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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Linguistic Projection and the Ownership of
English: Solidarity and Power with the English
Language in Egypt**

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of
Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts

By
Alexander M. Lewko

May 2012

The American University in Cairo

Linguistic Projection and the Ownership of English: Solidarity and Power with the English Language in Egypt

A Thesis Submitted by

Alexander M. Lewko

To the Department of
Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

May 2012

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The American University in Cairo

Linguistic Projection of Solidarity and Power with the English Language in Egypt

Alexander M. Lewko

Under the Supervision of Dr. Phyllis Wachob

This thesis investigates aspects of English usage in Egypt, including any possible linguistic projection of solidarity or power with other Egyptians, and the degree, if any, of linguistic ownership of English. As in many other Expanding Circle contexts, English realizes its role in Egypt as lingua franca in order to fulfill educational and business transactions. English is used to such a degree in the Egyptian context that it could at some point become its own variety of World English. Yet, it is possible that a speaker could produce either English or Arabic in different situations in reaction to perceived social cleavages between him- or herself and the interlocutor. The research presented here is interested in the possible degrees of *linguistic projection*, the effect a speaker intends language choice to have on the hearer, and *linguistic ownership*, the degree to which a speaker of a language believes that he or she owns the language, that Egyptians may possess as they use English. The data was collected in an English-medium university environment in the greater Cairo area. Undergraduate participants completed a questionnaire, and a limited number also participated in a follow-up interview. Data suggest that participants use English to project solidarity with other English-speaking Egyptians. Participants are aware of how others may use English to project power, yet no one admitted to projecting power. In line with other research, participants also demonstrated a weak sense of ownership of the language at best, however through the use of English mixed with Arabic, Egyptians do use an endonormative form of English that may demonstrate ownership. Finally, there is little evidence to demonstrate a relationship between linguistic projection and ownership, but the investigator speculates that a linguistic projection of solidarity, which implies mixing of Arabic and English, would encourage a greater sense of ownership of English. Classroom implications are also discussed, including encouraging greater use of Arabic in the classroom, supporting Egyptian influences in English speech, and managing relations between English speakers of different perceived proficiencies.

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Chapter I - Introduction

Introduction

The English language holds a place of particular importance as a language used for global communication, and currently there are more non-native than native speakers of the language (Jenkins, 2006). As English continues to evolve as a contact language between those with mother tongues other than English, scholars continue to study the points-of-view of these speakers as they use the language in non-native contexts (Matsuda, 2003; Jenkins, 2005; Li, 2009). Egypt presents an example of a local context where English is not the native language, but is an important means of communication. Research already conducted regarding the contexts of English usage and identities of those using the language can assist in exploring these attitudes among Egyptian users of English.

Context of the Problem

English as a Lingua Franca and World Englishes

The use of English in international contexts is generally referred to as *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF). According to some scholars (Kirkpatrick, 2011), ELF should not be defined simply as English used internationally, but rather English as used between speakers who do not share cultural contexts. This construct does not imply a strict need to adhere to native norms of English. *World Englishes* (WE) is a construct that refers to the localized Englishes used by those who share a common cultural context (Jenkins, 2006). This view deemphasizes the dichotomy between native and nonnative speakers and accepts English plurality (Bhatt, 2001). From this standpoint, all varieties of English should occupy the same sociolinguistic and grammatical footing. It is also conceptually possible that English speakers from different countries or regions would use ELF with

each other, but then their own WE variety at home. Users of WE may never have to use ELF if they only use English in their local context.

Language Circles and the Dynamics of English

Circles of English (Kachru, 1985) are a means to present the geographic spread of English. These also indicate where different contemporary WEs may be found. Each circle represents a group of countries that can be said to have a similar experience with English. The *Inner Circle* is made up of those countries in which “native” English is used, such as the United Kingdom, the United States, or Australia. The *Outer Circle* consists of countries that officially use English due to historical colonialism. Finally, expanding circle countries are those that traditionally use English as a foreign language (McKay, 2003).

