Schneider’s (2014) TA model and Buschfeld’s (2017) EIF model are attempts to depict the new linguistic landscape with globalisation as the main driving force for language variation. However, these two theoretical models are simply extensions (the former) and readaptation (the latter) of the DM with a change on the focus from colonialism to globalisation forces (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018). These two models, even if they “can contribute to an emerging rapprochement between WEs” (Edwards, 2018: 182), are still not adequate, since the former offers a still too simplistic view (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) being centred uniquely on the utilitarian role of English as a global linguistic commodity (Pennycook, 2003; Bonnici, 2010; Edwards, 2018), the latter, if on the hand “do justice to different realities in different countries” (Kautzsch, 2014: 224) through a more integrative approach tracing parallels between PCEs and non-PCEs, on the other hand, it appears to be too tied to the DM of which it seems to be an unnatural and forced modification. In addition, in the attempt of dealing with non-PCEs and integrating them with PCEs, the focus remains on the colonisation paradigm, giving the impression of being another victim of the ‘colonial trapping’ (Edwards, 2016: 187). Thus, in line with Edwards (2016) also this work agrees that parallels between PCEs and non-PCEs, and thus between ESL and EFL countries have to be saved but “they should be placed in a new framework” (Edwards, 2016: 187).

In conclusion, since the models so far suggested cannot be considered adequate for classifying some varieties of English around the world (Buschfeld, 2014) or are not satisfactory, what is needed today in WEs research is a new and alternative model (Pung, 2009; Schneider, 2017) which does not consider neither nativization nor colonisation as the main criteria for the categorisation of the varieties, and is able to represent the situation of English today more fluidly (Edwards, 2016) and more comprehensively (Schneider, 2017) taking into consideration overlapping cases (Biewer, 2011: 11; Edwards, 2016: 190) and supporting “the notion of a continuum rather than a strict divide between varietal types” (Edwards, 2016: 190) and, moreover, which is flexible enough to be used in any point in time and for all socio-geographical contexts in the world.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2. Revision of old WEs paradigms and the proposal of an alternative model for the inclusion of emerging varieties of the Expanding area

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#### 2.1 Introduction

As shown in the previous chapter, all models so far existing are “no longer in line with the contemporary dynamics of English use” (Deshors, 2018: 7). This mainly occurs for three reasons: firstly, English models have been based on paradigms and dichotomies such as nativeness vs non-nativeness (or foreignness), standardness vs non-standardness and post-colonial status vs non-postcolonial status which tended to exclude parts of the linguistic scenario and more precisely to ignore varieties which are non-native, non-postcolonial, and non-standard forms; secondly, with the exception of the TA model (Schneider, 2014) and of the EIF model (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017), which can be considered a first attempt to include them within the WEs framework, all the models so far existing have neglected the Expanding areas considering them ‘barren lands’ in which the seeds of English could not grow into proper independent varieties; thirdly, despite some recent efforts to replace it with globalisation (Edwards, 2006; Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld & Kautzsch’s, 2017, among others), colonialism is still considered as the unique or main reason for the development of varieties in the world without really considering that the modality and means through which English is spreading worldwide could be different and various, especially in current global times.

Today, globalisation has replaced colonisation as the main ‘driving-force’ (Mufwene, 2013) in English contact linguistics leading to the spread of English in the world (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018). What is more, globalisation is even a more powerful tool than colonialism for four reasons: firstly, because through globalisation English reaches not only the elite as it occurred in some colonies where English was mainly restricted to the wealthiest sector of the indigenous population and especially taught to people working in the administration (Sergeant, 2012), but also common people with a process which is both top-down and bottom-up at the same time; secondly, being not imposed through colonial laws, English is deliberately and voluntarily chosen, and this implies a more positive attitude of the speakers towards it, which,

in its turn, is at the basis of a major use and thus spread of English in a nation (Mollin, 2006); thirdly, because it has a double expansionist power since, on the one hand it contributes to create longer-term linguistic contacts and thus a major stabilisation in Outer communities in which English had already penetrated through previous socio-historical reasons such as migration and/or colonial forces, meantime, and on the other hand, it creates new contact linguistic situations in Expanding areas even where no contact conditions with the English language have ever been previously highlighted, causing new contact-induced changes (Winford, 2005); lastly, with its products such as the Internet, media, and popular literature, which are accessible to everyone (Schneider, 2016a), globalisation leads to the spread of English linguistic resources globally (Mair, 2013) without distinctions between native/non-native speakers, and influences all linguistic communities without distinction between standard and non-standard, or postcolonial and non-postcolonial settings (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017). Given the situation, concepts as nativeness, standardness, and colonial status and their application in the definitions of varietal categories should be reviewed.

In such context, borders between circles and categories of English have become blurred (Edwards, 2016) with the emergence of varieties which have mixed characteristics, and which are potentially shifting towards a different status. A major focus is on Expanding area nations where, significantly, evident changes are taking place. As previously mentioned, cases in point are Cyprus (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011), the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), China (Bolton, 2001; Chen & Hu, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Lo Bianco, Orton & Yihong, 2009; Xu, 2010; Xu, Deterding & He, 2017), Honk Kong (Joseph, 1996; Bolton, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2007), Korea (Shim, 1999; Takeshita, 2010; Schneider, 2014), Japan (Takeshita, 2000; Stanlaw, 1988, 2004, 2010; Seargeant, 2009; Ike, 2012; Philpott & Alami, 2013, among others), Thailand (Kirkpatrick 2010; Schneider, 2014; Bennui & Hashim, 2014b), Russia (Proshina, 2010; Bondarenko, 2014), Persia (Sharifian, 2010, 2010b) and Egypt (Schaub, 2000; Bruthiaux, 2003; Lewko, 2012, Al-Sayadi, 2016), among others, all non-native, non-standard and non-postcolonial (at least not prototypically) ‘emergent contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) in which English is spreading acquiring functions not uniquely limited to international domains or foreign language teaching but also to intranational ones (Lowenberg, 2002; Berns, 2005; Canagarajah, 2006; Jenkins, 2003a, 2007; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017). In these contexts, English enters in constant contact with local language(s) developing new hybrid linguistic forms (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld, 2014) to the point that scholars are wondering whether they are becoming new varieties or whether they remain simple learners’ Englishes (Mollin, 2007; Onysko, 2016a). These sociolinguistic changes, and



specifically, “[t]he ongoing expansion and diversification of English [...] in the Expanding Circles” (Schneider, 2014: 9) with the consequent emergence of such hybrid varieties has created a theoretical gap between old WEs theories, based on outdated paradigms, and the actual current situation of English in the world, since, as they cannot be properly considered either proper EFL or proper ESL they become difficult to position in old theoretical models, despite the efforts to include them in a more integrative framework made by researchers like Schneider (2014), Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017).

The field of WEs research, which “must follow it [the evolution of English] around the world into new areas and, in this way, continually revise and extend the scope of our discipline [WEs]” (Edwards, 2016: 2) today faces new challenges in the categorization of the many different existing types of English” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 104). In order to fill the theoretical void created between previous WEs studies and modelling practices and the current situation of English in the world, old WEs paradigms and the theories so far conceived must be revised in order to be constantly connected to the current linguistic situation (Schneider, 2014). Since the theoretical gap is still so large, it is possible to advance the hypothesis of the necessity of an alternative, up-to-date, and more Fluid Model (Edwards, 2016) which includes non-native, non-standard and non-postcolonial Englishes (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) of the Expanding area in the varietal developmental process. In this work, the ‘Fluid Model of the emergence of English as a Potential Variety’ is presented as a new tool that, free from the old ‘paradigm trap’ (Kachru, 2005: 71), should be able to represent both theoretically and graphically the current reality of English worldwide in a more updated presentation, and to describe the current development of emerging potential varieties of English in the Expanding area giving them a legitimate definition and a more adequate positioning.

## **2.2 New emergent EVs in non-native, non-standard, and non-postcolonial contexts: revision of early WEs paradigms**

Today, we are witnessing “an unprecedented momentum” (Kachru, 2005: xvii, 1), a moment in which English is expanding globally and without control, a moment that started from the colonial period, in the seventeenth century, but which has become stronger in the twentieth century, and even more in current times (Schneider, 2014) with globalisation. This widespread diffusion of English leads to a diversification of features of English in the world and to a dramatical change in the profile of English speakers (Hundt, 2013) and their societies: being no longer restricted a unique type of English input, it is giving rise to “a complex language-related profile” (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018: 288) with communities developing a multifaceted and hybrid outline being populated, for example by native or non-native, standard or non-standard speakers at the same time. Interestingly this does not only occur in Outer areas which were predominantly transformed by “the twentieth-century expansion of English”, but this also occurs in the Expanding area, “where the demand for and the spread of English have been growing dramatically” (Schneider, 2014: 9). It is for this reason that in recent times, “attention has increasingly been directed to the Expanding Circle” (Schneider, 2014: 9).

Since the English language has changed its status and properties in linguistic communities worldwide, WEs studies, which have the value of “respond[ing] to shifting trends in the social world”, and of developing “approaches which dominate the discipline at any one time” (Seargeant, 2012: 150), find themselves in front of the need of a “a changing disciplinary and discoursal map, marked by a series of paradigm shifts in the last 20 years” (Bolton, 2006: 260). In this section, a revision of the native/non-native, standard/non-standard and colonial/non-colonial paradigms is made throughout the application of more up-to-date definitions.

### **2.2.1 Nativeness**

#### ***The turn of non-native EVs of the Expanding area***

The notion of ‘nativeness’, with its distinction between native and non-native varieties (Kachru, 1981; Kachru & Quirk, 1981), has long been taken for granted in Linguistics (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) and appears to be central in early WEs research (Schneider, 2007). Although it has been contested (Bolton, 2006, among others), it has widely proved to be helpful (McArthur, 1998)

among scholars who have used it to base the traditional division of speakers in strict native/non-native categories, namely ENL speakers on the one hand and non-native ESL/EFL ones on the other hand (Williams, 1987).

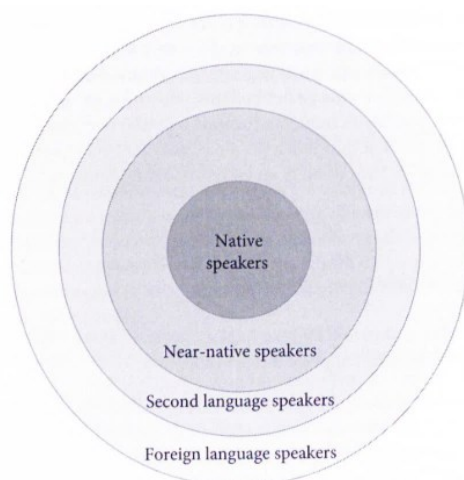
Conventionally, a ‘native speaker’ is defined as “one who has learnt a language from birth without formal instruction” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 36) and it is for this reason that traditionally this label has largely been applied uniquely to Inner area speakers. In contrast, a ‘non-native speaker’ is defined as a person who “has learnt it [English] as a second (or later) language sometime after being initiated into his/her native language and does not display the same automatic fluency in the non-native language as in the native language” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 36). ‘Non-native’ is a label mainly applied to Outer and even more to Expanding area speakers who are supposed to learn English later in life and uniquely through school instruction. This implies, by tradition, the belief among linguists that the language was wholly commanded only by native speakers and that a native speaker is thus superior to a learner speaker, “no matter how inept the native speaker or adept the foreign” (McArthur, 1988: 45). In Kirkpatrick’s (2007) words:

[...] the term ‘native language’ is open to misunderstanding. As speakers in ENL countries are described as native speakers, people feel that the variety used is a standard variety that is spoken by all of the people. People then feel that ENL is innately superior to ESL and EFL varieties and that it therefore represents a good model of English for people in ESL and EFL countries to follow.

(Kirkpatrick, 2007: 28).

Nevertheless, this conviction seems to be valid uniquely in monolingual societies “whereas in fact the world is largely multilingual” (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 36). Today, belonging to the ENL society in order to be a native speaker of English is no more the primacy, since, as displayed by Modiano (1999a; 1999b) in his EIL model (see p. 27), also in ESL and EFL categories it is not totally impossible to find proficient speakers with native or near-native language skills. Indeed, a speaker could belong to an Outer or Expanding community but still have a native or near-native competence in English or belong to an Inner country but being a non-native speaker of English (McArthur, 1988). In other words, “[t]here are inner circles and outer circles everywhere” (Tupas 2010: 568). This can have two consequences: firstly, in many cases, there is the simultaneous existence of ENL, ESL or EFL speakers in the same community (McArthur: 1988; Bauer, 2002; Schneider, 2007; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). Secondly, there may be an overlap between native and non-native categories (Buschfeld, 2014) or a potential shift from one category to another. This last case, for example, had already been observed by

Llamzon (1969) who, while describing English speakers in the Philippines, realised that there are some varieties that cannot be properly classified as native languages nor as proper non-native languages. For example, he noticed that Philippines, traditionally belonged to the Outer area, had a very high proficiency in English being almost mother-tongue skilled. In order to solve the issue, he added a fourth circle to the Kachruvian model, the one formed by ‘Near-native speakers’, placed in between the ‘Second language speakers’ and the ‘Native speakers’ (Figure 15).



**Figure 15** English speakers in the Philippines (Llamzon, 1969: 5), retrieved from Pefianco Martin, 2014: 74).

This suggestion appears as one of the first attempts to extend the label ‘native’ also to areas which do not belong to the Inner Circle, but it does not take into consideration the possible presence of native-skilled speakers in EFL contexts appearing thus still inadequate and incomplete.

A second more radical attempt was made by Kachru himself (2005) who suggested that the competence of English could no longer be tied to ‘nativeness’ but to its use (Schneider, 2007) and introduced the concepts of ‘genetic nativeness’ and ‘functional nativeness’ the former being linked to the fact of being a native speaker for biological reasons, and the latter to the fact of being high skilled in English like a mother-tongue speaker because of constant use. However, Kachru’s suggestion, although really appreciated among WEs scholars, has not been the key to solve problems related to the nativeness paradigm. Indeed, even if Kachru (2005) specifies that this distinction “is not necessarily related to the genetic mapping of a language” (Kachru, 2005: 212), genetic or functional whatever speakers are defined, the concept of ‘nativeness’ still persists together with a racist implication (Schmitz, 2016) of the superiority of ‘genetic native’ speakers who appear to be more naturally advantaged, over ‘functional

native' speakers. Nevertheless, his suggestion has been useful to finally attribute the label 'native' also to Outer areas, where, functionally at least, English is spoken natively. Hence, although the question as to whether it is appropriate to define 'native' also the speakers of the Kachruvian Outer Circle still remains an ambiguous and controversial notion in the WEs research (Onysko, 2016a), it seems clear that these areas, in which "for many [...] speakers, English is the second language they learn, but it is also the language in which they are most proficient and the one which they use in the widest variety of domains" (Williams, 1987: 161), have become multilingual environment with people exposed to the English language from the birth (Pung, 2009; Seargeant, 2012) through natural and spontaneous inputs and not only through school instruction, acquiring thus, by definition (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008), English as an additional native language, simultaneously with their L1. Similarly, also in some EFL countries, which generally are non-native contexts where English is learnt only through formal instruction English is not completely 'foreign'. Indeed, although principally taught at school, in many (even if not in all) EFL countries, inputs outside classrooms are increasing today, since English has also started to spread through global media such as the Internet, music, advertising, popular culture, etc. creating new situations of exposure to the English language for its EFL learners. In these areas, consequently, it is not totally impossible to find proficient speakers with native or near-native language skills (Modiano, 1999).

Llamzon's (1969) and Kachru's (2005) tries are only two examples of how researchers have tried to stem the problem linked to the nativeness paradigm and to enlarge the concept of nativeness out of the Inner area by adopting new categories and terminology. However, although many attempts have been made by scholars, and although, in more recent years, the relative notion of nativeness and the consequent idea of the superiority of ENL speakers has been questioned, strongly criticised, and reviewed (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, among others), it remains used (or abused) in contemporary WEs research as it is noticeable through the continued adoption of the label ENL exclusively for Inner areas which, without any modification, implicitly maintains its original conceptual meaning as thought by Görlach (1991), Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1972) and McArthur (1998), and this appears odd and outdated, in current times.

Thus, definitely, the native speaker as originally intended in old WEs studies 'is dead' (Paikeday, 1985, see also Graddol, 1999; Shakouri & Shakouri, 2014) since it is not possible to trace a neat distinction between native and non-native speakers of English worldwide, the dichotomic distinction between native Inner varieties and non-native Outer and Expanding

areas varieties cannot be clear-cut, any longer (McArthur, 1998; Jenkins, 2003a; Onysko, 2016a).

### 2.2.2. Standardness

#### *Expanding area varieties as new locally norm developing ‘standards’*

A “Standard English is [...] not *the* English language but simply one [or more than one] variety of it” (Trudgill, 1999, 2011: 118) (emphasis in the original), and in detail, the one or ones which are institutionalised (Quirk, 1990), well stably codified, and considered “the norm for a given society” (Seargeant, 2012: 28) to be followed for an English performance to be intelligible to any user of English in the globe. However, since English continuously and rapidly changes and evolves its status in the world, the question of standardness becomes complex (Migdadi, Yunus, & Al.Garni, 2020), and researchers wonders about which variety or varieties may be really considered standard forms.

The classification operated by Kachru (1985) who differentiated the Inner, Outer and Expanding circle speech communities into three types, respectively, *norm-providing*, *norm-developing*, and *norm-dependent* could very useful when trying to investigate which variety can be considered an ‘English Standard’. According to this differentiation, there exist varieties of English which provide, “or at least have been thought of as being competent to provide” (Pung, 2009: 10) the norms of use of the English language to all English users worldwide, varieties which have developed their proper local norms although not being always recognised and accepted by the users, and varieties which have not developed any local norm and for this reason strongly dependent on the standard forms of English. Starting from Kachru’s distinction between norm-providing, norm-developing, and norm-dependent varieties it seems clear that only Inner varieties of English can be standard forms (Tupas, 2010, among others) while, no doubt, Expanding area varieties, (in those limited but ‘expanding’ cases where there are any) which “do not make case for a locally-based standard of usage and use” (Pung, 2009: 10), as well as Outer varieties, are non-standard Englishes since they are neither institutionalised nor codified not even owning a stable grammar. For this reason, they have long been defined norm-dependent (Yano, 2001) being exonormatively oriented towards a standard form provided by Inner areas. Yet, the issue about which standard do Expanding Circle users follow is controversial in WEs studies.

Indeed, not all Inner Circles have already reached the standard status and the question as to which variety is to be considered StdE and which non-StdE is still controversial in WEs studies. Researchers have advanced different thoughts and proposals about the notion of ‘standardness’. One of the first was Randolph Quirk (Bolton, 2006) in his *The Use of English* (Quirk, 1962). He based the distinction between non-StdE and StdE on institutionalisation claiming that “[o]f the latter, there are two: American English and British English; and there are one or two others with standards rather informally established, notably Australian English” (Quirk, 1990: 6). In more recent times, Mair (2013) reflected on the concept of ‘standardness’ as well, and according to him, it depends on two factors, namely demographic weight, and institutional support (through an established orthography, official status and use in prestige domains of communication). Following these factors, AmE and BrE are the two standards (Khan, 2015), the former for its high number of users and for its political, military, and economic prestige, the latter for being strongly supported and promoted in the foreign-language teaching industry worldwide (Mair, 2013). Standardness, therefore, should no longer be understood “in the sense of Kachru’s concentric circles [...] but in the sense of the economic and sociopolitical innerness of Standard Englishes within communities of use in any part of the world” (Tupas, 2010: 568). This concept has been explained through the metaphors of *centres*, *epicentre* (Leitner’s, 2004: 338) and *peripheries* (Mair, 2013: 259, see also Hundt, 2013): in the “pluricentric constellation” (Mair, 2013: 258) of English varieties, the centrality is given to the BrE and AmE standards, which assume the position of “focal points” or “centres of gravity” (Hundt, 1998: 96) constituting the “core set of rules about its [of English] look and use” (Seargeant, 2012: 24).

However, Mair (2013) also reflected on the possibility of the existence of a unique StdE among BrE and AmE and came to the conclusion that although “many New Englishes have historically developed from British input and remained under British influence” (Mair, 2013: 259) today, BrE fortune only depends in the EFL teaching field while, contrary, in modern times, in the “English language industry” (McArthur, 2001: 117) it is the AmE standard, whose influence grew drastically after the world wars thanks to the economic supremacy of the new American superpower, that has spread in the world as a powerful international language during the twenty century (Yano, 2001, 2018) holding a prominent place among world varieties of English (Kretzschmar, 2010). Indeed, being the language of the leading economic power (Edwards, 2016) “has a [great] global reach and the potential to affect all other (standard and non-standard) varieties of English” (Mair, 2013: 259) through modern globalisation and commercial products “penetrating in the wake of Coke, Levis and McDonalds” (Clark, 1998:

18), and through the Internet and media as the language of the current electronic revolution (Crystal, 1997). This would explain why lexical Americanism are massively present in practically all other varieties, including BrE (Mair, 2013) becoming thus AmE the only English variety able to exert an ever-increasing influence on the development of different varieties of English (Gilquin, 2018; Schneider, 2006, among others). For this reason, Mair (2003) considers it as the unique “hub of the World Language System” (Mair, 2013: 260) (see p. 32).

However, by definition, a standard language is not only “that heard over the radio and television” (Hughes & Trudgill, 1979 cited in Ho, 2008: 47) or that spread through global products, but it is also “an educated variety predominantly taught in formal institutions” (Ho, 2008: 47-48, see also Jenkins, 2005, 2006), in the national educational system of countries where English is not an official language (Smokotin, Alekseyenko & Petrova, 2014), specifically in Expanding and Outer areas nations’ formal instruction (Trudgill & Hannah, 1994 cited in Ho, 2008: 47). In accordance with this definition, BrE, with its Received Pronunciation (RP), cannot be excluded from being a standard variety and Mair’s choice of considering only AmE as the main model, bypassing BrE, becomes questionable. Indeed, although AmE is expected to exert more influence than BrE on WEs (Gilquin, 2018) being “well on the way to becoming *the* global standard” (italics added) (Clark, 1998: 18), it has not totally replaced BrE in this function. It is true that AmE, apart from being the main tool in media, internet, and popular culture, is also “taught to students of EFL and ESL” (Gilquin, 2018: 208), but this limitedly occurs in some area of the globe namely in North America and Latin America, but not in other areas of the world where, instead, BrE is watched as a model to follow. BrE, thus, has not lost its power, but it still has an evident “global reach” (Mair, 2013: 259) being “still upheld in educational institutions” (Schneider, 2007: 172).

More recently, Gilquin (2018) established three criteria for the choice of a BrE or AmE exonormative standard, namely historical background, economic factors, and spatial proximity (Gilquin, 2018). Historically, “Standard British English, with an R.P. accent, is a mature standard with a history of explicit codification reaching back more than a hundred years” (Mair, 2013: 258). It is the “mother variety” (Simo Bobda, 1998: 18 cited in Gilquin, 2018: 189), the ‘nucleus’ from which all other varieties were born, AmE included. Historical experiences are important in the choice of a standard model. Indeed, for example, because of (or thanks to) colonialism, BrE has become a model in areas like India, Malaysia (Schneider, 2007; Low, 2010; Jayapalan & Pillai, 2011), Hong Kong (Bolton, 2003; Schneider, 2007; Evans, 2009) and Singapore (Görlach, 2002; Schneider, 2007: 153-160; Mukherjee & Gries, 2009a; Low, 2010; Wee, 2014) which are former British colonies, while the AmE model prevails in the Philippines



(Bolton, 2003; Lim, 2012) a former American colony. Economic factors as well play an important role as well, since the choice of a standard could depend on economic or commercial ties with other nations, and, generally, AmE is the prevailing standard used for business and financial affairs for representing “the most powerful trading partner” (Braine, 2005: xvii) in the world. The geographical proximity is equally of key importance in the selection of a standard and it would explain why, while AmE is the exonormative standard in Latin America (Kachru, 1983) or in Japan (Seargeant, 2009; Gilquin, 2018), BrE is the standard chosen in most European countries. In addition, the choice of a standard can vary according to other determinant factors such as the sociolinguistic context, the role of popular culture, the role of education as well as the number of native speakers (Gilquin, 2018), but also political and cultural influences (Szpyra- Kozłowska, 2015), the power that a specific variety exerts on speakers (Buschfeld, 2013), and language policies (Szpyra- Kozłowska, 2015). Indeed, standardisation is “a highly political and ideological business, which relies on the imposition of arbitrary norms of usage by authority” (Wright, 2004: 53) which aims at “producing a ‘legitimate’ language” (Aboelezz, 2018: 506). This means that “[s]tandardisation is inextricably linked to power” (Aboelezz, 2018: 507).

In a nutshell, it is evident that today, AmE is acquiring more power than BrE (Yano, 2018) but even attributing so much relevance on AmE, it is not possible to exclude the choice of BrE as a reference model. Thus, in contrast with Mair (2013) and in agreement with some more moderate scholars such as Quirk (1990), Modiano (1999a, 1999b), Hundt (1998), Leitner (2004) or Gilquin (2018), the forms that could be recognised as valid standard models are both BrE and AmE (Gilquin, 2018). This does not mean, however, that they are the ‘Major Varieties of English’, a label which could result “most politically incorrect” (Mair, 2003b: ix). In fact, also other Inner varieties such as Australian English (AusE), New Zealand English (NZE)<sup>3</sup>, South African English (SAfrE) and Nigerian English (NE) which have historically acted “as local models for neighbouring varieties” (Hundt, 2013: 186), are endonormatively stabilised, codified, and institutionalised varieties seen as ‘respectable<sup>4</sup> forms’ of English. However, although their high status, since by definition a standard form besides being institutionalised (Quirk, 1990) and well stably codified must also be able to provide and spread its norms not only inside the country in which it is used and in very next area, but also among speakers

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<sup>3</sup> AusE and New Zealand English functioned as standards for their neighbouring populations in the South Pacific (Hundt, 2013: 186)

<sup>4</sup> The term ‘respectable’ is here used with both meanings of ‘being esteemed and reputable’ and of ‘to be respected’ as the norm to follow.

worldwide becoming a model to follow internationally (Kachru, 1985a) being thus ‘*globally norm providing*’ and since, instead, the varieties previously mentioned are only ‘*locally norm providing*’ (or even referred as ‘local standards’) they cannot be defined as proper standards. Perhaps, they can be seen as potential standards of English and thus as new *epicentres*, probable future scenarios in which a “set of standards will arise above the current [...] models for international communication and teaching” (Yano, 2001: 125). This is in line with Hundt’s (2013) claim according to which, “[a] variety can be regarded as a potential epicentre if it shows endonormative stabilization [...] and the potential to serve as a model of English for (neighbouring?) countries” (Hundt, 2013: 185) which depends on possible world changes, for example a change in the global economic and political equilibrium.

To conclude, the *peripheral* ESL and EFL follow the ‘central’ AmE and/or BrE as standard forms. Nevertheless, it is worthy pointing out that even if conventionally AmE and BrE have been considered the main two standard forms it should be clear that actually StdE “is not really what the people speak” (Moore, 2009) worldwide, and this occurs for two reasons: firstly because also AmE and BrE present inconsistency at various linguistic levels (Li, 2010) to the point that it would be argued that there is not, actually, *the American* or *the British* accent; secondly, because once the StdE enters in contact with local languages, because of L1 influence, it is indigenised acquiring linguistic and cultural features different from the standard ones. So, “there is frequently a clash between the reality of everyday speech performance and the expectations resulting from linguistic norm orientations” (Schneider, 2007: 18) to the point that it would be argued that “[t]he idea that everyone speaks the same “standard model” is simply incorrect” (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 28). This implies that also Expanding countries have the power to change linguistic norms (Graddol, 1997) becoming thus ‘*locally norm developing*’.

### **2.2.3 Postcolonial or non-postcolonial status**

*The Expanding area varieties and “the non-colonisation factor” (Ho, 2008: 37)*

In the XIX century, with British expansionism, English started being disseminated worldwide (Crystal, 2003; Matsumoto & Britain, 2015) from America to the Pacific Islands (Schneider, 2011), from the Antarctic to Canada. Indeed, English was the linguistic tool used by colonisers to communicate with local people, who, in turn, were forced to use it with each other (Canagarajah, 2006) since it became the “lingua franca for the speakers of different mother-

tongues in the same new nation” (Mollin, 2007: 170) and this led to the development of varieties which “have taken on an independent history” (Bailey & Görlach, 1982: vii).

Indeed, in colonial and postcolonial time, with the encounter between the STL and the IDG strands (Schneider, 2003) English has diversified, developing into homegrown forms and uses in many locations becoming an indigenised language or even a mother tongue, (Schneider, 2007), and in several postcolonial territories around the globe, also after they gained independence, English continued to spread (even if not directly affected by British colonisers) to the point that it has been adopted as an official or co-official language (Lewko, 2012). However, this last process was encouraged not uniquely by colonial legacy, but it depended on other factors, mainly political and economic, like pro-English policies aiming at protecting the English language global economic and cultural dominance (McKay, 2003; Lewko, 2012), the choice of ELF for international communication, and its use as the language of the new global products such as the Internet and the media, which significantly contribute to a continuing “shaping [of] its contact characteristics” (Schneider, 2013: 132) in postcolonial contexts.

Generally, in WEs research, varieties which have developed from colonialism have been inserted in the Outer area, while non-postcolonial varieties have been relegated in the Expanding area and ignored properly because of “the *non-colonisation factor*” (emphasis in the original) (Ho, 2008: 37). However, the association of non-PCEs with Expanding countries, as contexts that were not subjected to British (or American) colonial rule (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018) is not totally valid. Indeed, there are countries, such as Pakistan and Bangladesh (Mollin, 2006), Tanzania (Schneider, 2007), Tswana (Gilquin & Ganger, 2011) Cyprus (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011), Namibia (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2014), or Egypt (this work) which are positioned in the Expanding area, but which have had a colonial experience even if this has not led to the development of a proper nativised variety. This means that “not all countries with a colonial background have developed second language varieties” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 21) as a direct and immediate consequence of colonialism, but not for this reason they should be considered unable to develop one. Indeed, today, after two centuries from the British colonial period, new potential localised forms of English seem to emerge in the Expanding areas where motivations for learning English is “not exclusively colonial” (Bonnici, 2010: 23). These new emergent indigenised Englishes show similar features with postcolonial varieties (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018), as for example a similar acquisitional moment (Edwards, 2016; Biewer, 2011; Buschfeld, 2011; Götz & Schilk, 2011; Schneider, 2012; van Rooy, 2011), however, they cannot be necessarily connected to colonialism (Bruthiaux, 2003; Bonnici, 2010) since they do not follow the same trajectory of

other prototypical PCEs and since their development in these territories “is dissimilar to many of those presented in Schneider (2007)” (Matsumoto & Britain, 2015: 139) (see p. 152). For this reason, this newly emerging varieties of ex British colonies cannot be properly named ‘non-postcolonial’ which implies that the colonialism experience is absent, but they should be more appropriately defined ‘less prototypical’ PCEs (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121).

In addition, today, due to “changes in the use of English in the world” (Yano, 2018: 97), there are Expanding countries where English is developing properties and usage typical of Outer settings despite their not having experienced a British colonial domination (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018). These include the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018), Germany (Erling, 2004), Greece (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018), China (Bolton, 2003; Chen & Hu, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Lo Bianco, Orton & Yihong, 2009; Xu, 2010; Xu, Deterding & He, 2017), Thailand (Kirkpatrick 2010; Schneider, 2014), Korea (Shim, 1999; Takeshita, 2010; Schneider, 2014), Japan (Takeshita, 2000; 2010; Stanlaw, 1988, 2004, 2010; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Seargeant, 2009; Ike, 2012; Philpott & Alami, 2013) and Russia (Proshina, 2010; Bondarenko, 2014) among others, all ‘non-postcolonial’ countries where, currently, English plays an important role being more than a simple EFL confirming that the spread of English worldwide cannot be associated only to colonialism, but, because of the fact that today the “[l]anguage contact is everywhere” (Thomason, 2001: 11) new varieties “are emerging all around us every day” (Kretzschmar, 2014: 157) for other different motivations

“Varieties of English are not restricted to [...] postcolonial settings” (Kirkpatrick, 2010: 1) but in both ‘less-prototypical PCEs’ and non-PCEs cited above, the spread of English within their boundaries is due to other factors. Indeed, while in colonies there was a concrete contact between the STL and the IDG strands, in these areas contacts have become virtual, mainly reaching non-native contexts through more abstract reasons such as the use of English as the ‘Global Language’ (Crystal, 2003) and ‘language of globalisation’, the use of English on the Internet and media whose growing usage allows the emergence of new hybrid identities of two groups that come into contact (Mukherjee & Gries, 2009) and “other factors such [...] the ever increasing influence of US culture (e.g. films, TV series)” (Buschfeld, 2013: 77) which seem to “have the same effect as the physical presence of large numbers of English speakers” (Matsumoto & Britain, 2015: 152) playing a similar role of that of the STL strand (Buschfeld, 2013). All these factors are allowing ‘transcultural flows’ (Pennycook, 2007a) of English which enters in contact not only with postcolonial communities, but also with communities which have not necessarily developed a proper English variety in a colonial framework. This means

that culture and “[e]conomics replaced politics as the chief driving force (Crystal, 2003) and that “globalization (and other forces) have carried on and even boosted processes which were originally triggered by colonization” (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018: 30) becoming the new “point of orientation for all discussions of the language” (Sergeant, 2012: 3). Yet, this does not want to imply that colonial history has no longer importance in sociolinguistic studies. However, if on the one hand, it is impossible to deny it has been central to the development of varieties and that “this [the current] state of affairs is the product of colonial and postcolonial history most notably the spread of the British Empire” (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018: 1), on the other hand, it is clear that colonialism is not any longer *the* main, fundamental, and decisive medium for language contacts, linguistic identity construction and then for the development of new varieties in current times (Bruthiaux, 2003: 165-167; Edwards, 2011; Bonnici, 2010: 32; Buschfeld, 2013: 75-76, Buschfeld, 2014: 189). It seems, instead, that “[t]he currently observable set of World Englishes is the product of globalization processes” (Siemund, 2018: 153) which is causing an unprecedented and pervasive spread of English worldwide (Sergeant, 2012).

## **2.3 New definitions and terminology for WEs**

### **2.3.1 Categories and labels: interpreters of new paradigms**

Categorising, schematising, and assigning labels are “the most fundamental human cognitive tendencies” (Sharifian, 2016: 6) and model-making is the conventional way of creating order in the scientific field (Schneider, 2017). These are necessary in variationist and sociolinguistic studies as well since they can help to simplify a too much complex linguistic scenario that otherwise would be difficult or even impossible to describe. As Sergeant (2012) explained

[w]henver scholars encounter an intractable issue about the nature of English, a first reaction is to make a distinction. And this is usually done by carving up the area of study into subtly different concepts and assigning each of them a different name  
(Sergeant, 2012: 164).

Models, categories, and labels are useful because they contribute “to search for principles of order in this [the current linguistic] apparent chaos” (Schneider, 2017: 36) and to describe as more faithfully as possible the new linguistic configuration. In addition, since “it is the language of *people* that these models seek to describe” (emphasis in the original) (Gilquin, 2018: 212)

they are helpful “to facilitate studies into the use and users of English in the world and their relationship to one another” (Pung, 2009: 1)

However, this occurs through the means of ‘generalisation’ (Onysko, 2016a; Evans, 2014), simplification and abstraction. A model, with its categories, is “reductionist at heart” (Bruthiaux, 2003: 174), an “abstraction from reality, not reality ‘itself’” (Schneider, 2014: 14 see also Bruthiaux, 2003; Pung, 2009) and this “can lead to misleading categorization, stereotyping, and oversimplification” (Bruthiaux, 2003: 174). Also labels like ‘Inner Circle’, ‘Outer Circle’ and ‘Expanding Circle’ as well as ‘ENL’, ‘ESL’ and ‘EFL’ are only names attached to varieties, sometimes exercising “an extreme abstraction of the paradigm” to the point that they can also be “misinterpretation [or even contradiction] of the paradigm” (Pung, 2009: 41) itself.

Contradiction of the paradigms is what is occurring in WEs research today. Indeed, in current global times, many varieties are changing their status: some of them are shifting from being a non-native to a native variety and vice versa, others from being foreign to an additional L1 and vice versa as in the case of English in Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2013), in Pakistan or Bangladesh which from being ESL are retreating to an EFL status (Görlach 2002), still others have developed heterogeneous characteristics being “more or less foreign, second, native” (Platt, Weber & Ho, 1984: 22). As a consequence of such a changed and complex linguistic situation (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011), WEs paradigms and early models, based on outdated theories, with their old categorisations and labels, do not suit reality any longer.

However, since “no better solution has ever been offered” (Görlach, 2002: 9), WEs scholars keep using old classification with their traditional labels and traditional features without any modification, trying to forcedly adapt them to the new linguistic asset they describe. This is mainly the case of the tripartite ENL, ESL and EFL categorisation and of the Kachruvian (1985) three circles, dividing speakers into three types, namely native speakers, non-native second language speakers, and foreign language speakers (Mollin, 2007), which if on the one hand, since their creation have demonstrated to be very useful to facilitate the study and analysis of the complex linguistic reality of English around the world (Schneider, 2011), on the other hand, in their original format and labelling, as said, they seem no longer valuable today for schematising the current phenomenon of ever-evolving and ever-spreading English language in the globe which has even reached areas of the Expanding circle never taken into consideration in WEs research (Edwards, 2016) until more recent time (Schneider, 2017).

Surely, the fact that old categories are not able to register the “vibrancy of recent developments” (Schneider, 2017: 40-41) does not mean that they must be totally rejected

(Biewer, 2011), but, in order to make them “to be representative of these new linguistic and sociolinguistic realities” (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018: 282, see also van Rooy & Kruger, 2018), to increase and actualise their descriptive power (Pung, 2009) and to make them able to depict the current configuration and the “new development” (Görlach 2002: 113) of English worldwide, they need to be reinterpreted, revised, supplemented (Schneider, 2017), readapted and eventually relabelled.

Starting from this concept, with the aim of adjusting categories to the new paradigms and thus, to the current linguistic landscape of English in the world, it seems necessary reevaluating the vocabulary used for the categorisation of English-speaking communities finding more adequate labels through “a changing terminology” (Schneider, 2017: 39) which should be either helpful to give a clearer definition of different types of varieties for allowing a easier comparison and differentiation among them (Mollin, 2007).

### ***English as the Main Language (EML)***

In order not to restrict the concept of ‘nativeness’ uniquely to Inner varieties, as discussed above, the solution proposed in this work is the total elimination of the term ‘native’ in the label ENL shifting the focus from nativeness towards the use of English in Inner countries as the primary language and on its political officiality and institutionalisation. Following this principle, the label suggested is ‘English as the Main Language’ (EML).

In communities in which English is spoken as the Main Language (EML) English is the unique L1, at least officially, and it is supposed to be the mother tongue of the vast majority (even if not for all) of speakers belonging to those communities. It is the official language, which is used in government and administration, but it is also the language used in the domestic sphere, the one spoken at home (Llamzon, 1983) with family members and friends.

The label EML largely comprehend countries belonging to the Kachruvian Inner Circle such as UK and USA, Australia, and New Zealand which historically share a starting point being all settler communities (Görlach, 2002), with the addition of Jamaica, Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia which were previously inserted in the Outer Circle, but which have later been institutionalised becoming Inner Circle varieties and “to a lesser extent, [of] the creoles of the Caribbean and South Pacific” (Trudgill, 2002: 30, see also Schneider, 2011), all varieties that “have attracted large amount of attention from historical linguists” (Trudgill, 2002, 30; see also Schreier, 2013). However, in this category, there are also other English forms which have long been neglected, remaining totally unknown or, at least, lesser-known varieties (LKVEs)

(Trudgill, 2002; Schreier, 2010, 2013), such as the Channel Islands English (Jones, 2010), Falkland Island English (Britain & Sudbury, 2010), Bahamian English (Reaser, 2010), St. Helenian English (Schreier, 2010; Schneider, 2011), or Gibraltar English (Weston, 2011), among others (see Schreier, 2010; Schreier, Trudgill, Schneider, & Williams, 2010; Williams, Schneider, Trudgill & Schreier, 2015). To point out that Canada, where English is not the unique official language recognised but it is co-officially used together with French, South Africa, where English is only one of the eleven official languages, and Malta, where English is co-officially used together with Maltese (Thusat et al., 2009; Bonnici, 2010), are excluded from this grouping although being a native language there.

It is necessary to specify that the status of official language refers to the language used by the government and does not strictly refer to the language used by the people. Indeed, in these areas, English coexists with other dialects or with unofficial indigenous languages which are equally spoken as L1 by a certain percentage of the population. It is due to the contact between English and these indigenous languages or local dialects, that new accents of English emerged, such as Scottish English, Irish English, Jamaican English, Australian English, New Zealand English, as well as English-based creoles, mixed varieties or pidgins such as Nigerian English, Ghanaian English, Liberian English, and other forms which are actually “not exactly [...] pidgin English, and not really English, either” (Moore, 2009).

EML forms are generally recognised by the speakers themselves, institutionalised and codified with the existence of dictionaries or vocabularies and the production of literature in English for many of them. Their speakers are endonormatively oriented and norm independent, with the production of proper linguistic norms. As Kachru claimed, Inner Circle varieties are ‘norm providing’ (Kachru, 1985a: 17). However, it is necessary to make a distinction between ‘globally norm providing’ varieties, namely BrE, AmE which due to political developments in the XX century increased the international impact (Onysko, 2009) becoming the two StdE forms, as deeply discussed above, and ‘locally norm providing’ varieties such as AuE, Jamaican English (Schneider, 2007, 2011) or NZE (Schneider, 2007; Degani & Onysko, 2010) which, although institutionalised and codified, do not provide norms outside their nation boundaries or their neighbouring areas, and their norms are only locally consumed and not targeted for speakers worldwide, being thus non-standard English forms (even if they could potentially become standards).

Nevertheless, standard, or non-standard, locally or globally norm providing whatever they are, since all varieties at this stage have reached nativization of linguistic forms, and even



institutionalisation and codification, it is possible to define all of them proper ‘English Varieties’ (EVs) or Englishes.

### ***English as an Additional Language (EAL)***

In WEs studies, it is still unclear whether speakers in ESL areas, really use English as a ‘second’ choice or whether they see it as an additional linguistic tool to be used in parallel (or sometimes even jointly) with their L1. A ‘second language’ is defined as the language “acquired *after* the mother tongue of any group within the country” (emphasis added) (Llamzon, 1983: 99). In Llamzon’s definition, the focus is then on the order of acquisition: the English language is acquired ‘after’ the mother-tongue, and this seems to justify the adjective ‘second’ as to indicate that it is not the ‘first’ language speakers of a non-native community familiarise with. However, as Llamzon added, countries in which English is acquired as a second language are usually bi-/multilingual in the local language(s) and English (Llamzon, 1983), and contradictorily, he argued that “[i]n multilingual societies, it is not uncommon for individuals to acquire two or even three languages *simultaneously* as their *first* language” (emphasis added) (Llamzon, 1983: 99). So, if on the one hand it is true that in the majority of these countries English is a ‘scholastic language’ (Gupta, 1997 cited in Schneider, 2007: 25) and that according to the local official educational policies, at school, English classes are planned after the teaching of the L1 which, instead, starts since the very first school level, on the other hand, due to the current increasing use of English in Outer communities, with both extranational functions, in contexts that are likely to be subjected to the force of globalisation (Gilquin, 2018) for which it results more appropriate to be used as *first* choice, and also intranational one in more natural and spontaneous contexts in different areas of everyday life (Edwards, 2016; Gilquin, 2018) a more extensive contact with English (van Rooy, 2011) and thus more opportunities to use English are created to the point that it may be considered an additional native language.

In this work, with the aim of being less focused on the idea of speakers’ linguistic acquisitional order and with the aim of taking into consideration the current spread of English and the acceleration of its use in these areas since very early in speakers’ life, insisting on the fact that, in Outer communities, English does not necessary occur after the L1, but it can be natively acquired as an additional L1 concurrently with and not ‘secondarily’ to the other local language(s), or, conversely, learnt neither as a second language nor as a first one, but as speakers’ L<sub>x</sub> (third, fourth, fifth, etc.), the term ‘second’ of the classical ‘English as a Second

Language' (ESL) label is replaced by the more neutral adjective 'additional' being the whole area renamed 'English as an Additional Language' (EAL). This label, which had already been proposed by Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad (1977, see also Fishman, 1992), Görlach (2002), and Seargeant, (2012) is "thought to be a term which is more sensitive to such multilingual contexts" (Seargeant, 2012: 167) and most in line with the English situation today.

In this category, which largely corresponds to the Outer Circle, English is either an official language which however coexists together with regional dialects or other unofficial linguistic local forms spoken as the L1 as it occurs for example in Belize, Southern Sudan, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Mauritius, Solomon Islands, Nauru Island, Ellis, Gilbert Island and Vanuatu Island among others, or a co-official language spoken together with other co-official language(s) as in Canada, Malta, Philippines, South Africa, India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Palau and Fiji among others. As it is clear, EAL communities are placed in multilingual countries where English has acquired a special status serving as one of the *de jure* official languages (Kachru, 1985a) and being used as the primary language in a wide range of domains such as public education even as medium of instruction (Platt, Weber & Ho, 1984; Moag, 1992; Görlach, 1995; Kachru, 2006a [1992]; Mollin, 2007), government, administration (Kachru, 2006a [1992]; Mollin, 2007), and in settings like the media (Moag, 1992; Mollin, 2007; Mollin, 2007; Gilquin, 2018), literature (Llamzon, 1983; Moag, 1992; Kachru, 2006a [1992]; Mollin, 2007; Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018) and also, it is spontaneously chosen by speakers in their everyday communication practices, more intensively and extensively used in the domestic field (Yano, 2001) with family members and friends. In other words, EAL areas correspond to those societies in which English has a special status (Figure 16) and which "have adopted English as their home language" (Görlach, 2002: 4).



(with the exception of Canadian English, South African English and Maltese English of which dictionaries exist) nor institutionalised, and not always recognised as distinctive forms by speakers themselves these varieties have produced a proper indigenised phonology and grammar, and a localised pragmatic use of English, having provided norms on their own which, however, have an exclusive local use and do not own “the potential to serve as a model of English for (neighbouring?) countries” (Hundt, 2013: 185) even less for speakers worldwide. For this reason, they could be defined ‘locally norm providing’. Even if speakers of many of these countries still consider themselves oriented towards a StdE, not accepting their local norms, these varieties are what actually people speak in EAL countries. Thus, though in many cases unconsciously, they do “no longer feel the need to adversely compare their usage [of English] with Standard British or American varieties” (Seargeant, 2012: 117) and no longer aim to speak like the British or the Americans (Mollin, 2007), but they aim at their own local English, “which have emerged as stable and national forms of the language” (Schneider, 2013: 131), becoming their own local standard. So, as stated by Kirkpatrick (2007):

the suggestion to use ENL as “the model” [...] might be inappropriate in ESL countries where the local variety would be a more acceptable model, as there are many fluent speakers and expert users of that particular variety.

(Kirkpatrick, 2007: 28)

This means that “the division between the linguistic norm and behaviour is reduced” (Kachru 1992a: 56) and “[t]his lessening gap between norm and performance represents the development of an endogenous norm” (Mollin, 2007: 172). EAL areas varieties can already be considered independent forms and real national variants (Llamzon, 1983) to the point that it seems legitimate to attribute them the label ‘English Varieties’ (EVs) or ‘Englishes’ generally ascribed to “any form of English recognisably different from others originated by linguistic contacts between English and local languages which, in turn, led to linguistic variations with the final creation of a proper ‘linguistic system’” (Swann, Deumert, Lillis & Mesthrie: 2004: 324 cited in Seargeant & Tagg, 2011: 499).

As evident, the choice of the label EVs or ‘Englishes’, which replaces ‘New Englishes’ one for EAL areas, involves the elimination of the adjective ‘new’ which, in WEs research, is traditionally given to PCEs (Gut, 2011) and more exactly “explicitly reserved for the young, stabilizing, second-language varieties of Asia and Africa” (Schneider, 2017: 39). The label ‘New Englishes’ (Pride, 1982; Platt, Weber & Ho, 1984) indeed, has been mainly used with the aim of contrasting with the label ‘Old Englishes’ which instead refers to EML varieties, namely Englishes developed in North America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the British Isles

(Llamzon, 1983) that with the addition of the Caribbean still today remain the ‘Big-Five’ of the English-speaking world (Schreier, 2013) and which have a longer-lasting historical background having begun their process of diffusion and diversification since the XVIII century. However, as Schneider (2016a) claimed, a conventional classification into old and new varieties of English “is no longer sufficient to capture the ‘post-structural diffusion’ [of English] into many settings” (Schneider, 2016a: 254) and, moreover, the concept of ‘newness’ appears relative and limiting mainly for two reasons: first, the term ‘new’ is valid only in a specific historical moment since something that is new in present times becomes old in another time. For example, as Kachru (1983) pointed out, the ‘New English’ of India, is actually older than the ‘Old English’ in Australia (Kachru, 1983) so that it is possible to claim that in the XXI century, ‘New Englishes’ are no ‘new’ any longer. Second, in its original meaning, the label ‘New Englishes’ does not include current ‘emerging contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) in which, currently, English is also developing ‘new’ potential Englishes.

### ***English as a Foreign Language (EFL)***

Although English is “the preeminent language in today’s world” two-thirds of the world population do not speak English (Sergeant, 2012: 51) and if they learn English, it is “with no immediate expectation of daily instrumental use” (Sergeant, 2012: 167), and, anyway, mainly for international purposes. This is what generally occurs in an EFL country of the Expanding area which is formally “a foreign context” for the English language meaning that speakers try to learn it “in a country that does not speak it” (El-Dakhs & Altarriba, 2019: 1064).

In an EFL area, English does not hold any official status (Gilquin, 2018, among others) nor official function in the language community being not used as a regular means of communication among the vast majority of speakers. In such “un-English” contexts (Kachru, 1983: 39, see also Kachru, 2006a [1992]), people are generally non-native English users, and English is restrictedly employed as a ELF (Mollin, 2007; Edwards, 2016) to communicate with foreigners, both English and non-English speaking people and with limited international functions in the public life (Schneider, 2014) such as international politics, international business, and international affair or in tourism, while it is not at all a means for intranational communication (Sergeant, 2012).

In EFL countries, English is mainly a ‘learner language’ (Onysko, 2016a: 212) and “a classroom affair” (Lewko, 2012: 71) which means that school instruction is the main or unique means through which people learn English and the unique social context where speakers receive

inputs and have the highest exposure to English (Gilquin, 2018) while “it is not used for daily interactions” (Onysko, 2016a: 212) outside the classrooms, where exposure to English occurs through very “limited arenas” (Edwards, 2016: 4) like popular songs or “virtual worlds” (Crystal, 2006a: 12) such as computer games (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018) or social networks, mostly used by the youngest, so that “learners find no opportunity to practice the language in real or native-like situations” (Abdallah, 2011: 14). In such a context, linguistic contacts with the local language(s) are not easily possible and they are reduced to some linguistic influences at the level of words with terms borrowed or calqued from English (or to English) especially in the domains of Science, Computer, Technology, Medicine and in other few fields of international scope and at the level of phonology since when EFL speakers use English they tend to modify the pronunciation and accent based on their mother tongue lexical and phonological rules activating a spontaneous adaptation and simplification process. However, the native language and English are kept distinct (Görlach, 2002) and this explains why EFL countries do not have developed indigenised varieties of their own (Seargeant, 2012). For this reason, the form of English spoken there can be defined ‘non-English variety’ (non-EV). Such sociolinguistic landscape can be found in countries as Italy, France, Spain, Poland or Kuwait (Al-Mutairi, 2020) just to name but a few, where, apart from the lack of sociolinguistic conditions, and the lack of historical events leading to long-lasting contacts with English, there are also nationalist feelings that curb the spread of English inside the nation, which manifest themselves sometimes with anti-English policies, other times with the actions of language academies such as the *Accademia della Crusca* for Italian, *Académie Française* for French and the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española* for Spanish whose main aim is the purification of the language from foreignisms and the maintenance of the national standard (Seargeant, 2012).

EFL is norm-dependent meaning that “foreign learners are bound to orient themselves towards exonormative standards set by speakers outside their own speech community” (Mukherjee, 2010: 238) particularly towards BrE or AmE which are “without question the ‘correct’ model for school pedagogy or any other learning purposes” (Ho, 2008: 47-48, see also Jenkins, 2005), even though performance in most cases deviates from the standard aimed for (Mollin, 2007) since, generally, EFL users of English are commonly not very fluent in English finding difficulties in expressing themselves through the English language.

### 2.3.2 EAL-EFL borderline cases

In the age of “Global English” (Graddol, 2006), English has penetrated all linguistic realities worldwide, not only those in which it has an official status (Mollin, 2006: 23; among others), but also those in which it is classified as EFL. Particularly, its wide use as international ELF (Seidlhofer, 2001) inevitably leads to language contacts resulting, in many cases, in the emergence of new varieties of English. Thus, the current English language is “more than the world’s predominant lingua franca – it is also a language which is currently growing roots in a great many countries and communities around the world, being appropriated by local speakers, and in that process, it is diversifying” (Schneider, 2003: 233). This spread and diversification of English has affected the Expanding countries as well (Görlach, 2002) growing impressively (Schneider, 2014) in current global times. This is leading to an alteration of some Expanding communities where English is gaining new important roles and, although not holding any official status, it is more often the most widely used and necessary language sometimes even at the expense of the L1.

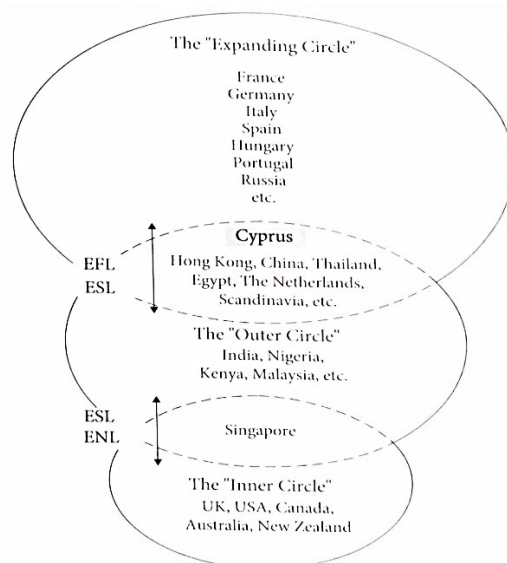
The traditional beliefs presented in old models and specifically in Moag (1992) according to whom English plays no role in informal domains in EFL societies (Moag, 1992), or in Strevens’ who claimed that English has no special presence (Strevens, 1978), and Gilquin’s who argued that people in these countries are less subjected to the force of English as a global language than people in Outer ones (Gilquin, 2018) and that, consequently, English cannot have any special influence on the local languages are thus outdated (Edwards, 2016; Preisler, 1999) and no longer so strict today. This was already predicted by Kachru and Nelson (2006) who in their *World Englishes in Asian Contexts* wrote:

[i]n the nations of the Expanding Circle, English has limited roles in the public life, basically in higher education in science and technology, and very restricted functions in the personal domain. This, however, may be changing.

(Kachru & Nelson, 2006: 28)

Not casually, the term ‘Expanding’ suggests that the role of English is supposed to grow and develop in these countries (Takahashi & Samida, ?). The new spread of English has been observed in Japan (Takeshita, 2000; 2010; Stanlaw, 1988, 2004, 2010; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Seargeant, 2009; Ike, 2012; Philpott & Alami, 2013, among others), China (Bolton, 2001; Chen & Hu, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Lo Bianco, Orton & Yihong, 2009; Xu, 2010; Xu, Deterding & He, 2017), Honk Kong (Joseph, 1996; Bolton, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2007), Korea (Shim, 1999; Takeshita, 2010; Schneider, 2014), Cyprus (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011), the Netherlands

(Edwards, 2016), Thailand (Kirkpatrick 2010; Schneider, 2014), Russia (Proshina, 2010; Bondarenko, 2014), Persia (Sharifian, 2010; 2010b) and Egypt (Schaub, 2000; Bruthiaux, 2003; Lewko, 2012; Al-Sayadi, 2016; this work), among others, all Expanding countries where people have “dramatically expanded their use of English” (Görlach 2002: 114, see also Berns, 2005: 85) with the result that English there results difficult to accurately classify in the EFL area (Figure 17) since it seem to switch towards the higher EAL status, even if still maintaining features of EFL.



**Figure 17** A modified version of Kachru's (1985) 3CM in which hybrid forms are positioned in an intermediary stage between EFL and ESL, retrieved in Buschfeld (2013: 192).

In these particular foreign contexts, English use is not only restricted to the international domains with regulative functions, but it is often used both internationally and intranationally (Jenkins, 2003a: 16, 2007: 7-10; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 113) for instrumental function as a tool in the educational system, for imaginative/innovative function in creative genres and in global public spaces (Backhaus, 2006; Van Mensel, Vandenbroucke & Blackwood, 2016), including public signs (Onysko, 2016a), advertisements, “popular music, TV series, web content” (Gilquin, 2018: 208), media and the Internet (Edwards, 2016), and, although it still has more “restricted functions in the personal domain” (Xu, 2010: 296), it is even used for interpersonal function as the language of interpersonal communication not only as a ELF between speakers of various linguistic and cultural background (Lewko, 2012; Jenkins, 2009) but also among speakers of the same community (Kachru, 1983, 2006 [1992], Llamzon, 1983; Moag, 1992; Graddol, 1997). Indeed, in these areas, “[t]here are many people who use English every day – at work, in their leisure time and maybe even at home” (Erling, 2004: 135 referring



to English in Germany). English is becoming increasingly used in social relationships, hobbies, and interests of young people and it is even used as a tool for “verbalizing their emotions, and [...] in the construction of their identities” (Leppänen et al., 2011:163 referring to Finns).

In these countries of the Expanding area, English, which is still a foreign language, is principally learnt through formal education with children devoting hours of homework to the study of the English language (Bolton, 2003 referring English in Hong Kong). However, since it is increasingly used in different contexts and domains of everyday life, “it has become impossible for these learners of English not to get any exposure to English” (Gilquin, 2018: 208). The number of inputs has become high, and not limited only to certain domains such as those of entertainment, science (Ammon, 2001), and technology (Gilquin, 2018) as it occurs in other EFL areas. Thus, it seems clear that in these Expanding contexts, English knowledge does not uniquely depend on school education or on linguistic factors, but also on “a broad range of daily activities outside school” (Moag, 1992: 248), “in a more natural fashion [even] before formal education starts” (Buschfeld, 2013: 67) and that is what is in common with native Outer contexts.

In such a situation, speakers (especially educated ones) “can now be expected to understand and produce English with reasonable fluency” (Görlach, 2002: 162) and although being notoriously monolingual, they are increasingly becoming bi-/multilingual (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006) in their mother tongue and English. Indeed, the more English gains power as international language (Crystal, 1995), business language and working language (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016), gaining a symbolic value since it represents modernisation, openness toward internationalism (Spierts, 2015) but also prestige, and technological innovations, the more in EFL countries speakers conduct advanced studies in English (Modiano, 1999a) acquiring a relevant fluency and proficiency which approximate themselves to an acquisition process of English as a L2 (Götz & Schilk, 2011) or as a Lx to the point that “some EFL speakers can also become functionally ESL [here EAL] speakers” (Yano, 2001: 123). Multilingualism, then, leads to a stable and enduring linguistic contact and to a major socialisation understood as “long-term exposure to English” (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018: 615) which is important in the linguistic choice since people tend to use a specific language depending on how much they are socialised in that language and culture.

Thus, when in EFL areas the presence of English is intense, “the influence of English can become slightly more intense as well” (Onysko, 2007: Onysko, 2016a: 207) and, entering in a constant contact with local language(s), it inevitably develops some phrasal borrowings and codeswitches” (Onysko, 2007: Onysko, 2016a: 207) but also more complex linguistic

interferences with the consequent development of linguistic variations which, in turn, can function as ‘language builders’ (Heine & Kuteva, 2005: 35) potentially involving the creation of something new (Schneider, 2007) and the emergence of new hybrid linguistic forms (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld, 2014) which have a potential to develop their own norms, for which they could be defined ‘norm-locally developing’.

Taking this evidence, it seems necessary, today, to discuss the emergence or, at least, the potential emergence of new varieties of English also in Expanding countries. However, being their development a relatively recent phenomenon, their positioning inside models and the attribution of more specific definition, which has never been planned or discussed by previous WEs theories, result difficult and still indefinite so that they remain indefinite borderline cases “in transition between two of the phases, already fulfilling some characteristics of the follow-up phase while at the same time retaining properties of the earlier phase” (Buschfeld, 2013: 70).

## **2.4 The EAL-EFL paradigm gap. ‘Building a bridge’ (Biewer, 2011: 9)**

### **2.4.1 Filling the theoretical void: the integrative approach suggestion**

As discussed on many occasions throughout this work, old WEs theories with their models based on outdated paradigms result limited and unable to describe the current situation of English in the world and unapplicable for the study of the newly evolving varieties of English in the Expanding area (Bruthiaux, 2003; Pung, 2009; Schneider, 2014; Edwards, 2016; Mair, 2016; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017, among others) for which, today, there is a growing awareness and interest (Schneider, 2017). Indeed, old models have focused their major attention on Inner and Outer areas, while they have almost totally neglected the Expanding communities considered “the rest of the world” (Berns, 2005: 85) where, instead, in more recent times, English is spreading, acquiring important and various functions not uniquely limited to international or educational domains but also in intranational and natural ones acquiring thus characteristic which have usually been associated to Outer varieties.

Due to the fact that old WEs frameworks, categorisations and theories so far existing have never contemplated such areas, when trying to give a definition or apply them to the classification of these emergent heterogeneous varieties in the Expanding area, they display clear limitations and a high number of problems in accuracy arise (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011) to the point that it results difficult or even impossible to locate them in a precise existing

category remaining thus excluded from any model and categorisation. This situation highlights the existence of a theoretical void caused by the disconnection of WEs theories with the current sociolinguistic situation of English in the world, and the formation of what has been referred as the ‘paradigm gap’ (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1992 [1982]; Hund & Mukherjee, 2011), “a grey area” (Jenkins, 2003a: 17-18) (Figure 18) between learner Englishes used in EFL countries and the additional-language varieties used in EAL areas (Mukherjee & Hund, 2011).

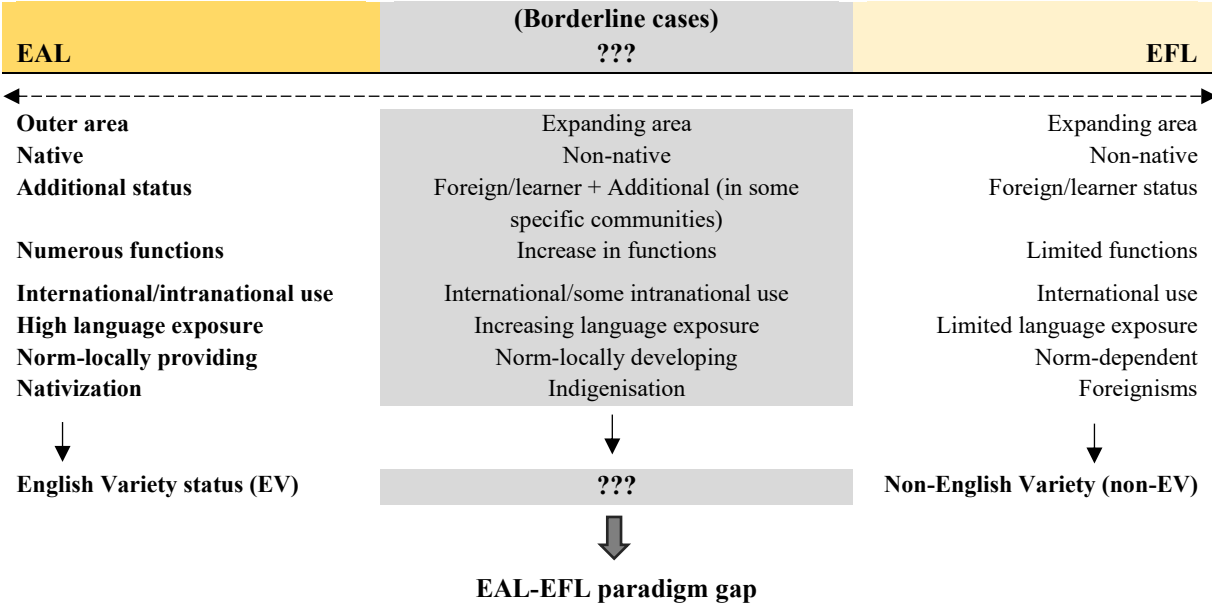


Figure 18 A graphical representation of the ‘grey area’ (Jenkins, 2003a: 17-18) between EAL and EFL.

In order to fill this void and to solve the issue about borderline cases between Outer and Expanding area varieties new taxonomies are necessary (Schreier, 2009) and a new “model is needed to also account for the development of such cases” (Buschfeld, 2014: 197). Efforts in this direction have been made by researchers such as Schneider (2014) with his TA model and Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) with their EIF model. Surely, these two models are attempts to describe the new linguistic situation of English worldwide and to include new global Englishes within a model. However, although theoretically valid, having changed the focal point from colonialism to globalisation (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018), they are still limited in practice, mainly for two reasons: because they are both presented as an extension of the DM which, as it has largely been proved, results problematic when dealing with non-postcolonial or less-prototypical colonial contexts (Pung, 2009) of the Expanding area and because they still, graphically, do not provide room for any new ‘emerging contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24), the

TA model because more than a proper model is an abstract “conceptual framework” (Edwards, 2018: 165), the EIF model because it still traces a classic tripartite categorisation which does not help illustrating the integrative framework (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) largely theorised by its creators and seen as the solution to nullify the gap between EAL and EFL.

Indeed, Buschfeld and Kautzsch’s (2017, see also Buschfeld, 2013, 2014) proposal, as well as other researchers’ (see Mukherjee & Hund, 2011) is to unify both ‘learner Englishes’ and Outer Englishes in a unique common class rather than leave them in a neat dichotomy (Gilquin & Granger, 2011), starting from the presupposition that, “even though differences between second-language varieties and learner Englishes do exist, the dichotomic distinction between the two types should not be considered as clear-cut as traditionally assumed” (Buschfeld, 2013: 74-75, see also Gilquin & Granger, 2011). Indeed, due to global forces which equally reach all linguistic communities, it is possible to delineate an equivalent development for both categories which is proved by the fact that EFL varieties are increasingly acquiring the same features of EAL to the point that they cannot be openly distinguished (Biewer, 2011).

However, this suggestion cannot be considered totally exhaustive, and it does not solve the issue about defining and positioning new emergent varieties of the Expanding area leaving the paradigm gap still opened. This is mainly for two motivations: firstly, because, considering EAL and EFL as “two poles of a continuum” (Buschfeld, 2013: 12, 2014: 189, see also Platt, Weber & Ho, 1984), the new potential Englishes emerging in Expanding areas, which do not fit either in the EAL pole, or in the EFL one, continue not to find their own place but are left in an unstable equilibrium somewhere alongside this continuum, poised in the Outer and the Expanding circles’ borders without a stability nor a clearer definition. Secondly, this suggestion, markedly highlighting the tendency of EFL to shift towards an EAL status, seems to imply “the end of ‘English as a Foreign Language’ (Graddol, 2006), which is too risky a claim. Indeed, this increasing development of English in the Expanding contexts is not what is actually occurring in *all* EFL countries, but it is a trend of some specific communities in which, for different reasons, English is entering with major force than in other EFL countries where, instead, it remains a foreign language not integrating at all with the local linguistic system. Thus, contrary to the proposed idea of uniformity of Outer and Inner categories, and in agreement with the more moderate Biewer (2011) who suggests “a more subtle categorization rather than dissolving the categories of ESL [EAL] and EFL” (Biewer, 2011: 11), in this work, although considering true that in current global times, distinction between EAL and EFL is no more so clear-cut (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018) the two categories go back to being considered as two separated entities because, although similarities, they clearly show divergent

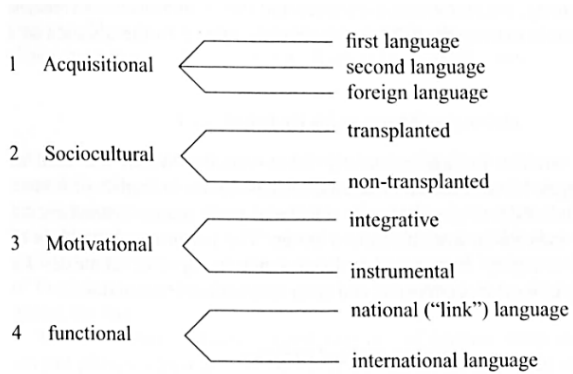
features. Few WE scholars would argue that there is no difference between EAL and EFL and only few of them would promote a too "egalitarian conception of world Englishes" (Onysko, 2016a: 216) as to claim that "Englishes are Englishes, regardless of the circle" (Bruthiaux, 2003: 174). It seems sufficiently clear, for example, that it is not possible to compare and equate the variety of English used in an EAL area like India and the 'non-variety' of English of an EFL context such as Italy.

Differences between the two categories are evident and can be discussed in acquisitional, sociocultural, motivational, functional terms (Kachru, 1983, 2006a [1992]) (Figure 19) and considering norm-orientation. More in detail, the first difference is in the acquisitional contexts (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). Although both EAL and EFL speakers "are in the same initial position because they learn English [...] usually from school-going age or even later" (van Rooy, 2011: 193), considering it a foreign language, the acquisition in terms of cognitive abilities and input is different (Biewer, 2011). Indeed, while EFL speakers have only limited opportunity to use the language (van Rooy, 2011), EAL users show a major linguistic exposure (Biewer, 2011), to the point that "the acquisition of English comes closer to that of a first language because learners are frequently exposed to the additional language before entering school and because there is extensive code-switching and possibly some form of diglossia" (Hundt & Mukherjee, 2011b: 209). The second difference lies in the type of sociolinguistic contact. While EAL varieties are mainly (but not always) PCEs in which English has mainly been 'transplanted' (Llamzon, 1983: 104-105) through migration and colonialism, in EFL, English enters through globalisation forces and globalisation tools such as the Internet, media, and popular literature. The third divergence is in the motivations for learning and using English. EAL speakers are motivated by their need to use it as the first language in many domains, while EFL wish to learn English principally as an instrument since they need to be citizens of the globalised world (Peterson, 2011), to have more economic and cultural opportunities or simply as a sign of prestige and a spy of high level of instruction. The fourth difference is to be found in the functions of English. While the foreign language is predominantly used with pragmatic and instrumental functions for international communication with the economic forces as "the prime movers" (Lysandrou & Lysandrou, 2003: 102) and mainly in some restricted and specific domains such as high education, science, technology, medicine, etc., EAL "fulfils a wide range of functions in different domains of intranational communication" (Buschfeld, 2013: 63) becoming an integral part of the nation language system. In addition, another "fundamental difference between English as a Second [Additional] Language and English as a Foreign Language [...] lies in differences in norm-orientation and attitudes" (Gut, 2011: 121) and while

EAL speakers, even if unconsciously, have already become norm-independent having started the endonormative process with the development of local norms of English to the point that any deviation from the StdE norms is viewed as a ‘variation’ due to the interlingual process, EFL are still norm-dependent and any deviance from the StdE form is seen as an ‘error’ due to learners’ low linguistic proficiency.

Since EAL and EFL varieties generally assume different features, the proposal of considering them a unique entity is not totally acceptable. Indeed, due to the differences between EAL and EFL in many aspects, the integrative approach cannot be properly applied since it is unproductive to hide or neglect all divergences between the two English contexts in order to annul the theoretical gap. This resolution appears too much simplified and abstract and, moreover, it does nothing to give a proper space and value to new emergence contexts.

Thus, since no other solutions have been proposed so far, the issue about the definition and positioning of new Englishes of the Expanding contexts remains unsolved and the theoretical EAL-EFL gap described unfilled. WEs studies still face the challenge of building “a bridge” (Biewer, 2011: 9, see also Hund & Mukherjee, 2011) between the two categories and for this reason, it is legitimate to advance the hypothesis that an alternative solution and more up-to-date model and categorisation is needed, namely The ‘Fluid Model of the emergence of English as a Potential Variety’ (henceforth FM), as an attempt to fill the theoretical void between EAL and EFL varieties, and describe the current linguistic situation of English in the world positioning new emerging varieties of English more adequately.



**Figure 19** Kachru's form and functions of ESL and EFL, retrieved from Kachru, 1983: 36 (see also Kachru, 2006a [1992]: 113).

## 2.4.2 The ‘Fluid Model of the emergence of English as a Potential Variety’ (FM)

### *The English as a Potential Variety (EPV) as a middle-earth stage in the continuum*

The categorisations so far used are all still based on the classical tripartite categorisation ENL, ESL and EFL. In this format, even presenting these categories with a changing terminology, as suggested previously in this work, the issue linked to borderline cases of varieties of English emerging in the Expanding area is not solved. Indeed, these varieties still remain suspended “somewhere between ESL [EAL] and EFL status” (Buschfeld, 2013: 11) and “locating varieties at [any] one point of the continuum” involves “a high degree of abstraction and [...] approximation” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 24) which would not be so helpful in WEs research to describe varieties.

The solution proposed in this work is the addition of a fourth ‘stage’ in the varietal continuum between EAL and EFL, occupied by the EAL-EFL borderline cases which, although the diversity of their ecology (Fishman, 2000) and of the input factors which should make us expect widely different outcomes, surprisingly share similarities with respect to their sociolinguistic settings and their linguistic properties (Schneider, 2010 referring to ESL varieties), and they all approximate themselves to the EAL status having developed functions which go beyond the simple EFL and ELF status with the slow and unconscious development of a localised use of English. They own features of both EAL and EFL types and, if on the one hand their propensity is to move forward on the continuum, on the other hand they still maintain some links with EFL, and this is what does not allow them to shift towards a higher stage totally and definitely. What occurs, instead, is that they transitorily and maybe temporarily position themselves in this intermediate stage (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) which should be imagined, no longer as *any* “one point of the continuum” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 24), but as a *specific* area, namely the ‘English as a Potential Variety’ (henceforth EPV) area, where the term ‘potential’ indicates that, although varieties in this stage have not yet acquired a proper EAL status, they have developed (or are developing) the *potentiality* to flow towards a superior stage.

The insertion of the EPV area as a middle-earth stage between the two EAL and EFL borders would be a possible solution to fill the theoretical void caused by the increasing use and development of English in many Expanding areas, as well as a for a more adequate positioning and definition of these new emergent varieties. It is worth noticing, that, far from presenting it

as fixed, the EPV is instead meant to be intended as one more open stage along a fluid varietal continuum (Figure 20).

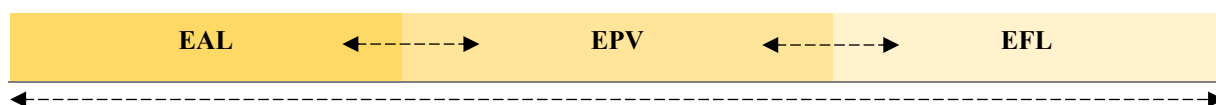


Figure 20 The EPV stage as a middle-earth area between EAL and EFL

### *Positioning varieties along a varietal flow*

The old practice of positioning varieties in clear-cut categories is a process which gives a sense of segregation (Bruthiaux, 2003) and appears to be “too static to map the linguistic consequences of a globalised world” (Kautzsch, 2014: 224). A language is not a static entity: it always evolves and is “in constant states of flux” (Mufwene, 2014: 15) changing and moving along the varietal continuum so that it is difficult to keep it inside ‘closed containers’.

Changes, evolutions and shifts are possible and this is especially valid for English, as it is evident from the recent emergence of “hybrid mixes” (Schneider, 2014: 9, see also Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) or “hybrid cases” (Buschfeld, 2014: 189) in the Expanding areas. Already in 1985, Kachru had noticed that:

The outer circle and the expanding circle cannot be viewed as clearly demarcated from each other: they have several shared characteristics, and the status of English in the language policies of such countries changes from time to time. What is an ESL region at one time may become an EFL region at another time or vice versa.

(Kachru, 1985a: 14).

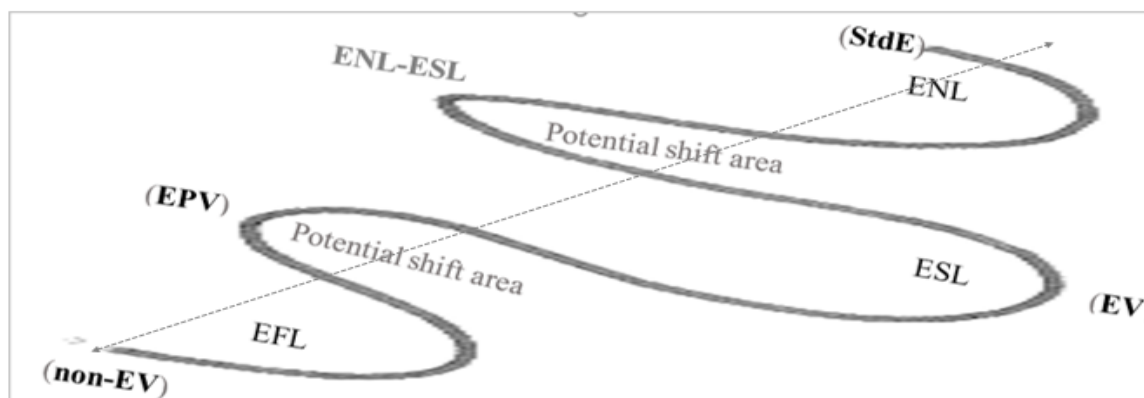
In more recent time, when English has impressively spread in the world (Schneider, 2014), WEs researches such as Mukherjee and Hund (2011), Biewer (2011) Bongartz and Buschfeld (2011, see also Buschfeld, 2013, 2014), Gilquin and Ganger (2011) among others, have developed this idea in a more systematic fashion, and they all agree that because of these continuous moves and shifts, boundaries between types are becoming feeble (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018) to the extent that they should not be considered as neatly separated, but as part of “a continuum on which different Englishes can develop freely in either direction” (Buschfeld, 2013: 202-203, see also Biewer, 2011; Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011; Gilquin & Ganger, 2011, among others) moving from one pole to the other (Mukherjee & Hund, 2011; Buschfeld, 2013, 2014).



In this work, in agreement with these ideas, and accepting Edwards' (2016) suggestion that it is necessary to start thinking about the development of Englishes as a flow (Edwards, 2016), the continuum is here presented as a stream in which a variety can fluidly move from one stage to another changing its status according to the given socio-historical moment, to the specific sociolinguistic and cultural context, as well as to moral ideologies (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) of the place in which it develops. As noticeable, in order to create a major fuzziness, the strict concept of 'category' is here replaced in favour of the more flexible idea of 'stage' or 'area', being EML, EAL or EFL no longer fixed categories, but points placed along the varietal flow, so that the question is not in which category should a variety be inserted, but which stage of the developmental varietal flux has a variety reached. Shifts can no longer be imagined as neat passages from one closed circle to another, but as a smooth and predictable movement from one area to another. Indeed, in the passage towards a different stage there will always be a phase in which a variety develops hybrid features which announce a possible shift, acquiring all the potentiality to change its status. It is a sort of limbo area which could be defined 'potential shift area'. An example of potential shift area can be found at the level of the EPV stage, described indeed as a midway stage in which an EFL acquires characteristics which make it potentially shift towards an EAL status.

A variety placed in this intermediate position has then three possibilities: it can lose its status of EPV returning to the EFL stage, it can remain a EPV with its hybrid sociolinguistic characteristics, or it can totally acquire all the features of an EAL and thus definitely shift towards the higher stage. This implies mainly two things: firstly, that the 'potential shift' moment is not just any abstract point of the continuum but, contrarywise, it is a specific and concrete stage along the developmental process, a specific status that a variety can reach if it develops precise features; secondly that the developmental process of a variety can be either evolutionary or involutory, since varieties move freely in any direction (Buschfeld, 2013, see also Biewer, 2011; Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011; Gilquin & Ganger, 2011, among others) for which, not only non-EV of the EFL area can move forward becoming an EPV, but it is also possible that an EV belonging to the EAL area slide backwards becoming an EPV. The former situation would be possible, for example, if a nativization process begins or if English acquires more intranational functions, the latter, if despite being in the Outer area and recognising English as an official or semi-official language in the country, the local variety does not reach a total nativization, as in the case of Palau English, among others, which is still at the second exonormative stabilisation phase in the DM (Matsumoto & Britain, 2015).

In order to graphically represent the weak boundaries between areas, “succession of stages may be realized [more] fuzzily” (Schneider, 2007: 57). The graphical result will be a fluid line with different stages of language development positioned at one point of the ‘varietal flow’ rather than within fixed groups or closed circles, each of them alternated with a ‘potential shift area’ (Figure 21).



**Figure 21** A more fluid representation of the developmental process of English varieties along a varietal flux. The ‘Fluid Model of the emergence of English as a Potential Variety’ (FM).

Furthermore, despite being probable as well as being graphically represented as a ‘potential shift area’ between the two EML and EAL stages, the phenomenon of borderline cases between these two areas is not analysed here and explanations on the topic will not be given in this work. Whereas, how a variety develops potentiality to shift towards different areas along the varietal flow, changing its status, is instead explained in detail through the description of some specific criteria and parameters which will be dealt systematically and illustrated in the next section. A special focus is on the shifts from the EFL towards an EPV, and eventually from EPV towards an EAL stage, or the other way round which explains why this model is named ‘Fluid Model of the emergence of English as a Potential Variety’ (FM).

## 2.5 Criteria for assessing variety status

### 2.5.1 Criteria used in WEs research: an excursus

The establishment of criteria is not new in the history of sociolinguistic and variationist studies. Indeed, since “[i]n order to decide between two opposite positions, a precise yardstick is needed”, WEs researchers have always established criteria for assessing variety status,

especially when faced with the analysis of EAL varieties: Llamzon (1983) in his study of Philippine English, Butler (1997) in her analysis of Southeast Asia English, and Kachru (2005) analysing English in Asia are only few examples. More recently, criteria have been thought also for the analysis of newly emerging Englishes in Expanding areas. Examples are Bolton (2003: 46) with his investigation of English in China, Mollin (2006) and her analysis of Euro English, Buschfeld (2013) with her study of English in Cyprus, Kautzsch (2014) in his study of English in Germany, and Edwards (2016) in her investigation of English in the Netherlands. All of them identified some “essential categories of features” (Bolton, 2003: 46) through which it is possible to decide “whether a non-native English is to be classified as a new variety or simply as a learner language” (Mollin, 2007: 167).

In detail, Llamzon (1983) established four criteria, namely the *ecological* which refers to the linguistic environment in which the new variety is transplanted (Llamzon, 1983), the *historical* which refers to the “historical development from the parent variety” (Llamzon, 1983: 101), the *sociolinguistic* which refers to the domains of use and functions in the social network of communication in which the new variety develops (Llamzon, 1983), and the *cultural* with the investigation of literature written in the new variety of English (Llamzon, 1983). Llamzon’s criteria, which have been very inspirational for further researchers, have the merit of introducing the cultural dimension in a variety development, recognising that, not only sociolinguistic and linguistic factors, but also creative writings and practices can function as a vehicle for the transmission of linguistic forms.

As reported in Bolton (2003), Butler (1997), in her turn, suggested five criteria for the definition of WEs, which are: a standard and recognizable pattern of pronunciation handed down from one generation to another (i.e. accent); particular words and phrases which spring up usually to express key features of the physical and social environment and which are regarded as peculiar to the variety (vocabulary); a history – a sense that this variety of English is the way it is because of the history of the language community; a literature written without apology in that variety of English (literary creativity); and reference works – dictionaries and style guides – which show that people in that language community look at themselves, not some outside authority, to decide what is right and wrong in term of how they speak and write their English (Butler, 1997, cited in Bolton, 2003: 46-47). Nevertheless, in Butler’s criteria the sociolinguistic aspect is missing. She prioritises the influence of segmental and suprasegmental features, the historical events that led to the spread of the English language in a community, its influence, both linguistic and cultural on that community and the acceptance of the new form of English on behalf of the speakers and the institution with the creation of prescriptive

resources such as dictionaries. Conversely, she does not take into consideration some very important aspects such as the use, function, domains, and context.

In his study on Chinese English, Bolton (2003), proposed several other approaches to the study of WEs and in conclusion suggested to adopt Llamzon's "checklist of features [...] augmented by at least three other sets of features, *linguistic*, *attitudinal*, and *political*" (Bolton, 2003: 46). From the linguistic point of view, he identified as essential the existence of "sets of distinctive linguistic items typically associated with a new variety" (Bolton, 2003: 46). As for the attitudinal condition, he considers the acceptance of the new variety by the speakers' community and particularly by "the general public, schoolteachers, academics, journalists, writers" (Bolton, 2003: 46). He wondered whether the new form of English is seen positively or whether it is viewed as an assemblage of linguistic errors. At the political level, he regards as crucial the recognition of the new form of English by the government, the educational institutions or the official (or semi-official) bodies (Bolton, 2003).

Kachru (2005) established some other criteria for the study of functional native varieties which he then applied to the case of English in Asia: *historical*, with reference to the language policies of major regions and the place of English in such contexts; *functional*, within the contexts of the uses of English in various domains; *formal*, with reference to major productive processes which mark the nativization of English; *sociocultural*, with reference to the acculturation of English within the social and cultural contexts of the region; *creative*, with reference to, for example, literary genres, professional genres, and the news media; *educational*, with reference to the status and use of English in the educational system at various levels in, and types of, educational institutions; and *attitudinal*, with reference to the users' attitudes towards the models and methods appropriate for the local users (Kachru, 2005).

One year later, in her work *Euro-English. Assessing varieties status*, Mollin (2006) reduced again the number of criteria for assessing EAL status down to three criteria: namely *expansion* with a focus on the function of English in society and on multilingualism seen as "an essential prerequisite to the development of a [additional] second-language variety" (Mollin, 2006: 46, see also Llamzon, 1983; Brutt-Griffler, 2002), *nativization* "of all style and registers" (Mollin, 2006: 48) which refers to the linguistic form of English which, for a variety to reach the additional-language status, must be distinctive "as regards the lexicon, phonology, syntax and discourse styles" (Mollin, 2006: 48), and *institutionalisation* regarding attitudes towards English (Mollin, 2006, 2007) including acceptance of the local variety by its speakers and by the authorities (Figure 22).

<b>Expansion</b>	Extensive bilingualism Use in the domain of education Use in the domain of administration Use in the media Use in creative writing Use in contact code
<b>Nativization</b>	Extended register and style range Distinctive phonology, lexicon, syntax, discourse style Characteristics must be communal, not idiosyncratic New features must be systematic
<b>Institutionalisation</b>	No gap between performance model and linguistic behaviour Acceptance of the local variety and its label Beginning codification and official recognition of the variety

**Figure 22** Criteria catalogue for ESL-varieties by Mollin, retrieved in Mollin, 2007: 173.

As evident, the historical criterion, which was instead the first criterion for Llamzon (1983), Butler (1997), Bolton (2003) and Kachru (2005), is no longer included in the catalogue of criteria, maybe following the idea according to which historical events are not the necessary requisite for a variety to develop in a country and that major attention must be given to the sociolinguistic aspects of a language (Bruthiaux, 2003). This idea is particularly followed by Bruthiaux who in his 2003 article *Squaring the circles: issues in modeling English worldwide* gave similar suggestions for the creation of a “21 century alternative model” (Bruthiaux, 2003: 161, 173, see also Deshors, 2018) claiming that:

In brief, the model should make it possible to represent speech practices based on patterns of interaction and communicative, not historical, factors and take as its premise the notion that shared linguistic knowledge and practices are generally of greater communicative consequence than national origin. This is not to suggest that an understanding of sociopolitical factors such as colonial history is not crucial if we are to make sense of the nature and role of languages of interethnic and transnational communication. However, much is to be gained by focusing less on where speakers of English come from and more on what they do – or don’t do – with the language”

(Bruthiaux, 2003: 175).

