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'EGYPTIAN ENGLISH' AS AN EMERGING GLOCAL LANGUAGE

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Introduction

Since in the current 'global village' (Modiano) English is the international language with important roles across the world, geographical boundaries and cultural distances are becoming progressively indistinct and compressed (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Płodowski, & Tanno 12). This worldwide use of English allows it to enter in contact with different speech communities "drawing more and more countries into its net" (Khan 233). English penetrates not only those communities in which it has already acquired an official status, as in what Kachru names Outer Circle but also those in which it does not hold any official recognition being a simple foreign language, as in Kachru's Expanding Circle. This unprecedented global spread of English (Kachru xvii, 1; Seargeant 2012: 3; Buschfeld, Kautzsch, & Schneider 34) leads to the creation of new language-contact situations, a process which is facilitated by the global scientific, technological, economic, and cultural developments (Graddol 4) and the use of "media of communication which foster and accelerate it" (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Płodowski, & Tanno 12), contributing to the creation of new linguistic exchanges of English with other different languages across the globe.

Inevitably, this global role of English has two related consequences: firstly, it leads to increasing bi-/multilingualism in contexts around the world in which

English is a foreign language (Warschauer, Said, & Zohry 31); secondly, it leads to a diversification of English (Deshors 7, among others) with the consequent emergence of new *local* varieties of English (Sharifian 2016: 2; Buschfeld, Kautzsch, & Schneider 16) in Expanding countries. Actually, it would be more correct to talk about 'glocal' varieties rather than 'local' varieties, since the emergence of these new linguistic forms is the result of the encounter between English as the '*Global* language' (Crystal; emphasis added) and the *local* language(s) spoken in the communities which English penetrates. On this account, the mixing between global and local linguistic elements gives birth to *glocal* (Okushima 2; Sharifian 2016: 1) or hybrid (Mesthrie & Bhatt 6; Schneider 2014: 9; Buschfeld 189) varieties.

A case in point would be Egypt, an Expanding country, which today is struggling with the concurrent use of English (Poese 5) as the '*Global* language' (Crystal), and (Egyptian) Arabic as the local language. This article, which is part of a wider research project, aims at demonstrating that, because of the linguistic contact and the consequent linguistic tension, a code blending between English and (Egyptian) Arabic occurs, resulting in the development of a potential 'glocal' linguistic form in Egypt (Bruthiaux 165; Lewko iv-113, Al-Sayadi 3). It also tries to answer the question as to whether this new linguistic form can be considered a potential new variety of English, 'Egyptian English' to be included within the framework of World Englishes (henceforth WEs).

In order to reach these goals, a sociolinguistic and a linguistic contrastive analysis between a Standard model of English (henceforth StdE), in this case British English (henceforth BrE), and the potential 'Egyptian English' (henceforth EgyE) variety is carried out by means of the examination of written and oral language, namely message-texts, audio-clips, and videos by proficient young Egyptian users of English, retrieved from private chats, YouTube and Facebook pages. The corpus of EgyE is specifically collected and analysed for the purposes of this investigation.

Globalisation, Localisation and Glocalisation Tensions

Users of global English in the Expanding areas are in a constant tension between the desire of learning English to be citizens of the globalised world and the will of keeping their local language identity. Hence, if the use of a global standard language allows for “taking advantage of the globalized market” (Fojt 417) and feeling part of the globalised world, then, the use of “localized products will satisfy the expectations of people” (Fojt 417) of remaining “situated in their world through their bodily interactions, their cultural institutions, their linguistic traditions, and historical context” (Johnson, 102). The consequent result of these two apparently conflictual globalisation and localisation forces is a resolute and inclusive “dual, parallel process” (Sharifian 2) which is termed ‘glocalisation’ (Sharifian 2010; Sharifian 2016: 1).

The term ‘glocalisation’, a blending between ‘globalisation’ and ‘localisation’, has been coined by Roland Robertson (1992; 1995) “to describe the way in which global pressures are made to conform to local conditions, and whereby the local culture does not act merely as a passive recipient, but absorbs and reprocesses global forces” (Seargeant 2009: 73). This concept perfectly describes what is occurring to English as the ‘Global language’ (Crystal). As Sharifian claims:

In its journey across the globe, English has become increasingly localised by many communities of speakers around the world, adopting it to encode and express their cultural conceptualisations, a process which may be called glocalisation of the language. (2013: 1)

The glocalisation of English occurs because, in a linguistic contact situation, once English enters a country and “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 182). In other words, once English spreads within a country, it does not remain a global product, but, at a certain point, in order to answer to the need of people to adapt it to the local purposes and identity, a ‘localization tension’ (Fojt 407) emerges, translated then into the practice of “making it [English as a global product] linguistically and culturally

appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language) where it will be used” (Esselink 3). Moreover, since in this process the local language “does not act merely as a passive recipient but absorbs and reprocesses global forces” (Seargeant 2009: 73) it would result in a *glocal* product, equally employed for both “global and local networks of use” (Onysko 191) and characterised by an international status and a local self-identity (Yano 124) at the same time.