There have been charges made that inner circle countries intentionally encourage the growth of English internationally (Phillipson, 1992). However, the *circles* model does not assume that the Inner Circle is the principal engine of international English growth. Rather, English grows due to the perceived needs of those who use it, including emotional, communicative, and instrumental needs (Kachru, 1991). In fact, perceived instrumental reasons to acquire English may only be increasing, because English is the predominant language for non-governmental organizations, financial institutions, scientific publishing, and the Internet (Graddol, 1997). Simple inertia, along with characteristics of the English language that eases its acquisition vis-à-vis other languages, such as its alphabetic writing system, negligible inflectional morphology, and non tonal phonology may allow English to maintain a dominant position for years to come (Bruthiaux, 2002).

Linguistic Identity and Ownership

Researchers are concerned with how second language users in the different contexts of English use identify themselves as speakers of English as well as how they view themselves vis-à-vis native speakers of English (Norton, 1997). For instance, Norton (1997) highlighted two important ideas regarding this identity. First, language and identity are inherently linked and made up of each other. Second, perceptions of power are also important in the makeup of one's identity. Djité (2006), emphasized that identity is constantly evolving and changing, and that speakers may be changing identities depending on what is needed at specific moments. It is also important to note that there can be a variety of relationships with which a non-native speaker (NNS) of English needs to grapple. For instance, the speaker may be dealing with the power exhibited by the *ideal native speaker*, a perceived optimal model of native speech to which learners may aspire, or other speakers using English as a second language with differing degrees of proficiency. Another important aspect of identity to discuss is that of *ownership*. Ownership of a language, to be defined in more detail later in this chapter, may be taken for granted by its native speakers but is something that language learners may never feel is attained.

This picture of language, identity, and ownership is complicated, and studies that have attempted to deal with these issues generally concluded with mixed results. Jenkins (2005) surveyed teachers from different L1 backgrounds about their accents and identification with their native language. The teachers identified strongly with their native language, but found their accent when speaking English problematic when comparing them to native English accents. Li (2009) surveyed the attitudes of Chinese

students and professionals regarding their views of native versus Chinese accents of English. Most participants favored the native accent over that of a nonnative accent, and very few preferred the accent of a proficient local speaker of English. The study indicated that while the participants appreciated identifying with the speaker, they were most concerned with intelligibility.

Matsuda (2003) studied English ownership of Japanese high school students. This study determined that while they viewed English as a legitimate international language, they perceived English to be owned by its native speakers; or at the very least the subjects did not indicate they owned it. Bokhorst-Heng, Alsagoff, McKay, and Rubdy (2007) investigated Singaporean ownership by examining their reactions to grammatically correct or incorrect sentences. They focused on whether participants judged a sentence by exonormative standards (rule governed standards imposed by native speech norms) or by endonormative standards (how the language is used among the local population). Participants across age groups generally used rule governed standards to judge sentences, but younger participants were more likely to issue judgments based on usage and intuition.

Problem Statements and Research Question

From the standpoint of this researcher, there are three important gaps in the literature. First, except for rare exceptions (Warschauer, Said & Zohry, 2002), there is little regarding attitudes towards English from the standpoint of Egyptian speakers of English. Second, although there are studies that investigate the attitudes of non-native teachers of English (Llurda & Huguet, 2003; Petric, 2009; Sifakis & Sougari, 2005), there is need for more research regarding how non NNSs may view themselves via other

local interlocutors who are either NNSs of English or do not speak any English. Finally, while there is research regarding Middle Eastern attitudes toward English learning and use (see Malallah, 2000), there are few examples of scholarship that attempts to deal with issues of identity and ownership in the region (McLaren (2009), to be discussed later, serves as an exception). The research here was conducted at a time of historical political change in the region and that serves an opportune moment for researchers to collect data in order for comparison to data collected in the future. This is a rare moment to analyze the effects of political change on language use and identity, with a specific focus here on Egyptian undergraduate students at a specific elite university.