Mollin’s criteria have been then adopted by Buschfeld (2013, 2014), Kautzsch (2014) and Edwards (2016) who built their own checklists on the same three factors, namely the functions of English in a society with a focus on a spreading bilingualism (Edwards, 2016), nativization of linguistic forms, especially of pronunciation features (Kautzsch, 2014) with a consequent exonormative orientation, and attitudes towards English, considering them “the most important criteria for assessing variety (ESL) status” (Buschfeld, 2013, 68). Among the three scholars, the most innovative seems to be Buschfeld (2013, 2014), later followed by Edwards (2016), who, in her analysis of English in Cyprus, introduced some new elements. Firstly, she added a fourth criterion as a separate aspect (Buschfeld, 2013), namely *ways of language acquisition* (Buschfeld, 2013, 68-69, see also Buschfeld, 2014) (Figure 23) through which she introduced

the acquisitional parameter with an attention on the ways English is acquired/learnt in a community (Buschfeld, 2013). Secondly, as for the expansion in function criterion, she enlarged the focus on the spread of English not only with international but also with intranational functions in various domains of everyday life in a society. Thirdly, she tried to establish parameters expressed in percentages in order to determine whether a nativization process has taken place with a major systematicity of linguistic characteristics.

1. Expansion in function
  - widespread societal bilingualism
  - intranational use of English in several domains (e.g. education, administration, media, and for intranational, interethnic communication)
2. Nativization of linguistic structures
  - considerable number of characteristics on all levels of language use (i.e. phonological, morphological, morphosyntactic, lexical, and pragmatic level)
  - societal spread of these characteristics
  - systematicity of these characteristics

}	$\geq 30\%$ feature use: feature nativization sets in
}	$\geq 50\%$ feature use: use of local features turns into preference and from there may gradually develop into a rule
- orientation towards a local norm may start to develop
3. Ways of language acquisition
  - more natural way of language acquisition than in typical EFL countries
4. Institutionalization
  - acceptance of characteristics as local norm [not obligatory for variety status, but indicator of well advanced developmental stage]
  - localization of usage domains (e.g. localization of creative writing, the teaching machinery, and the media)
  - codification [not obligatory for varietal status]

**Figure 23** Criteria for ESL by Buschfeld, retrieved in Buschfeld, 2013: 68-69.

All criteria so far proposed are valid and useful as to verifying whether a potential variety “comes up to the status of a variety or not” (Mollin, 2007: 168). However, it seems that each one of the sets listed, if taken singularly ignore certain facets of a variety development to the point that it is legitimate to advance the hypothesis that it is necessary to integrate all criteria so far mentioned in a unique larger catalogue, sometimes recovering old criteria, other times adding new points.

## 2.5.2 Criteria and parameters of the FM

Building on earlier works and, more specifically, following the footsteps of Llamzon’s (1983) and Bolton’s (2003), Mollin’s (2006) and Buschfeld’s (2013, 2014), a catalogue of ten criteria to asses variety status and, specifically to “decide whether we are dealing with a legitimate

second-language [additional-language] variety or simply with learner language” (Mollin, 2007: 167), or whether we are in front of a case of EPV, are presented in this section. These are:

- the *socio-historical criterion*, characterised by the analysis of the reasons for the first linguistic contacts between English and local language(s) which allowed linguistic influxes.
- the *acquisitional criterion* which aims at analysing means and contact typology by which people in a country learn or acquire English (Moag, 1992), whether through formal instruction or also with inputs from the environment.
- the *ecological criterion* with the investigation of the socio-linguistic situation of the country which English enters in contact with (official languages, dialects, diglossia, multilingualism, language proficiency, etc.).
- the *sociolinguistic criterion* which verifies the functions that English has in different international and intranational domains of the target society and its use in its different both formal and informal sociocultural contexts.
- the *motivational criterion* which investigates the motivations, either integrative or pragmatic, for learning English in a non-English speaking country.
- the *linguistic criterion* with the investigation of linguistic influences on the local language(s) which could be also accompanied by extralinguistic influences.
- the *cultural criterion* concerning the analysis of interferences of the English language and culture in local high creative genres (literature, cinema) and low cultural products (popular music, Internet productions, advertising, etc.).
- the *cognitive criterion* with the investigation of speakers’ awareness of their own local variety with its linguistic differentiation from StdE and of their norm orientation. It also verifies whether it is recognised by the research community including (scholars, teachers, examination bodies and publishing houses) (van Rooy, 2011).
- the *attitudinal criterion*, a decisive criterion for a variety to be considered a proper EV, investigating users’ feeling towards and acceptance of the use of their own English and/or towards the more general introduction of English in their country,
- the *political criterion*, which analyses the recognition of the new local variety by the authority or the official acceptance of English as integral part of the local linguistic system with the establishment of language policies and through the process of institutionalisation, and eventually codification of the new EV.

Each criterion, with its features, parameters, and conditions for assessing variety status, is discussed more in detail below. While describing criteria, attention is given to the situation of English in the globe, with a major focus on Outer and Expanding areas in order to verify at which stage of the varietal flow each criterion described is met and thus, consequently, which stage a linguistic form has reached, whether an EAL, an EFL or an EPV status. This would be equally helpful for tracing the main features of EPV and for finding their more adequate definition.

### ***The socio-historical criterion: historical events and language contact***

Undoubtedly, a “language [variety] development is influenced by language contact” (Mufwene, 2008: 32). The socio-historical criterion of the FM refers to the historical and social event(s), such as colonialism, industrialisation, digital revolution, new economic and power equilibrium establishment and power assignment, globalisation, “the political and social pre-eminence of the United States” (Cortes et al., 2005: 35-35), and so on, functioning as the ‘foundation’ (Schneider, 2003: 244) factors which allow English to enter in contact with the local language(s) of a country. The FM, which is “sensitive to historical consideration” (Onysko, 2016a: 214), establishes the socio-historical issue as the first most important (Mufwene, 2013) and necessary (Edwards 2016) aspect in the development of varieties (Mukherjee & Hund, 2011; Buschfeld, 2013, 2014) since it allows the creation of contact-induced situations, and thus it represents the presupposition for linguistic interferences. The investigation of “historical background data”, indeed, allows “to assess whether the social, economic, and cultural context is conducive to epicentric influence or not” (Hundt, 2013: 184).

Until more recent times, colonialism was considered the main, or even the unique, historical event which drew towards always new contact situations in the world. This claim has been so rooted in WEs research that when colonisation era finished, the problem of missing transference through colonial expansion, and specifically through the physical encounter between “migrant functionaries and settlers” (Schneider, 2014: 11) and the indigenous population, emerged among scholars when faced with the analysis of new emergent contexts where a prototypical colonial background is missing. Schneider (2014) proposed to skip the ‘foundation phase’ (Schneider, 2003: 244) for the study of these new ‘emergent contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24), even though he continues labelling ‘foundation’ what he identifies as a ‘fundamental’ factor. Logically, in order to enter a community “English *must* take root in some



way” (emphasis added) (Edwards, 2016: 159) and the moment in which a language contact is established through an “Event X” (Schneider, 2003: 250, see also Schneider, 2014; Spencer, 2011; Buschfeld, 2011), is surely “the initial stage [in which] English begins to be used on a regular basis in a country that was not English-speaking before” (Schneider, 2003: 244 defining the foundation phase). This is in agreement with other researchers such as Buschfeld (2013; 2017) who reinserted this phase in her EIF model explaining that “the term ‘foundation’ appears to be wide enough to also cover the starting point of Englishes without colonizing influence, no matter what exact driving forces were behind this development” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 118), and Edwards (2016) who proposes a recovery and a readaptation of this first stage through the modified notion of ‘foundation-through-globalisation’ (Edwards, 2016: 159) which implicitly underlines how colonial physical encounters have been replaced by other less concrete phenomena such global forces, equally representing occasions of linguistic and cultural contacts.

Hence, even if “[l]anguage contact has not yet been explored as a common process to explain the diversity of Englishes in the world” (Onysko, 2016a: 205) it is clear that the international diversification of English is mainly due to its contact with other languages (Kachru, 1992: 6) and “there is no evidence that languages have developed in total isolation from other languages” (Thomason, 2001: 11). Contact linguistic studies have shown that linguistic contacts, “conceived of as interacting systems of language in a speaker’s mind” (Onysko, 2009: 34), with their continuous linguistic negotiations allow the emergence of different Englishes which, eventually, may become functionally adapted in local, often multilingual, setting (Kachru, 1992f). Significantly, it is worthy pointing out that language contacts have the most surprising structural effects only if they are prolonged, constant, and intense (Thomason, 2001; Schneider, 2007; Buschfeld, 2013). Indeed, the more long-lasting, persistent, and stronger the contact, the higher the degree of bi- or multilingualism in a community, the more contacts are effective (Schneider, 2007). In addition, a long-term contact with a language and culture represents a better and easier occasion for “emotional acculturation” (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011, see also Dewaele, 2008). Intensity, in its turn, depends on social circumstances such as “[t]he number of speakers, the areal spread of the contact languages, and the dispersion of -linguagлизм in the contact languages” as well as the nature of “the codes and cultures in contact and the directionality of contact, [...] the linguistic mode of the contact (written and/or spoken), the medium of the contact (speaker interaction, mediated transmission)” (Onysko, 2016a: 209), the “socio-economic power relations of the contact languages, social status of speakers, social bonds [...], and language

policies” (Onysko, 2016a: 211). If these conditions are favourable, new local varieties of English will develop (Graddol, 1997) becoming increasingly different from one another (Yano, 2001).

Linguistic contacts, which influence the development of World Englishes, can occur through different “contact onsets” (Thomason, 2001: 17-21). These could be either tangible or abstract, even if there are scholars such as Mufwene (2013) or Schneider (2003, 2007) who agreed that “[t]here is no language contact without interacting individuals” (Mufwene, 2013: 206, see also van Rooy & Kruger, 2018) since “[l]anguage contact most often involves face-to-face interactions among groups of speakers” (Thomason, 2001: 4). Tangible contacts are the ones due to the heritage of the British and/or American imperialism, abstract contacts are the ones motivated by cultural factors (Schneider, 2007) and intellectual reasons (Crystal, 1995) as the use of English in formal language acquisition (Siemund, 2018) and its extensive use in social media (Siemund, 2018) and on the Internet. They are also motivated by practical reasons, such as the global use of English as the International language (Crystal, 1995), as a lingua franca, as the ‘Language of Science’ (Ammon, 2001) and technology, the language of trade, business and international politics, and the language of globalisation which allows people to be linked with the world. For all these tangible and abstract socio-historical motivations, today, English has spread globally achieving the prestige of being “the only language in the world which is a potential contact language for all others” (Mair, 2018a: 50, see also Hundt & Schreier, 2013).

While the events and reasons for the spread of English listed above are generally agreed on and shared by the communities in which English has rooted, there may also exist other “Event[s] X” (Schneider, 2003: 250, see also Schneider, 2014) more specifically tied to a nation’s social and historical experiences which equally allow English to penetrate and that must be taken into consideration in order to depict a complete picture of the linguistic situation of the English language in a country. Examples of ‘Event X’ could be a sports event, as reported by Spencer (2011) analysing the spread of English in South Africa or as reported by Shim (1999) who showed how Olympic Games of 1988 contributed to a more extensive use of English by Koreans (Shim, 1999), or wars, rebellions, and revolutions as in the case of the 25<sup>th</sup> January revolution in Egypt (Bassiouney, 2014; Poese, 2014; Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) which facilitated English to spread among young Egyptian rebels (La Causa, forthcoming a). Both external and local histories play an important role (Schneider, 2007) even if, among all socio-historical factors, globalisation, and its tools, surely play the most important role in the

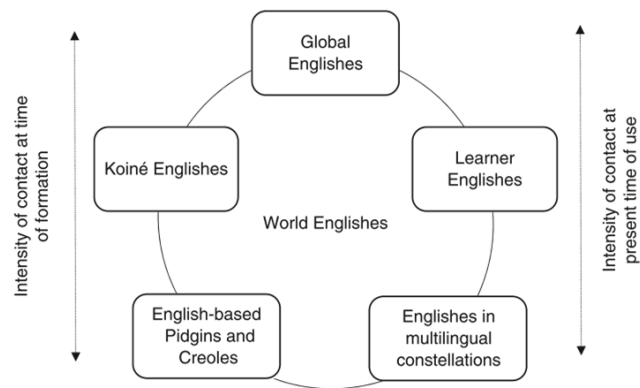
emergence of new varieties also referred, indeed, as ‘Global Englishes’ (GEs) (Onysko, 2016a), even if it would be better to talk about ‘Globalisation Englishes’ (GlobEs).

What should be clear is that the linguistic situation of a country cannot depend on a single socio-historical event, but it is shaped by a combination of facts which lead to new forms of language-contact conditions (Evans, 2009). All possible events, both present and past, both internationally shared and locally tied, can be driving-forces for the spread of English in a territory and, consequently, potential identity-former (Schneider, 2017). This means that although current factors are surely the most powerful driving-forces for the spread of English worldwide, past historical events cannot be forgotten and neglected. For example, even though it is true that the globalisation of English has become the new strength for the establishment of new English varieties in the Expanding area, and that colonialism, which is instead a long-gone event with no immediate repercussion on the new variety development, has lost its power in this function, it does not mean that colonial experience can be totally gone unnoticed by new WEs researchers. Contrary, whenever it has had part in linguistic contacts, as it occurred for less-prototypical PCEs, it must be included as one of the motivations leading to the spread of English in a country (Bruthiaux, 2003; Edwards, 2011; Bonnici, 2010; Buschfeld, 2013, Buschfeld, 2014).

### ***The acquisitional criterion: the means and typology of contact***

The acquisitional criterion aims at analysing the means and the typology of contact by which people in a country learn or acquire English, so that it relies on the educational setting (Kachru, 1983, see also Kachru, 2006a [1992]) and on the inputs offered by the environment.

Depending on the different types of contacts and acquisitional methods, English can assume different forms (Onysko, 2016b). Onysko, for example, identifies five distinct categories each one made of varieties which have developed from a different “contact typology” (Onysko, 2016b: 193). According to his Language Contact Typology (LCT) model of world Englishes, there exist Learner Englishes (LEs) which emerge “in countries where English is a major learner language as part of the education system” (Onysko, 2016a: 212), ‘Global Englishes’ (GEs) which emerge in contexts where English exerts its influence as a global language (Onysko, 2016a), ‘English in multilingual constellations’ (EMCs), a label that includes “a range of scenarios where English is acquired as a first or second(+) language in multilingual contexts as in many postcolonial nations” (Onysko, 2016a: 213), and eventually he adds English-based Pidgins and Creoles (EPCs) and Koiné Englishes (KEs) (Figure 24).



**Figure 24** The Language Contact Typology (LCT) of world Englishes, retrieved from Onysko, 2016: 213.

However, this model presents incongruities due to “the possible co-existence of several contact scenarios” (Onysko, 2016b: 193). For example, GEs and LEs cannot be treated as two separate typologies since LEs can also be GEs at the same time, and vice versa. Indeed, if we take into consideration a variety such as Chinese English which Onysko overtly categorises in the LEs group (Onysko, 2016a), problems with this categorisation emerge since China is developing its own form of English (Bolton, 2003; Chen & Hu, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Lo Bianco, Orton & Yihong, 2009; Xu, Deterding & He, 2017), since due to globalisation influences, English inputs are becoming high in number even outside formal educations. Similarly, GEs areas are “multilingual context” as well. Indeed, English is acquired by some speakers as an additional “second(+) language” (Onysko, 2016a: 213) in a country where exposure to English is widespread, and this is what GEs mostly have in common with the ‘Englishes in multilingual constellations’ category generally corresponding to Outer area. This explains that the acquisition of English in a community may not depend on a unique means and type of contact, but it can be variously acquired through both educational factors and everyday linguistic exposure hence following an acquisitional process which is thus both top-down and bottom-up at the same time.

The introduction of English in both Outer and Expanding areas schools is an important step in the creation of linguistic contacts. In terms of educational factors, in both areas, people officially learn/acquire English respectively as an additional or foreign language through formal instruction (van Rooy, 2011). However, what may differ is their acquisition in terms of linguistic exposure (Biewer, 2011). Today, English as a ‘World language’ (Bailey & Görlach, 1982) and language of globalisation enters all linguistic communities “from below” (Preisler, 1999, see also Preisler, 2003; Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006) with speakers experiencing a

“*passive exposure*” (emphasis in the original) (Schneider, 2016a: 254, see also Mair, 2013). They passively receive inputs from their everyday life environment through global products such as the Internet, the media, but also through commercial global product such as advertising, labels, pop music, and so on, being inevitably exposed to English (Gilquin, 2018). This means that both Outer and Expanding area speakers have major opportunities to receive linguistic inputs and thus familiarise with a language also outside the classroom (Gilquin, 2018). Surely, this kind of “natural acquisition of English in everyday interaction [...] accounts for a considerable part of the acquisition process” (Buschfeld, 2013: 67), a claim which is confirmed by Krashen’s (2003) input hypothesis and by recent researches on Linguistic Landscape (LL) studies affirming that the acquisition of English can occur “through the intensive and extensive exposure to [...] English” (Yano, 2001: 123) mainly due to the language ‘visibility’ in the cities (Barni & Bagna, 2010; Backhouse, 2007) offered by the current phenomenon of globalisation and through the presence of comprehensible inputs in natural communicative contexts (Krashen, 2003). Nevertheless, the input in Outer and Expanding areas is different in terms of intensity and frequency of language exposure, which is elevated and constant in Outer areas and increasing in some Expanding countries where the number of inputs is progressively becoming high and more frequent, lower in other Expanding contexts, where the use of English is controlled and where inputs outside classrooms are very few and limited scopewise (Gilquin, 2018).

### ***The ecological criterion: the linguistic situation and multilingualism***

The ecological criterion refers to the linguistic environment and situation (official languages, dialects, diglossia, multilingualism, language proficiency, etc.) of the communities involved in the language contact. Indeed, “[l]anguage is not an isolated phenomenon that can be understood out of its social context” but conversely, it is strictly “linked to social and local ecology” (Gass & Selinker, 2008: 280). The ecological criterion is indeed a fundamental one since a language spreads within a country only if its ecology is favourable and if the country and its people have a positive aptitude for the introduction of new linguistic forms.

The most important condition in the emergence of a new variety is the spread of a stable bi-/multilingualism (Llamzon, 1983; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Mollin, 2006; Buschfeld, 2013; Edwards, 2016) which in turn requires speakers to have a high proficiency in the languages they speak and a certain competence in English (Mollin, 2006).

Multilingualism is defined, not as the characteristic of a speaker with “native-like control of two [or more] languages” (Bloomfield, 1933: 56), but as the characteristic of a speaker who is able to converse in “more than two languages” (Aubakirova & Mandel, 2020), even if with different degrees of proficiency (Mollin, 2006), being a “trilingual, quadrilingual, and so forth” (Aubakirova & Mandel, 2020), and who use these languages habitually for different functions. In a multilingual environment speakers have a “collection of ‘languages’ at their disposal, or better, a complex of specific semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined ‘language’, while others belong to another ‘language’” (Blommaert, 2010: 102) as well as to all the linguistic forms including varieties, probably one high and one low as it typical in diglossic situations (Ferguson, 1959), and local dialects present in the society (Schreier, 2013). The fact of having more ‘semiotic resources’ belonging to different languages or varieties grants speakers a wider choice and requires them to be able to select and then use the resources at their disposal either separately or mixing them (McArthur, 1992). This choice of linguistic features from different languages operated by bi-/multilingual speakers could also be explained through Mufwene’s (2001, 2005) theory of the ‘ecology of language’ (Mufwene, 2001, 2004), according to which the emergence of contact-induced varieties depends on the choices speakers make selecting a particular form (or mixture of forms) from a ‘pool’ populated by linguistic elements (words, sounds, syntactical constructions, expressions from languages) in competition with each other (Schneider, 2017) in the contact.

In Schneider’s (2000, 2017) interpretation, selection is an unconscious and uncontrolled process where different features are selected while others fall into disuse and are inevitably lost (Schneider, 2000, 2017: 47). However, things are more complex and selection is not a naïve process at all. As Ferguson (1977) claims, “users of language in all speech communities [...] *evaluate* the form of language(s) they use, in that they regard some forms as ‘better’ or ‘more correct’ or ‘more appropriate’ than others either in absolute sense or for certain purposes or by particular people or in certain settings” (emphasis in the original) (Ferguson, 1977: 9). Thus, “[t]he process of selection into the shared linguistic system of a speech community is a thoroughly social one” (Van Rooy, 2011: 192). Which variants are chosen from this pool as stable elements of the emerging variety depends on the ‘ecology’ of the contact situation (Schneider, 2007), on their universal markedness (Mufwene, 2001, 2004), and on how well they fit with the structure of the existing language systems (Mufwene, 2001). This means that “the creative production of a bilingual should not be seen as merely a formal blend of the underlying linguistic codes but rather as a negotiated product from various available choices” (Pung, 2009: 28, see also Thomason, 2001) influenced by the ecological, sociodemographic,

and sociolinguistic characteristic of a society (Schreier, 2013) as well as by speakers' socioeconomic status, their own linguistic proficiency, background and experiences, their own psychological, cognitive, and affective reasons, involving "beliefs, and affective responses, emotions, feelings and sympathetic nervous system activity" (Walters, 2008: 659). This means that "speakers use [...] linguistic resources to take a stance and by so doing reveal an identity or cast doubt on other identities" (Bassiouney, 2012: 110). Thus, the processes of *diffusion* and *selection* (Mufwene, 2018: 74), to which also *competition* (Mufwene, 2018: 74) and *evaluation* can be added are then fundamental in determining the course of language change (Ferguson, 1977), the emerging of a new variety (Mufwene, 2001) and the growth of new identity constructions.

Since English is "the dominant and ubiquitous international lingua franca" (Görlach, 2002: 13) used across the world, it is the language that is more "easily available in speech" (Görlach, 2002: 14) in all linguistic communities. Its linguistic elements are inevitably present in all the linguistic 'pools' continuously entering in contact with linguistic elements of local or national languages. This inevitably leads to a change in some or all the languages (Thomason, 2011) it enters in contact with, contributing to the rising of the number of bi-/multilingual speakers in the world also in areas in which English is a non-native (or foreign) language (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006) and to the emergence of new varieties. However, while, both Outer and some Expanding areas have developed a certain multilingualism, the Expanding areas remain almost monolingual (Thomason, 2001) with very weak linguistic exchanges in English, which prove not enough to develop the presupposition for a variety formation.

### ***The sociolinguistic criterion: diffusion in functions, domains, and contexts of use***

The linguistic contact, which is guaranteed through socio-historical events, and favoured by the ecology of a country, causes the diffusion of linguistic and cultural elements of one language in a community which starts to be widely used with an expansion in roles in different domains and contexts (Llamzon, 1983) developing in different forms. Indeed, once English has entered a territory or a community, even if has not been English-speaking before, as far as contacts are long-lasting and intense, it "begins to be used on a regular basis" (Schneider, 2003: 244).

The sociolinguistic criterion refers to the functions, both international and *intranational* (Lowenberg, 2002; Berns, 2005; Canagarajah, 2006; Jenkins, 2003a, 2007; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) that English acquires in a community, as well as to the "contexts of situation"

(Kachru, 1983: 39, see also Kachru, 2006), both formal and informal, in which English is used and in which the new variety develops (Llamzon, 1983) or it is supposed to develop. The distinction between international and intranational functions operated in this work can be compared to Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) distinction between extra- and intra- territorial forces, considered both "driving mechanisms" (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 116) behind the development of varieties. Indeed, use and function, or range (Kachru, 2005) of English in a territory are focal points for the establishment of a new variety in a community (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011) since the more English acquires functions inside a country, the more it is used by that community speakers, the more it is used within the community, the more it has the possibility to mix with local or national language(s), and the more it mixes with local languages the more it develops potentiality towards proper and independent varietal features.

The English language "has penetrated deeply into the international domain of political life, business, safety, communication, entertainment, the media and education" (Crystal, 2003: 30), and there exist thus different sociocultural contexts of use which "global English comes to dominate (at least conceptually and terminologically)" (Görlach, 2002: 16). The rise of English as an International language (Crystal, 1995) and as lingua franca goes hand in hand with its spread all over the world, without distinctions between Outer or Expanding areas (Kachru, 1983, 2006). In both contexts, due to the wide and constant use in different domains, English is used for internal functions and starts to be spoken also for local purposes, namely in certain internal relations and communications, in certain political and financial affairs, in private education, in local touristic industry, in local mass media, and so on, acquiring not only international purposes but also local roles. A distinction is to be made, not only between international and intranational domains, but also between official formal domains, such as education and administration, and grassroots informal domains (Mollin, 2006; Buschfeld, 2011; Edwards, 2016) as for example home communication with family members, or communication with friends, either in normal everyday interaction or in their Computer-Mediated Discourse (CMD)<sup>5</sup> (Herring, 2001), which are all informal uses of English that have become an entrenched aspect of some "un-English" (Kachru, 1983, 43, see also Kachru, 2006a [1992]) communities as well, especially of the youth subculture (Preisler, 1999).

However, each speech community may have different forms of external and internal forces (Schneider, 2007; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) and may use English in different social

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<sup>5</sup> The "Computer-Mediated Discourse" (CMD) (Herring, 2001) term, differently to "Computer-Mediated Communication" (CMC) focuses on language use.



contexts and with a different frequency. This would explain why not all varieties which use English both internationally and intranationally develop in the same fashion and with the same timeline. In Outer and to a lesser extent in some Expanding areas, English is extensively employed in both international and in intranational fields being not only a lingua (Lewko, 2012) but also a tool for communication among speakers of the same community (Kachru, 1983, 2006a [1992]). In these areas, English is chosen for “informal uses, and various discourse types expressing national identities” (Görlach, 2002: 16) as language for communication with friends and colleagues (Meierkord, 2012) especially in some specific communities. However, this is already a stable practice in Outer area nations, but it is still at its early stage in some Expanding ones.

### *English in international and interpersonal business interactions*

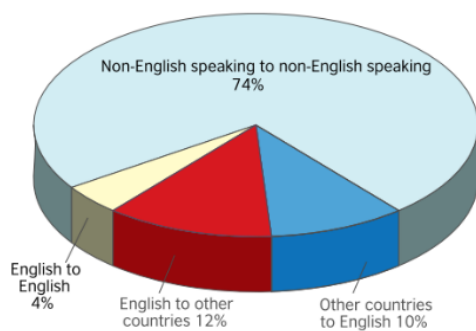
International business inevitably brings together businessman and businesswoman from different parts of the world and thus with various linguistic backgrounds. In such a situation, “the choice of a lingua franca has to be made, and English is the first choice of most” (Crystal, 2003: 87). English is in fact used by speakers involved in business relations (Nickerson, 2010), working in companies or for international business affairs, appearing as “the undisputed choice as the language of international business” (Nickerson, 2010: 512). This has led to the development of what has been defined ‘English for Specific Business Purposes’ (Nickerson, 2010: 507), ‘International Business Language’ (IBE) or ‘Business English Lingua Franca’ (BELF) (Nickerson, 2010: 512) recognised as areas of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) (Bargiela-Chiappini & Zhang, 2013).

As reported in Nickerson (2010:514-516), with this function, English is used in all countries worldwide, even in Expanding area ones like the Scandinavian countries (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005), Italy (Poncini, 2004) and all Europe, Japan (Thompson, 2006) and the whole Asia-Pacific region, Turkey (Akar, 2002) and Argentina (Gimenez, 2002). However, while in Inner, and sometimes Outer contexts, English is used in both formal business relations and in interpersonal relations and communications, for example with clients, colleagues or with the boss at work (Meierkord, 2012), in Expanding areas it is almost uniquely used with formal functions “in order to accomplish a variety of different tasks e.g. in meetings, negotiations, email communication, etc.” (Nickerson, 2010: 507) while it is avoided in interpersonal communication for which the local language, associated with a major directness, is preferred,

unless the speaker find themselves in a multilingual context, as for example in a multinational company, in which instead English would result in a more status-neutral grammar (Thompson, 2006; Nickerson, 2010).

### *English in international and local tourism and travel*

One of the fields in which English “has proliferated substantially to what was customary just a few decades ago, is global travel, in various forms and for various purposes” (Schneider, 2016c: 2). Today, English has become the language of international tourism (Crystal, 1995) being used in this field by both native and even more by non-native speakers. This has also been demonstrated in Graddol (2006) who states that “[t]ourism is growing, but the majority of human interactions do not involve an English native speaker” (Graddol, 2006: 29) (Figure 25).



**Figure 25** A graph showing the percentage of native and non-native speakers using English in the touristic field. Data derived from World Tourism Organisation, retrieved from Graddol, 2006: 29

The habit of using English in the touristic industry has become stronger even in Expanding areas, and specifically in some more touristic cities where English is the language of indications, signs, names of hotels and shops, restaurant menus, brochures, signposts, websites, and “other text-based information material for tourists” (Schneider, 2016c: 2) which indeed are always offered in a bilingual modality. In these cities, “[w]henver you enter a hotel or restaurant [...], they will understand English, and there will be an English menu” (Crystal, 2003: 2) and “[w]hether in Greece, Egypt, Tibet, or Indonesia [...] services for them [for tourists] will be offered in English” (Schneider, 2016c: 2). English is the ‘vehicular language’ of taxi-drivers (Proshina, 2007), tour guides, souvenir sellers, waiters, receptionists, and of all people involved in the touristic industry. According to Crystal (2003),

for those whose international travel brings them into a world of package holidays, business meetings, academic conferences, international conventions, community rallies, sporting occasions, military occupations and other ‘official’ gatherings, the domains of

transportation and accommodation are mediated through the use of English as an auxiliary language. Safety instructions on international flights and sailings, information about emergency procedures in hotels, and directions to major locations are now increasingly in English alongside local languages.

(Crystal, 2003: 105)

Not only local agents *need* English to be able to interact with visitors and clients, but “the default assumption is that [also] tourists speak English” to interact with local people (Schneider, 2016c: 2). Motivated by this need and purpose, people around the world are becoming strongly interested in learning/acquiring English and in achieving a sufficient linguistic competence. Moved by these needs and by the economic opportunities that tourism offers for a country, governments have allowed the institutionalisation of specialised schools and universities whose “major focus is related to [...] tourism and hospitality skills, and [...] to fostering [...] English language skills” (Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012: 94) are established worldwide. This surely contributes to a major use of English, which, while being used for international touristic purposes, it is locally spreading among the population with consequent “fascinating sociolinguistic effects” (Blommaert, 2010: 148) in all speech communities.

### *English in schools and in the scientific research*

In Expanding areas, English has become “the chief foreign language in schools” (Crystal, 2003: 110) especially after the emergence of the English-medium CLIL programme (Feak, 2013). The English Language Teaching (ELT) has become a proper business developed worldwide (Crystal, 2003) powered by a growing number of people learning English in both public, governmental schools and in private foreign schools where it is even used as a medium of instruction.

Even more, in recent decades, English has emerged “as the premier vehicle for the communication of scholarship, research and advanced postgraduate training” (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada & Swales, 2010: 634) and has become the pre-eminent linguistic tool for the transmission of academic knowledge (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada & Swales, 2010). ‘Academic English’ is pragmatically used “as a shared medium for scientific communication” (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada & Swales, 2010: 642) in the writing of academic texts and research articles which, with the development of the electronic publishing practice, are also available online in html formats (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada & Swales, 2010), and it is also used as ELF during academic conferences (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada & Swales, 2010) and workshops being also defined ‘The Language of Conferencing’ (Ventola, Shalom & Thompson 2002). The use of

English in these contexts is a must and scholars, in order “to be acknowledged by the top scientific community of their discipline” (Hamel, 2007: 61), “publish in English or perish” (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada & Swales, 2010: 643), even if English is not their mother tongue.

Since scholars shift to English for publication (Hamel, 2007; Flowerdew, 2013) and since most of scientific materials and textbooks, and even dissertations (Thompson, 2013), are almost exclusively in English, it even becomes the most adopted language during university lectures (Crawford Camiciottoli, 2005; Mauranen, 2009 ) worldwide, including in Expanding areas, where English becomes an important additional instrument or even the primary language for the teaching and learning of some disciplines. No doubt, this encourages not only scholars and researchers, but also students, especially university students to learn English to be able to read what is written in academic texts or what is said during conferences and lessons (Feak, 2013), as well as to participate in the academic debate.

### *English in international and local media*

A very important role in the transmission of English worldwide is played by the media which are “at the centre of everyone’s life” (Crystal, 2003: 91) holding “the greatest responsibility in extending language and culture” (Assemi et al., 2012: 80) and thus influencing the growth of WEs creating a new situation of contact through their consumption (Schneider, 2016a).

English-language television broadcasting was affected by a “dramatic expansion” (Crystal, 2003: 96) from its invention to current times. The very first high-definition TV service began in London in 1936 provided by the BBC (British, Broadcasting Communication) and then spread in the USA where, from 1939, the National Broadcasting Company provided a regular service (Crystal, 2003). In only two years, twenty TV stations emerged, but the number still grew exponentially reaching the 1,761 commercial television stations on the air in the United States in 2017<sup>6</sup> and 460 TV channels available in the UK in 2018<sup>7</sup> (Statista, 2021). Even more interestingly, in the 1920s, the BBC introduced the international service targeted specifically at foreign audience with movies, TV series, programmes, shows, news, and so on completely in English. This offers an occasion for people around the world to receive authentic English linguistic inputs, a crucial factor, since by watching a program or a movie people can

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<sup>6</sup> <https://www.statista.com/statistics/189655/number-of-commercial-television-stations-in-the-us-since-1950/>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.statista.com/statistics/269807/leading-tv-channels-in-the-uk-by-reach/>

learn a language and how to use it, because linguistic data obtained are very similar to those acquired from “a corpus of naturally occurring speech” (Moody, 2010: 539).

A similar spread affected radio broadcasting. The English-language radio broadcasting started in 1922, in the USA, when more than 500 broadcasting stations opened, becoming 5000 only three years later (Crystal, 2003). In the same year, the British Broadcasting Company was founded in Britain (Crystal, 2003) and gradually other English-language broadcasting stations were established in other English-speaking areas such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This phenomenon then enlarged in the Outer areas such as in India, in Asia, in the Pacific (Crystal, 2003) and in more recent times, with globalisation, it even reached Expanding areas where some English International broadcasting radio, targeted at both foreign and local listeners, have been opened. Examples are the *BBC World Service Radio* (1932) and the *Voice of America* (VOA) (1942) among others, which today have integrated an online version being more easily accessible to a wider public.

As far as newspapers and magazines are concerned, since the introduction of new methods of mass production and of new printing technology in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which were promoted by the USA (Crystal, 2003), English has been the most used medium in international press. Many English-language newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *International Herald-Tribune*, *US Weekly* and *International Guardian*, just to mention few among the most popular, are intended for a global readership (Crystal, 2003) and “[a] similar story could be told in relation to the publication of periodicals, magazines, [...] and other ephemera” (Crystal, 2003: 93) which can be found wherever in the world being accessible to both English and non-English readers.

### *The role of the Internet in the spread of English worldwide and in variety formation*

Among all media, the Internet deserves greater attention representing the most important domain through which English spreads in the world creating new language contact situations. With its new tools such as social networks like Facebook (2004), online free software like Skype (2003) and chatting applications like WhatsApp (2009), or Messenger (Abdallah, 2011) to mention just a few, it “has made it possible to be connected with the rest of the world” (Gilquin, 2018: 191) facilitating exchanges between individuals belonging to different speech communities to the point that “it can be said to be one of the driving forces behind globalization” (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018: 283) the one which the most shows interesting consequences at the

linguistic level, significantly modifying and promoting “the global ways of using English” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 33).

The Internet, with its Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC), was born in the anglophone world, so that English, which was the only ‘electronic language’ (Crystal, 2004: 17), became the predominant linguistic tool in the digital revolution (Deshors & Gilquin, 2018). Then, the Internet spread worldwide, in both anglophone and non-anglophone places, becoming accessible to everyone (Schneider, 2016a) and used “by native and non-native speakers alike” transcending national boundaries (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 33-34). In other words, “[e]lectronic means of communication collapsed the geographical boundaries between nations” (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017: 285) transforming the world into a huge ‘global village’ (Svartvik, Leech & Crystal, 2016: 1) in which users are exposed “into continuous and closer encounters with people from other cultures” (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 141) and different speech communities (Crystal, 2003). As a consequence, it “promoted the need for a common language” (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017: 285) and English, which has monopolised this new domain of communication since the invention of CMC (Mair, 2018b) has been chosen as the lingua franca for virtual interactions.

Still today, English, with its specific jargon defined ‘Netspeak’ (Crystal, 2004: 17, see also Aboelezz, 2014), is the most used language on the Web being employed by far most frequently (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018) than other languages, and this is also statistically demonstrated by the ‘Statistic on the Top Ten Languages Used in the Web’ updated to March 2020 on the ‘Internet World Stats’<sup>8</sup>. Statistics shows that English is the most used language on the Internet followed by Chinese, Spanish and Arabic, and that out of the estimated 1,531,179,460 English speakers in the world, 1,186,451,052 are English Internet users, corresponding to the 25.9% of Internet users of the world, with a growth of the 742.9 % in the last twenty years (Figure 26). This shows that since the invention of the Internet and since the online world has grown, more and more speakers, especially multilingual speakers, are able to use English (Onysko, 2016a) and that even non-native English speakers have adopted it (Seargeant, 2012) becoming the “principal language of modern communication” (Seargeant, 2012: 62) to the point of being even defined a world ‘virtual second language’ (McArthur, 1998: 54).

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<sup>8</sup> <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm>

<b>Top Ten Languages Used in the Web - March 31, 2020</b>					
( Number of Internet Users by Language )					
TOP TEN LANGUAGES IN THE INTERNET	World Population for this Language (2021 Estimate)	Internet Users by Language	Internet Penetration (% Population)	Internet Users Growth (2000 - 2021)	Internet Users % of World (Participation)
English	1,531,179,460	<b>1,186,451,052</b>	77.5 %	742.9 %	25.9 %
Chinese	<b>1,477,137,209</b>	<b>888,453,068</b>	60.1 %	2,650.4 %	19.4 %
Spanish	516,655,099	<b>363,684,593</b>	70.4 %	1,511.0 %	7.9 %
Arabic	447,572,891	<b>237,418,349</b>	53.0 %	9,348.0 %	5.2 %
Portuguese	290,939,425	<b>171,750,818</b>	59.0 %	2,167.0 %	3.7 %
Indonesian / Malaysian	<b>306,327,093</b>	<b>198,029,815</b>	64.6 %	3,356.0 %	4.3 %
French	431,503,032	<b>151,733,611</b>	35.2 %	1,164.6 %	3.3 %
Japanese	126,476,461	<b>118,626,672</b>	93.8 %	152.0 %	2.6 %
Russian	145,934,462	<b>116,353,942</b>	79.7 %	3,653.4 %	2.5 %
German	98,654,451	<b>92,525,427</b>	93.8 %	236.2 %	2.0 %
TOP 10 LANGUAGES	5,273,725,132	<b>3,525,027,347</b>	66.8 %	1,188.2 %	76.9 %
Rest of the Languages	2,522,890,578	<b>1,060,551,371</b>	42.0 %	1,114.1 %	23.1 %
<u>WORLD TOTAL</u>	7,796,615,710	<b>4,585,578,718</b>	58.8 %	1,170.3 %	100.0 %

**Figure 26** Top Ten Languages Used in the Web'. Retrieved from the 'Internet World Stats' <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm>

Due to this global expansion, and its “mass accessibility” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 34), the Internet, with English as its main tool, “is bound to have a great impact on language use” (Warschauer & El Said, 2006: 1). The Internet promotes access to English, encourages its global use (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006), and contributes to its expansion within communities in which it enters in contact with other local languages becoming thus “powerful [...] in the maintenance of bilingualism” (Mackey, 1970: 562) or multilingualism (Seargeant, 2012; Mair, 2013). Using English online, large numbers of people from around the world can interact at the same time in a single ‘place’ (Warschauer, Black and Chou, 2010: 490) and from this situation, and in this “new sociolinguistic dimension” (Mair, 2018: 363), a “bastardization of English” (Warschauer, Black and Chou, 2010: 490) is resulting, with new linguistic forms which can develop and can even spread to other registers (Warschauer, Black and Chou, 2010; van Rooy & Kruger, 2018). Indeed, English speakers around the world use English online not only alongside, but “relying on their multilingual repertoires” (Onysko, 2016a: 214), they also use it in mixed modes combining it with other languages (Seargeant & Tagg, 2011). Web pages, social network pages, videos and ‘natural clips’ (Schneider, 2016a: 263) and tools like emails, messages, blogging, chat groups, tweets, posts and comments on social networks which “behave quite distinctly from the more traditional genres” (Laitinen, 2018: 127), are “the places where languages and scripts can be mixed in new ways” (Seargeant

& Tagg, 2011: 502, see also Saraceni, 2018) either unintentionally or intentionally (Schneider, 2016a). This mixing practice represents “a real language use” (Schneider, 2016a: 261) which inevitably leads to the emergence of new hybrid forms (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) playing also an important role in indexing identity (Seargeant & Tagg, 2011). Thus, not only the Internet contributes to the widespread of English, but, significantly, it even contributes to a continuous “shaping [of] its contact characteristics” (Schneider, 2013: 132) leading to the production of “unprecedented forms of language contact and code-switching and mixing” (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018: 34, see also Yaseen & Hoon, 2017).

The Internet “explicitly [...] generates ‘vernacular creativity’” (Schneider, 2016a: 259) encouraging the spread of new Englishes (Schneider, 2016a) and its products like social networks have the ability to be “illustrative of what people do with [...] language and language varieties” (Schneider, 2016a: 280) representing a “large web-derived corpora of New Englishes” (Mukherjee & Gries, 2009a: 29, see also Schneider, 2016a). This implies that the Web, not only contributes to the creation of new forms of English but is also responsible for the consequent diffusion worldwide of the new innovative linguistic forms and for “a more extended passive knowledge of variation in World Englishes” (Mair, 2013: 257).

### ***The motivational criterion: integrative or pragmatic reasons***

The position of the English language in the world and its widespread use in different important and strategical domains with its different functions all over the globalised world, are the main responsible for the “extraordinarily high current demand for English” (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 182-183) making it be the more “powerful and desired resource” (Seargeant, 2012: 156) and the highest prestigious foreign language (Bennui & Hashim, 2014) and medium of communication in growth areas (Crystal, 2003).

Speakers may have a high interest in acquiring English not only in Outer areas but also in Expanding communities where, contrary to common belief, a “[n]ative speaker competence is something prized” (Ho, 2008: 43) among learners. In Expanding areas, English becomes an attractive language as well, and its appreciation depends on different reasons: it embodies “an amazing world resource which presents us with unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding” (Crystal, 2003: xiii), and is “a lingua franca available to serve global human relations” (Crystal, 2003: 30); it allows participation in international communication (Matsumoto & Britain, 2015) and dialogue (Kirkpatrick, 2010), guarantees social advancement and is “in a sense, a metaphor of our participation in social progress” (Seargeant, 2009: 1); it



enables people across the world “to find fresh opportunities for international cooperation” (Crystal, 2003: 30); it allows access to the international organisations (McKay, 2006); “it facilitates technology and knowledge transfer” (Kirkpatrick, 2010: 14); it allows to access higher education (McKay, 2006); it is the language of business or the ‘working language’ (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 143) and it is also useful for communication and ‘talk’ in workplace (Marra, 2013: 179-180). In addition, people all over the world have come to depend on English. America, indeed, has become the emblem of the Western economic prosperity, cultural wealth, technological advancement, and modernity, and this implies that its language, representing “the power of its people” (Crystal, 2003: 9), consequently becomes “the language of modernization and advancement” and “of democratically supported power” (Kirkpatrick, 2010: 12).

These motivations push people around the world to learn English. However, while in Outer areas, although not excluding its pragmatic functions, English is formally integrated as part of the local linguistic and cultural system, in Expanding areas, the main aim “is not to assimilate the native speaker[s]’ culture nor to own the language in any such sense, but to simply master it as a tool for communication” (Ho, 2008: 43). Indeed, people there, use English as “an end in itself” (Warshauer, 2002: 456), and uniquely with a mere instrumental function as “nothing more than a useful tool” (Alexander, 2003: 90) through which they can achieve a certain “linguistic power” (McKay, 2006: 117) which allows them to act in the global world, to the point that, as Seargeant (2012) has stated

‘English’ can be thought of not as a noun but as a verb. That is, English is an activity rather than an object; it is something people do rather than something they acquire, possess, or use.

(Seargeant, 2012: 13).

However, in some Expanding areas, even though not officially, the adoption of English comes more spontaneously and not necessarily with pragmatic regulation (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018) sometimes even without any “integrative or humanistic motivations” (Kirkpatrick, 2010: 18, see also Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider, 2018). Moreover, in many fields, the English language has been made a priority. This is especially evident in the foreign-language teaching domain (Crystal, 2003), since governments aware of the extreme importance of English for the national social, financial, political, and technological advancement, are instrumentally and strategically promoting laws and policies in favour of its early introduction in school curricula with the aim of strengthening and improving the quality of its teaching-learning process. English is indeed becoming “the language which children are most likely to

be taught when they arrive in school” (Crystal, 2003: 5) as well as the one which is increasingly becoming available also outside schools and that can be heard (or read) in more natural communications being deliberately chosen by its users without a specific practical purpose and this is a pre-condition for a language to become an integral part of the linguistic system of a country.

### ***The linguistic criterion: interferences or innovations***

The linguistic criterion concerns the linguistic interferences occurring while English is used by non-native speakers due to the contact effects (Schneider, 2013) between English and their L1, which could lead to indigenisation, and eventually to nativization of linguistic forms (Buschfeld, 2013; Edwards, 2016), and which are thus seen as the prerequisite for the potential creation of “a relatively homogeneous ‘middle-of-the-road’ variety” (Schneider, 2003: 244), different from the StdE forms (van Rooy, 2011) to the point of eventually causing a reduction in intelligibility (Mollin, 2007) among speakers of English worldwide.

Language variability is a frequent linguistic phenomenon which is natural in the human language (Schneider, 2011). Variation depends on various factors: on personal reasons like speakers’ own difficulties, their different communicative strategies, their own language skills (Schneider, 2011; Khansir, 2012) since individuals “are not equally gifted in learning any language, including their mother tongues” (Mufwene, 2013: 206); on sociolinguistic parameters (Görlach, 2002; Hundt & Mukherjee, 2011, 2015), such as speaker’s geographical origin, gender, age, social status, level of education, their linguistic and cultural background; and on the status of the two languages in contact (Görlach, 2002), such as “their range of functions, and especially whether the contact is close [...] or distant” (Görlach, 2002: 13-14). Typological distance between the languages in contact (Aikhenvald, 2007; Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009) is a key factor, since “[t]he greater the degree of difference/distance, the larger the learning task” (Corder, 1979: 28), the larger the learning task, the higher the degree of expected difficulty by speakers in respecting the target language norms which brings them to commit errors/variations. Indeed, when the two linguistic systems in contact are close and show similar features, such as English and German, the difficulty in producing the target language will not be so high giving way to *positive transfer* (Sabbah, 2015: 271), when two languages are typologically different, coming from two distant language families, such as English and Arabic, difficulties for speakers are very probable and a *negative transfer* (Sabbah, 2015: 271) from the L1 rules, which impedes the full command of the target norms (Sabbah, 2015), would be more frequent (Corder, 1979).

Any contact situation, whether concrete or abstract, inevitably leads to the emergence of *linguistic interferences* or '*cross-linguistic influence*' (CLI) defined as "the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously [...] acquired" (Odlin, 1989: 27) especially the L1 (Hoffmann, 2014), producing linguistic changes at different levels of language, namely at the level of sounds (phonetics and phonology), at the level of structure (morphology and syntax), and at the level of words (lexis and vocabulary) (Kachru 1986; Strevens 1992; Bolton 2003; Schneider 2003; Mollin, 2007) with an "introduction of foreign forms into the speech of the bilingual, either as units or as structures" (Mackey, 1970: 575).

The most common specific type of linguistic influence are at the lexical level with the introduction of loanwords (Thomason, 2011; Winford, 2005) especially of nouns which result more easily borrowed into a target language than other parts of the speech (Whitney, 1881; Onysko, 2004, 2016a) and which more easily enter the indigenous English usage (Schneider, 2003), nativizing foreignisms, 'Englishization' of the indigenous language (Bolton, 2006: 261, see also Shim, 1999), new coinages, 'impositions' (Van Coetsem, 1988; Winford, 2005) or transfer which occur "when the source language speaker is the agent" (Van Coetsem, 1988: 3), calques, and lexical shift namely "a replacement of a known English word from a local language" (Llamzon, 1983: 101). Moreover, "[t]he co-activation of linguistic units from a speaker's different codes [...] can result in codeswitching" (Onysko, 2016a: 210) and/or multilingual code-mixing (Harley, 2008), when lexical items like single words or phrases (Hamdi, 2017) of the L1 are inserted in English sentences, or vice versa, creating a mixed structure (Llamzon, 1983) characterised by the alternation between English and the L1 language(s) (Hamdi, 2017). However, it is not only words that get borrowed but all aspects of language involved in a contact situation are subjected to transfer from one language to the other (Thomason, 2011) "affecting the sound, but also the grammatical system [...] by supplying unfamiliar phonemes and particular combinations as well as grammatical structures" (Görlach, 2002: 14) causing structural innovation (Mukherjee & Gries, 2009b).

English is often indigenised by local communities, through *adaptation*, *accommodation* (Giles, 1984; Winford, 2003; Bolton, 2006), or *appropriation* (Seargeant, 2012), these are sociolinguistic processes which occur when "cooperative speakers with different origins in a long-term relationship tend to adjust the speech forms they use regularly with one another, thus signalling mutual solidarity and increasing intelligibility" (Schneider, 2017: 47, see also Giles, 1984). For example, spelling of English is adapted in the L1 to guarantee close-to-English pronunciation. In this process, users of English rely on their mother tongue as a comparison

(Corder, 1975; Biewer, 2011) and “contact-induced influences can emerge from a process of transmutation through which a conceptual stimulus from code A is rendered into code B by using linguistic material from code B” (Onysko, 2016a: 210). In this process, simplification, and overgeneralisation are the main linguistic strategies employed (Buschfeld, 2013) since learners generally choose from their “pool of variants” (Mufwene, 2001: 5-6) what is easier and safer.

Once chosen linguistic elements are appropriated, they spread among speakers of the speech community (Siemund & Davydova, 2014) through imperfect replications, caused by the tendency of speakers to imitate others’ linguistic choices, being continuously transmitted until they start to be used on a regular basis and in a stable way (Buschfeld, 2011; Mollin, 2006) by the whole linguistic community. This phenomenon has been defined *crystallization* (Schneider, 2007: 27) or *fossilization* (Selinker, 1972: 217), happening when no further progress towards the target language is made so that the intermediate language system, defined by Selinker (1972) *interlanguage* (Selinker, 1972), becomes fixed (Mollin, 2007). This implies that speakers “errors are not always considered undesirable” (Al-khresheh, 2014: 123) and *errors of competence* (Chomsky, 1965: 3), namely “deviation[s] from the standard, caused [...] by lack of language and culture knowledge” (Proshina, 2007: 65) or signs of speakers’ “uneducated usage” of English, (Bamgbose, 1998, 2, see also Proshina, 2007), but, once fossilised, they could be perceived as “allowable deviations from the native norms” (Kachru, 1985a: 18), and thus as true *linguistic variations* (Schneider, 2007: 23) or *innovations* (Schneider, 2011: 199) with the inevitable emergence of “a recognisable system of linguistic features which can be associated with a community of speaker” (Seargeant & Tagg, 2011: 499, see also Proshina, 2007; Seargeant, 2012) and recognised as being typical of a particular language (Seargeant, 2012), for example “suggest[ing] whether speakers are German, French, or Japanese, speaking English” (Llamzon, 1983: 94).

For this reason, “[e]rrors and innovations should therefore not be categorized by linguists as distinct from each other but rather as structures representing two end-points of a continuum” (Gut, 2011: 120) so that when a language interference is observed, the main issue is to decide whether it is actually a simple error (Kachru, 1992e; Bamgbose, 1998; Hamid, Zhu & Baldauf, 2014) or whether it could be recognised as a (potential) innovation. However, this decision is not always easy to take and discussion on the topic is still open to criticism (Kachru, 1991) especially when analysing new contexts of English use. Mollin (2007) suggested:

Certainly, we can argue from the perspective of norms: If a speaker strives for a native structure but due to language transfer produces a deviant structure, we may call it an error. If, on the other hand, a speaker has no intention of producing a native-like structure, but perceives her own production as perfectly in line with her own variety's norm, "error" is not an adequate description.

(Mollin, 2007: 171)

Mollin's (2007) suggestion seems to uniquely rely uniquely on speakers' norm orientation and on their awareness of the existence of a 'own production'. However, it is not that easy. Indeed, it can occur, as in the case of some Expanding contexts, that even if speakers' aim is to reach a StdE knowledge, their linguistic production may result instead in something different and innovative.

On the footsteps of Bamgbose (1998) and van Rooy (2011) who suggested a catalogue of criteria for an 'error' to be considered an innovation, similarly, in this work, some parameters are presented namely: the *number and authority of speakers producing the error/innovation*, since an error to become a variation should be used and reiterated by the majority<sup>9</sup> of speakers (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Mollin, 2007; Buschfeld, 2013), especially among the most influential in society since, as Bamgbose (1998) noticed, it is beyond doubts that if this practice spreads among more authoritative people (not necessarily coming from the elitist class) such as writers, journalists, teachers, popular singers, or influential opinion leaders including web influencers and politicians, English influxes have more opportunity to be accepted, used, and thus spread also among the population (Bamgbose, 1998); the *intensity and frequency of use of the error/innovation* (Mackey, 1970; Bamgbose, 1998; van Rooy, 2011; Gut, 2011) which are maybe the most important parameters in a contact situation since they lead to deep changes of the languages involved (Kachru, 2005; Thomason, 2001). Indeed, it is already clear to linguists today, that if an error is densely and constantly repeated in the same speech community, at a certain point, it inevitably becomes fossilised (Selinker, 1972) spreading among the speakers even before it is 'normalised'; the *geographical widespread of the error/innovation* (van Rooy, 2011; Edwards, 2016), since for an error to be considered an innovation, it should become geographically widespread and not only limited to a restricted community, because the wider the variation spread, the higher is its acceptance as a localised form (Proshina, 2007); a certain *grammatical stability* (van Rooy, 2011), since "[t]o differentiate errors from innovations, the

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<sup>9</sup> To point out, a discussion on a minimum percentages or numbers of speakers needed in order to define an 'error' 'variation' is avoided here, mainly for three reasons: because it has already been sufficiently discussed by Buschfeld (2013) who suggested "a threshold of 50% feature use" (Buschfeld, 2013: 65); because any discussion about a percentage would result in too approximative data and moreover without a scientific foundation; and because, in this work, it is argued that more significant is not how many speakers produce a variation, but who these speakers are (Bamgbose, 1998).

linguistic features identified should be [...] used in a systematic and stable way” (Edwards, 2016: 21, see also Mollin, 2006; Buschfeld, 2011) within a linguistic community; the *recognition and acceptability of an error as an innovation* (not necessary) (van Rooy, 2011; Hundt & Mukherjee, 2011) since an error to be regarded as an innovation should be recognised as typical features of a local form of English by its users themselves.

Once “the linguistic repertoire become stabilized, systematized, and [...] culturally adapted” (Buschfeld, 2013: 73) and once it is recognised as ‘innovative’ rather than ‘deviant’, the last step, in order for a variety to be unquestionably defined a proper EV, is the “nativization of linguistic form” (Mollin, 2006: 32-33, see also Buschfeld, 2013; Edwards, 2016). *Nativization* is referred as “the process whereby a language that is appropriated by a group is tuned to particular requirements of that group so that it fits their socio-cultural needs” (Pung, 2009: 23, see also Kachru, 1992b) “provid[ing] a regional and national identity and help[ing] in establishing an immediate bond with another person from the same region or country” (Kachru, 2006c [1985]: 449). It is through nativised linguistic innovations, used as signs of identity expression and loyalty to the group membership (Jenkins, 1996), that English finally acquires a social role becoming part of the cultural identity of communities in which it enters in contact with (Sergeant, 2012). Nativization has already occurred in many Outer countries, as it has been well-documented in WEs studies, and this has given way to the consideration that Outer varieties are not to be regarded as ‘deviant’ (Selinker, 1972: 217) but as acceptable forms of English.

In conclusion, this discussion shows that variations “often start life as forms that are widely perceived as errors in the standard language” (Jenkins 2006: 44) and go through a slow process, until they are interpreted as typical features of a speech community (Proshina, 2016). Then, once perceived as a systematised innovation, they “gradually become[s] accepted as a new standard form” (Jenkins 2006: 44) being finally nativised. This process has already been detected following the experience of many Outer Englishes. However, “an interior incline of variation [...] is general in *all* speech communities” (emphasis added) (Mollin, 2006: 50), so that it can be observed in both native and non-native contexts alike (Proshina, 2016). Indeed, although the original assumption in WEs study that an error “cannot be justified with reference to the sociocultural context of a non-native variety” (Kachru, 1983, 43, see also Kachru, 2006) and that non-native varieties of English are imperfectly learnt versions of StdE (Quirk, 1985), in some Expanding areas as well, “where speakers can freely draw from their multilingual repertoire and mix elements of English and other languages” (Onysko, 2016a: 207), ‘errors’ produced should be equally positively viewed as innovative “acceptable variant[s]” (Bamgbose,

1998, 2), spies of the potential emergence of a new variety. This implies that both Outer and Expanding areas speakers are today responsible for the development of language variation and for the consequent establishment of norms, a consideration which would be useful for a better understanding of world Englishes today.

### ***The cultural criterion: English in creative genres***

Interferences and/or variations are not exclusively caused by linguistic and sociolinguistic factors but also by the presence of global cultural products in an area (Mackey, 1970) which represent a decisive factor for the intensity of language contact (Onysko, 2016a) and of intercultural exchanges in a community. English continues to spread and influence not only the language but also the culture of the countries it enters in contact with, changing their ‘language of creativity’ (Kachru, 1995: 273): in the last decades, “its appropriation is ever more commonplace, and practised in a range of genres from the novel to rap music” (Sergeant, 2012: 118, see also La Causa, forthcoming a) from advertisements, signs and labels to movies and popular literature, emerging “as the language most used for international and intercultural communication” (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017: 285) and becoming “an additional local language for creative self-expression” (Edwards, 2018: 164).

The cultural criterion, which was firstly introduced by Llamzon (1985), refers to the use of English in creative genres and to “the bilingual’s creativity” (Kachru, 1985b, see also Bolton, 2010), and is based on the belief that the cultural features “encourage the flow of linguistic resources” (Mair, 2013: 255) serving as a means of transference of linguistic forms transculturally (Blommaert, 2010). This criterion is met when a massive spontaneous usage of English “as a vehicle for the transmission of their [of a community] cultural heritage” (Llamzon, 1983: 103) is observed in local popular creative practices and writing, both in low popular literature as signs, advertisements, and songs’ lyrics, and in local high literature including works by novelist, poets, and playwrights (Bruthiaux, 2003).

### ***English in ‘outdoor media’: signs, labels, and advertising***

An important growing sector of WEs research also deals with language in public spaces such as public signs, signs of commercial establishments (Mair, 2018), labels and mixing in advertising and all print materials the city offers, with a particular focus on the use and functions

of English. The set of all these ‘outdoor’ media’ (Crystal, 2003: 94) constitute what has been referred as the urban ‘Linguistic Landscape’ (LL). Today, the modern city “is a place of language contact” (Backhaus, 2007: 1), a place of talk (Halliday, 1978: 154), but also “a place of writing and reading, too” (Backhaus, 2007: 1). It is the place of “linguistic dynamics” (Barni & Bagna, 2010: 5) and consequently “the place where collective and individual identities are enabled to express themselves” (Barni & Bagna, 2010: 5). As Backhaus (2007) explains

[e]very urban environment is a myriad of written messages on public display: office and shop signs, billboards and neon advertisements, traffic signs, topographic information and area maps, emergency guidance and political poster campaigns, stone inscriptions, and enigmatic graffiti discourse. These messages bring together a variety of languages and scripts, the total of which constitutes the linguistic landscape of a place.

(Backhaus, 2007: 1)

Today, “[o]ne of the most emblematic markers of lived globalization is the omnipresence of English in LLs worldwide, irrespective of whether the local population is proficient in English or whether English enjoys any form of (semi-)official status locally” (Van Mensel, Vandembroucke & Blackwood, 2016: 15). In these contexts, the use of English, which has increased towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Crystal, 2003), is due to the need to use English as a “lingua franca resource and a vehicular means of communication” (Van Mensel, Vandembroucke & Blackwood, 2016: 15). However, while using it as an international instrument, “English can take on new value and is at times territorialized on a local scale” (Van Mensel, Vandembroucke & Blackwood, 2016: 15).

As for advertising, its main function is communication, a goal which is reached only if it communicates effectively (Pimentel, 2000). Thus, theoretically, the cultural message and business aims are more important than the linguistic one and this is why language choice has often been a neglected aspect of cross-cultural brand management (Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2010: 412). Anyway, language and its combination with other codes (linguistic or extralinguistic, such as images or stylistic features) acquire a particular significance as well since messages conform not only by means of the display of the logo, and the content of the messages, but also by means of the use of language. The choice of different languages in advertisement, their use, their relationship, and ideologies are in fact, complicated, especially in international advertising which is a fertile ground for the mixing of codes.

English has dramatically increased its use in advertisements worldwide, especially in the more industrialized countries (Crystal, 2003) of the Outer area, but also, increasingly, in countries of the Expanding area (Hashim, 2010): company logo or name, packaging and



labelling, pricing, slogans, and even the main body of the text (Bhatia, 1992) is written in English in the majority of the cases. The penetration of English in Expanding area advertising, also, and even primarily aimed to “not target English-reading clientele” (Holmquist & Cudmore, 2013: 82) is a market strategy (Seargeant, 2009). English in these areas will certainly and naturally be chosen by global advertisers, especially by those of multinational companies (MNC’s) (Spierts, 2015) as the most favourite language code not only because the products advertised are originally from the US or the UK (Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2010) but also with the function of attention-getter. The use of the English language in advertisements gives advertisers “the economic advantages that can be gained by opting for a suitable lingua franca” (Nickerson & Crawford Camiciottoli, 2013: 5), but also the possibility to instil a positive attitude in consumers towards a product being advertised (Gerritsen et al., 2000) since stereotypical views about English, associated with the idea of the prestige, would then be linked to the product (Hashim, 2010) which automatically acquires positive attributes such as modernity, quality, innovation and glamour” (Nickerson & Crawford Camiciottoli, 2013: 5) assuming an image associated with luxurious values (Gerritsen et al., 2000). Thus, the use of English in such domain signifies, in a sense, the cultural and economic power that English exerted as the main language of business, marketing, and international communication.

However, the use of English in global contexts cannot only have a mere vehicular communication purpose towards internationalism. On the contrary, advertisements are “new semiotic opportunities for social actors to perform identity and strategically construct the local” (Edwards, 2018: 166). Strategically indeed, “it seems that some of the major brands may actually be moving away from the exclusive use of English” (Kachru, 2006a [1992]: 628) in global advertising, and in order to maintain the international flower and defend the national and local interests in terms of formal and functional linguistic manifestations at the same time, English is more often mixed with other local languages resolving thus the paradox of globalisation and localization and assuming both international and intranational functions at the same time. The co-existence of English and other languages in advertisements (Hashim, 2010) has been already observed in Expanding countries as the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), Sweden (Hult, 2003), Belgium, France, Germany, and Spain (Bhatia, 1992; Hashim, 2010; Gerritsen et al., 2000; 2007; 2010), Malaysia (Hashim, 2010), China, Japan (Seargeant, 2009), Philippine (Bhatia, 1992; Holmquist & Cudmor, 2013; Nickerson & Crawford Camiciottoli, 2013), and Egypt (Spierts, 2015; Aravanis, 2020).

*Low and high creative genres: popular music, cinema, and literature*

The examination of the English language in a country must certainly include a consideration of the creative literature which, of course, has always been a significant part of the popular feeling of ‘culture’, becoming a symbol of the cultural tradition (Condon, 1986).

As for popular music, since its very beginning in the 1920s in the USA, the English global recording industry seems to have a high weight in the spread of the English language in the world (Crystal, 2003), as it is often through popular songs that “[m]any people make their first contact with English” (Crystal, 2003: 101). Both American and British records soon became popular even becoming emblems of freedom, rebellion, and modernity (Crystal, 2003) which allow them to spread more rapidly, especially among the youngest generation, underlying the “unifying power of English” (Crystal, 2003: 102-103). Jazz, blues, country, hip-hop, pop, R&B, rap, and the most modern trap, among others, are all genres with American origins but which have become famous and spread in the world. Among all of them hip-hop which is a “multimodal (or better: transmodal) semiotics of music, lyrics, movements, and dress that articulates political and sub-cultural anti-hegemonic rebellion as well as aesthetics, a philosophy of life and a particular range of identities” (Blommaert, 2010: 19) is the more spread music genre across the globe. Interestingly, all hip-hop artists of the world use the same semiotic patterns (Blommaert, 2010), and this would explain why “almost every song in modern popular music uses English loanwords in the text or title” (Stanlaw, 1988: 528) sometimes in a mixed code with the local language(s). In this fashion, the English language spreads “so rapidly and so pervasively” (Crystal, 2003: 102) that every country, also Expanding countries, has its popular singer, singing in English (Crystal, 2003). The use of the same language is seen as a “vehicle for global youth affiliations” (Pennycook, 2008b: 8) which, in turn, creates a “new potential for local identity formation” (Blommaert, 2010: 19).

Cinema founds its roots in Europe, from being European, the monopoly of the film industry became American, especially since the emergence of the cinema studios in Hollywood (Crystal, 2003). English was the language chosen in the cinematic world and this never ended, since the English-language movie market is still dominated by the USA (Crystal, 2003). It has surely contributed to an increasing curiosity and interest towards the American culture in the global audience, and to a sudden diffusion of the English language which can also be considered ‘the language for entertainment’. However, while English is widely used in Outer movie production, it is not so widely chosen as the language of Expanding one, and the only way English is employed there is through dubbing and subtitling techniques.

English is also used in Literature, and more specifically “[s]everal genres of so-called ‘contact literature’ have arisen in the Outer Circle English” (Bennui & Hashim, 2014b: 80), as for example in India, Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean where it has led to both *nativization* and *acculturation* (Bolton, 2003: 198). This can be referred to as intercultural literature, which is the one written in a foreign language, in this case in English, by local authors whose points of view are influenced by multiple and different cultural spaces (Condon, 1986) having thus the privilege to be an intermediary between cultures and to be able to emphasise certain values characteristic of a specific culture developing empathy (Blioumi, 2015) and intercultural knowledge in readers. Moreover, since it presents a mixture, not only of cultural, but also of linguistic systems (Condon, 1986), it has the value of developing interlingual knowledge, as well. By so doing, it usually reinforces positive tolerant attitudes towards the foreign community, shortening the linguistic differences and promoting cultural exchange. One of the main issues of intercultural literature is properly the use of language. Authors are puzzled about what language they should use in their creative works, whether their mother tongue or their additional or foreign language, mainly English. This choice is concerned with feelings of identity and group belonging. Usually, writers are forced to use English, “the language of hegemonic power” (Bassnett, 2014: 40) for different reasons: because their use of English allows them to acquire a major success and visibility all around the world, or because writers feel sometimes ‘obliged’ to use it for political reasons as it happened during colonial times when Western language and culture were imposed to natives, a fact that led to certain bilingualism and forced writers into a crisis of identity (Bassnett, 2014) but which however gave us a rich corpus of post-colonial literature whose distinct linguistic features are discussed in a large number of empirical studies (Bennui & Hashim, 2014b).

Due to its current high global influx, English has started to be used in the Expanding ‘contact literature’ as a new domain where it is creatively used with non-English authors writing in English, or others code-switching from their L1 to English in their literary works, especially in novels. This is a recent phenomenon and “a few published studies on contact literatures in the Expanding Circle Englishes [...] can be found” (Bennui & Hashim, 2014b: 80) yet. For example, researchers have individualised this intercultural and interlingual phenomenon in Thailand (Bennui & Hashim, 2014b), China (Zhang, 2002) and Egypt (Albarkry & Hancock, 2008; Hassanin, 2012; Lebœuf, 2012). This would imply a move towards the inclusion of Expanding intercultural and interlingual literature in the WEs framework (Bennui & Hashim, 2014b; see also Widdowson, 2019).

### ***The cognitive criterion: acceptance and recognition of the local form***

Once English is extensively and constantly used in numerous contexts and with important functions (Kachru, 1983, 2006a [1992]) entering also creative and popular culture, and once its innovated forms are introduced becoming part of the feature pool of potential linguistic forms in a speech community, the variety may start to be perceived “as remarkably homogeneous” (Schneider, 2007: 51 describing phase 4 of the DM) and to be recognised as a proper local form becoming an integral part of a society’s linguistic system. However, this passage is neither automatic nor always conscious: the wide use and the existent variations in the form do not necessarily lead to acceptance and recognition (Van Rooy, 2011) and its users are not always aware of the fact that what they produced is something different from the StdE. The cognitive criterion aims properly at verifying whether and to what extent speakers start accepting and recognising ‘their own English’ (Buschfeld, 2011: 94 cited in Edwards, 2016: 20) and/or whether it is seen as a new and varied linguistic asset by academics, scholars, and researchers (Bolton, 2003).

The recognition of a variety of its own is not so easy to achieve and is the most problematic factor (Ho, 2008) in a variety development since it depends on an unconscious process requiring a certain cognitive effort and a certain ability to reflect on metalinguistic matters. It is for this reason that the process of recognition and acceptance of a local English is gradual and very slow and usually meets strong resistance. Indeed, even if “non-native speakers [...] of English use a local variety of English, [...] when told so, they are hesitant to accept the fact” (Kachru, 1983: 38, see also Kachru, 2006a [1992]). Only a few would be stimulated towards such (meta)linguistic reflections even sometimes accepting the evidence that, although neither stable nor fixed yet, the English influences are creating new linguistic conditions.

In previous WEs studies, the traditional belief was that “[a] variety is defined by speakers of the variety” (Modiano, 1999a: 25): it needs to be recognized as such (Mollin, 2006) and finally “accepted and even endorsed [...] openly” (Mollin, 2006: 51) by speakers themselves and specifically by a conspicuous part of speakers in a society. In other words, a local variety exists only “if its speakers want it to be” (Mollin, 2007: 172) and “it is only when the recognition/acceptance process becomes conscious that the variety can be considered as such, being thus a full attainment of endonormativity the endpoint for the development of an independent variety (Mair, 2016: 35 referring to Kachru’s (1985) and Schneiders’ (2003, 2007) models). Indeed, “[a]ccepting an endonormative standard is very much a function of asserting one’s own [linguistic] independence” (Mollin, 2007: 172). This implies that “norm orientation

is key: whether speakers aim for [...] the local variety” (Edwards, 2016: 20) or whether they consciously aspire to a particular standard variety of English and thus adopt certain features from it (Hundt, 2013) is indicative of their cognitive acknowledgment of local use of English and should be helpful to determine whether a new independent linguistic form exists.

Nevertheless, norm orientation towards a StdE and the non-recognition of a proper indigenised variety, if on the one hand is surely symptomatic of speakers’ approval and acknowledgment of their rejection of and resistance to the idea of the existence of a local form, on the other hand, it should not be regarded as a hard evidence of the non-existence of a new (potential) variety since its non-recognition on behalf of its speakers do not exclude that it has emerged or is factually emerging and that a certain endonormative process has begun. This is proved by the fact that also many EAL users do not see diversity in their own variety, and perhaps are not “able to accept what may be termed the ‘ecological validity’ of their *nativized* or *local* Englishes” (emphasis in the original) (Kachru, 1983: 41, see also Kachru, 2006a [1992]) which, indeed, continues to be regarded as an erroneous performance, although it has been recognised as ‘something new’ by the rest of the world (Sand, 2005; Ho, 2008) and even if its independence has been proved by numerous publications in which the variety’s features are “generally accepted as being characteristic features of a ‘new’ English variety” (Mukherjee, 2010: 219). The speakers will claim to be exonormatively oriented towards standard norms, and do not invest time and money to learn a nativised form that they not even recognise as such (Kachru, 1983), but that is what they actually speak. A case in point is Indians. In India, some people still maintain to rely on StdE forms, so that “[a] person may be a user of *Indian* English in his linguistic behaviour but may not consider it the ‘norm’ for his linguistic performance” (emphasis in the original) (Kachru, 1983: 37, see also Kachru, 2006a [1992]). As it can be easily inferred, in Expanding areas where a nativization phase has not been reached (at least not at every level of language) and where the indigenisation of forms is still a young and unstable process, this non-recognition and non-acceptance of a local variety is even stronger than in Outer areas. Expanding area speakers firmly claim to be exonormatively oriented towards a StdE and do not recognise, and not even suspect (Bakhtin, 1986), that their way of speaking English may be distinct from the standard forms. Besides, linguistic innovations in Expanding contexts are perceived negatively and seen as deviations from the standard norm (Pung, 2009): “[a]mong speakers, indeed, there still exist the old myth that only British [and/or American] English is the best and the only ‘correct’ form of the language” (Schneider, 2011: 225) and any alteration from the norm is instead perceived as the cause of the production of a ‘broken English’, where ‘broken’ is here to be intended as ‘incorrect’, mainly depending on speakers’

low proficiency. However, as it has been said when presenting the linguistic criterion, in these contexts as well, due to interferences with the L1, linguistic innovations are actually emerging. Hence, the fact that speakers are not aware of their ‘own English’ does not exclude its existence in practice and does not preclude the actual, even if unconscious, production of linguistic variation. An unconscious endonormative process can exist independently from users’ awareness and as soon as a certain endonormative process starts, consciously or unconsciously, potential new varieties emerge. In Bakhtin’s words, since “[w]e use them [local varieties] confidently and skilfully *in practice*, [so that] it is quite possible for us not even to suspect their existence *in theory*”, we already “speak in diverse genres” (emphasis in the original) (Bakhtin, 1986: 78).

Thus, in conclusion, for a variety to be already considered such, at least potentially, it does not have to be necessarily recognised or accepted within a society, as long as it is already *practically* used and produced with a performance that deviates from the standards, and as far as it starts to be *theoretically* discussed by scholars in the scientific research field. This means that a variety may develop and may even be widely used even though the process of recognition has not started yet, so that, in contradiction with previous studies, the cognitive criterion is not viewed here as an “exclusion criterion” (Buschfeld, 2011: 94). However, indisputably, the cognitive criterion with the acceptance and recognition of the local variety becomes a necessary condition for the construction of a new national linguistic identity and for institutionalisation and the probable consequent production of dictionaries of this new variety (Schneider, 2003). Hence, even if it is not a necessary condition for a (potential) variety status, the awareness of the existence of new language variety would be surely “indicative of a well-advanced developmental stage of a variety” (Buschfeld, 2011: 94).

### ***The attitudinal criterion: attitude and identity***

Recognising linguistic and cultural elements of indigenised forms may lead to positive emotional attachment to that variety and thus to the identification of its speakers with it (Kachru, 1983, 2006) and it is strongly connected with a process of linguistic identification (Schneider, 2003; Mollin, 2007). However, its cognitive recognition, does not necessarily imply positive feelings and behaviours towards the new local variety and linguistic identification with it. This explains why, in the FM, recognition and attitude are treated as two distinct conditions rather than being included in a unique criterion as they have been so far in WEs research with scholars not making a differentiation between the two and believing that a total recognition of the variety

manifests itself through the users' total identification with it (Kachru, 1983, 2006a [1992]). In this work, instead, recognition and identification are analysed separately, and while the cognitive criterion considers the "acceptance of the local variety" (Mollin, 2007: 173), or at least of variations as signals of the emergence of a local form, the attitudinal criterion considers people's attitudes towards an endogenous standard (Mollin, 2006), and/or their "attitudes to English" (Schneider, 2014: 17), towards its use within their country and towards its linguistic and cultural influxes in their L1.

The attitude of speakers towards one language is a very important criterion since it will have an impact on speakers' linguistic behaviour within the area of contact in which the language is used (Mackey, 1970). The use of a language in a community is always influenced by the ideas the speakers construct of it (Sergeant, 2009), by the positive or negative attitude they develop towards it, and by their linguistic identification or their refusal of it as something 'belonging' to them. All these are fundamental and decisive factors in order for a variety to shift towards an EAL status (Schneider, 2003; Bolton, 2003; Kachru, 2006a [1992]; Mollin, 2007) and for a language to spread in a country. Indeed, if people have favourable approaches towards the variety or towards the language, they create the conditions for its major development and further use, which, consequently, lead the language to acquire a more important function and prestige. If instead speakers build negative feelings towards it, its use will be avoided, contacts will decrease and so the language development will be hindered or totally impeded.

Language attitudes "are psychological states related in complex ways to larger abstract language ideologies" (Walters, 2008: 651) which in turn are defined as "the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their leading of moral and political interests" (Irvine, 1989: 255). The use of a language in a community "always occurs within an ideological context" (Sergeant, 2009: 26) on the basis of "shared bodies of common-sense notions" (Rumsey, 1990: 346) and on the basis of "sets of beliefs about language" (Silverstein, 1979: 193), about language practices (Spolsky, 2004) and "about the place and significance that language has within the lived human experience" (Sergeant, 2009: 1). Indeed, "[l]anguages are not whole independent systems" (Bassiouney, 2012: 109) but they are powerful tools (Honey, 1997) "closely related to the culture in which [they are] used" (Sergeant, 2012: 91) and to its social values. They "are considered linguistic resources that speakers draw upon under specific conditions and in specific circumstances" (Bassiouney, 2012: 109) and for this reason, they must be studied in relation to speakers' ideologies, social practice, and their position in their society (Bassiouney, 2012). For example, "learning a foreign

language not only involves learning rules of pronunciation and grammars as well as new vocabulary, but includes the ability to use these linguistic resources in ways that are socially and culturally appropriate among speakers of that language” (Yano, 2001: 120) so that consequently, “language choice can [...] index ‘our position in the social order, our life experiences, and our value commitments’; that is our identities” (Aboelezz, 2014: 251).

Attitudinal data are fundamental to investigate speakers’ linguistic identification with the local form (if recognised) or more generally with the local use of English. Indeed, harbouring positive feelings for one language hides important identity meanings: linguistic identification with English, uniquely occurs if speakers have positive linguistic attitudes and only if they have acquired a sense of ‘ownership of English’ (Widdowson, 1993; Lewko, 2012). However, especially because English enters communities which already have their own strong and stable historical, cultural (Schneider, 2007) and linguistic traditions, and where generally the L1 represents the language through which people express and show identity (Schneider, 2007) and group loyalty (Jenkins, 1996), linguistic identification with English, which is ‘the others’ language’, is not easy, and represents another critical point in the process of the emergence of a new variety (Schneider, 2007). It is also a very slow one: when English, the external language, comes into contact with local languages and cultures, people continuously and repeatedly need to “define and redefine themselves and their social roles” (Schneider, 2007: 28) and eventually decide whether identifying with it starting to choose linguistic elements as symbols of their individual and social identity (Jenkins, 1996). It seems evident that a full identification and the sense of ownership is almost exclusively a prerequisite of native Inner area speakers and, to a lesser extent, of some native Outer area speakers, who “may feel the language ‘belongs’ to them” (Graddol, 1997: 10) regarding English as “an essential tool in constructing their identity, expressing themselves and signalling group membership” (Edwards, 2016: 69, see also Edwards, 2018: 164) whereas it is always problematic between non-native users of Expanding areas (Lewko, 2012), who, apart from some rare case, tend not to identify with English, their foreign language, and remain ideologically, socially, and culturally inked to their mother-tongue(s).

Nevertheless, today, in contexts where English is changing its role “it is possible that [...] this could be changing” (Lewko, 2012: 37) particularly among “[t]he younger generations [which] are more focused on using English as a means of communication” (Thusat, 2009: 28, referring to English in Malta) developing “positive identity construction” in contexts such as in Internet communication (Onysko, 2016b: 193) where English is not just a ‘foreign’ language, but it has become ‘our’ [of the Expanding areas] language as well” (Blommaert, 2010: 100).



People “[i]n the global village” (Modiano, 1999a: 27), especially the youngest, feel a certain “fascination [...] towards English” (Seargeant, 2009: 3) and towards the English culture and values (Ho, 2008) to the point of causing a proper “linguistic schizophrenia” (Kachru, 1983: 179) which is exhibited both in language usage and “in acts of cultural display” (Seargeant, 2009: 3). So, “the belief that the language of one’s birth or home community is an essential part of one’s identity, in the same way that race, gender, or religion are” (Seargeant, 2012: 116) is no more so strict and linguistic identity construction is not so stable than it used to be (van Rooy & Kruger, 2018). Indeed, linguistic identity “may change in time, dependent upon social orientations, [and] differently drawn boundaries” (Schneider, 2017: 47) consequently, “[i]dentity is constantly evolving and changing, and speakers may be changing identities depending on what is needed at specific moments” (Lewko, 2012: 3) and in the current situation.

Surely, it is necessary to consider that a positive feeling towards a foreign language is a prerogative of reformist, ‘modernist’ and liberal speakers which are more open with regard to new varieties, and welcome new linguistic influxes, language mixing even as symbol of their multicultural identity (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018) or, in other words, of their “hybrid types of identity” (van Rooy & Kruger, 2018: 83-84). In opposition, the perspective of ‘conservatives’ (Mejdell, 2006) tend to develop more negative attitudes towards the use of English and towards its influxes on the L1. This view is the one shared, for example, by traditionalist academics which fight in favour of the purity of their mother-tongue and against linguistic foreignism seen as a menace to the integrity of their language and, consequently, a threat for the cultural, traditional, and sometimes even religious values it carries.

### ***The political criterion: institutionalisation and codification***

Once a local form is nativised and widely recognised, and once speakers identify with it, it becomes a legitimate variety (Mollin, 2007). At that point, it may start the process of political institutionalisation. Institutionalisation, defined as “the [official] acceptance of the new variety with its [...] characteristics as the norm” (Mollin, 2007: 172, see also Kachru 1992a), depends indeed on “linguistic, cultural and sociolinguistic processes over a period of time” (Kachru, 1991: 5) and specifically on the identity of the communities (Kachru, 1991). It is a long and slow process starting with a “a performance variety, with various characteristics slowly giving it a different status” (Kachru, 1983: 37, see also Kachru, 2006a [1992]) and finding its total

accomplishment only when the variety gains formal credit “not only by members of the speech community” (Mollin, 2006: 51, see also Schneider, 2003) but “also by official bodies” (Mollin, 2006: 51, see also Schneider, 2003) becoming *politically* recognised and openly accepted as a new local standard variety. The political criterion, which “is the least necessary of all” (Mollin, 2007: 173) for assessing variety status<sup>10</sup>, refers properly to the recognition and acceptance of the new variety also by authorities (Schneider 2003; Mollin, 2006; Buschfeld, 2013) on the official level, with the institution of language and educational policies and plans in its favour and, more generally, in favour of English.

At the base of the political criterion and thus of the official legitimisation of a variety, there are Language Policies and Plans (LPP) which concern decisions and actions involving legislation regulating which language is to be used in different contexts (Kloss, 1969 cited in Seargeant, 2012: 109), what role English has in a society and in relation with other local languages, and what type of English should be promoted. Language Policies (LP), which are “principles and decisions of a language community towards its linguistic repertoire” (Aboelezz, 2014: 59) and Language Planning defined as “efforts to manage, modify or influence the habitual practice of individuals as part of a community” (Bassiouney, 2009: 205) depend on a “choice regularly made by an individual, or a socially defined group of individuals, or a body with authority over a defined group of individuals” (Spolsky, 2004: 217) and are “shaped by language ideology (or ideologies), typically ones which prevail in the society in question” (Aboelezz, 2014: 56) being established on the base of social, cultural, religious, linguistic, and cultural values of the society. Importantly, “[l]anguage policies do not necessarily exist in the form of a written document” (Aboelezz, 2014: 56) and a distinction is made between “*overt* (explicit, formalised, de jure, codified)” and “*covert* (implicit, informal, unstated, de facto, grass-roots)” language policies (Schiffman, 1992: 3). In other words, it is possible that policies, ideologies, and practices are in conflict (Aboelezz, 2014) and what an overt language policy state is not actually what people covertly do with language in practice (Wee, 2018). Language practices are then more significant than written language policies and “[i]f a policy works against language practices, there is no guarantee that it will be successful” (Bassiouney, 2009: 204). Political institutionalisation is usually inextricably linked to power (Aboelezz, 2014: 67), more specifically to political and economic power (Bassiouney, 2009), and to the needs of people. Indeed, “governments can try to impose languages as much as they like, but unless their

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<sup>10</sup> Not all nativised forms of English are indeed institutionalised (Kachru, 1992: 55).

plans reflect the economic [and political] reality, they will not be appealing to the people” (Bassiouny, 2009: 204) to the point that they can try to ban them. Conversely, if languages result attractive echoing or contributing to a better economic and political situation of people, they will be uncontrollably used even against law or even “long before it is officially recognised” (Edwards, 2016: 20, see also Buschfeld, 2011; Mollin, 2006).

In accordance with Kachru’s (1983a, 2006a [1992]) and Mollin’s (2006) belief, it can be said that “a variety that is already endorsed by its speakers but has not yet found official recognition can still be classified as [...] New English” (Mollin, 2006: 51), at least as a legitimate ‘performance variety’ (Kachru, 1992: 55) which, contrarily to institutionalised varieties *de jure* recognised, are *de facto* used but without holding any officiality. This is what occurs with Outer varieties (Kachru, 1983, 2006a) but also with many Expanding ones which do not have language policies aiming at promoting the use of the new potential English within the country as an additional linguistic tool, or, consequently, new linguistic identities have emerged. What they do, is promoting English, mainly in its British or American standard form, in the educational fields, with educational policies aiming at increasing the EFL teaching in schools, higher education, and universities. Indeed, institutionalisation also comprises educational laws and policies established by language academies.

As far as educational policies are concerned, “the field of language policy and planning has turned into an active field” (Gün, 2018: 409) making English “the most widely used foreign language in any compulsory school context” (Amir, 2013: 11) and even the main language of instruction in higher education, contributing as well to the production of “a vast body of research literature” (Gün, 2018: 409) in English. English in the educational field is a strategy adopted by governments worldwide, especially in the Expanding areas where its learning has been recently strengthened “for providing foreign language learners with opportunities to speak in the foreign language” in a context where “there are relatively few opportunities to practice a foreign language in the environment outside the classroom” (Amir, 2013: 48). So, English education is a product “carefully constructed and tailored to the needs and expectations of the market” (Sergeant, 2009: 99) and of politics, and, for this reason, “how the English language is conceptualized in pedagogic and policy documents” (Sergeant, 2009: 43) “becomes a significant factor in the way the language exists within society” (Sergeant, 2009: 99). As for academic linguistic purism, it can be seen as a kind of language policy (Schiffman, 1996) as well. Indeed, the action of “national language academies [...] will purposefully attempt to circumscribe a particular usage which can then be promoted as distinctive of the national community” (Sergeant & Tagg, 2011: 499).

Once a variety is politically institutionalised, to successfully implement language policy, authoritatively codification in dictionaries, grammars and usage guides are required as well (Mollin, 2006; 2007; Schneider, 2011) since the new variety, in order to be considered independent, must be a closed system in itself (Platt, Weber & Ho 1984; Williams, 1987; Mollin, 2007, among others). The codification of the language is “the ‘fixed code’ view of language” (Seargeant & Tagg, 2011: 499) which establishes “how it [the new variety] does or should look like, the shape it takes, from its spelling through to its grammar” (Seargeant, 2012: 109). Dictionaries, grammars, and usage guides are “powerful remarks of their [varieties’] autonomy” (McArthur, 1987: 10) and “effective tools for legitimising the ideological constructs of discrete national varieties” (Seargeant, 2012: 98). However, the process of legitimisation of distinctive features of a variety is a slow one (Seargeant, 2012) and occurs at different timelines in different countries: at the present, while in many countries of the Inner area English has already developed such institutions as their own dictionaries and grammars with the existence of varieties even serving as norms to follow by other speakers, in various Outer countries “codification should be in its beginnings” (Mollin, 2006: 51) or a national dictionary projects have not taken place yet since there, “questions linked to norms and codification are typically unresolved” (Bolton, 2006: 261). It goes without saying that Expanding area varieties, which are neither nativised nor recognised, do not satisfy the political criterion *a priori*. Codification in dictionaries, grammars, and guides, certainly, does not occur there.