The Case of English in Egypt

Today, Arab communities “have closed the gap between the Arab and Western worlds” (Abdoulzhrara, Ismail, & Yasin 395) and are opening up to the globe and the use of English as their *lingua franca*. This linguistic, social, and cultural openness has intensified communication between Arabs and English speakers with an unsurprising higher number of Arabs deciding to study English as a foreign language (395). In its turn, the intensification of English exposure through not only formal instruction but also other more spontaneous inputs, such as the ones offered by the globalised world (the Internet, the media, the social networks, and so on) is leading to a major linguistic contact between Arabic and English with the development of new potential ‘glocalised’ forms in Arabic-speaking countries.

A case in point is Egypt, which in the modern era “has undergone tremendous changes” mainly due to globalisation which has increased “the use of English by Egyptian citizens and institutions” (Schaub 226). In the last years, the role of English within the Egyptian boundaries has developed (and still is developing) visibly being no longer used for international purposes only but also for internal ones. In other words, it is used, for example, in local media, in local popular music, especially in rap (Bassiouney 107; La Causa forthcoming, among others), in advertising (Mohamed 162; Spierts 2, among others), signs and labels (Schaub 229), and even in spontaneous interactions on the social networks (La Causa forthcoming), and more generally in all internet productions. This spread in the use of English within Egyptian boundaries has

led to an increasing bi-/multilingualism in Egypt, “with both English (from ‘above’) and Egyptian Arabic (from ‘below’)” (Warschauer, Said, & Zohry 31). In such a variegated context, Egyptians consider English as the ‘prestige language’ (Labov; Aboelezz 256; Ibrahim; Yacoub 123; Mohamed 165) since it is the only linguistic tool that allows them to be linked with the Western economic prosperity (Stadlbauer 16), cultural wealth, technological advancement, and modernity which cannot be guaranteed by any of the Arabic varieties, not even by “the national language in Egypt, MSA, [Modern Standard Arabic, which] does not imply as much prosperity as English does” (Stadlbauer 16). Hence, “[k]nowledge of English is a valuable skill in Egyptian society today” (Reynolds 35) and for this reason more and more Egyptians are choosing to improve their linguistic skills. Consequently, almost all of them have “the ability to converse in English (in addition to their L1)” (Edwards 19), with different degrees of proficiency due to diastatic and diatopic variables.

In such a multilingual context in which there are different semiotic resources at speakers’ disposal (Blommaert 193), Egyptians are required to continuously make linguistic choices struggling with the concurrent use of English (Poesse 5) and the (Egyptian) Arabic variety, respectively representing the language of global identity and the language of local identity, feeling in a constant tension between the desire of learning English to be ‘citizen of the globalised world’ and the will of keeping and protecting their local language identity and the moral (and even religious) values it carries.

Egyptian English and Some of its Glocal Linguistic Variations

In Egypt, as in many other parts of the world, “English seems destined to be ‘glocal’” (Yano 124). Indeed, a natural and uncontrolled strategy used by speakers for keeping global and local identity at the same time is the creation of a mixed linguistic form namely, a ‘glocal variety.’ In other words, when Egyptians use English, mainly due to their L1 interferences, they spontaneously produce linguistic interferences both in writing and in speaking, which, in turn,

can function as 'language builders' (Heine & Kuteva 35). This mixing practice implies that, at a certain point of the varietal development, linguistic interferences are no longer considered erroneous productions and deviations from the StdE varieties, but they can become proper linguistic variations typical of the specific variety of English, potentially involving the creation of something new (Schneider 2007: 45) in this case, of EgyE variety.