Statements of the Problem

The concepts of ELF and WE recognize that varieties of English are used for communication in international or local contexts, apart from spheres dominated by native speakers. Because WE are deemed appropriate for local contexts, it is important users of WE shape them as appropriate for that context (Seidlhofer, 2001). However, although there are more non-native than native speakers of English world wide, NNSs continue to favor English as used by the *ideal native speaker* (Bokhorst-Heng et al., 2007; Jenkins, 2005). This problematizes NNSs' ability to claim ownership of English as well as their potential self-view as a legitimate speaker and controller of the second language (Norton, 1997). Also, as identity is always shifting (Djité, 2006), an English learner's identity cannot be exclusively grounded vis-à-vis the native speaker, but also by other persons, English-speaking or not, in his or her context.

Research Questions

The following research questions are posed by this study:

1. When Egyptian undergraduate students speak English to other Egyptians, is there evidence that English is used to either project power onto interlocutors, solidarity with them, or both?
2. What perceptions of English ownership, if any, do Egyptian undergraduate speakers of English have?
3. For these Egyptian undergraduate students, what is the nature of the relationship, if one exists, between ownership of English and one's linguistic projection when using English?

Rationale of the Study

There are a number of reasons why this study on English usage in Egypt is important, particularly within the Egyptian English classroom. First, discussion of the ownership of the English language has uncovered data as to how Egyptians use English. In particular, participants' discussions on codeswitching and the impact of English on their linguistic identities question classroom practices that promote specific accents or require the use of English-only instruction because they represent behaviors that do not reflect the realities Egyptians face when speaking English. Second, this may inform practitioners who believe it important that Egyptians demonstrate more ownership of the English they are learning. This study confirmed that Egyptians do not necessarily perceive they "own" English, yet there are signs that some Egyptians do own English through the way they mix English and Arabic.

Data uncovered regarding linguistic projection, not so much regarding how students use English to project power but how hearers react to the English spoken, can inform teachers of dynamics between students in the classroom. Instructors teach

English in order to empower their students with linguistic knowledge; however, there are social consequences of using English in the classroom. Specifically, peers single-out English speaking students either because these speakers are perceived as having advanced knowledge of English or because Egyptian influences are detected in that speaker's speech.

Finally, although the research may have expected to find a relationship between linguistic ownership and a linguistic projection of power, data was not uncovered to confirm this hypothesis. Such was the case because it was difficult to discover any one-to-one relationship in the data collected. Yet, because there was a tendency for participants who used English outside of the class to use it with peers, it is possible that a higher degree of ownership could encourage a greater use of English to promote solidarity.

Construct Definitions of Importance to the Study

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) – English used in international contexts between English speakers who do not share a cultural background (Kirkpatrick, 2011).

World English (WE) – Any English variety used in local contexts by those who share a common local background (Bhatt, 2001, Jenkins 2006).

Expanding Circle of English – A grouping of countries where English is traditionally used as a foreign language. The Inner Circle consists of countries that use English as a native language. The Outer Circle consists of countries that have an institutional use of English due to a colonial history with the United Kingdom. The Expanding Circle consists of countries that have begun to use English at some point after the end of the colonial era (McKay, 2003).

Ideal Native Speaker (of English) – An “abstracted notion” of native speakers that is not inclusive of minorities (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997, p. 546).

Linguistic Identity - A constantly evolving view of oneself in the midst of using languages (Norton, 1997; Djité, 2006).

Linguistic Ownership - The belief one has to be able to control and have authority over a language that he or she uses (Higgins, 2003).

Linguistic Projection – What a speaker intends language usage to tell hearers about him or herself (Cavallaro & Chin, 2009).