This implies that the lack of a dictionary, or a grammar does not hinder the factual existence of a variety and that linguistic interferences are neither systematically codified in a dictionary or in a stable corpus nor recognised by speakers does not exclude that the variety is *de facto* used as innovative form. For example, Englishes spoken in India (Kachru, 1985a; Schneider, 2007; Mukherjee & Gries, 2009), in South Asia (Kachru, 1969), and Southeast Asia (Crewe, 1977; Richards & Tay, 1981), in Africa (Spencer, 1971), in the Philippines (Llamzon, 1969; Bolton & Butler, 2004), in Malta (Thusat et al., 2009; Bonnici, 2010) among others, can be performatively considered institutionalised even if not all codified yet. Surely, with codification, people would finally recognise their own linguistic independence and would definitely feel authorised to use their own variety which otherwise would continue to be regarded as erroneous by most of them. Codification, as a result, would encourage a more open and widespread use of the local form internally and even externally, so that codified varieties have more opportunities to become standard forms for others. This is the case in point of many potential standard varieties of the Inner area such as Australian, New Zealand, Nigerian (Ekpe, 2007; Ugorji, 2015) or Jamaican English.

How all these ten criteria work within the FM is then shown in the following theoretical framework (Figure 27).

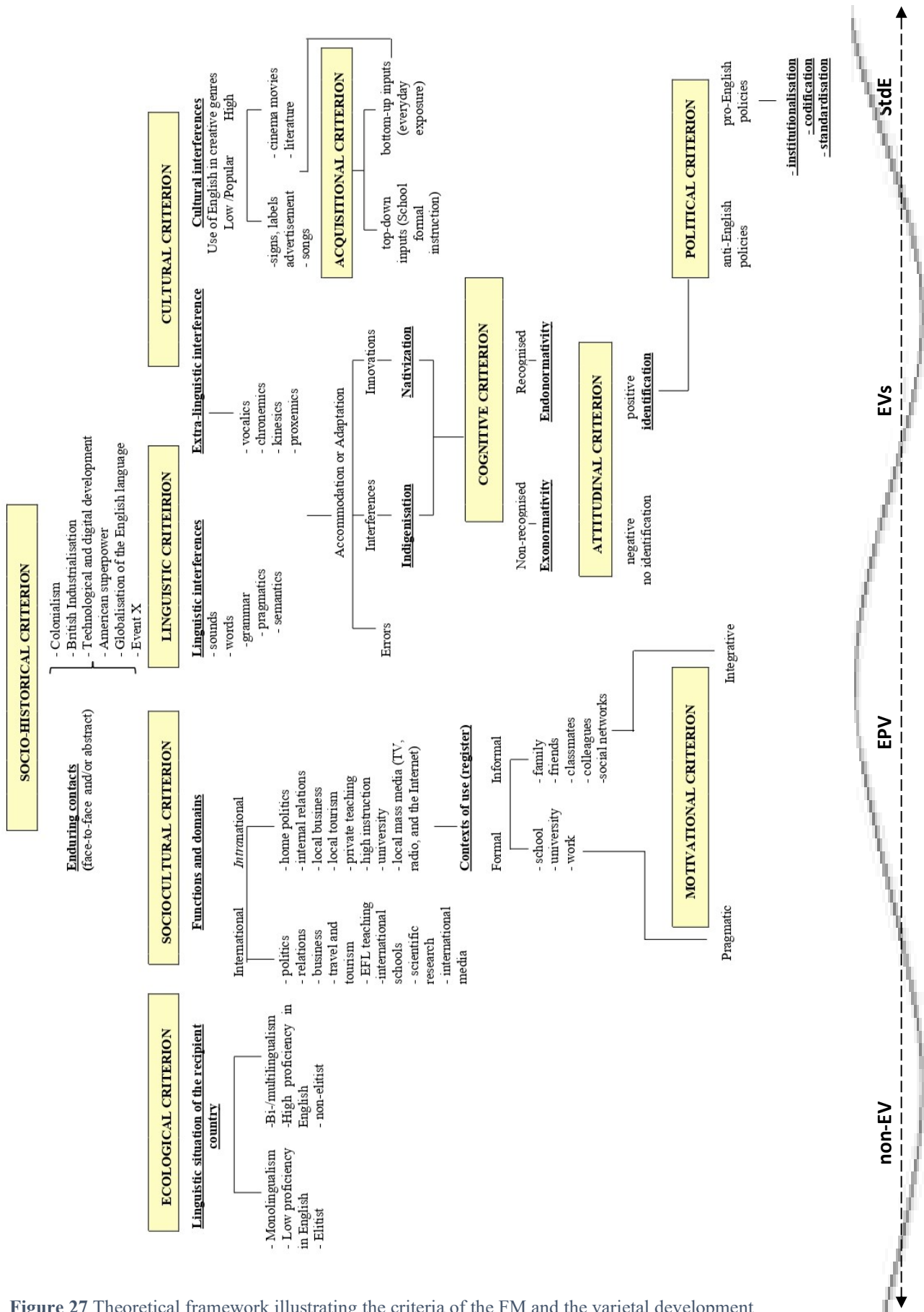


Figure 27 Theoretical framework illustrating the criteria of the FM and the varietal development

## 2.6 Definition, criteria, and parameters for EPV status

Definitely, EPV are all those newly emerging linguistic forms developing in the Expanding area, which have acquired characteristics different from those of simple EFL, approximating (but not reaching) the additional-language status. Since they share similarities with respect to their input factors, ecology, sociolinguistic settings, and their linguistic elements (Schneider, 2010 referring to ESL varieties), they should no longer be seen as simple mixed varieties, but as a class of varieties of its own to be positioned on a specific stage in the varietal flow, namely the EPV stage, located between the EFL and EAL areas with their own specific features.

From a socio-historical point of view, in order for a variety to be considered an EPV longlasting, intense and frequent contacts through past and present events should exist (Mackey, 1970). Indeed, for a language “to be affected there must be sufficient contact” (Görlach, 2002: 14) over extended periods of time (Sand, 2005; Hundt & Vogel, 2011) since the greater the length of time for contact the more contact features a recipient language is likely to evidence in the long run. The way English enters EPV nations is surely different from that of many other varieties. Indeed, while the majority of Outer varieties have developed due to colonial forces and migration, Expanding area varieties developed and develop for different reasons and above all due to the global use of English as ELF in many fields and to globalisation forces.

As a consequence of the high intensity and frequency of linguistic contacts, English inevitably starts to be used increasingly in many domains and for more important functions. The EPV status is reached when “English [...] expande[s] functions that go beyond the international ELF functions to which English is typically restricted in EFL countries” (Edwards, 2016: 23) and when far from being exclusively used for international and formal communication in limited fields such as international politics, international affairs, administration or tourism, starts to be increasingly employed locally with intranational purposes in various domains of everyday life (Edwards, 2016; Lowenberg, 2002; Jenkins, 2003a, 2007; Berns, 2005; Canagarajah, 2006; Mollin, 2006; Buschfeld and Kautzsch’s, 2017) such as in private schools, in higher education, on the Internet (Meierkord, 2012) or in other kinds of informal friendly communication. The use of local variety thus should not be restricted to a few fields, but it should be widespread in many domains, as “[t]he farther the language extends its [...] functional domains, the more it is affected by [and affects] the multilingual settings in which it is being used” (Mair, 2013: 255), and, in addition, “local practices must surely gain norm value through recurring spontaneous use” (Bruthiaux, 2003: 168).

For an EPV status, English should become part of people's daily lives in a variety of different ways (Bolton, 2003 referring to English in Hong Kong) through frequent everyday inputs and exposure to the language (Mackey, 1970; Gilquin & Granger, 2011; Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox & Torgersen, 2013). English should not only be acquired at school, but also more spontaneously used outside classrooms (Gilquin & Granger, 2011; Buschfeld, 2013) being employed also in relax time. This would give speakers a major opportunity to learn/acquire English through the increasing inputs society offers by absorbing linguistic and cultural elements passively and intensively.

It would be argued that for an Expanding area variety to be considered an EPV, English bi-/multilingualism should spread throughout society (Moag, 1992; Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006; Edwards, 2016), with English used as the main foreign language that allows to be linked with the world and to take part to the international debate. Speakers will be willing to acquire higher competences in order to be "on the way to becoming fluent in English" (Mair, 2018b: 360). All the same, for a variety to develop into a national local form, English bi-/multilingualism should spread not only among some restricted and wealth communities of a society, generally the elite, which is a prerogative of EFL communities (Moag, 1992; Williams, 1987; Mollin, 2006; Buschfeld, 2013; Edwards, 2016) but it should spread throughout the population (Moag, 1992; Edwards, 2016;).

From a linguistic point of view, this increasingly intense and frequent use of English within societies should lead to interesting linguistic effects with the creation of Hybrid Mixes (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). In such contact scenarios, due to transfers from the L1, a considerable number of variation should occur at different levels of the language, mainly at the phonological, involving both segmental and the suprasegmental features, at the lexical with the introduction of borrowings and calques, most of which becoming completely nativised, and with the practice of codeswitching and mixing, but also at the morpho-syntactical level, all this leading to indigenisation of linguistic forms. In order to be recognised as a more evident phenomenon, the indigenisation of linguistic forms would need to become stable, linguistic interferences should be frequent and intense, and produced by a good number (or percentage) of speakers, especially by the most authoritative. EPV countries should thus become the new norm-producers although people would continue not to be aware of this process and still believe to reach a standard competence firmly claiming to be oriented towards a StdE, namely BrE and/or AmE, and perceiving any deviation from the norm as an erroneous production. This implies, that the cognitive criterion does not need to be necessarily fulfilled.



For a variety to shift from the EFL to EPV area, linguistic innovations should also be widely used in cultural contexts and in creative linguistic forms, including public ‘outdoor media’ (Crystal, 2003: 94) like advertising, signs and labels, and reach people through entertainment products like music, movies, and literature with local producers and writers using English in their works creating an interlingual and intercultural exchange, with English thus used as a means to express local culture and emotions.

Generally, in EPV contexts, people strongly identify with their L1 while English is seen in an ambivalent way. People have ambiguous feelings towards it and its use within their community. On the one hand they appreciate its introduction for its utility and because it guarantees social well-being” (Crystal, 2003: 29-30) and economic prosperity, on the one hand, they sometimes perceive it as a menace to the purity of their language, cultural and traditional values. For this reason, its development is still contrasted by more conservative members of society and sometimes through the actions of language academies which fight for the purity of their mother-tongue. However, although a proper linguistic identification process has not started among its speakers and despite resistances, English silently enters these communities through various means such as the Internet in which the use of language is becoming increasingly difficult to control. This allows saying that the attitudinal criterion does not necessarily need accomplishment as long as a potential variety is practically used.

Worthless to specify is that in EPV countries, the potential local form, which is not even recognised by its speakers, does not require any political recognition, and not being institutionalised it is not even codified. What can be discussed, in these cases, is the establishment of language policies pro- or anti-English and the political promotion of English especially in the educational field. Indeed, “in response to the spread of English and increased multilingualism [...] many countries have introduced language laws in the last decade” (Graddol, 2006: 116). In some, the use of English is favoured and promoted with pro-English laws, in others, it is contrasted with anti-English policies, and sometimes even banned in public spaces such as in advertising (Graddol, 2006).

Features, criteria, and parameters for the definition of an EPV are summed up in Figure 28.

<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Features of English in EPV areas</b>	<b>Parameters</b>
<b><i>Socio-historical</i></b>	Linguistic contacts through past and present social and historical events (e.g. less-prototypical colonialism, digitalisation, economic relations with America, use of GlobE and ELF, and so on)	} High intensity and frequency of contacts
<b><i>Acquisitional</i></b>	Ways of language acquisition: - learnt by school instruction - through more natural way offered by everyday English inputs exposure	} Increasing intensity and frequency of linguistic inputs
<b><i>Ecological</i></b>	Local linguistic situation: - widespread societal bi-/multilingualism - high competence in English especially by speakers of some specific communities (the wealthiest, the youngest and/or University students)	
<b><i>Sociolinguistic</i></b>	Functions: - mainly international (education, administration, tourism and so on) as ELF and ESP. - increasing intranational use of English in different domains (private schooling, high education, media, the Internet, and so on) Contexts: - mainly formal (politics, business, administration, education) - informal (communication with friends, in social networks or in popular culture)	
<b><i>Motivational</i></b>	Motivations for learning English: - mainly pragmatic: English seen as a functional tool for international communication - integrative: English starts to become integral part of the national linguistic system being widely used	
<b><i>Linguistic</i></b>	Indigenisation of linguistic forms - considerable number of variations at all levels of language (phonological, morphological, morphosyntactic, lexical, and pragmatic level) Code-switching and mixing (Hybrid Mixes)	} A certain stability of linguistic innovations; Intensity and frequency of their use; number or percentage and typology (authoritative) of speakers producing the same variations.
<b><i>Cultural</i></b>	Use of English in creative writing (signs, labels, advertising, local music, movies, and literature) - bottom-up and top-down influxes - English as a means to express local culture and emotions	} Intensity and frequency of use.
<b><i>Cognitive</i></b>	Acceptance and recognition of local variations - unawareness - norm-orientation towards a StDE	
<b><i>Attitudinal</i></b>	Speakers' attitude towards English: - ambivalent speaker's feelings - no linguistic identification apart from some identity construction in specific communities (young, Internet users or University students)	
<b><i>Political</i></b>	Institutionalization: - no official recognition by authorities - no pro-English language policies apart from some educational laws promoting an increasing teaching of English. Codification: - no dictionaries or grammars	

**Figure 28** Criteria, parameters, and features of English in EPV areas

By varying parameters, and thus becoming features more or less intense, more or less frequent, increasing or decreasing the number or percentage of speakers producing variations, or increasing or decreasing language inputs, the EPV variety may change its status, advancing towards the EAL area or withdrawing towards the EFL one.

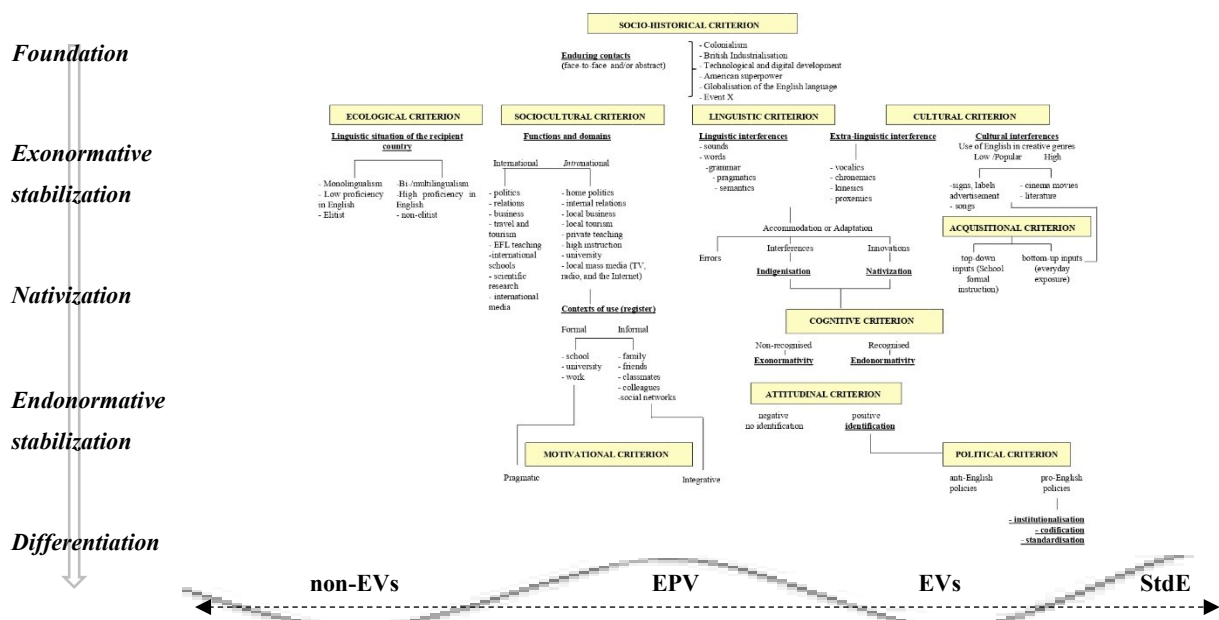
## **2.7 Advantages of the FM**

In this chapter, the FM has been presented as an alternative theoretical framework able to grasp the complexities of the current linguistic situation of English in the world more faithfully through a more flexible approach. By means of this new frame, the main wish is to overtake old theoretical models' limitations creating a more fluid approach suitable for all types of varieties: native and non-native, postcolonial and non-postcolonial, standard and non-standard.

The main advantage of the FM is its fluidity which emerges itself in all its aspects and should be intended in different ways: in terms of boundless graphical representation of variety categories, in terms of its presentation of fuzzy varietal areas, in terms of flexibility and dynamic vision of the developmental process described, in terms of adaptability in time and space, in different historical moments and different geographical contexts worldwide, and in terms of inclusiveness and usability for the study of different varieties of English and even of varieties of different languages. The fluidity of the FM is first of all evident through its visual representation: it appears in the shape of a stream characterised by different stages, positioned at some points of the flow, that a variety can reach through an evolutionary or involutory process (Figure 21). This kind of representation is an expedient to finally break down the old tradition of statically representing varieties of English inside closed circles or fixed categories as in Kachru's (1985) or McArthur's (1998) models, and eventually to illustrate that concept which in WEs study has so far been expressed only theoretically, according to which "there is no sharp divide between [...] Circles" (Kachru, 2005: 214) and borders between circles and categories of English have become hazy (Edwards, 2016).

The FM's fluidity is also guaranteed by the fact that it describes a process for the variety formation, which is not necessarily monodirectional. The passage from one stage to the other depends on the satisfaction of specific criteria and parameters which can be analysed without necessary following an imposed order as it occurs, instead, using the one-way developmental phases of Schneider's (2003, 2007) model, and thus also Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) EIF model (which is a remake of the DM). Following the FM, a variety can be considered as such

not if it has gone through a series of obligatory passages, but if it satisfies some conditions which are not necessarily mutual consequences one of the other (with the exception of the socio-historical criterion which is the first and fundamental one and of cognitive, attitudinal, and political criteria which are particularly linked with one another). However, in the FM, a developmental process can be traced as well, and it would also be possible to sketch it out in terms of developmental phases. Largely indeed, “parallels can [...] be identified with the Dynamic Model” (Edwards, 2016: 194): the socio-historical criterion corresponds to the *foundation phase* in which first linguistic contacts occur between two speech communities; the ecological, the linguistic and the sociolinguistic criteria then describes three of the DM phases, namely the *exonormative stabilization*, the *nativization* and the *endonormative stabilization* relating on how and under which ecological and sociolinguistic conditions English is more widely and gradually used in a community and how and through which progression linguistic interferences can affect a speech community to the point to let a new local variety emerge. Finally, both models consider politics and identity construction as two important factors in the variety development. In the first case they lead to political, social, and linguistic differentiation<sup>11</sup>, in the second, they lead to political acceptance of new linguistic forms and thus to institutionalisation and perhaps codification and standardisation of the local form, in both cases, representing the last steps towards the creation of a proper EV (Figure 29).



<sup>11</sup> Contrary to Schneider’s (2003) idea, *differentiation* is here considered a phenomenon that begins in the early moments of a varietal development. Indeed, since different communities within a country, especially if it is layered in different social ranks, may choose linguistic elements differently, an absolute homogeneity of a variety is never reached (Kachru, 1991, 1997; Schneider 2003) and “varieties within a variety” (Kachru, 1983: 38, see also Kachru, 2006) can result since the very first moment of language contact.

**Figure 29** Correspondences between the varietal development described in the FM and Schneider's (2003, 2007) DM phases.

Nevertheless, although similarities and a comparable developmental process, distances from the DM have been taken mainly for three reasons: firstly, because the DM, in its format and in its description, is explicitly thought for PCEs while the FM, which is more “selectively extracted from what is predominantly a colonial framework” (Edwards, 2016: 194), includes also non-PCEs or less-prototypical PCEs which spread because of different dynamics (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) and consequently lead to diverse *historical, political* and *identity construction* parameters; secondly, because in the DM, identity construction is “at the heart of the process of the emergence of PCEs” (Schneider, 2007: 28) while in the FM identity construction is not an obligatory condition as long as the variety is used in practice (Bakhtin, 1986; Buschfeld, 2011); thirdly, not imitating Schneider’s DM, the FM intends to dissociate itself from the old conception of a fixed one-way developmental process avoiding the linear progression from phase  $n$  to phase  $n+1$  (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) conferring more flexibility. All this explains why, in this work, instead of continuously abstracting the DM, it was chosen to rely on a totally different format.

Another feature of the FM is its adaptability to different kinds of varieties. Although in this dissertation the FM has been mainly used for the analysis of potential emerging varieties of the Expanding area, it is flexible enough to be used also for the analysis of Englishes in the Outer and Inner contexts which indeed can be equally studied through the investigation of the same criteria and follow a similar developmental process from foreignness towards nativization or even standardisation. This model therefore does not make distinctions between native and non-native varieties, nor between standard and non-standard forms, being inclusive and attributing all WEs a more democratic conception (Onysko, 2016a). This depends on the fact that, contrary to all models so far existing, which have focused on a unique paradigm, the FM takes into consideration all possible conditions and even a combination of different paradigms. A valid model, indeed, should not focus on a singular event or criterion but it should be able to detect different sociolinguistic and cultural aspects leading to the emergence and development of a variety. This appliance to different sociolinguistic situations would also guarantee its usability and adaptability in time and in space. Indeed, the FM can be used for any historical context, being valid for the study of English in countries worldwide irrespective of their historical background, cultural tradition, and geographical location and extension.

Another advantage of the FM is that it is very detailed: it comprehends all possible aspects, not only linguistic and sociolinguistic, but also social, historical, political, cultural, with information on language ecology, sociolinguistic landscape, language policy, use and education in order to have a complete overview of a variety in a country. Even if there are scholars who believe that too many details “could potentially reduce the explanatory clarity of a model” (Pung, 2009: 42) so that a theoretical framework should “carve out the essential mechanisms that underline a situation, system, or process and achieve global comprehension of the matter” (Onysko, 2016a: 196-197), in agreement with Bruthiaux (2003), it is supposed here that for a model to truthfully represent the complexities of the sociolinguistic context it describes, it should be a detailed description of it (Bruthiaux, 2003) and it “must include variation, in the form of a diasystem describing orderly heterogeneity” (Görlach, 2002: 10).

To sum up, the main advantages of the FM are fluidity, adaptability, and the detailed description of the varietal process, perhaps presenting itself as a more updated, more flexible and more complete alternative theoretical framework for the description of the today Englishes worldwide.

## 2.8 A graphical representation of the current situation of English worldwide

Once having presented the EPV stage, and once having established its features according to the satisfaction of criteria described, it is possible now to display a more general and complete situation of English in the world. In Table 1 a detailed and renewed picture of WEs in their different developmental stages, namely EFL, EPV, EAL and EML is offered in the form of a ‘Variety Spectrum’ (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011: 45).

Area	Expanding		Outer	Inner
Stage	EFL	EPV	EAL	EML
Label	non-EVs	EPVs	EVs	
<b><u>SOCIO-HISTORICAL CRITERION</u></b>				
<b>History</b>	Ephemeral or no shared historical events	In some case, important historical events shared	Important historical events shared (such as colonization)	History making
<b><u>ACQUISITIONAL CRITERION</u></b>				
<b>Nativeness</b>	Non-native		Native	
			functional nativeness	genetic nativeness
<b>Acquisition environment</b>	At school (EFL) (and through media)	At school, through everyday communication and media.		In family and society
<b>Exposure and inputs</b>	Very limited (almost exclusively in classrooms EFL and Learner English)	Limited (almost exclusively in classrooms) but increasing (mainly through local media, the Internet and popular culture)	High and numerous (especially through local media, the Internet and popular culture) but also in other important domains of	All inputs are in the English language

			everyday life such as education, business, and politics.	
<b>ECOLOGICAL CRITERION</b>				
<b>Status of the English language</b>	UNOFFICIAL		CO-OFFICIAL	OFFICIAL
<b>Used as a...</b>	L <sub>x</sub>	L <sub>2</sub> /L <sub>x</sub>		L <sub>1</sub>
<b>Contact scenario</b>	English as learner language coexists with <i>the</i> local official national language and their dialectal varieties		English coexists with <i>other</i> official or unofficial local official national languages and their dialectal varieties	English is <i>the</i> official national language and differentiates into local dialectal varieties.
<b>Speakers' competence and proficiency</b>	Generally, very low	Some people are low proficient others are almost native-skilled	High, near-native skilled	Mother-tongue skilled
<b>SOCIOLINGUISTIC CRITERION</b>				
<b>Functions</b>	Only for international communication It is used as International Language and as ELF	International and some intranational communication.	International and some intranational communication.	International and intranational communication.
<b>Domain</b>	Only in foreign language teaching at school, tourism, and international affairs	In specific domains such as (science, technology, high education, business, politics, tourism...)	In all domains	
<b>Contexts of use</b>	Only in formal contexts	Mainly in formal contexts but also in some informal and familiar contexts.		In both formal and familiar contexts
<b>LINGUISTIC CRITERION</b>				
<b>Accommodation</b>	No accommodation since there is not a face-to-face contact	Accommodation after a long-lasting face-to-face contact (e.i. between settlers and indigenous strands)		
<b>Linguistic influences</b>	Mainly on the phonetic and lexical level (loanwords, calques...)	Mainly on the phonetic and lexical level but also on structure	Influences at different levels of the language	Linguistic norm-providing
<b>Nativization</b>	Non-nativised	Non-nativised but indigenised	Nativised	
<b>CULTURAL CRITERION</b>				
<b>Sociocultural influences</b>	Popular songs, media, advertisement	Popular songs, media, advertisement, and some cases of intercultural literature		Culture-making
<b>Artistic influences</b>	Mainly code-switching		Literature produced in English	
<b>COGNITIVE CRITERION</b>				
<b>Users' recognition of their own English variety</b>	No variety	Not recognised as a distinctive variety	Not always recognised as a distinct variety	Recognised as a distinctive variety
<b>Norm orientation</b>	Exonormativity		Endormativity	
	Norm-dependent	Locally norm developing	Locally norm providing	Globally norm providing
<b>ATTITUDINAL CRITERION</b>				
<b>Identification</b>	People firmly identify with <i>their local</i> language and culture	People identify with <i>their local</i> language and culture and, in some case and in different degree, with English as <i>their L<sub>2</sub>/L<sub>x</sub></i> .		People definitely identify with the English language and culture.
<b>Users linguistic attitude towards English</b>	General positive attitude towards the pragmatic international functions of English.	Ambiguous attitude: on one hand people appreciate the pragmatic international (and some intranational) functions of English, on the other hand they feel it as a menace to the purity of the language and culture.	General positive attitude towards the intranational and extranational functions and towards the English language and culture.	Positive. They fiercely spread their mother-tongue in the world.
<b>POLITICAL CRITERION</b>				
<b>Language policies</b>	Nationalist language policies		Pro-English language policies	
<b>Variety status</b>	No status	<i>De facto</i>		<i>De Jure</i>
<b>Codification</b>	No variety to be codified	Not codified		Codified

Table 1 The 'Variety Spectrum' (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011: 45) of WEs and their features according to criteria of the FM.

## 2.9 Preliminary conclusions

In this chapter, it has been shown that using existing WEs theories and definitions and applying the old models and categorisations, the issues linked to varieties which are developing those sociolinguistic features which make them go beyond their EFL status is not solved. This creates a paradigm gap that must be filled in order to reconnect WEs theories with the current situation of the English language in the world. With the aim of filling this theoretical void, and specifically with the purpose of finding a more stable position and definition of new emerging varieties of the Expanding area, legitimately including them in the WEs framework, a revision of old paradigms has been presented, a change in terminology has been suggested, and an alternative model has been proposed.

As far as the reconsideration of old paradigms is concerned, the first WEs concept to be revised was *nativeness*. Starting from the idea that being a native speaker of a language does not necessarily imply a biological “genetic mapping” (Kachru, 2005: 212), but exposure to the language from birth (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008), native speakers can be found not only in Inner communities, but also in Outer and, even, if at a lesser extent, in Expanding areas. More amply speaking, however, while Outer area speakers acquire English not only through formal instruction, but also through the continuous and intense inputs they receive from the everyday life, so that, in the opinion of this author, they cannot be any longer referred as non-native, Expanding area speakers, although inputs are increasing in current times, may be still defined non-native, as long as exposure is less frequent and less intense and English is mainly learnt through formal education.

The second paradigm discussed was *standardisation*. A standard form is defined as a variety that serves as “the norm for a given society” (Sergeant, 2012: 28) being thus norm-providing for others and assuming a central position in the “pluricentric constellation” (Mair, 2013: 258) of WEs, and towards which more peripheral (Mair, 2013: 259; Hundt, 2013) speakers of Outer and Expanding areas try to converge. This centrality is the prerogative of Inner countries only (Halliday, 2004), and after a long discussion it has been argued that the unique two varieties which satisfy the requisite for standardness, being *globally norm providing*, are BrE and AmE, while other Inner varieties such as AusE, NZE, SAfrE and NE, as well as some Outer area varieties, represent cases of *locally norm providing* standards, being their use limited to their neighbourhood (Hundt, 2013) and not spread to an extensive area (Kachru, 1985a), or being norms produced only internally consumed. Surely, Expanding area varieties cannot be seen as standard forms. However, what has been discussed here is their power, at



least of some of them, to equally produce norms changing their status from simple *norm-dependent* to *locally norm developing* countries, although their people still believe “to adhere as closely to English norms as possible” (Lewko, 2012: 1, 97, see also Mollin, 2006, among others).

The third paradigm reread was the one referring to the post-colonisation status. In previous WEs studies, varieties which have not developed after colonialism, due to their *non colonisation factor* (Ho, 2008: 37), have not been taken into consideration. They have been relegated to the Expanding area and considered “the rest of the world” (Berns, 2005: 85). However, as it has been shown, firstly, not all Expanding countries have been totally free from colonial experience even if they have not followed the same trajectory of other PCEs, and secondly, even if English in many Expanding contexts has not entered through colonialism, it is penetrating nowadays through globalisation means (and/or through other ‘Events X’), to the point that it has been argued that globalisation, with English as its main linguistic tool, has become the new key factor leading to language contacts (Buschfeld & Schneider, 2018, among others), and thus to the possible creation of new varieties of English. This implies that also Expanding area nations, although being non-PCEs or ‘less-prototypical PCEs’ (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121) having thus different socio-historical, ecological, and sociolinguistic characteristics than PCEs, must finally be included in the WEs framework.

Taking the evidence that paradigms have changed, in order to better describe the new situation of English in the world, the old terminology has been changed as well. In this chapter, alternative labels to ENL, ESL and EFL have been suggested. These are: English as the Main Language (EML) which defines contexts where English is official, institutionalised and used as the primary language by people and which, with the replacement of the term ‘native’ with the term ‘main’ would solve problems related to the nativeness concept previously discussed; English as an Additional Language (EAL) where the term ‘additional’ replaces the term ‘second’ since English in those countries is not necessarily used as a second choice, but it is very often simultaneously used as an additional L1 by speakers (Llamzon, 1983), or as a Lx (Görlach, 2002; Seargeant, 2012); and EFL which remains in its original form since it defines varieties which are mainly learnt through a foreign language teaching.

However, if on the one hand, with the modification of old WEs paradigms and a changed terminology, Expanding area varieties seem finally included in the WEs debate, on the other hand, they still remain “out in the cold” (Edwards, 2016: 4), suspended “somewhere between ESL and EFL status” (Buschfeld, 2013: 11) without a proper room or definition, and excluded

from any existing model and categorisation so far used, both the most recent TA model by Schneider (2014) and the EIF model by Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) included.

In order to fill this theoretical void, a different model with a new categorisation of varieties of Englishes in the world was proposed, namely the ‘Fluid Model of the emergence of English as a Potential Variety’ (FM) that, with the insertion of the ‘EPV stage’, a middle-earth area between the two ESL and EFL areas, considered as a class of its own and with its own features, tries to give a legitimate characterisation and an adequate positioning to many ‘hybrid varieties’ (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld, 2014). Apart from being a more comprehensive model (Schneider, 2017) finally including overlapping cases, it is also a more fluid one (Edwards, 2016): it is represented in the shape of a stream in which a variety can fluidly move in any direction (Buschfeld, 2013; Biewer, 2011; Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011; Gilquin & Ganger, 2011, among others), forward or backward, from one stage to another changing its status according to some specific criteria, namely: the given socio-historical moment and reasons for linguistic contacts between English and local language(s) which allow the spread of linguistic influxes (socio-historical criterion); the contact typology by which people in a country learn or acquire English (Moag, 1992), whether uniquely through school instruction or also with inputs from the environment (acquisitional criterion); the specific socio-linguistic situation of the country which English enters in contact with (presence of official languages, dialects, diglossia, multilingualism, language proficiency, etc.) (ecological criterion); the functions that English develops in different international and intranational domains of the target society and its use in its different formal and informal sociocultural contexts (sociolinguistic criterion); the motivations, either integrative or pragmatic for learning English in a non-English speaking country (motivational criterion); the quantity and quality of linguistic influences between English and the local language(s), also accompanied by extralinguistic influences (linguistic criterion); the interferences of the English language and culture in local high (literature, cinema) and low culture (popular music, Internet productions, advertising, etc.) (cultural criterion); speakers’ awareness of their own local “linguistic distinctiveness” (Jenkins, 2007: 198) (cognitive criterion); users’ feeling towards and acceptance of the use of their own English and/or towards the more general introduction of English in their country which mainly depend on the moral ideologies (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) of the place in which it develops (attitudinal criterion); the recognition of the new variety by the authority with the establishment of language policies, institutionalisation, and codification of the EV (political criterion).

Thanks to its features, the FM would be as a possible solution apt to finally “building a bridge” (Biewer, 2011: 9) towards the development of English in many Expanding areas and with its fluidity, with its boundless graphical representation, with a fuzzier “succession of stages” (Schneider, 2007: 57), and with its flexibility and adaptability to different typologies of varieties, the FM could prove a valid alternative to the old models.

**PART 2: 'EGYPTIAN ENGLISH' AS A POTENTIAL NEW ENGLISH VARIETY: A  
SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS**

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### 3. The ‘Fluid Model of English as a Potential Variety’ applied to the case of Egypt: the empirical study

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#### 3.1 Introduction

So far, in WEs research, Egypt has been inserted in the Kachruvian Expanding Circle. Indeed, in Egypt it holds no official status being classified as an EFL and is mainly used as an ELF for communicating “between speakers who do not share cultural contexts” (Lewko, 2012: 1) and as an international language which allows Egyptians to be connected with the globe. However, English in Egypt has developed functions which make it overcome these definitions. English in Egypt is not only used internationally, but it has started to be used in intranational domains as well in local music, on the Internet (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006), on social media, in local advertising, local TV and radio broadcasting (Ibrahim, 2006; Yacoub, 2015b), and it is frequently employed by Egyptians themselves (Imhoof, 1977; Schaub, 2000) for communication among friends, in natural contexts, and with informal functions which are usually attributed to EAL varieties. Hence, “Egypt represents an example of a local context where English is not the native language, but [where it] is an important means of communication” (Lewko, 2012: 1) to the point of becoming integral part of the Egyptian linguistic system (Stadlbauer, 2010; Yacoub, 2015a). For this reason, scholars have imagined a possible shift of English towards a higher status.

This widespread use of English, which plays the role of “interference variety” (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1972: 26), is also leading to transfers of structural patterns from the L1 which corroborate the claim that Egyptians are developing a new potential ethnic variety of English (Schaub, 2000; Bruthiaux, 2003; Lewko, 2012, Al-Sayadi, 2016). For this reason, it is legitimate to think that an ‘Egyptian English’ (EgyE) is emerging as another case of PEV comparable to other emerging varieties like English in the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016),

Chinese English (Bolton, 2001; Chen & Hu, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Lo Bianco, Orton & Yihong, 2009; Xu, 2010; Xu, Deterding & He, 2017), Honk Kong English (Joseph, 1996; Bolton, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2007), Korean English (Shim, 1999; Takeshita, 2010; Schneider, 2014), Japan English (Takeshita, 2000; 2010; Stanlaw, 1988, 2004, 2010; Seargeant, 2009; Ike, 2012; Philpott & Alami, 2013, among others), Thai English (Kirkpatrick 2010; Schneider, 2014; Bennui & Hashim, 2014b), Russian English (Proshina, 2010; Bondarenko, 2014), Persian English (Sharifian, 2010, 2010b) among others.

The main aim of this chapter is to verify the existence of an EgyE as potential emergent variety of English in Egypt and possibly to place it in the WEs map, with the principal issue being “whether English in Egypt is becoming an additional language”, whether it can be still seen as a simple foreign language (Schaub, 2000) or whether it can be considered a new case of EPV, and thus, whether the variety used by Egyptian speakers of English can be studied within the context of WEs “which offers a more local view of languages” (Lewko, 2012: 15) rather than uniquely within the context of the ELF studies to which English in Egypt has been confined so far. To achieve this aim and answer to these questions, starting from the presupposition that previous models so far used for the study of varieties of English in the world are no longer valid for the study of potential varieties emerging in Expanding, the FM proposed in Chapter 2 is applied to the case-study of Egypt.

### ***The sociolinguistic analysis and the empirical study***

In order to analyse the variety of English in Egypt, a sociolinguistic analysis has been carried out by means of a questionnaire<sup>12</sup> (a web survey) and online interviews to 20 Egyptian English speakers, whose names have been hidden for privacy’s sake.

The questionnaire used for this study was designed on the basis of Mollin’s (2006); Künstler et al.’s (2009), Lewko’s (2012), Buschfeld’s (2013) and Edwards’s (2016). It was however, largely modified, and adapted to the purposes of this analysis. It consists of a total of 110 items, and it was created through the application Google Forms. The questionnaire is made up of both close- and open-ended questions and is divided into seven parts, each of one aiming at verifying some specific criteria of the FM. In detail: PART 1 is dedicated to the acquisition of the general information of participants including their age, their student or professional career, their language(s) knowledge, their proficiency in English, language competence and

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<sup>12</sup> The questionnaire is provided in the Appendix p. I

experiences they had in English-speaking countries in order to frame their answers in a specific sociolinguistic context. In addition, it analyses participant's own motivations to learn English; PART 2 is devoted to the analysis of the sociolinguistic reasons why English spread in Egypt and of the strength and frequency of English influxes on the (Egyptian) Arabic language according to the participants' knowledge, awareness, and own experience; in PART 3 the international and intranational functions of English in Egypt are investigated; in PART 4, the focus is on the contexts of use of English, whether in formal or also in informal contexts; PART 5 analyses the awareness and acceptance of Egyptian participants of morphological, syntactical and lexical variations due to English influxes; PART 6 is devoted to the analysis of the frequency of use of English in different socio-cultural contexts and creative genres according to the participants' knowledge and experience; finally, in PART 7 the attitude of Egyptian participants towards the use of English in Egypt is investigated.

In addition to the questionnaire, an analysis has been carried out also by the means of interviews through private messages, WhatsApp chats and Facebook Messenger with questions asked to a sample of other 30 Egyptians of the same age, social class, status, and linguistic knowledge of those of the questionnaire's participants, and by the means of the examination of written and oral language, namely message-texts and audio clips by young Egyptian English users and videos and comments from YouTube, Facebook pages and Internet blogs.

## **3.2 The FM applied to the case of Egypt**

### **3.2.1 Participants' general information**

#### **Empirical study: Questionnaire and interview (part 1). Items 1-23.**

For this analysis, and specifically with questions 1-23, different sociolinguistic aspects including socio-biographical factors (Dewaele, 2013) and the speakers' personal language experience(s) (Dewaele, 2013) have been taken into consideration. In detail: gender; age; context of language use (Dewaele, 2006); religion; level of education (McArthur, 1992; Pavlenko, 2008; Dewaele, 2008); speakers' linguistic and cultural background; speakers' proficiency and degree of socialization in English (Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015); exposure to English (Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015) all factors "which are likely to influence the bilingual's aptitude in the use of languages" (Mackey, 1970: 565).

The group examined in this study is composed by 20 Egyptians from the biggest Egyptian cities of Cairo, Alexandria, and Giza, 10 male, 9 female participants (one preferred not to specify the gender), and all between 17 and 36 years old. All of them are Islamic except two who are Christian. All participants belong to the upper middle class and have a high cultural background: they all are students, graduated students or postgraduate students in Medicine, Pharmacy, Surgery, Engineering, Law, EFL teaching, Education, Art, and Tourism. All of them have studied in Egypt, the majority of them (50%) attended private schools or government schools (40%) and, with the exception of one participant who is working in an English-speaking country and of students, they are currently employed in Egypt. Interestingly, 50% of participants who has a job works for international purposes, and most participants claimed they have always used English uniquely inside Egypt, a foreign context, having never experienced a stay in an English-speaking country. Only three of them have been exposed to English in a native context, having lived in the UK for more than six months.

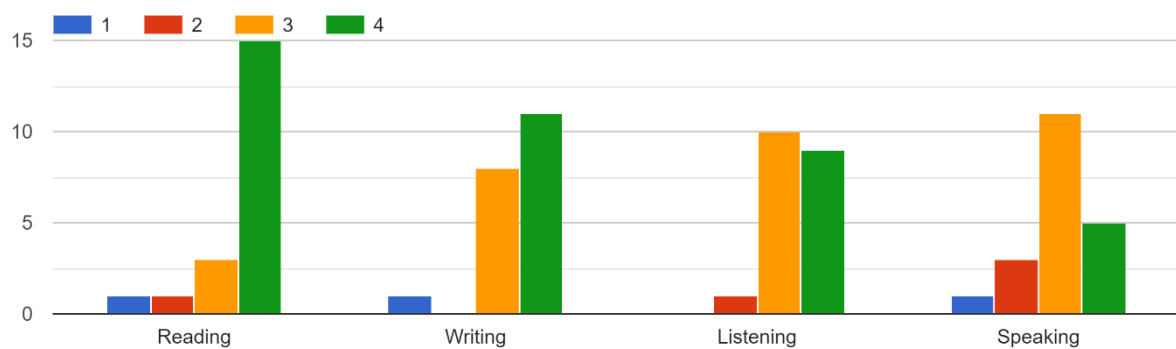
All the participants' mother tongue is Arabic, but they are all multilingual speaking other foreign languages such as French, Italian, Spanish, Russian among others and, above all, English in which they specified to be fluent having started studying it from early childhood, some of them within their family, others via English speaking programmes on television, music and movies (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018), others through formal instruction, for most of them, being the language of instruction at school, high education, and especially at University (Sharkawi, ?). They can thus be considered Arabic-English bilinguals even if with different degree of proficiency. 90% of the participants is well skilled in English claiming to have an



advanced or near native proficiency especially in the reading, writing, and listening abilities, less in the speaking ability.

**Table 2.** Answers to Qu. 19 of the questionnaire.

19. Please rate your language proficiency using a Lickert scale 1-4

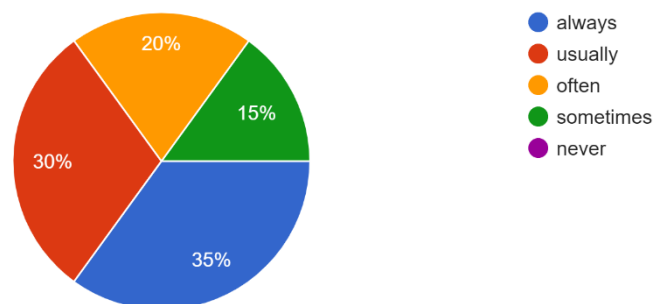


Bilingual participants who speak both (Egyptian) Arabic and English happen to deliberately use English (Statement, henceforth St., 20) since they always (45%) or usually (35%) read texts, articles, or books in English (St. 21), they often (35%) listen to radio programs in English (St. 22) and they almost always (60%) watch at TV programs in the English language (St. 23). This is significant as “[r]egular attendance at foreign film programmes and daily reading of foreign books and magazines may be the only factors in maintaining a person’s comprehension of a foreign language” (Mackey, 1970: 562).

**Table 3** Answers to Qu. 20 of the questionnaire.

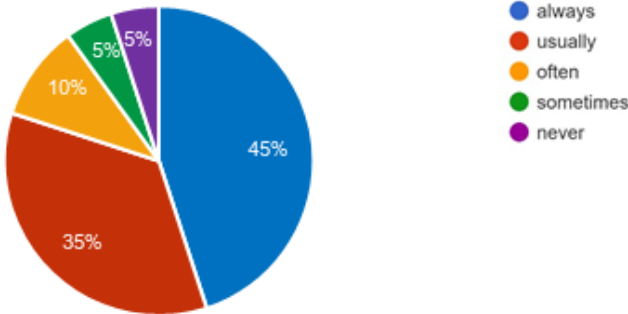
20. How often do you use English (in speaking and writing)?

20 responses



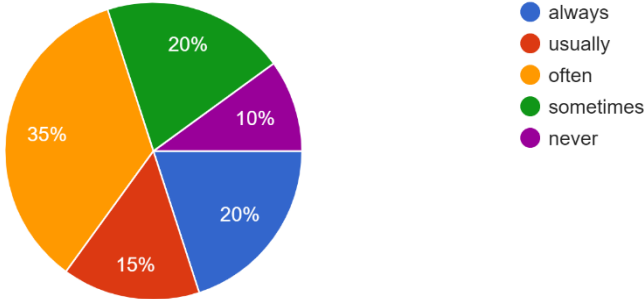
**Table 4** Answers to Qu. 21 of the questionnaire.  
21. How often do you read English (texts, articles, books, etc.)??

20 responses



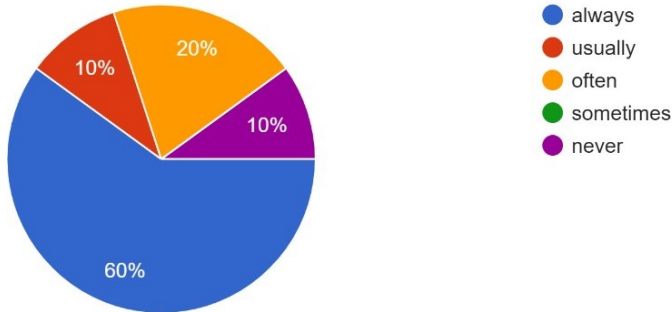
**Table 5** Answers to Qu. 22 of the questionnaire.  
22. How often do you listen to radio programs in English?

20 responses



**Table 6** Answers to Qu. 23 of the questionnaire.  
23. How often do you watch TV programs in English?

20 responses



### 3.3 Socio-historical criterion

#### 3.3.1 The socio-historical driving forces leading to the spread of English in Egypt. Empirical study. Questionnaire and interview (part 2). Items 25-32.

In this section, the modality and the socio-historical reasons for the spread of English in Egypt and the strength and frequency of English influxes on the (Egyptian) Arabic language according to the participants' knowledge, awareness, and own experience with the language are investigated.

Six main socio-historical reasons have been detected, namely British colonialism, the introduction of English as a compulsory subject in the Egyptian educational system, the industrial, technological, and scientific development, the historical and current relationships between Egypt and America, the spread of English as a Global language and language of globalisation, the Egyptian revolution of 2011. This would equally demonstrate that although a long-lasting period of British domination, the current widespread use of English in Egypt cannot be attributed uniquely to colonial reasons. This is confirmed by I24's and I25's answers to the following question:

Interviewer (henceforth I.er): I realised that most of you are good at speaking English, but English in Egypt is just a Foreign Language, not a Second Language. So, I became interested in understanding why you speak English so well. I am trying to explain it by the fact that you had a long period of British colonization and now American contacts because of economy, business, etc. What do you think about?

I24: *a long period of British colonization Is not the main reason, but the present that we live, especially meet the labor market needs is what made us learn English.*

I25: *[...] I can tell u that colonization affected in some words So we changed some words from Arabic to English And French until today we use un Arabic words like madam. Mademoiselle, écharpe , and so on especially from French not English cuz it didn't affected greatly*

Equally, this is again confirmed by answers to question 25 which is:

- Qu. 25: What do you think has been (and still currently is) the main reason for the spread of English in Egypt?

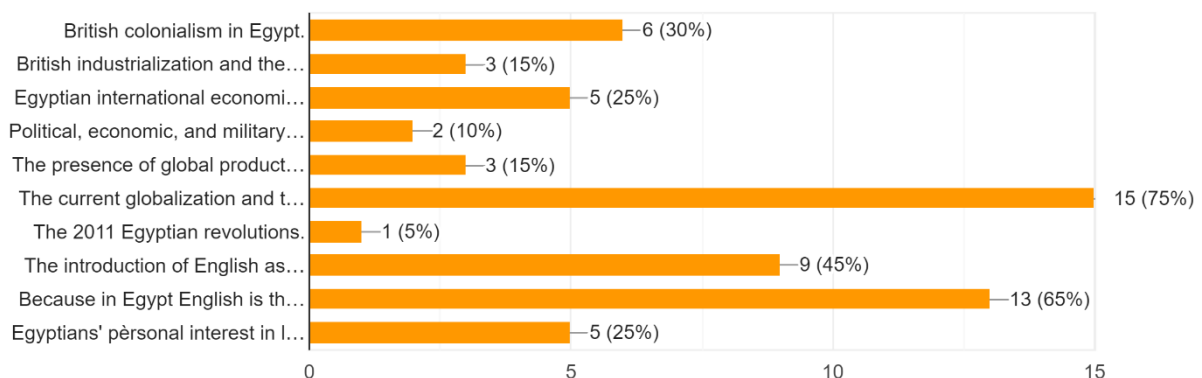
Only 30% has considered ‘British colonialism in Egypt’ as the principal factor for the current use of English in Egypt. A good 75% of Egyptian participants regards ‘The current globalisation and the use of English as the international language’ as the main reason for the spread of English in Egypt, followed by 65% of choice devoted to the answer ‘Because in Egypt English is the main "working language" and it offers advantages on seeking good job opportunities. In addition, 45% chose ‘The introduction of English as a compulsory subject at school’, 25% of choices fell on ‘Egyptian personal interest in learning English’ and on ‘Egyptian international economic relationships with Europe and America’. Strangely, all participants, but one, excluded recent Egyptian revolutions as one of the reasons for the widespread use of English in Egypt. This is strongly in contrast with a number of theories such as Bassiouney’s (2014) Poese’s, (2014) or Abouelhassan & Meyer’s (2016) that have noticed a stronger use of English by Egyptians during and after the 25<sup>th</sup> January, 2011 revolution.

In addition, as signalled by one participant, Egyptians, especially young people, increasingly use English because of the “spread of social media” and the growth of the internet and social networks in Egypt (Lewko, 2012) with English being the dominant language used online (Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006) together with the Romanised Egyptian Arabic and the linguistic practice of mixing the two languages.

**Table 7** Answers to Qu. 25 of the questionnaire.

25. What do you think has been (and still currently is) the main reason for the spread of English in Egypt? (more than one answer possible).

20 responses



A more detailed analysis of each singular event that engaged both British/Americans and Egyptian people and that led to situation of language contact between (Egyptian) Arabic and English is carried out in the next section.

*British colonialism: Egypt as one of 'less prototypical PCEs' (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121)*

Historically, first contacts with English in Egypt were due to British colonisation which was the very first occasion in which English entered Egyptian boundaries leaving traces in the language practices even in current time (Al-Sayadi, 2016). Egypt has been a British colony “for the sake of the [Suez] Canal” (Schölch, 1976: 773) and its occupation started in 1882 (Al-Sayadi, 2016), when a Veiled Protectorate was established (but officialised in 1914), and lasted one hundred and ten years, until 1922, even if it actually continued until 1957 (Al-Sayadi, 2016), when, because of some rebellions and of the American intervention, British were forced to withdraw and to declare Egyptian Independence (Cochran, 1986; Vatikiotis, 1991; Gelvin, 2009; Campanini, 2014). During that time Egypt became an ‘Exploitation Colony’ (Mufwene, 2004: 170) meaning that British had strong political influence and control over it and exploited its natural resources. However, contrary to what happened in other British colonies, in Egypt the British under Colonel Cromer, who assumed the leadership of educational affairs (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016), did not initiate a pro-English language policy (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) aimed at spreading English throughout the Egyptian population and they did not impose its use among people, frightened by the fact that educated natives could pioneer a national resistance and uprisings against the colonial power (Hartmann, 2008), as it had occurred in India. Nevertheless, this lack of an English policy did not contrast British will of imposing English as the superior language (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016: 149), as superstrate language and the language of power. Conversely, English in Egypt gained ground within the political domain and among high rank Egyptian people (Cochard, 1986), who in turn were motivated to learn it for economic self-interest as it granted them access to government jobs (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016), using it with a *regulative function* (Kachru, 1992b: 58) and participate in political and military affairs (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016).

The fact that “British were not aggressive in promoting the English language and culture” (Albirini, 2016: 41) constrained the emergence of contact effect (Schneider, 2013). Besides, since British troops withdrew in 1922, Egypt missed the prototypical STL strand at a certain point of its colonial history, and even if Britain continued influencing the Arab world (Al-Sayadi, 2016), real face-to-face contacts were reduced, and the use of English started to diminish gradually after independence. Thus, English in Egypt shares a similar foundation phase (Schneider, 2003) to those former colonies such as India, but it does not follow the same political trajectory from occupation through colonial domination, being a case of ‘less

prototypical' PCEs (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121). However, on the other hand, this does not mean that colonialism did not play an important role from a linguistic point of view. Indeed, "[o]nce the colonizers left, English did not leave with them" (Lewko, 2012: 11) completely, but inevitably, such a long-lasting period of British domination allowed English words to be introduced in Egypt entering the Arabic vocabulary and becoming rooted in the Egyptian culture (Poese, 2014). Indeed, at the time of British colonization, people in Egypt often needed to express themselves through the medium of English, but there were cases in which English words were not always adequate and meanings that needed to be expressed in local contexts demanded the nativization of English words (Kachru, 2008). This especially occurred with terms related to political and military domains (استراتيجية, *strategy*; بروتوكول, *protocol*; دبلوماسية, *diplomacy*, etc.) being English a mean of political and military power during the colonization era<sup>13</sup>. It could be argued then, that even though there was not a proper English 'linguistic colonialism', "[t]he impact of colonizers on language and social identity" was substantial, and, in addition, not limited to language since it even caused "a breakdown of local culture" (Stadlbauer, 2010: 2) leading not only to a linguistic influence, but also to a sort of 'social colonialism' and a 'cultural colonialism' with Egyptians being influenced by Inner communities in many sociocultural aspects such as in their habits, clothing and values, an 'economic colonialism' through the obligation to buy products from England (and later from America), to a 'religious colonialism' with Christianity spreading in Egypt and becoming one of the most professed faiths, of course together with Islam and other minor belief. Still today "colonial history pervades the contemporary relationship between the two languages and continues to shape them" (Ayoub, 2015: 15) and their values, to the point that, as claimed by Al-Shbiel (2017) in his work *Arabization and Its effects on the Arabian Culture*, this is leading to the loss of the Arabic identity.

### ***The introduction of English in the Egyptian educational system***

Up to most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Aboelezz, 2014) English in Egypt was not as influential as other European languages, such as French which was the most valued (Lewko, 2012) in the

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<sup>13</sup> It is important to point out that the linguistic influence was reciprocal, and not only did English, the powerful language, influence the Egyptian Arabic language, but also Arabic, the 'subdued' language, influenced English. There are many words in the English vocabulary coming from Arabic historic background (الحشاشين, *killer*), cultural discoveries (الكيمياء, *alchemy*; الجبر, *algebra*), government figures (شيخ, *Sheikh*), religion (سلطان, *Sultan*; القرآن, *Koran*), food and drink tradition (كباب, *kebab*; سكر, *sugar*), typical plants or animals of the African continent (جمال, *camel*), and toponyms (El-Khatib, 1985).

educational field. English had a “minor role as a foreign language” (Schaub, 2000: 226) taking the fourth place after French, Greek, and Italian (Schaub, 2000) and being taught together with other foreign languages such as Persian, (Abdel Latif, 2017) and German (Schaub, 2000). However, “English became influential in Egypt through its British colonial experience” (Lewko, 2012: 20, see also Avallone, 2012) and it was properly during British colonialism that the British made some consistent efforts to widen the influence of English in schools (Schaub, 2000). As Girgis Salama (1963) claimed

L'occupation a œuvré pour que la langue anglaise prenne la place de la langue arabe dans les écoles égyptiennes. [...] Et c'est ainsi que la possession des langues étrangères est devenue une valeur dans notre pays arabe, et que la langue arabe a disparu dans cet océan.  
(Salama, 1963: 131).

[TRANSLATION: the occupation has operated in order to allow the English language to replace the Arabic language in the Egyptian schools. [...] Things like that, the possession of foreign languages has become a value in our Arabic countries and the Arabic language has disappeared in this ocean]

However, the introduction of English in the Egyptian educational system was gradual and politically strategic. Initially, and since the 1860s (Abdel Latif, 2017), English was taught only in higher elementary schools since the primary stage, in high schools which were accessible only to the wealthy elite (Cochran, 2008; Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) and in foreign schools which started to become popular among the wealthiest Egyptians (Hartmann, 2008), while poorer children, who could not afford school fees, were automatically excluded from any upward social mobility (Starrett, 1998) “a fact which certainly gave a somewhat elitist character to English” (Schneider, 2013: 139) and which impeded English to spread widely. At that time, English even became the medium of instruction in some schools perhaps in the attempt to relegate Arabic to a lower position (Tignor, 1966 cited in Schaub, 2000: 227). However, in 1925, the Ministry of Education replaced English with the Arabic language again (Abdel Latif, 2017) and this was also the moment in which the teaching of English at the primary stage was cancelled (1945) and English mother tongue teachers were replaced by Egyptian ones, in 1951 (Abdel Latif, 2017).

Gradually, the situation changed and with the 1952 revolution, English started dominating. English teaching was reinforced also in public schools becoming accessible to lower rank Egyptians as well (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) and since then, English spread at any social level in Egypt. However, it was only after the 1970s, with Sadat's policies, that a stronger importance was given to the foreign-language study (Poese, 2014; El Shimi, 2015) and many efforts of westernisation and modernisation were made. It was under President Sadat that

a *Siyasat al-'Infitah* (Open Door Policy) and a free-market policy were established (Hartmann, 2008; Książ & Zawrotna, 2018; El Shimi, 2015). This encouraged foreign investment in the education field which improved English foreign-language education (Bassiouney, 2014; Avallone, 2012) and the growing of international schools in Egypt. Examples are the American International School (AIS) and the Modern English School (MES) which opened up the market for private schools following international curricula (El Shimi, 2015). With Sadat's policy, a new age of Western-oriented education, whose main linguistic tool was represented by the English language (Bassiouney, 2009; Schaub, 2000) began.

More recently, in 2002, "the status of English in Egyptian schools has changed from an optional subject to a compulsory one" (Abdel Latif, 2017: 33, see also Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006; Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016), even if students can choose whether studying English or French as a first foreign language or as a second foreign language with the majority of students selecting English as their first choice (Schaub, 2000). Moreover, "the Egyptian government imposed English as a required subject beginning in the first grade of public schools" (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016: 153, see also Abdel Latif, 2017). This has surely caused more schooling in the English language, being a significant step towards an increasing in number of Egyptians learning English (Abdel Latif, 2017).

### ***The American superpower: current Egyptian/American relationship***

It seems that "[t]he present status of English [in Egypt] is the effect of the British colonial expansion at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and rise of the economic power of the United States in the 20<sup>th</sup> century" (Al-Sayadi, 2016: 2). Indeed, when British troops retreated from Egypt, in 1957 (Campanini, 2014), with the "shift from British to American predominance" (Schneider, 2003: 236), the linguistic contacts with the English language continued with the Americans who intervened in the Arab-Israeli conflict with the main aims of limiting the commercial and cultural power of Europe over Egypt and solving Middle East problems which for much of the XIX were on the hands of the European powers (Hahn, 1991; Gelvin, 2009). It was only in 1956 that America realised this project, replacing France and Great Britain in the role of 'first Western powers in the Middle East' (Gelvin, 2009: 322) and with the peace initiative Americans managed to obtain the Egyptian independence from Britain on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1957 (Emiliani, 2012). This contributed to an endure language contact between English and Arabic also after colonial times, a contact that, indeed, never stopped and which could be the precondition for the development of a new language variety.



Since Americans' intervention, Egypt built a strong economic and military relationship with the USA. This started in 1974 with the *Foreign Assistance Act* through which Americans increased financial funds in Egypt, and with programs for an enduring economic growth of Egypt (Weinbaum, 1985). Thanks to these initiatives, the industrial sector was reinforced in order to improve productivity and exports and, as a consequence, employment in Egypt expanded (Weinbaum, 1985) as well. More than 2,000 projects were approved by the United State Cairo Agency for International Development (AID) mostly regarding infrastructural projects but also transportation, industry, commerce, finance food and agricultural sectors and social services projects and, in addition, a small percentage was also invested in technical assistance and development research (Weinbaum, 1985). "By 1980, the US had given more per capita aid to Egypt than it had spent in post-war Europe during the Marshall Plan" (Weinbaum, 1985: 215).

In more recent times, after 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001 terrorist attack to the Twin Towers, the fourth Egyptian President Hosni Mubārak and the American President Barack Obama made a friendly alliance. Egypt supported USA in the American war against terrorism, and this reinforced the American-Egyptian cooperation even if this actually led also to political tensions with a series of contrast from 2003 to 2013 (Trager, 2015) to the point that Egypt was considered "not an ally, but not an enemy" (Reilly, 2012) and Obama was believed not doing anything in favour of Egyptians (Trager, 2015). In 2017, the American President Donald Trump tried to improve relations again. He met the Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi underlining the Washington's support to Cairo and promising to "look forward to a very long and strong relationship" (Gaouette, Liptak & Malloy, 2017). Still today, America, under President Joe Biden, contributes to support Egypt with economic and military assistance, "determined to work, to restore calm and [...] to revive the peace process" (Sabah & Wahba, 2021).

The link with America, the current economic superpower in the world, is convenient for Egyptians since it represents an opportunity to improve their economic system and to go through a process of modernisation, with English being the most powerful linguistic tool to reach these goals.

### ***English as the language of globalisation and its effects in Egypt***

Another and even stronger reason for the spread of English in Egypt is more generally the international use of English as language of globalisation: in this capacity, it has become "[t]he language [that] now commands an unprecedented role in international companies, diplomacy

and international relations, science and technology, travel and tourism, but also in domestic marketing, media and entertainment” (Edwards, 2016: 12). As Diana (2010) stated, in Egypt, with globalisation, which is based on Anglo-American capitalism (Bassiouney, 2014)

there is being an increasing of *interchange of cultures and passage of people* (emphasis in the original) from one another part of the globe, through the circulation of mass-media and technological instruments which enables people and cultures being narrowly linked and extending the knowledge of each other. In this way globalization increased the basic freedom of individuals in a world where travel and migration have long been impeded by tyranny of place.

(Diana, 2010: 4).

This happens because Egypt is not foreign to the global world but contrary, it is absolutely an integral part of it (Diana, 2010). Indeed, “Egypt is strongly involved in this global phenomenon, which has modified different aspects of this country, the political and economic statements of its government, [...] the social and common life of its people” (Diana, 2010: 7) and its educational and linguistic practices with English representing the linguistic tool for reaching political, economic, but also technological advancement, and to approximate themselves to the western wealth (Stadlbauer, 2010) and culture (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) associated with progress and open-mindedness (Al-Sayadi, 2016).

With globalisation and the dissemination of English in Egypt, bi-or multilingual (Egyptian) Arabic-English speakers emerged in all social strata (Hamed, Elmahdy & Abdennadher, 2018) even if with evident different levels of proficiency. This implies that “economic globalization provides equal access, opportunities, and benefits” (Yano, 2001: 119) giving both rich and poor countries access to and opportunities for making profit and to equally make use of advanced science and technology, culture and all kinds of amenities to make life comfortable” (Yano, 2001: 119), as well as it allows equal access to the English language, finally dispelling the myth about its elitist nature in Egypt.

Undoubtedly, in current times, global products such as the media, including satellite broadcasting (Crystal, 1995), TV and radio channels, newspapers and magazines, and the Internet are areas in which English has a strong impact (Edwards, 2016) in Egypt and being available to everyone “with little or no ownership regulations or censorship” (Bassiouney, 2014: 19) they are the most common source of socio-cultural contact with the English language and the main vehicle that allows English to enter the Egyptian consumers’ homes and minds changing their linguistic habits silently but pervasively. For example, it was with the advent of globalised media (Ibrahim, 2006), in the early 1990s, by means of the satellite television

channels (Ibrahim, ?a) and “online media” (Bassiouney, 2014: 25) that the infiltration of English words or phrases, especially from the American slang (Lewko, 2012), began in Egypt.

### ***The January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011 revolution and the use of English by protestors***

Another phenomenon that silently helped English penetrating the Egyptian society was January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011 revolution, against Mubarak’s corrupt regime (Billet, 2012). It lasted for eighteen days, from the 25<sup>th</sup> of January until the 11<sup>th</sup> of February (Bassiouney, 2014) ending with Mubarak’s abdication. It started because millions of revolutionaries, mostly relatively educated adolescents and young Egyptians, rebelled against President Mubarak’s legitimacy and against his government which did not represent them but oppressed them (Eprile, 2017).

The January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011 revolution was an important event for Egypt not only politically and socially signalling “the onset of a period of drastic political change” (Aboelezz, 2014: 4) but also it was significant from an artistic and linguistic point of view. Like other revolutions, the Egyptian demonstrations “sent a shock wave through the nation’s culture” (Billet, 2012) and language. Reporters and journalists gained global attention, also thanks to the fact that they wrote articles in English in order to let people know about the Egyptian social and political problems internationally. However, not only journalists but also protestors used English instead of the Arabic language. During rebellions, English was widely used in slogans and signs in Tahrir Square (Wachob, 2011; Billet, 2012) (Figure 30) because it allowed Egyptians to communicate with wider audiences outside Egypt and “to update the world on events happening in real time” (Khalil, 2012: 12) transmitting their messages on their current political and social situation to the world (Lewko, 2012; Choudhary et al., 2012; Poese, 2014).

What is more, during uprisings, protestors developed widespread political and social discussions not only in Squares but also online, especially on social networks (Khalil, 2012) such as Facebook and Twitter. Interestingly, these discussions took place in English or in a mixed form (Bruns, Highfield & Burgess, 2013) or, to a lesser extent in Arabic, mostly in the dialectal form, sometimes in Latin-script, which allows speakers to feel freer and more direct (Khalil, 2012). Protestors deliberately chose to use English probably with the aim of promoting the mass appeal of their message to a wider audience (Poese, 2014), “drawing more global attention to particular issues” (Bruns, Highfield & Burgess, 2013: 875) and escaping censorship exercised by the Egyptian government (Choudhary et al., 2012). Hence, it is possible to assert that revolution with its “online communications featured a new and unusual diglossia-between

a foreign language, English, and a Romanized, predominantly colloquial form of Arabic” (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006: 14).

Remarkably, they showed a certain fluency and sophistication during interviews on their written messages, banners, (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) and social network websites (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) to the point that they were accused not to be ‘real Egyptians’ (Bassiouney, 2012: 112) but, since they used English very well, they were seen as “foreigners” (Bassiouney, 2012: 113) not really representing Egyptians and their revolutionary motivations (Bassiouney, 2012). The use of a foreign language replacing the language of the Egyptian/Arabic identity in this specific historical context was not an innocent phenomenon since code-switching in such a delicate social and political context was a symptom of different ideologies and eventually different facets of identity (Bassiouney, 2012).

It is clear then that “the political events of a post-revolution Egypt [...] have an impact on the linguistic makeup” (Lewko, 2012: 113) having “accelerated some transformations” (De Angelis, 2015: 21) not only from a social perspective but also from a linguistic one, since they “have reaffirmed a positive role for English in Egypt forward as a means of empowerment” (Lewko, 2012: 22). This resulted in an increased use of English among Egyptian people and especially among young Egyptian users.



**Figure 30** Banners written entirely in English by Egyptian protestors and exhibited during the January 25 Revolution in Egypt. Retrieved from <https://www.quotemaster.org/egyptian+revolution+2011>

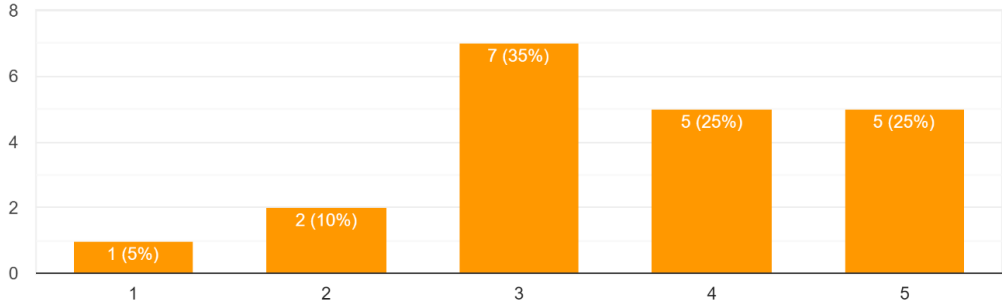
### **3.3.2 Enduring contact as responsible of linguistic influences of English on the (Egyptian) Arabic language**

The aim of the first part of the questionnaire and of the interview is empirically proving that enduring contacts due to socio-historical events involving Egypt, the UK and America have been the main responsible of linguistic influences of English on the (Egyptian) Arabic language.

Following a 5 points Lickert-type scale (1 = I strongly disagree; 2 = I disagree; 3 = I am neutral; 4 = I agree; 5 = I strongly agree), 50% of Egyptian participants (strongly) agreed that because of an enduring linguistic contact, some linguistic interferences have actually developed between the English and the (Egyptian) Arabic languages (St. 26). Only 35% seemed not to be aware of this phenomenon while another 35% preferred not to express themselves about this topic. More than this, the majority of Egyptian participants (about 70%) totally agreed with the claim that today, English is so widely used in many domains and contexts in Egypt that it is highly influencing the (Egyptian) Arabic language and culture (St. 27 and 28).

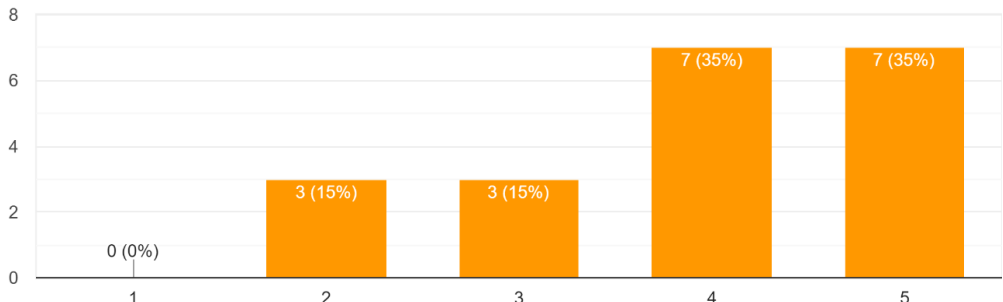
**Table 8** Answers to St. 26 of the questionnaire.  
 26. Due to an enduring linguistic contact, some linguistic interferences have developed between the English and the (Egyptian) Arabic languages.

20 responses



**Table 9** Answers to St. 27 of the questionnaire.  
 27. Today, English is so widely used in many domains and contexts in Egypt that it is influencing the (Egyptian) Arabic language and culture

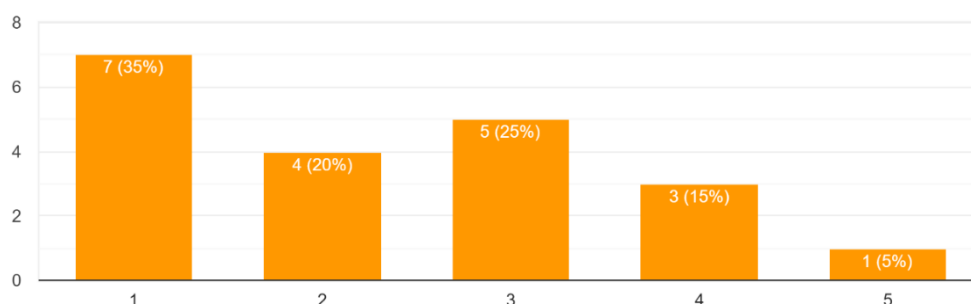
20 responses



**Table 10** Answers to St. 28 of the questionnaire.

28. English has actually spread in Egypt, but it has no influences on the Egyptians' language and culture

20 responses



### *Strengths and frequency of the influxes of English on the (Egyptian) Arabic language*

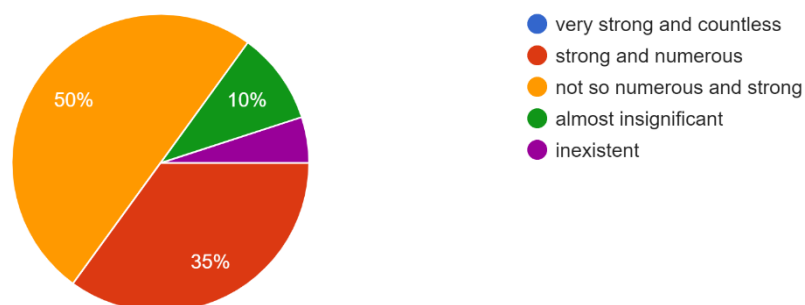
The second aim of this first part of the questionnaire is to investigate the strength and frequency of the influxes of English on (Egyptian) Arabic language as a consequence of linguistic long-lasting contacts previously analysed. Contrary to what participants had claimed with answers to St. 26-28, 50% judge linguistic contact between (Egyptian) Arabic and English not so numerous and strong (St. 29).

Nevertheless, they seem to be aware of the fact that when they speak in their L1, they often (65%) or sometimes (30%) introduce English words or sentences (St.30) and that similarly, when they speak English, some influxes of the Arabic language are often (63.2%) or always (26,3%) hearable at the lexical and phonetic level (St. 31) as well as they are often (61.1%) or sometimes (33.3%) noticeable at the morphological and syntactical level (St. 32). This confirms that because of linguistic contacts the two languages, English and (Egyptian) Arabic widely interfere and influence each other.

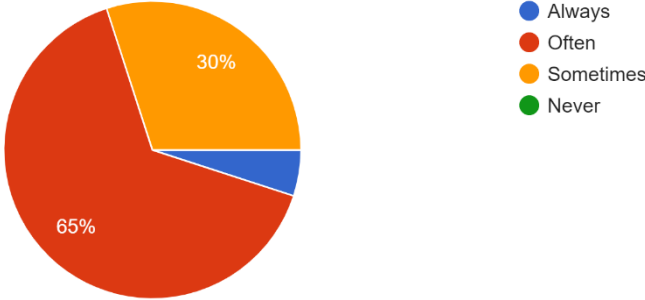
**Table 11** Answers to St. 29 of the questionnaire.

29. Linguistic contacts between (Egyptian) Arabic and English are...

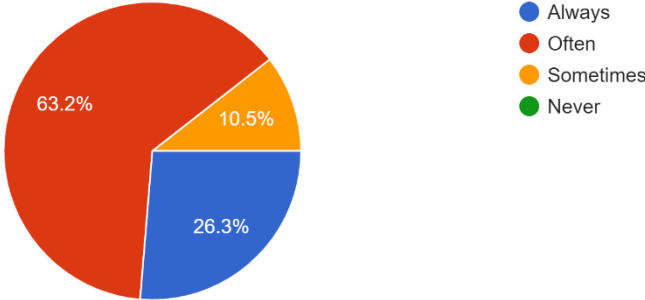
20 responses



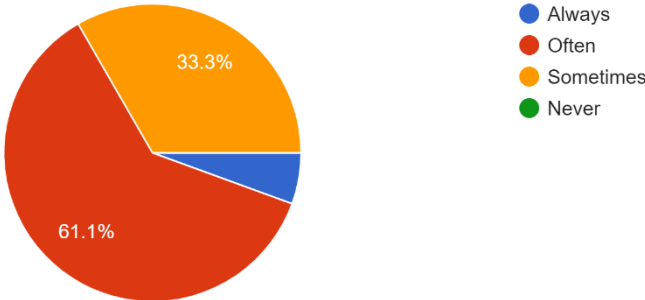
**Table 12** Answers to St. 30 of the questionnaire.  
 When Egyptians speak (Egyptian) Arabic they introduce English words or sentences.  
 20 responses



**Table 13** Answers to St. 31 of the questionnaire.  
 When Egyptians speak English, some influxes of the Arabic language are hearable on the lexical and phonetical level (Pronunciation of words).  
 19 responses



**Table 14** Answers to St. 32 of the questionnaire.  
 32. Linguistic interferences of (Egyptian) Arabic can be noted on the morphology and syntax (grammar) of English as it is spoken by Egyptians.  
 18 responses



### 3.3.3 Discussion

As confirmed by the interview and questionnaire's results, there are different reasons for such a widespread use of English in Egypt and for the linguistic influxes of the English language on the local Egyptian Arabic, namely the British colonialism, the introduction of English as a compulsory subject in the Egyptian educational system, the historical and current relationships between Egypt and America, the spread of English as a Global language and language of globalisation, the increased use of the Internet and social networks, and the Egyptian revolution of 2011.

This implies that, the British colonialism, although having been the very first medium for English to enter Egyptian boundaries, is not the unique and most significant reason. Indeed, if on the one hand it is true that the first linguistic contacts began during the British colonialism with a direct contact between the IDG and the STL strands, on the other hand, colonialism failed in its function as the principle driving force towards the creation of a PCE variety in Egypt because of the linguistic and political resistance which impeded "the assimilation of identity construction between the two groups" (Buschfeld, 2011: 31), because of the fact that English was never imposed to common Egyptian people through a pro-English language policy (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) but it was only taught to the elitist and political class until more recent times when its teaching was enlarged to common people as an obligatory subject a school, and because of the fact that colonisers, at a certain point, were forced to exit the nation leaving a void in the mechanism leading to PCEs (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017) as it is described in Schneider (2003, 2007). Since elements are missing, English in Egypt could be defined a 'less prototypical' PCEs (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017: 121) and for this reason, it cannot be treated as a real post-colonial variety not even can it be studied using the same tools used for PCEs, namely Schneider's DM (Schneider, 2003-2007).

Thus, not colonialism, but more recent events and especially the capacity of English as a 'Global language' (Crystal, 2003) to create links with the western world are instead the principal causes of linguistic contacts of English with the Egyptian Arabic language and culture. Indeed, "the role of English in Egypt today is perhaps better understood in the context of globalisation" (Aboelezz, 2014: 98), with its powerful instruments such as the Internet and media which have become new 'places' for language contacts. The resulting linguistic interferences are not so numerous and strong, but they are increasing, especially through the practice of introducing English words or sentences in the Arabic discourse creating a mixed form which has clear influences at the lexical, phonological, and even grammatical level.



### 3.4 Ecological criterion

#### 3.4.1 The linguistic situation and the English language in Egypt

##### *Egypt as diglossic and multilingual society*

The sociolinguistic reality in Egypt, as well as in all the Arab countries, is quite a complex (Ibrahim, 2017), intertwined (Poese, 2014) and ambiguous (Blommaert, 2010) one. Arabic is the official language, but it is not the only one spoken among Egyptians. Indeed, “[t]he linguistic map of Egypt is varied as a result of centuries of migration and contact” (Bassiouney & Muehlhaeusler, 2018: 31) and there are many minority languages such as Berber spoken in the oasis of Siwa next to the Libyan border, Nubian spoken in Aswan, Armenian spoken by a small community in Cairo and Alexandria, and some Turkish languages (Sotgiu, 2014) as well as different varieties of Arabic. Moreover, Egypt is a diglossic society (Ferguson, 1959; Haeri, 1996; Van Mol, 2003; Miller & Caubet, 2010; Mahmoud, 2013; Ibrahim, 2017; Hamam, 2014; Albirini, 2016). Diglossia is defined by Ferguson as:

a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and used for most written and formal spoken purposes but not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

(Ferguson, 1959: 336).

Ferguson individualised two varieties of the Arabic language: the ‘High variety’ and the ‘Low variety’<sup>14</sup> (Yacoub, 2016; Albirini, 2016) which differs in function, use but also on the lexical, morphological, and structural level (Bassiouney, 2014). In Egypt, diglossia plays a decisive role in the choices (Ibrahim, 2000) and each variety, Classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and the Egyptian dialect, also called Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) “has functions which are an integral part of the life of every Arab” (Ibrahim, 2000: 24).

Egyptian people use the different varieties at their disposal for diverse functions (Ferguson, 1996; Stadlbauer, 2010; Bassiouney, 2012), and to express different meanings and values since each of them has a different symbolic charge (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006). Indeed, CA is the language of religion and of the Islamic community since it is the language of

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<sup>14</sup> Worthy to specify, that the distinction between high and low varieties “is a western invention and does not correspond to any Arabic term” (Bassiouney, 2009: 11).

the Muslim holy book, the Quran and as such it is seen as the most formal and the most prestigious variety which “cannot be compared to any other human languages” (Abd al-Aziz, 1992 cited in Ibrahim, ?a: 14) and, for this reason, cannot be modernized nor simplified; MSA, defined as “the mutual official language in the Arab world” (Abd al-Aziz, 1992 cited in Ibrahim, ?a: 14), is the language of Arabic authenticity (Bassiouney, 2012) and of the Arabic identity. It is learned at school and used universally in formal writing and speaking, in professional meetings and conferences, in radio and TV broadcasts and news, newspapers, literary works, poetry, university lectures, political speeches and “on other occasions where the aim is to facilitate communication on specialized topics or among Arabs of various dialectal backgrounds” (McCarus, 2008: 238-239 cited in Ibrahim, ?b: 2). MSA is an intermediate form perceived as modern version of CA (Stadlbauer, 2010). It is “the language of written press” (Khalil, 2012: 2) but it “is not really considered as the daily or chit-chat language of any Arab population” (McCarus, 2008: 238-239 cited in Ibrahim, ?b: 2) and it is not used in daily conversations. For this reason, it is considered a L2 for all Arabic-speakers, (Hamed, Elmahdy & Abdennadher, 2018; Albirini, 2016).

In the Arab World, there are many dialects that differ from one country to the other as well as from one region to the other with differences in pronunciation and vocabulary (Huthaily, 2003), but among all dialects, ECA is the most widely spread mainly thanks to the Egyptian movie and television production shown in almost all Arab countries (Huthaily, 2003; Albirini, 2016) to the point that Egypt is regarded as the nation which produce the most important programming in the Arab world, namely television shows for cable and satellite broadcasting (Khalil, 2011). ECA, considered the most beautiful Arabic dialect (Ibrahim, 2000) as well as “the most well researched and documented variety of Arabic compared with other varieties” (Khalil, 2011: 6), is seen as the L1, the language of Egyptian identity, of home and intimacy (Bassiouney, 2012; Albirini, 2016). ECA is used in everyday informal written communication such as in SMS, chats, post, and comments on social network like Facebook and Twitter (Hamed, Elmahdy & Abdennadher, 2018) and informal emails. In the last years, its use has enlarged to lesser informal contexts, and it has been even used by politicians with the aim of approximate and empathise more with the Egyptian people (Bassiouney, 2009, 2012: 110) to the point that many linguists are talking about an “intermediate” variety named ‘Educated Spoken Arabic’ (Van Mol, 2003: 51-70, see also Haeri, 2016). Although its abundant use in many domains and even if it is the most used variety in daily conversation and in informal contexts, ECA is perceived as a deviation from the norm (Aboelezz, 2018).

Undoubtedly, in such a varied linguistic landscape, the most used language is ECA with some individuals which are monolingual, “speaking only their own variety” (The Council of Europe, 2007: 8), the Egyptian dialect. While “standard variety was identified and defined as the one that is the closest to the speech of the upper classes” (Haeri, 2000: 68), ECA is the variety closer to lower-rank people who, in many cases, cannot afford school fees remaining illiterate in both CA and MSA (Ayari, 1996). However, no one in the world is truly monolingual (Bakić & Škifić, 2017) since “[m]onolingualism is a luxury which few speakers of a peripheral language can afford” (Mair, 2013: 261). On the contrary, a continuous linguistic contact induced situation inevitably leads to language interferences and code switching or mixing. Code choice in Egypt is related and reflects some extralinguistic factors and social motivations such as religion, social issues, politics, history of the region in which it is spoken (Spolsky, 2004; Bassiouney, 2014). Even more interestingly, through the choice of a variety, Egyptian speakers express their identity (Bassiouney, 2014) and feelings towards social factors. It is for these reasons that there is constantly a tension among Egyptians on the use of one variety or the other and they sometimes code-switch continuously seeking a stable relationship between language and identity (Bassiouney, 2014). According to Schiffman (1993) this “diglossic situations tend to be unstable [due to] an *imbalance of power* between the two (or more) varieties”. For example, while MSA is seen as the prestigious Arabic variety, the one which would allow the union of all Arab countries, ECA, instead, is a “symbol of the fragmentation of the Arab world” (Versteegh, 1997: 132); while ECA is perceived as Egyptians’ L1 and for this reason it is used at home, “at school, they are required to read and write using Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) which is the formal or literary form of Arabic used for all written texts” (Khan, 2013: 235) although Egyptians usually feel uncomfortable with the written form of MSA, and feel more ‘direct’ with the dialectal form (Haeri, 2003; Khalil, 2012).

These imbalances lead to “language shift, that is, displacement of one variety by another, or even by a third (unrelated) variety” (Schiffman, 1993: 115) implying that, in a linguistic mixed context as the Egyptian one, usually speakers who shift between different varieties of Arabic might spontaneously switch to English (Al-Sayadi, 2016) as well.

### ***Multilingualism and English-Arabic code-switching in Egypt***

Studies of code-switching in the Egyptian community are mostly restricted to diglossic switching between two core varieties of Arabic, MSA, and the ECA (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018). However, diglossia is not the unique linguistic phenomenon characterising the Egyptian

society. In Egypt, apart from different varieties of Arabic, many foreign languages, external to the endogenous linguistic heritage (Sotgiu, 2014) are spoken as well, such as English, French, Russian, German, and Italian, some of them with a certain frequency and importance to the point that “[i]n a walk around the city of Cairo, through markets, cafés, offices, universities, and mosques, one hears many languages” (Haeri, 2016: 1). Among all of them English is currently the main foreign language spoken in Egypt (Abdel Latif, 2017) and which use is even increasing in our days in many social domains (Stadlbauer, 2010).

In the modern era, indeed, “Egypt has undergone tremendous changes” mainly due to globalisation (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018: 599) which has increased “the use of English by Egyptian citizens and institutions” (Schaub, 2000: 226). This has led to an impressive growing number of bi-/multilingual speakers of English in Egypt, especially in the big cities and in the capital, Cairo (Bassiouny & Muehlhaeusler, 2018) who have “the ability to converse in English (in addition to the L1), as required by domain and context” (Edwards, 2016: 19) contributing “toward a shift from the traditional diglossia in Egypt to increase multilingualism, with both English (from ‘above’) and Egyptian Arabic (from ‘below’)” (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006: 31). Thus, “today Egypt struggles with the concurrent use of three Arabic languages (CA, MSA, and EA) as well as a parallel use of the English language” (Poese, 2014: 5) being both a diglossic and a multilingual society, with multilingualism defined as “the presence in a geographical area [...] of more than one ‘variety of language’” (The Council of Europe, 2007: 8) as well as the characteristic of a speaker who uses “more than two languages” being a “trilingual, quadrilingual, and so forth” (Aubakirova & Mandel, 2020).

As explained by Cook (2003), in a situation of bi-/multilingualism it is possible to postulate three possibilities: the languages are kept separated, the languages are integrated in a unique system or, the languages are kept separated but with many influences and interactions (Cook, 2003). Anyway, in each of the three situations signs of interlingual transfer may exhibit (Mahmoud, 2013). Indeed, multilingualism should not be simply seen as a “collection of ‘languages’ that a speaker controls but rather as a complex of specific semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined ‘language’, while others belong to another ‘language’” (Blommaert, 2010: 102). The fact of having more ‘semiotic resources’ belonging to different languages, mainly MSA, ECA and English, in “shared multilingual resource pools” (Onysko, 2016b: 193) requires to speakers to have a certain capacity to use all these resources at their disposal either separately or mixing them (McArthur, 1992) and the choice of one code or the other, or of mixing the codes they have at their disposal depends on “different purposes, competence in each varying according to such factors as register, occupation, and education”

(McArthur, 1992), but also social contexts, interlocutors and meaning they want to convey. The linguistic habit of mixing two codes and shifting between two or more languages is referred as bi- or multilingual code-mixing or code-switching (Harley, 2008; Sabry, 2015).