Egyptian users of English, as speakers in many other Expanding countries (Bruthiaux 160; Lewko 97, among others), strongly believe to be exonormatively oriented towards a global and standard use of English, mainly towards BrE and/or American English (AmE), to which they "striv[e] to approximate" (Schneider 2014: 28). However, while maintaining this conviction and trying to respect StdE norms, they actually make "the language their own" (Lewko 98), unconsciously introducing some elements of their mother tongue, which give a localised taste to their supposed global English production "com[ing] across as Egyptians in their speech" (Lewko 97) inevitably. The final linguistic result, indeed, is a variety constituted by elements of English and (Egyptian) Arabic which can be regarded as a glocal product (Okushima 2) and appears different and varied from the StdE forms in different facets of language affecting the orthographical, phonological, morpho-syntactical, and lexical aspects.

Below, a few examples of variations in form, sound, structure, and words retrieved through a comparative analysis between StdE and EgyE are reported. More specifically, for the purpose of this research a corpus of 300 message-texts and audio clips by proficient young Egyptian users of English was gathered and analysed, together with a sample of videos from YouTube and Facebook. For the section of the research presented in this paper, a case study on a single video taken from YouTube is referred to. As for the methodology, the corpus was analysed manually and following a contrastive approach with respect to the morphological, syntactical, and lexical levels. The focus was on retrieving instances of deviations/innovations from the standard norm. As for

the phonological level, this was investigated in the case study, for which a video was analysed contrastively with the standard norm with the aim of highlighting potential creative linguistic behaviours. Interestingly, by examining message-texts, audio clips, and videos from YouTube and Facebook pages it has been noticed that Egyptian users of English who participated in this study seem to produce nearly the same and repeated variations which would imply that linguistic interferences could not be simple erroneous formations, but rather some form of stabilised typical glocal features of the potential EGYE variety, becoming signs that English in Egypt is on the way to developing its endonormative form. However, since the sample size is too small, a proper comparison of the frequencies of standard and non-standard variations is not reported in this article, and data are discussed uniquely on the basis of their potentiality to become glocal features of the supposed new English variety in Egypt.

i. Variation in Form (Orthographical Variations)

Glocal EGYE orthographic features

- Different use of capital and small letters:

Variation in form involves, among other things, a different use of capital letters (Alenazi 122). In the Arabic language, capital letters do not exist and no distinction between upper- and lower-case letters is made. This would explain why capital letters are not always used in the instances of EGYE analysed in the study as required by StdE norms. Indeed, it is common to find a mixture of capital and small letters within a sentence (1) which acquire an improper function. Participants, for example, do not use upper-case letters for proper nouns (1) but they generally employ them with the aim of indicating yelling, excitement, emotions, or calls for special attention¹ (Yaghan 42) (2):

(1) I2: No italymean cesr..caullisium ..totti. Even i fascinated with rome empire. Ceser... August...crazy neron...etc. Roman empire the most effective civilization on mankind life

(2) I1: I was Afraid of them

- Different use of punctuation marks:

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. Therefore, EgyE users of this study do not use full stops or commas and apply 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 (3). Similarly, they do not always use question or exclamation marks and do not even use apostrophes where needed in StdE (4):

(3) 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

(4) I1: **dont** touch face. And before all if that **dont** panic

ii. Variation in Sound (Phonetic/Phonological Variations)

For the analysis of phonetical variations, a video from YouTube has been analysed. In this video clip the Egyptian actor Mena Massoud speaks in 'Egyptian English' as it is even specified in the video's caption *Mena Massoud Teach Fans How To Speak Egyptian English* (retrieved from YouTube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ad3I_a2UtQ4) ironically emphasising the typical variations in sounds Egyptians produce while speaking English. Although it represents a constructed and not spontaneous communicative situation, this video is highly representative and helps to highlight many of the typical glocal phonetic features of the potential EgyE variety. Some of them are as follows:

Glocal EgyE phonetic features (consonant sounds)

- the substitution of the interdental, fricative, voiceless /θ/ sound to sibilants /s/ or /z/

(4) /hɛ'lb 'ɛvrɪbɔdi, zɪs ɪz 'brʌzər Xa:lɪd/

StdE: /hɛ'ləʊ 'ɛvrɪbɔdi, ðɪs ɪz 'brʌðə Xalɪd/

- the production of the interdental, fricative, voiced /ð/ as alveolar, plosive /t/ and /d/ or as sibilant /z/

(5) /zɒ mɔːr 'ɛdɪk juː ɑːr 'gɒɪŋ tuː hæv zɒ mɔːr stɪs zɜː 'gɒɪŋ tuː bɪ/
StdE: /ðə mɔːr 'ɛθɪk juː ɑː 'gəʊɪŋ tuː hæv ðə mɔː stɪs ðeər ɪz 'gəʊɪŋ tuː biː/