Operational Definitions of Importance to the Study

Linguistic Projection – As an aspect of the construct of *linguistic identity*, the effect a speaker intends language choice to have on his or her interlocutor. In a society with a high degree of class-consciousness, choosing between the use of a local language (Egyptian colloquial Arabic) or a foreign language (English) can be respectively a means of establishing solidarity with or power over the interlocutor. For instance, a situation where the speaker using English knows that the other speaker does not know English is an example of when the English user is attempting to establish power over the other speaker. This can change from situation to situation depending on the interlocutors involved.

Linguistic Ownership – The degree to which a language user places more importance on the local norms of a language rather than its formal rules set by a perceived foreign authority. In the case of Egypt or other EFL contexts, this is whether the speaker of English is concerned with native norms or what is perceived as correct usage at a more local level.

Delimitations of Research

The project uncovers language attitudes in Egypt, however important delimitations must be highlighted. First, the researcher exclusively utilized Egyptian undergraduate students. This in itself is not rare among the studies cited in the research presented here; for instance, two (see Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Timmis, 2002) worked exclusively with college level populations. Li (2009) used tertiary-level students and some working adults, yet the adults made up a minority of the sample. Yet, the participants at the time this study attended a particularly elite Egyptian university. While it is believed that this work can inform other similar research in the Egyptian context, the results of this cannot be generalized to the greater Egyptian population.

Second, the study took only a “snapshot” of participant’s attitudes. Because it was not longitudinal, this research was unable to measure how certain external factors may change respondents’ attitudes toward language over time. Third, this study did not employ such research devices as acceptability judgment tasks or match-guise techniques that admittedly have the potential to uncover additional information. The results of this study could aid future research of Egyptian participants that would employ such means.

Chapter II – Literature Review

Introduction

The literature review below is divided into six sections. The first section serves as a general overview of literature pertinent to the major constructs of the study, including global varieties of English, the ideal native speaker, identity, and ownership. A brief discussion follows regarding English in Egypt and some studies undertaken in the Middle Eastern context. The following two sections review literature pertinent to the second language learner and the native speaker as well as uses of English in local contexts. These studies are reviewed in order to show data collected regarding the identities of the second language users of English. The following section reviews literature devoted to linguistic ownership of English, with much of it specific to the Singaporean context. The final section explains research gaps in the literature that this study will endeavor to fill.

In order to locate literature pertinent to this study, the researcher employed such terms as “English ownership”, “linguistic identity”, “English as a Lingua Franca”, “World Englishes”, and “English circles”. Faculty members as well as fellow colleagues at the TESOL department at the American University in Cairo were also very helpful in suggesting possible sources of interest.

Overviews of Global English Use, Identity, and Ownership

Introduction

The following section discusses an overview presented in the literature of several operational terms of importance to the research presented here. First, the rise of “circles” of English is discussed in light of the global spread of English due to colonialism. That is

followed with a summary of debates regarding the rise of different Englishes throughout the different circles of English as well as whether this spread of English was taking place either due to political or pedagogical reasons. Next is a discussion of English as a Lingua Franca and World Englishes, two types of English that have resulted from its proliferation across the different circles of English usage. Not only are these defined and elucidated, but also the relationship between the two is discussed. A discussion of ownership follows that defines ownership and also talks about how fixation on the ideal native speaker may be impeding ownership of English by its NNSs. This section concludes with a discussion on the linguistic identity of NNSs. This defines and describes linguistic identity in terms of Poststructuralism.

Contexts of Global Use of English

We currently live in the age of “Global English”. The language is being used at an international level, and it now presents us with linguistic and cultural questions as to how it is being used (Graddol, 2006). The rise of English as it is seen today is due to dynamics during and after the era of British colonialism. English was the means by which British colonial officials communicated with their subjects, yet the colonized also used English with each other (Canagarajah 2006a). Once the colonizers left, English did not leave with them. New states that rose from the colonial territories adopted English as an official language, and English continued to spread to other countries not directly affected by British colonialism as the economic and political power of the United States increased (Crystal, 2003). As the US assumed its role as a key player in international politics after the end of the Second World War, English became a dominant language in the United Nations (UN), financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund

(IMF) and the World Bank (WB), as well as in scientific and technological publishing (Graddol, 1997).