Sociolinguists such as Yacoub (2016) or Mahmoud (2013) have studied the reasons why bilingual Arab-English speakers borrow words, code-mix, or code-switch from Arabic to English and vice versa, concluding that, although it occurs for no apparent reason (Schaub, 2000), there can be different pragmatic motivations (Yaseen & Hoon, 2017). The most immediate reason is to fill in linguistic gaps when there is no Arabic equivalent word or expression to which the foreign word could be translated (Gumperz: 1982; Al-Sayadi, 2016; Al-Shbiel, 2017; Hamdi, 2017), or when words or expressions are difficult to be retrieved in the L1. English is also used for quotations, euphemism, reiteration, homonymy, accuracy. It is useful for cacophemistic purposes, for message qualification. Code-switching is also employed for association with certain domains and contexts, for expressing objectivity, to create distance (Sabry, 2015) or assert authority. It is for example employed by Arabs to suppress taboo (Bathia & Ritchie, 2006; La Causa, forthcoming a), and communicate threat-related, especially sex-related explicit words and expressions (Aquino & Arnell, 2007) which in the Arab culture are banned and considered highly offensive. In this case, the L2 would hide embarrassment and allow speakers to distance themselves from what they say, thus reducing their anxiety (Dewaele, 2011). It is utilized to achieve a personal discursive aim, to accommodate to listeners and create solidarity (Wardhaugh, 2010), to aggravate or mitigate requests, for objections, clarifications, comment, and validations (Heller, 1988; Sabry, 2015), or simply because the words in English are associated with prestige and modernity. Code-switching is also used to show competence in the use of two languages and cultures (Halim & Maros, 2014) and to mark sociocultural aspects such as power, ideology, (Hamouda, 2015; Yacoub, 2016; Hamdi, 2017) to express ethnic identity and religion, (Yacoub, 2016; Mohamed, 2017). Last but not least, Egyptian speakers tend to change their mother tongue to English to emphasize or clarify the utterance (Abu-Melhim, 1991) and this seems to be the most common reason of code-switching among Arabs (Al-Sayadi, 2016).

Code-switching is sometimes due to social negotiations (Myers-Scotton, 2000) and depends on conscious choice (Holes, 1993) regulated by a 'negotiation principle' meaning that speakers choose a language in accordance with 'a set of rights and obligations' (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018: 603). However, other times, it is not linked to any social motivation (Poplack, 1980) and can also occur spontaneously in natural contexts (Poplack, 1980) when there is not a real need for it, becoming a natural practice generally associated with positive attitude towards

the target language (Hamdi, 2017; La Causa, forthcoming a). English and Egyptian Arabic code switching practice is widespread in Egypt with English being more commonly used, together with the Egyptian dialect, in informal interactions that take place most frequently in spontaneous speech (Hamed, Elmahdy & Abdennadher, 2018) in natural contexts including the everyday conversations (Rosenbaum, 2002 cited in Al Sayadi, 2016: 13) (at least in some specific domains), interactions on social networks such as Facebook, and low popular creative productions, accessible to the all population and not only to the wealthiest and most educated Egyptian citizens.

### *Egyptians' proficiency in English*

The fact that code-switching or mixing is a spread practice among both high and low rank Egyptians does not mean that all of them have the same level of proficiency. In terms of competence, English in Egypt is the 'power language' (Schneider, 2011: 136, see also Mollin, 2006) in the sense that it is the language of the most powerful and wealthy people. Indeed, a good knowledge of English in Egypt seems to be restricted to an elite sector of the population in the national context (Wright, 2004) serving as second language (Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006) while it is not well mastered by poor lower-rank people which instead have a very low proficiency sometimes reduced to some 'broken words' (Görlach, 1991: 13). This is what historically occurs in every EFL countries where "speaking a second language, or more specifically, speaking a highly valued second language, [is] a marker of the social and economic elite" (Edwards, 2016: 69) of prestige and good education (Mohamed, 2017).

In Egypt, this situation mainly depends on the two-classes education system with the dichotomy poor-rich students which creates a "clear gap between the elite and the masses" (Bassiouney, 2009: 252, see also Bassiouney, 2014), a gap that, despite recent reforms, "has not been narrowed yet" (Abdel Latif, 2017: 43). Still today, this dual elitist system persists and is reinforced with wealthy children educated in good quality private schools having more opportunities, and poor children, with not enough money for paying school fees and to invest in instruction, educated through a deficient public system (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2003; Hartmann, 2008; Bassiouney, 2009; Diana, 2010; Browne, 2011; Bassiouney, 2014). Research has shown that, while in private schools English is one of the main focuses and is officially used (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018) sometimes even as the language of instruction, in public school where the main language of instruction is Arabic (Bassiouney, 2014) the English-teaching proficiency is instead very low because of their fewer resources compared to private schools

(Lewko, 2012) (see p. 185). This is a political strategy in favour of “[t]he ruling elite [who] wanted to maintain economic and political privileges and prevent the masses from exercising self-determination” (Browne, 2011: 5). The result is that not all Egyptians master English well and that English serves as a second language only for Egypt’s elite (Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006). Indeed, since the majority of the Egyptian population attend public schools, as shown in the graph (Figure 31), this weak curriculum results in a widespread ‘poor English’ in the streets of Egypt (Asfaha, 2009: 220). This is confirmed by some interviewees who claim:

I23: *Here we all study English from grade 1*

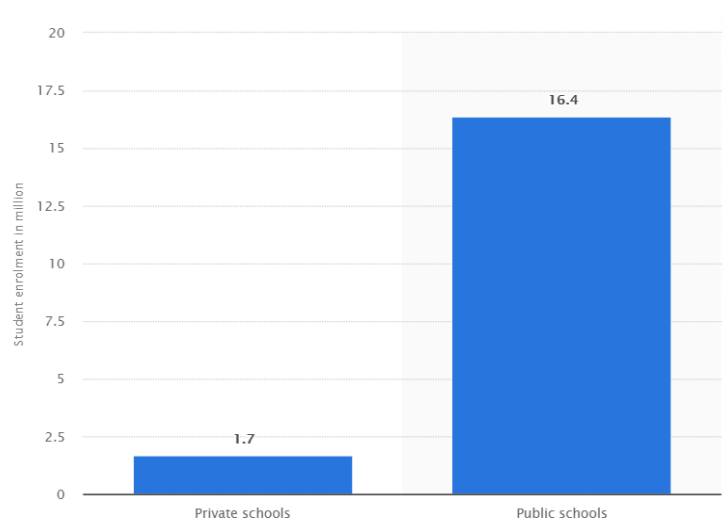
*But not everyone talk it properly*

*I mean pronunciation or can even read it or understand it when he listens to it*

I16: *we talk arabic not english but there are alot of people how speak english fluently*

*here We are not so good at English..*

I5: *[...] generally no one disagree with that ..... English in Egypt is very bad*



**Figure 31** Number (in million) of Egyptians attending public and private schools in 2017/2018. Retrieved from *Statista*, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1028829/egypt-number-of-enrollment-of-school-students-by-sector/>

As a validation of these claims, according to the EF English Proficiency Index (EPI), Egypt is rated as a ‘Very low proficiency’ resulting at position 83 over 100 countries/regions in the global ranking with a score of 437 and at the 9th position over 13 African regions (Figure 32).

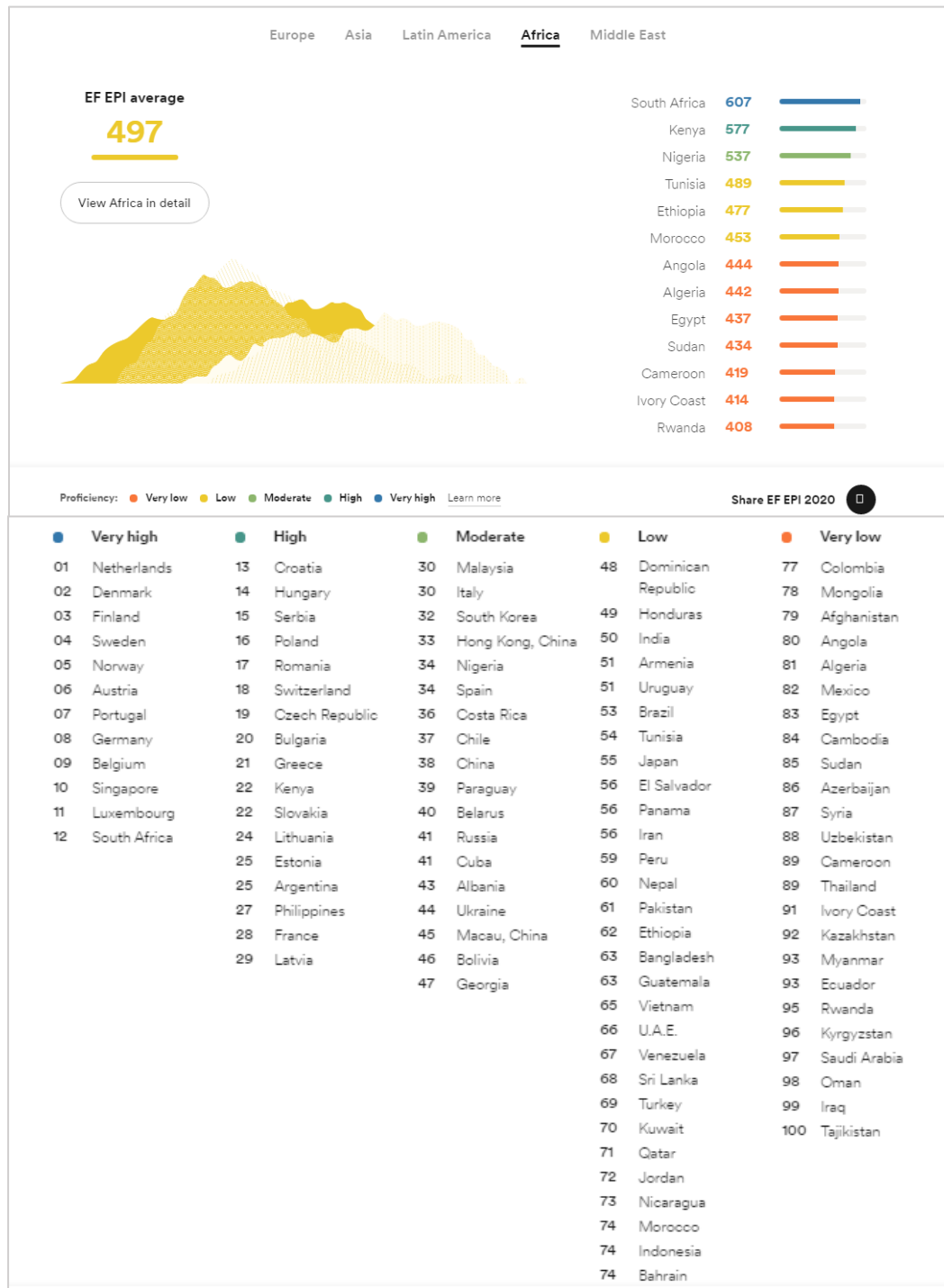


Figure 32 Regional Ranking of Countries and Regions (2020). Retrieved from EF, <https://www.ef.nl/epi/regions/africa/egypt/>



The English linguistic situation is problematic in Egypt since the level of proficiency ranges from people having native-like skills to people having a very poor knowledge of this language depending on their economic and social status.

### ***Dispelling the myth about the elitist nature of English in Egypt***

In the last years, since the awareness that it has become a key requirement for the whole citizenship (Pederson, 2012) and that the more English proficiency is reinforced the more economy increases (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016) English is developing in Egypt, more and more Egyptians, especially young people (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2021) from all social classes struggling to become (Egyptian)Arabic-English bilingual speakers. Today, English proficiency is increasingly becoming a basic skill needed for the entire workforce [...] transformed in the last two centuries from an elite privilege into a basic requirement for informed citizenship” (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 142, see also Pederson, 2012). This would explain why, although its elitist nature, being “associated with upper class, globalness, exclusivity and professionalism” (Spierts, 2015: 6) “serv[ing] as an expression of status and prestige” (Edwards, 2016: 66, see also Labov, 1972; Ibrahim, 2006; Aboelezz, 2014; Yacoub, 2016; Mohamed, 2017), English in Egypt is no longer limited only to the subclass of the population, but it is widespreading across society. Indeed, it is “also utilized in more colorful areas by ‘street hustlers’ (Stevens, 1994) such as shopkeepers, taxi drivers, boat operators” (Poese, 2014: 8), police officers (Mosallem, 1984), but also by “the poorest of street merchants or juice sellers” (Schaub, 2000: 229) who, as they have social roles and jobs for which they often need to speak with foreign tourists, are somehow able to communicate with foreigners using memorised English sentences (Stevens, 1994; Schaub, 2000) although they have never received any formal education in English. In these contexts, English is pragmatically used in order to meet realistic communicative goals of everyday-life situation (Abdallah, 2014) and acquired through a spontaneous *learn-by-doing* process. Definitely, English is not the language of the most powerful and the wealthiest, but it has become rooted in the lives of all Egyptians.

### **3.4.2 Discussion**

Through the analysis of the ecological criterion, it is shown that Egypt is not only a diglossic society as repeatedly proved by numerous studies published on the Egyptian sociolinguistic

situation, but it is also a multilingual context with English being the most used foreign language. The fact that Egypt is bi-/multilingual is an important datum in this research, since bi-/multilingualism is the key ecological condition for the emergence of a new variety (Llamzon, 1983; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Mollin, 2006; Buschfeld, 2013; Edwards, 2016). An innovative form, indeed, is more likely to develop in a bi-/multilingual context rather than in a monolingual one.

What is more, in Egypt, the use of English is “not restricted to just an elite segment of the population” (Edwards, 2016: 23), but as long as it has reached popular, informal contexts it has become available not only for the richest, but for all Egyptians. This implies that “English is neither limited to serving restricted functions nor to use by educated speakers only” (Meierkord, 2012: 25), but that both high rank and poor people use it and have thus the power to change language practices through ‘bottom up’ activities (Mair, 2018), even if producing different kinds of mistakes/variations depending on their economic status, social prestige, level of education (Kachru, 1992b) and language proficiency, which from a variationist point of view, leads to “a hierarchy of varieties within a variety” (Pung, 2009: 36).

Proficiency is another aspect leading to an easier development of a new variety (Mollin, 2006). Actually, it cannot be said that all Egyptians have a high competence in the English language, contrary, they generally show a very low proficiency. Nevertheless, this does not represent a limit to the growing of multilingualism in the context as far as it is extensively used by practically everyone. Proficiency, or native-like skills, are not the main prerequisites for a society to be defined ‘multilingual’. In addition, as far as linguistic competence increases depending on speakers’ necessities and intentions (Singh, Zhang & Besmel, 2012) and on their degree of socialization in English (Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015), due given the current situation of English in Egypt, Egyptians’ competence may increase in the next few years. All this implies that the Egyptian ecology seems to be favourable for a new variety to emerge.

### **3.5 Motivational criterion**

#### **3.5.1 English as the language of ‘commodity’ (Aboelezz, 2014: 106)**

English in Egypt fulfils the function of Lingua Franca being most frequently used as a means of communication between people of different cultures and linguistic backgrounds, mainly employed in international contexts (Lewko, 2012) and with international purposes such as for

international diplomacy and tourism (Schaub, 2000), for international communications and relations, in the global media, for international safety procedures (Crystal, 2003), within international organizations and conferences, in scientific publications, in international banking, economic affairs and trade, in international law and in tertiary education (Graddol, 2000 [1997]). With these functions, English allows Egyptians to be linked with the rest of the wealthy globalised world hence representing a powerful tool as ‘language of opportunity’ (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 140) to get economic progress and to strengthen the political, economic, and cultural ties with the WeSt. English in Egypt plays the role of ‘power language’ (Mohamed, 2017: 166, see also Schneider, 2011; Mollin, 2006) and prestige language (Labov, 1972; Ibrahim, 2006; Aboelezz, 2014; Yacoub, 2016; Mohamed, 2017) being a tool for better social, economic, and cultural opportunities “com[ing] into equation as another H variety in Egypt, where the influences of globalisation and the economics of linguistic exchanges prop it up as a highly prized commodity” (Aboelezz, 2014: 106).

For this reason, English in Egypt is strategically used (Stadlbauer, 2010) by the government, especially through the education system, sometimes even at the expense of MSA (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018). For example, English is “predominantly used at the university level” (Lewko, 2012: 113) becoming the principal language in some university faculties, where it has been imposed as the only language of instruction (Schaub, 2000; Peterson, 2011) used both for teaching and studying (Schaub, 2000; Miller, 2003) and where the textbooks and reference materials are completely in English (Schaub, 2000). It acquires thus an *instrumental function* typical of a language used within public and private education as both a tool for learning (Kachru, 1992b) and means of instruction.

Today, “English has been given a high status in all fields and activities of Egyptian society” (Rahman, 1997: 26) so that knowledge of it is becoming a muSt. This is particularly true in the working sector (Bassiouney, 2009): it serves a very important role in the professional field (Lewko, 2012) enjoying the status of business language and ‘working language’ (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 143). Egyptians, especially the youngest, are required to be proficient in English if they want to find “better job opportunities” (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017: 287, see also Abouelhasan & Meyer, 2016), to get a promotion, and, consequently, to achieve a good position in society and they perfectly know that illiteracy in English means their automatic exclusion from certain social and professional domains. English is the means for financial success (Mollin, 2006) and progress and gives Egyptians the chance to enjoy a better economic, cultural, and social opportunities, which cannot be guaranteed by any of the Arabic varieties, not even by “the national language in Egypt, MSA, [which] does not imply as much prosperity

as English does” (Stadlbauer, 2010: 16), becoming thus the only means through which Egyptians can climb the social ladder. For this reason, a “good quality of the English language skills [is] a matter of priority” (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 142) for young Egyptians and mastering English proficiently is “the number one criterion” (Bassiouney, 2014: 143), a prerequisite for getting a decent job (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016). In line with this, the first motivation to learn English for Egyptians is ‘the promise of more money’ (Schaub, 2000: 228).

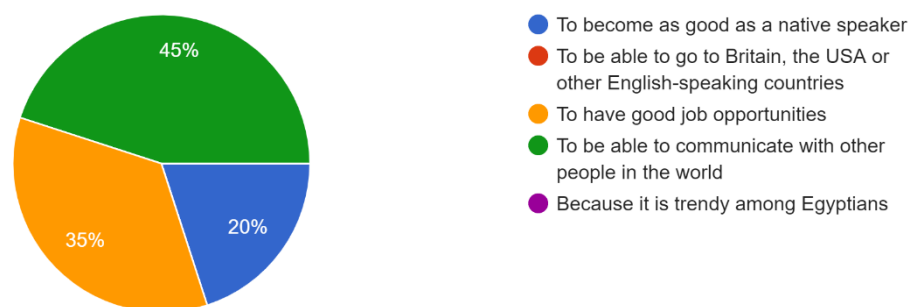
All these factors motivate Egyptians to learn English and lead to a certain ‘English fever’ (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017) with Egyptians having a great interest in acquiring this language. English is thus the language Egyptians *need* to participate in the economic development of their nation and in the global political debate, to access high education (Sharkawi, ?), to have a “better visions for future work” (Al-Sayadi, 2016: 2) to achieve success in their life and eventually have a ‘better life’ (Schneider, 2000: 196). For this reason, “the last decade has seen phenomenal growth in the numbers of Egyptian citizens who have learned or are learning English” (Schaub, 2000: 237) This explains why the demand for learning English has increased recently among Egyptians with people being excited about the idea of acquiring such a useful tool pushed by utilitarian reasons “most probably motivated by globalization and infatuation with English language and culture” (Mahmoud, 2013: 42).

English in Egypt seems thus mainly appreciated for its utility as a tool for personal prosperity, empowerment, and development (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016). This pragmatic function of English in Egypt is also confirmed by participants to the questionnaire who stated that their main motivations in learning English (St. 24) are: to be able to communicate with other people in the world (45%), to have job opportunities (35%) and to become as good as native speakers (20%).

**Table 15** Answers to Qu. 24 of the questionnaire.

24. Why did you learn / are you learning English? (more than one answer possible)

20 responses



### 3.5.2 Discussion

Data demonstrate that English in Egypt is an important tool, as ELF, and as a “by-product of economic needs, modernization pressures, and people seeking better jobs” (Hamed, Thang Vu & Abdennadher, 2020: 4238). Motivated by pragmatic economic interests, and by the strong need they have to create ties with Europe and America, and more generally, to participate in the global debate, for which an increasing number of people find themselves needing to communicate or access information outside their primary language group” (Wright, 2004: 7), Egyptians welcome the use of English and they do not need encouragement to study or use it.

Egyptians’ motivation to learn English is thus, in the majority of the cases merely instrumental (Al-Khatib, 2005). Nevertheless, “there are also signs that English will be able to transcend such [pragmatical] economic motivations” (Schneider, 2014: 28) becoming a “multicultural resource” with “new roles” being often used “with unintended pragmatic implications” (Poese, 2014: 8). Indeed, it is worth noticing that English can be sometimes used by Egyptians, especially by the youngest, with functions that far exceed the simple instrumental and pragmatic purposes (Edwards, 2018; Aboelezz, 2018). They overuse it, sometimes mixing it with their L1, especially in their ‘electronic discourses’ (Halim & Maros, 2014: 133) or in conversations with friends without any pragmatical reason. Hence, while being used as a commodity according to “the wants and needs of its users” (Lewko, 2012: 41), it is spreading internally and with an additional function becoming its acquisition and use a personal, free, and deliberate choice. This implies that English is not necessarily imposed “from above”, for example, being instrumentally and strategically taught through the education system, but it also develops “from below” (Preisler, 1999: 246, 247, see also Edwards, 2016). As such, English is definitely entering the Egyptian linguistic system (Stadlbauer, 2010; Yacoub, 2015a) and is starting to develop thus an *integrative fuction* (Kachru, 1992b: 58) as well. Being things like this, it can be stated that, at a larger extent, the motivational criterion is accomplished for English in Egypt to become a potential new variety of English.

### 3.6 Sociolinguistic and acquisitional criteria

#### 3.6.1 The use of English in international and local domains in Egypt

##### Empirical study. Questionnaire and interview (part 3). Items 33-54

Until quite recently, the use of English in Egypt has been increasingly growing and its role inside the Egyptian boundaries is developing visibly since it is no longer used for international purposes only, but also for internal ones. In fact, even if it is not a native language, it is also used as something more than a foreign language inside Egypt with internal functions and in several domains like in technology and science, in the regional tourist industry, in private education, in local audio-visual cultural products such as in music, movies and broadcastings, in advertisements for global brands (especially American) and in newspapers (Ibrahim, 2006; Abdul Razak, 2014) as confirmed by I27:

*I27: It [English] is used in many fields here and it is like the second language after the Arabic*

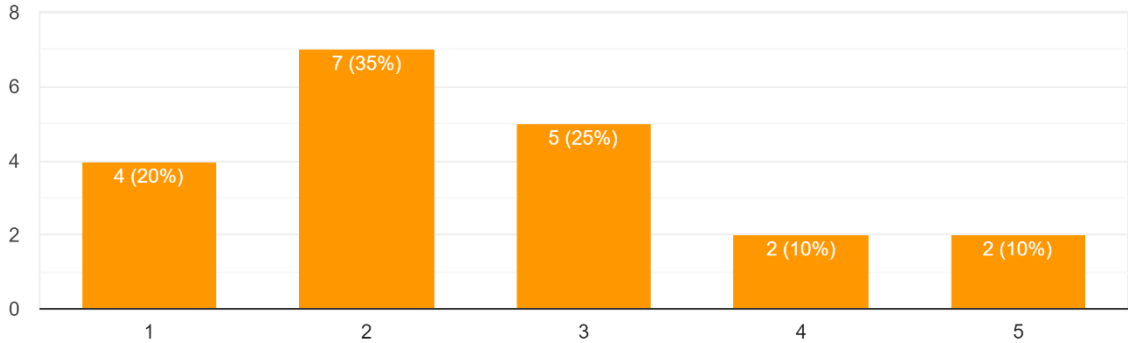
The main purpose of this part of the empirical study is to analyse whether English in Egypt is used as simple ELF variety for international communication or whether and to what extent English is also used in Egypt as an additional linguistic tool in local contexts with intranational functions (Crystal, 2003; Jenkins, 2003a, 2007), among speakers belonging to the same local linguistic and cultural community (Lewko, 2012). Following a 5 points Lickert-type scale (1 = I strongly disagree; 2 = I disagree; 3 = I am neutral; 4 = I agree; 5 = I strongly agree), participants indicated whether they were in favour or against some statements about the functions of English in Egypt and about its use in different fields. When asked whether in Egypt, English is more useful and functional than Arabic (St. 33) 55% of participants disagreed. This allows to claim that, although English has become a prestigious language being useful in many domains, this does not hide the usefulness of Egyptians' L1, within its boundaries. Its functionality is still seen primarily linked to the international domain, and for this reason 90% of participants argued that Egyptians should learn English if they want to have access to international affairs (St. 34).

However, contradictorily, English starts to be viewed, even if with a low percentage, as an important tool Egyptians should own if they want to work for national/local services and companies (St. 35) so that 70% of participants perceive that English in Egypt is both used for international and national reasons (St. 36).

**Table 16** Answers to St. 33 of the questionnaire.

33. In Egypt, English is more useful and functional than Arabic

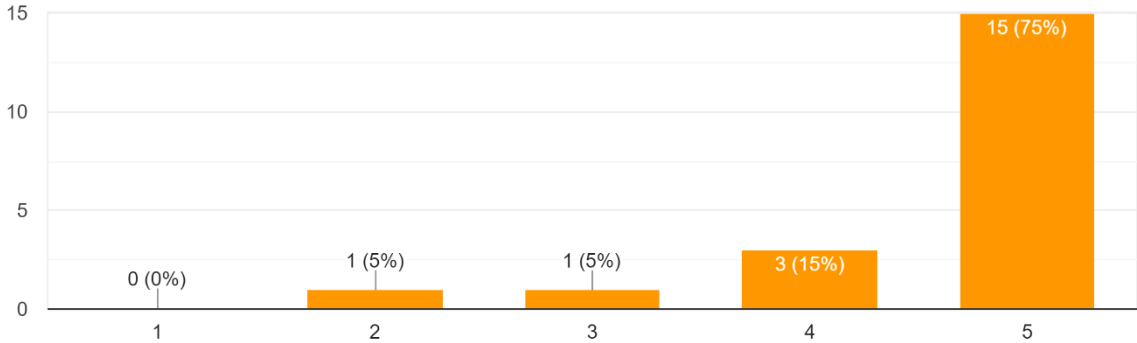
20 responses



**Table 17** Answers to St. 34 of the questionnaire.

34. Egyptians should learn English if they want to have access to international affairs

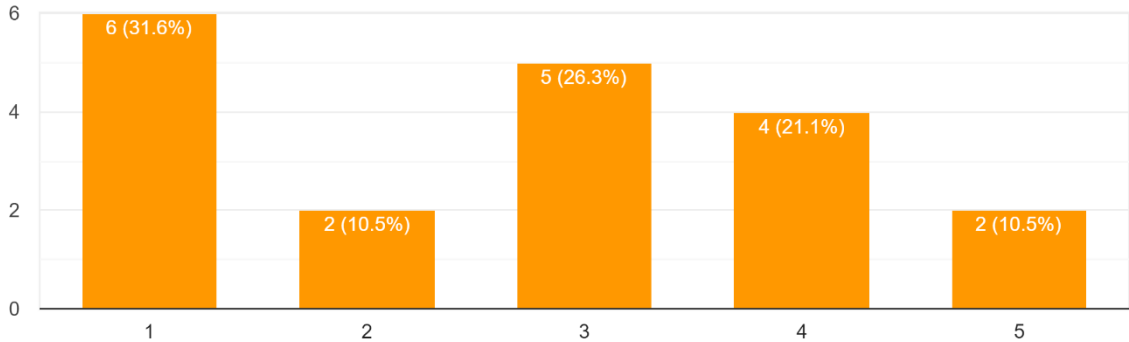
20 responses



**Table 18** Answers to St. 35 of the questionnaire.

35. Egyptians do not need to learn English if they want to have access to national/local services and affairs.

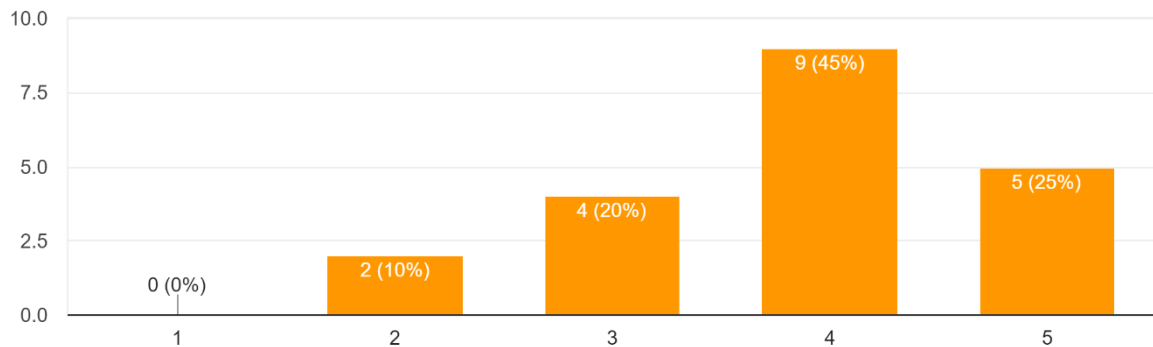
19 responses



**Table 19** Answers to St. 36 of the questionnaire.

36. Today, English in Egypt is used for both international and national reasons

20 responses



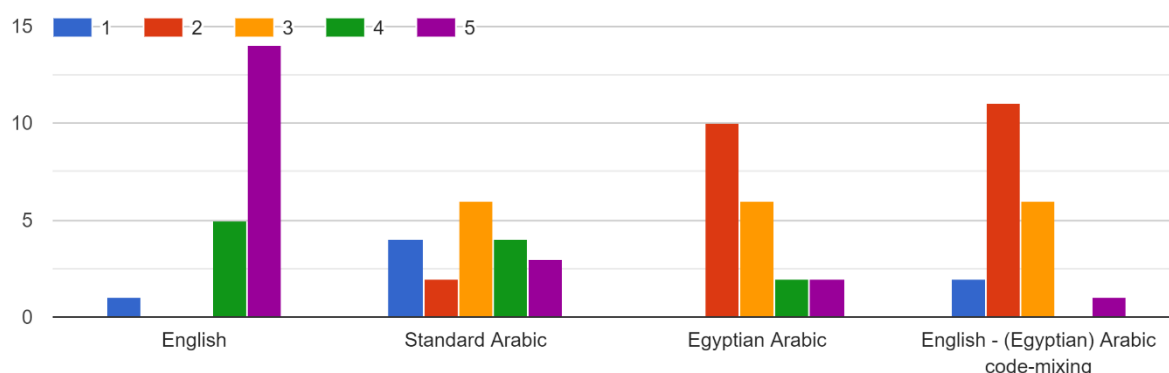
In this section of the questionnaire, participants are presented with a number of scenarios and following a 5 points Lickert-type scale (1 = never; 2 = sometimes; 3 = often; 4 = usually; 5 = always), they had to indicate how frequently English, MSA, and ECA are used in those contexts. The scenarios presented to the participants were: international and intra-national communication; international and home politics; international and local business; international and local touristic industry; private and public education, University communities and Scientific research; international and local media (TV, radio broadcasting, newspapers, and magazines); Internet and social networks. Each of these contexts will be dealt with in the next sections of this work.

### ***English in communication, politics, and business in Egypt***

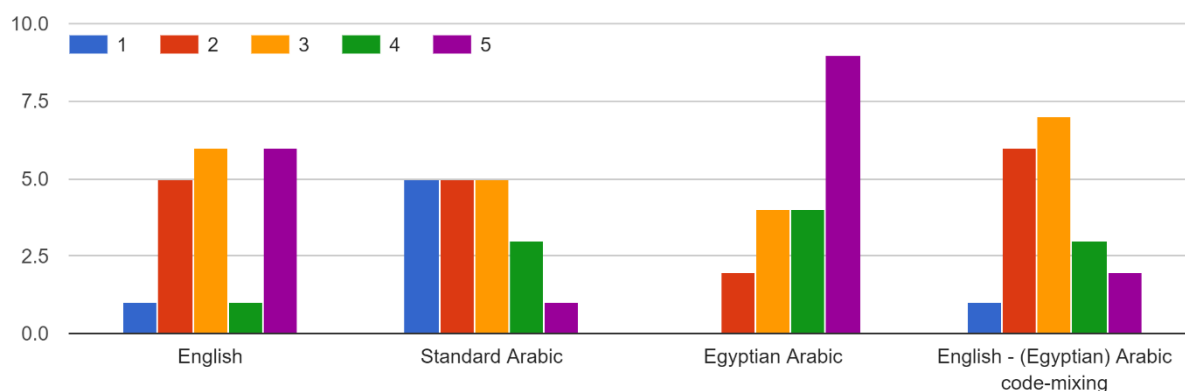
As stated by Egyptian participants, English is the primary and most frequent language used in international communication (St. 37). Egyptian Arabic or a mixed English- (Egyptian) Arabic form is often used as well. Interestingly, participants declared that English is also frequently employed in intra-national communication (St. 38) together with ECA which is undoubtedly the most used variety for local communication. Interestingly, English is both used in its independent form and even more in an English-(Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing.



**Table 20** Answers to St. 37 of the questionnaire  
37. International communication



**Table 21** Answers to St. 38 of the questionnaire  
38. Intra-national communication



As it has been discussed on many occasions throughout this work, the political and financial domains were the first fields to be affected by the English language (Cocharn, 1986) since, starting from the British colonial period, Egypt has entrenched political and economic relationships with Europe first and America later which motivated Egyptians to learn English in order to access to government jobs (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016) and to be linked to financial prosperity of the West (Stadlbauer, 2010). Without doubt, as also proved by the respondents English is still today the most used language in the field of international politics (St. 39). It is also used for international business (St.41) being an EAL in high domains such as banking but also being “the dominant language of commercial sites” (Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006: 2).

The linguistic situation drastically changes if the focus is shifted towards home politics (St.40) and local business (St. 42) where the use of English considerably decreases. Nonetheless, while in local business, English is also often used in a mixed form with (Egyptian)

Arabic, as many participants stated, in home politics, it is almost totally avoided maybe because it has “negative associations when it was used in politics” (Mohamed, 2017: 169). Indeed, in Egypt, “the political sphere has traditionally been occupied by Standard Arabic, even when spoken, which is evident from the speeches of politicians and news media reports that have been delivered in the standard, written language” (Khalil, 2012: 11) and this happens because MSA is seen as the variety able to express authority and power. This claim is supported by I25:

I.er: So, do you use Arabic in the governmental field?

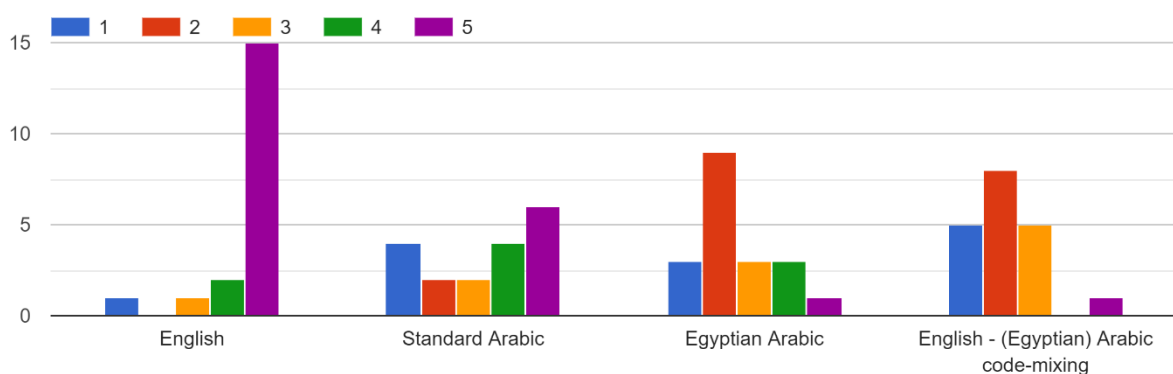
I25: *Yeeees we use Arabic as formal in government section*

Significantly, however, the majority of participants to the questionnaire stated that the main variety for political speech is today ECA and this seems to be such since President Gamal Abdel Nasser, started mixing the Egyptian dialect with MSA in his speeches (Hamam, 2014; Konik, 2019).

Even if participants excluded English from this domain, it is significant that today, especially after the Egyptian revolution of 2011, not only ECA (Khalil, 2012) but also English are employed by young people in both independent and mixed forms to discuss politics. Indeed, young Egyptians are becoming politically active online (Khalil, 2012) and use English as the ‘Global Language’ (Crystal, 2003) for discussions about local political and social issues on the Internet and on social networks (Khalil, 2012). However, this phenomenon, which underlines how “politics is a linguistically constituted activity” (Mahfouz, 2015: 159) is not reported by participants to this questionnaire, maybe because it is an unconscious practice that they do not recognise yet or maybe because it is a tendency isolated to some specific well-informed members of the Egyptian society.

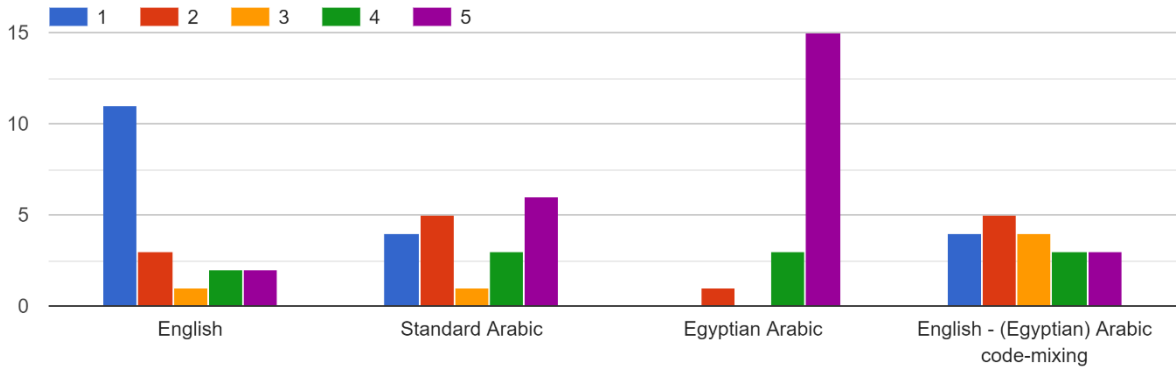
**Table 22** Answers to St. 39 of the questionnaire.

39. International politics



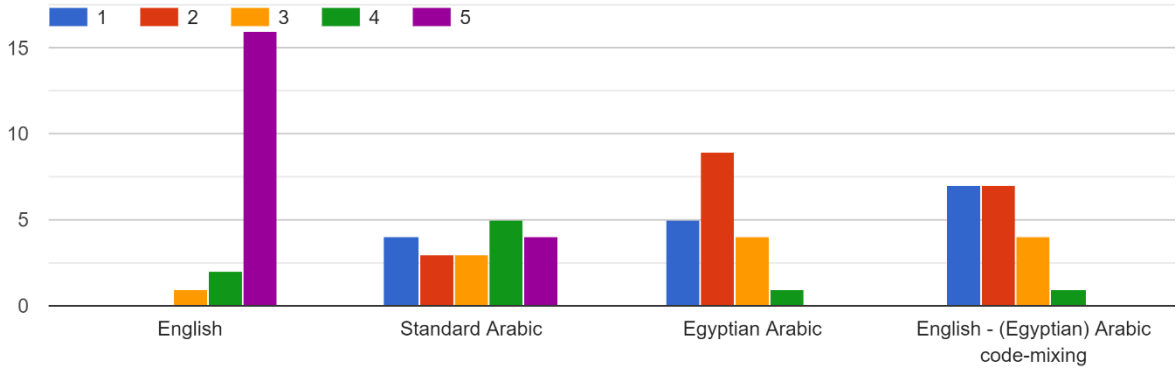
**Table 23** Answers to St. 40 of the questionnaire.

40. Home politics



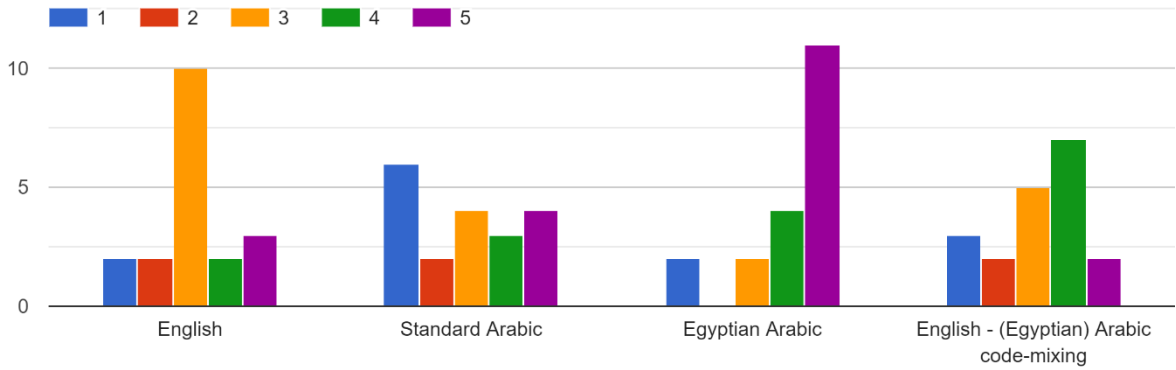
**Table 24** Answers to St. 41 of the questionnaire.

41. International business



**Table 25** Answers to St. 42 of the questionnaire.

42. Local business



### *English in the Egyptian touristic industry*

Egypt is rich in art, antiquities, history, tradition but also beach resorts, and it attracts millions of tourists from all over the world every year (Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012). Tourism in Egypt represents thus the largest national income resource (Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012) to which it seems to be dependent for its economic growth (Bassiouney, 2014). Tourism is a proper business since it provides jobs to millions of Egyptians (Jones, 2011) and it is for this reason that Egyptians who wish to be employed in the touristic field attend specific universities that emerged in Egypt since the 1960s. The first two institutions date back to 1962 (Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012) which later, in 1975, merged in a unique institution named ‘Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality’ placed in Helwan. From that moment, many other public and private tourism and hospitality faculties have been founded in Egypt with the aim of preparing students for joining the tourism labour market (Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012). In these universities, “the major focus is related to their [students’] tourism and hospitality skills, and the secondary one is related to fostering their English language skills” (Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012: 94) since they are required to be proficient.

Tourism can be considered as another means through which English spreads in Egypt (Crystal, 1995). As in all EFL contexts, also in Egypt it is used as Lingua Franca to communicate with international tourists visiting Egypt and it is the language used for all touristic products. For example, “[t]ickets to all major museums, tourist sites, and tours are most often printed entirely in English” (Schaub, 2000: 229) (Figures 33 and 34). Thus, “English is a necessary tool for working in tourism” (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016: 152) in Egypt, and a “means for communicating with tourists and understanding cultural differences” (Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012: 93). However, as suggested by participants, while English is the main language used in international travel and tourism (St. 43), ECA is instead prevalently used in the local touristic industry where, however, English still seems to play a significant role (St. 44).

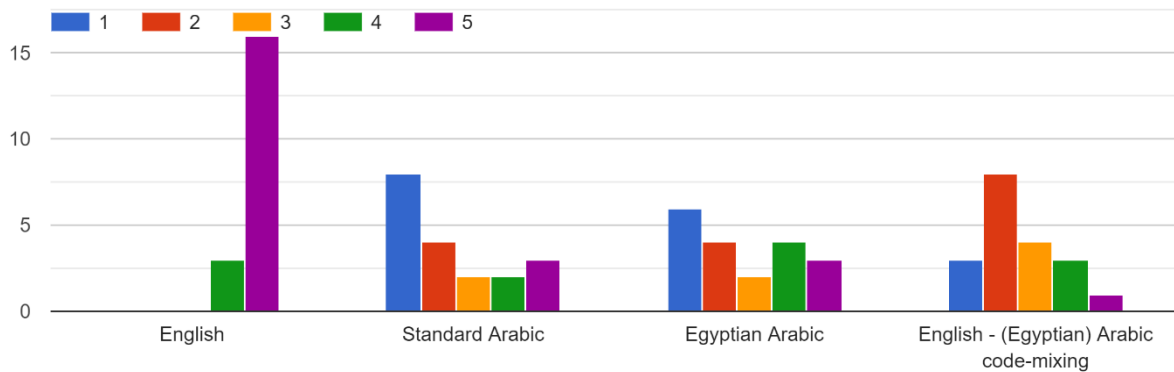


**Figure 33** Tickets for the Egyptian Museum entirely written in English.

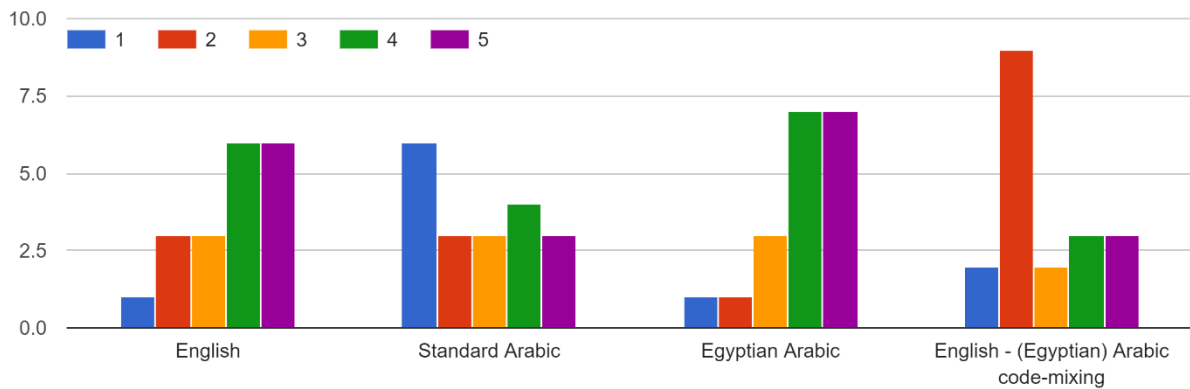


**Figure 34** Tour guide entirely written in English. Retrieved from <https://www.memphistours.com/Egypt/>

**Table 26** Answers to St. 43 of the questionnaire.  
43. International travel and tourism



**Table 27** Answers to St. 44 of the questionnaire.  
44. Local touristic industry



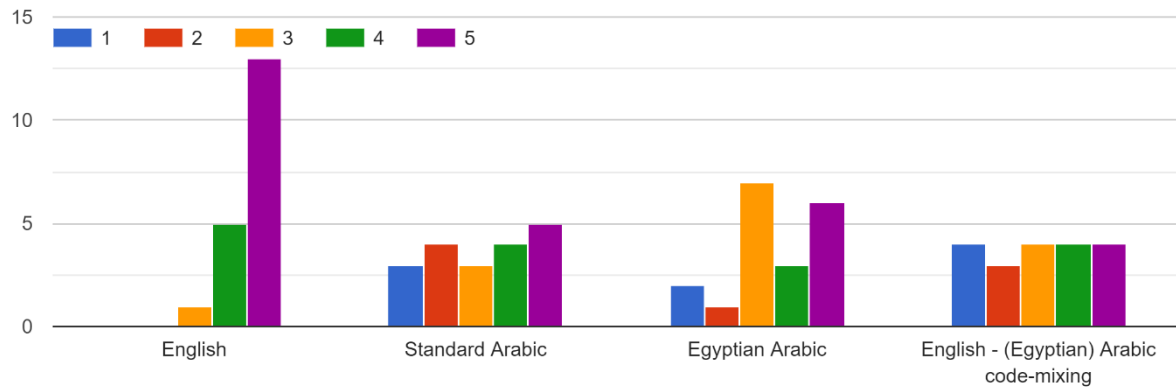
### ***English in private and public Egyptian educational domain***

In Egypt, the educational system has “two parallel structures: the secular structure and the religious [...] structure” (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017: 288). The former relies on foreign models of education through pro-Western educational policies, even “at the risk of being perceived as anti-Islamic” (Cook, 2000: 483) and for this reason, it is considered by some Egyptians as a “superficial combinations of Islamic and Western education systems” (Cook, 2000: 479) or even “interpreted by many to be inconsistent, contradictory or counter to the collective socio-religious prerogatives of the society at large” (Cook, 2000: 477) damaging the moral, spiritual and ethical values of the Islamic culture and heritage (Cook, 2000). In these secular schools English, as a western language, plays an important role. The latter, instead, gives special emphasis to Islamic studies starting from the idea that “education must be done according to religious traditions” (Miller, 2003: 152). In these religious schools, Arabic as the holy language of Islam, plays a very important role (Diana, 2010).

Alongside this double system, another parallel one could be traced between public governmental schools (St. 48), run by the Egyptian government, which are free for all Egyptian citizens and in which Arabic, specifically the *fuṣḥā* (MSA) officially remains the main language of instruction, but in which ECA is the actual form used in classrooms sometimes used together with English, as it is evident from the graph below, and the private schools (St. 47), which are not supervised by the Egyptian Ministry of Education but are privately run, for this reason demanding high fees (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017), and which focus on foreign language teaching. In them, Arabic is sometimes not taught at all (Bassiouney, 2009; Bassiouney, 2014) being replaced by English through which instruction is mostly conducted (Mejdell, 2006). In Egypt, there also exist a hundred international schools that teach foreign curricula (mainly British, U.S., German, and French) (Mohamed & Trines, 2019) and also private “language schools” which focus on intense language teaching, usually in English” (Hartmann, 2008: 23) through which they teach the state curriculum (Mohamed & Trines, 2019). This is “[t]he most popular form of school among the affluent urban middle class” (Hartmann, 2008: 23).

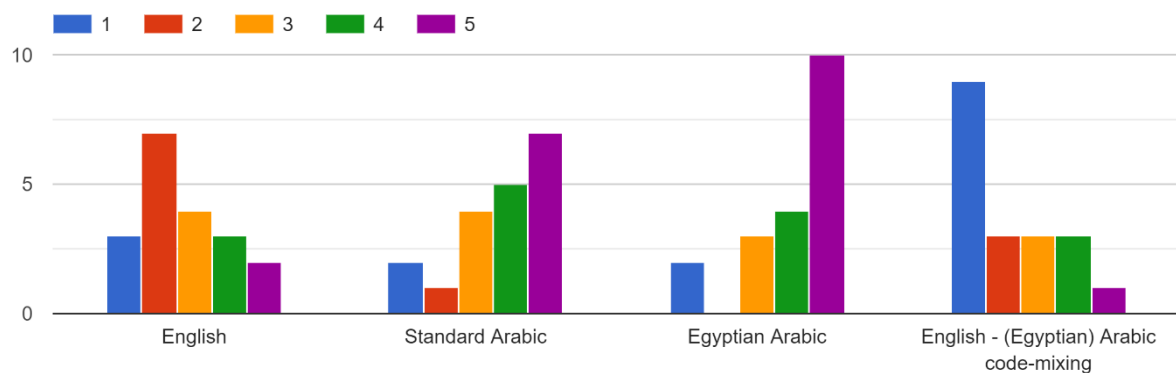
**Table 28** Answers to St. 47 of the questionnaire.

47. Private education



**Table 29** Answers to St. 48 of the questionnaire.

48. Public education



Researchers as Bassiouney (2009), Haeri (2016) Abdel Latif (2012, 2017) discussed about these ‘two educational systems’, the public and the private, underlining the substantial differences in the foreign language teaching quality. As Hartmann (2008) claimed

“[t]he quality of free public education in Egypt is generally lower, or perceived as lower, than the private schools and universities, and this strongly reflects in the opportunities and success of graduates on the labor market” (Hartmann, 2008: 24).

In the public education system, the quality of English teaching is not so high and “[l]anguage competence is a problem” (McIlwraith & Fortune, 2016: 5). This is mainly due to a series of problems linked with the underdevelopment and impoverishment of public structures: the scarcity of English language teachers (Abdel Latif, 2017) which in Egypt are underpaid (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2003) and besides are not so high proficient being ‘non-native’ of English (Bolton, 2006), which is significant since it implies that they end up teaching their own variety of English creating a certain endonormativity (Tomlinson, 2006); the lack of

software standards, facilities and equipment (Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006; Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012; Abdel Latif, 2017) or scarcity of available resources and materials; the overcrowded classes size (Cochran, 1986; Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012) which inhibit Egyptians students from using English; the inadequate time dedicated to the study of English at the secondary stage (Abdel Latif, 2012). In addition, another factor influencing the quality of English learning in Egypt is the fact that exams of secondary schools do not test students' listening and speaking abilities (Abdel Latif, 2012) so that, subsequently, classes are typically centred on reading activities (Abdel Latif, 2012) neglecting the speaking and listening skills (Abdel Ghany & Abdel Latif, 2012) to the point that students usually complete their English studies without being actually able to converse in English (Beym, 1956). All this, is confirmed by I23 and I24:

*I23: [...] since the majority of Egyptians are graduate of public schools where English is not implemented as good as in private schools, then we can say that a very small percentage only can really use English on daily basis.*

*I24: [...] in Egypt because mainly the teaching method is a passive -receiving-, many people can understand but can't speak well at all*

For all these reasons, public school students experience a sense of frustration because they are not satisfied with their English proficiency. These problems have been taken into consideration by the Egyptian government and the Ministry of Education campaigned for reforms in English teaching (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017) undertaking a series of New Policies apt to improve English education in Egypt (Abdel Latif, 2017) through the reformation of the English curriculum enlarging its study to all schools and grades from the very beginning of elementary schooling, the revision of teaching materials and methods, and by focusing on the communicative competence, instead of only on merely acquiring the knowledge of grammar rules (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017). Among the most valuable examples of policies are the Integrated English Language Program-II (IELP-II) founded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) which aim is “to improve English language teaching in Egypt” (Warschauer, 2002: 459) and the ‘English Language Teacher Recruitment and Education policies’ whose aim is, more generally, developing and ameliorating the English teaching service in Egyptian schools (Abdel Latif, 2017). In addition, from 1974, the USA Agency for Internal Development has aided Egypt in the training of public-school teachers in English language instruction.



A totally different situation exists in private English-as-a-means-of-instruction schools (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2003; Yacoub, 2016) where English is taught since the first year of education and even in the preschool (Schaub, 2000). This is confirmed by I23 who attends one of these schools and who claimed:

*I23: Yes we study it [English] as our second language in schools  
From pre class*

These schools are accessible to children of rich people, and in them, they can acquire very high competence in English. This explains why many parents prefer sending their children there and having them educated by native speaker teachers (Bisong, 1995) even if it means that they have to make a choice and ‘need to decide whether to give priority to a preservation of a cherished cultural and linguistic legacy or to what is perceived as the ‘pursuit of happiness’ on an economic base (Schneider, 2007). Since parents’ main interest is the economic reward of learning English (Ho, 2008) they usually choose the second option, which suggests how “[e]ducation is highly valued in Egypt” (Hartmann, 2008: 80), wanting their children to be educated in English schools (Ho, 2008). This is also clearly proved by an interviewee:

*I1: In Egypt, There is a social phenomenon about learning English instead of Arabic.. some parents put their kids in an international schools ..they neglect to learn them Arabic...they show this like a honor or respect or wealthy that their child talk English perfect without Arabic ..this kid of people always mix Arabic with English in their daily talk.. u need to notice that in ur research ...those are not the most people live in Egypt. With regards.*

I1’s words clearly explain that English has acquired a very strong influence to the point that it is preferred as the language of instruction by some members of the Egyptian society and that some parents do not worry about the fact that their children’s mother tongue could be threatened, as far as they have the opportunity to create a solid base in English which allows them to be competitive in the job market (Shaaban, 2008) and thus to have better opportunities for their future (Lewko, 2012). In a nutshell, “[t]he privatisation of education is seen as an efficient alternative to public schools considered essentially deficient because they operate under state control” (Diana, 2010: 5) and strictly influenced by Islam (Diana, 2010).

As Abdel Latif (2017) summarised, there are three types of private schools in Egypt: *private ordinary schools* which follow the same curriculum of government schools but with the addition of an advanced English course; *private language schools* in which the national curriculum is taught in English; *private international schools* which, instead, follow the British

or American curriculum (Abdel Latif, 2017). In addition, in response to Egyptians' requirement, and in the attempt of replacing a governmental alternative to private language schools offering intensive English instruction, the Ministry of Education in Egypt established other two types of schools: the semi-private National Institutes schools, run by the governmental General Society of National Institutes and teach the national curriculum in Arabic (Mohamed & Trines, 2019), and the experimental schools which use English as the language of instruction (Mohamed & Trines, 2019). Particularly this last kind of school was successful to the point that currently there are approximately 1000 experimental schools in Egypt, especially in the biggest cities (Abdel Latif 2017) like Cairo, Alexandria, Mansoura, and Port Said (Schaub, 2000) even if both of them are as expensive almost as the private language schools (ElMeshad, 2012).

To sum up, in Egypt, religious and governmental schools are strongly tied to the Arabic language, religion, and tradition to the point that instruction in English is not highly valued; secular and private schools are instead oriented towards the west and towards modernisation to the point that they give a high value to the English language, sometimes used as the language of instruction, and taught even at the expense of the Arabic language. This double dual system allows to claim that “[t]he Education affair in Egypt [...] can be considered both as ‘local’ and ‘global’” (Diana, 2010: 1), and even if it remains strongly centralised (Hartmann, 2008) it is gradually opening up towards the WeSt.

### ***English in the Egyptian university system and research***

As for University, a similar discussion can be made since there exist both public and private Universities. In 2018, Egypt counted 26 public and 32 private universities (Mohamed & Trines, 2019) including a great number of private American Universities in Cairo (AUC), established in 1919 (UKEssay, 2018), and the Arab Academy. Public universities are State-run, and the Ministry of Higher Education and the Supreme Council of Public Universities take decisions on programs, admission requirements, and enrolment quotas; private universities are privately funded, and they are not under the State control, even if they have not the freedom to operate autonomously, but they need the Egyptian government and the Supreme Council of Private Universities' approval.

Public universities are still judged inefficient by many students. The most serious structural problem “is the Egyptian universities' outdated curricula” (Mohamed & Trines, 2019) which, because of their inadequacy, cause the qualification of “graduates with no future”

(Mohamed & Trines, 2019) making the university system elitist, even after 1962, when President Nasser promised to enlarge and democratise higher education (Langsten & Mahrous; 2017) undertaking some measures to improve the quality of the governmental higher education system through the actions of the National Authority for Quality Assurance and Accreditation of Education (NAQAAE) established in 2007 (Mohamed & Trines, 2019). Private universities, instead, have a higher quality. This is probably due to a reduced student number caused by higher fees and by the extreme difficulty of the syllabus (UKEssay, 2018). Private universities seem to give students a major opportunity to find a job after graduation and for this reason, students and their parents are attracted to this private sector of education. These are becoming popular and high valued in Egypt, and this is evident through the comments of some Egyptians on the blog *reddit*<sup>15</sup>, who claimed:

*B1: Graduating from a private university gives you the upper hand when applying for a future job.*

*B2: Private universities like the AUC, GUC.. etc, are by far better in the job market than public universities. Simply because of the fact that they are accredited and the quality of education is much higher than public ones.*

However, it is worthy to say that private universities are not necessarily ‘foreign’ so that “[p]rivate universities are not often a chief reason on making higher education international; somewhat they are locally attached organizations with their individual programs” (UKEssay, 2018). So that the whole university system in Egypt, with the exclusion of few foreign private universities, still remains ‘local’.

More interestingly, in the light of this work, in both public and private universities, the language of instruction is usually Arabic (Mohamed & Trines, 2019). Even though in numerous faculties such as Business, Medicine, Veterinary, Accounting, Law, Engineering (Schaub, 2000; Yacoub, 2015a), Technology and Science (Haeri, 1997; Schaub, 2000; Poese, 2014; Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016) and especially in some private structures such as the AUC, programs are entirely taught in English. This phenomenon of teaching in English has increased in the last few years. In 2018, when this research began, I1 who is an Engineer, Ph.D. student, and university teacher claimed:

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<sup>15</sup>[https://www.reddit.com/r/Egypt/comments/f24rfr/the\\_difference\\_between\\_public\\_and\\_private/](https://www.reddit.com/r/Egypt/comments/f24rfr/the_difference_between_public_and_private/).

I1: *we teach in arabic when we try to use english students assumed about us :)*

Only three years later, in 2021, the same person declared:

I1: *Do u know I change my course language from Arabic to English [...]*

*I push my student to use English more in their work. Yea , and I wrote project sheets and data into English I explain in Arabic and English Mostly students are afraid of learn in English , they always complain*

I.er: why?

I1: *They afraid and sometimes do know the meaning Of words We use engineering English It's hard than usual But I think it is a must to learn engineering in English To became universal*

*I think it will be the universal one Because it became the language of science  
So each learner need English*

In these contexts, English is not only used during classes, but it is sometimes even used outside classrooms. For example, “doctors or pharmacists usually will use spoken and/or written English to communicate about a patient’s treatment or prescription” (Schaub, 2000: 232) or engineers will prepare and present projects to the clients in English as confirmed by I1:

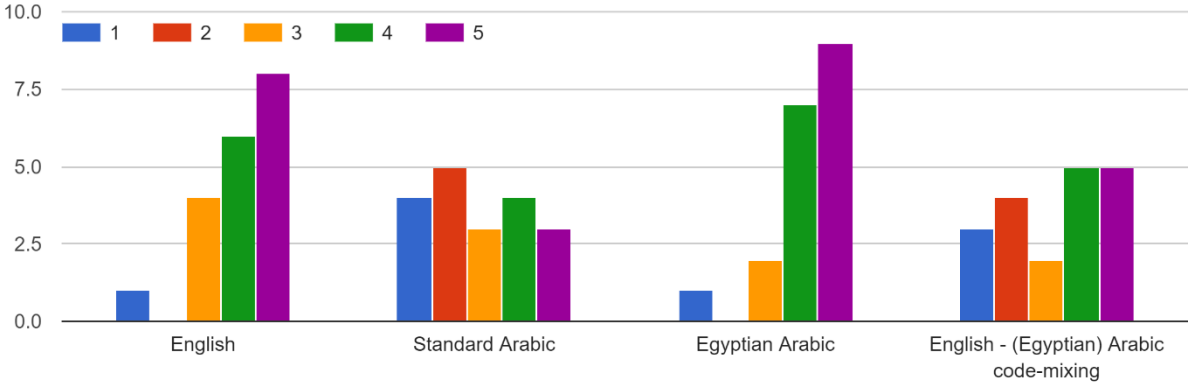
I1: *In my field may “architecture “ may be all the real state advertising become on English may be, beacuse they target special social level . the rich an example  
<http://www.realestateegypt.com/home/index.aspx>*

As far as communication among students in local universities is concerned, ECA is the most-spoken variety. Yet, it happens quite frequently that at the University that Egyptian students use English to communicate and socialise not only with foreign people, but also with other Egyptians (Schaub, 2000) and “this is especially the case with the students at the American University in Cairo” for whom “English seems like a comfortable fit” (Schaub, 2000: 235). English acquires important functions not only as an international tool for communication, but also as a local instrument used among Egyptians belonging to these specific domains of instruction. All this is confirmed by respondents to the questionnaire who declared that in university communities (St. 49), the most used varieties are ECA and English, followed by a very frequent use of an English-(Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing especially when communicating with university colleagues (St. 50).

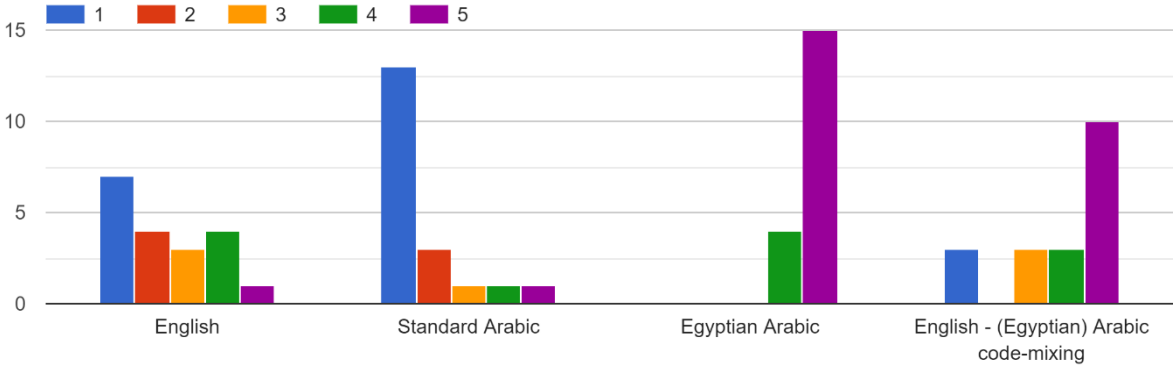
English is also the language used in scientific research (St. 51) (Haeri, 1997; Schaub, 2000; Poese, 2014), as well as the one used in both international and local professional meetings

and conferences in Egypt (Figure 35). In addition, especially in the field of science, technology and engineering, scientific articles, papers, works, and contents are all published in English, especially if scholars wish to reach international recognition (Bassiouney, 2014). This limits the presence of the Arabic language (Albalooshi, Mohamed & Al-Jaroodi, 2011) which however, even if to a lesser extent, seems to be still used in this field in its Standard form for local publications, while ECA and the (Egyptian) Arabic-English code-mixing are totally excluded.

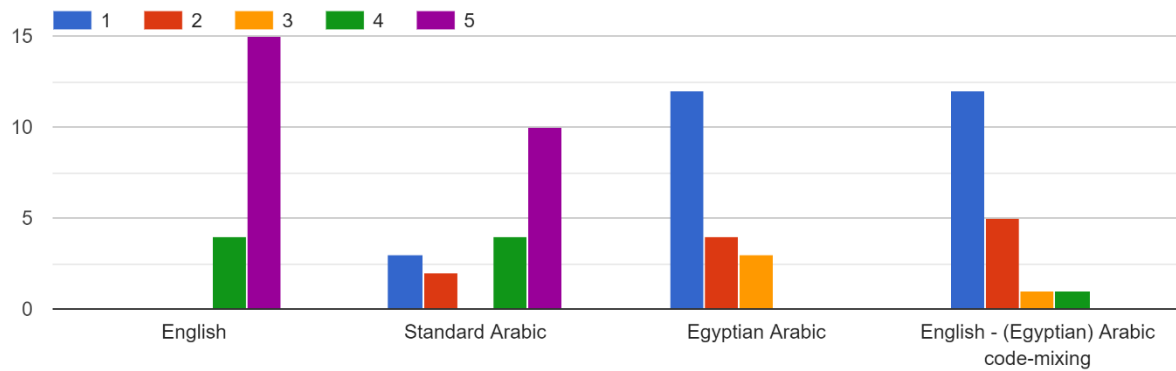
**Table 30** Answers to St. 49 of the questionnaire.  
49. University communities



**Table 31** Answers to St. 50 of the questionnaire.  
50. Communication among students of local universities



**Table 32** Answers to St. 51 of the questionnaire.  
51. Scientific research



**Figure 35** Example of Call for Paper for an academic Conference on Tourism in Egypt (Luxor)

### *English in international and local Egyptian media*

Another significant domain to be studied in order to describe the role that the English language plays in Egyptian international and local media and broadcasting (Schaub, 2000) which, although the government has tried to “[s]ilencing English-Language Media” (Hussein, 2013), are

“inundated with English films, serials, songs and other materials” (Mahmoud, 2013: 42) or of Arabic-English code-switching as demonstrated by Hamouda (2015). This implies that, surely, “the media emphasizes the importance of English” (Yacoub, 2016: 134) inside the Egyptian boundaries.

Particularly important for the cross-cultural and linguistic influence between English and Arabic was the development of transnational television worldwide channels in the last two decades. Indeed, Egypt has opened its door to the Western media with imports from the United States which reached a peak in 1978 with 178 American telefilms or 97.3% of all films transmitted on television (Luciani, 1988). The results of several studies suggested that, through the influence of American films and television programs, American English programming is becoming increasingly attractive to certain media consumers, and it is becoming more and more powerful sometimes even at the expense of the local programs which risk losing their supremacy. In Egypt, for example, there are TV programs entirely broadcast in English. Launched in 2006, *Al-Jazeera English* was the first English-language news channel to be broadcasted in the Middle East, however currently more popular ones are *Nile TV International* and *Channel 2* (Mohamed, 2017), also known as the ‘foreign channel’. They broadcast news and programs in English (Mohamed, 2017) and principally address a foreign audience in Egypt, but they are also widely followed by Egyptians themselves, mainly by the most educated ones. They have an informative function, and their main aim is thus spreading Egyptian and generally Arab cultural, tourist, economic, and art news all over the world together with the Arabic values. Interestingly, programs are conducted by Egyptian presenters and populated by Egyptian guests using the English language sometimes in a strong accented fashion typical of Egyptian English speakers.

As indicated by Schaub (2000), on *Channel 2* a foreign serial is shown each evening, usually, American dramas like *Knot's Landing*, *Falcon Crest*, both broadcasted since the early 1990s, *The Bold and the Beautiful* (also broadcasted on *Dream 1* and *NT2*) or *The Commish*, and six nights a week, a foreign film, usually of American or British production, is shown in English with Arabic subtitles (Schaub, 2000). Moreover, also in local Egyptian TV channels, such as MCB Masr, programs such as talk shows (Abu-Melhim, 2012) TV shows (Sabry, 2015) or TV series (Mohamed, 2017) specially designed for young Egyptians are rich in Arabic-English code-switching. Since the urban youth is the social group more exposed to the American movie industry, the English language influence coming from TV broadcasting is stronger in young people (Ibrahim, 2006).

Even if to a lesser extent, a similar discussion could be made for radio broadcasting. Egypt has “the most extensive and powerful radio broadcasting system in the Arab region” (MediaLandscape.org<sup>16</sup>). The radio broadcasting system is under the direct control of the Egyptian government and all 18 radio stations (MediaLandscape.org) are set in the country transmitting programs in the Arabic language. However, in Egypt there exist some international radio networks, namely the *Voice of America* (<https://www.voanews.com/>) an international American service broadcasting radio and TV contents in 47 languages with an affiliate station in the Arab world, and *Nile 104.2 FM* (Mohamed, 2017), all-Western music station broadcasting in English 24 hours a day whose presenters are all Egyptian grown up between England and America. *Nile 104.2 FM* has also a website (<https://nilefm.com/>) where music can be listened to on air, and where news and videos from Egypt and from the world can be read in English. It also has a Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/NileFM/>) with the same purpose.

As far as newspapers and magazines are concerned, in Egypt, there are some international products entirely written in the English language. As for newspapers, the most popular: *The Egyptian Gazette* (Figure 36), an English language semi-official daily newspaper that has been published for 120 years and is largely available in Egypt especially in the biggest and tourist areas (Schaub, 2000); the weekly *Al-Ahram* (الاهرام) (Figure 36) with its international edition (Luciani, 1988) available online too (<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/>), an English-language news portal published by the State-owned establishment (Hussein, 2013) and it is the Middle East most famous newspaper and the one which has the highest circulation in Egypt and in the Arab world with 900,000 copies sold daily (Abdul Razak, 2014). It publishes an English language edition which includes numerous translations from its daily Arabic-language edition; *Community Times*, another Egyptian newspaper written in English; the *Middle East Times*, published weekly; *Cairo Times*, the leading English-language paper in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Hussein, 2013), published every two weeks; *Daily News Egypt* (Figure 36) and *Egypt Independent* which are all-English publications (Schaub, 2000) as well.

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<sup>16</sup> <https://medialandscapes.org/country/egypt/media/radio>





Figure 36 English editions of *Al-Ahram* (on the top), *The Egyptian Gazette* (on the left) and of the *Daily News* (on the right).

These local, or better to say ‘glocal’ (Robertson, 1992, 1995, see also Onysko, 2009; Sharifian, 2013; Seargeant, 2009) English-language newspapers have played an important role allowing Egyptian journalists “to tell Egypt’s story to the world, not as fixers who might or might not get their due credit, but as primary storytellers” (Hussein, 2013) creating a “unique space for local and foreign journalists, editors and translators to interact and work together to report critically and with integrity, breaking away from the rigidity of foreign/local dichotomies and the associated power imbalance” (Hussein, 2013).

Apart from newspapers, some magazines are published in the international language too. *Egyptian Monthly* and *Egypt Today*, two monthly magazines are both printed fully in English, too. Similarly, the bi-monthly fashion magazines *Details*, and *Cairo Pose* are entirely written in English as well as the *Mother-to-be* (Schaub, 2000) and the online magazine *Identity* (<http://identity-mag.com/>). In addition, there are many other imported magazines like the international editions of *Time*, *Newsweek*, *National Geographic*, and *US New and World Report* as well as *The London Times*, *The Telegraph*, *The International Herald Tribune*, and *USA Today*, easily available in Cairo, Alexandria and in hotels (Schaub, 2000). A particularly

interesting phenomenon is that these international newspapers and magazines, although being fully in English, are locally consumed being intentionally targeted at Egyptian readers themselves. This is also suggested by I1 who said:

I1: *we hv english version of news paper my grandpa always read it hhh he was an english teacher*

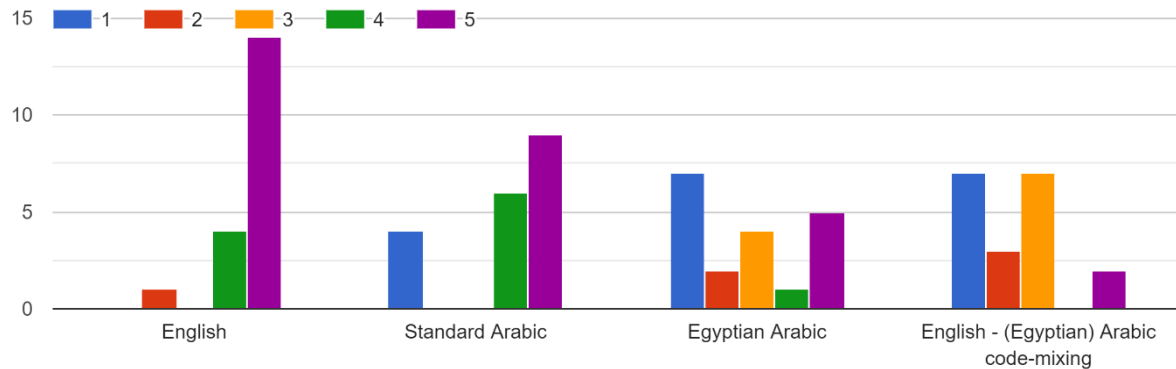
The English language does not spare the local Arabic newspaper and magazines. Indeed, although being mainly written in ECA or in MSA, English is omnipresent and “several Arabic newspapers [...] are influenced by [...] the English language” (Abdul Razak, 2014: 30) and characterised by numerous loan-words (Abdul Razak, 2014). Indeed, from a linguistic point of view, all communication media, including, television, and newspapers are in constant need of new terms, which in most cases are anglicisms, since always new and basically Western concepts are introduced to other cultures (Ibrahim, 2006). Media, like newspapers, but to a larger extent radio and television, are a useful tool unconsciously, or sometimes consciously, used to spread these new words representing thus a “significant vehicle for the English language into the homes of Egyptians” (Schaub, 2000: 233). Journalists are extremely influential in the field of lexical variation (Ibrahim, 2006: 19). This explains why, media consumers are increasingly influenced by borrowings, especially from English (Van Mol, 2003). The borrowing phenomenon is believed to begin with the use of foreign words on behalf of public figures on TV or in newspapers and is mainly used by, but not restricted to, the media targeting upper-class audience who perceive such usage as specialized and sophisticated. This phenomenon shows that the “Arabic language has changed and transformed” (Abdul Razak, 2014:43) and has actually spread in the whole Egyptian society. An interesting recent phenomenon is the use of English in local Egyptian magazines on Facebook pages. An example is *CairoWhat* (<https://www.facebook.com/cairowhat/>), a web informational page and an on-line community lifestyle magazine founded in 2019 to inform Egyptians with news on Business, Entertainment, Travel, Lifestyle, Technology, and Art. Not only the target audience, but also the administration of this Facebook page are Egyptians meaning that English has actually entered Egyptian lives and that Egyptians are an active part in producing and publishing English literature (Schaub, 2000).

Hence, even if international in nature, some TV and radio broadcasting, as well as some newspapers and magazines, being targeted not only at foreign people but also at Egyptian themselves, acquire also a local function. The Egyptian participants seem not to be aware of this and indeed, while they recognise English as the main language used in international media

(St. 52), they almost totally exclude its use in local Egyptian media (St. 53) in which, they accordingly stated, ECA is the most used variety, thus contributing to the “decline of the standard of MSA” (Mahmoud, 2013: 42) and even more to “the death of Arabic” (Luciani, 1988: 70) in media production.

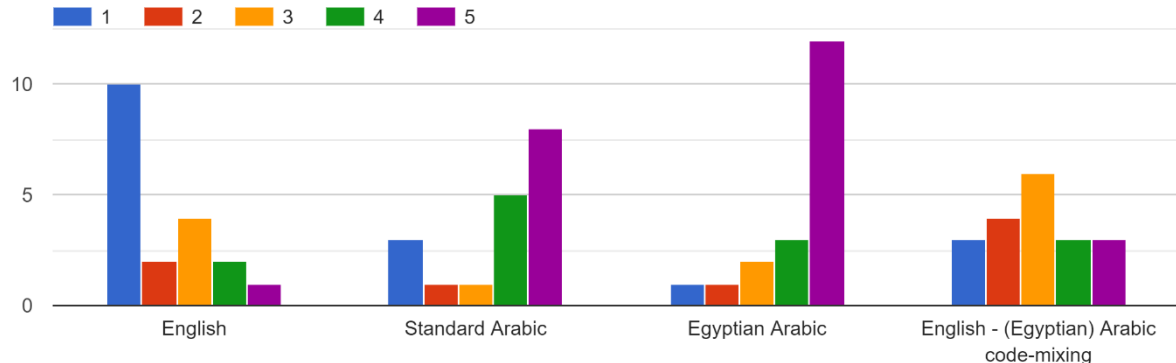
**Table 33** Answers to St. 52 of the questionnaire.

52. International media (international TV and radio broadcasting, newspapers, and magazines)



**Table 34** Answers to St. 53 of the questionnaire.

53. Local media (local TV and radio broadcasting, newspapers, and magazines)



### ***English on the Internet and social networks in Egypt***

In Egypt, Internet has become more widely available from January 2002 when the ministry of communication and Information Technology launched the “Free Internet” project (Abdel-Hafez & Wahba, 2004). Giving free access to the Internet, this plan increased the number of Internet users. As evident from the graph below (Figures 37 and 38), proportionally to the population growth, Internet users increased from 450,000 to 29,809,724 in twelve years (from 2000 to 2012), and with a penetration rate of 52.5%, it has reached 54,741,493 users in December 2020, (Figures 39), of which, according to the Internet Users Statistics for Africa, 48,830,000 are

Facebook subscribers with a penetration rate of 46.8%. These are data that surely “cannot be underestimated” (Khalil, 2012: 11).

YEAR	Users	Population	% Pen.	Usage Source
2000	450,000	66,303,000	0.7 %	<a href="#">ITU</a>
2006	5,100,000	71,236,631	7.0 %	<a href="#">ITU</a>
2008	10,532,400	81,713,517	12.9 %	<a href="#">ITU</a>
2009	12,568,900	78,866,635	15.9 %	<a href="#">ITU</a>
2012	29,809,724	83,688,164	35.6 %	<a href="#">ITU</a>

**Figure 37** Internet Usage and Population Growth in Egypt, retrieved from <https://www.internetworldstats.com/af/eg.htm>

<b>EGYPT (Arab Republic of)</b>
<b>EG - 104,258,327 population (2021) - Country Area: 1,001,450 sq km</b>
<b>Capital city: Cairo - population 18,772,461 (2015)</b>
<b>54,741,493 Internet users in Dec/2020, 52.5% penetration, per IWS.</b>
<b>48,830,000 Facebook subscribers in Dec/2020, 46.8% penetration rate.</b>

**Figure 38** Egypt Internet Data and Telecom Reports.  
Retrieved from <https://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#eg>

AFRICA 2021 POPULATION AND INTERNET USERS STATISTICS						
<a href="#">AFRICA</a>	Population (2021 Est.)	Internet Users 31-Dec-2000	Internet Users 31-DEC-20	Penetration (% Population)	Internet Growth 2000 - 2021 %	Facebook subscribers 31-DEC-2020
<a href="#">Egypt</a>	104,258,327	450,000	54,741,493	52.5 %	12,064 %	48,830,000

**Figure 39** Africa Internet Usage, 2021 Population Stats and Facebook Subscribers. Retrieved from Internet World Stat. Usage and Population Statistics, <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats1.htm>

As probably expected then, from a linguistic point of view, a direct consequence of the increasing number of Arabic speaking Internet users (Albalooshi, Mohamed & Al-Jaroodi, 2011) and of the use of social media is the fact that the Arabic language is becoming one of the most important languages on the Internet (Albalooshi, Mohamed & Al-Jaroodi, 2011). However, although Arabic is actually acquiring importance on the Web being the most used linguistic tool on the Internet after English, Chinese, and Spanish (see Figures 26), English still remain the dominant language used online especially among early adopters in Egypt (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006) who deliberately choose it. This occurs for some specific reasons: first of all, and more generally, because English is the language used in all global products including the Internet and its computer mediated communication. This means that the Internet encourages global use of English (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006); secondly and more in detail, because English, together with the technology, is seen as the instrument for a social development (Warschauer, 2002) and as a tool to be “more connected in today’s global

world” (Aboelezz, 2014: 1) allowing Egyptians’ participation into the world community and socio-political, economic, and cultural advancement (Warschauer, 2002); thirdly, because English is the language of global communication and the only tools Egyptians have to communicate with and to the world; eventually, because the English language, together with the Internet whose main characteristic is “its availability to everyone, with little or no ownership regulations or censorship” (Bassiouney, 2014: 19 see also Pratt, 2011) allows Egyptian to escape the government control (Choudhary et al., 2012) and to be freer and more direct. This is why, for example, the Internet and social networks had a very strong impact during the 25<sup>th</sup> January revolution (Bruns, Highfield & Burgess, 2013; Al Jazeera, 2014) playing such a crucial role in leading the uprisings to the point that it was defined “The Facebook Revolution” (Eprile, 2017: 4) (Figure 40), the “Twitter revolutions” (Bruns, Highfield & Burgess, 2013: 895) or the “media war” (Bassiouney, 2012: 107). Indeed, social networks were among the tools used by activists to communicate and organise themselves (Bruns, Highfield & Burgess, 2013) and to communicate to people in real-time (Khalil, 2012) using English as the main linguistic tool.

A fifth motivation is that English is the more immediate choice on the web for Egyptians also because in Egypt, Computer and Internet is taught using English-medium coursework and computer manuals are entirely written in English (Bassiouney, 2014) or it is acquired in an English-dominant work



**Figure 40** A banner exhibited during the January 25th revolution underlining the importance of Facebook for Egyptian protestors as ‘their own’ means to freely express their rebellion.

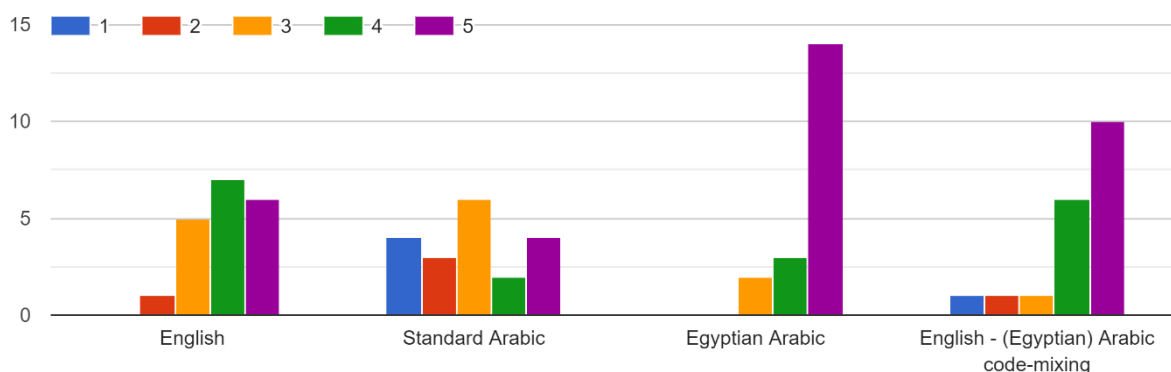
environment (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006). As a consequence, Egyptian automatically associate English with the domain of the Internet. In addition, there is also a more technical motivation. English is sometimes preferred by Egyptian users also because there is a lack of Arabic software (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006) and of technical supports for Arabic script (Aboelezz, 2014) so that, in this case, “English is [...] just a tool for being able to make use of information technology” (Warschauer, 2002: 456) which otherwise will not be usable for Arabic users. Indeed, many current software and applications are not still projected to wholly support the Arabic character set (Albslooshi, Mohamed & Al-Jaroodi, 2011) and the consequence is that Arabic speaker users are forced to completely switch to the English language or to write in transliterated Arabic, using English/Latin letters (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2007). This would explain why Latinised Arabic (LA) (Aboelezz, 2012), also referred to as Franco language, is also widely used in informal communication (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006) and even

preferred in the electronic medium communication (Aboeizz, 2014). This last one, seems to be the easiest and more practical solution.

Similarly to previous studies, such as Warschauer, Said, and Zohry’s (2006) or Yasee and Hoon’s, (2017) which proved that “English seems to be the mainly prevailing language used by various bilingual [Arabic-English] speakers in their online communication” (Yasee & Hoon, 2017: 7) (Figure 41) in this work, when asked, participants, who are all social networks users, showed to be evidently more inclined to use colloquial Arabic especially written in Latinised script (Khalil, 2012), even more than MSA (Khalil, 2012). They also claimed to use English prevalently in a mixed form together with the Arabic language. This implies that code-switching “plays a vital role in language communication especially in the social networks such as Facebook, [and] Twitter” (Yaseen & Hoon, 2017: 1) and more generally in all Egyptians’ ‘electronic discourses’ (Halim & Maros, 2014: 133) on the Internet.

On the one hand, this results in a prominence of English in Internet communication (Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006) and in interaction on social networks, which consequently facilitates English ownership (Lewko, 2012) in Egyptians and which “definitely expand the traditional skills of listening, speaking, reading, writing, and communication” (Abdallah, 2011: 15), on the other hand, it seems that “online communications featured a new and unusual diglossia-between a foreign language, English, and a [...] colloquial form of Arabic” (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006: 14) which favours bilingualism (Kachru, 2006) and the creation a specific form of Arabic-English Netspeak’ (Crystal, 2006; Aboeizz, 2014) which is becoming emblematic of Egyptian youth identity (Aboeizz, 2012) as a new mark of group belonging (Aboeizz, 2018) and identity without this necessarily meaning an approximation to Western culture nor abandonment of Egyptian identity (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2006).

**Table 35** Answers to St. 54 of the questionnaire.  
54. Internet and social networks such as Facebook







**Figure 41** Example of conversation on Facebook among Egyptian friends. To be noticed the use of ECA (in both Arabic and Latinised scripts) and of the Arabic-English code-switching.

Apparently, technology always changes a language (Crystal, 2004, 2006b) especially through the popular tools like social networks, chat, or messenger (Abdallah, 2011). Indeed, progress in technologies together with new social practices leads to further contact between English and other languages (Crystal, 2006b; McArthur, 2006). In Egypt as well, the revolution in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and the technological advancement has imposed new linguistic practices that have strongly influenced the way Egyptians use the language for communication (Warschauer, Shetzer & Meloni, 2000) strongly promoting the use of English on the Internet.

### 3.6.2 English in formal or informal contexts in Egypt

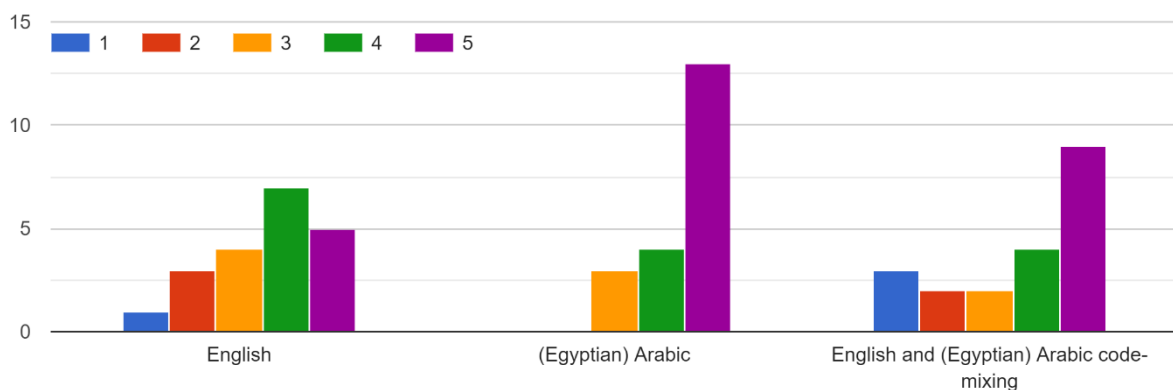
#### **Empirical study: Questionnaire and interview (part 4). Items 55-67**

In Egypt, while “historically, speaking [...] a highly valued second language, was a marker of the social and economic elite” (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016) nowadays, English use is not only constrained to these high fields, but is also commonly used in informal contexts, such as in everyday communication or friendly online communication (Yaseen & Hoon, 2017) where is widely employed among young Egyptians, and so strongly mixed with Arabic. Indeed, although ECA is the most used language in Egypt, some Egyptians use English with friends (Lewko, 2012) sometimes becoming the language chosen for informal interactions (Lewko, 2012).