- the back-velar, nasal /ŋ/ sound is pronounced /ŋɡ/, sometimes devoiced /ŋk/

(6) /'brɪŋŋ juː tʊ'deɪz 'lɪsn wʌn wʌn/
StdE: /'brɪŋ juː tə'deɪz 'lɛsn wʌn wʌn/
(7) /zɜː ɪz nɒ 'ɛnɪʃŋk kʌlz/
StdE: /ðeər ɪz nəʊ 'ɛnɪθɪŋ els/

- the swapping of /b/ and /p/

(8) /zɒ mɔːr 'brɒblɛmz juː hæv zɒ mɔːr 'ɛdɪk juː hæv/
StdE: /ðə mɔː 'prɒblɛmz juː hæv ðə mɔːr 'ɛθɪk juː hæv/

- gemination

(9) /wiː hæv tuː rɪ'ɪmɪneɪt zə 'mʌni. zə lɛs 'mʌni, zə lɛs 'brɒblɛmz/
StdE: /wiː hæv tuː rɪ'ɪmɪneɪt ðə 'mʌni. ðə lɛs 'mʌni, ðə lɛs 'prɒblɛmz/

- the adding of an additional plosive sound between a word ending with plosive sound and a word beginning with vowel

(10) /ɪf juː drɒpɪt, dɜː ɪz nɒ 'mʌni, zɜː ɪz nɒ 'ɛnɪʃŋk kʌlz/
StdE: /ɪf juː drɒp ɪt, ðeər ɪz nəʊ 'mʌni, ðeər ɪz nəʊ 'ɛnɪθɪŋ els/

Glocal EgyE phonetic features (vowel sounds)

- the use of the diphthong /ɒʊ/ instead of the diphthong /əʊ/

(11) /wiː nɒʊ zæt zɒ mɔːr 'brɒblɛmz juː hæv zɒ mɔːr 'ɛdɪk juː hæv/
StdE: /wiː nəʊ ðæt ðə mɔː 'prɒblɛmz juː hæv ðə mɔːr 'ɛθɪk juː hæv/

- the use of the open back vowel /ɒ/ or of the low-mid back /ɔː/ replacing the diphthong /əʊ/

(12) /zɒ mɔːr 'ɛdɪk juː ɑːr 'gɒɪŋ tuː hæv zɒ mɔːr stɪs zɜː 'gɒɪŋ tuː bɪ/
StdE: /ðə mɔːr 'ɛθɪk juː ɑː 'gəʊɪŋ tuː hæv ðə mɔː stɪs ðeər ɪz 'gəʊɪŋ tuː biː/

- the use of /ɪ/ sound instead of the close-mid front vowel /ɛ/

(13) /tʊ'deɪz 'lɪsn ɪz ɪn'spaɪəd baɪ 'brʌzər 'bɪgɪst mɔːrst nɔː'tɔːrɪɔːs ?/
StdE: /tə'deɪz 'lɛsn ɪz ɪn'spaɪəd baɪ 'brʌðə 'bɪgɪst məʊst nəʊ'tɔːrɪəs ?/

All variations found in this video clip are mainly due to the different phonological repertoire of the two languages: English and Arabic languages

have certain sounds which do not exist in the other language (Schneider 2011: 20) and/or they may have fewer or more sounds (for example, in the Arabic alphabet there are extra sounds like the emphatic /d/ (ض), /s/ (ص), /t/ (ظ), /z/ (ظ), /h/ (ح), /ʔ/ (ء), which do not exist in English [Yacoub 122] and, similarly, in the English alphabet there are sounds such as /p/ and /v/ that do not exist in Arabic) which appear difficult to non-native English speakers. In fact, as Sabbah claims, when two languages are typologically different, such as English and Arabic, difficulties for speakers are very probable (271). These difficulties are mainly resolved by activating spontaneous phonetic approximation (Flege 119) or adaptation processes (Winford 119-121; Bolton 261) which guarantee close-to-English pronunciation with the replacement of a foreign sound speakers find difficult to produce with a similar but more familiar one taken from their L1, or with the modification of the pronunciation of a sound based on their mother tongue phonological rules (Corder 201; Flege 117).

iii. Variation in Structure (Morpho-Syntactical Variations)

Although structure is generally very difficult to be altered, Egyptians produce many variations at the grammatical level which depend on morpho-syntactical negative transfer from Arabic. In this section, a number of glocal variations in nouns and verbs typical of the potential EgyE variety detected in private message-texts are reported.