Attempts have been made to classify this growth of global English use. In 1985, Braj Kachru detailed the expansion of English using the concept of circles. “Inner Circle” countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, use English as a native language. “Outer Circle” countries, such as Singapore and India, use English in an official manner due to their colonial histories with the United Kingdom. Finally, the “Expanding Circle” includes countries in which English is a foreign language (McKay, 2003). Egypt falls under this final categorization (Bhatt 2001). These classifications have not fallen out of use, although the continued growth of English challenges the notions of these circles because the ‘native’ English once seen only in the Inner Circle is now used in the other two circles, and more Expanding Circle students are being taught the English norms found in the Outer Circle that differ from Inner Circle norms (Lowenberg, 2002). Graddol (1997) asserts that these circles will cease to serve as accurate descriptions for English usage in the 21st century as the number of multilingual users of English continue grow and have more say in the future directions of the language.

Quirk (1989) and Kachru (1991) opened the 1990s with a debate regarding the benefits of the different varieties of English being used. Quirk worried that the pluralities of English may cause difficulties in teaching and believed that non-native teachers should be interacting with native speakers regularly as a step toward preventing “institutionalized” non-native varieties (Kachru, 1991). However, Kachru (1991) cautioned against the focus on a native versus non-native dichotomy because second

language users of English are not learning English only to communicate with native speakers.

Moreover, when conceptualizing the three circles of English, Kachru did not see English as necessarily inflicted upon those in the Outer or Expanding circles. Rather, English may be adopted due to emotional attachments to the language, its usefulness in code mixing and switching among multilingual users of English, that it is used in communication in non-Judeo-Christian contexts, or because it is used between people within a country where English is not considered a native language (Kachru, 1991). More recent scholarship mirrors this perspective with a focus on “local values and identities” (Canagarajah, 2006b, 198). The study asserted that English may be used against democratizing norms for the benefit of elites, however language can be used by locals and made their own through linguistic tools such as codeswitching.

This view of English growth outside the Inner Circle differs with that posed within the construct of “linguistic imperialism” (Phillipson 1992). This posited that English proliferated across the Outer and Expanding Circles due to the encouragement and policy of the Inner Circle in order to protect its global economic and cultural dominance (McKay, 2003). This has been a particularly powerful framework to critique English as a Second Language (ESL) pedagogy by exposing how English teaching has focused on Inner Circle cultures at the exclusion of the Outer or Expanding circles (Nault, 2006), or by setting an unrealistic goal for students to speak like native speakers, although never quite obtaining membership in the native speaker community (Rajagopalan, 2005). However, critiques of linguistic imperialism have taken several forms, such as Bhatt (2005), who argued that linguistic imperialism ignores the new local

Englishes that create new alliances between its speakers, or Vaish (2005), who demonstrated how English is used in developing countries as linguistic capital for the benefit of those in dire need of it.

Diversity in English: the *English as a Lingua Franca* and *World English* Paradigms

With the realization of the pluralities of English, scholars focused more attention on how NNSs use these Englishes; English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and World Englishes (WE) became two dominant paradigms for discussion. There was some work in ELF or English as an International Language in the later 20th century, although much more interest has been seen in the first decade of the 21st century (Jenkins, 2007). ELF is defined as English used between speakers who do not share a mother tongue. Due to the nature of the communication, ELF speech requires adjustments among all parties involved in the conversation, including that of native speakers (Jenkins 2006).

Scholars take a nuanced approach regarding the balance between diversity and standardization in ELF. Seidlhofer (2001) laments that the lack of research into ELF makes it difficult to conceive of it as equal to that of standard Englishes and discusses forthcoming corpus work to give more definition to this speech. Close to a decade later, Seidlhofer's Vienna-Oxford Corpus of International English was released along with the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) corpus (Seidlhofer, 1999). Deterding's (2011) and Zoghbor's (2011) studies, among Chinese and Arabic speakers respectively, are examples of studies that discussed findings regarding teaching the Lingua Franca speech investigated by such corpus projects. However, Jenkins (2006) warns that ELF should not replace native English as a new 'monolithic English' but

instead scholars should study how speakers accommodate each other when using ELF speech.