The main aim of this part of the investigation, is to prove Lewko’s results and to verify whether English in Egypt is seen as an important linguistic tool as Arabic (Aboelezz, 2014) in informal contexts namely among family members or among friends, schoolmates, or colleagues and whether it is used for more intimate reasons such as for discussing personal matters or general topics, and in informal writing practices for writing SMS on Messenger or WhatsApp, etc., which would certainly contribute to a move towards an EAL status, or whether its spontaneous use is only restricted to few specific communities while being generally preferred for more formal activities such as for talking to professors at university or to client at work, for writing business email, or at a job interview which “signal recognition of the greater utility of English in the job market” (Aboelezz, 2014: 188).

When asked about their general language preference in everyday interactions (St. 55), the majority of participants choose ECA followed by the (Egyptian) Arabic-English codemixing. This seems a significant datum since it implies that English has actually entered Egyptians everyday life to the point to be regularly introduced in their discourses.

**Table 36** Answers to Qu. 55 of the questionnaire.  
55. Which language(s) do you use regularly?

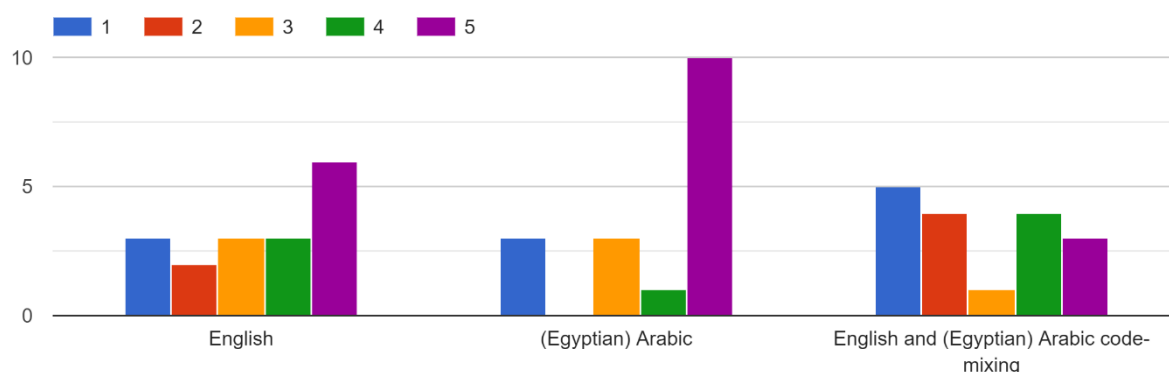


### *English in more formal contexts*

ECA is generally the linguistic form used for talking and interacting with local client at work (St. 64). However, since half participants work for international purposes, when asked, their choice also fell on English, while code-mixing is not so diffusely practised in the working sector.



**Table 37** Answers to St. 64 of the questionnaire.  
64. At work talking to your clients.



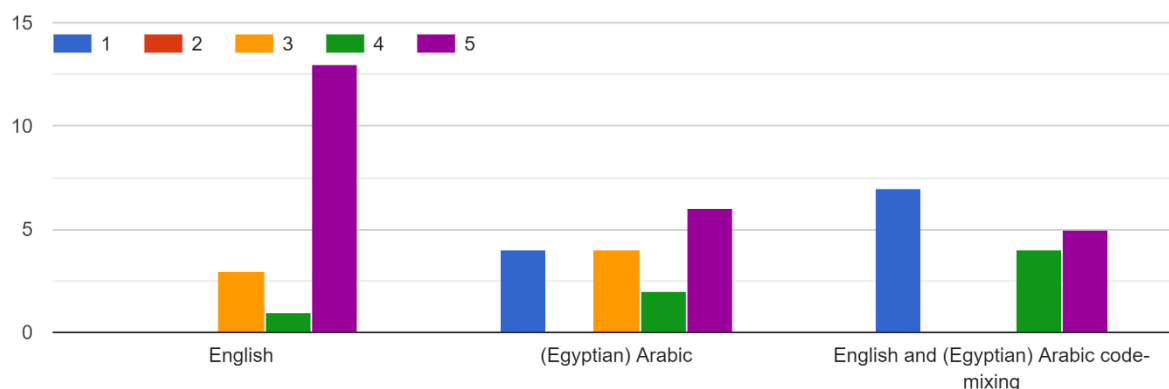
English, in its independent form, is predominantly used for job interviews or for the writing of business letters or emails (St. 67). These data are significant because they definitively indicate that English in Egypt is becoming the language of business enjoying the label of ‘working language’ (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 143) being a basic requirement (Poese, 2014: Nour, 1992 cited in Schaub, 2000: 228; Sharkawi: ?). Many jobs call for applicants to have high knowledge of both written and spoken forms of English (Alenazi, 2018) and this is why “the best jobs are awarded to English-proficient college graduates” (Schaub, 2000: 228). All this is also clear through I5’s and I24’s words who when asked whether English in Egypt can be viewed as a L2 rather as a foreign language answered:

*I5: Of course. English is the first language in Egypt not the second but that if you want to work*

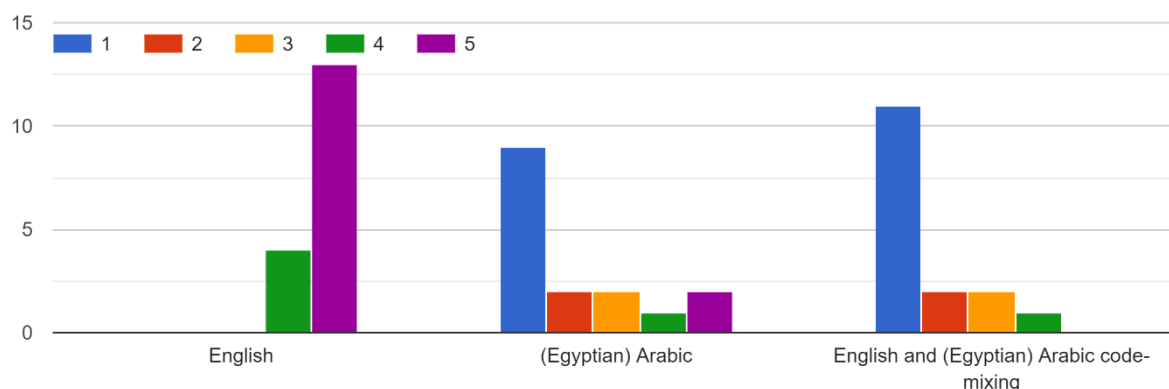
*I24: [...] most of the universities and schools in Egypt taught in English beside that it becomes one of the main component in the hiring. [English in Egypt is used] In Multinationals Corporations, in all compoines in private sector, for formal emails and letters... etc*

In such formal contexts, code-mixing is instead avoided maybe because it is considered to be “a sign of “laziness,” an “inadvertent” speech act” (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2004: 350) and anglicisms are generally considered bad style (Onysko, 2009).

**Table 38** Answers to St. 66 of the questionnaire.  
66. At a job interview.



**Table 39** Answers to St. 67 of the questionnaire.  
67. Writing business letters/emails.



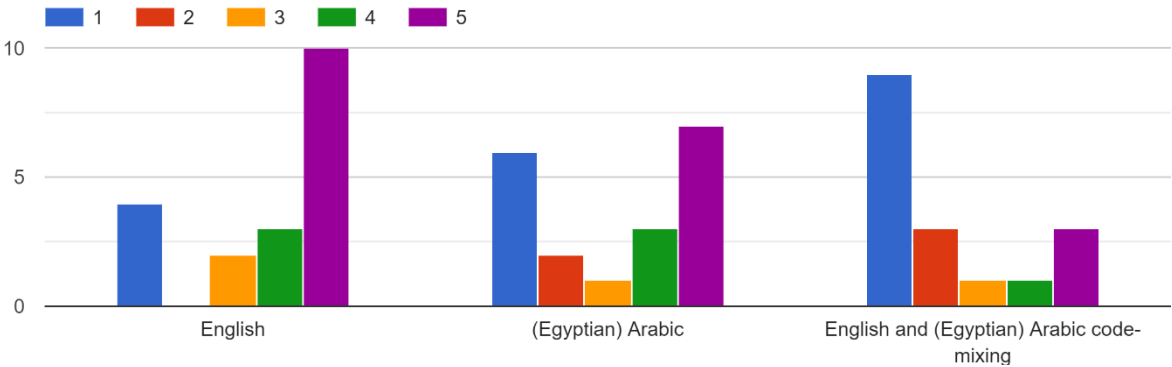
### ***English in informal communication***

Egyptians, especially young Egyptians belonging to the professional class, use English not only for formal email at work but also for everyday informal communication and chats (Warschauer, Said & Zohry’s, 2006). This is also confirmed by participants to the questionnaire who stated to have chosen English to write interpersonal letters or email (St. 59). As for the writing of personal SMS on messenger or on WhatsApp (St. 60) their first choice falls on ECA for its being the ‘language of the heart’ (Dewaele, 2013: 2) and is preferred for talking about personal matters (St.57). However, a good percentage chose (Egyptian) Arabic-English code-mixing. Indeed, Egyptians usually code-switch between English and ECA in their informal electronic communication (Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006) in SMS and Chats (Yaseen & Hoon, 2017) when discussing with friends. This implies that (Egyptian) Arabic-English code-

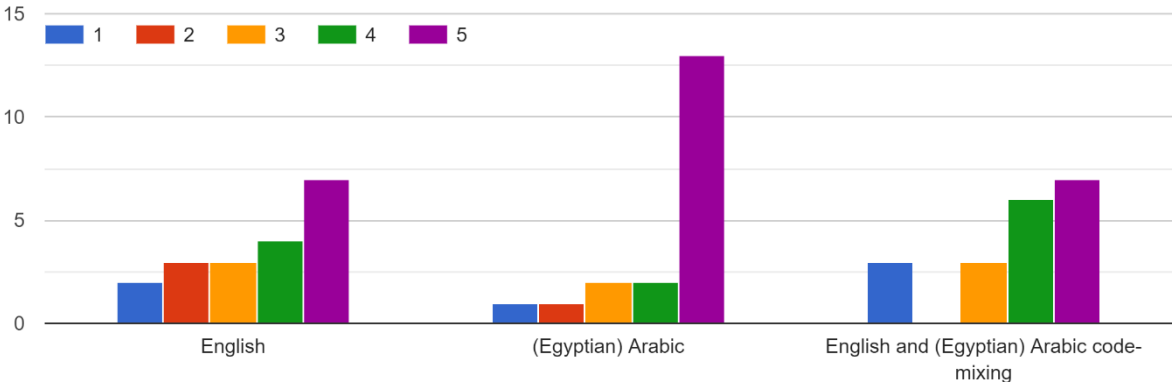
switching occurs most frequently in spontaneous speech (Hamed, Elmahdy, & Abdennadher, 2018) and takes place in natural contexts (Poplack 1980). It has become a prevalent and typical linguistic practice among Egyptians, especially in the young Egyptian generations (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018), and in particular among young high proficient and fluent speakers of English (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018), who mix Arabic and English in everyday conversations (Hamed, Elmahdy, & Abdennadher, 2018). This is also proved by I29 who stated:

*I29: We almost use it in everyday life, the majority of Egyptians never say a complete sentence without saying an English or a French word*

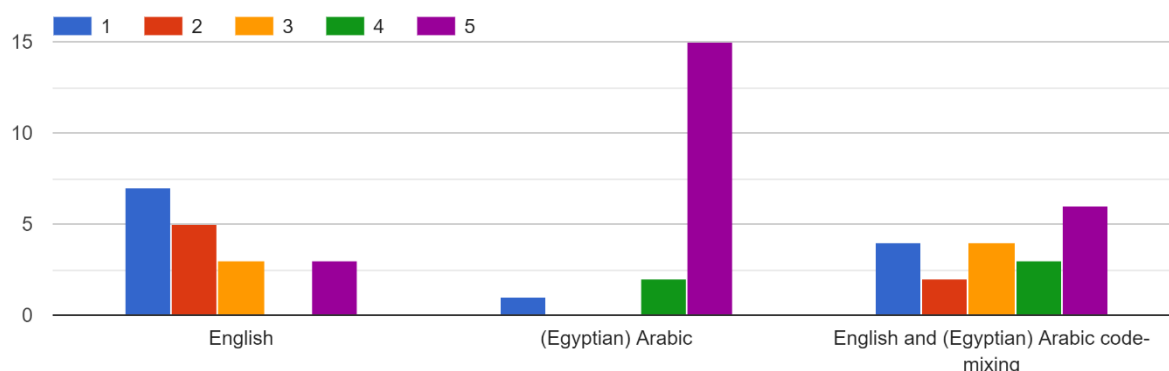
**Table 40** Answers to St. 59 of the questionnaire.  
59. Writing a personal letter/email.



**Table 41** Answers to St. 60 of the questionnaire.  
60. Writing a message on Messenger or WhatsApp



**Table 42** Answers to St. 57 of the questionnaire.  
57. Discussing personal matters.

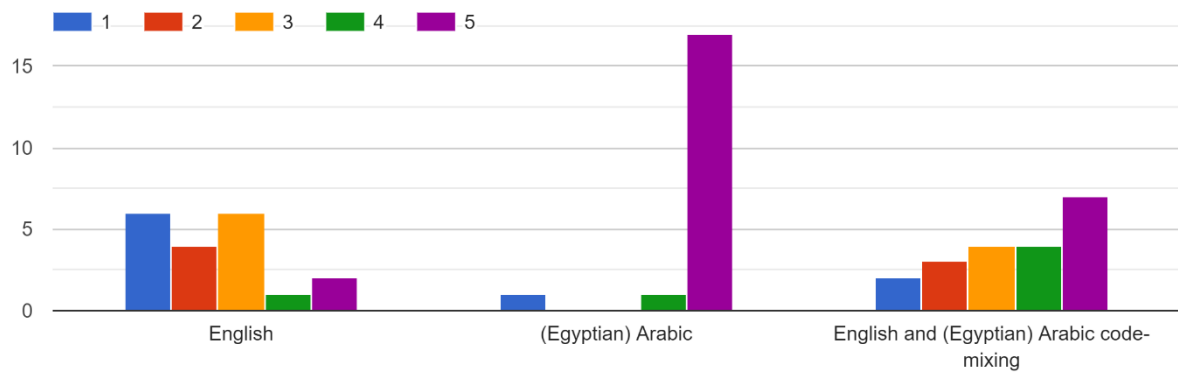


### *English in natural, friendly, and familiar contexts*

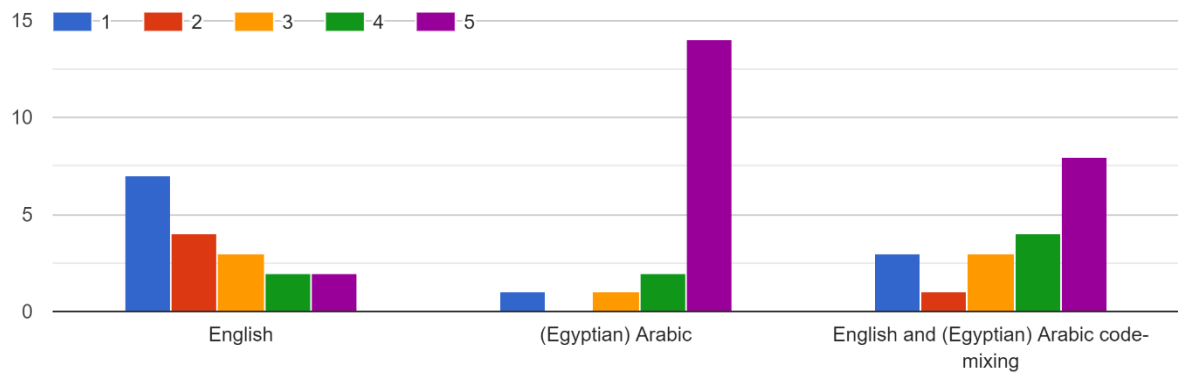
As previously said, in communication with friends (St. 58), schoolmates, university colleagues (St. 61), professors (St. 62) and workmates (St. 63) Egyptians still prevalently favour ECA. However, as shown in the graph, they sometimes opt for a code-mixing. This confirms Schaub’s (2000) report according to which it is common to hear university students talking entirely in English also outside the classrooms, or while they talk in the Arabic language, code-switching from Arabic into English introducing some English words or sentences “dropping English phrases in their conversations, including pop culture or casual references” (Schaub, 2000: 236). This linguistic phenomenon, which mainly occurs in communities of students with instruction in English, for whom “code-switching is the linguistic norm” (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018: 615) allows claiming that “enrolment in the university marked a major turning point in using English among friends” (Lewko, 2012: 92) and confirms the actual use of English in informal communication (Al-Sayadi, 2016) among Egyptians.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that English is used in all informal contexts, and for example, English seems practically avoided by Egyptians when talking with their family members (St. 56). Conversations at home exclusively take place in ECA and even the common mixing code practice ceases to exist in this context or at least occur very rarely.

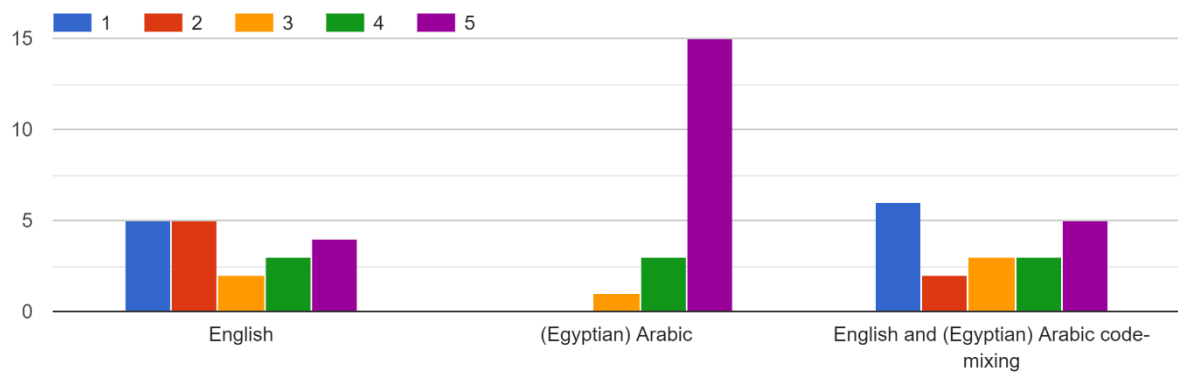
**Table 43** Answers to St. 58 of the questionnaire.  
58. Conversing and discussing general topics with friends.



**Table 44** Answers to St. 61 of the questionnaire.  
61. At high school/university talking to your colleagues.

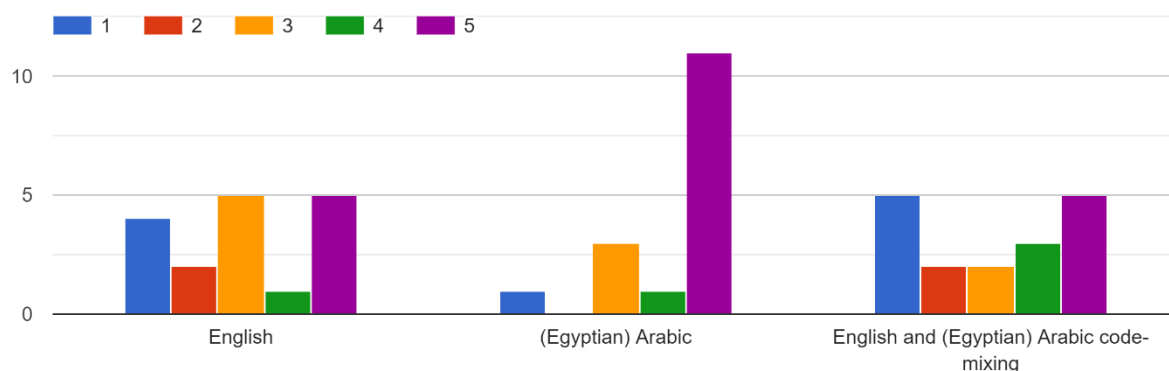


**Table 45** Answers to St. 62 of the questionnaire.  
62. At high school/university talking to your professors.



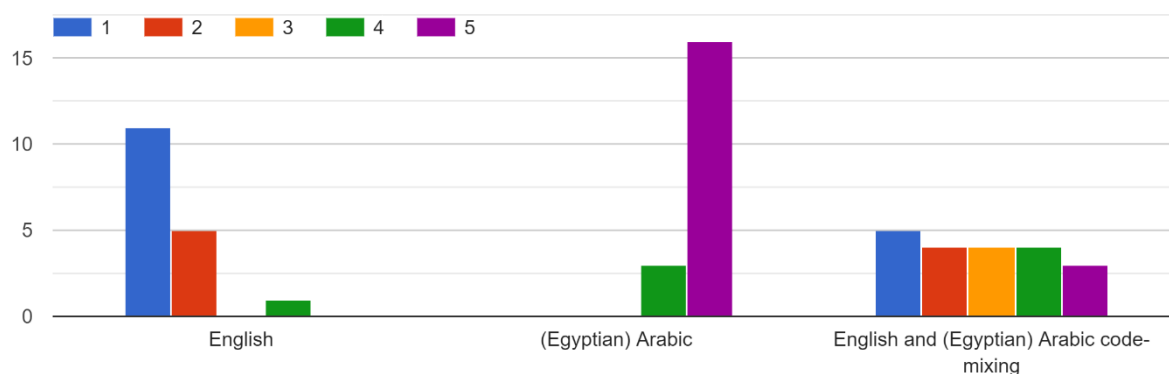
**Table 46** Answers to St. 63 of the questionnaire.

63. At work, talking with colleagues.



**Table 47** Answers to St. 56 of the questionnaire.

56. Talking to your family members.



These data are also confirmed through answers to the interview:

I.1er: Do you speak English with family members or friends?

I1: *no we speak arabic the most of pepole do the same*

I16: [...] *we sometimes say certian English words but not all people*

I25: *No it's not used in communication between us in speaking at all but small words not as u understand. Arabic as a formal standard language in mosques , schools, governments and formal discussion Never using English ever*

I28: [...] *English is being spoken usually in everyday life, but it still depends on the city like in Greater Cairo and Alexandria it's often spoken, but in the other cities that's not the case*

*But between us we don't speak and use English*

*I24: English is important component of learning in Egypt, but Egyptians don't communicate in English outside these classes*

### **3.6.3 Discussion**

In this section, it has been proved that English in Egypt is more often used with different pragmatic international and intranational functions, and with both formal and informal purposes in many domains such as in university classes, medicine meetings, for instruction in foreign, international, in private schools and for higher education, in the sciences, tourism (Schaub, 2000), technology, economics (Seidlhofer, 2003), in the media and the Internet.

No doubt, Egyptians' dominant and primary language is ECA. However, even if not officially accepted and recognised, English is "loaded with prestige in social interaction" (Mohamed, 2017: 169), becoming part of the Egyptian linguistic system. It is commonly used as part of normal everyday life even becoming a means of solidarity (Preisler, 1999) among specific communities including the AUC students, the medical and scientific schools, but also among Internet users, and among young Egyptians who sometimes use it in their social relationships, hobbies, and interests (Edwards, 2016). In these sub-groups of users (Lewko, 2012), English, principally in its mixed form with (Egyptian) Arabic, seems more often used to communicate, both orally and in the written form, even among Egyptians themselves "mak[ing] it their own language for their own purposes and for their own needs" (McIlwraith & Fortune, 2016: 11). For them "English is so central and dominant that the EFL label does not apply" (Schaub, 2000: 236) so that functionally at least English has become their additional language (Schaub, 2000). This means that contrary to what Schaub (2000) claimed, that "there isn't much English use on a day-to-day basis" (Schaub, 2000: 231) in Egypt, and that consequently "there is no likelihood that English will make inroads into interpersonal or regulative functions" (Schaub, 2000: 237, see also Poese, 2014), today, English in Egypt seems to be on the good road to developing this role so that it is possible to argue that the sociolinguistic criterion is satisfied.

However, a strong limit is that the situation so far explained only occurs in some restricted cases involving only a few sub-groups of the Egyptian population while for a variety to be considered a proper EV, it should be used by the majority of the population. In Egypt, instead, while "a significant percentage of Egyptians [as for example those] in professional or tourist-related careers live in the outer circle of the world language" still "millions of Egyptians live in

the expanding circle of English” (Schaub, 2000: 236) not using English regularly: no everyone, in Egypt, uses it on a common basis as a spontaneous means for friendly conversations, and no one would speak it at home for talking to family members (apart from some particular cases). Thus, the *interpersonal function*, typical of a language used in familiar contexts (Kachru, 1992b) is not totally, or at least not diffusely spread among Egyptians since the majority of them simply do not speak English with each other. It can be argued thus that English in Egypt cannot totally fulfil the most basic requirement of a proper EV status, “namely that of being used as a contact code” (Mollin, 2006: 200 referring to English in Europe). In order to extend limbs into the Outer area (Schaub, 2000; Atwell, Sharoff & Al-Sulaiti, 2009) “English may have a more noticeable role alongside spoken Arabic in Egypt” (Lewko, 2012: 21) and it should be more spontaneously chosen by its speakers even in the most informal context of home.

Anyway, it cannot be denied that English in Egypt is used more frequently than expected in a common Expanding community, where only one language (with its dialectal varieties) is supposed to be used (Piketh, 2006; Edwards, 2016), and that the role of English in Egypt and its functions within the Egyptian society are continually growing with the development of more “internal functions that cannot be attributed merely to the accommodation of foreigners” (Edwards, 2016: 66) which goes beyond the simple function of international Lingua Franca to which EFL is typically restricted (Piketh, 2006; Edwards, 2016). As a consequence of the growing intensity and frequency of use of English in Egypt, especially in media such as newspapers, TV and radio broadcasting, the Internet, and social networks, Egyptians become more exposed to the English language inputs to the point that they not only learn English as a foreign language at school but can also passively learn it through the everyday language exposure. This has changed the traditional way of language acquisition of Expanding areas which used to occur through formal instruction exclusively (van Rooy, 2011).

### **3.7 Linguistic criterion**

#### **3.7.1 Arabic and English: two distant linguistic systems**

Arabic and English come from two completely different language families (Yacoub, 2015b). Arabic is a South-Central Semitic language (Albirini, 2016) belonging to the Afro-Asiatic family (Yacoub, 2015b: 103) and is spoken as L1 throughout 22 countries (Ibrahim, ?b) of the Arabian Peninsula and in the Arab countries of northern Africa and as L2 in some countries of Asia (Huthaily, 2003). It is “one of the most widely used languages in the world” being “the



6th most used language based on the number of native speakers” (Hamed, Elmahdy & Abdennadher, 2018: 3805). English, instead, is a West Germanic language belonging to the Indo-European language family with linguistic influxes from Latin and Norman-French (Huthaily, 2003). It is the L1 of the UK and Ireland, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and of various island nations in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean and a sprinkling of other territories (Crystal, 2003). It is an official or semi-official language in many areas of Africa, Asia, and of the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans (Crystal, 2003). In addition, it is spoken all around the world as ELF and it is learnt as an EFL in many territories, Egypt included.

The two languages thus differ on many levels, belong to remote realities and dissimilar linguistic families, and have a different socio-historical background. This is significant in light of this study, since these difference and distance make it difficult for Egyptians to respect StdE norms which would be translated into linguistic errors/variations at all levels: in sounds, structures, and words. Indeed, Egyptians produce a high level of variability while they speak English due to the two languages, Arabic and English, different phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical systems and to the spontaneous and unconscious introduction of negative transfers from the mother tongue’s features (Lado, 1957).

The main aim of this section is to verify whether Egyptians’ ‘errors’ can be seen as simple deviations from the StdE norms or whether they might be considered variations and innovations describing a potential new variety of English.

### **3.7.2 An ‘Egyptian English’ corpus**

In linguistic corpora so far existing, such as the International Corpus of English (ICE) or the Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) the Egyptian context has not been considered. As reported in Hamed, Elmahdy & Abdennadher (2018) there exist few speech corpora which are principally designed for Dialectal Egyptian Arabic (Elmahdy, Gruhn, Minker & Abdennadher, 2009; El-Sakhawy, Abdennadher, & Hamed, 2014) where a small percentage of code-switching to English is included, such as CALLHOME (Canavan, Zipperlen & Graff, 1997), the Egyptian Arabic-English corpus by Hamed, Elmahdy & Abdennadher (2018) and the ArzEn corpus, an Egyptian-English code-switching (CS) spontaneous speech corpus realised by Hamed, Thang Vu & Abdennadher (2020).

However, apart from the code-switching phenomenon, no proper linguistic data about the linguistic interferences occurring between (Egyptian) Arabic and English in Egypt have been seriously collected yet and, in a context in which English has so strongly permeated the Egyptian society and culture, this lack calls for the necessity of a new systematised linguistic study and for the creation of a corpus able to recognise not only mixed Egyptian Arabic-English speech (Hamed, Elmahdy & Abdennadher, 2018) but also orthographic, phonetic and morpho-syntactic potential linguistic features of a potential EgyE.

Potential linguistic features of EgyE are here shown on the basis of CAH (Lado, 1957) and thus through the comparison between the (Egyptian) Arabic language and the English language in one of its standardised forms, namely the BrE. Generally, the two languages share some linguistic features in phonetics and phonology, morphology, and syntax (Khan, 2013). However, an “exact equivalence is rather a mirage” (Thawabteh, 2013: 192) and many differences exist “between Arabic and English in almost all syntactical, morphological, phonological, lexical, and orthographical aspects (Ali, 2007; Sabbah, 2015). It is because of the two languages cross-linguistic differences that negative transfer and numerous linguistic interferences exist in EgyE performance producing a large gamut of potential linguistic innovations occurring at different levels, namely at the level of form (writing system and orthography), at the level of sound (pronunciation and accent), at the level of structure (grammatical and syntactical rules), and at the level of words (units of lexis, vocabulary, and word choice). With the aim of detecting potential linguistic variations at all these levels in the type of English spoken by Egyptians all similarities and differences between the two languages (Tajareh, 2015) are investigated with particular attention to linguistic features and strategies spontaneously adopted by Egyptians during their English written and oral performance such as omissions and simplification of phonological or morphosyntactic material, grammatical marking changes and substitutions, different suffixations (Muftah & Rafik-Galea, 2013), word-by-word translation from L1 to L2 (Baheej, 2015b), modification of the syntactical structures, lexical shifts, and introduction of English loanwords and calques.

In this work, the resulting linguistic forms are not regarded as ‘errors’ (Smokotin, Alekseyenko & Petrova, 2014) as in previous studies such as in Al-Jarf’s (2000, 2010), Huthaily’s (2003), Ali’s (2007) or Sabbah’s (2015) among others, who have based their contrastive analysis between Arabic and English on error detections mainly conceived as useful tools for translation studies. Conversely, starting from the concept that linguistic interferences can function as ‘language builders’ (Heine & Kuteva, 2005: 35) potentially involving the creation of something new (Schneider, 2007) and thus from the belief that “the interference of

both Arabic and English can result in the formation of new ethnic language which can be understood only by some members of the community” (Al-Sayadi, 2016: 3), the linguistic forms presented here are considered potentially acceptable and typical ‘variations’ made by Egyptian speakers of English mainly explained in terms of interferences from the L1 (Reynolds, 1993; Abdoulzhrara, Ismail & Yasin, 2018, among others) and adaptations of linguistic features from the English system into the (Egyptian) Arabic one and vice versa.

This linguistic contrastive analysis has been manually carried out and annotated. The resulting small linguistic corpus has been collected through informal interviews, message texts, chats on Facebook, and audio clips produced by a small sample of Egyptian English bilingual speakers discussing spontaneous and broad topics such as life experience, career, work, hobbies, love, fashion, traditions, etc. and through the analysis of natural occurring oral production in videos on YouTube and comments on Facebook. Attention to participants’ sociolinguistic parameters such as age and proficiency in English (Brogan & Son, 2015), gender, social level, education, and occupation is given. In detail, the interviewed are all young boys and girls from Cairo, Minya, Giza, Luxor, Mansura and Helwan, they are mainly engineers, schoolteachers, university professors, and Master or Ph.D. students. All of them are multilingual speakers with (Egyptian) Arabic as their mother tongue and English as their main foreign language in which almost all of them have a high level of proficiency but to which they have a limited language exposure.

### **3.7.3 A contrastive analysis and detection of typical variations of Egyptian English speakers**

#### ***Variation in form (the writing system and orthography)***

##### *The Franco language*

The first and most visible difference between the English and the (Egyptian) Arabic languages is certainly in their distinct writing system (Ali, 2007). Arabic is written from right to left while English, instead, is written from left to right. Moreover, the Arabic alphabet has different graphemes for the same letter depending on its position in the word, and exactly whether it is located at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the word (for example, ب b is written ب at the beginning, ب in the middle and ب in final position). In the English alphabet, this distinction does not exist, and English uses a unique graphemic form in any position. All these

dissimilarities in the writing systems might make the reading and writing processes in English difficult for ‘native’ Arabic users. Nevertheless, contrary to what happens to speakers of other Arabic areas, Egyptians are likely to struggle less with reading and writing in English because they are already familiar with the Latin/English alphabet. What is more, an attempt of replacing the Arabic letters with English ones (Yaghan, 2008) has been made with the principal aim of promoting the use of the colloquial language instead of CA (Yaghan, 2008) which is seen “as a language incapable of responding to the modern world” (Haeri, 2000: 63). Indeed, before the advent of the Internet, ECA was chiefly a spoken language, and if it appeared in written forms, it was in the Arabic script (Warschauer, El Said & Zohry, 2006, 2007). Currently, instead, the dialect is increasingly used especially on the Internet productions, and it had to adapt and approximate its graphemic form to the western text-based communication which “is less costly than [the] Arabic” (Yaghan, 2008: 46), more practical and sometimes even necessary due to the unavailability of Arabic language technological support (Yaghan, 2008; Albalooshi, Mohamed & Al-Jaroodi, 2011).

In this attempt, thus, a different writing form for the ECA has developed. It is referred to as Franco (or Franko) language or as *Arabizi* (عربيزي, Arabīzī) (Bianchi, 2011: 117-119) and it is characterised by the transliteration of Arabic alphabet into the English one using basic Latin script (ASCII) (Musa, 2012) and by the introduction of numerals to compensate Arabic letters that do not have an English counterpart. In detail, based on the similar shape between the Arabic grapheme and the number, the letters ح and ح are represented by 7 and 7' (or '7), the letter خ is represented by 5, the letters ع and غ are represented by 3 and 3' (or '3) and the stop ʔ is represented by the number 2. In addition, the number 8 is used to indicate the first person of the past tense of certain Egyptian Arabic verbs ending in -eet (ي-ت), and the symbol @ is used to indicate the plural form of some Egyptian Arabic nouns ending in -aat (ات-) (Yaghan, 2008). In addition, while transliterating from Arabic to English scripts, speakers very often introduce English loanwords such as *thanks*, *please*, *congratulation* (often abbreviated as *thnx*, *plz*, *congrats*) and so on. This last phenomenon of code-switching will be discussed later in this work.

Interestingly, the invention of this new written forms imply that Egyptians feel “a sense of having to adjust to English in their own country” (Edwards, 2016: 184 referring to English in the Netherlands). Indeed, it is perceived by Egyptians as their own way of writing English as understandable from I1’s and I23’s words who even claim that Franco language is the Egyptians’ “national English” and their ‘new way to talk English’:

I1: 3 here is ع We add our touch to English, cuz some letter in Arabic didn't spoke in English like ع ض خ We use num with English , it is franko Arabic 😊 It is our national English

I23: [...] Here in Egypt And many Arabic countries We use a vernacular I mean accent It is called Franco We use numbers and English letters but to write an arabic word [...] It is new way to talk English 🙄

With the invention of Franco language, with its adaptation of the English orthography and the occurrence of anglicism and anglography (James, 2014), a first innovation in the form implies:

- the anglicisation of the writing system:

(1) FBUser1: 7abebty loJiiO el2mar

(2) FBUser2: Fatma ana w enty awi Ima bnsbof 7aga 7elwa

FBUser1: awi awi awel ma4ofthom aftkrk awi

(3) FBUser3: mabroooooook ya fatomyy <3<3<3 rbna ytammlk 3la 5eer ya habibtyy w yfrah albkk

FBUser1.:7abebty mariorma elgamela allah ybark feky wys3dk yarb

However, Anglicisation of the alphabet and the use of Franco language as in examples (1), (2), and (3) is not the most spread writing form among Egyptians. It is a new “contemporary style of Arabic slang” (Yaghan, 2008) which is exclusively employed in very informal contexts and mainly among the youngest Egyptians who frequently use it to express themselves through writing on the Internet, in private messaging and in social networks but also “on the walls, illegally in most cases, in the current graffiti art [...]. Sometimes Arabizi also is incorporated in movie posters and music CD covers, mostly in the titles” (Yaghan, 2008: 46). Thus, Franco language, which is a totally informal and unofficial system, neither codified nor normalised, seems to be a new linguistic trend only among young Egyptians.

### *Capitalisation*

Variation in form also involves a different use of capital letters (Alenazi, 2018). In the Arabic language, capital letters do not exist. Texts are written only in a cursive script and no distinction between upper- and lower-case letters is made. Due to this difference, capital letters are not always used by Egyptian English users as required by StdE norms, so as for the first

personal pronoun *I* (5) (6) for the first word of a sentence (5) (7), after the full-stop, or for proper nouns as in *kilopatra* (4), *cesar*, *caullisium*, *totti* (6), names of the week as in *wenesaday* (7) months and seasons, national adjectives, names of cities or countries like *arabic* (4), *italy* and *rome* (6) (13) and so on. It is therefore common to find a mixture of capital and small letters within a sentence (8) giving an improper function and meaning to capital letters which are often employed with the aim of indicating yelling, excitement, emotions, or calls for special attention (Yaghan, 2008) as in the examples (8) and (9).

- a different use and function of capital and small letters:

- (4) I1: Waaw...you must act in **arabic** film. You can act as **kilopatra**
- (5) I11.: if you want **i** can share it with my friends
- (6) I2: No **italy** ....mean **cesr..caullisium ..totti**. Even **i** fascinated with **rome** empire. **Ceser...**  
**AuguSt...crazy neron...etc.** Roman empire the most effective civilization on mankind life
- (7) I1: I always went to the train in the same time every **wenesaday**
- (8) I18: oksam blah **Kont Ha2olk Hwa Dah** matlop
- (9) I1: I was **A**fraid of them

### *Punctuation*

Punctuation is used differently as well. Although in Arabic punctuation has been recently introduced as part of the writing system, little attention is still given to it. It is therefore common to find (Egyptian) Arabic English users not using enough full stops or comas or applying Arabic rules to English as it often occurs with the polysyndeton, with the reiteration of the conjunction *and* (translated from the Arabic *و*) replacing commas (10). EgyE users do not always use question or exclamation marks (11) and they do not even use apostrophes (12) where needed in StdE as in the following examples:

- a different use of punctuation marks:

- (10) I3: I've seen your post about Egyptian language **and** English language and it's very important topic for me **and** I'm very curious about that **and** as Egyptian I would love to help with that **and** I think I've some informations about that topic mybe it'll help
- (11) I10: **U r** in Cairo now \*[\*?]
- (12) I1: **dont** touch face. And before all if that **dont** panic

## Variation of sounds (pronunciation and accent)

### The alphabetical and phonetical system

The phonetic and phonological is the first level affected by language variation (Schneider, 2007) since “the native language distorts the signal [of the other language] at the phonetic level before ever reaching the grammar” (Reynolds, 2013).

Different languages just have certain sounds which do not exist in the others (Schneider, 2011) and/or they may have fewer or more sounds. In other words, two languages may have different phonetic and phonological systems. Between the English and the Arabic phoneme systems, the differences are above all in numbers: English has 26 letters for 46 phonemes (Porcelli & Hotimsky, 1997), meaning that there is an irregular relationship of letters and sounds (Alenazi, 2018), and it possesses 22 vocalic sounds, while the Arabic alphabet consists of 28 consonant letters (Huthaily, 2003) arbitrarily corresponding to 28 consonant phonemes (Al-Jarf, 1994a), and 6 vowel sounds (Hamdi, 2017). In the Arabic alphabet, there are extra letters, the emphatic ض (ḍ), ص (ṣ), ط (ṭ), ظ (ẓ), ح (ḥ), ء (ʿ), which do not exist in the English alphabet (Yacoub, 2016) even if, actually, these sounds are more familiar to English speakers than they think and, for example, the ḍ, ṣ, ṭ sounds are like the fortis /d/, /s/, /t/ at the beginning of English words such as in *double*, *salt*, *Tom* and the ʿ /ʔ/ is basically a glottal stop which is actually a very common sound in English (Al-Jarf, 1994a) and which occurs in words beginning with a vowel to which a special prominence is given as in *he is [ʔ]always kind*.

Similarly, in the English alphabet, there are letters that do not exist in Arabic such as *p* and *v* and, as a consequence, Egyptians have some difficulties in pronouncing these English consonant sounds, or they often reproduce them differently with respect to the StdE pronunciation.

ا	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز
zaay	raa'	dhaal	daal	khaa'	Haa'	jiim	thaa'	taa'	baa'	'alif
س	ش	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع	غ			
ghayn	3ayn	Zaa'	Taa'	Daad	Saad	shiin	siin			
ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	و	ي		
yaa'	waaw	haa'	nuun	miim	laam	kaaf	qaaf	faa'		

A	B	C	D	E
[eɪ]	[bi:]	[si:]	[di:]	[i:]
F	G	H	I	J
[ef]	[dʒi:]	[etʃ]	[aɪ]	[dʒeɪ]
K	L	M	N	O
[keɪ]	[el]	[em]	[en]	[əʊ]
P	Q	R	S	T
[pi:]	[kju:]	[ɑ:]	[es]	[ti:]
U	V	W		
[ju:]	[vi:]	[dʌbəlju:]		
X	Y	Z		
[eks]	[waɪ]	[zed/zi:]		

Figure 42 Arabic alphabet VS English alphabet

Still more interesting is the difference in the two languages' vowel systems. The Arabic vowel system consists of only 3 vowels, namely *a*, *u* and *i* which can be long, reproduced by the graphemes <sup>ا</sup> (alif), <sup>و</sup> (waw) and <sup>ي</sup> (yā') or short, defined by the diacritic signs <sup>َ</sup> (fathah), <sup>ِ</sup> (dammah) and <sup>ِ</sup> (kasra) forming the vowel pairs /a:/, /i:/ and /u:/ and their counterparts /æ/, /ɪ/, and /ʊ/. In addition, there are two diphthongs *ay* /aj/ like in the word بيت (bait) *house*, and *aw* /aw/ like in the word لوج (lawġ), *stone*. However, these are the characteristics of the MSA vowel system, while the Egyptian dialect differs in the pronunciation and reproduction of some vowel sounds. Indeed, due to the influence of foreign languages, especially French and English, the Egyptian Arabic vowel system is more varied. Egyptians, indeed, pronounce the short vowels *a* or *u* in diverse ways: *a* can be reproduced either /e/, /ɛ/ or /æ/ and *u* can be reproduced either /ɑ/, /ʊ/ or /ɔ:/. The English vowel system is much more complicated: there are 15 vocalic sounds among short sound and long sounds, in detail, /ɑ/, /ʌ/, /a/, /æ/, /ɛ/, /ɜ/, /ə/, /e/, /ɐ/, /ɔ:/, /o:/, /i:/, /ɪ/, /ʊ/, /u:/ and 8 diphthongs, namely /eɪ/, /ɪə/, /eə/, /ʊə/, /ɔɪ/, /aɪ/, /aʊ/ and /əʊ/ (Figure 43).

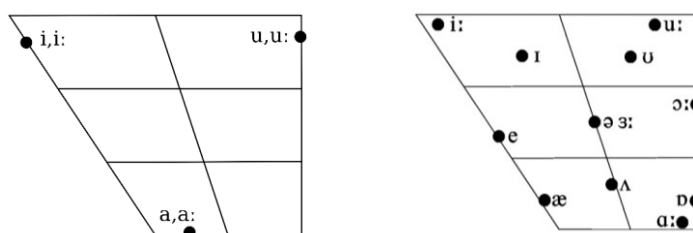


Figure 43 Standard Arabic vowel system VS Standard English vowel system

Predictably, due to these fundamental differences between the (Egyptian) Arabic and the English phonetic systems, Egyptians have great difficulties in processing English words (Ryan & Meara, 1991) since they cannot handle phonological distinctions that are not made in Arabic (Ryan & Meara, 1991). This leads to the spontaneous use of compensative strategies such as omission, simplification, or substitutions which make the way Egyptians use English diversified from the way it is spoken in its standardised forms with a variance in pronunciation (Khan, 2015) and spelling of English words (Alenazi, 2018). Variances and compensative phonetic strategies are analysed more in detail in the following pages.

### Consonants

As for consonant sounds, the most common compensative strategies leading to variations in pronunciation of English consonants by Egyptians include:



- the substitution of the interdental, fricative, voiceless /θ/ sound with sibilants /s/ or /z/ as in the words *Thursday* /'θɜ:zdeɪ/ pronounced \*/'serezdeɪ/ (13), *thing* /θɪŋ/ pronounced /zɪŋk/ (14), *thank* /θæŋk/ pronounced \*/sæŋk/ (15), or *thesis* /'θi:sɪs/ pronounced \*/'zi:sɪs/ (27).

(13) I1: Every Thursday I have to teach a graduation design studio in one of the design academy here in Egypt. I am so tired.

- ♦ EgyE: /'ɛvri 'serezdeɪ aɪ hæv tu: ti:tʃ ə ,græðoæ'ʃɒn dɪ'zɑ:n 'stu:diɒ in wʌn ɒv zə dɪ'zɑ:n ə'kkademi ɪər ɪn 'ɛ:dʒɪpt. aɪm sɒ 'taɪəd/
- ♦ StdE:/'ɛvri 'θɜ:zdeɪ aɪ hæv tu: ti:tʃ ə ,grædʒʊ'eɪʃən dɪ'zɑ:n 'stju:diəʊ ɪn wʌn ɒv ðə dɪ'zɑ:n ə'kædəmi hɪər ɪn 'i:dʒɪpt. aɪm səʊ 'taɪəd/

(14) I2: this is an important, a very important thing

- ♦ EgyE: /zɪs ɪz ən ɪm'pɔ:rtant, ə 'veri ɪm'pɔ:rtant zɪŋk/
- ♦ StdE:/ðɪs ɪz ən ɪm'pɔ:tənt, ə 'veri ɪm'pɔ:tənt θɪŋ/

(15) I1: Thank you, thank you. I miss you.

- ♦ EgyE: /sæŋk ju:, sæŋk ju:. aɪ mɪs ju:/
- ♦ StdE: /θæŋk ju:, θæŋk ju:. aɪ mɪs ju:/

- the production of the interdental, fricative, voiced /ð/ as alveolar, plosive /t/ and /d/ or as sibilant /z/ such as in the word *that* /ðæt/ pronounced \*/dæt/ (16), *the* /ðe/ pronounced \*/ze/ or \*/zɒ/ (sometimes \*/de/)<sup>17</sup>, *there* /ðeər/ pronounced \*/de:r/ (sometimes \*/ze:r/) (17), *other* /'ʌðə/ pronounced \*/'azer/ (19), *this* /ðɪs/ pronounced \*/zɪs/, *brother* /'brʌðə/ pronounced \*/'bræzər/ (20) or *ethic* /'ɛθɪk / pronounced \*/'ɛdɪk/ (20).

(16) I2: we can say that you want to know how we can express anything in Arabic

- ♦ EgyE: /wi: kæn seɪ dæt ju: wɒnt tu: nəʊ haʊ wi: kæn ɪks'pres 'enɪsɪŋk ɪn 'ærabɪk/
- ♦ StdE: /wi: kæn seɪ ðæt ju: wɒnt tu: nəʊ haʊ wi: kæn ɪks'pres 'enɪθɪŋ ɪn 'ærabɪk/

(17) Video: the more stress there is going to be the more depression you are more likely to have

- ♦ EgyE: /de mɔ: strɛs de:r ɪz 'gɔ:ŋg tu: bi: de mɔ: de'preʃən ju: ɑ:r mɔ:r 'laɪkli tu: hæ:v

<sup>17</sup> Egyptian English speakers do not maintain the allomorphic forms of the StdE definite article *the* pronounced /ðə/ before consonants and /ði/ before vowels.

- ♦ StdE: /ðə mə: stɪs ðeər ɪz 'gəʊɪŋ tu: bi: ðə mə: dɪ'prɛʃən ju: ɑ: mə: 'laɪkli tu: hæv/

(18) I3: Are you sure you are from Italy? Not from other country or something?

- ♦ EgyE: /ɑ:r ju: ʃɔ:r ju: ɑ:r frɒm 'ɪtali? nɒt frɒm 'azer 'kantri ɔ:r 'sɑmsɪŋk?/
- ♦ StdE: /ɑ: ju: ʃʊə ju: ɑ: frɒm 'ɪtəli? nɒt frɒm 'ʌðə 'kʌntri ɔ: 'sʌmθɪŋ?/

(19) Video: Hello everybody, this is Brother Khalid

- ♦ EgyE: /hɛ'lə 'ɛvrɪbɒdi, zɪs ɪz 'brʌðə Xɑ:lɪd/
- ♦ StdE: /hɛ'ləʊ 'ɛvrɪbɒdi, ðɪs ɪz 'brʌðə Xɑ:lɪd/

(20) Video: the more ethic you are going to have the more stress there is going to be

- ♦ EgyE: /zə mə:r 'ɛdɪk ju: ɑ:r 'gɔɪŋ tu: hæ:v zə mə:r stɪs zɛr 'gɔɪŋ tu: bɪ/
- ♦ StdE: /ðə mə:r 'ɛθɪk ju: ɑ: 'gəʊɪŋ tu: hæv ðə mə: stɪs ðeər ɪz 'gəʊɪŋ tu: bi:/

- the swapping of /p/ with /b/ (Al-Sayadi, 2016)

Since in (Egyptian) Arabic there exist only the ب /b/ letter, the bilabial, plosive, voiceless /p/ is pronounced as the bilabial, plosive, voiced /b/ such as in the word *hope* /həʊp/ pronounced \*/**ɒb**/ (21), *problems* /'prɒbləmz/ pronounced \*/**br**ɒbləmz/ (22), *example* /ɪg'zɑ:mpl/ pronounced \*/**ɛg**'zɑ:mbɪ/ (23), or *compressed* /kəm'prɛst/ pronounced \*/**gam**'brɛsd/ (25).

(21) I1: I hope you are fine. Tell me what is what is your adventure.

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ **ɒb** ju: ɑ:r faɪn. tɛl mi: wɒt ɪz wɒt ɪz jɔ:r ad'ventʃər /
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ həʊp ju: ɑ: faɪn. tɛl mi: wɒt ɪz wɒt ɪz jɔ:r əd'ventʃə/

(22) Video: We have to eliminate the money. The less money, the less problems.

- ♦ EgyE: /wi: hæv tu: ɪ'llɪmɪneɪt zə 'mʌni. zə lɛs 'mʌni, zə lɛs '**br**ɒbləmz/
- ♦ StdE: /wi: hæv tu: ɪ'limɪneɪt ðə 'mʌni. ðə lɛs 'mʌni, ðə lɛs 'prɒbləmz/

(23) I2: I giveli to you another example like when I tell you a secret

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ 'gɪvli tu: ju: a'nɒzər ɛg'zɑ:mbɪ laɪk wɛn aɪ tɛl ju: a 'sɛ:kɪrɛt/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ 'gɪvli tu: ju: ə'nʌðər ɪg'zɑ:mp(ə)l laɪk wɛn aɪ tɛl ju: ə 'si:kɪrɪt/

This also influences orthography, and it is not uncommon to read words such as *bdf* instead of *pdf*.

(24) I20: It will not be useful to stay **bdf**

- the swapping of the dental, plosive /d/ into /t/, especially at the end of words as in *compressed* /kəm'prest/ pronounced \*/gam'bresd/ (25), *good* /gud/ pronounced \*/got/ (26) or *based* /beist/ pronounced \*/besd/ (27).

(25) I1: I feel like I am very compressed

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ fi:l laɪk aɪ æm 'veri gam'bresd/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ fi:l laɪk aɪ æm 'veri kəm'prest/

(26) I1: Good, good. I know HR.

- ♦ EgyE: /got, gut. aɪ nəʊ eɪf-a:r/
- ♦ StdE: /gud, gud. aɪ nəʊ eɪf-a:/

(27) I1: we plan to work on the Ph.D., eem, as a paper-based thesis

- ♦ EgyE: /wi: blæn tu: wɔ:rk ɒn de breɪfdɪ, eem, æz ə 'beber besd 'zi:sɪs/
- ♦ StdE: /wi: plæn tu: wɜ:k ɒn ðə pɪeɪfdɪ, eem, æz ə 'peɪpə beɪst 'θi:sɪs/

- the use of the palato-alveolar, fricative /ʒ/ replacing the velar, plosive sound /g/ or the palatal, affricate sound /dʒ/ as in the word *colleague* /'kɒli:g/ pronounced \*/kɒ'li:ʒ/ (28) or *strategy* /'strætɪdʒi/ pronounced \*/'stratɪʒi/ (29).

(28) I1: I will ask one of my colleague for you

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ wɪl ɑ:sk wʌn ɒf maɪ 'kɒli:ʒ fɔ:r ju:/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ wɪl ɑ:sk wʌn ɒv maɪ kɒ'li:g fɔ: ju:/

(29) I1: I need to make a human resource strategy

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ ni:d tu: meɪk ə 'hju:mən rɪ'sɔ:rs 'strætɪʒi/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ ni:d tu: meɪk ə 'hju:mən rɪ'sɔ:s 'strætɪdʒi/

- the palatal-alveolar, fricative, voiced /ʒ/ is mostly pronounced as the palatal-alveolar, fricative, voiceless /ʃ/ as in the words *usual* /'ju:ʒʊəl/ pronounced \*/'u:ʃʊəl/ (30) or *decision* /dɪ'sɪʒən/ pronounced \*/dɪ'sɪʃən/ (31).

(30) I1: I start teaching in another university as a part-time job beside my usual one.

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ stɑ:rt 'ti:ʃɪŋ ɪn ə'nədər ,u:nɪ've:rsɪti æz ə bɑ:rt-taɪm dʒɒb bɪ'saɪd maɪ 'u:ʃʊəl wʌn/

- ♦ STdE: /aɪ stɑ:t 'ti:ʃɪŋ ɪn ə'nʌðə 'ju:nɪ'vɜ:sɪti æz ə pɑ:t-taɪm dʒɒb bɪ'saɪd maɪ 'ju:ʒəʊəl wʌn/

(31) I2: when I told you a serious eee, serious decision

- ♦ EgyE: /wɛn aɪ tɔld ju: ə 'sɛrɪəs eee, 'sɛrɪəs dɪ'sɪʃən/
- ♦ StdE: /wɛn aɪ təʊld ju: ə 'sɪərɪəs eee, 'sɪərɪəs dɪ'sɪʒən/

- the palatal, affricate, voiced /dʒ/ is pronounced as the palatal, affricate, voiceless /tʃ/ as in the word *page* /peɪdʒ/ which is pronounced \*/peɪtʃ/ (32) or *language* /'læŋgwɪdʒ/ pronounced \*/'læŋgwɪtʃ/ (33)

(32) I2: you can send the first page.

- ♦ EgyE: /ju: kæn sɛnt zə fe:rst peɪtʃ/
- ♦ StdE: /ju: kæn sɛnd ðə fɜ:st peɪdʒ/

(33) I1: she is a professor of Spanish language

- ♦ EgyE: /ʃi: ɪz ə brɔ'fɛsər ɒf 'spænɪʃ 'læŋgwɪtʃ/
- ♦ StdE: /ʃi: ɪz ə prə'fɛsər ɒv 'spæniʃ 'læŋgwɪdʒ/

- the back-velar, nasal /ŋ/ sound is pronounced /ŋg/, sometimes devoiced /ŋk/ with the addition of an extra velar, plosive sound /g/ or /k/ as in the words *testing* /'testɪŋ/ pronounced \*/'testɪŋg/ (34), *going* /'gəʊɪŋ/ pronounced \*/'gəʊɪŋg/ (35) or *working* /'wɜ:kɪŋ/ pronounced \*/'wɜ:kɪŋk/ (36).

(34) I1: Testing my language

- ♦ EgyE: /'testɪŋg maɪ 'læŋgwɪdʒ/
- ♦ StdE: /'testɪŋ maɪ 'læŋgwɪdʒ/

(35) I1: now, I am going to eat

- ♦ EgyE: /naʊ, aɪ æm 'gəʊɪŋ tu: i:t/
- ♦ StdE: /naʊ, aɪ æm 'gəʊɪŋ tu: i:t/

(36) I1: I'm working on some designs

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪm ɒn maɪ ɒm aɪm 'wɜ:rkɪŋk ɒn sʌm dɪ'zainz/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪm ɒn maɪ həʊm aɪm 'wɜ:kɪŋ ɒn sʌm dɪ'zainz/

- the English palato-alveolar /r/ becomes vibrant

In Arabic the /r/ is ‘rolled’ and clearly (sometimes even strongly) spelled also where its sound is weak or inexistent in the StdE pronunciation as in the words *dirty* /'dɜ:ti/ or *car* /kɑ:/ pronounced \*/'de:rti/ and \*/kɑ:r/ (37), *after* /'ɑ:ftə/ and *dinner* /'dɪnə/ pronounced \*/'ɑ:fter/ and \*/'dɪner/ (38) or *articles* /'ɑ:tɪklz/ pronounced \*/'ɑ:rtɪkelz/ (39).

(37) I2: when you make something in dirty way but look from a way good like cleaning, when you clean a car.

- ♦ EgyE: /wɛn ju: meɪk 'sɑmsɪŋk ɪn 'de:rti weɪ bʌt lʊk frɒm ə weɪ gʊd laɪk 'kli:nɪŋ, wɛn ju: kli:ŋ ə kɑ:r/
- ♦ StdE: /wɛn ju: meɪk 'sɑmθɪŋ ɪn 'dɜ:ti weɪ bʌt lʊk frɒm ə weɪ gʊd laɪk 'kli:nɪŋ, wɛn ju: kli:n ə kɑ:/

(38) I1: after some minutes I will go to my family house to take the dinner

- ♦ EgyE: /'ɑ:ftɛr sɑm 'mɪnɪts əɪ wɪl gʊ tu: mɑɪ 'fɑmɪli əʊs tu: teɪk de 'dɪnɛr/
- ♦ StdE: /'ɑ:ftə sɑm 'mɪnɪts əɪ wɪl gəʊ tu: mɑɪ 'fæmɪli haʊs tu: teɪk ðə 'dɪnə/

(39) I1: I'm waiting to read your articles

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪm 'weɪtɪŋ tu: ri:d jɔ:r 'ɑ:rtɪkelz/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪm 'weɪtɪŋ tu: ri:d jɔ:r 'ɑ:tɪklz/

- velarisation of the /h/ sound in initial position as in the word *home* /həʊm/ pronounced \*/xɒm/ (44)

(40) I1: now I'm going on my way to home

- ♦ EgyE: /naʊ aɪm 'gʊɪŋ ɒn mɑɪ weɪ tu: xɒm/
- ♦ StdE: /naʊ aɪm 'gəʊɪŋ ɒn mɑɪ weɪ tu: həʊm.

- gemination

In English, gemination never occurs within a word whereas it is very frequent in Arabic in which it is marked by the /ّ/ shadda placed above the geminated letter (Alenazi, 2018). The consonants /m/, /d/, /t/, /l/, and /k/ may be considered as geminates by Egyptians (Al-Athwary, 2017) who tend to transfer their gemination of double consonants to English (El-Jarf, 1994) as it is hearable in the words *academy*

/ə'kædəmi/ pronounced as \*/a'kkadəmi/ (41) or *eliminate* /ɪ'lɪmɪneɪt/ pronounced \*/ɪ'ɪɪmɪneɪt/ (42).

(41) I1: Thursday I have to teach a graduation design studio in one of the design academy here in Egypt. I am so tired.

- ♦ EgyE: /'serezdeɪ aɪ hæv tu: tɪ:tʃ ə ,grædʊæ'ʃʊn dɪ'zɑɪn 'stu:diʊ in wʌn ʊv ze dɪ'zɑɪn ə 'kkadəmi ɪər ɪn 'ɛ:ʤɪpt. aɪm sʊ 'taɪəd/
- ♦ StdE: /'θɜ:zdeɪ aɪ hæv tu: tɪ:tʃ ə ,grædʒʊ'eɪʃən dɪ'zɑɪn 'stju:diʊ in wʌn ʊv ðə dɪ'zɑɪn ə'kædəmi hɪər ɪn 'i:ʤɪpt. aɪ æm səʊ 'taɪəd/

(42) Video: We have to eliminate the money. The less money, the less problems.

- ♦ EgyE: /wi: hæv tu: ɪ'lɪmɪneɪt zə 'mʌni. zə les 'mʌni, zə les 'brɒblemz/
- ♦ StdE: /wi: hæv tu: ɪ'lɪmɪneɪt ðə 'mʌni. ðə les 'mʌni, ðə les 'prɒbləmz/

- declusterisation phenomenon: epenthesis (Bowen, 2011) and anaptyxis (Hamdi, 2017).

Because Arabic has one letter for each sound, and that there are no silent letters (Alenazi, 2018) in the middle of Arabic words (Khan, 2013), Egyptians find it difficult to notice missing or weak sounds in the pronunciation of an English word and for this reason, to avoid cacophonous sounds (Yacoub, 2016), an extra sound is added to reduce consonant clusters as in the word *example* /ɪg'zɑ:mp(ə)l/ pronounced \*/ɛg'zɑ:mbɛl/ (43) where the anaptyctic vowel (Al-Athwary, 2017) /ɛ/ is inserted in the final /pl/ cluster.

More generally, an extra sound is also added to avoid a group of letters which would be difficult to pronounce as in *compared* /kəm'peəd/ pronounced with an extra consonant sound /r/ \*/kum'bareɪd/ (44) or *Thursday* /'θɜ:zdeɪ/ pronounced /'serezdeɪ/ (45).

(43) I2: I giveli to you another example like when I tell you a secret.

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ 'gɪvli tu: ju: ə'nʊzər ɛg'zɑ:mbɛl laɪk wɪn aɪ tɛl ju: ə 'sɛ:kret /
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ 'gɪvli tu: ju: ə'nʌðər ɪg'zɑ:mp(ə)l laɪk wɛn aɪ tɛl ju: ə 'si:kri:t/

(44) I2: compared from Arabic and English

- ♦ EgyE: /kum'bareɪd frɒm 'arabɪk ænd 'ɪŋɡlɪs/
- ♦ StdE: /kəm'peəd frɒm 'ærəbɪk ænd 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ/

- (45) I1: Every Thursday I have to teach a graduation design studio
- ♦ EgyE: /'ɛvri 'sɛrɛzdeɪ aɪ hæv tu: ti:ʃ a ,grædʊæ'ʃɒn di'zɑm 'stu:diʊ/
  - ♦ StdE: /'ɛvri 'θɜ:zdeɪ aɪ hæv tu: ti:ʃ ə ,grædʒʊ'eɪʃən di'zɑm 'stju:diəʊ/

This phenomenon also affects orthography as it is evident in the words Wednesday /'wɛnzdeɪ/ spelled <wenesaday> (46) or *Cleopatra* spelled <kilopatra> (4).

- (46) I1: I always went to the train in the same time every wenesaday

To be noticed that the intrusive vowel in a declusterisation phenomenon is usually short (Al-Athwary, 2017).

In addition, contrary to Al-Athwary's (2017) study results, no prefixation of prosthetic syllable *ʔi-* is noted in this analysis maybe because Egyptian tend to maintain the initial cluster of foreign vocabulary (Al-Qinai, 2000) as in *strategy* /'strætɪdʒi/ pronounced \*/'stratɪʒi/ (29) and not /ʔi'stratɪʒi/.

- clusterisation phenomenon: elision and 'vowel blindness' (Hamdi, 2017: 20)  
(Egyptian) Arabic “does not have the facility to distinguish between vowels and consonants in the same way English does” (Alasmari, Watson & Atwell, 2017: 12) because in the Arabic linguistic system there are no proper vowels, but diacritics are used instead as a guide to pronunciation. Due to the absence of an independent written form for vowels in Arabic, when Egyptians read an English word containing vowels they could feel “faced with too much information” (Ryan & Meara, 1991: 533). Thus, due to their non-dependence on the writing of vowels explicitly they tend to rely on consonants and to neglect vowel sounds when writing and speaking English (Khan, 2013). This affects their spelling and pronunciation results (Alenazi, 2018) as it occurs in the word *Corona* spelled as <crona> (47) or in the word *comfortable* /'kʌmf(ə)təbl/ pronounced \*/'kamfatbl/ (48). This phenomenon is referred to as 'vowel blindness' (Khan, 2013: 233).

- (47) I1: They are closed cuz of c\*rona

- (48) I19: a good place, where I am at ease, comfortable, feeling comfortable?

- ♦ EgyE: /a gud pleis, we:r ai æm æt i:z, 'kamfat\*bl, 'fi:lɪŋg 'kamfat\*bl?/
- ♦ StdE: /ə gud pleis, weər ai æm æt i:z, 'kʌmf(ə)təbl, 'fi:lɪŋ 'kʌmf(ə)təbl?/

As for both vowel insertion and deletion, these two compensative strategies seem to follow a fair degree of regularity. However, there is not a fixed phonological criterion to predict the exact corresponding phoneme (Hamdi, 2017).

### *Vowels*

Mainly because English has about three times as many vowel sounds as Arabic and that in English, there is not an arbitrary vowel-sound correspondence (Khan, 2013), when Egyptians speak English, they inevitably change the vowel quality. The production of the incorrect segmental vowel sounds by Egyptians (Al-Jarf, 1994a) contributes to the following variations:

- the undistinguished pronunciation of vowel sounds in minimal pairs.

Egyptians found it difficult to distinguish some vowel sounds. Consequently, they may not be able to discriminate between some English minimal pairs such as predictable from the words *bad* /bæd/ pronounced as *bed* (/bɛd/) (49) or *ship* (/ʃɪp/) pronounced as *sheep* /ʃi:p/ (50) and so on.

- (49) I2: Maybe my English is very bad, but I try to understand what you say

- ♦ EgyE: /'meɪbi: maɪ 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ ɪz 'vɛri bɛd bʌt aɪ traɪ tu: ʌndə:r'stænd wɒt ju: seɪ/
- ♦ StdE: /'meɪbi: maɪ 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ ɪz 'vɛri bæd bʌt aɪ traɪ tu: ʌndə'stænd wɒt ju: seɪ/

- (50) I1: I was in a long relationship and it ends.

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ wɒz ɪn ə lɒŋ re'læʃənʃɪ:p ænd ɪt endz/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ wɒz ɪn ə lɒŋ rɪ'leɪʃənʃɪp ænd ɪt endz/

- the use of the open-mid front vowel /æ/ instead of the diphthong /eɪ/ such as in the words *maybe* /'meɪbi:/ pronounced \*/'mæbi:/ (51), *lazy* /'leɪzi/ pronounced \*/'læzi/ (52), *pronunciation* /prəˌnʌnsɪ'eɪʃən/ pronounced \*/brɒˌnɒnsɪ'æʃən/ (53) *relationship* /rɪ'leɪʃənʃɪp/ pronounced \*/re:læʃənʃɪ:p/ (50), or *isolated* /'aɪsəleɪtɪd/ pronounced \*/'aɪsɒlətɛd/ (54), *wake up* /weɪk ap/ pronounced /wæk ap/ (62).

- (51) I1: Maybe is a temperature is not like German or Italy but it is cold comparing with Egypt weather



- ♦ EgyE: /'mæbi: ɪz ə 'tæmp'reɪfər ɪz nɒt laɪk 'dʒe:rmən ɔ:r 'etali bʌt ɪt ɪz kə:ld kəm'peəriŋ wɪz ɛ' dʒɪpt 'wezər/
- ♦ StdE: /'meɪbi: ɪz ə 'tæmp'reɪfər ɪz nɒt laɪk 'dʒɜ:mən ɔ:r 'ɪtəli bʌt ɪt ɪz kəʊld kəm'peəriŋ wɪð 'i:dʒɪpt 'weðə/

(52) I1: I afraid people will be lazy to complete

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ ə'fræd 'bi:bəl wɪl bi: 'læzi tu: kəm'bli:t/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ ə'freɪd 'pi:pl wɪl bi: 'leɪzi tu: kəm'pli:t/

(53) I3: your pronunciation is very well, you know? It is like an Arab girl ..?.. .

- ♦ EgyE: /jɔ: brʊ,nɒnsɪ'æʃən ɪz 'veri wɛl, ju: nəʊ? ɪt ɪz laɪk ən 'ærəb ge:rl ..?/
- ♦ StdE: /jɔ: prə,nʌnsɪ'eɪʃən ɪz 'veri wɛl, ju: nəʊ? ɪt ɪz laɪk ən 'ærəb gɜ:l ..?.. . jɛs, ɪts 'veri gʊd/

- the use of the open-mid front vowel /æ/ for the open-mid back /ʌ/, sometimes even replaced by the close back /u/, such as in the word *uncle* /'ʌŋk(ə)l/ pronounced \*/'æŋkəl/ (sometimes \*/'uŋkəl/) (54).

(54) I1: My uncle died by covid 19 and I am isolated

- ♦ EgyE: /maɪ 'æŋkəl daɪd baɪ 'kɒvɪd 'nɑ:n'ti:n ænd aɪ æm 'aɪsələtəd/
- ♦ StdE: /maɪ 'ʌŋk(ə)l daɪd baɪ 'kəʊvɪd 'nɑ:n'ti:n ænd aɪ æm 'aɪsələtɪd/

- the lowering of the open-mid back /ʌ/ towards the more open sound /ɒ/ as in the word *another* /ə'nʌðə/ pronounced \*/'a'nɒdə/ (55)

(55) I1: Do you have any, do you have any another time

- ♦ EgyE: /du: ju: hæv 'eni, du: ju: hæv 'eni ə'nɒdə taɪm/
- ♦ StdE: /du: ju: hæv 'eni, du: ju: hæv 'eni ə'nʌðə taɪm/

- the lowering of the /ɪ/ sound to the close-mid front vowel /ɛ/ as in the words *exam* /ɪg'zæm/ pronounced \*/'ɛg'zæm/ (56), *will* /wɪl/ pronounced \*/'wɛl/ (57), *Egypt* /'i:dʒɪpt/ pronounced \*/'ɛ:dʒɪpt/ (58), or *secret* /'si:kri:t/ pronounced \*/'sɛ:kri:t/ (59).

(56) I1: in the University I have just finished the exam, my examination period.

- ♦ EgyE: /ænd ɪn ze 'azər saɪd, ɪn zə 'ju:nɪ've:rsɪti aɪ dʒʌst 'fɪnɪʃ ze ɛg'zæm, maɪ ɛg'zæmɪ'neɪʃən 'berɪəd/

- ♦ StdE: /ænd in ði 'lðə saɪd, in ðə ˌjuːnɪ'vɜːsɪti aɪ dʒʌst 'fɪnɪʃt ði ɪg'zæm, maɪ ɪgˌzæmɪ'neɪʃən 'pɪəriəd/

(57) I1: They will graduate after three weeks.

- ♦ EgyE: /zeɪ wəl 'gradʊet 'ɑːftə sɪː wiːks/
- ♦ StdE: /ðeɪ wɪl 'grædʒʊət 'ɑːftə θriː wiːks/

(58) I1: Thursday I have to teach a graduation design studio in one of the design academy here in Egypt. I am so tired.

- ♦ EgyE: /'serezdeɪ aɪ hæv tuː tiːʃ a ˌgrædʊæ'ʃʊn dɪ'zain 'stuːdiʊ in wʌn ʊv ze dɪ'zain a'kkademi ɪər in 'ɛːdʒɪpt. aɪm sʊ 'taɪrd/
- ♦ StdE: /'θɜːzdeɪ aɪ hæv tuː tiːʃ ə ˌgrædʒʊ'eɪʃən dɪ'zain 'stjuːdiʊ in wʌn ʊv ðə dɪ'zain ə'kædəmi hɪər in 'iːdʒɪpt. aɪ æm səʊ 'taɪrd/

(59) I2: fɪ sakrata which mean 'in secret'.

- ♦ EgyE: / fɪ sakrata wɪʃ miːn in 'sɛːkrɛt/
- ♦ StdE: /(fɪ sakrata) wɪʃ miːn in 'siːkrɪt/

- the use of the /ɪ/ sound instead of the close-mid front vowel /e/ as in the word *lesson* /'lɛsn/ pronounced \*/'lɪsn/ (60).

(60) Video: Today's lesson is inspired by Broder biggest most notorious ...?..

- ♦ EgyE: /tʊ'deɪz 'lɪsn ɪz in 'spairəd baɪ 'brʌzər 'bɪgɪst mɔːrɪst nɔː'tɔːrɪəs ..?../
- ♦ StdE: /tə'deɪz 'lɛsn ɪz in 'spairəd baɪ 'brʌðə 'bɪgɪst məʊst nəʊ'tɔːrɪəs ..?../

- the use of the open-mid front /e/ replacing the diphthong /aɪ/ such as in the word *afraid* /ə'freɪd/ pronounced \*/a'frɛd/ (61), and the diphthong /eə/ as in the word *repairing* /rɪ'peəriŋ/ pronounced as \*/ rɛ'pəriŋ/ (62).

(61) I1: I afraid people will be lazy to complete

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ a'frɛd 'biːbəl wɪl biː 'læzi tuː kɒm'pliːt/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ ə'freɪd 'piːpl wɪl biː 'leɪzi tuː kəm'pliːt/

(62) I1: I wake up and now on the car service agent Repairing my car

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ wæk ap ænd naʊ ɒn zə kɑːr 'sɜːrvɪs 'ædʒænt rɛ'pəriŋ maɪ kɑːr/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ weɪk ʌp ænd naʊ ɒn ðə kɑː 'sɜːvɪs 'eɪdʒənt rɪ'pəriŋ maɪ kɑːr/

- the use of the open back vowel /ɒ/ replacing the central /ə/ when it is in between two consonants as in the word *uncle* /'ʌŋk(ə)l/ pronounced \*/'æŋk**ɒ**l/ (54) or *complete* /kəm'pli:t/ pronounced /k**ɒ**m'bli:t/ (61), *mission* /'mɪʃən/ pronounced \*/mɪʃ**ɒ**n/ (66).
- the use of the open back vowel /ɒ/ or of the low-mid back /ɔ:/ replacing the diphthong /əʊ/ when it is in a central position as in the words *phonetics* /fəʊ'netɪks/ pronounced /f**ɒ**'netɪks/ (63), *cold* /kəʊld/ pronounced /k**ɔ:**ld/ (64), *hope* /həʊp/ pronounced \*/**ɒ**b/ (64), *going* /'gəʊɪŋ/ pronounced /'g**ɒ**ɪŋg/ (40) and *studio* /'stju:drəʊ/ pronounced /'stu:dr**ɒ**/ (58) but also in final position as in *so* /səʊ/ pronounced /s**ɔ:**/ (65) and *also* /'ɔ:lsəʊ/ pronounced /'ɔ:ls**ɒ**/ (65).

(63) Khaled K: Testing my language, my phonetics

- ♦ EgyE: /'tɛstɪŋ maɪ 'læŋgwɪdʒ, maɪ f**ɒ**'netɪks/
- ♦ StdE: /'tɛstɪŋ maɪ 'læŋgwɪdʒ, maɪ fəʊ'netɪks/

(64) I1: I hope you are fine. Tell me what is what is your adventure.

- EgyE: /aɪ **ɒ**b ju: ɑ:r faɪn. tɛl mi: wɒt ɪz wɒt ɪz jɔ:r ad'ventʃər /  
StdE: /aɪ həʊp ju: ɑ: faɪn. tɛl mi: wɒt ɪz wɒt ɪz jɔ:r əd'ventʃə/

(65) Khaled K: The weather here is so cold also, eehm, or there's a feeling of cold is very high.

- ♦ EgyE: /zə 'wɪzər hɪər ɪz sɒ kɔ:ld 'ɔ:lsɒ, eehm, ɔ:r derz ə 'fi:lɪŋ ɒf kɔ:ld ɪz 'veri haɪ/
- ♦ StdE: /ðə 'weðə hɪər ɪz səʊ kəʊld 'ɔ:lsəʊ, eehm, ɔ: ðeəz ə 'fi:lɪŋ ɒv kəʊld ɪz 'veri haɪ/

- the use of the diphthong /oʊ/ instead of the diphthong /əʊ/ when it is in final position as in the word *follow* /'fɒləʊ/ pronounced \*/'fɒl**ɒ**ʊ/ (66), *tomorrow* /tə'mɒrəʊ/ pronounced \*/tu'mɒrr**ɒ**ʊ/ (67) or *know* /nəʊ/ pronounced as / **noʊ**/ (68).

(66) Khaled K: I have a mission to follow ups on graduation project

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ hæv ə 'mɪʃən tu: 'fɒl**ɒ**ʊ abs ɒn ,grædʊ'eɪʃən 'brɒdʒɛkt/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ hæv ə 'mɪʃən tu: 'fɒləʊ ʌps ɒn ,grædʒʊ'eɪʃən 'prɒdʒɛkt/

(67) I1: I have a meeting tomorrow on masr online Zoom to explain and to... to explain my idea and my company.

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ hæv e 'mi:tɪŋ tu' mɒrəʊ ɒn masr 'ɒn, laɪn zu:m tu: ɪkz'pleɪn ænd tu: ... tu: ɪkz'pleɪn maɪ aɪ'dɪə ænd maɪ 'kɑmpəni/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ .. aɪ hæv ə 'mi:tɪŋ tə' mɒrəʊ ɒn masr 'ɒn, laɪn zu:m tu: ɪks'pleɪn ænd tu: ... tu: ɪks'pleɪn maɪ aɪ'dɪə ænd maɪ 'kɑmpəni.

(68) Il: Do you know I these days I ..?.. to establish a new start-up a new company here in Egypt

- ♦ EgyE: / dɪ ju: nəʊ aɪ zi:z deɪz aɪ ..?.. tu: ɛs'tæblɪʃ ə nju: 'stɑ:tʌp ə nju: 'kɑmpəni hɪr ɪn 'i:dʒɪpt/
- ♦ StdE: /du: ju: nəʊ aɪ ði:z deɪz aɪ ..?.. tu: ɪs'tæblɪʃ ə nju: 'stɑ:tʌp ə nju: 'kɑmpəni hɪər ɪn 'i:dʒɪpt/

- the pronunciation of the diphthong /ɪə/ as open front /a/ when it is in final position as in the words *idea* /aɪ'dɪə/ pronounced \*/aɪ'dɪə/ (67) and *here* /hɪər/ pronounced \*/ɪər/ (58) or as a close-mid front /ɛ/ when it is in central position as in the word *experience* /ɪks'pɪəriəns/ pronounced \*/ɛks'pɛriəns/ (69).

(69) Khaled K: I will use your experience in ..?.. strategy. I need to make a human resource strategy, and a ..?.. strategy.

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ wɪl ju:z jɔ:r ɛks'pɪəriəns ɪn ..?.. 'strætɪʒi. aɪ ni:d tu: meɪk ə 'hju:mən rɪ'sɔ:s 'strætɪʒi, ænd eɪ ..?.. 'strætɪʒi/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ wɪl ju:z jɔ:r ɪks'pɪəriəns ɪn ..?.. 'strætɪdʒi. aɪ ni:d tu: meɪk ə 'hju:mən rɪ'sɔ:s 'strætɪdʒi, ænd eɪ ..?.. 'strætɪdʒi/

- the modification of the central sounds /ə/ and /ɜ/ with more back or front vowel sounds as in the words *articles* /'ɑ:tɪk(ə)lz/, *work* /wɜ:k/, *uncle* /'ʌŋk(ə)l/, *tomorrow* /tə'mɒrəʊ/, *lecture* /'lektʃə/ or *adventure* /əd'ventʃə/ respectively pronounced \*/'ɑ:rtɪkelz/ (70), \*/wɜ:rk/ (70), \*/'æŋkɒl/ (54) \*/tu'mɒrroʊ/ (67), \*/'lektʃər/ (71), /əd'ventʃər/ (64).

(70) Il: I'm waiting to read your articles mmm I'm also had a meeting with my Ph.D. supervi..supervisor, and we plan to work on the Ph.D...

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪm 'wæɪtɪŋ tu: ri:d jɔ:r 'ɑ:rtɪkelz mmm aɪm 'ɔ:lsə hæd ə 'mi:tɪŋ wɪz maɪ bɪeʃdɪ 'su:pe.. 'su:pɜvaɪzɔ:r, ænd wi: plæn tu: wɜ:rk ɒn ðə bɪeʃdɪ/
- ♦ StdE: aɪm 'weɪtɪŋ tu: ri:d jɔ:r 'ɑ:tɪk(ə)lz mmm aɪm 'ɔ:lsə hæd ə 'mi:tɪŋ wɪð maɪ prɪeʃdɪ supe.. 'sju:pɜvaɪzə, ænd wi: plæn tu: wɜ:k ɒn ðə prɪeʃdɪ

- (71) I1: I'm just finishing my design studio lecture, and now I'm going on my way to home
- ♦ EgyE: /aim dʒast 'finiʃɪŋ maɪ dɪ'zain 'stu:diə 'lɛktʃər, ænd naʊ aim 'gəʊɪŋ ɒn maɪ weɪ tu: xɒ:m/
  - ♦ StdE: /aim dʒʌst 'finiʃɪŋ maɪ dɪ'zain 'stju:diəʊ 'lɛktʃə, ænd naʊ aim 'gəʊɪŋ ɒn maɪ weɪ tu: hæʊm/
- the use of the /u:/ instead of the group /ju:/ as in the words *university* /ju:nɪ'vɜ:sɪti/ pronounced \*/u:nɪ've:rsɪti/ (72), *student* /'stju:dənt/ pronounced \*/'stu:dənt/ (73), or *supervisor* /'sju:pəvaɪzə/ pronounced \*/'su:pəvaɪzə:r/ (74).
- (72) I1: in the University I have just finished the exam
- ♦ EgyE: /ɪn zə ,u:nɪ've:rsɪti aɪ dʒast 'finɪʃ ze ɛg'zɑm,
  - ♦ StdE: /ɪn ðə ,ju:nɪ'vɜ:sɪti aɪ dʒʌst 'finɪʃt ði ɪg'zæm/
- (73) I1: Our student need to a graduation project
- ♦ EgyE: /'aʊər 'stu:dənt ni:d tu: ə ,grædʊ'eɪʃən 'brɒdʒɛkt/
  - ♦ StdE: /'aʊə 'stju:dənt ni:d tu: ə ,grædʒə'eɪʃən 'prɒdʒɛkt/
- (74) I1: I'm also had a meeting with my Ph.D. supervi..supervisor
- ♦ EgyE: /aim 'ɔ:lsə hæd ə 'mi:tɪŋ wɪz maɪ bi'eɪfdɪ 'su:pəva.. 'su:pəvaɪzə:r/
  - ♦ StdE: /aim 'ɔ:lsəʊ hæd ə 'mi:tɪŋ wɪð maɪ pi'eɪfdɪ supəva.. 'sju:pəvaɪzə/

### *Connected speech features*

Generally, since, unlike English, Arabic has a grapheme-phoneme correspondence (Sabbah, 2015), Egyptian English speakers do not use connected speech features such as assimilation and elision. They resist them and tend to pronounce all letters markedly, even in weak forms. However, two isolated phenomena of connected speech can be noticed through this analysis:

- the adding of an additional velar sound between a word ending with a velar sound and a word beginning with a vowel as in *anything else* pronounced /'ɛnɪsɪŋk xəlz/ (75)
- the adding of an additional plosive sound between a word ending with plosive sound and a word beginning with vowel as in *drop it* where an extra /d/ sound is added between the verb and the preposition /drɒbdɪt/ (75)

(75) Video: if you drop it, there is no money, there is no anything else

- ♦ EgyE: /ɪf ju: drɒbdɪt, ðeə ɪz nʌ 'mʌni, zə ɪz nʌ 'eniθɪŋk ɪz/
- ♦ StdE: /ɪf ju: drɒp ɪt, ðeə ɪz nəʊ 'mʌni, ðeə ɪz nəʊ 'eniθɪŋ ɪz/

Apart from these cases, the way of speaking English by Egyptians is characterised by a spelling pronunciation and the use of glottal stops before initial vowels which are the primary reasons for the typical staccato rhythm and of the ‘choppy, sing-song English’ (Beym, 1956: 69).

### *Prosodic features*

Not only the segmental but also the supra-segmental level is varied by Egyptian English speakers since perception and production of English sounds, which are generally regarded as “the most important aspects towards a successful communication” (Khan, 2015: 19) in StdE, are sometimes different. Following, variations in prosodic features such as stress, accent, intonation, and amplitude produced by Egyptian English speakers are analysed.

### *Accent and stress*

The (Egyptian) Arabic word-level prosodic effects are very similar to those of the English language (De Jong & Zawaydeh, 1999). Indeed, in both English and (Egyptian) Arabic languages, vowel quality has a strong correlation with stress and the stressed syllable has a longer duration as compared to the unstressed syllables (Roach, 1998).

However, although both English and (Egyptian) Arabic are stress-timed languages (De Jong & Zawaydeh, 1999) some differences about the place and function of stress can be noticed (Aziz, 1980; Bueasa, 2015). In (Egyptian) Arabic, the word stress is regular and thus predictable (Mitchell, 1960; Watson, 2011; Helal, 2014) to the point that no attention is given to the topic in Arabic language studies (Mitchell, 1960; Helal, 2014). Generally, the stress in Egyptian Arabic is quantity sensitive with the stress falling on the right-most heavy syllable, unless both final and penultimate syllables are light, in which case the stress will fall on the penultimate syllable (Reynolds, 2014, see also Watson, 2011). In StdE, every word has a definite place for stress, but there is not a fixed rule to establish which syllable must be stressed and the placing of stress usually appears unpredictable to learners of English (Helal, 2014; Reynolds, 2014). Deciding the place of stress is a problem for Egyptian speakers of English (Helal, 2014) who,

in absence of a regulative norm, assign stress to English words according to the Arabic rules. This can be considered transfer phenomena and adaptation (Reynolds, 2013) with the result of a strongly hearable marked local accent which mainly depends on:

-the shift in word stress placement (Al-Jarf, 1994a) as in the word *weekend* /,wi:k'end/ pronounced \*/'wi:,kænd/ (76) with the primary accent on the first syllable instead of on the second one, *temperature* /'tɛmpɪrətʃər/ pronounced \*/tɛmp'refʊr/ (77) with the primary accent on the second syllable instead of on the first one or *colleague* /kɒli:g/ pronounced \*/kɒ'li:z/ (78) with the stress on the second syllable instead of on the first one.

(76) I1: I am fine too, how is your Ph.D. and your weekend?

- ♦ EgyE: /aɪ æm faɪn tuː, haʊ ɪz jɔːr brɪfɪdɪ ænd jɔː 'wi:,kænd?/
- ♦ StdE: /aɪ æm faɪn tuː, haʊ ɪz jɔː prɪfɪdɪ ænd jɔː 'wi:k'end?/

(77) I1: Maybe is a temperature is not like German or Italy but it is cold comparing with Egypt weather

- ♦ EgyE: /'mæbi: de tɛmp'refʊr ɪz nɒt laɪk 'dʒɛ:rman ɔːr 'etali bat ɪt ɪz kɔːld kɒm'pɛrɪŋ wɪz e'dʒɪpt 'wɛzər/
- ♦ StdE: /'meɪbi: ðə 'tɛmpɪrətʃər ɪz nɒt laɪk 'dʒɜ:mən ɔːr 'ɪtəli bʌt ɪt ɪz kəʊld kəm'pɛərɪŋ wɪð 'i:dʒɪpt 'wɛðə/

(78) I1: Tell me about your Ph.D., your thesis, your colleagues.