Glocal EgyE morpho-syntactic features (nouns)

In Arabic and English, plurality is manifested in a different fashion: while the plural system of English consists of two forms: regular plurals marked with the addition of the suffix -s (or -es) and irregular plurals which do not follow a regular pattern, the plural system in Arabic has three forms: regular masculine, regular feminine formed by the addition of specific morphemes, and broken irregular that does not follow any formation rule. Consequently, EgyE users of

this study apply the following global morpho-syntactic variations, among others:

- the default in number concordance (Al-Jarf 2000: 2)

(14) I1: This is my new kids , waiting for born

(15) I1: Wht is ur new studies

- the default in the use of irregular plural forms

(16) I1: Normally now between 4-5 **person**

In addition, although in both English and Arabic there exist collective and uncountable nouns which are not pluralised, countability and uncountability are not equally conceived in these languages so that some nouns, such as *information*, *money*, or *damage* are uncountable in English, but they are countable in Arabic (Sabbah 272). This leads EgyE participants to:

- the pluralisation of collective and uncountable nouns

(17) I2: Coronavirus not come from fishes 😊

(18) I3: I think I've some informations about that topic

Arabic has no indefinite articles (Sabbah 273) which are replaced by diacritic symbols. This leads EgyE speakers to:

- the omission of the indefinite article where needed in StdE (Sabbah 273).

(19) I1: We have * month called Ramadan

- the use of the indefinite article where not needed in StdE

(20) I5: I don't have a problem [in a context in which StdE requires **any** instead]

- the use of *an* preceding consonants instead of the weak form *a*

(21) I1: It located in the suburbs of Cairo In **an** residential compound

Glocal EgyE morpho-syntactic features (verbs)

The (Egyptian) Arabic language verb system is different from that used in English (Alasmari, Watson, & Atwell 9) and while the English language has sixteen tense forms (Gadalla 51), the Arabic language only has three. For example, standard Arabic has only one tense, the imperfective, for both simple and progressive present actions (Muftah & Rafik-Gale 148) so that a sentence

like *I study* and *I am studying* are both translated أنا أدرس *ana adrusu* (literally 'I study'). This explains why participants, even the high-level competent ones, are not able to recognise the differences between these two English verb tenses. Some of the consequences are:

- the non-use of the progressive when required in StdE

(22) I1: He have a problem now. And ***[is]** tell**[ing]** me about it

- the use of progressive replacing Simple Present for habitual actions

(23) I1: Most of them wearing Hejab (referring to a general habit of Arabic women)

Another glocal variation concerns the use of the verb *to be*. As Arabic is a zero copula language not considering the verb *to be* in the present tense, an EgyE performance is generally characterised by:

- the omission of the copula be in present tense (Ali 8; Sabbah 275)

(24) I1: It * blue ☹️ ☹️

- the non-use of to be as predicative verb in present tense

(25) I1: god * with u and bless u [which is also an example of an incorrect use of the subjunctive mood ("(May) god **be** with you")]

- the non-use of be as auxiliary verb in the progressive form

(26) I1: Hope you * doing well

English and Arabic languages are not characterised by the same process of agreement between verbs and subjects in gender, number, and person. As for gender, in Arabic, it is already manifested in pronouns and verbs, while in English the verb has always the same form for both feminine and masculine subjects. As for the grammatical number, in Arabic, verbs have two forms, singular and plural with the addition of a dual form. In English, instead, the number is unmarked. Moreover, while in Arabic the person can be clearly understood through the verb because a different conjugated form for each person exists, in English, with the exception of the third singular person in the Present Simple verb form that see the addition of the -s suffix, the verb itself

does not suggest the person morphologically. These differences in the two language verbal systems lead to the following glocal variations:

- the drop of -s endings in the 3rd singular person of the present tense of verbs (Muftah & Rafik-Galea 147; Sabbah 275 among others)

(27) I1: She work* in art therapy field

- subject-auxiliar non-concordance

(28) I1: **He** still **don't** reply on me

- the subject-verb non-agreement (Al-Jarf 2000: 2; Sabbah 278)

(29) I1: **We was** talking Coptic

iv. Variation in Words (Lexical Variations)

English influences the way Egyptians use their foreign language also at the lexical level, in both writing and speaking. In this article, only two of the many lexical features of EgyE met in private message-texts and in comments on Facebook are presented, respectively based on a different use of the derivational system in the two languages and on the practice of importing words from one language to the other creating a mixed code.