The World Englishes (WE) paradigm offers a more local view of languages. Where ELF represents English as used between people from different linguistic backgrounds, WE refers to the local varieties of English, regardless of the circle from which they come (Jenkins, 2009). Bhatt (2001) discussed how colonizers assured the prominence of English during colonial rule, however when the English departed, the former colonial subjects continued to uphold the importance of the use and teaching of English. The Englishes that arose fit local needs, and they eventually contested the use of native English as a model for the global English-speaking community. WE reflect a ‘pluralcentric’ view of English with diverse histories, identities, norms, and contexts.

Interest in WEs spawned different kinds of research. Scholars undertook studies of linguistic characteristics of different local Englishes similar to the intent of ELF corpus studies. (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Deterding 2010). Bolton (2010) highlighted literature utilizing WEs in their text. Schell (2008) asked the question of how often those in contexts where English is not a native language use English with each other. He coined the term “colinguals” to describe those who speak to each other in a non-native language in a non-native context in order to begin more serious study of who in fact uses English regularly and how these Englishes originate and evolve.

There was evidence of scholarly tension between the ELF and WE paradigms. Berns (2008) discussed a technical schism between the two paradigms because WE base intelligibility on cross-cultural communication while ELF is more concerned with linguistic aspects. Others reject the importance of such rifts; for instance, Kirkpatrick

(2011) notes that there are differences between pronunciation and vocabulary between ELF and WE, yet the speaker can alter his or her speech as necessary depending on context. In such places as the EU where English is dominant but language policy prizes local languages, ELF can even be a means of promoting multiculturalism because it does not promote native-like speech (Dombi, 2011; Nizegorodcew, 2011).

Research undertaken here will take a cue from Alastair Pennycook, and look at English as a purely ‘local’ social practice in which English works with other languages as a “hybrid urban multilingualism” (Pennycook, 2010, p. 682). ELF and WE are important terms in the field to discuss how people are using English today in different contexts, however users of either ELF or WE are not necessarily thinking during the speech act about what *kind* of English is being used but instead seek intelligible communication. This study will attempt to uncover personal “language ideologies”, or how people understand the local uses of their English usage (Pennycook, 2010, p. 675).

English Ownership

Bruthiaux (2002) exhibited a common sentiment that for those who learn English, preferences for what is considered ‘native’ speech norms remain. Work has gauged whether those who are considered second language users of English also considered themselves as owners of English. Bokhorst Heng, Alsagoff, McKay, and Rubdy (2007) defined language ownership as when speakers “project themselves as legitimate speakers with authority over the language” (p. 426). Widdowson (1994) described the use of standard or native English as a means of creating a community; being part or outside of this community depends upon whether or not the individual uses this variety of English. However, he also emphasized that modern English is constantly

changing; as an international language there are no “custodians” who are able to say what is correct or incorrect. If one uses English as he or she sees fit instead of exclusively following exonormative rules, it follows that person ‘owns’ English. According to these perspectives, no group of English speakers is able to grant ownership to another group; instead speakers of English *decide* to own a language. The reification of their version of English depends on them alone.

Part of what may be impeding language ownership among second language users of English may come from the notion of the idealized native speaker, a concept of the best kind of English a NNS should attain; however, these speakers would never be granted the label of “native” (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997). Rubdy, McKay, Alsagoff, and Bokhorst Heng (2008) cited how the continued view of the native speaker is perpetuating an ‘Us versus Them’ dynamic of legitimate native English speakers in the Inner Circle versus illegitimate non-native, Outer Circle English speakers. Pedagogical methods, including more focus on conversation among non-native students of English (Morrison & White, 2005), or proposals to have more intensive training of teachers in WEs and postcolonial English literature and culture (Derbel & Richards, 2007) discuss work done in the classroom to attempt to define solutions to these problems, although research continues to show preferences toward native norms.