- ♦ EgyE: /tɛl mi: a'baʊt jɔːr brɪfɪdɪ, jɔːr 'zi:sɪs, jɔːr kɒ'li:z/
- ♦ StdE: /tɛl mi: ə'baʊt jɔː prɪfɪdɪ, jɔː 'θi:sɪs, jɔː 'kɒli:g/

Even if word stress in Egyptian Arabic may sound idiosyncratic from the point of view of speaker of StdE varieties, it does not cause severe intelligibility problems. Miscommunication could only happen when stress is used to make a distinction between different grammatical categories and specifically in nouns and verbs pairs (Kachru & Smith, 2008) such as the noun *report* /'rɪpɔ:(r)t/ and the verb *to report* /rɪ'pɔ:(r)t/ or verbs and adjectives pairs as the verb *to separate* /sep(ə)'rət/ and the adjective *separate* /'sep(ə)rət/.



## *Intonation*

As for intonation, previous studies as Yousri's (?) have demonstrated that Egyptian listeners are able to perceive and discriminate between the two types of English intonation patterns, fall and rise contours, even if uniquely relying on the pitch contour at the end of the sentence (Yousri, ? : 22), and that the English and (Egyptian) Arabic languages have got two similar intonational systems. For example, they both use pitch marks on stressed syllables as well as high pitch accents in declarative sentences. However, although similarities, Egyptians' performance is sometimes characterized by a hesitation in perceiving and reproducing the StdE intonation (Yousri, ?) since the L1 inevitably affects the perception of the supra-segmental phonetic structure and the pragmatic use of intonation of an English speech (Yousri, ?) as it is evident in the following examples:

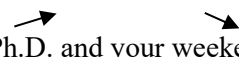
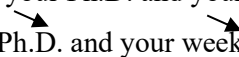
### (79) - rising intonation for statements

- ♦ EgypE: I1: I am waiting to read your articles 
- ♦ StdE: I am waiting to read your articles
  
- ♦ EgypE: I am riding to go back home to eat with my family and my sisters 
- ♦ StdE: I am riding to go back hom to eat with my family and sisters 

### (80) - rising intonation for unfinished thoughts (partial statements)

- ♦ EgypE: I1: His wife is a doctor in the faculty of Alsun (but she is a professor of Spanish language) 
- ♦ StdE: His wife is a doctor in the faculty of Alsun (but she is a professor of Spanish language) 

### (81) - rising intonation for wh-questions

- ♦ EgypE: I1: How is your Ph.D. and your weekend? 
- ♦ StdE: How is your Ph.D. and your weekend? 

Egyptian English speakers may not recognize the presence of their own Arabic intonation in their English speech (Yousri, ?) and, as a consequence, native English hearers could experiment significant difficulties in the interpretation of meanings. Intelligibility is thus reduced. Similarly, misinterpretations can occur. For example, when Egyptians ask for information in English, their intonation might sound accusing or when they make declarative



sentences, they might show disinterest since Inner variety speakers perceive them with a flat intonation (Feghali, 1997: 368).

### *Amplitude*

Another difference is to be found in amplitude. The loud voice is a paralinguistic element that could be sometimes conscious and universal (such as when conveying excitement or fear) but, other times, it is culture-specific and unconscious. Egyptians, for instance, use pitch and amplitude in a way that is very different from those used by the Inner varieties. Egyptian speakers typically raise their voices while talking. Loudness is a parameter very often used in the Egyptian language, especially in conversation with friends, while it tends to be avoided by speakers of English who generally consider loudness a sign of aggression. This variation in amplitude might affect the meaning of a message in a communication. Indeed, loudness connotes strength and sincerity to Egyptians while a soft voice connotes weakness or even dishonesty. At the same time, speakers of StdE, who usually talk with a calm and slow voice, could perceive Egyptian English speakers as rude, aggressive, arrogant, untruthful, emotional, or threatening. As Nydell (2012) explained:

Arab speech is vibrant and rich in colour and emotion. Arabs talk a lot, repeat themselves, shout when excited, and make extensive use of gestures. They punctuate their conversations with oaths (such as “I swear by God”) to emphasize what they say, and they exaggerate for effect. Foreigners sometimes wonder if they are involved in a discussion or an argument. If you speak softly and make your statements only once, Arabs may wonder if you really mean what you are saying. People will ask, “Do you really mean that?” or “Is that true?” It’s not that they do not believe you, but they need repetition. They need to hear “yes” emphatically and repeatedly to be reassured.

(Nydell, 2012: 94)

However, loudness in Egypt has its limits. It occurs frequently among people of approximately the same age and social status who know each other well but it does not occur in business meetings and is not tolerated when speaking with elders or social superiors, in which case respect is required (Nydell, 2012).

Egyptians themselves are aware of their difficulty in pronouncing some StdE sounds. In many video clips on YouTube and Facebook, they even play with their miss-pronunciation. For example, in a video on YouTube showing a scene of the Egyptian movie *عسل اسود asal eswed* (Black Honey) (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hGXarntso38>) there is an Egyptian English teacher who pronounces the sentence *thank you very much* as \*/ sæŋk ju: 'fəri maɪf/

instead of /θæŋk ju: 'veri mʌf/ with the clear intent of self-mockery, joke-telling, and of making fun of Egyptian pronunciation of some English consonants which, however, is seen as an innovative use of English among Egyptians (Schaub, 2000).

However, it should be noticed that variation in sounds increase or decrease also in correlation with some sociolinguistic parameters, namely proximity and frequency of interaction with native speakers of English, frequency of English linguistic inputs, social status, education, age (Al-Jarf, 1994a), gender, as well as other factors such as motivation, attitude, self-esteem, anxiety, experience (Abdoulzhrara, Ismail & Yasin, 2018) and, above all, articulatory training (Linebaugh & Roche, 2013; Baheej, 2015b; Algethami, 2016) since it improves the ability to discriminate between two problematic sounds (Linebaugh & Roche, 2013) as well as fluency and intelligibility (Al-Jarf, 1994a). Indeed, generally, in young Egyptians, especially if they have spent a considerable amount of time in an anglophone country (Trentman, 2013) and if they are high rank and well educated, the amount of variability in pronunciation is reduced. This means that spelling is a crucial factor in the way people present themselves (Cook, 1997) and that the knowledge of spelling is a sign of high education and a good professional position (Alenazi, 2018). However, as shown in this work, even in proficient speakers of English, some local pronunciation forms are widely adopted and once the variations of sound are repeated in time and among all classes of speakers, they begin to develop into a proper local form of pronunciation that, even though it is not necessarily accepted as a formal norm, can be described as systematised (Schneider, 2011) and ordered in a linguistic corpus as done (even if still limitedly) in this work.

### ***Variation of structure (morphological and syntactical rules)***

#### *Morphological variations*

The language contact not only influences the pronunciation of words, but it has also consequences in the grammatical structure depending on the fact that “different languages offer different grammatical solutions to linguistic phenomena” (Kahlaoui, 2014: 16). In this regard, in his work *Culture, Context and Word Englishes*, Kachru and Smith (2008) claimed that “most Outer and Expanding Circles varieties are different from the Inner Circle varieties and some of these differences cause grammatical consequences” (Kachru & Smith, 2008: 80).

Generally, in an English performance, speakers of the Expanding area tend to restrict or extend the norms of the Inner varieties of English but meanwhile, they spontaneously adapt and

adjust them to the indigenous grammar rules assigning local significations and usage to grammatical features. This leads to the production of variations which consequently could cause a reduction of intelligibility among speakers of Englishes. Kachru and Smith (2008) claimed that

grammatical categories of number, tense, aspect, etc., carry specific meanings. Each language exploits a different patterning of these categories to signal meanings salient in the language. Outer and Expanding Circle varieties of English differ from established Inner Circle varieties in utilizing these categories, leading to misunderstanding in some cases, and judgments of speaker competence in other cases.

(Kachru & Smith, 2008: 74)

As far as the English spoken by Egyptians is concerned, it has many morphological differences compared to StdE varieties and non-standard use of inflectional and derivational morphemes can be noted. Indeed, Egyptian English speakers display a lot of variations in their performance with regard to the use of bound suffixes which appear to be freely applied leading to subtractive variations (as in the case of the omission of the verbal-*s* ending in the third person of the simple present tense, or the omission of the *-s* ending for plural nouns) or additive variations (such as in the case of the addition of the plural *-s* ending to uncountable nouns).

A contrastive analysis of the morpho-syntactical structure of English and (Egyptian) Arabic will be helpful in individualising the most non-standard variations occurring in EgyE which can be found at different levels, namely in nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives, and prepositions.

### *Variation in nouns*

Nouns are marked for case, gender, and number. These categories are generally created through the use of inflectional affixes. Noteworthy, inflectional suffixes are used differently in the two languages and while in Arabic, which is “one of the inflectional languages” (Abdul-Halim, Shamsan & Attayib, 2015: 139, see also Bueasa, 2015) inflections can be both suffixes and prefixes, in English they are all suffixes (Abdul-Halim, Shamsan & Attayib, 2015).

### *Case and Gender*

As for case, nouns in Arabic are inflected for three cases namely nominative, accusative, and genitive distinguished by changing the diacritic signs on the final consonant, respectively <sup>اَ</sup> .

and . In English nouns are inflected only for the genitive case marked by the 's inflectional morpheme (Salim, 2013). However, this difference does not have serious consequences.

Regarding gender, the two languages imply different gender agreements and assignment (Moshref, 2010). Arabic is a gender language, and every word should be either masculine or feminine. The Arabic feminine nouns typically end with the feminine marker ة (tā marbūṭah). Although, there are nouns that refer to the feminine genre which do not end with this marker, such as the ones referring to names of countries or cities as مصر miṣr *Egypt*, female people, or things, as أُخْتٌ uḥt *sister*, شمس šams *sun*, دار dār *house*, collective nouns, and parts of the body such as يَد yad *hand* (Abdul-Halim, Shamsan & Attayb, 2015). Contrarily, English is a genderless language and most nouns in English are neutral without marked forms (Amer, 1980). Exceptions are very few words in which a suffix *-ess* is added such as *waiter/waitress* or *heir/heiress*. These differences in gender, however, do not lead to specific variations in the EgyE performance apart from some isolated cases in which it is possible to notice

- the gender attribution to English neutral nouns.

(82) I1: I don't know why But ur **soul** is near mine I hope ur surrounding **her**

### *Number*

Regarding the number, the plural system in English has got just two forms: regular plurals marked with the addition of the suffix *-s* (or *-es*) and irregular plurals such as *mouse/mice*, *person/people*, *foot/feet*, etc. which do not follow a regular pattern. In English thus the inflectional suffix *-s* is applied freely to nearly every appropriate base, with the exception of irregular forms (Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams, 2011). The plural system in Arabic, instead, has got three forms: regular masculine formed by the morpheme -ون -ūn if the noun is in the position of the subject or -ين -īn if the noun is in the position of the object, regular feminine formed by the addition of the morpheme -ات -āt to the end of a word, and broken irregular that does not follow any formation rule. Anyway, the stronger difference between the two languages occurs when the words get dualised (Yacoub, 2000). In fact, while English nouns have two numbers: singular and plural, Arabic nouns have three: singular, plural, and dual (Salim, 2013). The Arabic has an extra number, the dual, which is formed with the morpheme -ان -ān added to the end of the word if it is in a subject position or with the morpheme -ين -īn if it is in the object position. So, for example, Arabs distinguish between the words معلمان mu'allimān (*two male teachers*), معلمتان mu'allimātāni (*two female teachers*) and معلمون mu'allimūn (*more than two*

*male teachers*) or معلمات mu'allimāt (more than two *female teachers*) while in English they are expressed just with the unique plural form *teachers*.

These differences could induce Egyptian English users to apply the inflectional morpheme *-s* differently producing:

- a default in number concordance (Al-Jarf, 2000)

- (83) I1: This is my new kids , waiting for born
- (84) I1: Wht is ur new studies
- (85) I1: i am so miserable today alot of horrible thing\*
- (86) I1: U can pay a tickets only
- (87) I7: What's your questions
- (88) I8: How many question\*

- a default in the use of irregular plural forms

- (89) I1: Normally now between 4-5 **person**
- (90) L2: In islam no...but sime muslim drink. I hear from friends it make **person** worn in Winter.

In addition, in both English and Arabic there exist collective and uncountable nouns which are not pluralised. In English, for example, they never take the *-s* ending. However, countability and uncountability are not equally conceived in the two languages so that some nouns, such as *information*, *money*, *damage*, *housework*, or *equipment* are uncountable in English, but they are countable in Arabic (Sabbah, 2015).

- pluralisation of collective and uncountable nouns

- (91) I2: Coronavirus not come from fishes 😊
- (92) I12: I think I've some informations about that topic

### *Articles*

Nouns can also be defined by the dependency with articles (Kachru & Smith, 2008). English articles, in the same fashion as Arabic ones, are used in relation to nouns, a relation of mutual dependency since articles do not occur autonomously. Nevertheless, in the two languages, they have different function, and diverse forms. For example, as for function, the indefinite articles in English are used to signal a singular entity as in *a book*. However, their use is sometimes

purely grammatical, with no semantic consequences at all (Kachru, 2008) as in the sentence *John is a doctor* and it is sometimes omitted before general and abstract nouns as in *today is holiday!* or before uncountable nouns as in *we eat salted fish*. As for the form, while in English the indefinite article always precedes the noun and takes an individual form *a* which becomes *an* if the following noun begins with vowel, Arabic has no indefinite articles (Sabbah, 2015) or at least it does not have an individual form for it. Indeed, the indefinite article is defined through a small modification to the tail of the word, called ‘nunation’ consisting in adding the suffix *-un* expressed by the diacritic symbol \* as in *بيتٌ* (baīt-un) *a house*. Due to these differences, variations in the use of the indefinite articles by Egyptian English speakers occur, including:

- the use of the indefinite article where not needed in StdE

- (93) I1: hhhh her also is **a** holiday
- (94) I1: we eat **a** salted fish
- (95) I5: I don't have **a** problem

- the omission of the indefinite article where needed in StdE (Sabbah, 2015).

- (96) I1: working in \* new villa design
- (97) I2: We have \* month called Ramadan
- (98) I12: it's \* very important topic for me

- the use of *an* preceding consonants instead of the weak form *a*

- (99) I1: It located in the suburbs of Cairo In **an** residential compound
- (100) I1: but i can give u **an** short conclusion

Contrarily, the definite article exists in both linguistic systems as a unique form, *the* in English and *- ال* (al) in (Egyptian) Arabic, which is in both languages invariable in gender and number. The Arabic definite article is always graphically prefixed to the noun as in *البيت* (al-bint). Similarly, English definite article always precedes the noun as in *the girl*, but it is not prefixed to the noun, but it has an independent form. However, their use is not always correspondent in the two languages and highest difficulty for Egyptian speakers of English comes from the fact that the definite article in the English language must be sometimes omitted, such as before general and plural nouns, times, cardinal numbers, letters, relations in direct speech, proper nouns, parts of the body, meals, in certain common idiomatic expressions and

in the description of means of transport used. This phenomenon, named the zero-article, does not exist in Arabic whose grammar imposes that nouns, with the exception of proper nouns, cannot occur in a sentence without article (or some other determiner such as demonstrative or indefinite adjectives). This leads to the following non-standard uses of the definite article *the* in EgyE:

- use of the definite articles where not needed in StdE

- (101) I1: Not taking **the** dinner till now
- (102) I1: I hope u are in **the** around / Here in Egypt
- (103) I1: I pray **the** Friday

- omission of the definite article where needed in StdE

- (104) I1: I1: She work in \* art therapy field
- (105) I1: But she lives in \* USA
- (106) I2: Roman empire the most effective civilization on \* mankind life

### *Variation in verbs*

As far as the grammar of verbs is concerned, variations in verbal forms exist at all levels: verb formation, number of tenses and use. As for the verb formation is different. In (Egyptian) Arabic there are only two verbal forms, a prefix conjugation, and a suffix conjugation (Alasmari, Watson & Atwell, 2017) and the verb is built by using the rules of inflectional morphology (Al-Saleemi, 1987) by the insertion of prefixes and suffixes, which express number, person, and gender, in one consonant root أَصْل (?aʃl) formed by three or four elements (Alasmari, Watson & Atwell, 2017). However, differences in verb formation do not have serious consequences and they seem not to lead to any specific morphological variation in an EgyE performance. Contrary, numerous variations occur at the level of tenses.

### *Tenses*

As for verb tenses, the (Egyptian) Arabic language verb system is different from that used in English (Alasmari, Watson & Atwell, 2017) and while the English language has sixteen tense forms (Gadalla, 2006) built by conjoining the basic tenses with the perfective and progressive

aspects (Ali, 2007), the Arabic language only has three<sup>18</sup>: present (المُضَارِعِ al-muḍāri‘) also defined *imperfective*, past (الْمَاضِي al-māḍī) also referred as *perfective*, and future. Interestingly, there is no arbitrary one-to-one coincidence between present, past, and future tenses in the two languages. These differences lead to linguistic interferences in an Egyptian English speeches or written texts mainly characterised by an instable use of verbs which makes EgyE confusing for StdE speakers. Egyptians continuously vary tense forms from present to past, from past to future with a frequency that can cause vertigo to StdE interlocutors as evident in the following message by one of the interviewees:

*I1: I will tell u a story of culture differences. When I Was in Italy, I meet an Egyptian guy in the hotel He was engineering When we travel to the airport He saw agirl And he like her And he tells me in Arabic that 😊 I tell him she might know Arabic Hhhhhh And there was a guy beside us seems like her father And he tell me that this guy seems like her And he was telling me that he hope that girl love him Unfortunately his father was knowing Arabic 😊😊😊😊😊 And live in Egypt for 3 years He start talking in Arabic And my friend stop 🤞 Poor boy.. Hhhhhhhh I was laugh All the road He was England man Cold blood Fortunately I was telling him Stop talking likethat they may know Arabic And he continue It seems like he had a cold water over his head When the old guy talk They are calm.. Reflexive.. Fortunately He became red Well, he was just making a good and innocent compliment..*

In detail, since Standard Arabic only has one tense, the imperfective, for both simple and progressive present actions (Muftah & Rafik-Gale, 2013) so that sentences such as *I study* and *I am studying* are both translated أنا أدرس *ana adrusu* (literally ‘I study’), Egyptian English speakers, even the high-level competent ones, are not able to recognise differences between these two English verb tenses. The result is that when they use English, they indifferently apply the Simple Present or the Present Progressive for generic present actions. Actually, a progressive form does exist in the Egyptian Arabic dialect formed by the addition of the prefix بـ (bi-), for the present continuous, and كُنت بـ (kunt bi-) for the past continuous as in the sentences بادرسُ *biadrusu* (‘I am studying’) and كُنت بادرسُ *kunt biadrusu* (‘I was studying’). However, its use in Egyptian Arabic is still different from its use in StdE, since in Egyptian Arabic it expresses, not only continuous actions happening in the present or in the past, but also habitual actions and permanent conditions. This causes confusions in Egyptians users of English who overuse the progressive form even when it is not required in StdE or completely

<sup>18</sup> The Egyptian Arabic dialect has four tenses, one more than MSA, since it contemplates two different forms for the simple present and for the present progressive.



avoid it even when it is instead required in StdE. In detail, the following are the consequent typical variations:

- the non-use of the Present Continuous for progressive present actions

- (107) I1: I \*[am] work[ing] in villa design (referring to a house project the engineer is still working at)
- (108) I1: I \*[am] think[ing] in watch tv or film
- (109) I1: He have a problem now. And \*[is] tell[ing] me about it

- the use of progressive replacing Simple Present for habitual actions

- (110) I1: Most of them wearing Hejab (referring to a general habit of Arabic women)

- the use of Past Progressive (or Simple Past) replacing the *used to* formulation for habitual actions in the past

- (111) I1: We also **was** not talk\* Arabic language. We **was talking** Coptic
- (112) I1: She **was trying** to raise problems to separating
- (113) I1: I always **went** to the train in the same time every wenesaday

This could also be explained by the fact that, in Arabic, there is no distinction between completed actions (with or without consequences in the present), and progressive actions in the paSt. For this reason, Egyptians indifferently make use of the Simple Past, the Present Perfect and the Past Progressive in order to indicate generic past actions. This also leads to:

- the use of Past Progressive replacing Past Simple for completed actions

- (114) I1: She **was promising** me that we will met
- (115) I1: **I was learning** them to draw architecture drawing (with reference to a lecture given the day before)

Confusion in the use of progressive forms also happens because Arabs understand words ending with the *-ing* morpheme as nouns and not as verbs. For example, the sentence *I like studying* is translated as أنا أحب الدراسة (ana uhib aldirāsa) where الدراسة is a noun ('the study'), while the sentence *I am studying* is translated أنا أدرس (ana 'adrusu) literally 'I study'. This is the reason why the EgyE is characterised by

- the non-use of the *-ing* form for expressing a permanent condition

- (116) I1: I spent time listen\* to music in the street

- (117) I2: first time know study maks happy...some people say travel\*.... playing sport  
...dancing...drink\*..... Fly\*....
- (118) L2: I thought u imagine us wear\* like ramses..on street 😊

Confusion in the use of verbs also occurs among the main tenses, especially between present and paSt. For example, Egyptian English speakers have the tendency of not using the past tenses and of replacing them with the present form. This leads to the following variations:

- zero past tense forms replaced by the Present Simple

- (119) I1: My sister **bring** flowers for me yesterday
- (120) I1: I \* **give**\* two lectures Today To my students
- (121) I4: I \* just finish\* my work now
- (122) I16: I \* already finish\* my degree

- the use of Past Simple replacing Present Perfect in the passive voice

- (123) I1: It \* published into springer
- (124) I1: And it \* translated to many languages
- (125) I1: **Did** you visit\* Egypt
- (126) I3: I **went** to Europe before. But unfortunately **didnt visit** italy 😊

- the use of the Present Perfect replacing the Past Simple for completed past actions

- (127) I1: I have gone to Minia University, yesterday
- (128) I1: I hv some bad events last week

- the non-use of Present Perfect and Present Perfect Continuous (*from* instead of *for/since*)

- (129) I1: I lived there for years
- (130) I1: I **was** in relationships with her for 3 years
- (131) I1: I **was stopping** my horse train for some moths due to my studying and injury on my leg
- (132) I1: I take the dinner from 1 hr 😊

- The use of Past Perfect instead of Present Perfect

- (133) I1: It **had** been developed But still crowded 😊
- (134) I1: today alot of horrible thing my car **had** Disrupted

## *Verb to be*

While in English, every sentence, even the simplest ones, must contain a verb (Steiner, 2019), the Arabic language has no verb *to be* in the present tense. Uniquely in the past tense, the Arabic language contemplates the use of the verb كَانَ (kāna) which, similarly to the English verb *to be*, can be used as an auxiliary verb but also with its strong meaning. As there is no verb *to be* in the present tense, an EgyE is characterised by:

- the omission of the copula *be* in present tense (Ali, 2007; Sabbah, 2015). Arabic lacks an overt copula *be* in the present tense (Steiner, 2019) so that a nominal sentence like *this is a book* is translated as هَذَا كِتَابٌ (hadha kitabun) literally *\*this a book* with the verb *to be* which is not given but understood from the context. This leads Egyptians to produce sentence as the following:

- (135) I1: U \* welcome
- (136) I1: Today \* my birthday
- (137) I2: Situation in Egypt \* not so bad in deaty rate...but we \* afraid from future
- (138) I12: I'm learning Italian and a little bi Spanish, becace Italian and Spanish \* so close

- the non-use of *to be* as predicative verb in present tense

In the Arabic language, the verb *to be* is not even used in present tense verbal sentences, so that Egyptians tend to omit it also in sentences like

- (139) I1: \* you still on bed?
- (140) I1: god \* with u and bless u

- the non-use of *be* as auxiliary verb in the progressive form

This linguistic phenomenon is due to both the inexistence of the verb *to be* in the present tense and to the lack of a progressive form in the Arabic language. Because of this, Egyptians usually pronounce sentences as the following:

- (141) I1: nowdsays i \* working in upgrading my phd plan
- (142) I1: Hope you \* doing well
- (143) I1: \* U still studying

- the non-use of *be* in passive voice

Regarding the passive voice, in English it is obtained through a morphosyntactic process since the main verb is morphologically changed into its past participle preceded by the verb *to be*. Sentence word order is also changed such as in *the writer wrote an interesting book* that becomes *an interesting book was written by the writer*. In Arabic, as well, passive voice is the result of a morphological operation, but the past and present form of the verb are changed into passive by simply changing the vowel pattern. Namely, the vowel that follows the first consonant is changed into *-u-* and the one that precedes the last consonant is changed into *-i* in the past form and *-a* in the present forms. For example, *كُتِبَ kutiba was written*. No verb *to be* is used in the Arabic passive voice. Thus, due to negative transfer from Arabic, Egyptians omit the verb *to be* in the passive voice when using English as in the following examples:

- (144) I1: I think it had \* awarded by Venice film festival
- (145) I1: It had \* cancelled
- (146) I1: Yes it \* called that

### *Interrogative form*

Sometimes, the verb *to be* is used in the interrogative form. However, the interrogative form in EgyE is constructed differently. In detail, Egyptian English users produce:

- no inversion with the auxiliary *be* in the interrogative form

- (147) I1: Where **it is**
- (148) I1: Why **it is** not easy to travel through nations
- (149) I13: In which city **you are**?

- no auxiliar-subject inversion in the interrogative form

- (150) I1: when **u will** come to Egypt
- (151) I1: which team **u will** support in the world cup
- (152) I16: Why u don't talk to me

- zero auxiliar *do/does/did* in the interrogative form (Sabbah, 2015) which mainly happens because the (Egyptian) Arabic language has no auxiliary *do*.

- (153) I1: when \* we start?
- (154) L2: But why \* u study Arabic..

- (155) L5: Why \* you want to know the religion about who participated in that  
 (156) I12: how many languages \* you speak  
 (157) I16: \* U understand Arabic

- the use of the auxiliar *do* where not needed in StdE

- (158) I1: **do** I can call you  
 (159) I13: **Does** he has Whatsapp?

*Negative form*

While in StdE negation is encoded in only one negator, *not*, in Arabic there exist at least six negators (Kahlaoui, 2014) including the most common لا *lā*, لَيْسَ *laysa*, لَمْ *lam*, and لَنْ *lan*. However, it is not this difference that leads to negative transfer but, once again, the absence of the auxiliary *do/does* which leads Egyptians to:

- the non-use of auxiliars *do/does* in the negative form

- (160) I1: He love a girl And she is **not**  
 (161) L2: **Not** understand  
 (162) I9: But you **not** want to be clear with me  
 (163) I10: Can we be friends if u **not** mind

*Verb-Subject concordance*

The English and the Arabic languages are not characterized by the same process of agreement between verbs and subject in gender, number, and person. As for gender, in Arabic, it is already manifested in the pronoun and in verbs of second or third singular person (أَنْتِ تَأْكُلِينَ *anta talkulu you (m.) eat*, أَنْتِ تَأْكُلِينَ *anta talkulīna you (f.) eat*, هُوَ يَأْكُلُ *hūa yākulu he eats*, هِيَ تَأْكُلُ *hīa tākulu she eats*) and plural person (أَنْتُمْ تَأْكُلُونَ *antum tākulūna you (m.) eat*, أَنْتُنَّ تَأْكُلْنَ *antunna tākulna you (f.) eat*, هُمْ يَأْكُلُونَ *hum yākulūna they (m.) eat* and هُنَّ يَأْكُلْنَ *hunna yākulna they (f.) eat*) while in English the verb has always the same form for both feminine and masculine and gender can only be understood through the use of pronouns or through the contextual linguistic items in a sentence such as possessive adjective or pronouns. As for the grammatical number and the person, in the Arabic language verbs are conjugated for two numbers, singular and plural, with the addition of a dual form (*you two* أَنْتُمَا *antumā* and *they two* هُمَا *humā*). This implies that in Arabic the number, as well as the person, can be clearly understood through the

verb because a different conjugated form for each person exists. In English, instead, the verb is unmarked and it itself suggests neither the number nor the person morphologically. The only exceptions are the *-s* suffix added to the base form of the verb that indicates the third person singular number in the simple present tense, the verb *to be* with its different forms for the first, third and the other persons (respectively, *am*, *is*, and *are*) in the present tense and *was/were* in the past tense, and the verb *to have* with its own form for the third singular person of the present tense *has*.

These differences in the two language verbal systems lead to the following variations:

- the drop of *-s* endings in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular person of the present tense of verbs (Muftah & Rafik-Galea, 2013, Sabbah, 2015, among others)

(164) I1: She work\* in art therapy field

(165) I1: My sis love\* me And she know\* I love flowers and spring

(166) I2: Cristiano Ronaldo go\* italy

- subject-auxiliar non-concordance

(167) I1: **He** still **don't** reply on me

(168) I5: **i** studies tourism

(169) I13: Well then **he haven't** contacted me yet

- the subject-verb non-agreement (Al-Jarf, 2000, Sabbah, 2015)

(170) I1: **We was** talking Coptic

(171) I1: Even if **she are** cousins

### Modality

Modality indicates various degrees of possibility, probability, necessity, or certainty, and can be used in the present and past tenses (Al-Qudah & Yasin, 2016). In English these are expressed through the use of modal verbs such as *can*, *may*, *must*, *should*, *would*, etc. (Egyptian) Arabic does not own equivalent verbs for expressing modality. However, it owns words and expressions used almost in the same fashion as English modal verbs (Table 48).

MSA	ECA	StdE
يجب أن (yaīb an)		must, should
على هـ أن (?ala + object + an)	ضروري (daruuri)	Must

من اللازم أن (min al-lāzim an)	لازم (lāzim)	have to
من الواجب أن (min al-wāib an)		it is necessary to
من الضروري أن (min aḍḍarūri an)		it is necessary to
ينبغي أن (yanbaḡi an)		Should
من المفروض أن (min al-mafrūḍ an)	المفروض (il-mafrūḍ)	Should
من المفترض أن (min al-muftaraḍ an)		should, ought to
يمكن أن (yumkin an)		might, may
من الممكن أن (min al-mumkin an)	ممکن (mumkin)	can, it is possible to
من المستحيل أن (min al-mustaḡīl an)	مستحيل (mustaḡīl)	it is impossible to

Table 48 Modal verbs in English, MSA and ECA

English and (Egyptian) Arabic have similar syntactical construction for expressing modality (Mukhaini, 2008). For example, in both languages, modals, are followed by the present tense. However, what it is different is the perception of modality and this causes a gap in the use of modal verbs (Al-Qudah & Yasin, 2016) by Egyptian English speakers who are neither able to distinguish between different meanings expressed by different modal verbs nor fully aware of their different use (Al-Qudah & Yasin, 2016). This is the reason why they finally opt for:

- a different modal verbs choice

- (172) I1: Every war **must** \* ended with peace [instead of 'should']<sup>19</sup>  
(173) I1: I **need** to write my phd exam [instead of 'have to']  
(174) I1: I **need** to come back [instead of 'I want to']

- the avoidance of modal verbs

- (175) I1: **Did** u like chess again  
(176) I1: Am eating salad **Do** u like to join  
(177) I1: **Do** u like talk after you come back

- the non-use of modals as auxiliary verbs in the interrogative form

- (178) I1.: **do I can** call you

<sup>19</sup> This contradicts a study by Sabri (2011) claiming that the modal verb should is more commonly used than must by language learners.

## Conditionals

Although both Arabic and English conditionals are similar for the fact of having different types, particles, and two clauses namely the main clause or apodosis, and the if-clause or protasis (Al Rdaat, 2017; Hammadi, 2019), English conditionals appear confusing for Egyptians both syntactically and semantically, since they can acquire different meanings by using different forms (Al Rdaat, 2017) they can express possible and impossible, real, and unreal, and impossible or hypothetical events (Abu Anzeh: 2006) depending on the tenses used in the two clauses. On the basis of this, English indeed distinguishes four types of conditionals: zero, first, second and third (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1985) mainly introduced by the preposition *if*. In Arabic, instead, there are only two types: one for real events introduced by the similar and sometimes interchangeable particles *إن* *ʔn* (expressing doubts) and *إذا* *ida* (expressing more certainty), the second for unreal and hypothetical events introduced by the particle *لو* *law* (Al Rdaat, 2017). In the clause containing the conditional particle, a past tense is generally used (even if it is possible to also use the present tense for making statements more certain and real, and the future) (Abu Anzeh, 2006). Interestingly, in Arabic, both the apodosis and the protasis contain the same time-tense. While in Arabic the tenses remain the same and the focus is on the change of conditional prepositions (Abu Anzeh, 2006; Al Rdaat, 2017; Hammadi, 2019), in English the type of condition depends on the change of verb tenses. These differences lead to the following variations in EgyE

- the use of the same verbs in the two clauses in conditional sentences (including double future construction) not allowed in StdE.

(179) I1: When you **will** come, I will show you Cairo City

(180) L1: Hhhh u can come visit me when I buy a home there

- the use of different tenses in different conditional types

(181) I1: If u was single I **will** think in be your boyfriend

(182) I1: if i change my carrier i will be a sax player

(183) I2: When will u finish the master You visit Egypt

In addition, other variations can be noticed through the analysis concerning verbs. In detail:

- a wrong composition of universal verbs such as ‘have’, ‘do’, ‘make’



- (184) I1: Can I **make** anything For u  
 (185) I14: r u mean u don't like make chat here ?

- confusion in the use of present and past participle

- (186) I1: okey i am interesting for read it  
 (187) I1: I am afraid not **worry**  
 (188) I1: just stay **relaxing**  
 (189) I1: My y car engine exploded Then engine is **overheating**  
 (190) I2: Corrected 😊  
 (191) I6: If you interesting in Arabic

- the total omission of verbs

- (192) I1: they stol bank \*[**and became**] fast rich  
 (193) I1: i am so miserable today alot of horrible thing \*[**have happened**] my car had  
 Disrupted after take to my gf we broke again i hv exam tomoorow with nothing on my head  
 (194) I1: you will \*[**become**] a leader woman soon in ur country  
 (195) I1: Did u like \*[**playing**] chess again  
 (196) I1: I am \*[**going**] back home right now  
 (197) I2: I love alexander era..may be also \*[**called**] Islamic era in Egypt

- the avoidance of phrasal verbs (El-Dakhs, 2016).

Phrasal verbs are typical of German languages and are very frequently used in English being an important aspect of the English phraseology. They, instead, do not exist in the Arabic language and this represents a common source of difficulty for Egyptians who have a relatively poor command of their use (El-Dakhs, 2016) which remains a tricky point also after years of training (El-Dakhs, 2016). This is the reason why Egyptian tend to totally avoid them, as it is clear in the following example:

- (198) L2: I thought u imagine us **wear** like ramses..on street 😊 [instead of 'dressed up']

- the omission of the verb item in a verb + noun collocation

Collocation is considered one of the major problematic points of the English language by EFL speakers (Mahdi & Yasin, 2015; Galal, 2015; Alqaed, 2017). English owns a high number of multi-word units which do not always have equivalent translations in other languages. Indeed, collocability may be culture-bound (Bahumaid, 2006; Mahdi & Yasin, 2015) so that a considerable variation across different languages (Bahumaid, 2006) exists.

For example, (Egyptian) Arabic and in English collocations may be equivalent as in the case of *take a photo* literally translated يلتقط صورة or different as in the case of *take an exam*, in Arabic عمل فحص (literally *do an exam*), يجري امتحانًا (literally *run a text*) or يتقدم لامتحان (literally *apply to a text*). Because of the differences in collocability in the two languages and of the difficulties in finding the right collocation in English, Egyptians usually tend to produce sentences as the following:

- (199) I2: \*[take a] Photo the beach  
 (200) I1: After that I need to \*[take an] oral exam with jury  
 (201) I1: The problem with my girlfriend had \*[gone] bigger

### *Variation in pronouns*

#### *Subject and object pronouns*

While in English there are eight personal pronouns (*I, you, he, she, it, we, you, and they*) in Standard Arabic there are fourteen (انا، أنت، انت، هو، هي، نهن، أنتم، أنن، هم، هن، أننما، أننما، هما، هما). However, more similarly to English, ECA owns only nine pronouns. These are referred to as independent subject pronouns which are detached forms used in nominal sentences (Table 49).

	English	Standard Arabic	Egyptian Arabic
<b>Singular</b>	I	(ana) أنا	
	you (masc.)	(anta) انت	(inta) انت
	you (fem.)	(anti) انت	(inti) انتي
	He	(howwa) هو	
	She	(heyya) هي	
<b>Dual</b>	We	(naHnu) نحن	
	You	(antuma) أننما	
	They	(humaa) هما	
<b>Plural</b>	We	(naHnu) نحن	(eHna) احنا
	you (masc.)	(antum) أنتم	(intu) انتو
	you (fem.)	(antunna) أننن	
	they (masc.)	(homa) هم	(homa) هم
	they (fem.)	(hunna) هن	

**Table 49** English subject pronouns VS (Egyptian) Arabic subject pronouns

As evident, while in English there is only one second-person pronoun *you* for the singular and plural second person and for both masculine and feminine genre, Arabic makes a distinction between masculine and feminine singular and plural second-person pronouns. Moreover, it also makes a distinction between masculine and feminine for the third plural person and sees the addition of other extra three forms for the dual which, however, do not exist in ECA which has no dual and has a unique neutral form for plural pronouns *انتم* and *هم*. In turn, both MSA and ECA lacks the neutral gender expressed in English by the pronoun *it* used to refer to unanimated objects and animals.

Unlike English, in Arabic, there exist also attached forms of pronominal suffixes. They are used in verbal sentences and are an integral part of the verb as in *katab-tu I wrote* (Al-Jarf, 2010). This means that, while in English, the verb must always be preceded by the subject pronoun, in Arabic, which is a ‘pro-drop’ language (Al-Jarf, 2010: 5), the subject pronoun can be dropped since it is already suggested in the verb.

As far as the object pronouns are concerned, in English they have a detached form, namely *me, you, him, her, us, you, them*, while in (Egyptian) Arabic the object is expressed by suffixes attached to the verb (Table 50).

	English	Standard Arabic	Egyptian Arabic
<b>Singular</b>	Me	(-ni) <i>ني</i>	
	you (masc.)	(-ka) <i>ك</i>	(-ak) <i>ك</i>
	you (fem.)	(-ki) <i>ك</i>	(-ik) <i>ك</i>
	Him	(-u) <i>ه</i>	
	Her	(-ha) <i>ها</i>	
<b>Dual</b>	Us	(-na) <i>نا</i>	
	You	(-kuma) <i>كما</i>	
	Them	(-huma) <i>هما</i>	
<b>Plural</b>	Us	(-na) <i>نا</i>	
	you (masc.)	(-kum) <i>كم</i>	(-ku/-kum) <i>كوكم</i>
	you (fem.)	(-kunna) <i>كن</i>	
	them (masc.)	(-hum) <i>هم</i>	(-hom) <i>هم</i>
	them (fem.)	(-hunna) <i>هن</i>	

Table 50 English VS (Egyptian) Arabic Object Pronouns

Due to negative language transfers, Egyptians English users make different use of both subject and object pronouns with a frequent omission of the former and a different placement of the latter inside a sentence (Mohsen & Qassem, 2016). Thus, variations include:

- the omission of the subject pronoun

- (202) I1: \* Drink my first coffee for this day
- (203) I1: \* Just wake up working in new villa design
- (204) I1: \* Is the new generation of buildings

- the use of right dislocation of pronouns

- (205) I1: I well answer the question s and I well send **it** to u soon
- (206) I1: This is the song I have sent **it** to you
- (207) I2: Beer ..wine ...it is things we cant drink **it** 😊

### *Relative pronouns*

Relative pronouns are one of the critical topics for Egyptian English users depending on their structural differences in the two languages' pronominal systems in form, use, and position (Mohsen & Qassem, 2016). As for the form, in Arabic, which is a synthetic language, relative pronouns agree with number, gender and case, while in English, they agree only with case (Ibrahim, Kassabgy, & Aydeliott, 2000). For example, in English, the pronoun *who* can take four forms: *who*, *whom*, *whose* and *whoever* while in Arabic it can have eight forms, الذي, التي, اللذان, اللتان, اللتين اللاتي, اللذان, اللتان, اللذين (Mohsen & Qassem, 2016). In addition, the Arabic relative pronouns vary according to the nouns they describe and according to their position in the sentence (Sabbah, 2015) and are used uniquely with definite nouns, they are preceded by the definite article while this does not occur in English. As for the position, the pronouns in Arabic do not follow a fixed rule (Mohsen & Qassem, 2016) while in English, the pronouns must be placed after the antecedent it modifies. These differences lead to variations when Egyptians use English and in detail, they lead to:

- the omission of relative pronouns especially *who* since the equivalent Arabic ones الذي، التي، اللذان، اللتان، اللذين، اللتين اللاتي (Sabbah, 2015) can be omitted in some cases (Sabbah, 2015).

- (208) I1: I need someone \* make me laugh.
- (209) I2: I love alexander era.. \* may be also Islamic era in egypt
- (210) I16: This is how u say thank you for someone \* helped u

- the non-distinction between human/nonhuman pronouns (Sabbah, 2015)

- (211) I1: The one **which** make me follow my passions again (referring to a girl)

- the non-use of prepositions before relative pronouns

(212) I2: We have month called Ramadan...\* **which** we dont eat or drink till sunset

- the wrong selection of pronominal forms in interrogative adverbs

(213) I1: **Whom** send u this delicious 😊 eating

(214) I1: **whom** with u ?

(215) I1: Your boyfriend Or you mean **whom**?

(216) I1: **Who** are u today

(217) I2: **who** about your study

### *Variation in adjectives*

While English adjectives are neutral, Arabic ones agree in gender and number with nouns (Sabbah, 2015). Adjectives in Arabic follow the noun they qualify like in جميلة بنت (bint ḡamīla) literary \*girl beautiful, whereas in English adjectives always precede the noun as in a beautiful girl. This leads Egyptian English speakers to produce

- a different word order adjective + noun

(218) I1: **The link first** is the film

(219) I16: She made **videos** to learn Arabic **very helpful**

In addition, other variations regarding the use of adjectives are:

- a different adjective choice

(220) I1: dress must be **tall** [instead of 'long']

(221) I2: U become **arabian** 😊 [instead of 'Arab']

(222) I2: World overcome many crises **larger** than this [instead of 'bigger']

- the use of adjectives with a verbal function

(223) I1: Relationship always **full** of responsibility

- adjectivisation of nouns

(224) I1: The number of **deaths** people around us still high

(225) I1: I still **anger**

(226) I1: The pic is a general talk about **egypt** speech

- (227) I1: **Color** egg
- (228) I1: He was **England** man Cold blood
- (229) I2: **Islam** not Arab....arab drink wines
- (230) I2: I think in some **Europe** country thought we are eat people 🤖

### *Comparatives and superlatives*

In English, in order to form comparatives and superlatives, it is necessary to add the suffixes *-er* for comparatives and *-est* for superlatives to the monosyllabic adjective, or to use the adverbs *more* or *most* before the polysyllabic adjective. In Arabic, the comparative and superlative forms are made by prefixing -أ 'a to the adjective and changing the vowel pattern. For example, كَبِير kabir *big* becomes أَكْبَر ʔakbar *bigger*. The superlative is obtained by adding the definite article to the comparative form such as الأَكْبَر al-ʔakbar *the biggest*. Due to these differences in the way comparative and superlative are formed in the two languages, when using English Egyptians could produce

- a different construction of comparatives and superlatives
- (231) I1: No minya **is beautiful more** than cairo
- (232) Video: Today's lesson is inspired by brother **biggest most notorious** ..?..

### *Demonstratives*

Other non-standard variations can be noticed in the use of the demonstrative adjectives. In detail variations include:

- the use of articles instead of demonstrative adjectives
- (233) I always went to **the** train in the same time every wenesaday
- the use of *this* for both singular and plural
- (234) I1: I work hard **this** days to set a team
- (235) I1: I feel Lonly this days 😬

### *Possessives*

Possessive pronouns in English have an independent form namely *my, your, his, her, our, their*. In Arabic, instead, as with object pronouns, these take the form of suffixes as in بيتي (bait-y) *my house*. This difference sometimes leads Egyptians to

- the omission of the possessive where needed in StdE

(236) I1: I take a shower And plan to go to the sport club With \* family

### *Variation in prepositions*

A first difference between (Egyptian) Arabic and English prepositions lies in numbers: English owns approximately 150 prepositions, while Arabic has a very limited number of prepositions (Sabbah, 2015) which, in addition, do not have a definite equivalent in English (Sabbah, 2015). Egyptian English speakers thus have difficulties in using the correct prepositions (Baheej, 2015a) and in inserting them in the right place within a sentence when trying to speak StdE in which their use is not determined by real norms, but partly by their meaning and partly by their formal grammatical requirement without any reference to their meaning (Kachru & Smith, 2008). Thus, the higher number of prepositions in English than in Arabic (Baheej, 2015a) together with the non-systematic information about prepositions and their use in English, lead to the production of many common and very frequent variations among Egyptian English speakers, such as:

- the omission of prepositions

(237) I1: I will try \*[to] sent it to more people

(238) I1: I used to go \*[to] work

(239) I12: I found my passion when I start talking **with** another language

- the overuse of prepositions

(240) I1: I can teach **to** you

- the substitution of prepositions

(241) I1: I feel ur familiar **for** me

(242) I1: okey i am interesting **for** read it

(243) I5: respond **about** my question

(244) L5: Why you want to know the religion **about** who participated in that

- (245) I12: I study **about** languages
- (246) I12: I have the passion **abut** learning more and more
- (247) I15: What can i do for you **about** this
- (248) I16: This is how u say thank you **for** someone helped u

- the use of different prepositions of time

- (249) I1: I will answer it **in the night**
- (250) I1: It published **into springer**
- (251) I2: i am not lucky to be **on** these era 😊
- (252) I5: David: OK I'm available **in** Any time

- the use of different preposition of place

- (253) I1: I spent it **on home** with my family
- (254) I1: it is Nile not sea We can't swim **on** it
- (255) I1: She lived **on** America
- (256) I1: I pray the Friday pray here **in home** for today
- (257) I1: I was waiting for her **in** airport yesterday
- (258) I1: But I have another apartment I near their. Home I live **on** it
- (259) I1: I am **on** the hotel
- (260) I1: I am **on** home
- (261) I1: I am **at** the sofa
- (262) I12: I didn't ever learn any language **in** school

- a different verb + prepositions construction

- (263) I1: think **in** change my job
- (264) I1: He still don't reply **on** me

*Variation in adverbs*

- confusion in the use of interrogative adverbs

- (265) I1: **Whom** send u this delicious 😊 eating
- (266) I1: **whom** with u ?
- (267) I3: **who** about your study
- (268) I1: Your boyfriend Or you mean **whom**?



- the use of the indefinite quantifier *all* replacing *every* mainly due to the fact that a unique adverbial form exists in Arabic, كل (cul), which translates the English adverbs *all*, *the whole*, *every*, *each*, and *both* (Jawad, 2015: 297-301).

(269) I1: I left **all** thing And now my time is ur

(270) I1: I hope **all** thing is good and your fine

- a different placement of adverbs of time

(271) I1: will come back to write my thesis also soon

(272) I2: I quite busy with my father but he now is better

### *Syntactical variations*

Egyptian English speakers also produce a different word order when forming English sentences (Mahmoud, 2012; Sabbah, 2015). In general, in EgyE sentences are organized differently with respect to the StdE. This depends on the different word order the two languages follow: English is an SVO language while the word order in Arabic can be SVO, VSO, or even VOS in certain cases (Mustafawi, 2002).

Syntactical order variation is clear in the analysis of the devices used for expressing focus and theme. Usually, in StdE, the initial element in the sentence signals the theme (the item being talked about), and the element that follows, the main verb, is the focus (information of interest about the item being talked about) (Kachru & Smith, 2008). Not always is this theme/focus order followed by Egyptian English speakers and this leads to:

- the change in word order sequences

(273) I1: This is the song I have sent it to you

(274) I1: With me She make a lot of stupid things

(275) I1: u want to say it to whom

(276) I12: okay so you want learn Arabic like how

(277) L12: what is your work actually about or your study

It should be noticed that, as it occurs with variation in sounds, also morpho-syntactical variations increase or decrease in correlation with sociolinguistic parameters, experience, and grammar training (Baheej, 2015b). However, as shown in this work, variations in morphology and syntax persist even at the highest level of proficiency (Steiner, 2019). Indeed, “depending on the context of acquisition similar levels of proficiency can inspire similar contact features

via transfer from L1” (Onysko, 2016a: 215) and these features start to be reiterated among different speakers to the point that they even become predictable. This allows claiming that, even though all the variations listed are not necessarily accepted as formal norms but still conceived by speakers themselves as performance deficit depending on “a failure to learn how the feature is encoded in the [StdE] language” (Steiner, 2019: 107) they can be ordered in a linguistic corpus and considered as representational features of the potential EgyE variety.

### ***Variation in words (lexis and vocabulary)***

#### *Lexical choice*

English influences the way Egyptians use their L1 also at the lexical level. Egyptians sometimes make a different lexical choice depending on the different use of the derivational system of the English language. Indeed, apart from variations in inflectional morphemes indicating grammatical functions (Abdul-Halim, Shamsan & Attayib, 2015) such as number, tenses, and person, Egyptians also produce variations in the use of derivational morphemes which, instead, “make words of a different grammatical class from the stem” (Yule, 2010: 69) also changing their semantic aspect.

Both the English and the (Egyptian) Arabic languages’ word-formation process involves derivation forming words from a base by the addition of affixes (Al-Jarf, 2015). Indeed, in Arabic, words are made up through a ‘Stem-Root Structure’ (Salim, 2013: 127) with a relative stable root to which affixes, suffixes and infixes are added in order to produce “a whole family of words that share a common meaning” (Ryan & Meara, 1991: 533) as in the case of كَتَبَ (kataba) *he wrote*, كَاتِبَ (kātib) *writer*, كَاتَبَ (kātaba) *he corresponded*, كِتَابَ (kitab) *book*, مَكْتَبَ (maktab) *desk*, مَكْتَبَةَ (maktaba) *library*, كِتَابَةَ (kitāba) *writing*, and so on.

Similarly, but to a lesser extent (Abdul-Halim, Shamsan & Attayib, 2015), in English, different grammar categories are built through the addition of derivational morphemes to one root such as in the cases of *to write* (verb), *writ-ing* or *writ-er* (nouns) or *use* (noun), *use-ful*, *use-less* (adjectives) or *use-fully* (adverb) etc. Although, this does not automatically mean that, in English, words with similar consonant structures are always semantically related (Ryan & Meara, 1991), and vice versa, that semantically related words are necessarily built on the same root. Examples are word pairs such as *to eat* and *food* (286), *to teach* and *to learn* (279), *to dress up* and *to wear* (280) (283) and *to know* and *to understand* which in Arabic instead share

the same base, respectively يأكل (*to consume food*) and أكل (*food*), يعلم (*to teach*) and يتعلم (*to learn by studying*), يرتدي (*to dress up in costumes*) and يرتدي (*to wear/ put clothes on*), and يعرف (*to know* but also *to recognise* or *to understand*) (282).

Thus, it is evident that, even if the two languages have some similarities in their word formation, the way they give rise to different grammatical classes is dissimilar in most cases and the different use of the derivational systems finally leads Egyptian English users to:

- a different lexical choice

- (278) I1: But it **need** a lot of money [instead of 'requires']  
 (279) I1: I was **learning** them To draw architecture drawing. I **learn** them to draw Architecture And read Drawing [instead of 'teaching' and 'taught']  
 (280) I2: I thought u imagine us **wear** like ramses..on street 😊 [instead of 'be dressed up']  
 (281) I2: Hahaha studying.....first time **know** study maks happy [instead of 'I hear']  
 (282) I15: I can **know** that you want any details [instead of 'understand']  
 (283) I16: U look gorgeous whatever u **dress** [instead of 'wear']

- the creation of new instances of conversion (Al-Jarf, 1994b)

- (284) I1: I hope you to **recovery** soon  
 (285) I1: I used to do what I want without **stop**  
 (286) I1: Whom send u this delicious 😊 **eating**  
 (287) I2: Constantine Great one who **union** roman empire  
 (288) I2: **Photo** the beach  
 (289) I1: I know it is only for **laugh**  
 (290) I2: Give me any **express** in English or feeling i can tell u in Arabic

Worthy to say, that this kind of varied lexical choice may depend on the level of instruction. Indeed, a “long-term both input-based and production-based instruction” (El-Dakhs, 2015: 34) would be helpful to enhance the lexical competence of EFL learners (El-Dakhs, 2015).

### *Code-switching*

The impact of English in Egypt is here analysed by investigating the presence of English borrowings in the (Egyptian) Arabic performance, a linguistic practice that emerged as a consequence of the Open Door policy initiated in the 1970s (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2017) and of

globalisation and its dissemination of English in Egypt (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018). As said, Egyptians very often import foreign language words, mainly from English, and insert them in their (Egyptian) Arabic performance (Mahmoud, 2013). This kind of language choice and the interchangeable use of elements from two or more languages (Ibrahim, 2006) can result in a lexical shift or code-switching and in detail, in:

- (Egyptian) Arabic-English intra-sentential shift also referred as code-mixing. This is the most common strategy used by Egyptian English speakers (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018) and occurs “when speakers switch to different languages within the same sentence” (Hamed, Elmahdy, & Abdennadher, 2018: 3805). In this case, speakers pronounce the whole sentence in one language except for one or more inserted words borrowed from another language as in the following examples:

(291) I1: T shirt **pantaloons**

(292) I2: do u have a **camal**

(293) I19: Our beautiful **tant bata**

(294) I17: dah elli hy8yr **elmoood** sa7

(295) I20: لا خالص انا المساج واللعب فالشعر:

لا مؤاخذه بعني **meditation** بالنسبالي احسن من اجدعها

As evident, and as also demonstrated in previous works (Hafez, 1996; Al-Sayadi, 2016; Yacoub, 2016; Hamed, Elmahdy, & Abdennadher, 2018), nouns are “the most commonly switched category” (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018: 605) and the words more easily borrowed and thus used in a code-mixing practice and that lexical shifts from Arabic into English occurs most frequently after the article ال (al-) as in *elmoood* (297).

- (Egyptian) Arabic-English inter-sentential lexical shift also referred as code-switching. This occurs when speakers switch languages each having its proper grammatical rules from one sentence to another (Hamed, Elmahdy, & Abdennadher, 2018) as in the following example:

(296) Video Mr. Kordy:

*I was an O.G. since I was 19, 18 something like this*  
 اتوادت وعشت منا في الزيتون  
 قضينا ال *childhood* طفولتنا هنا  
*I lived all of that motherfucking problems*  
 That you thinking or like you taking about  
 فاهم؟  
*Problems with the police*  
*problems with the drug dealers*, فاهم قصدي؟  
 كنا بنعمل مشاكل كثير  
 فاهم قصدي؟  
 طبعا لا بنكبر في السن العهاية بتخفاف

Today, (Egyptian) Arabic-English code-mixing/switching has become a natural and common linguistic phenomenon (Mahmoud, 2013) to the point that a new symbiotic variety of Hybrid Englishes (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008) or ‘bilingual mixed languages’<sup>20</sup> is probably developing. Indeed, although in mixed discourse it is possible to neatly identify features of English and features of (Egyptian) Arabic, the consequence of joining together the two codes creates “a highly ‘mixed’ written [and oral] discourse. There are hardly any antecedents for this type of mixed language and since code-switching/mixing highly depends on factors such as age, social class, education (Al-Sayadi, 2016), speakers’ level of proficiency in the language involved (Yacoub, 2015b), and being a certain fluency in English a prerequisite for the Arabic-English code-switching (Kniaż & Zawrotna, 2018: 617) its widespread use also highlights “the rise of education levels, international business and communication” (Hamed, Elmahdy, & Abdennadher, 2018: 3805) of Egypt as well as it broadly reflects the globalised identities of modern Egyptians (Sergeant & Tagg, 2011).

#### *Borrowing (or Loanwords) and Arabization*

As highlighted by Zuckermann (2003), words involved in a code-mixing practice can be distinguished into three types: guest words, foreignisms, and loanwords also named borrowings. A guest word is a word that is borrowed from a source language, but which has not been assimilated in the target language, and thus keeps its pronunciation, orthography, grammar and meaning; a foreignism is a word that is phonetically adapted into the native system, with a stable spelling and pronunciation. A loanword is “a totally assimilated borrowing, a word adopted from one language and incorporated into another language” (Zuckermann, 2003: 8, see

<sup>20</sup> Hybrid Englishes or ‘bilingual mixed languages’ are varieties of English developed in places where the local language enters in contact with English and which are characterised by code-mixing (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

also Bueasa, 2015) through “a process of phonological, morphological, or semantical change when crossing one language to another” (Yacoub, 2016: 121-122). Loans or borrowings thus imply a longer process which is not a “strict unidirectional process from perception to phonology, but rather a negotiation between perception and production grammars of distinguishing, parsing, and subsequent reorganizing of distinctive features and suprasegmental input” (Reynolds, 2013). This long process mainly depends on the nature of a language, but also on the duration of linguistic contacts as well as the intensity and frequency of use of the borrowed words. Indeed, borrowings often occur in the situation of long-lasting language contact when speakers of different languages regularly interact with one another and especially where there are many bilingual or multilingual speakers. A foreign language contact, indeed, can interfere with the linguistic processes of the native language, activating or accelerating various types of linguistic innovations. It has been observed that frequency of use of English linguistic items is important in the degree of its phonological and morpho-syntactical adaptation (Hamdi, 2017; Yacoub, 2016). The greater the intensity of contact, the more contact features will be present in a recipient language.

As far as the (Egyptian) Arabic language is concerned, it is particularly suitable for the introduction of new words coming from foreign languages due to its inflectional system and “infiltration of loanwords into standard Arabic is a landmark of the flexibility of Arabic morphology” (Al-Qinai, 2000: 1). In addition, in Egypt, the development of loanwords or borrowings from English has been possible thanks to the long-lasting linguistic contact and interactions between (Egyptian) Arabic and English (Moshref, 2010) which began during the British colonisation (Yacoub, 2016) and still continue to occur today thanks to the current communication between the Egyptian and English/American cultures and thanks to the effect of the globalising function of English (Onysko, 2009). Indeed, in Egypt, as a consequence of the increasingly important role of English in communication, technology and business, the phenomenon of English borrowing in Egyptian Arabic language has evolved, and many new terms from English have been introduced and abundantly used among speakers (Yacoub, 2016) above all to prevent poor translations and consequent misunderstandings.

During the process of borrowing words from English, and thus during “the transfer of material from the source language [English] to the recipient language [(Egyptian) Arabic]” (Van Coetsem, 1988: 3) “attempts to copy a similar picture of the [source language] linguistic pattern” (Al-Shbiel, 2017: 471) are done in order to adapt the word borrowed to the target language system. Indeed, the tendency is to personalise foreign forms through the inflectional process of Arabization, in Arabic تعريب ta'rib. Arabization is a process of adapting a foreign

word to the phonetic and morphological structure of the Arabic language (Al-Qinai, 2000; Hassan, 2017; Hamdi, 2017) which, “based on the closest sounds in the target language” (Yacoub, 2016: 124), is spelled according to the Arabic pronunciation rules representing complete phonemic and morphological transference (Al-Shbiel, 2017) “so as to be congruent with Arabic phonological and morphological paradigms” (Al-Qinai, 2000: 1, see also Huthaily, 2003; Hamdi, 2017) as well as with the orthographical one (Hamdi, 2017). However, although widely used and adapted in oral communication by Egyptian speakers, borrowings are most often difficult to be codified in their written form and, consequently, they are not easily introduced in the Arabic vocabulary.

A prerequisite for phonemic, morphological, and orthographical adaptations is that the linguistic features and rules of the ‘lender language’ are different from the borrowing language’s ones (Reynolds, 2013) because if different, adaptations are made and “loanwords are remodelled to conform to the Arabic word patterns” (Bueasa, 2015: 6-7). Indeed, “[w]hen producing a loanword, speakers attempt the closest proximation to the model” (Hafez, 1996: 5). Purposefully, several representative examples are provided: *video* spelled فيديو (fidyū), *diplomacy* spelled دبلوماسية (diblūmāsyā), *chocolate* spelled شوكولاتة (shūkūlāta). In addition, phonemic substitutions as in the word *gigabyte* جيغابايت (gīxābāyt) and *megabyte* ميغابايت (mīxābāyt) in which the /g/ sound is substituted by غ /x/, phonemic omissions as in the words *electronic* إلكتروني (īliktrūny) and *strategic* إستراتيجي (īstrātīgy) in which the /k/ is omitted and phonemic additions as in the word *magnet* مَغْنَطِيس (ma’nāṭīs) with the addition of the sound /s/ at the end (Hassan, 2017) are made. The consequence is that borrowed words are not pronounced in the same way they are pronounced in StdE. The ‘exact’ pronunciation of arabised forms is determined by education and by the degree of speaker’s knowledge of the source language (Al-Qinai, 2000) so that the production of “transposed version of a loanword could [...] be a marker of little education and lower social class” (Hafez, 1996: 10).

The practice of arabising English words has received opposition from language purists. For most linguists, particularly purists, who fight to preserve the integrity and authenticity of the Arabic language (Hassan, 2017) and to maintain the importance of Arabic as a tool for Islamic Arab culture, Arabization is regarded as one of the biggest problems of the present time which cannot be ignored, and which is leading to the ‘crisis’ or ‘change’ (Mahmoud, 2012; Benkharafa, 2013) fearing that the assimilation of foreign terms may change the identity of Arabic and could cause the loss of the expressiveness of the Arabic language and, if applied to excess, would even result in some form of hybrid language (Baker, 1987; Mesthrie & Bhatt,

2008). For this reason, they invite to avoid such words if there are indigenous alternatives” (Bueasa, 2015: 31).

However, in the time of globalisation, marked by the impressive increase in the number of technical terms (Hassan, 2017), the use of foreign words in Arabic language becomes a necessity. After all, the Arabic language’s need for scientific and technical terms is evidence and Arabisation must be taken into consideration as one of the less violent ways to introduce foreignisms into the Arabic language. Thus, faced with the huge influx of new terms which needed to be translated into Arabic, and with the need to modernise the Arabic world even purists had to accept foreign Arabised terms (Ibrahim, 2006). Baker claimed:

In spite of these restrictions and the disapproval of the academies, Arabization remains one of the most common methods of introducing new vocabulary into Arabic (Baker, 1987: 187).

Notably, since it is not always easy or sometimes even impossible to find new Arabic terms for every new concept and innovation, most of the borrowed words are technical terms (Hamdi, 2017) mostly belonging to the field of trade and business (Yacoub, 2016). Global known brands of (mainly American) commercial products like كوكاكولا *Coca Cola*, نستلة *Nestle*, ديزني *Disney* (Gaza’a & Yahya: 2017) بيبسي *Pepsi* as every “new products and inventions are frequently accompanied by the original English terminology” (Onysko, 2004: 59-64), as well as issues in the field of technology (Huthaily, 2003; Yacoub, 2016), Computer (Hassan, 2017), Media, Politics and Diplomacy, Science, Medicine, Economy, and sport (Yacoub, 2016; Al-Sayadi, 2016). In their articles *Translating technical terms into Arabic*, and *English loanwords in the Egyptian variety of Arabic*, Hassan (2017) and Yacoub (2016) respectively provided many examples of arabicised technical terms of English derivation. Some examples are nouns such as *virus* فيروس *email* إيميل *headphones* هيدفون *hīdfūn*, *archive* أرشيف *aršīf*, *battery* بطارية *baṭārya*, *camera* كاميرا *kāmīrā*, *modem* مودم *mūdim*, *computer* كمبيوتر *kumbyūtīr*, and so on, verbs as *format* يفرمت *yfurmat*, *delete* يذلت *ydlit*, *cancel* كئسل *kansil*, *save* يسيف *ysīf*, *to Facebook* يفسبك *yfisbuk*, *to Google* جوجل *gūgl*, *to set up* (a program) سَطَّب *saṭab*, *to format* فَرَمَات *furmāt*, *to send messages/SMS* مسجات *masigāt* (not very common) *chat*, شات *shāt*, etc, and adjectives like *automatic* أوتوماتيكي *ūtūmātīky*, among others (for further reading see Bianchi, 2011; Yacoub, 2016; Hassan, 2017). This makes clear how, during the last decades, the Arabisation process has become fundamental for the technical and scientific fields. Indeed, while Arabic “has been attacked as ‘non-scientific’ and, therefore, non-usable as a communication tool” (Luciani, 1988: 77), English is instead the language of science predominantly used as *Lingua Franca*, and which



is always in constant development, with the never-ending introduction of new concepts, techniques and inventions, continuously requiring new specific scientific and technical terms (Al-Shbiel, 2017) for which no equivalents in Arabic exist or for which Arabic translations would result imprecise and less accurate than English loanwords which, for this reason, are preferred to Arabic translations (Yacoub, 2016).

Borrowing and Arabisation, thus, acquire importance since they allow Egyptians to participate in the global technical and scientific debate and to achieve the desire of modernisation and development (Al-Shbiel, 2017). This allows claiming that Arabisation has not only linguistic consequences, but also scientific and social benefits (Al-Shbiel, 2017). Linguists, like Numan (1981), even saw in the Arabisation a way to enrich the Arabic language and to make it independent of any other language. He defined the process as a means of liberation and modernization to achieve the goal of national, cultural, and political independence at Arab level (Numan, 1981, Benkharafa, 2013).

### *Calques*

The loan translation, or calque, involves the actual translation of the meaning of a foreign term into Arabic (Baker, 1987). The process known as calquing is perhaps the most interesting product of the English-Egyptian Arabic contact. In this process the grammatical or semantic patterns of a word or expression are transferred from the foreign language to the recipient language, in this case from English to (Egyptian) Arabic. Terms created with this strategy have generally gained acceptance and include the following examples: علم الاصوات *Phonetics* (literally *science of sounds*), معالجة الكلمة *word processing*, تحليل نفسي *Psychanalysis*, كرة القدم *football*, اتصال تليفوني *a telephone call*, كلمات متقاطعة *crossword*, كلمة مرور *password*, صندوق أسود *black box*, لوحة مفاتيح *keyboard*.

### **3.7.4 Discussion**

The outcomes of the linguistic analysis carried out show that even though the Egyptian English speakers' aim is to reach the BrE or AmE forms, they unconsciously but systematically produce a very high degree of language variability that moves their English performance away from the standard norms.

When Egyptians use English, they commit ‘errors’. However, it is possible to state that the errors they commit cannot be seen as mere deviations from the StdE due to lack of competence (Corder, 1967), but, even if the development of linguistic items presented does not suffice to satisfy the nativization requirement, they can be thought as linguistic variations that potentially lead to the development of a new indigenised variety of English. All Egyptian English speakers, indeed, share nearly the same difficulties and produce nearly the same variations on all the different levels that have been analysed due to the (Egyptian) Arabic phonological, lexical, structural, morphological, and syntactical influxes. This means that Egypt is developing its own norm of usage of English becoming thus a norm-locally-developing area, where the term ‘developing’ means that “it is still not yet an established variety of English” (Xu, Deterding & He, 2017: 7 referring to Chinese English).

The main variations can be heard at a phonological and lexical level. This explains why, sometimes a highly marked Arabic accent can be heard in the English performance of Egyptians. Indeed, because of the fact that sounds of English are reorganised according to the L1 norms (Kachru & Smith, 2008), interferences with the L1 linguistic features are sometimes really marked causing serious comprehension problems and reducing intelligibility. This “may sometimes result in miscommunication” (Kachru & Smith, 2008: 77) and the more intelligibility is reduced among speakers of Englishes, the more a linguistic form acquires the possibility of becoming an independent linguistic variety since incomprehensibility among speakers can emerge as a criterion of diversity. This means that a nativization process is taking place in Egypt with Egyptians creating ‘their own English’ (Lewko, 2012: 98) even if this is more evident at a lexical and phonological level but also at a morpho-syntactical level<sup>21</sup>.

In conclusion, from a linguistic point of view, it is thus legitimate to think that a new potential variety of English is emerging in Egypt, namely EgyE, with proper linguistic features, a mixed variety which has an international flavour, and which expresses local self-identity (Yano, 2001) at the same time.

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<sup>21</sup> Worth to notice that many of the variations produced by Egyptians are typical of ELF (Seidlhofer, 2005). However, this fact does not exclude the establishment of the prerequisites for the development of a new variety of English (Brutt-Griffler, 2002).

### **3.8 Cognitive criterion**

#### **3.8.1 Acceptance and recognition of a local English form in Egypt**

##### **Empirical study: Questionnaire and interview (part 5). Items 68-81**

As for the cognitive aspect, the acceptance of the existence of a new form of English by the Egyptian English speakers and by scholars would be a further step towards the affirmation of the emergence of the new variety labelled EgyE.

For EgyE to exist, at least in its potential form, it should be cognitively recognised by Egyptians themselves as ‘their own form of English’ or, at least, it should be discussed among scholars as a stabilised system rather than as an assemblage of linguistic errors (Bolton, 2003). Grammatical ‘errors’ should be regarded as typical variations Egyptians usually commit while speaking or writing in English and no longer as simple mistakes to avoid at all costs (Lennon, 1991). From a lexical point of view, loans from English should be perceived as perfectly integrated in the Arabic language and not as independent entities with a foreign recognisable form. Egyptians thus should reach a level of detachment from the StdE forms and develop positive approaches towards the idea of the existence of the ‘Egyptian English’ as an independent variety of English. However, shifting from considering an error a variation, and an EFL as a new variety, at least potentially, could be problematic for Egyptians who still seem to be exonymically projected, whether towards the BrE with its RP pronunciation and the variety of their textbooks at school or towards the AmE variety the one spoken on American TV programs (Schaub, 2000), and thus it is difficult for them to “conceptualize what a version of English different from that to be used in Egypt would be” (Lewko, 2012: 111).

As far as scholars’ and researchers’ acceptance and recognition is concerned, it could be claimed that the observation of English linguistic contact, with the consequent interference on the Egyptian language and culture, is not new among researchers and (socio)linguists, and many studies on the topic have already appeared on the scene. Several researchers have already provided a description of different aspects of the English influence in Egypt. The most remote studies were about the history of English linguistic and educational policy in Egypt during and after British colonisation (Lawrence, 1888; Heyworth-Dunne, 1938; Cochran, 1986; Browne, 2011; Loveluck, 2012; Dalle Carbonare, 2015) and on the history of English teaching and learning (Salama, 1994; Abdallah, 2011, 2014; Latif, 2012, 2017; Baheej, 2015a; Ibrahim, 2017). Recently, instead, many studies are centred on the linguistic contact-induced situation between English and Arabic with the analysis of contact linguistic processes such as phonetic adaptation (Al-Athwary, 2017), lexical borrowing and coinage (Hafez, 1958; Ibrahim, 2006;

Reynolds, 2011; Bueasa, 2015; Sabbah, 2015; Yacoub, 2015a, 2016; Hamdi, 2017), word formation and Arabisation (Al-Jarf, 1994b; Abderrahman, 1995; Al-Shbiel, 2007), morphological inflexion (Al-Jarf, 1994c; Abdul-Halim, Shamsan & Attayib, 2015), English-(Egyptian) Arabic code-switching and code-mixing in everyday conversation (Mohamed, 2017; Kniż & Zawrotna, 2017, 2018, 2021; Hamed et al., 2018) in media and advertisements (Bruns et al, 2013; Spierts, 2015; Yaseen & Hoon, 2017), in high and low literature (Albakry & Hancock, 2008; Al-Mousa, 2015; El Shimi, 2015) and so on. Some comparative studies between English and Arabic grammatical features (Amer, 1980; Al-Jarf, 1994a; Huthaily, 2003; Al-Qudah & Yasin, 2016; Al Radat, 2017) and even descriptions of the socio-linguistic aspects of the contact between English and (Egyptian) Arabic (Beym, 1956; Schaub, 2000; Lewko, 2012; Poese, 2014; Yacoub, 2015a; Hamouda, 2015; Haeri, 2016) have also been made. Among all the studies cited, Schaub's (2000) article, titled *English in the Arab Republic of Egypt*, is the one that gave a major contribution to the analysis of the socio-linguistic background of English in Egypt. Schaub (2000) has never talked about 'Egyptian English' but he has always alluded to it by describing the widespread use of English due to Egyptians' "national hysteria" (Imhoof, 1977) and their strong desire to be highly proficient in English. According to him, the introduction of English and the Egyptians' increasing need for it have changed the linguistic landscape in many Egyptian domains "to the point that something like 'Egyptian English' is common currency among professional and service-oriented groups working in engineering, business, medicine, and the tourist industry" (Bruthiaux, 2003: 165). Apart from Schaub sociolinguistic description of English in Egypt and Bruthiaux's attempt to talk about an 'Egyptian English' (Bruthiaux, 2003: 165), another important scholar to cite is Lewko, who claimed that "English is used to such a degree in the Egyptian context that it could at same point become its own variety of World English" (Lewko, 2012: iv). More recently, Al-Sayadi (2016) as well, stated that such a strong use of English in Egypt leads to the "assimilation of both Arabic and English resulted in many linguistic modifications, too" (Al-Sayadi, 2016: 3) and citing Rouchdy (1992), she added that "sometimes the interference of both Arabic and English can result in the formation of new ethnic languages which can be understood only by some members of the community" (Al-Sayadi, 2016: 3; Rouchdy 1992:19). This implies that there is already, at least among scholars, the awareness that English in Egypt is becoming something more than a simple EFL. Nevertheless, although research published on this topic is growing, and although some researchers even came close to the idea of the existence of a different form of English in Egypt to be regarded as a new emergent variety, nobody in the history of sociolinguistics and variationist studies has ever systematically discussed this topic within the

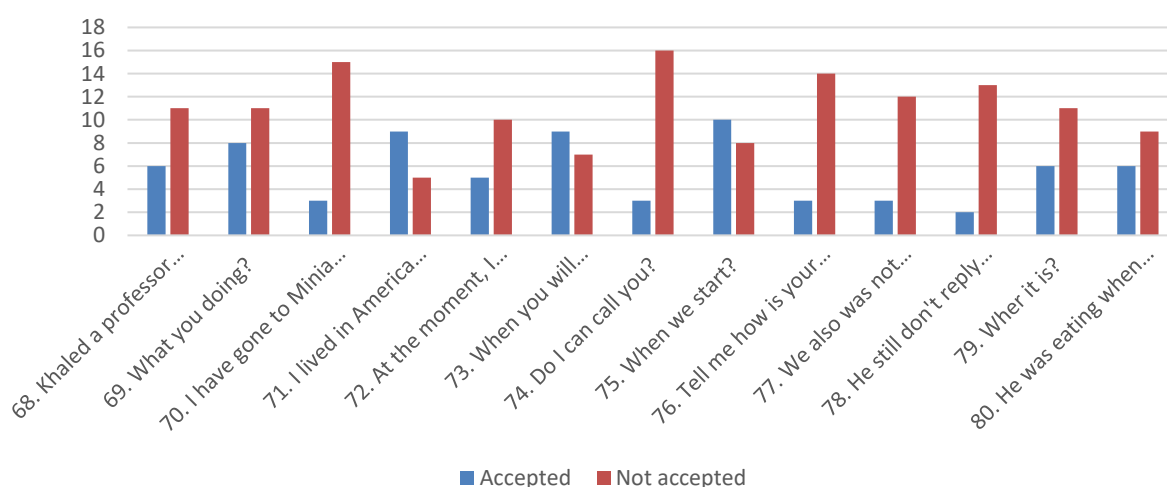
context of World Englishes (WE) and no comprehensive study, previous to this research, has yet explored the case of Egypt within the WEs paradigm.

### *Acceptance and recognition of typical EgyE linguistic variations*

In part 5 of the questionnaire, with questions 68-80, recognition and acceptance of potential morpho-syntactical variations in Egyptian English sentences have been investigated. On the basis of their own experience and of their own use of English, participants have been asked to judge whether the sentences in English were acceptable thus confirming their potentiality in becoming ‘variations’ typically produced by Egyptians or unacceptable thus seen as ‘errors’ to avoid in order to use a correct StdE (Lennon, 1991). The sentences used for this study have been selected from messages with Egyptian interviewees themselves on the basis of the presence of what is supposed to be a typical EgyE morpho-syntactical variation previously detected in this study. In addition, Egyptian participants’ awareness about the presence of English loanwords and calques in the Arabic vocabulary has been analysed with question 81.

Data show that the level of acceptability of ‘errors’ as typical variations committed by Egyptians is still too low even if a good percentage is already regarding mistakes as acceptable forms especially regarding the use of past tenses, auxiliaries and conditionals in which, because of the Arabic influence, are typically varied (St. 68-80).

**Table 51** Answers to St. 68-80 of the questionnaire.  
68-80. Acceptability of linguistic variations.



As for lexis and vocabulary, with question 81 the awareness of Egyptians about the introduction of English borrowing and calques is investigated. Participants have been presented a list of words, the majority of English origins being borrowings and calques and only four (حافلة bus; حاسوب computer; فأرة mouse; يد hand) of Arabic origins. Then, they have been asked to indicate which of the words in the list derive from English. Interestingly, while participants recognised borrowings, they found it difficult to acknowledge calques. Indeed, only one participant recognised as of English derivation the compounds كلمات متقاطعة *crosswords* and صندوق أسود *black box* while no one considered the words كلمة مرور *password* and لوحة مفاتيح *keyboard* as English calques. This may happen because while loanwords may be signalled in a variety of ways, as by the range of clues “that betray a word’s foreignness” and the presence of non-native segments or consonant clusters, their non-native distribution, prosody, word length and syllable structure (Operstein, 2019), in calques this is not so evident since calqued expressions are totally translated in the target language showing thus a major level of integration

Far from scientific explications, this result is significant because it means that Egyptians, even the most educated, are sometimes unable to recognise English loans thinking that these words are originally Arabic (Yacoub, 2016) and they end up using them in their conversations although they believe to be perfectly able to control English influxes as I23 said:

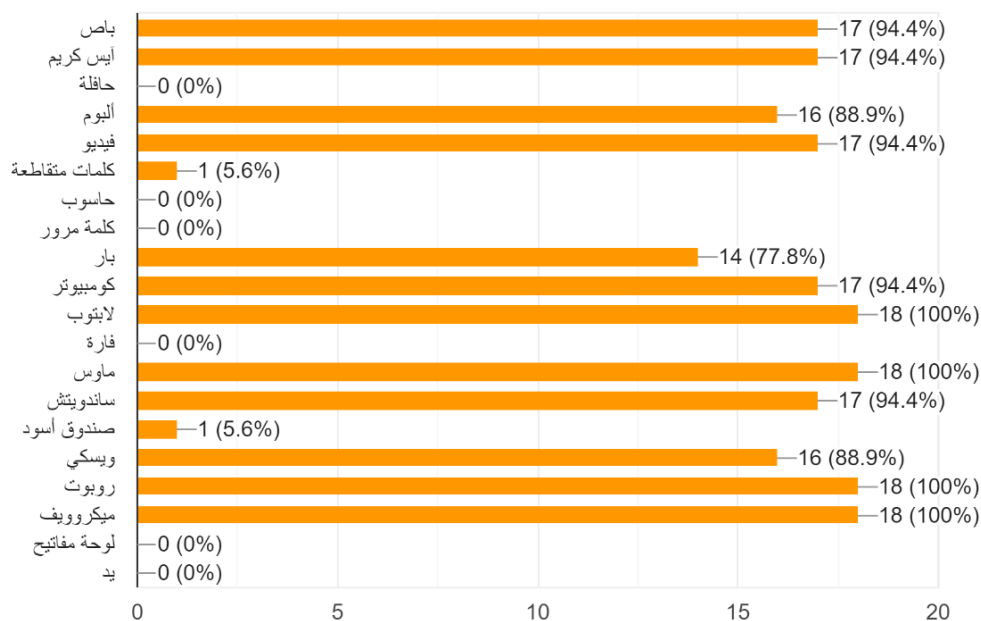
*I23: I want to add that the dominance of English is not as huge as conceived, and controllable, we can control whether to use English words or not. Not like the Moroccan's dialect for example, their dialect is a mix of Arabic and French, we can't understand them.*

This occurs because some loanwords, once they are borrowed, become “subject to a higher degree of integration, to such a point that the word is hardly detectable as a foreign word” (Manfredi, Simeone-Senelle & Tosco, 2015: 286) and that they become integrant part of the Arabic language (Al-Sayadi, 2016). The use of foreign words, especially in the current globalisation era, is a spontaneous and unconscious illocutionary act. Taking this evidence, it is legitimate to think that the introduction of new English words in the (Egyptian) Arabic system can be uncontrolled, and it can silently lead to the infringement of the Arabic morphological rules (Al-Shiebel, 2017).

**Table 52** Answers to Qu. 81 of the questionnaire.

81. Which of these words are loans or calques of English origin?

Egyptians' recognition of loans or calques from English.



### *Egyptians' acceptance and recognition of the potential existence of an EgyE*

In order to verify Egyptian participants' reaction and awareness about the existence of the EgyE as an independent form from StdE other questions were asked outside of the questionnaire. The first question asked was:

I.er: Do you think that the English language influences Egyptian Arabic language to the point that we can talk about a new and independent variety?

Commenting on the idea of the possible existence of the new variety of English in Egypt, labelled 'Egyptian English', different from the StdE one(s), the interviewees reacted doubtfully and found it difficult to answer. Indeed, many of the respondents seemed not to take the question seriously, they laughed or were surprised. So, for the sake of major clarity, the question was rephrased as follows:

I.er: I mean, do you think that the fact of using English so frequently is leading to linguistic interferences with (Egyptian) Arabic to the point that can talk about a new and independent variety?

I16: *you meant that we made our own English language?*

I.er: Exactly. Can we suppose that?

I24: *Of course it's not possible . Cuz the aren't influenced by each other . English doesn't use any Arabic words . Egyptians use some English words in between Arabic lines just for fun but without influence.*

I8: *in Egypt we speak Arabic so I don't think it will help u with ur studies*

I26: *No we don't off course the English will be English if I'm going to use that mean that im going to talk to English speaker so how would they understand me?*

With these first answers, it seems clear that “the spoken Arabic dialect remains the primary means for Egyptians to speak to each other” (Lewko, 2012: 71) and the language chosen in non-educational interactions (Lewko, 2012) while EgyE seems not to be recognized as a new variety by interviewees. Nevertheless, different answers arrived:

I24: *I guess it exists [...]*

I16: *Yeah somehow, every country will do the same linking the language that u learn to ur native language*

These answers show, that although the majority of the Egyptian English speakers do not recognise English as something more than a foreign language, some of them are starting to become aware of the fact that English is actually influencing Egyptian Arabic to the point that it could be seen as an independent variety ‘somehow’. At this point, questions to verify whether Egyptians recognise any difference in phonetics, syntax, and lexical choice between the standardised variety of English and the English they speak were asked:

I.er: [...] What I would like to understand now is if English in Egypt has developed proper grammar, phonetic, syntactical, and lexical norms which, in that case, become specific of what I have called ‘Egyptian English’ or if you just respect Standard English grammar.

I25: *Ok I can tell u that all the sounds of most of the foreign languages are in the Arabic language especially in Quran our holy book for Muslims so our tongue is more flexible to speak any language. Also in phonetics we have something equal to it in Arabic so we can deal easily with phonetics and any language*

I24: *We are trying to respect the Standard English grammar*



I25: *There's no difference between our English and standard English but just some person are bad but we try to improve until it becomes excellent*

I16: *no, no. english is english we speak the british english we learn in schools english through the british academic books that weird sound while we talk just like the british americans or European In reality each of us has a proper accent.. Maybe it is not so strong..*

I16: *nope. actually we have an advantage that we the egyptians dont have an accent like indians for example*

I5: *but English had many accent and way to speak Canadian English .american English .Indian English. and a lot .....but we have no Accent in Egypt but if you want to learn English you choice between American or british and if you see some one in Egypt speak English different from American or British ...this person speak English wrong we speak English the British accent not standard English in united kingdom and we speak English Not grammatically*

Thus, even though the Egyptian English speakers' performance in most cases deviates from the standard(s), they still recognize BrE and AmE as the norm to follow. When they speak English, they always try to reproduce one of these standard varieties with their grammatical, phonetical and morphosyntactic rules, still considering themselves dependent on them. Any deviation is considered a mistake, an error due to the lack of knowledge of the grammar norms of English. Indeed, who uses the English language improperly is considered less educated (Lewko, 2012), and "a spelling mistake is a solecism that betrays carelessness or plebeian origins" (Cook, 1997: 474). English, indeed, appears to play an important role in social positioning (Edwards, 2018) and a good proficiency is a sign of instruction. This is also confirmed by I26's comment:

I26: *For me I don't relate speaking English with ur rank I mean I don't think dat bcuz u talk English u r high standard or good person Low class ofcourse doesn't speak english well*

I28: *In Egypt who always use English than Arabic not the university students but The aristocracy community who have money and travel a lot*

### 3.8.2 Discussion

Part 5 of the questionnaire and the interview proved useful for analysing whether EgyE as an independent variety exists according to its speakers, investigating what is their perception towards the idea of the development of ‘their own English’ and verifying to what extent Egyptian English speakers are aware of its phonetic, structural, and lexical typical features.

The results show that the majority of Egyptians “do not regard it [EgyE] as a fully-fledged, locally accepted variety of English” (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2014: 127). They do not seem to be aware of the traits that distinguish their English from that used by native speakers and that there is always a tendency to reach the BrE and AmE standardised varieties with a persistent exonormative propensity that, however, generally accompanies new varieties of English (Schneider, 2007). They try to approximate to the ‘perfect’ standard pronunciation demonstrating “willingness toward some sort of “adjustment” of their English” (Lewko, 2012: 98) in order to reach the most ‘correct’ form, according to standard rules.

Though, the fact that they lean towards a StdE form does not actually imply that the final outcome is the BrE or AmE. In fact, they obtain the opposite result since for a non-native speaker, the attempt to approximate to the dominant form may cause a shift in style and production (Kachru, 1987; Pung, 2009) which inevitably induce to language variations and probably to the development of a localised innovation. Indeed, using English, mixing it with (Egyptian) Arabic in their discourse or introducing English words in their Arabic performance, they inevitably “come across as Egyptians in their speech” (Lewko, 2012: 97) and they unconsciously make “the language their own” (Lewko, 2012: 98). “There is thus a confusion between linguistic norm and linguistic behaviour” (Kachru, 1983: 37; 2006: 114) and, while these speakers do not recognise their way of using English as an indigenised variety of English, and thus do not seek “active *access* to world Englishes” (emphasis in the original) (Schneider, 2016a: 254), with their mistakes and imperfections, they are passively and unconsciously already creating and using a variety with proper linguistic and cultural features which differs from the StdE (Mair, 2013; Schneider, 2016a).

### 3.9 Cultural criterion

#### 3.9.1 Influences of English in creative genres

##### **Empirical study: Questionnaire and interview (part 6). Items 82-91.**

The English language in Egypt, especially in big and tourist cities, has permeated the popular culture and non-elitist genres starting to acquire an *imaginative/innovative function* typical of a language used in creative literature, songs, advertising, and all cultural productions (Kachru, 199b). Once penetrated, it has modified and varied the Arabic traditional creative practices which seem to have become more ‘westernised’.

Egyptians are influenced by Inner communities in many cultural aspects and creative genres such as literature, music, advertisement, movie production, and influences come especially from America which, after World War II, starting from the assumption that not only linguistic knowledge but also cultural knowledge constitutes an instrument of power (Schneider, 2013), Americans began exporting their products, including Hollywood movies, television programs, and popular music so that a proper English ‘cultural colonialism’ or ‘cultural invasion’ (Kachru, 2006a [1992]: 613) started in Egypt. Today, many Egyptians, especially the youngest, are very influenced by American culture and lifestyle and they feel they want to be part of it (Lewko, 2012). In order to participate to the American culture and style, English is the linguistic tool Egyptians need, and this would explain why the Egyptian community, as well as many Arab communities, “have closed the gap between the Arab and Western worlds” (Abdoulzhrara, Ismail & Yasin, 2018: 395) and are opening up to the globe using English as their lingua franca. This linguistic, social, and cultural openness has intensified communication between Arab and English speakers. Thus, as Yacoub (2015) claimed, the factor leading to the spread of English in the Arabic world is not only its utility for job seeking and economic prosperity, but also the appreciation of the English culture which has even led to a “national hysteria” (Imhoof, 1977: 3).