As far as the derivation process is concerned, both in English and (Egyptian) Arabic, different word classes are built by the addition of affixes (Al-Jarf 2015) which produce “a whole family of words that share a common meaning” (Ryan & Meara 533), as in the case of كَتَبَ (kataba) *he wrote*, كَاتِب (kātib) *writer*, كِتَابَة (kitāba) *writing*, and so on. However, despite similarities, the two systems differ in some respects. For example, the derivational word-formation process is less strong in English than in Arabic (Abdul-Halim, Shamsan, & Attayib 139). In English, indeed, semantically related words are not necessarily built on the same root as it occurs with the word pair *to eat* and *food* (30) which in Arabic, instead, share the same base, respectively يَأْكُل (to consume food) and أَكَلَ (*food*), or a derived word may be replaced by a more complex expression as *to take a photo* (verb + noun) for *to photograph* which in Arabic would be more easily translated as صور, a root used for both noun and verb (31). As shown by the

instances of EgyE analysed in the study, these differences in the morphological systems of the two languages and the tendency to apply L1 morphological rules may lead Egyptians to make a wrong lexical choice or produce erroneous word classes with

- the creation of new instances of conversion (Al-Jarf 1994: 8)

(30) I1: Whom send u this delicious 😊 **eating**

(31) I2: **Photo** the beach 😊 😊

As for the practice of mixing codes, which is the most common strategy used by Egyptian English speakers (Kniaż & Zawrotna 614), it could be observed through data collected, that Egyptians very often borrow words from English and insert them in their (Egyptian) Arabic performance (Mahmoud 40) (33) (34) or vice versa (32). This kind of language choice and the interchangeable use of elements from the two languages (Ibrahim) result in an

- (Egyptian) Arabic-English code-mixing/switching:

(32) I19: Our beautiful **tant bata** ♥♥♥♥♥♥

(33) I17: dah elli hy8yr **elmoood** sa7

(34) I20: لا خالص انا المساج واللعب فالشعر

لا مؤاخذة بعني **meditation** بالنسبالي احسن من اجدعها

Conclusion

The widespread use of English in Egypt is leading to an increasing (Egyptian) Arabic-English bi-/multilingualism among Egyptians who thus struggle between the desire of being skilled and proficient in English in order to be part of the globalised world and the wish to maintain their identity and cultural (Egyptian) Arabic roots.

In such a multilingual situation in which linguistic contacts are increasingly present, linguistic tensions towards globalisation or localisation of linguistic forms develop among Egyptians. The consequence is an uncontrolled and spontaneous code combination between English, the global language (Crystal), and (Egyptian) Arabic, the local language, which results in the emergence of a 'glocal' (Okushima 2) linguistic form, namely the EgyE variety, owning both an international and national character. In order to confirm this claim, a linguistic

contrastive analysis between standard BrE and the potential EgyE variety has been carried out by means of the examination of written and oral language produced by proficient young Egyptian users of English. It has been shown, indeed, by examining a few examples, that the linguistic variations developed at different levels of the language (orthographic, phonetic, morphosyntactic, lexical), mainly due to negative transfers from (Egyptian) Arabic, definitely lead to an Egyptian-like way of using English to the point that it seems legitimate to hypothesize that English in Egypt is developing a certain endonormativity, becoming another case of new “emergent contexts” (Schneider 2014: 24) to be inserted within the World Englishes framework.

However, from a linguistic point of view, although not nativised, the EgyE variety seems to acquire all the appearance of a potential independent form; therefore, an analysis of other aspects and criteria, i.e., historical, ecological, social, cultural, cognitive, and political, is needed in order to understand whether it can be regarded as a proper new variety of English. For example, it would be important to analyse whether the speakers themselves recognise EgyE as “their own form of English” or whether they still regard it as deviant when compared with standard British English. Hence, as long as these other processes are not investigated, and only linguistic aspects are considered, it seems too risky to treat the EgyE variety as one of the Englishes. What is possible to claim more cautiously, instead, is that today EgyE has achieved a certain capability, at least from a linguistic point of view, for *potentially* becoming a new English variety in the future.