Linguistic Identity and Non-Native Speakers

The preceding discussion on language ownership touched upon a problematic relationship between the native speaker and the NNS. Asking the question of who owns a language requires bringing into account the “important relationship among language, identity, and the ownership of English” (Norton, 1997, p. 422). It is appropriate at this

point to introduce the concept of *linguistic identity*. For the purposes of this study, linguistic identity is defined as a constantly evolving and changing view of oneself during the course of using languages. This definition results from a rise in the poststructuralist view of identity in applied linguistics since the 1990s. Poststructuralism attempts to look at humans as more complex, fluid beings not governed by absolute laws (Block, 2007). This entails an emphasis away from behaviorist views of the language learner. Firth and Wagner (1996, 2007) challenged the fixation Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research traditionally had with the identity of a NNS as a permanent “learner” of English; this includes the focus on the errors rather than successes, fossilization, and the dichotomy seen between the native speaker and NNS. The researchers advocated for more focus on contexts when language is used as well as interactions of the language user, recognizing that language is not only cognitive, but also social. This point of view not only opens up room to study the speaker vis-à-vis other speakers, but also to allow for linguistic flexibility, including the use of varieties of English like ELF or WE.

The poststructuralist view of identity displayed in Pierce (1995) directly inspires the point of view assumed in the research presented here. This view assumes a number of traits of second language users. First, there is a power relationship between those who learn or use a second language and the native speakers of that target language. Second, language learners have complicated and fluid identities that need to be understood against power structures that potentially create inequalities. In other words, no one has a static, unchangeable identity. In fact, a speaker may have multiple national, global, and linguistic identities at once, for example “Arabic-speaking and Israeli” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 161). However, someone who is a member of a linguistic minority learning English

may find him or herself in unequal power relationships in society. Finally, language itself is an important aspect of identity. The use of a specific language may signal a specific identity of the speaker.

Much focus in literature regards the second language user of English vis-à-vis the ideal native speaker of English. This is certainly important, especially regarding the question of ownership. At the same time, this study is interested in how Egyptian speakers of English use English with each other as well as how they identify with each other as they use English. One theme in identity literature identified in Block regards “communities of practice, ” in which one’s identity is influenced by membership in that community (Block, 2007, p. 24). Block further emphasized that to be part of a community, an individual must be accepted into that community by means of having appropriate cultural capital. These assets can include “behavioral patterns”, connections to institutions, and qualifications. This study investigated in part how English may function as an aspect of cultural capital in Egypt to include or exclude Egyptians from certain groups.

Conclusion

This section laid out a global context in which Egyptians currently use English. ELF and WE are both language paradigms that describe how English is being used; ELF for intercultural purposes and WE for intracultural purposes. Whether an Egyptian or other NNS user of English feels that they “own” this English may be in part due to the speaker’s view of himself or herself vis-à-vis the ideal native speaker. While no one can tell an Egyptian that they cannot own English, the English user may always consider him or herself as unable to own the language because he or she cannot be called “native”. At

the same time, the language they use is still an important aspect of their own linguistic identity, and use of English may allow Egyptians to place themselves within a community of other Egyptian speakers of English.

Egypt and English

Introduction

This section discusses a historical overview of English within Egypt, emphasizing its instrumental importance. Work presented afterwards demonstrates the importance of English to Egyptians in different kinds of interactions, ranging from oral communication, Internet communication, or even in protests.

Historical Overview of English in Egypt

Compared to other locales, there is little research on English in the Egyptian context. However, there is some information that confirms an importance of English in the country. Historically, English became more influential in Egypt through its British colonial experience. In the mid-19th century, English was not as influential as other European languages, particularly French. However after British occupation began in the 1880s, English slowly grew to be more prominent. Between the two World Wars, colonial policy attempted to subvert the status of Arabic under that of English. During the Nasser years, there was an interest in learning Russian, although there was a growth in interest in learning English throughout the years Sadat was in power that continues to the present day (Schaub, 2000).