#### 3.9.2 Frequency of English influxes in creative genres

In part 6 of the questionnaire, the frequency of use of English in different cultural contexts and innovative creative genres in Egypt is analysed. In detail, the use of English in advertisements, in modern hip-hop songs, in movie and cinema production and in novels is investigated. On the basis of their experience, Egyptian participants have been asked to indicate how frequently

English, SA, ECA or an (Egyptian) Arabic-English code-mixing are used in these low and high creative genres.

The main purpose of this section is verifying whether and to what extent English has entered the Egyptian creative popular and high culture and whether this implies a further variation in Egyptian English speakers' linguistic practices.

### *English in Egyptian street signs and labels*

Although the country does not recognize English as an official language, the importance given to the English language is reflected in the prominent visibility of English in the streets of Egypt which proves its wide role and influence in the country. English is used in street signs, labels, names of streets, menus, restaurants, or shops names (Mohamed, 2017) (St. 86) (Figure 44).

In Egyptian cities, for example, the signs of restaurants are often in both Arabic and English, waiters are able to take an order in English, and “restaurant menus are usually bilingual or separate menus in English are available” (Schaub, 2000: 229) (Figure 45). This is strategically done for business motivations, and more specifically in order to attract customers and tourists' attention (Bhatia, 1992; Piller, 2010).



**Figure 44** Examples of street signs in Egyptian cities of Cairo and Luxor written in both Arabic and English



**Figure 45** Example of bilingual Arabic-English menu of a restaurant in Cairo, Egypt.

In Egypt, this is particularly true in big cities which are generally tourist areas such as Cairo, Alexandria, Luxor, or Aswan while it seems not to be used in smaller and less touristic cities. This is confirmed by the debate among interviewees I1, I25, I24, who live in Luxor, Aswan, and Cairo respectively, and I5 who instead lives in the less popular reality of Sohag:

I.1er: What about street signals or restaurant menus or everything like that, are they also written in English?

I1: *some of it in english but the most in arabic i think*

I25: *Yes it is written in english most of them*

I5: *there is no English in the street of Egypt but in some places in Luxor and hurugada and sharm*

I24: *there are English signs in streets all over the country*

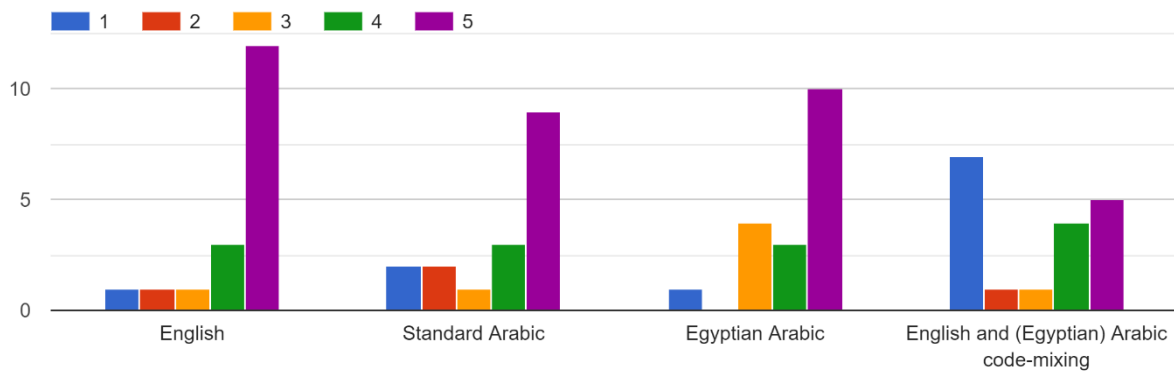
I5: *just in Airport and some places but in Luxor speak English in cafes and streets*

I24: *NOT only Airport, As I said, there are Signs all over the country*

I25: Look if u bought any thing u can find English And all doors of shops there is open signal or close In bathroom there's a signal for man and women in English All .make up tools are in English hahaha And cars signals like STOP our kitchen machines all in English

**Table 53** Answers to St. 86 of the questionnaire.

86. Shops' signs and labels in Egyptian cities.




### ***English in Egyptian advertisement***

Egyptian advertisers strategically use the English language as a tool “to fulfill their commercial, informational and ideological goals” (Pimentel, 2000: 2). But this is not without sociolinguistic consequences: by doing so, they reinforce and promote the usage of the English language “which may in turn, become even more appealing to advertisers and may eventually change perceptions of linguistic norms” (Pimentel, 2000: 3).

As also Spierts (2015) signals, there are three different language versions of advertisements, namely English, Arabic (in both Arabic and Latin scripts) and mixed language. In Egypt, indeed, advertisements fully written in English can be easily found, as well as advertisements written in the only native language, and advertisements written in both the international and local languages. The practice of switching completely to English in some advertisements represents a new tendency (Ibrahim, 2006) which is used especially to advertising foreign companies like *Pepsi*, *Coca-Cola*, or *Lipton Tea* (Schaub, 2000). This trend is especially used when multinational companies, but also local companies that advertise for jobs (Figure 46). In this last case, the use of English has a more pragmatic function and occurs because “job advertisements list English as a requirement” (Poese, 2014: 5, see also Nour, 1992 cited in Schaub, 2000: 228). Indeed, far from being mere evidence of the fact that English has actually and currently entered the Egyptians lives, it implicitly suggests that a high proficiency of English is the first requirement for people who want to apply for job positions in Egypt

(Nour, 1992 cited in Schaub, 2000: 228; Poese, 2014). For both international and Egyptian companies, printing the advertisement in English would definitely attract only the right calibre of people, as only those who are fluent in the English language would understand it and apply.



**Job Vacancy**  
Structural Shop Drawing Engineers  
Job code: ST-D

Setec Egypte is an international engineering consultancy established in 2004, providing a wide range of multi-disciplinary Engineering design, technical support, project management, site supervision and integrated planning services.  
[www.egypte.setec.fr](http://www.egypte.setec.fr) a company of [www.setec.fr](http://www.setec.fr)

**Qualifications:**  
Education : Bachelor of Civil Engineering  
Experience : 1-3 years solid experience in SHOP DRAWING of CONCRETE structures  
Languages : Very good English  
Software : Auto CAD (Arma CAD is preferable)

Interested candidates can send their resumes to: [careers.egy@egypte.setec.fr](mailto:careers.egy@egypte.setec.fr)  
Note : Job code should be mentioned into the subject Line.  
**Good Luck**

## EGYPT

**FOR LARGE OIL & GAS COMPANY**

**SHORTLISTING IN PROGRESS / VACANCY IN LARGE NUMBERS**

◆ PIPE FABRICATORS	\$ 600
◆ TIG & ARC WELDERS (Alloy)	\$ 1000
◆ CS WELDERS 6G (GTAW & SMAW)	\$ 700
◆ CS WELDERS 6G (SMAW)	\$ 600

**FREE FOOD / ACCOMMODATION**

Please carry CV, Original Passport & Certificates to :

Figure 46 Job advertisement in Egypt entirely written in English

However, advertisers do not exclusively favour the use of English (Kachru, 2006a [1991]). In Egypt, many advertisements are fully in Arabic, especially in ECA but also in SA, although they promote American or British famous products or companies like *Coca-Cola*, *McDonald*, or *Vodafone*. Moreover, a common practice is the transliterations of English brands' names in non-Latin scripts. They are thus Arabised, so that they do not exclusively respect standard BrE or AmE accents, but a local accent is employed to render the international name of the product. For example, *Coca Cola* or *Vodafone* are known as *kūka kūla* and *fūdāfūn*. So doing, signs “look bilingual but are really monolingual” since “‘McDonalds’ is ‘McDonalds’ in the Roman and Arabic script” (Piller, 2010) (Figure 47).



Figure 47 Examples of Egyptian advertisements in Arabic with brands' names transliterations



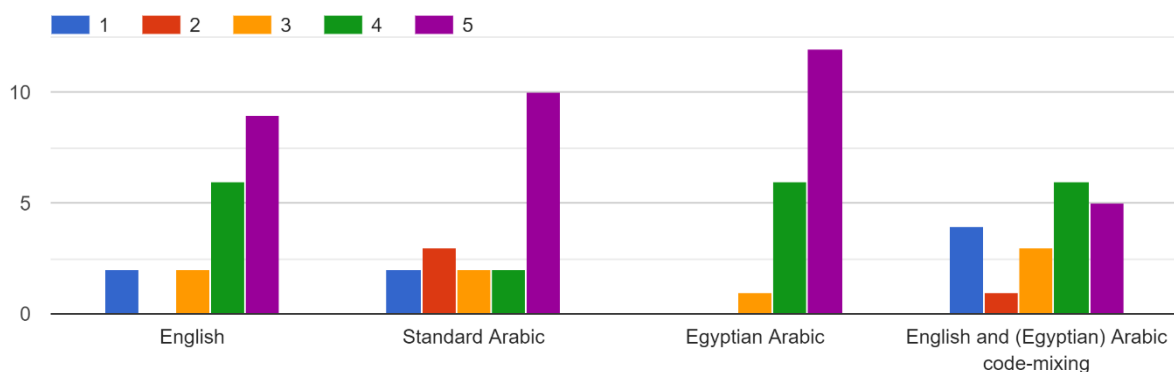
Finally, in Egypt, there also exists a mixed Arabic-English version of the advertisement. So, sometimes, advertisements are written in Arabic but with the introduction of English words (Schaub, 2000) or vice versa. This kind of advertising especially occurs with ads promoting global brands, but also with local announcements, characterised by code-mixing, language mixing, and translations (Figure 48).



Figure 48 Examples of Egyptian local (on the left) and international (on the right) advertisement characterised by English-Arabic code mixing

Although, in a study by Spierts (2015), this practice, was evaluated low, maybe because code-switching is the less expected strategy in advertisements or because, sometimes, there is no correspondence between the Arabic and the English version (Spierts, 2015), it represents a significant commercial strategy aiming at protecting both the international and local interests at the same time.

Table 54 Answers to St. 84 of the questionnaire.  
84. Advertisement along the streets of Egyptian cities.

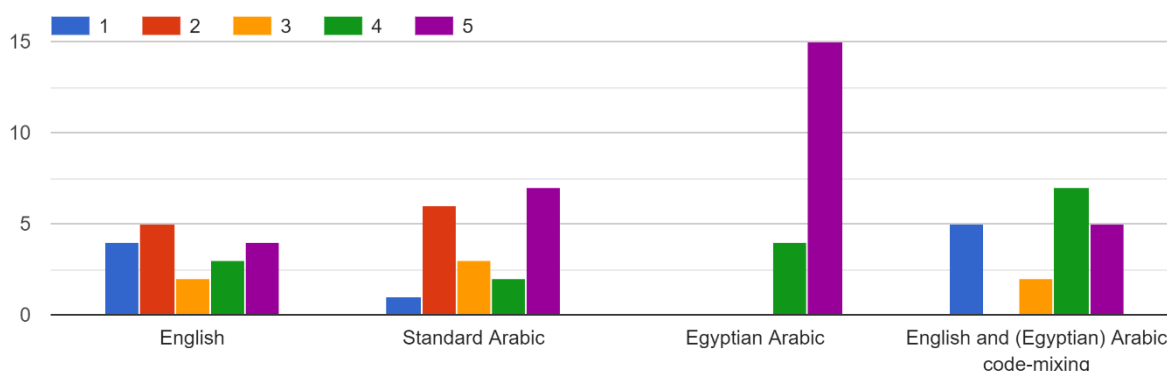


In Egypt, with the rise of TV, during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, TV advertising increased in order to attract more consumers through “[c]reatively made videos that seem to have a well-thought-out plot and concept behind them” to the point that “[a]dvertisement production in



Egypt seems to be, at times, taken more seriously than film and TV production with big brands allocating even bigger budgets towards their ads” (Aravanis, 2020). Advertisement on Egyptian TV (St. 85) is prevalently in Arabic, mostly in ECA, while English, as also shown in the graph, seems not to be so frequently used although the little it is used seems to have, however, a great impact (Al-Sayadi, 2016) on Egyptians and their linguistic habits.

**Table 55** Answers to St. 85 of the questionnaire.  
85. Advertisement on Egyptian TV.



Moreover, another type of advertising which is developing in current global times in Egypt is ‘digital advertising’ (Aravanis, 2020) characterised by a widespread use of English. Instances are web marketplaces like *Jumia Egypt* (Figure 49), the largest online mall store selling electronic tools and fashion staff, which is run by young Egyptian entrepreneurs, targeted for Egyptians themselves, but entirely written in English (<https://www.jumia.com.eg/>)<sup>23</sup>.



**Figure 49** Example of digital advertising in Egypt. Retrieved from <https://www.jumia.com.eg/fashion-tanson-zimae-cool-sunglasses-polarized-sports-men-coating-mirror-driving-sun-glasses-oculos-male-eyewear-accessories-anti-uv-400-2861426.html> online market

<sup>22</sup> A series of other examples of online advertising in Egypt are available on this link: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/taxonomy/country/egypt>

<sup>23</sup> A series of other examples of online advertising in Egypt are available on this link: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/taxonomy/country/egypt>

As evident, Egyptian are bombarded by advertisements (Aravanis, 2020) and the fact that most of them contains English words or sentence is a quite relevant issue as far as this analysis is concerned. Indeed, this wide exposure to inputs in English makes speakers unconscious learners of it (Corder, 1967) since Egyptians can acquire it being exposed to print materials in their surroundings, by means of the linguistic environment that the globalised cities offer (Van Mensel, Vandembroucke & Blackwood, 2016). Doing so, global and local advertisers and marketers consciously or unconsciously favour the bi-/multilingualism (Kachru, Kachru & Nelson, 2009) in Egypt.

### *English in Egyptian rap music*

The strong influx of the English language, together with the uncontrolled diffusion of the American culture has not spared the Egyptian popular musical field. Contrary, the global spread of American hip hop culture and terminology (Pennycook 2007; Terkourafi 2012) has easily reached Egypt through western satellite televisions such as MTV (Chang, 2007) or VH1 and other music channels or through the Internet by the means of applications such as Melody and Mazinga and of big video platforms such as YouTube which is accessible to the wider population (Schneider, 2016a).

Egypt has been involved in this phenomenon as well, with the production of an ever-growing number of Egyptian rap songs in the last years. While visiting Egypt today, one would be exposed to rap music (Bibars, 2017) and several Egyptian rappers or crew have become popular among Egyptian young people and even outside Egypt. Some of them are Mc Amin, Mr. Kordy, Arabian Knightz (a trio formed by Sphinx, Rush and E-Money), Y- Crew, Asphalt, Dawsha, Abyusif, Mekky, MTM (a three-member band which singers are Mahmoud, Taki, and Mikey), among many others, and each of them has revolutionised the musical art of Arabic rap with a personal style. Interestingly, these Egyptian rappers and their 'homie' or 'familia' reproduce the American rap style not only in rhythm, topics, and lifestyle imitating them in their way of behaving including fashion like tattooing, street dance, graffiti, beatboxing or selling pit bull dogs (Bibars, 2017) and for this reason the exact term used for this new Egyptian genre is *gangster music*, but they also use English, mainly the American slang, in their songs mixing it with Arabic, mainly or maybe exclusively ECA.

The introduction of American music and lifestyle may sound unusual for an Arabic country, such as Egypt, whose national tradition has hardly any or no antecedents for this type of mixed musical and linguistic practices. Conversely, Egypt had a proper well-rooted musical

tradition, based on the use of the conventional instrument, slow rhythm, amorous themes as love, especially Divine, peace, faith, and brotherhood, and on the rigorous use of the Arabic language as a means of expression of their soul and their deep and natural sentiments. Nonetheless, English has been able to break this wall and to penetrate the Egyptian musical field introducing in Egypt a totally different rhythm, opposite themes, and foreign lyrics creating thus an ‘infraction’ of the Egyptian Arabic musical culture.

But why rap? Few important works have been dedicated to this topic (Williams, 2009; Alim, 2006, 2009; Alim, Ibrahim & Pennycook, 2009; Baker, 2010, 2012; Terkourafi, 2012; Mangialardi, 2013; Bassiouney, 2014) and the answers found are mainly two: firstly, this definitely occurred with rap because it is a ‘global phenomenon’ (Chang, 2007: 61) and a ‘transnational artistic creation’ (Baker, 2010: 91) which, for this reason, has an inevitable impact in many different parts of the world (Cantrall, 2013) going from China with the ‘xi ha’ (Chang, 2007) to Ghana with the ‘hip-life’, from Nigerian (Oreoluwa, 2013) to Indonesia (Asyidda & Yannuar, ?), or German (Mair, 2018a) among others. Indeed, rap music was first born in the south Bronx, New York, in the late 1970s and developed among African Americans as an expression of their fight against racial discrimination and disparity. Later on, the rap music and culture has spread all over the world and still in current time, its spread has not stopped, and new forms of rap music are developing in the world with a myriad of diverse shapes since every region adapts it to its own culture, sound, and style (Chang, 2007); secondly, because rap is the music of struggle (Cantrall, 2013) and rebellion, associated with all people who experienced marginalisation (Oreoluwa, 2013) and oppression (Chang, 2007). Rap is especially used against social issues in young generation protests and resistance becoming a phenomenon that connects young people around the world (Chang, 2007). It is properly this historical feature of rap music that “lent it to embodying the monumental struggles of the Arab people” (Cantrall, 2013: 24, see also Johannsen, 2017). Indeed, it was only during the January 25<sup>th</sup> revolution that a local form of rap developed in Egypt with many Egyptian rappers who quickly found themselves at the forefront of the revolutionary action” (Billet, 2012). A good example is Arabian Knightz’ that invites people “to rebel against oppression, to rebel against the divide and conquer of our [Egyptian] society, and to rebel against the dumbing of our [Egyptian] people” (Sphinx, 2011 during an interview with the hip-hop blogger Hass Re-Volt) with the songs ‘Rebel’ recorded during the first week of the Egyptian Revolution, the night before the Friday of Anger, and ‘Prisoner’ totally centred on the Egyptian revolution.

[...]

Want to draw your own opinions bout the bombs we face?  
What's your opinion if you're enslaved and your mom is raped?  
It's too  
easy to speak when you're far from the heat  
Through the White House I creep and yes I'm armed to the teeth  
With a mic and a pen and a pad here's your evidence:  
"Weapons of Mass Destruction," Mr President!

CHORUS:

أنا عايز بلد حرة من الظلم  
عايز بلد حرة من القهر  
عايز بلد حرة من الشر  
عايز أرضي وأرض العرب - يي  
العرب - يي! العرب - يي! العرب - يي

TRANSLATION

I want a country free from injustice  
I want a country free from oppression  
I want a country free from evil  
I want the land and the land of Arabs - Ye  
Arabs - Ye! Arabs - Ye! Arabs - Yi

**Figure 50** Some of the lyrics taken from the first verse and the from the chorus of *Prisoner* (full lyrics available on Genius.com <https://genius.com/Arabian-knightz-prisoner-lyrics>, last accessed 14/07/2021).

Being an expression of social and political protest and dissatisfaction, rap music in the Arab world has been submitted to severe state censorship imposed upon artists (Billet, 2012) by President Mubarak and local rappers remained for the most part unknown (Williams, 2009). In such a context, the 'Revolution Records', a label established in 2006 by the rapper Temraz, (Nashed, 2017), remained underground practices and although they were prohibited, Egyptian rap songs were sung in Tahrir Square during protests (Billet, 2012), then published on the Web, especially on YouTube (Billet, 2012), and shared on social networks such as Facebook or Twitter, even becoming thus emblems of the Egyptian revolution. This gave popularity to this new Egyptian musical genre to the point that now, *كل الناس دلوقتى عارفة راب مصر* *all people now know Egypt rap* (from MC Amin's song 'Rap mas'). For Egyptian artists, rapping and putting out political music is extremely important for social change, and they believe that their music will keep people aware of the injustices that surround them (Billet, 2011). For this reason, Egyptian rappers do not fear the government control but, contrarily, they fight against it (Nashed, 2017) and continue "to push the boundaries of censorship with their music" (Nashed, 2017) strongly believing that the mission of rappers is "to find out what exactly happened [in Egypt] and then write about it" (Ahmad Hareedy, a rapper from Alexandria during an interview with Muftah made in 2013, cited in Fanack.com) which would also justify their use of English, which being the international language allows them to talk about Egyptian social and political problems to the world (La Causa, forthcoming a). Taking that, English in songs "is used as [a] discourse of resistance" (Lee, 2004: 429) and it results to be a more powerful channel for

expressing strong emotions than (Egyptian) Arabic itself (Halim & Maros, 2014; La Causa, forthcoming a).

However, inevitably, once this genre has entered the market and once it has gained visibility in social media and then among the Egyptian youth, and once rappers start to become famous, singers become less radical (Pope, 2005) and less committed in the social affair and the purpose of many rappers has changed. Their main aim, now, is reaching a higher number of fans and consumers to which selling copies to many consumers (Pope, 2005). They only seek fame and fortune, and this explains why many rap songs today are party-based (Pope, 2005). In his song *Gold* the rapper, Mr. Kordy explicitly invites people to download his album as this would give him the opportunity to ‘take-off’ and reach success:

[Verse 2 – Mr. Kordy]	TRANSLATION:
نزل البوم	Download the album
عمال بشوف عاهات	Workers see impairments
وعيال شبه البنات بتطلع	Boys semi-girls looking forward
كوردى يحضر كله يقلب كله يخلع	Kordy is attending the whole overturning, the whole take-off

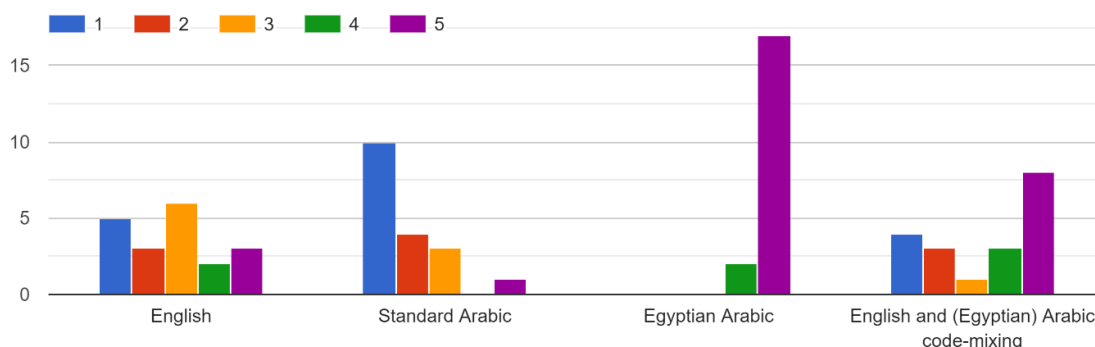
**Figure 51** Some of the song’s lyrics taken from verse 2 the song *Gold* by Mr. Kordy (full lyrics available on Genius.com <https://genius.com/Mr-kordy-gold-lyrics>, last accessed 14/07/2021).

Undoubtedly, the use of English, the ‘Global language’ (Crystal, 2003), is again the perfect tool for the singers to reach these goals (Oreoluwa, 2013). Indeed, from a linguistic point of view, with its adaptation, rap in Egypt leads to the most interesting linguistic result (Alim, Ibrahim & Pennycook, 2009) with the employment of different linguistic resources including the association of different varieties and languages, especially ECA and English (Bassiouney, 2012: 107). This is also confirmed by participants to the questionnaire with their answers to St. 87. On the one hand, the use of English allows rappers and their audience to feel part of the big world ‘homie’ of global rap. On the other hand, by continuing using their local language(s) together with English, they can communicate their ethnicity (Oreoluwa, 2013) and still identify themselves with their cultural background (Oreoluwa, 2013). Indeed, even if Egyptian singers principally imitate the American rappers, they always introduce their own “national flavor” (Chang, 2007: 60) into the songs and as a result, this creates “complex interactions between global and local forces, English and popular culture” (Pennycook, 2003: 3) with a ‘convergence between the ‘localness’ and ‘globalness’ of the identity (Terkourafi, 2012; Alim, 2009, Taviano, 2016) which make rap in Egypt a ‘glocal phenomenon’ (Williams,

2009; Johannsen, 2017; La Causa, forthcoming a) and a means which is leading Egypt to to “an increasingly deep ‘Anglization’” (Oluwafunmilayo, 2016).

**Table 56** Answers to St. 87 of the questionnaire.

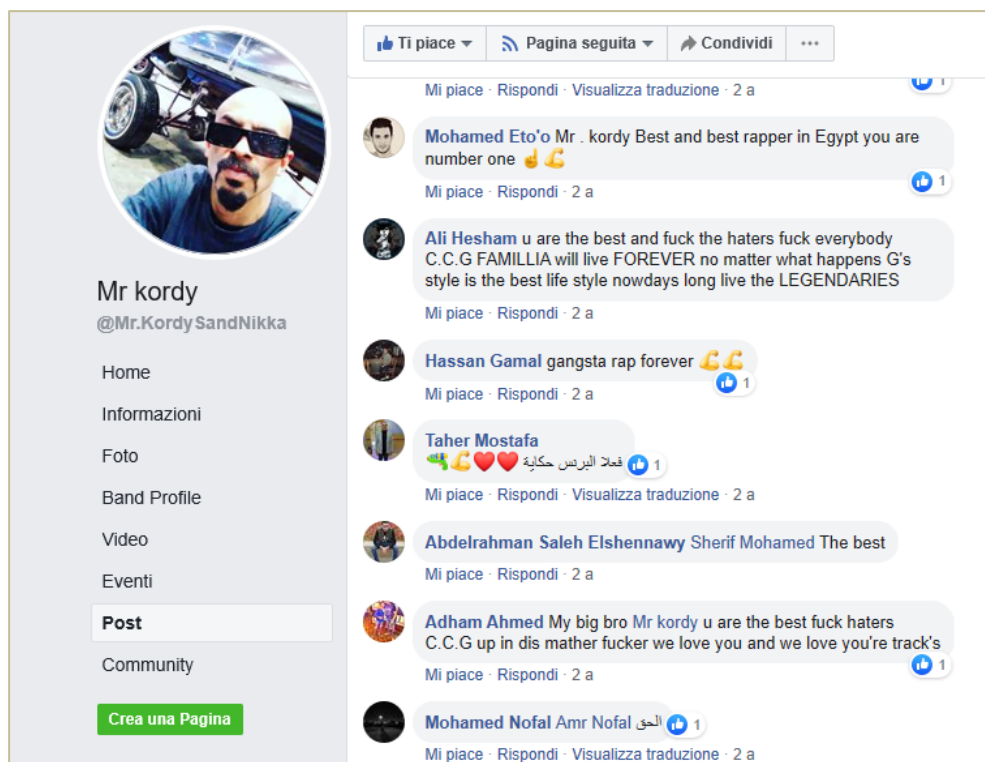
87. Egyptian popular music (especially hip-hop and rap)



Since the introduction of English is absolute new within the artistic landscape of Egyptian music, it is possible to claim that rappers’ merit is “exploiting local themes and language conventions, as well as creating new language practices” (Williams, 2009: 3), and consequently, providing a new corpus for the study of code-switching (Baker, 2012) between (Egyptian) Arabic and English. Indeed, thanks to the emergence of this artistic phenomenon in Egypt, English code-switching and code-mixing have become normal linguistic practices among Egyptian rappers and their audience. This claim could be already proved with the fact that code-switching and code-mixing not only occur in Egyptian rappers’ songs’ lyrics, but also occur in rappers’ and their fans’ normal conversation and/or in writing posts and comments on social networks, as in.

*Like if you weak, nigga you die.*  
 أي حد يقولك أنا أول واحد أغني راب  
 في مصر ده بيفسي عايك  
 هو أنا كنت من أوائل اللباس اللي كانت بتفني راب في مصر  
 زمان كان الموضوع صعب  
 يعني صعب إن أنت تسجل، صعب إن أنت تنشر الموسيقى دي أصلاً  
 الإنترنت ده لسه ماكانتي موجود  
 أن ولاد عمي كانوا ببيجوا من كاليفورنيا زمان  
 ببيجوا معاهو mix tapes دي  
 فيها Easy E, Dr Dre, Ice Cube  
*Lord of Underground all of these rappers.*  
 هو كان في رابرز كثير جداً في الساحة  
 كلهم كوبسين  
 بس أخوك كان بتاع نمر

**Figure 52** Transcription of the first 1:08 minute of a 10-minute video with an interview to Mr. Kordy retrieved from his Facebook page and from YouTube, full video available on this link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzI9SLHIT88>, last access 14/07/2021)



**Figure 53** Example of comments written by Egyptian Mr. Kordy’s fans on his Facebook page mostly written in English.

However, the phenomenon of mixing (Egyptian) Arabic with English is restricted to the sole genre of rap, so that it is still not enough to claim that we are witnessing to a deep change into the Egyptian music. Nonetheless, these are already first signals of the Western influx in Egyptian music, which seems supposed to grow in the next years, taken the ever-increasing spread of English within Egyptian boundaries, taken the development and improvement of global communication channels and tools in Egypt, and last but not least, taken the growing interest of Egyptians themselves in western, particularly American musical and life culture which is leading to a real ‘schizophrenia’ (*al-fisam*) (Cook, 2000: 486) among the youth (La Causa, forthcoming a).

### ***English in the Egyptian cinema and movie production***

Cinema, the seventh art, is an old and very rooted tradition in Egypt. Egypt was one of the first countries where the Lumière brothers brought their Cinématographe in the late 19th century to show their invention (Gamal, 2009), and one week later the first cinematic show in Paris in December 1895 (Samak, 1977), the first cinema show in Egypt was projected in Zuwani Coffee

in Alexandria (Yacoub, 2015a). The Egyptian cinematic production then started in 1917 (Samak, 1977) during British colonialism (Gamal, 2009) with European colonisers having control over the photographic and technical facilities of the Egyptian cinematic industry (Samak, 1977) and still remains flourishing in current times.

However, Egyptian local cinema production was inhibited when it became a monopoly of American films over the market (Samak, 1977) becoming one of the very first countries in the world to produce movies influenced by the American production. In 1973, 72% of the movies shown in Egypt were American (Samak, 1977) and still today, a significant portion of the Egyptian films are American made (Schaub, 2000) to the point that Egypt is regarded as “the Hollywood of the Arab world” (Ayish, 2001: 118) and “[s]everal large movie houses in Cairo, like the *Cairo Cinema*, the *Tahrir Cinema*, and cinema houses at the *Cairo Sheraton*, the *Ramses Hilton* and the *Maadi Grand Mall*, are specialized in showing almost exclusively American motion pictures” (Schaub, 2000).

In order to allow the Egyptian public to access foreign movies, producers opt for subtitling or dubbing in Arabic. Interestingly, between the two translation techniques, subtitling is the one preferred by Egyptian producers (Gamal, 2010), seen as a cheaper and fast solution and as an instrument able to protect the local cinema industry (Maluf, 2005), while dubbing, with the replacement of original voices is seen as “unauthentic” and, what is more, as a “dangerous formula that filmmakers and producers abhorred and resisted” (Gamal, 2010: 8) resulting in products “not [...] able to compete with better produced Hollywood films” (Gamal, 2010: 8). Thus, despite Egypt having a rich cinematic market and although the high index of illiteracy<sup>24</sup>, very few movies have been dubbed and shown at Egyptian cinemas so that dubbing remains almost “non-existent in the Arab World” (Maluf, 2015) mostly limited and reserved to few American movies and children’s cartoons (Gamal, 2010; Maluf, 2015), while subtitling was established as the norm. This is a significant choice, because it means that when the Egyptian audience watches at a foreign movie with subtitles, it remains exposed to the foreign language audio inputs.

As far as the local Egyptian cinema production is concerned, it often replicates American Hollywood movies which are “egyptianized” (Gamal, 2009: 13) through the adaptation of scripts, the domestication (Venuti, 1995) of setting and played by local actors

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<sup>24</sup> In 2017 Egypt illiteracy rate was around 27, 95%. Data retrieved from *Statista.com*, <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/EGY/egypt/literacy-rate#:~:text=Egypt%20literacy%20rate%20for%202017,a%205.68%25%20increase%20from%202006> (Last accessed 14/07/2021).

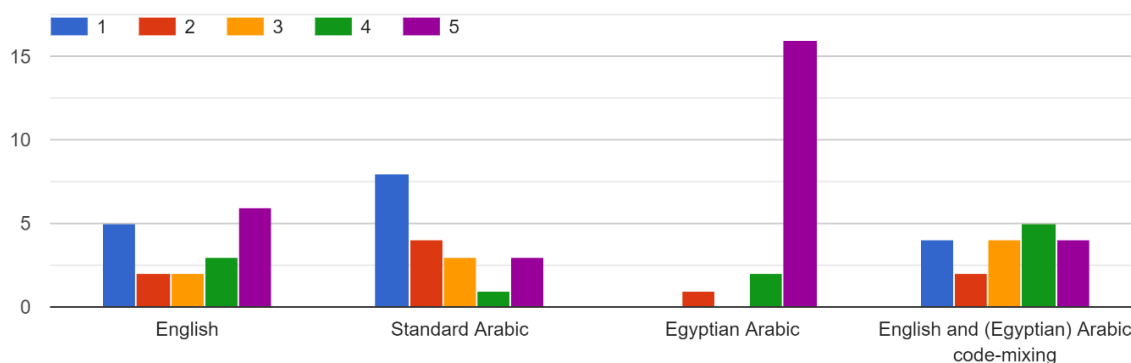


(Maluf, 2005). Examples of film adaptations, as reported in Gamal (2009), are *My Fair Lady* (1956), *The Inspector General* (1949) and *The Fugitive* (1992) respectively adapted in 1965 with the title *Sayedati al Gameela* and directed by Hassan Abdel-Salam, in 1956 with the title *Al Mufatesh al- 'am* and in 1996 with the title *Eghtiyal* directed by Nader Galal. It is worthy to mention the works by the Egyptian director Henry Antoun Barakat who, instead of movies, adapted foreign literary works including works from American and British literature (Gamal, 2009).

However, although the impressive openness towards the western movie production and the continuous dialogue with the western cinematic and literary works, Egyptian cinema (St. 89) is still too nationalist and too oriented towards domestication and preservation of the Arabic filmmaking style. From a linguistic point of view, as well, it is still not projected towards the use of the English language. Egyptians, indeed, preserve their cinema production in the Arabic language, especially in ECA which is “the more widely understood form of colloquial Arabic, precisely because of the diffusion of film[s]” (Maluf, 2015), while MSA is prevalently employed for movies characterised by religious, literary, or historic contents (Gamal, 2009: 9). This claim seems to be confirmed by the questionnaire’s results (St. 89).

**Table 57** Answers to St. 89 of the questionnaire.

89. Cinema movies in Egypt



Anyway, in order to allow local Egyptian cinema productions to spread all over the world Arabic movies are sometimes dubbed in English. Though this only occurs with international important Egyptian movies such as the classic المومياء al-Mūmiyā’ *The Mummy* produced in 1969 by Shadi Abdel Salam, later dubbed in English with the title of *The Night of Counting the Years* (or simply *The Mummy*) considered as one of the most prestigious Egyptian movie ever made, دعاء الكروان duā’ al-karawān made in 1960 by Henry Barakat, the master of classical cinema in Egypt, and translated with the title of *The Call of the Nightingale*, and finally, ثرثرة

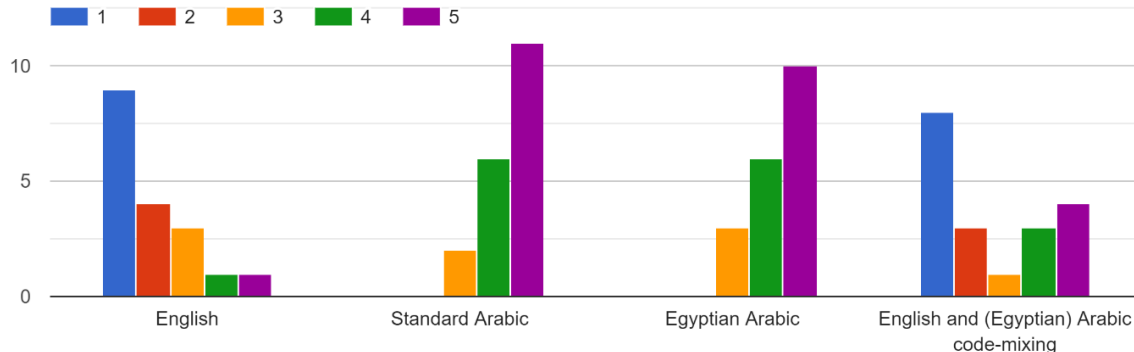
فوق النيل Thartharah fawq al-Nil produced by Hussein Kamal in 1971, based on a novel by Naguib Mahfouz and dubbed in English with the title of *Chitchat on the Nile* while the majority of Egyptian made movies remain locally consumed within the Arab World.

### *English in Egyptian literature*

In Egypt, contrary to what happened in many colonised countries, postcolonial literature did not develop, since the strong anti-English feelings and attitudes prevented the English language to take over the Arabic language in high creative genres. Still today, “[n]one of the major Egyptian dramatists, novelists, or poets, write in English” (Schaub, 2000: 234) so that “English has yet to become a significant literary language in Egypt” (Schaub, 2000: 234). This is confirmed by participants to the questionnaire who clearly state that the most used language in literary works by Egyptian writers (St. 91) is Arabic, prevalently MSA, but also the colloquial form. English instead is never used, apart from in some cases of code-switching.

**Table 58** Answers to St. 91 of the questionnaire.

91. Literary works by Egyptian writers.



However, not all Arab authors write in Arabic (Büchler & Guthrie, 2011) and English has started to gain ground in Egyptian literature, especially with the advent of the novel in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Büchler & Guthrie, 2011). The first Egyptian author using English as a medium for creative expression, and for this reason considered “a path-finder in the wave of Arab writers in English of the last two decades of the twentieth century” (Nash, 2007: 65) is Ahdaf Soueif.

Ahda Soueif (1950- ) is an Aglo-Egyptian novelist, essayist, and translator (from Arabic into English) and writes in both English and Arabic. She was born on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March 1950 in Cairo, and she currently lives in Cairo and London. She is the author of two novels, *In the Eye of the Sun* and *The Map of Love*, which was short-listed for the Booker Prize in 1999. She



Figure 54 Ahda Soueif.

Retrieved from <https://www.newslick.in/ahdaf-soueif-egypt-not-going-give-its-hopes>

also wrote a story collection *I Think of you* and an essay collection *Mezzaterra: Notes from the Common Ground*<sup>25</sup> and various political articles for *The Guardian*, in London.

Since she is “one of a number of Arab authors who migrated to Western Europe” (Shanneik, 2004) and since she writes “from within the society of Egypt’s former colonizer, Great Britain” (Lebœuf, 2012: 1) about post-colonial Egypt, she is considered an “Arab diasporic writer in the postcolonial context” (Lebœuf, 2012: 1). “The duality of her English and Egyptian experiences” (Nash, 2007: 65) is reflected in her works, which constantly bring the West and the Arab worlds in contact (Lebœuf, 2012) creating hybrid positionalities (Lebœuf, 2012).

For this reason, her narrative can be categorised as ‘intercultural literature’ or within the framework of contact literature (Albakry & Hancock, 2008; La Causa, forthcoming c) since it shows a high level of interculturality due to the contact between the English and the Arabic cultures, with a series of culture-bound references. Her novels, for example, present characters divided between the western and the Egyptian cultures “perpetually engaged in negotiating relationships across cultural boundaries” (Albakry & Hancock, 2008: 222): in *The Map of Love* the narrator, Amal, is an Egyptian woman who has lived in the west for a long time and then she has gone back to Cairo, and in *In the Eye of the Sun*, the main character is an Egyptian woman who studies English literature and goes to the United Kingdom to pursue a Ph.D.. This leads to a continuous socio-cultural exchange due to the two different worlds in contact in the plots.

Apart from intercultural contacts, her English narrative also shows a high level of interlingualism with the introduction of numerous lexical borrowings and transfers (Albakry & Hancock, 2008; La Causa, forthcoming c) from Arabic, her L1. Indeed, “though Soueif has chosen English as the medium of her creative

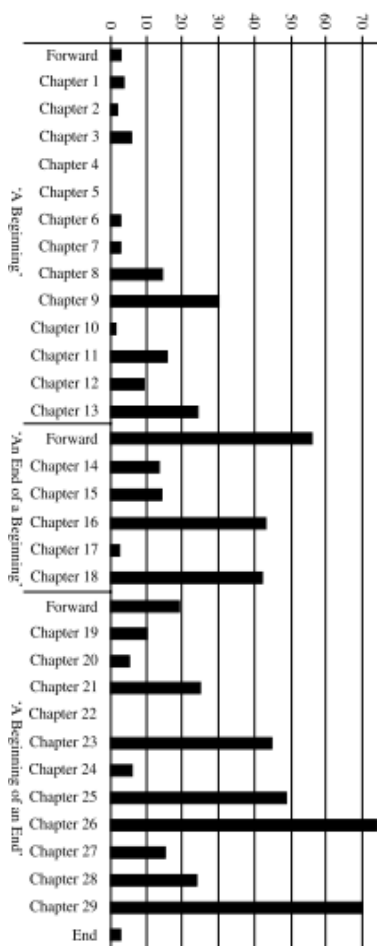


Figure 55 Overview per chapter of Arabic code-switching in Ahdaf Soueif's novel *The Map of Love*. Retrieved from Albakry & Hancock, 2008: 225)

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.ahdafsoueif.com/>

expression, English alone might feel inadequate or inappropriate to reflect her bicultural experience or describe the geographical conditions and cultural practices of her native homeland” (Albakry & Hancock, 2008: 223). This explains why, while writing in English, she also introduced many Arabic words (Hassanin, 2012) and references to the Arabic culture in her novels resulting in an interesting linguistic and stylistic effect which “enable her to participate in both worlds” and to “preserve [her] cultural identity and capture its flavor while at the same time writing about it in the dominant language” (Albakry & Hancock, 2008: 233). Since literature is “a symbol of the cultural tradition” (Condon, 1986: 155) and that language inevitably carries the value of its people (Bassnett, 2014), even though a piece of creative writing may be written in English, its syntax and discourse patterns, as well as its lexical patterns may be intended to reflect the first language of the writer (Kachru, 2006a [1992]).

In a study by Albakry & Hancock (2008), and in La Causa (forthcoming c) it has been found that in Soueif’s novels, *The Map of Love*, and *In the Eye of the Sun* respectively, there are numerous cases of code-switching from English to Arabic (Figure 55) as well as an abundant occurrence of cultural, lexical, and even grammatic transfers and of transnational transfers of idiomatic ideomatic expressions (La Causa, forthcoming c) which seem to create “a ‘new English’ a language between two languages” (Albakry & Hancock, 2008: 233).

At the time this research began, Ahdaf Soueif was the unique Egyptian author using English in novels. Very recently, with her publication, *Shelf Life: Chronicles of a Cairo Bookseller* (2021), another Egyptian writer has emerged in the Anglo-Egyptian literary landscape, namely Nadia Wassef, named on the Forbes List of the 200 Most Powerful Women in the Middle East in 2014, 2015, and 2016 ([www.unitedagents.co.uk/nadia-wassef](http://www.unitedagents.co.uk/nadia-wassef)).



**Figure 56** Nadia Wassef. Retrieved from <https://www.unitedagents.co.uk/nadia-wassef>

Nadia Wassef (1974- ), was born in Cairo and spent most of her life in Zamalek, an island in the middle of the river Nile (Gopalakrishnan, 2021). In 2014 she moved to the UK where she studied and finally obtained a MA from Birkbeck at the University of London, a Master in Social Anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies and another Master in English and Comparative Literature from the AUC ([www.unitedagents.co.uk/nadia-wassef](http://www.unitedagents.co.uk/nadia-wassef)). She is the co-owner of Diwan, Egypt’s first modern bookstore, which she founded with her sister Hind, in 2002. Currently, she lives in London. In *Shelf Life: Chronicles of a Cairo Bookseller*, published in 2021, Wassef has immortalised the story of the bookshop enterprise to better understand "my [her] relationship with the city and the bookstore" and meantime to describe "a

Cairo that existed 20 years ago" (Gopalakrishnan, 2021), its story, its streets' sounds, and its people. Indeed, the novel is

about the staff and the customers; it's about her driver Samir who Jeeves-like interrupts her telephone conversations while negotiating Cairo traffic to give her unsolicited business advice; it's about the censor, and the people, usually men, who said it couldn't ever work. It's about a love affair with reading, and reading where West and Middle East meet ([www.unitedagents.co.uk/nadia-wassef](http://www.unitedagents.co.uk/nadia-wassef))

In a similar fashion of Soueif's narrative, in Wassef's the West and the Arab worlds are continuously brought into contact (Lebœuf, 2012). She is another author who talks about Egyptian experiences from England and using English as a tool for literary creativity, creating thus hybrid perspectives and a further occasion for the encounter between the Egyptian culture and language with the English ones. The novel is indeed rich in intercultural and interlingual transfers as the following example demonstrates:

"In Egypt, men had their mosques, barbershops, and the *ahwa*-coffee shops where they smoked *sheesha*, played backgammon, and dominoes, listened to the radio, and watched the television and the world go by." (Wassef, 2021: 18)

To the knowledge of this author, apart from Soueif and Wassef, there are no other Egyptian writers using English. In all other cases, Egyptians write in Arabic. Nevertheless, even if English is not the direct medium used to produce literary works in Egypt, novels are certainly translated into English language in order to ensure them a wider circulation in the whole globe.

Actually, translation of modern and contemporary literature from Arabic is a relatively recent phenomenon, but an increased interest in Arab writing and culture, in general, has been observed in the last years (Büchler & Guthrie, 2011). Currently, the General Egyptian Book Organization publishes numerous English translations of Egyptian essayists, novelists, and poets. The American University in Cairo Press publishes scholarly and popular works on Egyptian culture and history, mostly with English language titles and, in addition, some initiatives and projects, aiming to give Arabic literature greater visibility, have been promoted. These are London-based Banipal Magazine of Modern Arab Literature, Beirut (organised by the Hay Festival), the London's Dash Arts Arabic and the Arabic Arts Festival in Liverpool and London which aim is to show the Arabs' art and culture.



**Figure 57** Naguib Mahfouz.

Retrieved from

[https://www.arabnews.jp/en/45thanniversary/article\\_20865/](https://www.arabnews.jp/en/45thanniversary/article_20865/)

Significant examples of translations of creative works from Arabic into English are the ones written by the most famous contemporary Egyptian novelist, Naguib Mahfouz (1911-2006) who even won the 1988 Nobel Prize for Literature (Büchler & Guthrie, 2011) becoming the only Arab writer to have been awarded this prize. This was an important moment for Arabic literature since it became internationally more visible. As Büchler and Guthrie (2011) stated “Mahfouz’s Nobel Prize award in 1988 heralded the start of a new era of gradually increasing anglophone and international interest” (Büchler & Guthrie, 2011: 18). Mahfouz wrote many

works and among the most famous a three novel collection *The Cairo Trilogy* (ثلاثية القاهرة) which was translated into English in the early 1990s by Doubleday. In December 1985, the American University of Cairo Press signed a publishing agreement with Mahfouz, thus becoming his primary English language publisher. Anyway, already before the prize, the AUC Press had published nine of Mahfouz’s novels in English and licensed numerous editions in other languages. Naguib Mahfouz’s novels are the most translated, but they are not the only ones. The Egyptian writers Nawal El Sa’adawi’s many novels, Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad’s novel *Sārah* (1938), Abdel Rahman Al-Sharqawi’s *Egyptian Earth* (1954) and Jabra Ibrahim Jabra’s *The Ship* (1973) (Al-Mousa, 2015) are just other examples among many.

However, it should be said that translations of Egyptian books in English are still few, and that, with some exceptions, interest in Egyptian books is more determined by socio-political factors than by the desire to explore the literary Egyptian culture itself, so that books from Egypt “are often approached primarily as a source of socio-political commentary or documentary, rather than as literary works *per se*” (Büchler & Guthrie, 2011: 7). Anyway, although they are not so numerous, the few translations that exist have consented Egyptian writers to communicate their meanings and ideologies to the whole world and they are giving Egyptian culture and values the opportunity to spread beyond the Arabic boundaries.

### 3.9.3 Discussion

Undeniably, “English has found a significant role in the popular culture of Egypt, as manifested in advertising, television, [...] and music” (Schaub, 2000: 225) and it is also gaining some room



in the movie and literature production being used in above all in the form of “Artistic Codemixing” (Picone, 2002) and code-switching. This means that, as not so much expected in an Expanding community, English in Egypt has acquired some *imaginative/creative function* (Kachru, 1992b: 58).

In Egypt, English is “spread throughout society and [...] used by most part of the population, not only by the elite (as in the case with EFL)” (Edwards, 2016: 19) also thanks to the increasing employment of “mixed codes of the street” (Pennycook, 2007b: 137) and thanks to the use of English in popular creative genres which undoubtedly favour bilingualism (Kachru, 2006a [1992]). Egyptians are bombarded with English street signs, English advertising, and of English lyrics in recent hip-hop music. There is English in all Egyptian popular products, and this has a great impact on Egyptians who learn English by reading the text of advertisements, signals, labels, and all print materials in their environs becoming an integral part of Egyptians’ linguistic culture and even a symbol of local subcultural identities, as it occurs with Egyptian rappers and their fans.

However, while the employment of English is increasingly high and frequent in low popular creative genres, a different picture could be depicted, instead, for high creative genres including cinema movie production and the writing of novels and other literary works. This high cultural field seems not to be so contaminated by the English influxes as to claim that a real Egyptian-English production has begun. Generally, translations are the only instrument linking high Arabic productions with the English language and the western world. Cinema is still strictly linked to the Egyptian traditional cinematic and linguistic norms, and only few examples of dubbing or subtitling into the English language can be found, and, with the exception of Soueif and Wassef’s works, which however already allow Egypt to be included in the WEs literary framework (Albarkry & Hancock, 2008; La Causa, forthcoming c), a proper local literature in English has not developed yet. Surely, further movie productions and literary publications in English would represent a key to a deeper internationalisation (Büchler & Guthrie, 2011) and would offer major occasions of contact between the English and the Egyptian literary and linguistic tradition (Büchler & Guthrie, 2011).

### 3.10 Attitudinal criterion

#### 3.10.1 Egyptian users' attitude towards English

Since Egyptians do not recognise their linguistic and cultural forms of English as indigenised products, and since according to them there exists no variety which could be labelled 'Egyptian English', there cannot be any linguistic identification. Hence, the attitudinal criterion does not need to be analysed since it is not met *a priori*. However, in the case of Egypt, attitudes and linguistic identification can be discussed in terms of speakers' feelings towards the more general introduction and use of English within Egyptian boundaries.

Relationships between the English and the Egyptian languages and cultures have always been very contradictory and conflictual and have changed in the course of time depending on socio-historical factors, being always mitigated, limited, or sometimes even impeded by the strict Egyptian religious and moral traditions which deeply affect also cultural aspects and language use. Since these relationships are not stable, Egyptians have an equally unstable attitude towards their usage of English both as a tool for international and intranational communication and, even more, as an expression of their linguistic identity. The main aim of this section is to verify Egyptians' feelings towards the English language in Egypt, and whether they "are able to incorporate English into their identity" (Lewko, 2012: 38).

As previously seen, English in Egypt has then acquired "a prominent position in Egypt's linguistic reality" (Aboelezz, 2014: 97) and it has become a necessity (Imhoof, 1977). The strong need Egyptians have for a language that is not their own, generates, at the same time, hostile, and favourable feelings among Egyptian English speakers. On the one hand, Egyptians have negative feelings since English seems to operate a certain "cultural / linguistic invasion" (Hafez, 1996: 17) threatening the moral and religious beliefs of the Arab society (Aboelezz, 2014), on the other hand they have a positive attitude towards English for the international and intranational (Jenkins, 2007) benefits it offers for Egypt and its citizens.

In detail, negative feelings toward English may depend mainly on three factors: the historical background, the religious conservative values, and the consequent strong linguistic and cultural identification with the (Egyptian) Arabic tradition. From a historical point of view, English was the 'power language' (Schneider, 2011:136, see also Mollin, 2006) used as an instrument to exert power (Schneider, 2011) by British colonisers during the British protectorate in Egypt. British colonisation was the period from which the present-day language ideologies in Egypt emerged (Stadlbauer, 2010), and the period in which English started to be used as the most strategic means to influence Egyptians. These language ideologies are



maintained in the postcolonial era, and still today, English is adversely regarded by some Egyptians as the language of oppression and the language of British supremacy (Avallone, 2012) which still in current times reveals the domination of the West (Schneider, 2011: 46) over the dominated Arab World. In Schneider's (2007) words,

it was a foreign tongue, alien to a substantial proportion of the indigenous population, and an unwelcome reminder and heritage of colonialism, which meant, among other things, foreign dominance and loss of political and cultural sovereignty

(Schneider, 2007: 2).

For this reason, it would have expected Egyptians to abandon English as fast as possible after independence.

As for the religious and linguistic identification factors, as Ferguson (1970) claimed the first of the "myths about Arabic" (Ferguson, 1970) is the superiority of Arabic due to its identification with religion. Arabic is the language of the Quran and for this reason it is supposed to be "permanently sacralised" (Ryding, 2005: 3). This "provides an important obstacle to deliberate efforts to make changes" (Ferguson, 1970: 378). Arabic is, thus, a language that must be preserved and any mixing-code process, alterations and foreign intrusions could be perceived as a menace to its purity and consequently a risk for the loss of the moral and religious beliefs of an Arab society (Aboelezz, 2014) and consequently of the Arabic identity (Al-Shiebel, 2017). This explains why, in time, even if the (Egyptian) Arabic language "was exposed to various foreign languages, it was able to preserve its identity" (Bueasa, 2015: 2). Egyptians strongly identify with their own language, "source of pride of its speakers" (Suleiman, 2003: 69), culture and tradition and perceive that the Arabic language, which has a symbolic function (Al-Sayadi, 2016), is "under attack from the forces of globalisation in a way that compromises its purity and undermines its ability to serve as an emblem of the nation" (Suleiman, 2008: 42). According to them, "Egyptian identity is at high risk" (El Shimi, 2015).

As far as favourable feelings are concerned, from an international point of view, since English allows Egypt to open to the West (Schaub, 2000) being an instrument that grants exposure to the culture (Schneider, 2011), the capitalism, and 'prosperity' – both socio-economic and cultural – of Europe and Nord America (Stadlbauer, 2010), it also triggers positive attitudes in Egyptians. Besides, English allows Egyptians to feel an integral "part of the greater global collective" (Aboelezz, 2014: 98) from which Egypt is not excluded (Diana, 2010). For this reason, "Egyptians are expected to be open to dealing with the west" (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2017: 287; Abouelhasan & Meyer, 2016: 158) including with the English language.

From an intranational point of view (Jenkins, 2007: 7), Egyptians may also have a positive attitude towards English since it is the ‘language of opportunity’ (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 140), the language that allows them to reach a higher personal economic accomplishment, more cultural and social opportunities, and eventually, a ‘better life’ (Schneider, 2011: 196) within Egyptian boundaries. In Egypt, as in many Expanding contexts, “knowledge of English is seen as essential to students’ future work and lives” (Edwards, 2016: 66).

In addition, English is welcomed by many Egyptians because it is a symbol of progress and power and of “cultural capital” (Hartmann, 2008: 24) which thus allows internal linguistic and cultural modernisation (Stadlbauer, 2010) of Egypt. Thus, “[t]he attitude of Egyptians towards the use of English has shifted from post-colonialization state [...] to be accepted by the majority as a symbol of modernization” (Hamed, Thang Vu & Abdennadher, 2020: 4238, see also Pimentel, 2000: 211), and as generally speaking, Egyptians have “a national positive attitude towards modernization” (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016: 156) they are expected to appreciate the introduction of the English language in Egypt as a tool that would allow the development of Egypt as a modern nation (Schaub, 2000). In fact, being seen by many as “modern, prestigious, and desirable” in contrast with the “chaotic and random” Arabic (Stadlbauer, 2010: 2) whose grammar seems to be fossilised (Bassiouney, 2014).

### **3.10.2 Egyptians’ feelings and attitude towards English in Egypt**

#### **Empirical study: Interview and questionnaire (part 7). Items 92-110.**

In part 7 of the questionnaire, the Egyptians’ attitude towards English is examined. Following a 5 points Lickert-type scale (1 = I strongly disagree; 2 = I disagree; 3 = I am neutral; 4 = I agree; 5 = I strongly agree), participants were required to select whether they agreed or disagreed with statements 92-100 aiming at analysing their feelings towards the prestige, the power, and the utility of English in Egypt, as well as at investigating their language preference, linguistic identification and attitude towards foreign English influxes.

In terms of importance, prestige, and power, a total of 70% of participants declared being in (strong) disagreement with the claim that English is more interesting than their mother-tongue (St.92) and a total of 75% of participants (strongly) disagreed with the idea that English is more powerful than the Arabic language (St. 96). For the majority of them, for example, it would be a problem to use English at the expense of the Arabic language (St. 110) and this means that, although English has become a prestigious and powerful language in Egypt, its

presence and importance does not obscure the prominence of the Arabic language. This is extremely evident in I23’s and I24’s comments:

I23: *I thin we can not compare arabic standardwith English or even with egyptian arabic, Arabic standard one of the richest languages on the world*

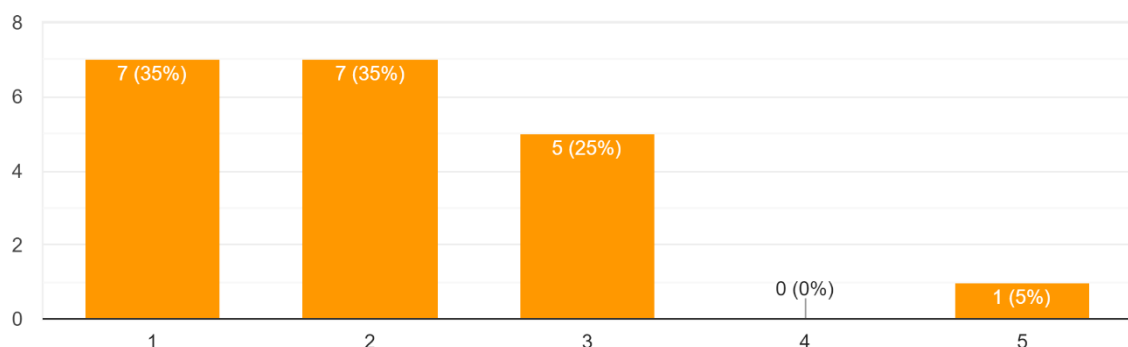
I24: *In Egypt, we have only Arabic which the main language but for real the main lang. in work is English, So we all realized that if we want to gain more money we have to be fluent in English to get the promotion in our jobs*

The two interviewees oppose a strong resistance towards English pushed by conservative ideological practices (Hamdi, 2017). However, as it is clear from I24’s words, the wide use of English, especially in the academic, work, and economic field, cannot be denied and, actually, both languages, English and Arabic equally enjoy the status of prestigious language even if for different motivations. Indeed, “in terms of prestige, while Arabic *fushā* enjoys both sacred language and standard language prestige [...] English has Global language prestige” (Aboelezz, 2014: 256). In addition, their importance and power depend also on their symbolic charge, and while the former is “indexical of Islamic and Eastern morality”, the second is “indexical of Western (im)morality” (Aboelezz, 2014: 260), but also of economic wealth and culture.

**Table 59** Answers to St. 92 of the questionnaire.

92. I find that English is more interesting than my mother tongue.

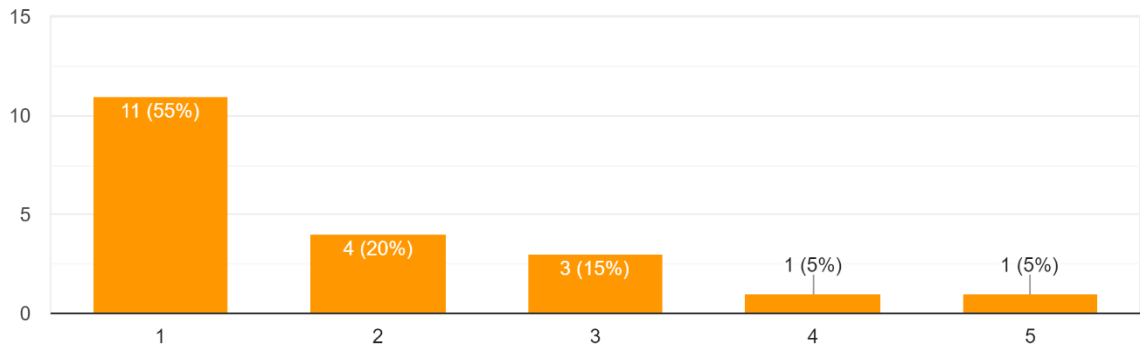
20 responses



**Table 60** Answers to St. 96 of the questionnaire.

96. I think that English is a more powerful and direct language than Arabic.

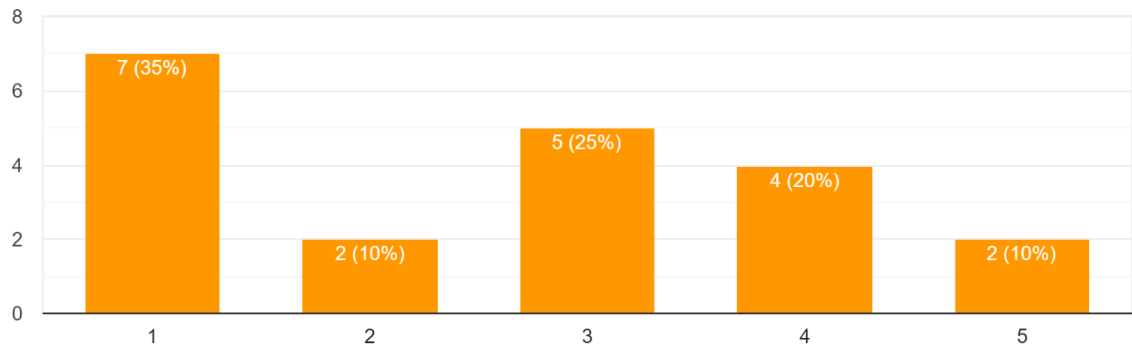
20 responses



**Table 61** Answers to St. 110 of the questionnaire.

110. I think it is not a problem to use English even at the expense of the Arabic language.

20 responses



This result is also confirmed by another interviewee, who claimed:

I21: الانجليزية والعربية الفصحى لغتان متوازيتان، وإنما ما يتأثر هو اللغة العامية  
العامية المصرية لهجة متأثرة بعدة لغات منها التركية و الفارسية و الفرنسية و الانجليزية بالإضافة إلى المصرية  
القديمة.  
في حياة المصريين و كأنما من يتحدث بها هو شخص A prestigious language أصبحت اللغة الإنجليزية بمثابة  
متعلم و مثقف، على الرغم من أنه ليس بالضرورة  
و نجد أن كثير من المصريين المختصين في اللغة الإنجليزية - و أنا منهم- يميلون إلى الاعتزاز بلغتهم أكثر فأكثر و  
لا يتحدثون الانجليزية بغير سبب منطقي  
من قناعاتي الشخصية أنه من لا يفهم لغته و يتعلمها جيدا، لن يجيد اللغات الأخرى

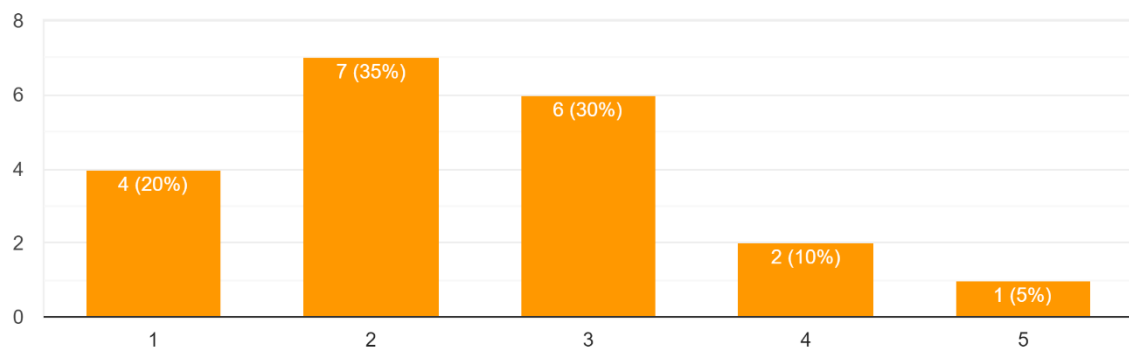
[TRANSLATION: *English and Standard Arabic are two parallel languages, but what is affected is the colloquial language. Colloquial Egyptian is a dialect influenced by several languages, including Turkish, Farsi, French and English, in addition to ancient Egyptian. The English language has become a prestigious language in the life of the Egyptians, as if someone who speaks it is an educated and cultured person, although not necessarily. And we find that many Egyptians who specialize in the English language - myself included - tend to cherish their language more and more and do not speak English without a logical reason. It is my personal conviction that who does not understand his language and learns it well will not be fluent in other languages*].

The interviewee defines English and Standard Arabic as ‘two parallel languages’ giving the same importance and prestige status to both. However, she continued explaining that even if “English has become a prestigious language in the life of the Egyptians” many Egyptians have the tendency to prefer their mother-tongue and to reserve the use of English uniquely to situations in which there is “a logical reason” this being perfectly in line with the “new utilitarian attitude” (Shaaban, 2008: 703) which characterises Egypt and the whole Arabic World. As a confirm, only a low total of 15% of Egyptian participants agreed with the claim that they prefer using English whenever possible (St. 100) while a high 55% did not agree with this statement.

**Table 62** Answers to St. 100 of the questionnaire.

100. I prefer using English whenever possible.

20 responses



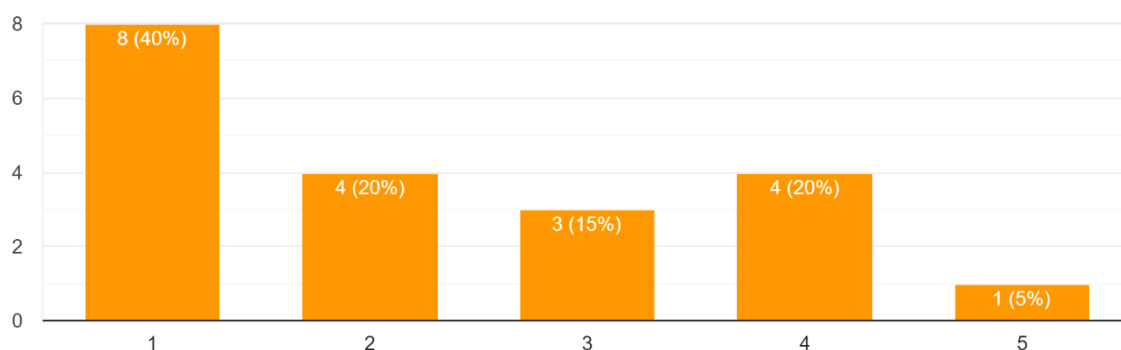
Many Egyptians believe that, in Egypt, English is useful both for speaking with anglophone people and for internal communication. However, strangely, the majority of participants (60%) disagreed with the claim that everybody in Egypt should speak English in order to facilitate communication (St. 95), confining thus the use of English as a language of communication to some specific wealthy groups and confirming its general utilitarian functions

being not properly and not necessarily used for the purpose of everyday communication (Edwards, 2018) by the majority.

**Table 63** Answers to St. 95 of the questionnaire.

95. I think that everybody in Egypt should speak English since this would facilitate communication.

20 responses



Usually, the choice of English depends on the fact that “[f]or some, Arabic is just not ‘cool’ enough” (El-Hariri, 2011) and on the idea that the use of the foreign language is directly tied to the high social class. Speakers using or overusing English are often “described as self-educated, as superficially and carelessly following a fashionable fad, and as using English as a means of showing off” (Onysko, 2009: 28 referring to anglicisms in German) and of highlighting their high level of instruction and culture and their competence in the use of two languages (Halim & Maros, 2014). Using English is thus a way to feel “superior” to other non-English speakers (Lewko, 2012). For this reason, it could sound a ‘classy’, ‘snobby’ (Lewko, 2012: 79) and even ‘ridiculous’ practice (St. 94). Some interviewees emphasise on this ‘overuse’ of English by claiming:

I23: *To know English and speak it*

*Even to make some kind of mix when you speak between English and Arabic*

*This thing is some kind of being high class*

*I don't think that or even like it*

*But it is a fact that lately when u use English words in ur talk*

*U would be seen as high class or u know classy*

*[...]*

*So here is a public concept that as u speak English well in daily life as u look like classy*

*and well-educated*

*Even if u don't need to talk to it*

*So among high class community people always include English words in their talk ( they already talking Arabic bcuz conversation is in Arabic!)*

I.er: So if high class people mix the two languages it is only to show their competence in English, right?

I23: *Yes they want to show that they are high class*

*The new generation as I said speak with it as an attitude to look classy*

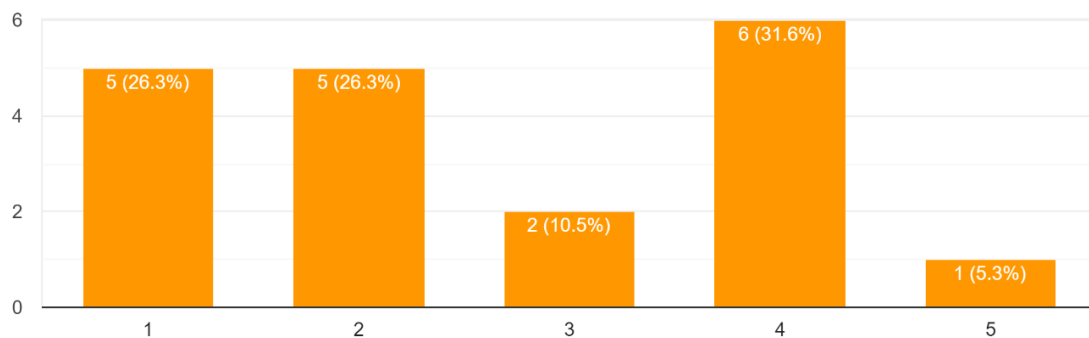
I25: *Okay English is used for teaching English and in medical field and in some chemical fields o and high ridiculous classes who want to take pride in them selves in ridicule way*

It is important to point out, however, that this perceived *unnecessary* use or *overuse* may be just a perception particularly prevalent among more conservative members of society (Edwards, 2018) which in the questionnaire represent 36.9% of participants, while 52.6% of Egyptian participants appreciate the ample use of English without considering it a class marker or a snobby practice.

**Table 64** Answers to St. 94 of the questionnaire.

94. In my opinion, Egyptian people speaking English sound “snobby” and ridiculous.

19 responses



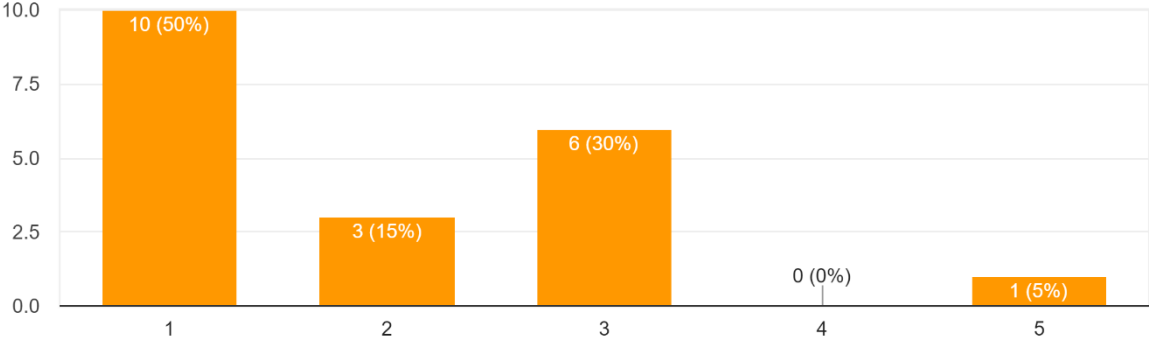
As far as linguistic identity construction is concerned, 65% of participants claims that they do speak English, but without necessarily feeling close to the British/American culture (St. 97). A high 75% of participants even claimed not to feel closer to English-speaking Egyptians while communicating in English (St. 98) expressing a major intimacy and identification with speakers of Arabic. Thus, in contrast with Lewko’s founding, “Arabic still seems to be the most important linguistic identity marker” (Lewko, 2012: 99), and even if “Egyptian participants

may be comfortable in using English to express ideas” (Lewko, 2012: 97), they still strongly identify with their (Egyptian) Arabic language and with the group that speaks it (St. 99). This implies that English lacks a symbolic function, in Egypt (Bassiouney, 2014).

**Table 65** Answers to St. 97 of the questionnaire.

97. I like speaking English since I feel closer to the British/American culture.

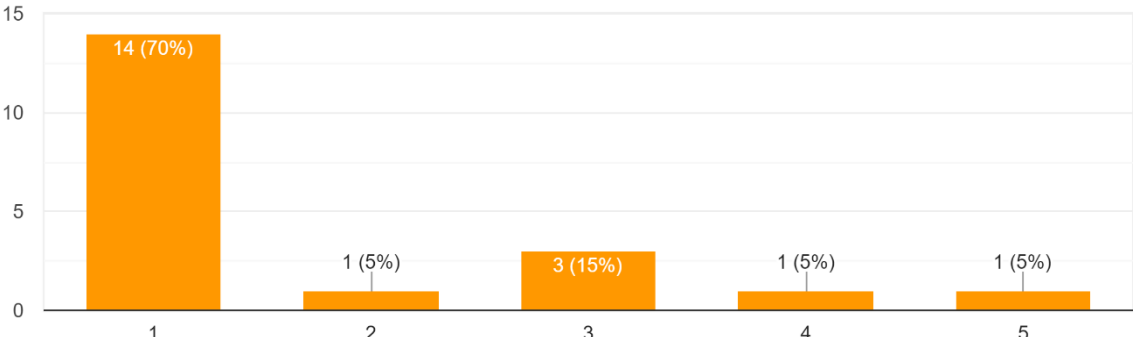
20 responses



**Table 66** Answers to St. 98 of the questionnaire.

98. When I speak English to other English-speaking Egyptians, I feel closer to that person than if we spoke Arabic.

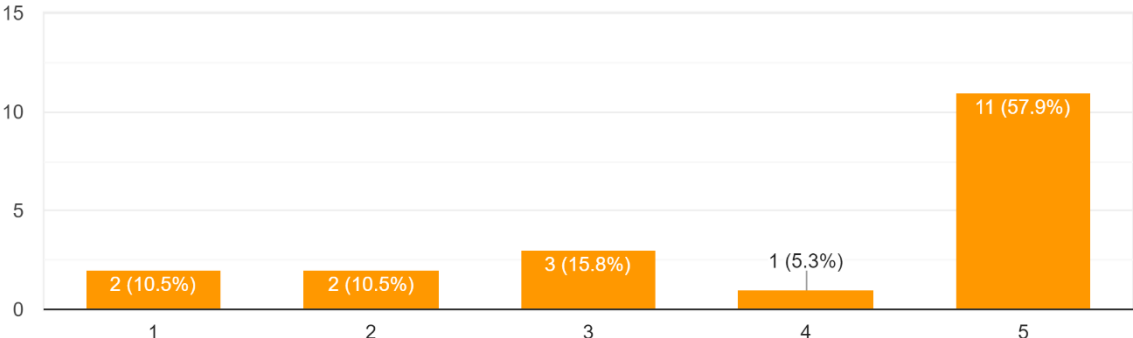
20 responses



**Table 67** Answers to St. 99 of the questionnaire.

99. I strongly identify myself with (Egyptian) Arabic and with the group that speaks it.

19 responses





Linguistic identification usually occurs on the basis of the relationships between the two languages and cultures in contact (Schneider, 2007). Since relationships between English and (Egyptian) Arabic language and culture are conflictual and ambivalent, no language identification has still occurred with English in Egypt. However, in agreement with Lewko (2012) even if Egyptians strongly identify with their own language and culture, English has become so important within the Egyptian society that it is not possible to ignore the fact that it has also penetrated the Egyptian identity *somehow* (Lewko, 2012). This seems to be proved by the increasingly common practice of using English even in natural contexts (Poplack 1980) including everyday interactions among friends on social networks in a spontaneous and uncontrolled fashion, and by the growing habits of many young Egyptians of imitating the European and/or American lifestyle, free from any purely pragmatic purposes. Indeed, even if “Egyptians do not necessarily perceive their ‘own’ English, yet there are signs that some Egyptians do own English through the way they mix English and Arabic” (Lewko, 2012: 6). Indeed, in the attempt and “willingness to appropriate English of their own benefit” (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016: 148) and combining the two linguistic codes Egyptians create a system that is different and far from their original L1’s. Undoubtedly, “the more different the language spoken by Egyptians, the more distinct their identity from Arabs” (Aboelezz, 2014: 251). So, even if unconsciously, they are on a good way towards a potential linguistic identification with the English language and culture.

As for Egyptians’ attitudes towards the English linguistic and cultural influxes in the Arabic language and culture, a total of 40% of participants agreed that the Arabic language should be preserved and decontaminated from all English influxes. These “speakers are very conservative, thus, they resist any foreign element and try to preserve their Arabic linguistic identity” (Bueasa, 2015: 31) from foreign intrusions which represent a menace to the purity of the sacred language (St. 109)<sup>26</sup>. Anyway, although the centrality of Islam in their lives (Schaub, 2000), for which one should expect them to exclusively prefer the Arabic language because it is the one associated with the Arabic tradition and the Islamic religion (Othman, 2006), and although Egyptians stronger emotional attachment towards the Arabic linguistic culture and tradition, another good 40% of participants answered differently, disagreeing with the idea that “English threatens the Arabic language” (Aboelezz, 2014: 104), meaning that many Egyptians

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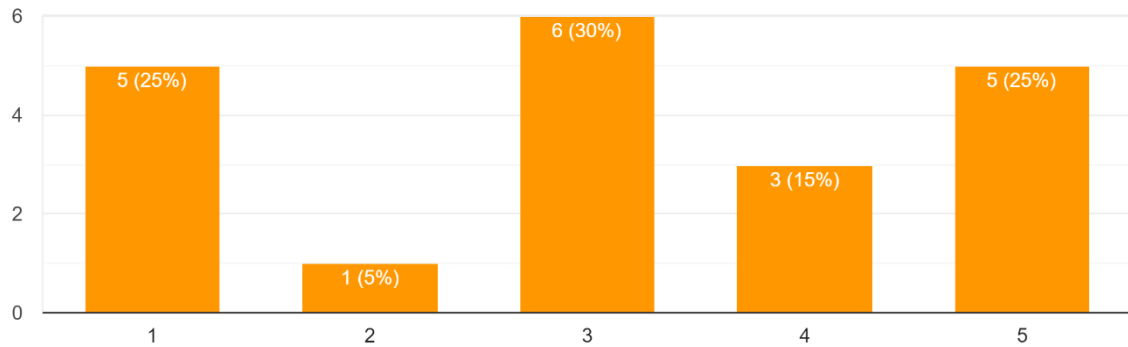
<sup>26</sup> It goes without saying that this less positive attitudes toward code-switching characterise Egyptians of Islamic religion (Yaseen & Hoon, 2017: 6) while Egypt’s Copt participants, who do not recognise the validity of Islam as a symbolic power and as an issue, do not base their linguistic choice on religious values.

are developing a sense of ‘linguistic tolerance’ (Al-Sayyid, 1937 cited in Aboelezz, 2014: 63) perhaps with the main wish to reform and modernise their language and culture.

**Table 68** Answers to St. 109 of the questionnaire.

109. I feel that English threatens the Arabic language and I think that Arabic should be preserved and purified from all English influxes.

20 responses

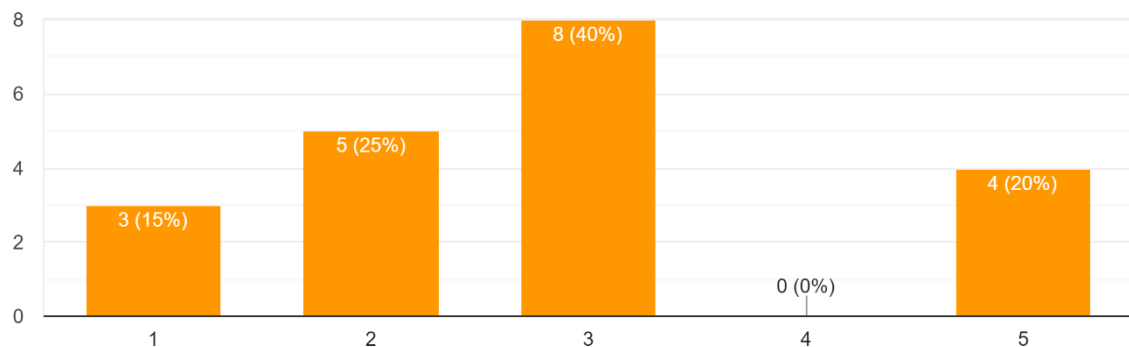


As previously seen in this dissertation, advertisement, literature, media including the Internet, TV broadcasting and radio broadcasting could also be seen as means through which the English language spreads in Egypt and thus as a possible threat for the Egyptian linguistic tradition and culture since they introduce Western values by ignoring the Arab culture and values (Keenan & Shoreh, 2000; Spierts, 2015) and linguistic items through the borrowing practice. However, as demonstrated in Spierts’s study, *The effect of English in advertisements in Egypt* (2015), the appreciation of the English language in advertising is significantly higher than that of the Arabic one, which implies that in this field, “Egyptians have a more positive attitude towards English than towards their local language Arabic” (Spierts, 2015: 33) mainly because English is perceived as highly international, modern (Bhatia, 1992) and dynamic (Gerritsen et al., 2000). Similarly, even if when asked whether they think there should be more TV and radio programmes available in English in Egypt (St. 102), 40% of participants answered neutrally, there was instead a strong disagreement (65%) with the statement 103 about Egyptians’ non-appreciation of TV channels with full English programming, which suggests that in Egypt there is some preference for foreign media (Lewko, 2012). A different result was obtained instead for the reading practice (St. 104) since Egyptian participants did not explicitly express a preference for literature in English but contrary a high 65% claimed not to prefer to read in English but in Arabic.

**Table 69** Answers to St. 102 of the questionnaire.

102. I think that there should be more TV and radio programmes available in English in Egypt.

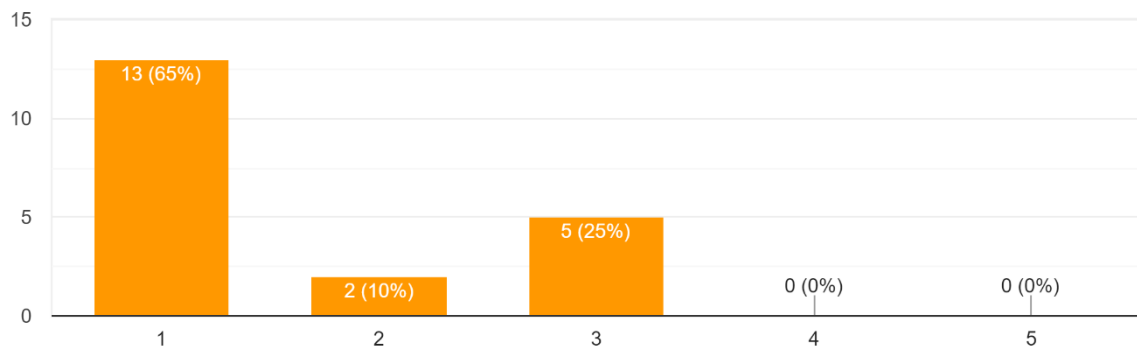
20 responses



**Table 70** Answers to St. 103 of the questionnaire.

103. I do not like watching TV channels with full English programming.

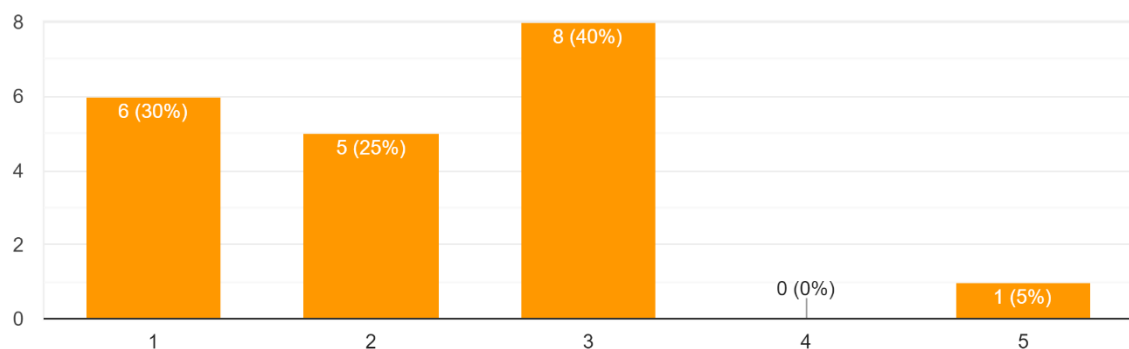
20 responses



**Table 71** Answers to St. 104 of the questionnaire.

104. I would rather read in English than in Arabic.

20 responses



This implies that the omnipresent use of English terms in movies, television programs, music broadcasting on the radio and other media certainly meets some resistance (Kachru, 2006a [1992]). Even the Egyptian government is making efforts to limit the use of borrowings

in these contexts. Indeed, the process of borrowing or code-mixing has got some ideological consequences and while borrowings apparently give little offense, they can actually cause discontents among conservative readers worried about the purity of MSA (Pimentel, 2000). This explains why, “with the exception of highly linguistically aware bilinguals, the vast majority of bilinguals themselves hold a negative view of code-mixed speech” considering it to be “an instance of linguistic decadence and a potential danger to their own linguistic performance” (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2004: 350). For this reason, in many contexts, the L1 seems to be the “obvious choice for many multilinguals” (Dewaele, 2006: 126) in Egypt.

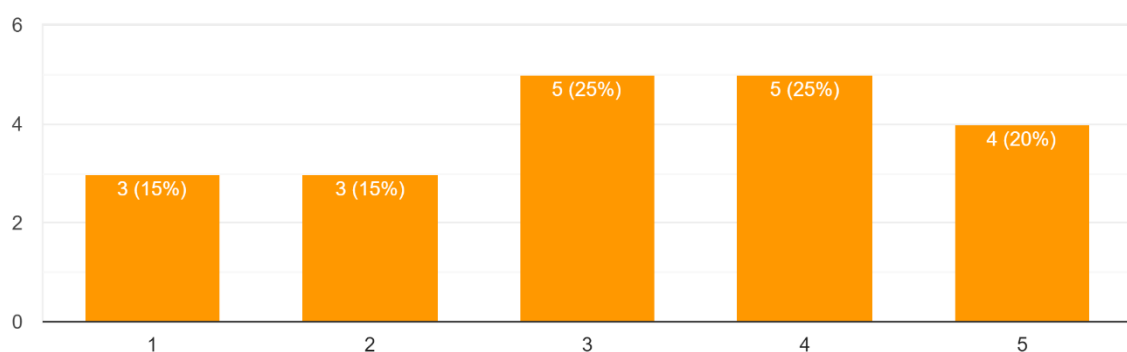
With questions 106 and 107 it is possible to argue that in the view of many Egyptian participants, “Egyptian accent is fine as long as [the] speech is intelligible” (Lewko, 2012: 94). Indeed, 45% of participants claimed to feel confident when they speak English, that they are not bothered about mistakes as long as they can make themselves understood (St. 106) and that they do not avoid using English even if they are afraid of mistakes (St.107). This is a significant result because, even if Egyptians are exonymatively oriented meaning that they would “need to adhere as closely to English norms as possible” (Lewko, 2012: 1, 97) which remain the main goal of many non-native speakers (Mollin, 2006), they do not necessarily feel the need to speak a perfect BrE or AmE. ‘Error’ thus, is certainly something negative, a ‘deviation’ from what is the norm(al) linguistic production, but it is not regarded as something that must be avoided at all costs.

Lastly, most participants (45%) disagreed with statement 108 and when they speak English, they do not wish other people to understand they are Egyptians, and this could display the fact that they still have not developed a sense of “ownership of the English language” (Lewko, 2012: 38).