Endnotes

1. These claims are the results of the observations made in this specific comparative study and based on the absence of upper-and lower-case letters in Arabic. However, it is important to point out that, since data have been collected through computer mediated discourses, deviations from StdE are not necessarily due to linguistic differences between English and (Egyptian) Arabic, but they may be either editing mistakes not purposefully made by inattentively using a computer or mobile phone keyboards or due to phones' automatic functions (Turner, Katić, & Abrams 172), or even the result of the language norms teens usually use in digital spaces (Turner, Katić,

& Abrams 157). For example, a strong propensity toward lowercase in Instant Messaging (IM) (Tagliamonte & Denis 26; Turner, Katić, & Abrams 172) and a widespread use of a non-standard capitalisation (Turner, Katić, & Abrams 173) have been widely observed among these norms which would imply, if such, a mimicking of native English linguistic habits rather than a proper local variation.

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Abstract

In the context in which English functions as an international language and spatial and cultural distances are reduced due to the widespread use of the Internet and the media, the linguistic contacts among English and other languages are facilitated (Deshors 7, among others). The global diffusion of English leads to increasing multilingualism also in contexts in which it is a foreign language (Warschauer, Said, & Zohry 31) with speakers being in a constant tension between the desire of learning it to be citizens of the globalised world and the will of keeping their local language identity.

This study, which is part of a wider research project, will focus on the case study of Egypt struggling with the concurrent use of English (Poese 5) and the (Egyptian) Arabic variety. More specifically, the main aim is to demonstrate that, because of the linguistic contact and tension, a code blending between English as the 'Global language' (Crystal), and (Egyptian) Arabic as the local language occurs resulting in the development of an emerging 'glocal' linguistic form in Egypt (Bruthiaux 165; Lewko iv-113, Al-Sayadi 3) which could be labelled 'Egyptian English' (EgyE).

In order to reach this goal, a sociolinguistic analysis will be carried out by means of the examination of written and oral language, namely message-texts and audio clips by young Egyptian English users and videos from YouTube and Facebook pages. The corpus of Egyptian English will be specifically gathered and analysed for the purposes of the investigation.

Appendix

Private chat messages transcription*

I1 (engineer, Ph.D student and university teacher from Mynia)

Me: Ooh.. Do you ride horses?

I1: Yea I was playing horse riding

Me: I am afraid of horses, even if I really like them

I1: Me too 😊

Me: But you ride them.. How is it possible? 😊

I1: Yes I was Afraid of them until I have an accident while I was trying to ride one horse besides sea. Then I take decisions to learn riding horses. They told me you will never learn. After 8 months I was the team leader of my group of horse rider. I was afraid first, fail down more and more , then I did it.

Me: How is situation in Egypt with Covid?

I1: The number of deaths people around us still high Normally now between 4-5 person around me every week is dead

I1: Situation in Egypt not so bad in deaty rate...but we afraid from future. We have lock out...but i feel that virus every where. I hope...take care....20 sec hand cleaning...1

meter distance...dont touch face. And before all if that dont panic. World overcome many crises larger than this. I hope italy recovered i feel. I hope egypt also

I1: I was on site following my new villa design construction And I am back home right now Could you follow the project of my villa!? 😊 😊
This is my new kids , waiting for born 🤰 [showing a picture of his project]

Me: You know? I passed my exam.. We are colleagues now.. 😊 😊

I1: ohhhh congratulation my dear i am happy for that Wht is ur new studies

Me: About Egyptian English

I1: 😊 Good you need to present it to me
ohhhh god with u and bless u

I1: We have month called Ramadan...which we dont eat or drink till sunset. To feel like poor people

I1: Hi is my friend. He do a phd with me He have a problem now. And tell me about it He love a girl And she is not And we discuss what he can do How can we make girl love man

I1: Arabic dress always full of details And wide And dress must be tall Closed Because of Muslim rules Most of them wearing Hejab

I1: It blue 😊🤔 R u kidding [referring to the colour of a dress]

Me: How are you?

I1: I am fine How r u dear Hope you doing well

I1: My sister will give the general Lecture of her phd thesis tomorrow The final one with jury

Me: Oooh.. Congratulations!

I1: She work in art therapy field

I1: No I buy new house for myself I prepare it this days An Apartment with 2 bedrooms

Me: That's good I hope you will have it soon 😊

I1: 😊 I have it And I design its interior design And I construct it This days It located in the suburbs of Cairo In an residential compound

Me: any news from your friend?