**Table 72** Answers to St. 106 of the questionnaire.

106. I feel confident when I speak English and I am not bothered about mistakes as long as I can make myself understood.

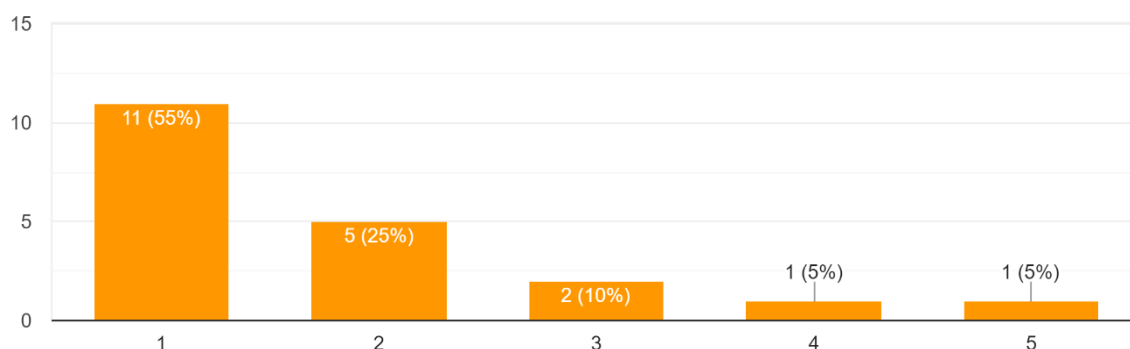
20 responses



**Table 73** Answers to St. 107 of the questionnaire.

107. I avoid using English because I am afraid of mistakes.

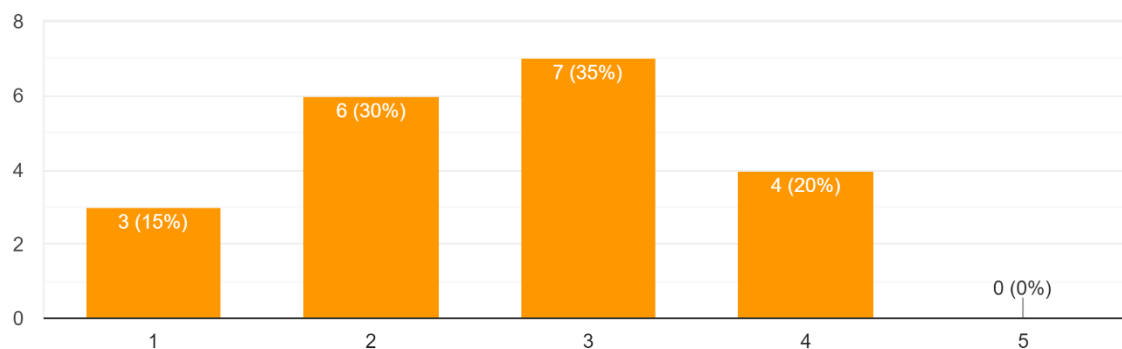
20 responses



**Table 74** Answers to St. 108 of the questionnaire.

108. When I speak English, I want people to understand I am Egyptian.

20 responses



### 3.10.3 Discussion

English in Egypt is the unique tool Egyptians have for social, economic, and cultural improvement: if they really wish to elevate their social-economic position, they are in a way ‘obliged’ to learn English even if they do not perceive it as the language they identify with. It is for this reason that the use of English in Egypt gives rise to different reactions among its users swinging from attraction to repulsion. If on the one hand English is seen as an “attractive language and not a threat” (Edwards, 2016: 68) being a “practical vehicle for educational, economic and social mobility” (Imhoof, 1977), on the other hand it is still seen as a “necessary evil” (Imhoof, 1977: 3) which exercises a certain ‘linguistic imperialism’ (Phillipson, 1992, Chew, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999; Seargeant, 2009) and which invades the ‘neutrality’ and ‘sacrality’ of the (Egyptian) Arabic language community.

This twofold linguistic ideology of Egyptian English speakers can be resumed through Taha Ḥusayn's words, one of the greatest thinkers and writers of modern Egypt, who, in 1954, wrote:

Strangely enough we [Egyptians] imitate the West in our everyday lives, yet hypocritically deny the fact in our words. If we really detest European life, what is to hinder us from rejecting it completely? And if we genuinely respect the Europeans, as we certainly seem to do by our wholesale adoption of their practices, why do we not reconcile our words with our actions?'

(Ḥusayn, 1954: 15)

Through Ḥusayn's words it is clear how Egyptians detest and reject the European (and today also American) life, but at the same time, how they actually adopt and imitate it. Egyptians have a very contradictory (Spierts, 2015) and ambiguous behaviour towards English which is mainly a symptom of a hybrid modern identity. Indeed, today, especially the youngest (Aboelezz, 2014) fight between the desire to keep their local identity being 'Egyptian and traditional' and the will to be part of the modern global world being 'cosmopolitan and modern' (Peterson, 2011: 216). More generally, this ambivalent attitude depends on speakers' language ideologies based on moral and political issues (oppression vs independence, exclusion vs inclusion, respect vs rejection) (Blommaert, 2010) which causes some linguistic conflicts. On the one hand there are conservative Egyptians with anti-English feelings whose "purist imagery draws on conceptual metaphors that emphasize aspects of destruction, impurity, danger, and carelessness" (Onysko, 2009: 34). They defend the superiority of the CA arguing that its purity lies in the Arab religion, history, morality, nationalism, and identity (Haeri, 2003) which, according to them, have been corrupted because of western influences (Haeri, 2003). On the other hand, there are modernist Egyptians whose main aim is to renovate and modernise the Arabic language and society even at the expense of their own tradition, and moral values defending and supporting the introduction and the use of the English language in Egypt in order to be linked with the international community. Egyptians thus struggle between the wish to protect and preserve their linguistic, religious, moral, and social beliefs from the '(im)morality' (Aboelezz, 2014: 260) of the West and the need to renovate and westernise their language and society.

Egyptians' attitudes towards English are markedly divided: they have built a "love-fear relationship" (Ibrahim, ?b) or "love/hate attitude" (Myer-Scotton, 1993: 30) with English. They love English because it represents a useful and valid means for achieving prosperity, personal empowerment, and development (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016) and for starting a modernisation

process of the Egyptian language and society which would facilitate Egyptians' participation in the international debate. They fear English, because they see it as a menace to the purity of the 'holy' Arabic language, "*the* language of Islam" (emphasis in the original) (Schaub, 2000: 232, see also Miller, 2003) with all the values it carries and as a threat to their Arabic tradition and identity and "Muslims do not like to change the language of the Qur'an" (Mohamed, 2017: 162). This last tendency seems to be the prevalent one since, in diglossic societies, a "declared policy of maintaining and protecting the 'pure' language is often politically advantageous" (De Silva, 1982: 113) even if, due to the powerful forces of Globalisation, influxes of the English language seem to be inevitable and even desirable by Egyptians themselves. However, it is important to point out that code-switching with foreign languages and foreign importations "are most easily integrated into the Arabic dialects" (Van Mol, 2003: 82) equally "perceived as a deviation from the norm" with respect to CA or MSA (Aboelezz, 2018: 510).

In conclusion, although Egyptian anti-English attitudes, the English language inevitably remains an emblem of prosperity, capitalism, and modernity (Stadlbauer, 2020) and its use conveys an international feeling, which is vital in current globalisation time (Figure 58).

HOSTILE FEELINGS	FAVOURABLE FEELINGS
- The West seen as the oppressor. English reveals the domination of the West (Schneider, 2011: 46) over the dominated Arab World.	Openess towards the 'prosperity' of the West
- Need of maintaining the Egyptian-Arabic tradition. Arabic is the prestige language and English is seen as less important.	- Need of modernisation English seen as "modern, prestigious, and desirable" (Stadlbauer, 2010: 2).
- No identification with the English language and linguistic control.	- No identification but English starts to be spontaneously used
- Globalisation seen as a menace to the national moral and religious beliefs	- Desire to be part of the globalised world
- Linguistic intollrance. English seen as a threath to the purity of the 'holy' Arabic language, the language of most Egyptians' religion, Islam (Miller, 2003: 163) and of their tradition.	- Linguistic tollerance. English seen as a linguistic enrichment and as a tool to participate in international discussion.

**Figure 58** Hostile and favourable feelings of Egyptians towards English.

### 3.11 Political criterion

#### 3.11.1 Educational and linguistic pro-English policies

Since speakers are not aware of the existence of an EgyE (cognitive criterion), and since they do not totally identify with the English language (attitudinal criterion) towards which they maintain ambiguous behaviours, any discussion about the reconnaissance and acceptance of EgyE as a local standard by the authorities is superfluous. However, in the case of Egypt, the political criterion can be discussed in terms of authorities' political actions and attitudes towards the idea of English as an official language of Egypt.

In the Egyptian most recent constitution of 2014, which established criteria for a good relationship between nation, language, and identity (Aboelezz, 2014) Arabic is declared the only official language (art. 2) (Bassiouney, 2014). Indeed, so far, although the undeniable importance and the wide use of English in Egypt, there have been no explicit language policies, referred to as “a set of planned interventions supported and enforced by law and implemented by a government agency (Spolsky, 2004), aiming at officialising and institutionalising the English language in Egypt. All measures, discussions, and decisions in favour of English have met strong resistance, and the only political pro-English interventions have been limited to the academic and educational field. This is mainly due to the fact that the different positions and attitudes produced in both past and present times have contributed to the development of anti- or pro-English language ideologies especially through the action of language academies which played a key role in maintaining linguistic purism (Spolsky, 2004).

These language ideologies led to a series of political actions promoting or discouraging the use of English in Egypt. Following, some of them: in 1888, the British administrators made English, (together with French or German) the language of instruction at schools justifying their decision with the will to allow Egyptians to participate in the technological and scientific development (Bassiouney, 2014), but this was not without resistance of conservative and nationalist Egyptians (Aboelezz, 2014; Bassiouney, 2014) and between 1906 and 1910, the Minister of Education Sa'd Zagh'lul replaced English with MSA as the language of instruction in schools (Bassiouney, 2014). Nationalist aspirations also resulted in the formation of Arabic institutions like the Arabic Language Academy in Egypt in 1932 (Al-Sayadi, 2016), the *Al-Azhar* institution (Heyworth-Dunne, 1938), or the Cairo University in 1908 (Aboelezz, 2014) established to discuss urgent issues concerning the Arabic language (Ibrahim, 2006). These academies, which were specialised in phonetics, syntax, and other grammatical topics (Ibrahim, 2009), had mainly two aims: dealing with the massive and intrusive influx of new words



entering Arabic from other languages, especially from French and English, requiring radical revisions (Marfleet, 2000); and “achieving maximum use of Arabic [...] in oral and written communication” (Altoma, 1974: 285) by its reintroduction as the language of instruction, textbooks, speech and daily life (Luciani, 1988), with efforts to reform and modernise it<sup>27</sup> in order to make it “a suitable instrument of communication in the modern world” (Chejne, 1969: 105, see also Aboelezz, 2014; Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016). In order to reach these aims, the Academy of the Arabic Language of Cairo approved Arabisation (Miller, 2003; Aboelezz, 2014; Al-Shbiel, 2017) a “revolutionary linguistic movement” (Benkharafa, 2013: 207) and a purist approach “as a reaction to years of deliberate suppression or marginalization of their native language(s) and culture” (Shaaban, 2008: 694) which aims at standardising terminology through specific rules for the creation of new terms (Baker, 1987).

The 19<sup>th</sup> century (Miller, 2003) was the golden period for the Arabic language, a period characterised by linguistic optimism during which Arabs “predict[ed] a future where all Arabs would speak a single unified language modelled after SA” (Ferguson, 1959). Indeed, since “multilingualism was perceived as a threat to national unity” (Miller, 2003: 151) the majority of Arab countries imposed a quasi-monolingual policy in favour of Arabic (Miller, 2003). This Arabic renaissance, with a series of reforms, took place in Egypt with the national movement and saw an increasing cultural production in the Arabic language (Aboelezz, 2018) reaching its peak during Nasser’s government in the 1950s and 1960s (Suleiman, 2008) when “education became a central part of the modernizing project [...] starting with schools and later extending this to include higher education” thanks to the introduction of free education for all Egyptian citizens (Loveluck, 2012; Khalifa, Khabbazbashi, Abdelsalam & Said: 2015; Abuaita, 2018). Nevertheless, modernisation inevitably goes hand in hand with westernisation, becoming a process in contrast with Islamisation and Arabisation (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016), so that with the aim of modernise Egypt and seeing English education as an important investment for the future of the country (Hartmann, 2008) Nasser introduced a pro-Western educational policy (Cook, 2000) especially through the “Bilingual Method” proposed by the Ministry of Education (Beym, 1956).

After a return to Arabic and Egyptian nationalism during the Nasser period, the situation changed again with his successor, President Sadat (in office from 1970 to 1981). During his government, English was favoured, and as a consequence, the Arabic language literacy

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<sup>27</sup> To point out that the process of linguistic modernisation does not mean a change in the SA, which, being the divine language, cannot be affected by any modification or alteration, but modernisation of the Arabic language is linguistically met in the modernised MSA variety (Aboelezz, 2018).

decreased (Schaub, 2000). As Schaub explained, during the Sadat's years (1970-81), Egyptian university students turned increasingly towards the United States (Schaub, 2000) and after Camp David accords in 1978 English even became the primary language of education in medicine, physical sciences (Moshref, 2010) and art (Schaub, 2000). Since then, English gained ever more importance until being part of the current Egyptian language system being studied as the most important foreign language. This is proved by I23's words:

I23: [...] *And many faculties uses it as first language in study  
U know governmental universities use it as first one in teaching  
Like medical study*

I.er: Interesting! And is there a language policy for this?

I23: *I didn't get it actually ? I mean our country policy in education is to teach  
children English  
It is obligatory  
And u know we also study it in faculty  
Every faculty must have English course and u must pass it to graduate  
Even when u do further studies like Phd  
U must have Toefl or ilets*

The ideological clashes described, which emerged after British occupied Egypt (Bassiouny, 2014), are still maintained in postcolonial era through debates on the purity or corruption of the Arabic language (Miller, 2003). Still today, indeed, if on the one hand, there are Egyptian policymakers who are “investing in knowledge” (Ghoneim & Elghotmy, 2016: 139) and pushing Egypt towards modernisation and against “intellectual stagnation” (Cook, 2000: 478) improving English education in the Egyptian public or governmental schools (Abdel Latif, 2017) as well as in the Egyptian universities (Ghoneim, Elghotmy, 2016), and more generally improving the whole educational system considered as a “vital vehicle for national development” (Cook, 2000: 479), on the other hand, there are conservative Arabic, especially academics and grammarians, who reject the use of foreign expressions as they are convinced the language purity reflects language loyalty (Sallo, 1994), and impose a “resistance to the explosion of English within Egypt's borders” (Schaub, 2000: 235). Even nowadays, the Academy of the Arabic language's (AAL) aim in Egypt “is to sponsor, protect and purge Arabic from the foreign words that might affect the Arabic tongue” (Yacoub, 2016: 125) and to free

the Arabic language from ‘language pollution’ (Abdel-Moneim, 2007 cited in Al-Sayadi, 2016: 2) caused by English.

However, interestingly, despite the government’s effort to exert a political supervision over the use of English and the purist actions of Arab academies to avoid foreignisms and to standardise terminology through specific rules for the creation of new terms (Baker, 1987), English influxes inevitable enter Egyptian boundaries starting to be used among both specialists and non-specialists, with or without politics’ or academies’ approval. This especially occurs because, today, “[t]he government control is weakened by the emergence of new technology, satellite TV channels, Radio, Newspapers, Internet” (Miller, 2003: 164) through which people inevitably come into contact with English and passively learn it, as it is also confirmed by some interviewees:

*I21: I am pharmacist so my study was in English  
And I studied it at all my educational grades  
Till I have been graduated  
But also tv shows and movies had the biggest portion in my level I think*

*I23: Yes bcuz we watch so many English shows And listen to songs  
[...] I was in a private language school made my English level high, but not high enough  
to use with fluency, fluency came after years of TV shows and movies.*

Hence, there is a “discrepancy between language ideology and practice” (Aboelezz, 2014: 265), between what policies impose and what ordinary society does (Dalle Carbonare, 2015) and Egyptians are promoting the English spread more than the educational policies do (Abouelhassan & Meyer, 2016).

### **3.11.2 Discussion**

This part of the research has demonstrated that even if the English language remains a widely adopted language in many domains and contexts, it is not accepted as an official language in Egypt so that it cannot be said to be institutionalised. This mainly depends on political resistances and anti-English laws that have followed over time, from the British occupation until our days, alternating with historical moments when the use of English has been promoted as a marker of modernisation.

Currently, there are some educational policies in favour of the English language which aim at implementing its teaching at school and university, since it is seen as a powerful tool to reach prosperity and development, both personal and of the whole nation (Cook, 2000), but this is not without restrictions, and the action of conservative Arabic language academies, which fight to avoid English influences, undermines the modernisation and westernisation plans trying to hold off the widespread use of English.

Nevertheless, although anti-English policies, English inevitably enters Egypt, especially through the globalisation products, becoming widespread among the whole population, acquiring undeniable importance both internationally and intranationally, and consequently influencing Egyptians' linguistic practices. Hence, even if English has no official status, it is accorded higher importance in the Egyptian linguistic landscape (Aboeazz, 2014) so that, although Arabic is formally the only standard variety of Egyptians and their dominant language, it is not the unique language in Egypt with a high value (Aboeazz, 2014; Haeri, 2016). Hence, the question whether the special status of English in Egypt should be legally recognised still remains a source of controversy.

### **3.12 Preliminary conclusion**

This chapter has been devoted to answering the question concerning whether English in Egypt has shifted towards the EAL status, whether it should be still considered a simple EFL, or whether a new PEV variety of English, namely 'Egyptian English' (EgyE) exists to be studied within the context of WEs. The investigation has been carried out through the application of the FM, presented in chapter 2 through the examination of its criteria, namely the socio-historical, the ecological, the motivational, the sociolinguistic, the acquisitional, the linguistic, the cognitive, the cultural, the attitudinal and the political criteria, whose accomplishment for assessing (potential) variety status has been verified through an empirical study, with the realisation of a questionnaire and interviews administered to a sample of Egyptian young people.

This study has shown that there have been long-lasting contacts between English and (Egyptian) Arabic which depend on some socio-historical factors. English entered Egypt for the first time in 1880s when British colonised Egypt and its influence is still present today. However, contrary to what happens in other British colonies, such as India, a long period of British colonisation was certainly significant, but it was not the main reason for the current

widespread use of English in Egypt, nor was it the cause of the birth of a proper language variety. Other factors have contributed and are contributing to the (Egyptian) Arabic-English enduring contacts, such as the introduction of English in school curricula, the technological development and the increasing use of the Internet in Egypt, the current economic relationship with America, the Egyptian revolutions, and more generally, the international spread of English as ‘Global language’ (Crystal, 2003) and language of globalisation, all factors that lead to an inevitable and uncontrolled growing of linguistic interferences of English in the (Egyptian) Arabic language system.

It has then been proved then, that the ecology of Egypt is favourable to the introduction of English language influxes and thus that Egypt is a fertile ground for the emergence of a new variety. Egypt, indeed, far from being a simple diglossic variety, has become a multilingual society, with English being the most important and most used foreign language, even if not all Egyptians have a high competence. Indeed, due to a dual educational system and due to a social discrepancy between poor and wealthy people, a high proficiency is a prerogative of the elite, while lower rank people have very basic knowledge of English. Nevertheless, it has been proved that the general low proficiency is not a limitation for the spread of English in Egypt where, indeed, its use is increasingly intense and frequent in all strata of the society and no longer restricted to the high classes. This dispels the myth of the elitist nature of English in Egypt.

As far as the motivations pushing Egyptians to learn and use English are concerned, these are mainly pragmatic since it is learnt mainly for ‘commodity’ (Schaub, 2000: 228). With the development of the American economic global force and the use of English as the language of globalisation English in Egypt is increasingly seen as the ‘language of power’ since it allows Egypt to create ties with the economic and socio-cultural richness of Europe and Nord America and helps Egyptian people to reach a certain social and cultural position. However, not everyone in Egypt use English uniquely for utilitarian purposes: many people, especially those belonging to some specific communities (the youngest, students, rappers’ fans, Internet and social networks users, among others) deliberately choose the foreign language in everyday informal conversation to communicate with friends belonging to the same community, so that English becomes integral part of their linguistic system.

As for the sociolinguistic functions of English in Egypt, it is mainly employed as a Lingua Franca for important formal international functions playing a central role in certain domains: in education, international business, economy, technology, science, medicine, international administration, politics and in interpersonal communication with foreign people. Nevertheless, in this work, it has been shown that English is not only used internationally, but it is also

acquiring increasing importance intranationally (Crystal, 2003; Jenkins, 2007) since it starts to be used also in local informal domains such as in TV and radio broadcasting, magazines and to a major extent on web pages and social networks, being frequently employed by Egyptians themselves (Imhoof, 1977; Schaub, 2000) for both oral and written interpersonal communication among friends, schoolmates, or colleagues, but not at home with parents. So, English has eventually become one of the most common codes for communication in Egypt, and, as Brutt-Griffler (2002) claimed, it is when speakers need English as a shared code to communicate with each other that it can begin to be nativized (Brutt-Griffler 2002). Nonetheless, this still occur in very few cases and in restricted Egyptian communities which are just a minor part of the population not enough to claim that English is used in Egypt as an independent EV.

From a linguistic viewpoint, variations typical of Egyptian speakers of English have been reported in order to prove that English in Egypt is developing proper phonetical, grammatical and/or lexical norms. Different levels of language variation have been analysed reporting some examples of words and sentences retrieved in message texts or chats written in English by Egyptian participants to the interview, on Egyptian website and social network pages, or in online videos. All the linguistic dissimilarities between BrE, chosen as the representative StdE, and the (Egyptian) Arabic have been presented as spies of the existence of an actual linguistic influence and of potential emergence of a localised variety. Indeed, being them repeated among the interviews, it seems possible to this author to claim that they are fossilised and stabilised somehow, becoming proper characteristic features of a local 'Egyptian English' and signs that English in Egypt has almost developed its own endonormative form. This analysis would demonstrate thus that an indigenisation process has already started, particularly at the phonological and lexical level thanks to the linguistic processes of Arabization, borrowing and calquing of terms which, at a certain point, become fully absorbed in the Arabic dictionary, but also at the grammatical level with changes in the language structure.

Cognitively, it has been seen that linguistic innovations are still not recognised as such neither by speakers' themselves who are not conscious of the potential emergence of 'their own English' declaring themselves decisively oriented towards the StdE norms, nor by the linguists' community which, however, is becoming increasingly aware of the potentiality of English in Egypt to become a homegrown variety (Bruthiaux, 2003; Lewko, 2012; Al-Sayadi, 2016). However, although English in Egypt is still perceived as a foreign language by many Egyptians, a language belonging to other nations, it seems undeniable that what Egyptian learners of English produce is actually already different from the StdE forms (Mair, 2013; Schneider,

2016a), since a national flavour is inevitably added creating an Egyptian-like way of using English. This means that Egyptians are both “producers [...] and deniers of its [of the EgyE] existence” (Jenkins, 2007: 197 referring to English in the Netherlands).

Apart from the language, English in Egypt is also influencing the Egyptian popular and high culture all the time more penetrating creative genres including advertisements, signs and labels, popular music, as well as the high creative genres, especially literature with writers such as Ahdaf Soueif and Nadia Wassef using English in their novels as a means for their creative expression and as a tool to communicate emotions. Cultural creative genres represent thus a further occasion for cultural and linguistic contacts between Arabic and English, which definitely allows to insert Egyptian creative production within the WEs frame (Albarkry & Hancock, 2008; Bennui & Hashim, 2014b; Widdowson, 2019).

As far as the attitudinal criterion is concerned, participants’ answers to the questionnaire have suggested that they do not identify with English, but they still remain strongly tied to their L1, Arabic (mainly ECA) and that they have an ambiguous attitude towards English. On the one hand they seem to appreciate it especially because they recognise its vital importance for their University and job career and its utility to improve their life condition and the condition of the whole nation, being English an instrument that allows them to be linked with the economic and cultural prosperity of the outside world, on the other, they are reluctant towards its use and show a certain resentment against the language of colonisers, a reminder for them of Egyptians’ submission to the European power, and towards the use of a ‘foreign’ language, regarded as a threat for the Arabic social and cultural identity and a menace for the purity of their linguistic tradition and of the moral and religious value it carries (Wright, 2004). For this last reason, conservatives and purists fight against foreign linguistic influxes even if, although their strong resistance, a certain ‘linguistic colonialism’ (Al-Shbiel, 2017: 471) of English is inevitably exerted. Feelings towards the English language and the West are thus very contradictory, and many people love what they openly declare to hate (Dalle Carbonare, 2015).

Clearly, English in Egypt cannot be an institutionalised variety. What it still misses is the awareness and acceptance of its existence by its speakers (cognitive criterion), their identification with it (attitudinal criterion) and the reconnaissance and acceptance as a local standard by the authorities (political criterion). Moreover, since no English institutionalised form exists, no dictionaries or grammars have been ever written. English remains thus an unofficial language in Egypt with no pro-English policies aiming at officialising its use. The only interventions in its favour have been made in the educational field, with the purpose of reinforcing its teaching in the school and university systems.

In conclusion, taking all the evidence, English in Egypt has clearly changed its status being more than a simple foreign language, but it does not even fulfill all criteria established for a proper EV since for being such, its presence should be more intense and frequent, its use should not be restricted only to a limited part of the community, but it should be spread to a large proportion of the population (Moag, 1992), it should be naturally used within familiar contexts, it should be stably nativised, and it should be recognised as independent by Egyptians themselves and by the authorities (even if not necessarily). For this reason, it can be argued that “[t]here is not yet an “Egyptian” English that is found throughout Egypt” (Lewko, 2012: 113), since it approximates itself, but (still?) does not reach the EAL status. Consequently, since English in Egypt is excluded from both EFL and EAL categories, the final assumption is then that it represents another borderline case, and since criteria and parameters for the definition of an EPV, as illustrated in this work (see Figure 28), are all respected, it can perfectly be positioned at the EPV stage together with other ‘emerging contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) of the Expanding area, being thus not (or not yet) a legitimate new variety, but a *potential* new variety of English.



The present study, specifically in Chapter 1, has demonstrated the inadequacy of previous WEs models which result no longer in line with the current situation of English in the world and not applicable to new ‘emergent contexts’ (Schneider, 2014: 24) of the Expanding area, where many potential new varieties are growing, especially due to the globalisation forces which shorten the social, cultural and linguistic distances and inevitably create new language-contact situations wherever in the world. This is leading many EFL varieties to acquire social functions, cultural and linguistic features that approximate them to the EAL, but without ever reaching it completely and definitely, with the consequent emergence of hybrid linguistic forms (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Schneider, 2014; Buschfeld, 2014) which remain in the borderline between two categories and excluded from any model. This creates a theoretical void that forces scholars to find a solution for ‘bridging the gap’ (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986) between the EFL and the EAL, which has also been the first aim around which this dissertation has revolved.

In order to reach this aim, in Chapter 2 a revision of old WEs paradigms has been presented. More specifically, the old exception of the concepts of *nativeness*, *standardness*, and *post-colonial status*, on which previous theoretical models were based, have been updated and reinterpreted in light of the new sociolinguistic situation of English in the world trying to solve contradictions that these old paradigms produce today. After having revisited old theories, with the aim of mirroring paradigms’ variations in the terminology used, an alternative categorisation and changed labels have been suggested, with the replacement of the old ENL-ESL-EFL tripartite categorisation with an EML-EAL-EPV-EFL quadripartite one, whit the EPV stage (and no longer ‘category’) consisting of all those new “English as a Potential Variety” (EPV) forms emerging in the Expanding countries. All these discussions lie at the basis of the creation of a different, more updated and more fluid model (Edwards, 2016), namely the ‘Fluid Model of the emergence of English as a Potential Variety’ (FM) which, with the introduction of the EPV intermediate stage in the developmental varietal flux, seen as a class

of its own with its own specific features, would represent the solution to fill the ‘grey area’ (Jenkins, 2003a: 17-18) between EAL and EFL, and thus to solve the WEs theoretical gap above discussed finally including non-native, non-standard and non-postcolonial varieties (or less-prototypical PCEs) emerging in the Expanding contexts within the WEs framework. Fluidity of the FM is first of all evident through its graphical representation as it appears in the shape of a river but is also clear in the description of the process for the variety formation, which does not necessarily follow monodirectional phases, but it is based on some criteria, the accomplishment of which would be determinant for assessing variety status, either EML, EAL, EPV or EFL status.

Since the focus in this dissertation has been on EPV, criteria which must be fulfilled for a linguistic form to be considered as such have been catalogued. It is assumed that a linguistic form, in order to be accepted as a potentially new variety of English, must enter a country through an enduring contact with native speakers (socio-historical criterion); the receiver country must be ecologically predisposed to welcome new influences, mainly facilitated by a multilingual setting (ecological criterion); English must be used in different domains (Mollin, 2006) with both international and *intranational* (Jenkins, 2007) functions (Buschfeld, 2014) and with both formal and informal contexts inside the country (sociolinguistic criterion); it should be learnt/acquired either for pragmatic but also with some integrative functions (motivational criterion) and not only through formal instruction but also through everyday language exposure (acquisitional criterion); contacts between English and the local language(s) must develop linguistic innovations pushing the variety towards an endonormative process and towards indigenisation (linguistic criterion); and English must have influences not only on the linguistic but also on the cultural system of the country adopting it (cultural criterion). It is not necessary, instead, that it is recognised and that is positively viewed and accepted by the indigenous speakers, even if it should start to be recognised by the scientific community as a different form from the StdE (cognitive and attitudinal criteria) and it does not need either to be accepted by the local authority with the enacting of a favourable linguistic policy (political criterion), three important parameters instead for a proper EV status (Mollin, 2006).

With respect to the two second research question, wondering whether English in Egypt can be considered a simple EFL, whether it can be seen as another case of EPV or whether it has already reached the EAL status, in Chapter 3, a sociolinguistic analysis intended at investigating each of the ten criteria of the FM applied to the case-study of Egypt has been held through the use of some ethnographic instruments like a questionnaire and some interviews to a sample of Egyptians. In addition, a small corpus of the EgyE has been created specifically for

the investigation of the linguistic criterion. In detail, the analysis has focused on the historical and social events that led to the contact between English and (Egyptian) Arabic, the current linguistic situation of Egypt, the reasons why Egyptians learn/acquire English, the use, functions, and domains of English in Egypt, the way of the English language acquisition, the language variations produced by Egyptian speakers of English at different levels (in sound, structure and grammar), the cultural interferences of the English language in Egyptian high and popular culture, the Egyptians' awareness of the existence of a proper indigenised form of English, their attitude towards it and towards the use of English in Egypt, and the recognition of English as part of the official national linguistic system by the authority. All the observations made through this empirical study have revealed that English in Egypt satisfies all the criteria for an EPV status being a performance variety rather than a legitimate variety of English. Indeed, while it does not accomplish criteria for being a proper EV on its own right, so that it could be claimed that, actually, an 'Egyptian English' does not yet exist (Lewko, 2012) it is no longer correct to talk about a simple foreign language either (Bruthiaux, 2003; Lewko, 2012; Al-Sayadi, 2016) so that it cannot be considered unambiguously to be either an EAL or an EFL. English in Egypt is thus classifiable in a mid-road stage, and exactly at the EPV one.

The analysis of this case-study has had a double function: on the one hand it has verified whether the English variety spoken by Egyptians can be categorised as a new potential variety, on the other hand it has equally been useful to prove the validity of the FM model itself. It seems to this author that the model has worked well when applied to the case of Egypt, having offered an ample and detailed view on its socio-historical, ecological, sociolinguistic, and cultural landscape been thus comprehensive of numerous and different aspects, uses, roles, and values of English in the Egyptian society instead of focusing on a unique point, which would result in a too reductive and insufficient approach. In addition, by using this theoretical framework, Egypt, which is a non-native context, a country in which English is used as a non-standard form, and where the colonial experience has not led to the development of a true PCEs, reasons that had excluded it from any categorisation and model so far, has finally found an adequate definition and a more definite place within the WEs frame. This would prove the 'more integrative approach' of the model largely discussed by Schneider (2014), Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) which seems to be reached, in this case, without falling into the old 'paradigm gap' (Kachru, 2005: 71), especially into the 'colonial trapping' (Edwards, 2016: 187). Hence, thanks to its fluidity, adaptability, detailed description, and inclusiveness, the FM has demonstrated to have overtaken old models' limitations, so that it seems legitimate to believe that is a good alternative instrument to finally filling the theoretical gap between EAL and EFL,

and more generally, to represent and describe the current linguistic reality of English in the world more faithfully. Certainly, in order to establish whether this model is truly functional, it should be applied to other cases.

### *Limits of the research*

Undeniably, this research shows some shortcomings, above all related to the empirical study, which mainly depend on the fact that because of the pandemic caused by Covid-19, which unfortunately struck during the course of this research, a real infield study in Egypt could not be conducted. This has been replaced by a questionnaire and interviews (web survey) to Egyptians, but this has affected the scope of this research both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Quantitatively speaking, this study is limited because, although the precious aid offered by Egyptian friends, and although the AUC support, the questionnaire received reduced attention and the sample size is relatively small. No doubt, a larger sample could have generated more accurate results so that the empirical analysis should be amplified in order to validate findings.

Qualitatively, the research shows some limitations too. First of all, because using the questionnaire as a means for the investigation implies that findings are based only on subjective participants' self-reporting and on their own experience and points of view. Secondly, because without being in Egypt and without being in face-to-face contact with Egyptian people, without thus the possibility to directly observe the speech practice in *real* linguistic interaction, and communication, an important aspect for sociolinguistic studies (Bruthiaux, 2003), it has been difficult to uncover important aspects of the sociolinguistic reality of Egypt and for this reason it has been very hard to collect more reliable data. For example, without a constant infield observation, it is not easy to state whether and how frequently linguistic variations are repeated among Egyptian users of English, and thus it is not easy to establish whether these are eventually indigenised or whether they are only a series of errors casually repeated among the empirical study's participants. In this regard, it is important to notice that data have been collected through chats and computer mediated discourses which means that scripts may be full of errors, not necessarily due to linguistic contacts or participants' low competence in English, but they may be due to text typing not purposefully made by inattentively using a computer or mobile phones keyboards. The investigator had to make efforts not to considering these mistakes part of potential variations.

Lastly, all participants selected for the empirical study come from the upper-middle class. This means that this study includes only limited experiences rather than actual collective behaviour (Walters, 2008) excluding the viewpoint of the rest of Egyptians, being thus this research constrained and limited to the perspective of a small portion of the whole Egyptian society. It would be interesting to investigate how English, and its widespread use in Egypt is employed and perceived by the lower classes and even by the poor and illiterate Egyptians who in 2021 represent almost the 30% of the total Egyptian population (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1237041/poverty-headcount-ratio-in-egypt/>; <https://www.statista.com/statistics/572680/literacy-rate-in-egypt/>).

To conclude, no doubt, an infield research in Egypt would have been more effective and would have resulted in more precise and ample data. Without this possibility, this research could result still lacking, and surely, a more detailed investigation should be helpful in order to compensate the gaps of the present study. Anyway, far from judging lacks and inaccuracies as negative notes, they are regarded, instead, as an invitation for further research and studies on the topic.



## **Appendix**

### **I**

#### **Questionnaire**

##### **Defining a ‘New English Variety’. The case of Egyptian English: a sociolinguistic study**

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#### **PART 1: SOCIOLINGUISTIC PARAMETERS (Gkonou, 2014)**

- 1.1. General information
- 1.2. Context of situation
- 1.3. Language competence
- 1.4. Use of English and motivations to learn it

#### **PART 2: THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH IN EGYPT AND ITS INFLUENCES ON THE (EGYPTIAN) ARABIC LANGUAGE**

- 2.1. Socio-historical reasons for the spread of English in Egypt and its linguistic influences of English on the (Egyptian) Arabic language
- 2.2. The strength and frequency of the influxes of English in the (Egyptian) Arabic language

#### **PART 3: FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH IN EGYPT IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS**

- 3.1. The use of English in international and local domains in Egypt
- 3.2. Frequency of the use of English in specific domains

#### **PART 4: USE OF ENGLISH IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS**

#### **PART 5: ERROR OR VARIATION DETECTION**

- 5.1. Morphology and Syntax
- 5.2. Lexis and Vocabulary

#### **PART 6: SOCIO-CULTURAL INTERFERENCES**

- 6.1. Frequency of the use of English in different socio-cultural contexts and creative genres in Egypt.

#### **PART 7: EGYTIANS’ ATTITUDE TOWARDS ENGLISH**

- 7.1. Your opinion about English in Egypt

#### **CONSENT FORM**

## PART 1: SOCIOLINGUISTIC PARAMETERS

### 1.1. General information

1. Name or nickname: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Sex:
  - a) Female
  - b) Male
  - c) Prefer not to say
  - d) Other
3. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Place of residence: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Religion: \_\_\_\_\_
7. What are your educational qualifications? (please list all)  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. What is your current job?  
\_\_\_\_\_

### 1.2. Context of situation

9. Where do/did you study?
  - a) in Egypt
  - b) in an English-speaking country
  - c) in an Arabic-speaking country
  - d) elsewhere
10. What kind of school do/did you attend?
  - a) Government school
  - b) Private school
  - c) International school
  - d) Other
11. Where do you work? (only for workers)
  - a) in Egypt
  - b) in an English-speaking country
  - c) in an Arabic-speaking country
  - d) elsewhere
12. Do you work for international purpose? (only for workers)
  - a) Yes
  - b) No



### 1.3. Language competence

13. What is your mother tongue?

---

14. Which language(s) do you speak?

---

15. What was /were the main language(s) of instruction at:

- School: \_\_\_\_\_
- Higher education: \_\_\_\_\_
- University: \_\_\_\_\_

16. Where have you learnt English? (school, university, language courses)

---

17. For how many years have you studied English?

\_\_\_\_\_ years

18. Have you ever lived in an English-speaking country for more than 6 months?

19. Please rate your language proficiency using a Lickert scale 1-4

1= beginner; 2= intermediate; 3= advanced; 4= near native.

	1	2	3	4
a) Reading				
b) Writing				
c) Listening				
d) Speaking				

### 1.4. Use of English and motivations to learn it

20. How often do you use English (in speaking and writing)?

- a) Always
- b) Usually
- c) Often
- d) Sometimes
- e) Never

21. How often do you read English (texts, articles, books, etc.)?

- a) Always
- b) Usually
- c) Often
- d) Sometimes
- e) Never

22. How often do you listen to radio programs in English?

- a) Always
- b) Usually
- c) Often
- d) Sometimes
- e) Never

23. How often do you watch TV programs in English?

- a) Always
- b) Usually
- c) Often
- d) Sometimes
- e) Never

24. Why did you learn / are you learning English? (more than one answer possible)

- a) To become as good as a native speaker
- b) To be able to go to Britain, the USA or other English-speaking countries
- c) To have good job opportunities
- d) To be able to communicate with other people in the world

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

## PART 2: THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH IN EGYPT AND ITS INFLUENCES ON THE (EGYPTIAN) ARABIC LANGUAGE

### 2.1. Socio-historical reasons for the spread of English in Egypt and its linguistic influences of English on the (Egyptian) Arabic language

Please choose one (or more than one) of the following claims about the socio-historical reasons for the spread of English in Egypt.

25. What do you think has been (and still currently is) the main reason for the spread of English in Egypt? (more than one answer possible).
- British colonialism in Egypt.
  - British industrialization and the technological advancement in Egypt.
  - Egyptian international economic relationships with Europe and America.
  - Political, economic, and military relations between America and Egypt.
  - The presence of global products (especially American products).
  - The current globalisation and the use of English as the international language.
  - The 2011 Egyptian revolutions.
  - The introduction of English as a compulsory subject at school.
  - Because in Egypt English is the main "working language" and it offers advantages on seeking good job opportunities.
  - Egyptians' personal interest in learning English.
  - Other...

Comments or suggestions (optional):

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Please indicate whether you agree with the following statements.

1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neutral; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
26. Due to an enduring linguistic contact, some linguistic interferences have developed between the English and the (Egyptian) Arabic languages.					
27. Today, English is so widely used in many domains and contexts in Egypt that it is influencing the (Egyptian) Arabic language and culture.					
28. English has actually spread in Egypt, but it has no influences on the Egyptians' language and culture.					

## 2.2. The strength and frequency of the influxes of English on the (Egyptian) Arabic language

Please choose one of the following claims.

29. Linguistic contacts between (Egyptian) Arabic and English are
- a) very strong and countless
  - b) strong and numerous
  - c) not so numerous and strong
  - d) almost insignificant
  - e) Inexistent
30. When Egyptians speak (Egyptian) Arabic they introduce English words or sentences
- a) always
  - b) often
  - c) sometimes
  - d) never
31. When Egyptians speak English, some influxes of the Arabic language are hearable on the lexical and phonetic level (pronunciation of words).
- a) always
  - b) often
  - c) sometimes
  - d) never
32. Linguistic interferences of (Egyptian) Arabic can be noted on the morphology and syntax (grammar) of English as it is spoken by Egyptians.
- e) always
  - f) often
  - g) sometimes
  - h) never

## PART 3: INTERNATIONAL AND INTRANATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH IN EGYPT

### 3.1. The use of English in international and local domains in Egypt

Please indicate whether you agree with the following statements about the functions of English in Egypt and its use in different domains.

1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neutral; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
33. In Egypt, English is more useful and functional than Arabic.					
34. Egyptians should learn English if they want to have access to international affairs.					
35. Egyptians do not need to learn English if they want to work for national/local services and companies.					
36. Today, English in Egypt is used for both international and national reasons.					

### 3.2. Frequency of use of English in specific domains

Please indicate how frequently English, Standard Arabic, Egyptian Arabic or a mixed form are used in the following contexts according to your own experience and knowledge.

0 = never, 1 = sometimes, 2 = often, 3 = usually, 4 = always

37. International communication.

- a) English 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- b) Standard Arabic 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- c) Egyptian Arabic 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5

38. Intra-national communication.

- a) English 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- b) Standard Arabic 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- c) Egyptian Arabic 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5

39. International politics.

- a) English 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- b) Standard Arabic 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- c) Egyptian Arabic 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5
- d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5

40. Home politics.

- a) English 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| 41. International business.                |                   |
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| 42. Local business.                        |                   |
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| 43. International travel and tourism       |                   |
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| 44. Local touristic industry               |                   |
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| 45. International safety.                  |                   |
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| 46. Local safety.                          |                   |
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| 47. Private education.                     |                   |
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| 48. Public education.                      |                   |

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
49. University communities.
- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
50. Communication among students of local universities.
- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
51. Scientific research
- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
52. International media (international TV and radio broadcasting, newspapers, and magazines)
- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
53. Local media (local TV and radio broadcasting, newspapers, and magazines)
- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
54. Internet and social networks such as Facebook
- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| b) Standard Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| c) Egyptian Arabic                         | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |
| d) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 - 5 |

## PART 4: USE OF ENGLISH IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS

Please indicate how frequently you use English, (Egyptian) Arabic or a mixed form in the following contexts. Please consider all three languages.

1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = usually, 5 = always

55. Which language(s) do you use regularly?

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| b) (Egyptian) Arabic                       | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |

56. Talking to your family members

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| b) (Egyptian) Arabic                       | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |

57. Discussing personal matters

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| b) (Egyptian) Arabic                       | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |

58. Conversing and discussing general topics with friends.

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| b) (Egyptian) Arabic                       | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |

59. Writing a personal letter/email

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| b) (Egyptian) Arabic                       | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |

60. Writing a message on Messenger or Whatsapp.

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| b) (Egyptian) Arabic                       | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |

61. At high school/university talking to my colleagues

- |                                            |                   |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a) English                                 | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| b) (Egyptian) Arabic                       | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |

62. At high school/university talking to my professors

- |                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| a) English           | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |
| b) (Egyptian) Arabic | 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 |



- c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
63. At work, talking with colleagues
- a) English 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- b) (Egyptian) Arabic 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
64. At work talking to my clients
- a) English 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- b) (Egyptian) Arabic 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
65. In shops, at the railway station, airport, etc.
- a) English 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- b) (Egyptian) Arabic 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
66. At a job interview
- a) English 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- b) (Egyptian) Arabic 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
67. Writing business letters/emails
- a) English 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- b) (Egyptian) Arabic 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- c) English - (Egyptian) Arabic code-mixing 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

## PART 5: ERROR OR VARIATION DETECTION

### 5.1. Morphology and syntax

Please read the following sentences and indicate whether they are acceptable English. Write an "X" in "Other" if you recognise typical mistakes that Egyptians usually commit while speaking/writing in English.

68. Khaled a professor at the University of Cairo

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

69. What you doing?

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

70. I have gone to Minia University, yesterday

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

71. I lived in America for years

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

72. At the moment, I work in a villa design

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

73. When you will come, I will show you Cairo City

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

74. Do I can call you?

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

75. When we start?

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

76. Tell me how is ur life go on

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

77. We also was not talk Arabic language. We was talking Coptic

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

78. He still don't reply on me.

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

79. Where it is?

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

80. He was eating when I was telephoning him

- a) Acceptable
- b) Unacceptable
- c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

## 5.2. Lexis and vocabulary

81. Please indicate which of these Arabic words derive from English (please do not use dictionaries or the net for information).

- |                  |               |                |
|------------------|---------------|----------------|
| a) باص           | i) بار        | p) ويسكي       |
| b) آيس كريم      | j) كومبيوتر   | q) روبات       |
| c) حافلة         | k) لايتوب     | r) ميكروويف    |
| d) ألبوم         | l) فارة       | s) لوحة مفاتيح |
| e) فيديو         | m) ماوس       | t) يد          |
| f) كلمات متقاطعة | n) ساندويتش   |                |
| g) حاسوب         | o) صندوق أسود |                |
| h) كلمة مرور     |               |                |

## PART 6: SOCIO-CULTURAL INTERFERENCES

### 6.1. Frequency of use of English in different socio-cultural contexts and creative genres in Egypt

Please indicate how frequently English, Standard Arabic, Egyptian Arabic or a mixed code are used in the following socio-cultural contexts. Please consider all three languages.

1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = usually, 5 = always

	1	2	3	4	5
82. News written on newspapers and magazines in Egypt.					
83. News written on Egyptian web informational pages.					
84. Advertisement along the streets of the Egyptian cities.					
85. Advertisement on Egyptian TV.					
86. Shops' signs and labels in Egyptian cities.					
87. Egyptian popular music (especially hip-hop and rap).					
88. TV programs and movies on the Egyptian television.					
89. Cinema movies in Egypt.					
90. Radio programs in Egypt.					
91. Literary works by Egyptian writers.					

## PART 7: EGYPTIANS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS ENGLISH

### 7.1. Your opinion about English in Egypt

Please indicate whether you agree with the following statements about your own attitude towards English in Egypt

1 = I strongly disagree; 2 = I disagree; 3 = I am neutral; 4 = I agree; 5 = I strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
92. I find that English is more interesting than my mother tongue.					
93. I believe that speaking English is a mark of prestige and belonging to the elite.					
94. In my opinion, Egyptian people speaking English sound "snobby" and ridiculous.					
95. I think that everybody in Egypt should speak English since this would facilitate communication.					
96. I think that English is a more powerful and direct language than Arabic.					
97. I like speaking English since I feel closer to the British/American culture.					
98. When I speak English to other English-speaking Egyptians, I feel closer to that person than if we spoke Arabic.					
99. I strongly identify myself with (Egyptian) Arabic and with the group that speaks it.					
100. I prefer using English whenever possible.					
101. When I speak English, I feel more educated and polite.					
102. I think that there should be more TV and radio programmes available in English in Egypt.					
103. I do not like watching TV channels with full English programming.					
104. I would rather read in English than in Arabic.					
105. I would feel embarrassed if I did not speak any English.					
106. I feel confident when I speak English and I am not bothered about mistakes as long as I can make myself understood.					
107. I avoid using English because I am afraid of mistakes.					
108. When I speak English, I want people to understand I am Egyptian					
109. I feel that English threatens the Arabic language and I think that Arabic should be preserved and purified from all English influxes.					
110. I think it is not a problem to use English even at the expense of the Arabic language.					

Comments or suggestions (optional)

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Thank you very much for your help!

(This questionnaire is based on Mollin, 2006; Künstler et al., 2009; Lewko, 2012; Buschfeld, 2013; Edwards, 2016)

## CONSENT FORM

1. I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the above study.
  - a) Yes
  - b) No
  
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, without my right being affected.
  - a) Yes
  - b) No
  
3. I understand that the text I am providing can be used in analyses, publications and teaching by researchers and that they may share the text and analyses with colleagues within universities or associations. I give permission for these individuals to have access to these data\*
  - a) Yes
  - b) No
  
4. I would like to be kept up to date with the research results
  - a) Yes
  - b) No

Name

Date

\*All data will be treated anonymously and confidentially and used exclusively for research purposes. These data will be used for the final analysis, identified with a fictitious nickname instead of your name. Other identifying details will be removed. Participants can request to inspect any work that make use of data they contributed before it is submitted for publication.

## II

### Interview transcript

**Ier:** *Do you think an 'Egyptian English' variety exists? Why? Why not? I mean, do you think that English language influences Egyptian Arabic language to the point that we can talk about a new and independent variety?*

**I16:** you meant that we made our own English language?

**Ier:** *Exactly. Can we suppose that?*

**I26:** No we don't off course the English will be English if I'm going to use that mean that im going to talk to English speaker so how would they understand me?

**I24:** Of course it's not possible . Cuz the aren't influenced by each other . English doesn't use any Arabic words . Egyptians use some English words in between Arabic lines just for fun but without influence.

**I5:** English had many accent and way to speak Canadian English .american English .Indian English. and a lot .....but we have no Accent in Egypt but if you want to learn English you choice between American or British and if you see some one in Egypt speak English different from American or British ...this person speak English wrong

**I16:** Yeah somehow, every country will do the same linking the language that u learn to ur native language

**Ier** (answering to I16): *Ok. And according to you, why is it an independent variety? Which are the differences with the Standard English?*

**I8.:** in Egypt we speak Arabic so I don't think it will help u with ur studies but it might help with improving ur skills with conversation

**I24:** I guess it exists, as most of the universities and schools in Egypt taught in English beside that it becomes one of the main component in the hiring .

**I1:** In Egypt, There is a social phenomenon about learning English instead of Arabic.. some parents put their kids in an international schools ..they neglect to learn them Arabic...they show this like a honor or respect or wealthy that their child talk English perfect without Arabic ..this kid of people always mix Arabic with English in theit daily talk.. u need to notice that in ur research ...those are not the most people live in Egypt. With regards.

**Ier:** *I am writing a work, which is a linguistic and sociolinguistic study on the English language spoken in Egypt. I realised that most of you are good at speaking English, but English in Egypt is just a Foreign Language, not a Second Language. So, I became interest in understanding why you speak English so well. I am trying to explain it by the fact that you had a long period of British colonization and now American contacts because of economy, business, etc. I think that these linguistic contacts influenced the way you speak English to the point that maybe we can talk about a new variety. It is just a presupposition. What do you think about?*

**I24:** a long period of British colonization Is not the main reason, but the present that we live, especially meet the labor market needs is what made us learn English, In Egypt, we have only Arabic



which the main language but for real the main lang. in work is English, So we all realized that if we want to gain more money we have to be fluent in English to get the promotion in our jobs  
What I said about English is just for the private sector, not the governmental one.

**I20:** Maybe

**Ier** (answering I24): *Why? Are there differences in phonetics, lexical choices and syntax between Standard English and the English you speak?*

**I25:** Ok I can tell u that all the sounds of most of the foreign languages are in the Arabic language especially in Quran our holy book for Muslims so our tongue is more flexible to speak any language.

**I25:** Also I can tell u that colonization affected in some words So we changed some words from Arabic to English And French until today we use un Arabic words like madam. Mademoiselle, écharpe , and so on especially from French not English cuz it didn't affected greatly  
Also in phonetics we have something equal to it in Arabic so we can deal easily with phonetics and any language

**Ier** (answering to Mohammed): *So, in the governmental field do you use Arabic?*

**I25:** Yeeeee we use Arabic as formal in government section

**I24:** yes

**Ier:** *So, which are the functions of English in Egypt exactly?*

**I25:** Arabic as a formal standard language in mosques , schools, governments and formal discussion Never using English ever  
Okay English is used for teaching English and in medical field and in some chemical fields o and high ridiculous classes who want to take pride in them selves in ridicule way

**I24:** In Multinationals Corporations, in all compoines in private sector, for formal emails and letters... etc

**Ier:** *And what about street signals or restaurant menues or everything like that, are they also written in English (maybe for tourist reasons)?*

**I25:** Yes it is written in english most of them Even tourists or native  
I disagree mr Mohammed

**I24:** Arabic and English

**I5:** there is no English in the street of Egypt but in some places in Luxor and hurugada and sharm

**I25:** No it's not used in communication between us in speaking at all but small words not as u understand

**I24:** David there are English signs in streets all over the country

**I5:** just in Airport and some places but in Luxor speak English in cafes and streets

**I24:** NOT only Airport, As I said, there are Signs all over the country

**I5:** Look if u bought any thing u can find English And all doors of shops there is open signal or close In bathroom there's a signal for man and women in English All .make up tools are in English hahaha And cars signals like STOP our kitchen machines all in English

**Ier:** *That's interesting! It means that in Egypt English IS, today, a language of communication. What I would like to understand is if it has developed proper grammar, phonetic, syntactical and lessical norms which, in that case, become specific of what I have called 'Egyptian English' or if you just respect Standard English grammar.*

**I24:** We are trying to respect the Standard English grammar

**Ier** (answering to Mohammed): *you say "trying", so it means that you don't actually. In what your English is different from the Standard English?*

**I25:** There's no difference between our English and standard English but just some person are bad but we try to improve until it becomes excellent

**I5:** I speak about when you want to use English in Egypt but generally no one disagree with that ..... English in Egypt is very bad

**I30** (not Egyptian): hahahaha, I used to work as a sales representative to Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. We could call anybody and they'd answer in French. Once I called and said " sabaH al-khair, ana uriidu an atkallamu ma's-sayyid Mahmoud". They all got crazy and transferred my call 5 times... then someone asked me if I could speak French.

I also called 5 Egyptian companies in Cairo and I started in English "good afternoon I'd like to speak...", the only answer I got after being transferred 4 times was "eh? Inta 'aayez eh, ya'ni?"

### III

#### Audio clip excerpt sample transcript

##### I1:

1. Hello, I am now riding my car back to home, ee, it's a its a bit ??? about my start-up.. I .. I have a meeting tomorrow on masr online Zoom to explain and to... to explain my idea and my company. eee.. I prepared a speech so I want to play it with someone eee...

##### UK pronunciation

/hɛ'ləʊ, aɪ æm naʊ 'raɪdɪŋ maɪ kɑ: bæk tu: həʊm,  
ee, its ə its ə bɪt ??? ə'baʊt maɪ 'stɑ:t,ʌp.. aɪ .. aɪ  
hæv ə 'mi:tɪŋ tə'mɒrəʊ ɒn masr 'ɒn,lain zu:m tu:  
ɪks'pleɪn ænd tu:... tu: ɪks'pleɪn maɪ aɪ'dɪə ænd  
maɪ 'kʌmpəni. eee.. aɪ prɪ'peəd ə spi:tʃ  
səʊ aɪ wɒnt tu: pleɪ ɪt wɪð 'sʌmwʌn eee.../

##### EgyE pronunciation

/hæ'lɒ, aɪæm naʊ 'raɪdɪŋ maɪ kɑ:r bæk tu: ɒ:m,  
ee, ɪtʒ ə ɪtʒ ə bɪtʃ ??? ə'baʊt maɪ stɑ:rt,ʌp..aɪ.. aɪ  
hæv ə 'mi:tɪŋ tu'mɒrroʊ ɒn masr 'ɒn,lain zu:m tu:  
ɪkz'bleɪn ænd tu:... tu: ɪkz'bleɪn maɪ aɪ'dɪə ænd  
maɪ 'kʌmpəni.. əəə.. aɪ prɪ'perəd ə sbi:tʃ  
səʊ aɪ wɒnt tu: bleɪ ɪt wɪz 'sʌmwʌn əəə .../

2. Eeh, I will ask one of my colleague for you, I ... eeee.. have a friend..ee.. his wife is a doctor on Alsun nn, faculty of Alsun but he.. but she is a professor of Spanish language

##### UK pronunciation

/Eeh, aɪ wɪl ɑ:sk wʌn ɒv maɪ 'kɒli:g fɔ: ju:, aɪ ...  
eeee.. hæv ə frɛnd..ee.. hɪz waɪf ɪz ə 'dɒktər ɒn  
ʌlsun nn, 'fækəlti ɒv ʌlsun bʌt hi:.. bʌt ʃi: ɪz ə  
prə'fesər ɒv 'spæɪnɪʃ 'læŋgwɪdʒ/

##### EgyE pronunciation

/əə..aɪ wɪl ɑ:sk wʌn ɒf maɪ 'kɒli:ʒ fɔr ju:, aɪ ...  
əə.. hæv ə frɛnd..əə.. hɪz waɪf ɪz ə 'dɒktər ɒn  
ʌlsun nn, 'fækɒlti ɒf ʌlsun bʌt hi:.. bʌt ʃi: ɪz ə  
brɒ'fesər ɒf 'spænɪʃ 'læŋgwɪʃ/

3. I am fine too, how is your Ph.D. and your weekend?

##### UK pronunciation

/aɪ æm faɪn tu:, haʊ ɪz jɔ:  
prɪʃ'dɪ ænd jɔ: 'wi:k'end?/

##### EgyE pronunciation

/aɪ æm faɪn tu:, haʊ ɪz jɔr  
brɪʃ'dɪ ænd jɔ: 'wi:k'end?/

4. It sounds nice Lucia, ehm, I'm waiting to read your articles mmm I'm also had a meeting with my Ph.D. supervi..supervisor, and we plan to work on the Ph.D., eem, as a paper based thesis, so we put a plan to publish a full article soon, ee, and a ?? of Ph.D.

##### UK pronunciation

/ɪt saʊndz naɪs 'lu:ʃi:a, ehm, aɪm 'weɪtɪŋ tu:  
rɪ:d jɔ:r 'ɑ:tɪk(ə)lz mmm aɪm 'ɔ:lsəʊ hæd ə  
'mi:tɪŋ wɪð maɪ prɪʃ'dɪ sʊpərvə..

##### EgyE pronunciation

/ɪts zəʊnd naɪs lu:'si:a, əəm, aɪm 'weɪtɪŋ tu:  
rɪ:d jɔ:r 'ɑ:rtɪkelz mmm aɪm 'ɔ:lsə hæd ə  
'mi:tɪŋ wɪz maɪ brɪʃ'dɪ 'su:pərvə..

'sju:pəvaɪzə, ænd wi: plæn tu: wɜ:k ɒn ðə  
brɛfɪdɪ, eem, æz ə 'peɪpə beɪst 'θi:zɪs, səʊ wi:  
pɒt ə plæn tu: 'pʌblɪʃ ə fʊl 'ɑ:tɪk(ə)l su:n, ee,  
ænd eɪ ?? ɒv brɛfɪdɪ /

'su:pəvaɪzə:r, ænd wi: blæn tu: wɜ:k ɒn də  
brɛfɪdɪ, eem, æz e 'beɪpə besd 'si:zɪs, səʊ wi:  
bʊt ə plæn tʊ 'pʌblɪʃ ə fʊl 'ɑ:tɪkəl su:n, ee,  
ænd ə ?? ɒf brɛfɪdɪ/

5. The weather here is so cold also, eehm, or there's a feeling of cold is very high. Maybe is a temperature is not like German or Italy but it is cold comparing with Egypt weather.

#### UK pronunciation

/ ðə 'weðə hɪə ɪz səʊ kəʊld 'ɔ:lsəʊ, eehm, ɔ:  
ðeəz ə 'fi:lɪŋ ɒv kəʊld ɪz 'veri haɪ. 'meɪbi: ɪz ə  
'tempɪrətʃə ɪz nɒt laɪk 'dʒɜ:mən ɔ:r 'ɪtəli  
bʌt ɪt ɪz kəʊld kəm'peərɪŋ wɪð 'i:dʒɪpt 'weðə/

#### EgyE pronunciation

/zə 'wɪzər hɪr ɪz səʊ kə:ld 'ɔ:lsəʊ, eehm, ɔ:r  
derz ə 'fi:lɪŋ ɒf kə:ld ɪz 'veri haɪ. 'mæbi: ɪz  
ə temp'retʃər ɪz nɒt laɪk 'dʒɜ:rman ɔ:r 'etali  
bʌt ɪt ɪz kə:ld kəm'peərɪŋ wɪz e 'dʒɪpt 'wezər/

6. Testing my language, my phonetics and so on, ee.. now, I am going to eat, ee, it's Maghrib, if you know Maghrib, it's Maghrib time, eem, riding to go back home, to eat with my family, eem, and my, ee, sisters

#### UK pronunciation

/'tɛstɪŋ maɪ 'læŋgwɪdʒ, maɪ fəʊ'netɪks ænd  
səʊ ɒn, æ.. nəʊ, aɪ æm 'gəʊɪŋ tu: ɪ:t, ee, ɪts  
Mægrɪb, ɪf ju: nəʊ Mægrɪb, ɪts Mægrɪb  
taɪm, æm, 'raɪdɪŋ tu: gəʊ bæk həʊm, tu: ɪ:t wɪð  
maɪ 'fæmɪli, eem, ænd maɪ, æ, 'sɪstəz/

#### EgyE pronunciation

/'tɛstɪŋ maɪ 'læŋgwɪdʒ, maɪ fə'netɪks ænd  
sə ɒn, ee.. nəʊ, aɪ æm 'gəʊɪŋ tu: ɪ:t, ee, ɪts  
Mægrɪb, ɪf ju: nəʊ Mægrɪb, ɪts Mægrɪb  
taɪm, eem, 'raɪdɪŋ tu: gə bæk həm, tu: ɪ:t  
wɪz maɪ 'famɪli, eem, ænd maɪ, ee, 'sɪstərz/

7. Do you have any, do you have any another time

#### UK pronunciation

/du: ju: hæv 'eni, du: ju: hæv 'eni ə'nʌðə taɪm/

#### EgyE pronunciation

/du: ju: hæv 'eni, du: ju: hæv 'eni ə'nɒðər taɪm/

8. Good, good. I know HR. Do you know I these days I ..?.. to establish a new start-up a new company here in Egypt, it's an online platform for ecommerce and engineering solutions. I will use your experience in ..?.. strategy. I need to make a human resource strategy, and a ..?.. strategy. And in the other side, in the University I have just finished the exam, my examination period. I will supervise the examination alls and I will transfer to another mission. I have a mission to follow ups on graduation project. Our student need to a graduation project ..?.. project, you know? They will graduate after three weeks.

### UK pronunciation

/gʊd, gʊd. aɪ nəʊ eɪf-ɑː. duː juː nəʊ aɪ ðiːz deɪz  
aɪ ..?.. tuː ɪs'tæblɪʃ ə njuː 'stɑːtʌp ə njuː  
'kʌmpəni haɪr ɪn 'iːdʒɪpt, ɪts ən 'ɒn.laɪn  
'plætfɔːm fɔː iː-'kɒmə(:)s ænd 'endʒɪ'nɪərɪŋ  
sə'luːʃənz. aɪ wɪl juːz jɔːr ɪks'pɪəriəns ɪn ..?..  
'strætɪdʒi. aɪ niːd tuː meɪk ə 'hjuːmən rɪ'sɔːs  
'strætɪdʒi, ænd eɪ ..?.. 'strætɪdʒi.

ænd ɪn ði 'lɒðə saɪd, ɪn ðə 'juːnɪ'veːrsɪti aɪ dʒʌst  
'fɪnɪʃt ði ɪg'zæm, maɪ ɪg'zæmɪ'neɪʃən 'pɪəriəd.  
aɪ wɒz 'sjuːpəvaɪz ði ɪg'zæmɪ'neɪʃən ɒls ænd  
aɪ wɪl 'trænsfə(:) tuː ə'nʌðə 'mɪʃən. aɪ hæv ə  
'mɪʃən tuː 'fɒləʊ ʌps ɒn 'grædʒo'eɪʃən  
'prɒdʒekt. 'aʊə 'stjuːdənt niːd tuː ə  
'grædʒo'eɪʃən 'prɒdʒekt ..?.. 'prɒdʒekt, juː nəʊ?  
ðeɪ wɪl 'grædʒoʊət 'ɑːftə θriː wɪ:ks/

### Egypt pronunciation

/gʊt, gʊt. aɪ nɒʊ eɪf-ɑːr. dɪ juː nɒʊ aɪ ziːz deɪz  
aɪ ..?.. tuː ɛs'tæblɪʃ ə njuː 'stɑːtʌp ə njuː  
'kʌmbəni haɪr ɪn 'iːdʒɪpt, ɪts ən 'ɒn.laɪn  
'blætfɔːrm fɔːr iː-'kɒmə:s ænd 'endʒɪ'nɪrɪŋ  
sə'luːʃənz. aɪ wɪl juːz jɔːr ɛks'pɪəriəns ɪn ..?..  
'stratɪʒi. aɪ niːd tuː meɪk ə 'hjuːmən rɪ'sɔːs  
'stratɪʒi, ænd eɪ ..?.. 'stratɪʒi.

ænd ɪn ze 'azə saɪd, ɪn zə 'juːnɪ'veːrsɪti aɪ dʒʌst  
'fɪnɪʃ ze ɛg'zæm, maɪ ɛg'zæmɪ'neɪʃən 'berɪəd.  
aɪ wɒz 'suːpəvaɪz ze ɛg'zæmɪ'neɪʃən ɒls ænd  
aɪ wɪl 'trænsfə(:) tuː ə'nɒðə 'mɪʃən. aɪ hæv ə  
'mɪʃən tuː 'fɒləʊ abs ɒn 'grædɒ'eɪʃən  
'brɒdʒekt. 'aʊə 'stuːdənt niːd tuː ə  
'grædɒ'eɪʃən 'brɒdʒekt ..?.. 'brɒdʒekt, juː nɒʊ?  
zeɪ wɛl 'gradɒet 'ɑːftə sɪː wɪ:ks/

9. Hi Lucia, I hope you are fine. I had the same, study and work, and study and work. I have a hard months, a hard three months. I start teaching in another university as a part-time job beside my usual one. I feel like I am very compressed.

### UK pronunciation

/haɪ luː'ʃiːa, aɪ hæʊp juː ɑː faɪn. aɪ hæd ðə seɪm,  
'stʌdi ænd wɜːk, ænd 'stʌdi ænd wɜːk. aɪ hæv  
ə hɑːd mʌnθs, ə hɑːd θriː mʌnθs. aɪ stɑːt  
'tiːʃɪŋ ɪn ə'nʌðə 'juːnɪ'veːrsɪti æz ə pɑːt-taɪm  
dʒɒb bɪ'saɪd maɪ 'juːʒʊəl wʌn. aɪ fiːl laɪk  
aɪ æm 'veri kəm'prest/

### Egypt pronunciation

/haɪ luː'siːa, aɪ ɒb juː ɑː faɪn. aɪ hæd ðə seɪm,  
'stadi ænd wɔːk, ænd 'stadi ænd wɔːk. aɪ hæv  
a hɑːd manz, ə hɑːd sriː mansɪs. aɪ stɑːt  
'tiːʃɪŋ ɪn ə'nɒðə 'juːnɪ'veːrsɪti æz ə bɑːrt-  
taɪm dʒɒb bɪ'saɪd maɪ 'uːʒʊəl wʌn. aɪ fiːl laɪk  
aɪ æm 'veri gam'bresd/

10. Thank you, thank you. I miss you Lucia. I miss your voice, I miss our talk. I hope you are fine. Tell me what is what is your adventure. Tell me about your Ph.D., your thesis, your colleagues.

### UK pronunciation

/θæŋk juː, θæŋk juː. aɪ mɪs juː 'luːʃə. aɪ mɪs  
jɔː vɔɪs, aɪ mɪs 'aʊə tɔːk. aɪ hæʊp juː ɑː faɪn. təl  
miː wɒt ɪz wɒt ɪz jɔːr əd'ventʃə. təl miː ə'baʊt  
jɔː pɪeʃdɪ, jɔː 'θiːsɪs, jɔː 'kɒliːg/

### Egypt pronunciation

/sæŋk juː, sæŋk juː. aɪ mɪs juː luː'siːa. aɪ mɪs  
jɔː vɔɪs, aɪ mɪs 'aʊə tɔk. aɪ ɒb juː ɑːr faɪn. təl  
miː wɒt ɪz wɒt ɪz jɔːr ad'ventʃɔr. təl miː a'baʊt  
jɔːr bɪeʃdɪ, jɔːr 'ziːsɪs, jɔːr kɒ'liːʒ/

11. I'm just finishing my design studio lecture, and now I'm going on my way to home. Every Thursday I have to teach a graduation design studio in one of the design academy here in Egypt. I am so tired.

### UK pronunciation

/aɪm dʒʌst 'fɪnɪʃɪŋ maɪ dɪ'zɑɪn 'stju:diəʊ 'lektʃə,  
 ænd nəʊ aɪm 'gəʊɪŋ ɒn maɪ wei tu: hæʊm. 'ɛvri  
 'θɜ:zdeɪ aɪ hæv tu: ti:ʃ ə ,grædjə' eɪʃən dɪ'zɑɪn  
 'stju:diəʊ ɪn wʌn ɒv ðə dɪ'zɑɪn ə'kædəmi hɪə  
 ɪn 'i:dzɪpt. aɪ æm səʊ 'taɪəd /

### EgyE pronunciation

/aɪm dʒast 'fɪnɪʃɪŋ maɪ dɪ'zɑɪn 'stu:di 'lektʃɔr,  
 ænd nəʊ aɪm 'gɒɪŋ ɒn maɪ wei tu: xɒm. 'ɛvri  
 'serezdeɪ aɪ hæv tu: ti:ʃ ə ,grædɔæ'ʃɒn dɪ'zɑɪn  
 'stɒdiʊ ɪn wʌn ɒv zə dɪ'zɑɪn ə'kkademi ɪə  
 ɪn 'ɛ:dʒɪpt. aɪm səʊ 'taɪrd /

12. Hi Lucy, how are you? I'm on my home I'm working on some designs and after some minutes I will go to my family house to take the dinner

### UK pronunciation

/ haɪ 'lu:si, hæʊ ə: ju:ʔ aɪm ɒn maɪ hæʊm aɪm  
 'wɜ:kɪŋ ɒn sʌm dɪ'zɑɪnz ænd 'ɑ:ftə sʌm  
 'mɪnɪts aɪ wɪl gəʊ tu: maɪ 'fæmɪli haʊs tu: teɪk  
 ðə 'dɪnə /

### EgyE pronunciation

/ aɪ 'lu:si, əʊ ə: ju:ʔ aɪm ɒn maɪ ɒm aɪm  
 'wɔ:rkɪŋk ɒn sʌm dɪ'zɑɪnz ænd 'ɑ:ftə sʌm  
 'mɪnɪts aɪ wɪl gɒ tu: maɪ 'fæmɪli əʊs tu: teɪk  
 de 'dɪnə /

12:

13. Ok Luisa, I didn't understand you sometime, but we can say that you want to know how we can express anything in Arabic or like non-verbal express, I don't know that mean, if it mean that express in Arabic which expecially Arabic only not have equivalent in English, I don't know. Maybe my English is very bad but I try to understand what you say so I could help you. You wanna to start this ..?.. this.. this.. wise.. wises.. in Arabic I don't know

### UK pronunciation

/əʊ'keɪ Luɪ:sa, aɪ dɪdnt ,ʌndə'stænd ju:  
 'sʌmtaɪm, bʌt wi: kæn seɪ ðæt ju: wɒnt tu: nəʊ  
 haʊ wi: kæn ɪks'pres 'eniθɪŋ ɪn 'æɾəbɪk ɔ: laɪk  
 nɒn-'vɜ:bəl ɪks'pres, aɪ dəʊnt nəʊ ðæt mi:n, ɪf  
 ɪt mi:n ðæt ɪks'pres ɪn 'æɾəbɪk wɪʃ 'expeɪʃli  
 'æɾəbɪk 'əʊnli nɒt hæv ɪ'kwɪvələnt ɪn 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ,  
 aɪ dəʊnt nəʊ. 'meɪbi: maɪ 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ ɪz 'vɛri bæd  
 bʌt aɪ traɪ tu: ,ʌndə'stænd wɒt ju: seɪ səʊ aɪ  
 kɒd help ju:. ju: 'wɒnə tu: stɑ:t ðɪs ..?.. ðɪs..  
 ðɪs.. waɪz.. 'waɪzɪz.. ɪn 'æɾəbɪk aɪ dəʊnt nəʊ /

### EgyE pronunciation

/'o:'ke Luɪ:sa, aɪ dɪdnt ,andə'stænd ju: 'samtɑɪm,  
 bʌt wi: kæn seɪ dæt ju: wɒnt tu: nɒʊ haʊ wi: kæn  
 ɪks'pres 'enɪsɪŋk ɪn 'æɾəbɪk ɔ: laɪk nɒn-'vɜ:bəl  
 ɪks'pres, aɪ dəʊnt nəʊ ðæt mi:n, ɪf  
 ɪt mi:n zæt ɪks'pres ɪn 'æɾəbɪk wɪʃ 'expeɪʃli  
 'æɾbɪk 'ɒnli nɒt hæv ɪ'kwɪvələnt ɪn 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ,  
 aɪ dɒnt nɒʊ. 'meɪbi: maɪ 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ ɪz 'vɛri bed bat  
 aɪ traɪ tu: ,andə:'stænd wɒt ju: seɪ səʊ aɪ kɒd help  
 ju:. ju: 'wɒnə tu: stɑ:t zɪs ..?.. zɪs.. zɪs.. waɪz..  
 'waɪzɪz.. ɪn 'arabɪk aɪ dɒnt nɒʊ /

14. I gively to you another example like when I tell you a secret. So, baaa I want to tell you that the situation is confidential, eeee so I say you to you في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة (fi sakrata) which mean 'in secret' but سكراتة which compared from Arabic and English. سكراتة from 'secret'. So, when I told you a serious eee, serious decision, so I tell you, this is an inimportant, a very important thing في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة equal 'in' سكراتة 'secret', like 'in secret'.

### UK pronunciation

/aɪ 'grɪvli tu: ju: ə 'nʌðər ɪg'zɑ:mp(ə)l laɪk wɛn aɪ tɛl ju: ə 'si:krit. səʊ, baaa aɪ wɒnt tu:l tɛl ju: ðæt ðə ,sɪtʃʊ'eɪʃən ɪz ,kɒnfi'dɛnʃəl, eeee səʊ aɪ seɪ ju: tu: ju: في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة (fī sakrata) wɪʃ mi:n ɪn 'si:krit bʌt سكراتة wɪʃ kəm'peəd frɒm 'ærəbɪk ænd 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ. سكراتة frɒm 'si:krit. səʊ, wɛn aɪ təʊld ju: ə 'sɪəriəs eee, 'sɪəriəs dɪ'sɪʒən, səʊ aɪ tɛl ju:, ðɪs ɪz ən ɪm'pɔ:tənt, ə 'vɛrɪ ɪm'pɔ:tənt θɪŋ في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة 'i:kwəl ɪn سكراتة 'si:krit, laɪk ɪn 'si:krit/

### EgyE pronunciation

/aɪ 'grɪvli tu: ju: ə 'nɒzər ɛg'zɑ:mbel laɪk wɪn aɪ tɛl ju: a 'sɛ:kret. so:, baaa aɪ wɒnt tu:l tɛl ju: ðɛz ðə ,sɪtʃʊ'eɪʃən ɪz ,kɒnfi'dɛnʃəl, eeee so: aɪ seɪ ju: tu: ju: في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة (fī sakrata) wɪʃ mi:n ɪn 'sɛ:kret bʌt سكراتة wɪʃ kum'barəd frɒm 'arabɪk ænd 'ɪŋɡlɪs. سكراتة frɒm 'sɛ:kret. so:, wɛn aɪ təʊld ju: ə 'sɛrɪəs eee, 'sɛrɪəs dɪ'sɪʃən, so: aɪ tɛl ju:, zɪs ɪz ən ɪm'pɔ:tənt, a 'vɛrɪ ɪm'pɔ:tənt zɪŋk في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة, في سكراتة 'ɛ:kwəl ɪn سكراتة 'sɛ:kret, laɪk ɪn 'sɛ:kret/

15. فبركة, فبركة, فبركة (fabraka) from 'fabrication'. فبركة in Arabic mean like eee when you do somethink whith... which look right but actually not look right. Like when some, when you make like.. you solve a problem, a mathematical problem, or like when you make something in dirty way but look from a way good like cleaning, when you clean a car.

### UK pronunciation

/fabraka) frɒm ,fæbrɪ'keɪʃən. فبركة, فبركة فبركة ɪn 'ærəbɪk mi:n laɪk eee wɛn ju: du: somethink whith... wɪʃ lɒk raɪt bʌt 'æktʃʊəli nɒt lɒk raɪt. laɪk wɛn sʌm, wɛn ju: meɪk laɪk.. ju: sɒlv ə 'prɒbləm, ə ,mæθɪ'mæɪtɪkəl 'prɒbləm, ɔ: laɪk wɛn ju: meɪk 'sʌmθɪŋ ɪn 'dɜ:ti weɪ bʌt lɒk frɒm ə weɪ gʊd laɪk 'kli:nɪŋ, wɛn ju: kli:n ə kɑ:r/

### EgyE pronunciation

/fabraka) frɒm ,fæbrɪ'kæɪʃən. فبركة, فبركة فبركة ɪn 'ærəbɪk mi:n laɪk eee wɛn ju: du: somesink whis... wɪʃ lɒk raɪt bʌt 'æktʃʊəli nɒt lɒk raɪt. laɪk wɛn sʌm, wɛn ju: meɪk laɪk.. ju: sɒlv ə 'brɒbləm, a ,mæθɪ'mæɪtɪkəl 'brɒbləm, ɔ:r laɪk wɛn ju: meɪk 'sʌmsɪŋk ɪn 'de:rti weɪ bʌt lɒk frɒm a weɪ gʊd laɪk 'kli:nɪŋ, wɛn ju: kli:n ə kɑ:r/

16. Hi Luisa, I'm sorry, I was very busy with my father because he is in hospital but now he is better.

### UK pronunciation

/haɪ Luisa, aɪm 'sɒrɪ, aɪ wɒz 'vɛrɪ 'bɪzɪ wɪð maɪ 'fɑ:ðə bɪ'kɒz hi: ɪz ɪn 'hɒspɪtl bʌt naʊ hi: ɪz 'betə/

### EgyE pronunciation

/haɪ Luisa, aɪm 'sɒrɪ, aɪ wɒz 'vɛrɪ 'bɪzɪ wɪz maɪ 'fɑ:zər bɪ'kɒz hi: ɪz ɪn 'hɒspɪtəl bʌt naʊ hi: ɪz 'bɪtər/

17. You can separate the questions; you can send the first page.

### UK pronunciation

/ju: kæn 'sepəreɪt ðə 'kwesʃənz; ju: kæn send ðə fɜ:st peɪdʒ/

### EgyE pronunciation

/ ju: kæn 'sebarets zə 'kwesʃənz; ju: kæn sent zə fe:st peɪʃ/

## I19

18. I think an apartment of one room will be fine for me. I want of course independence. Can you please explain or record to me how much the rent would be to be in Milan or in Rome? And how much approximately to rent a good place, you know like not a student place a good place, where I am at ease, comfortable, feeling comfortable?

### UK pronunciation

/aɪ θɪŋk ən ə'pɑ:tmənt ɒv wʌn ru:m wɪl bi: faɪn fɔ: mi:. aɪ wʌnt ɒv kɔ:s ɪndɪ'pendəns. kæn ju: pli:z ɪks'pleɪn ɔ: 'rekɔ:d mi: haʊ mʌʃ ðə rent wʊd bi: tu: bi: ɪn mɪ'lən ɔ: ɪn rəʊm? ænd haʊ mʌʃ ə'prɒksɪmɪtli tu: rent ə gʊd pleɪs, ju: nəʊ laɪk nɒt ə 'stju:dənt pleɪs ə gʊd pleɪs, weər aɪ æm æt i:z, 'kʌmf(ə)təbl, 'fi:lɪŋ 'kʌmf(ə)təbl?/

### EgyE pronunciation

/aɪ θɪŋk ən ə'pɑ:rtmənt ɒv wʌn ru:m wɪl bi: faɪn fɔ: mi:. aɪ wʌnt ɒv kɔ:s ɪnde'bendənz. kæn ju: pli:z ɛks'pleɪn ɔ: 'rekɔ:d mi: haʊ mʌʃ de rent wʊd bi: ɪn mɪ'lan ɔ: ɪn rə:m? ænd haʊ mʌʃ ə'prɒksɪmɪtli tu: rent ə gʊd pleɪs, ju: nəʊ laɪk nɒt ə 'stju:dənt pleɪs ə gʊd pleɪs, weər aɪ æm æt i:z, 'kʌmfatbl, 'fi:lɪŋ 'kʌmfatbl?/

## I12:

19. Are you sure you are from Italy? Not from other country or something? Because your pronunciation is very well, you know? It is like an Arab girl ..?.. . Yes, it's very good.

### UK pronunciation

/ɑ: ju: ʃʊə ju: ɑ: frɒm 'ɪtəli? nɒt frɒm 'ʌðə 'kʌntri ɔ: 'sʌmθɪŋ? bɪ'kɒz jɔ: prə'nʌnsɪ'eɪʃən ɪz 'veri wɛl, ju: nəʊ? ɪt ɪz laɪk ən 'ærəb gɜ:l ..?.. . jɛs, ɪts 'veri gʊd/

### Egyptian English pronunciation

/ɑ: ju: ʃɔ: ju: ɑ: frɒm 'itali? nɒt frɒm 'azer 'kʌntri ɔ: 'sʌmsɪŋ? bɪ'kɒz jɔ: prə'nʌnsɪ'æʃən ɪz 'veri wɛl, ju: nəʊ? ɪt ɪz laɪk ən 'ærəb gɜ:l ..?.. . jɛs, ɪts 'veri gʊd/



## IV

### Videos transcription

20. Hello everybody, this is Brother Khaled, bringing you today's lesson one one. Today's lesson is inspired by brother biggest most notorious ..?.. Ok. What does brother ..?.. is says to us. He says to us «the more money you have the more problems. And we know that the more problems you have the more ethic you have. And the more ethic you are going to have the more stress there is going to be, and the more stress there is going to be the more depression you are more likely to have, and the more depression you have the higher chance of suicide. The higher chance of suicide ..?.. More likely to drop it. And if you drop it, there is no money, there is no anything else. So, what do we have to do? We have to eliminate the money. The less money, the less problems.

#### UK pronunciation

/hɛ'ləʊ 'ɛvrɪbɒdi, ðɪs ɪz 'brʌðə Xa:lɪd, 'brɪŋɪŋ ju: tə'deɪz 'lesn wʌn wʌn.  
tə'deɪz 'lesn ɪz ɪn'spaɪəd baɪ 'brʌðə 'bɪɡɪst məʊst nəʊ'tɔ:riəs ..?..  
'əʊ'keɪ wɒt dʌz 'brʌðə ..?.. ɪz seɪz tu: ʌs.  
hi: seɪz tu: ʌs «ðə mɔ: 'mʌni ju: hæv ðə mɔ: 'prɒbləmz. ænd wi: nəʊ ðæt ðə mɔ: 'prɒbləmz ju: hæv ðə mɔ:r 'ɛθɪk ju: hæv.  
ænd ðə mɔ:r 'ɛθɪk ju: ɑ: 'gəʊɪŋ tu: hæv ðə mɔ: stɪs ðeər ɪz 'gəʊɪŋ tu: bi:,  
ænd ðə mɔ: stɪs ðeər ɪz 'gəʊɪŋ tu: bi: ðə mɔ: dɪ'prɛʃən ju: ɑ: mɔ: 'laɪkli tu: hæv,  
ænd ðə mɔ: dɪ'prɛʃən ju: hæv ðə 'haɪə ʃɑ:ns ɒv 'sɔɪsɪd.  
ðə 'haɪə ʃɑ:ns ɒv 'sɔɪsɪd ..?.. mɔ: 'laɪkli tu: drɒp ɪt.  
ænd ɪf ju: drɒp ɪt, ðeər ɪz nəʊ 'mʌni, ðeər ɪz nəʊ 'ɛnɪθɪŋ ɛls.  
səʊ, wɒt du: wi: hæv tu: du:ʔ wi: hæv tu: ɪ'ɪlɪmɪnt ðə 'mʌni. ðə lɛs 'mʌni, ðə lɛs 'prɒbləmz/

#### EgyE pronunciation

/hɛ'lə 'ɛvrɪbɒdi, zɪs ɪz 'brʌzər Xa:lɪd, 'brɪŋɪŋ ju: tə'deɪz 'lɪsn wʌn wʌn.  
tʊ'deɪz 'lɪsn ɪz ɪn'spaɪəd baɪ 'brʌzər 'bɪɡɪst mɔ:rst nɔ: 'tɔ:riɔ:s ..?..  
'o:'ke, wɒt dʌz 'brʌzər ..?.. ɪz zɛz tu: ʌs.  
hi: zɛz tu: ʌs «zð mɔ:r 'mʌni ju: hæv zð mɔ:r 'brɒləmz. ænd wi: nɒʊ zæt zð mɔ:r 'brɒləmz ju: hæv zð mɔ:r 'ɛdɪk ju: hæv.  
ænd zð mɔ:r 'ɛdɪk ju: ɑ:r 'gɒɪŋ tu: hæv zð mɔ:r stɪs zɛr 'gɒɪŋ tu: bi,  
ænd de mɔ:r: stɪs de:r ɪz 'gɒɪŋ tu: bi: de mɔ:r: de'prɛʃən ju: ɑ:r mɔ:r 'laɪkli tu: hæv,  
ænd de mɔ:r de'prɛʃən ju: hæv zɑ 'haɪr ʃɑ:nz ɒv 'sɔɪsɪd.  
zɑ 'haɪr ʃɑ:nz ɒv 'sɔɪsɪd ..?.. mɔ:r 'laɪkli tu: drɒbdɪt.  
ænd ɪf ju: drɒbdɪt, deɪ ɪz nɒ 'mʌni, zɛr ɪz nɒ 'ɛnɪsɪŋk xɔlz.  
sɒ, wɒt du: wi: hæv tu: du:ʔ wi: hæv tu: ɪ'ɪlɪmɪnt zɑ 'mʌni. zɑ lɛs 'mʌni, zɑ lɛs 'brɒləmz/

## 21.

Like if you weak, nigga you die.

أي حد يقولك أنا أول واحد أغني راب  
في مصر ده بيفسي عابك  
هو أنا كنت من أوائل الباس اللي كانت بتقني راب في مصر  
زمان كان الموضوع صعب  
يعني صعب إن أنت تسجل، صعب إن أنت تنشر الموسيقى دي  
أصلاً

#### TRANSLATION

Anyone telling you that they are the first to rap  
in Egypt is bullshitting you  
I was one of the first rappers in Egypt  
Back in the day it was really hard  
hard to record and hard to publish this music

الإنترنت ده لسه ماكانت موجود  
أن ولاد عمي كانوا ببيجوا من كاليفورنيا زمان  
بيجوا معاها mix tapes دي  
فيها Easy E, Dr Dre, Ice Cube  
Lord of Underground all of these rappers.  
هو كان في رابرز كثير جدًا في الساحة  
كلهم كويسين  
بس أخوك كان بتاع نمر  
I was an O.G. since I was 19, 18 something like  
this  
اتوادت و عشت منا في الزيتون  
قضينا ال childhood طفولتنا هنا  
I lived all of that motherfuking problems  
That you thinking or like you taking about  
فاهم؟  
Problems with the police  
فاهم قصدي؟, problems with the drug dealers  
كنا بنعمل مشاكل كثير  
فاهم قصدي؟  
طبعًا لا بتكبر في السن العهاية بتختاف  
I used to be a gangster rapper  
انا started that shit in here  
And people believe you because they saw  
And they heard a lot of shit.  
The system watch that shit,  
your manager watch that shit  
They don't like that  
They need you part of the system  
So they let you go

Internet hadn't yet permeated our lives  
My cousins would come from California  
and would bring with them this mix tapes.  
They had Easy E, Dr Dre, Ice Cube

There were many rappers on the scene  
They are all good  
but I was about pulling stunts

I was born and raised here in Zeitoun  
We spent our childhood here.

Know what I mean?

problems with the drug dealers, get it?  
We caused a lot of troubles  
Know what I mean?  
Of course, when you get older things change

Meaning I started that shit in here

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