I1: He still don't reply on me

I1: We [Egyptians] also was not talk Arabic language We was talking Coptic

I2 (engineer from Helwan)

I2: I thought u imagine us wear like ramses..on street 😊 When i went to finland last year...oneperson know i am egyptian He told me ...do u have a camal 🐪

Me: Ahaha.. That is just a stereotype. It is the same with us, Sicilians.. People tell me "mafia" as soon I say that I am Sicilian

I2: No italymean cesr..caullisium ..totti. Even i fascinated with rome empire. Ceser... August...crazy neron...etc. Roman empire the most effective civilization on mankind life

I2: They restrict sea and pools due to coronavirus 🦠 I dont know why open sea

Me: Yes, I know.. That is a pity

I2: Coronavirus not come from fishes 🐟

Me: Yes.. 🦠 But it comes from people who go to the sea

Me: Do you recognise these sweets?

I1: Whom send u this delicious 😊 eating

Me: A friend of mine. She told me that these are typical biscuits Arabs eat after Ramadan

Me: I am fine.. I am at the beach relaxing. You?

I2: Oooh baby Take me with u I just back from work Photo the beach 😍😍

I3 (Costumer representative from Cairo)

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

I5 (student from Sohag)

Me: I would like to improve my Arabic

I5: if you want from me to speak with you in Arabic . messenger call . voice call Arabic . I don't have a problem

Postings from Facebook transcriptions

1st post (commenting on a photo on a private Facebook page)

Comment 1: صباح الخير يا كتورة هنورة الدنيا كلها

Comment 2 (I19): Our beautiful tant bata ♥♥♥♥♥♥

Comment 3: Gamela 😊😊😊

2nd post (commenting on a photo on a private Facebook page)

Single comment (I17): dah elli hy8yr elmoody sa7

3rd post (commenting on a photo on a private Facebook page)

Comment 1: ماذا تفعل؟ هل تمزق شعرك؟ (🤪)

Comment 2 (I20): لا خالص انا المساج واللعب فالشعر

لا مؤاخذه بعني meditation بانسبالي احسن من اجدعها

Video transcription

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 sez tu: ʌs.
hi: sez 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: bɪ,
ænd ðə mɔ: stɪs ðeər ɪz 'gəʊɪŋ tu: bɪ:
ðə mɔ: dɪ'prɛfən ju: ɑ: mɔ: 'laɪkli tu:
hæv,
ænd ðə mɔ: dɪ'prɛfən ju: hæv ðə 'haɪə
tʃɑ:ns ɒv 'sɔɪsɪd.
ðə 'haɪə tʃɑ: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:? wi: hæv
tu: rɪ'ɪmɪneɪt ðə 'mʌni. ðə les 'mʌni, ðə
les 'prɒbləmz/

EgyE pronunciation

/hɛ'ləʊ 'ɛvrɪbɒdi, zɪs ɪz 'brʌzər Xa:lɪd,
'brɪŋɪŋ ju: tə'deɪz 'lɪsn wʌn wʌn.
tə'deɪz 'lɪsn ɪz ɪn'spaɪəd baɪ 'brʌzər
'bɪɡɪst mɔ:rɪst nɔ:'tɔ:riɔ:s ..?..
'o:'ke, wɒt dʌz 'brʌzər ..?.. ɪz zɛz tu: ʌs.
hi: zɛz tu: ʌs «zɒ mɔ:r 'mʌni ju: hæv zɒ
mɔ:r 'brɒbləmz. ænd wi: nəʊ zæt zɒ
mɔ:r 'brɒbləmz ju: hæv zɒ mɔ:r 'ɛdɪk ju:
hæv.
ænd zɒ mɔ:r 'ɛdɪk ju: ɑ:r 'gɒɪŋ tu: hæv
zɒ mɔ:r stɪs zɛr 'gɒɪŋ tu: bɪ,
ænd de mɔ: stɪs zɛr 'gɒɪŋ tu: bɪ de
mɔ:r de'prɛfən ju: ɑ:r mɔ:r 'laɪkli tu:
hæv,
ænd de mɔ:r de'prɛfən ju: hæv zɑ 'haɪə
tʃɑ:nz ɒv 'sɔɪsɪd.
zɑ 'haɪə tʃɑ:nz ɒv 'sɔɪsɪd ..?.. mɔ:r 'laɪkli
tu: drɒbdɪt.
ænd ɪf ju: drɒbdɪt, deɪ ɪz nɒ 'mʌni, zɛr ɪz
nɒ 'ɛnɪsɪŋk xalz.
sɒ, wɒt du: wi: hæv tu: du:? wi: hæv tu:
rɪ'ɪmɪneɪt zɑ 'mʌni. zɑ les 'mʌni, zɑ les
'brɒbləmz/

* Only some of the 300 messages analysed have been reported in this appendix.