Schaub indicated that English, while certainly important in the tourist trade, also holds particular importance in obtaining a professional job. English is often seen as the primary credential, before other seemingly more important skills. This is not necessarily

unique to Egypt in the Middle Eastern context, as Hamdan and Hatab (2009) posited a similar situation in Jordan through an analysis of job newspaper advertisements. Due to the foreign language skills well-paying jobs require, the education of these professional classes tends to be in a foreign, European language. However, regardless of the place of English professionally, the spoken Arabic dialect remains the primary means for Egyptians to speak to each other.

Use of English in Interactions Between Egyptians

Warschauer, Said, and Zohry (2002) explored language use of young Egyptian members of the professional class on the Internet. Close to 50 people completed a survey, followed by four participants who continued with an interview. For formal or informal email communication as well as Internet chats, respondents predominantly used English. However, while the Arabic language with Arabic script was not used (especially with formal emails), around 50 % of respondents utilized Arabic with a Romanized script for informal email as well as online chats. These results may stem from a combination of English dominance in the professional sphere combined with problematic Arabic support on the computer. Respondents reported that they used English because they had to professionally, not because they wanted to favor an outside culture or language.

Although through a technological medium, this study supported the observation in Schaub (2000) regarding the importance of spoken Arabic, even among professionals.

However, English may have a more noticeable role alongside spoken Arabic in Egypt. In a student publication at an English-medium university in Cairo, El-Hariri (2011) complained that Egyptian university students, in mixing their Arabic with their English, are not speaking acceptable Arabic. The article quoted a student who sees the

mixing as a way for the students to feel “superior” to other residents of Cairo, although he also admits that his own written and spoken Arabic are not fluent. A foreign student noted that there might be a “gap” between the students and the residents of Cairo at large, however the January 25, 2011 revolution that overthrew President Hosni Mubarak may change that. The recent revolution may have reaffirmed a positive role for English in Egypt going forward as a means of empowerment. Wachob (2011) explained that Egyptians used English in their signs in Tahrir Square to allow them to penetrate global media in order to transmit their message to receptive audiences worldwide, and thus communicate as global citizens. Changes in Egypt may continue to have untold consequences on the use of English in this context.

Conclusion

This overall picture can leave one with an ambiguous place of English in Egypt. It is grounded in colonialist history and allows for an exclusive identity for professionals, students, and others of means; however it can also be a tool used by anyone to communicate to the world. Yet, what is presented here does not tell us much about how Egyptians use English. Warschauer, Said, and Zohry (2002) at this point is dated, and it is entirely possible that how Egyptians use English (or Arabic) online has changed. El-Hariri (2011) sheds some light on perceptions of English usage, although its generally pessimistic stance leaves out reasons for using English other than as a way to distinguish one Egyptian from another. Finally, Wachob (2011) demonstrated the importance of English to transmit a message, although it still leaves questions over how Egyptians use English with each other.

The English User and the Native Speaker

Introduction

The studies below reflect the standing of the native speaker in comparison with NNS of English, but reflected through the attitudes of both students and teachers in order to understand what kinds of attitudes there are among different people in the classroom environment. Issues discussed include different preferences for accents, and how important to hearer an accent is versus comprehension of speech regardless of accent.

Student Attitudes

Studies of English users' views of the native speaker take such forms as reaction to accents, whether one wants to assume native speaker norms when using English, and teachers' views of themselves or their students against these norms. Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenböck, and Smit (1997) investigated if attitudes toward different English accents can affect desired accent attainment. Austrian English language students listened to different accents of English, including different Austrian, American, and British accents. An attitudinal survey collected reactions to the accents. While the Austrian accents received the most negative reactions, the British accent received the most positive ones, possibly because the Austrian respondents are most accustomed to it from their English education. The researchers found no evidence that positive attitudes toward the accent assisted attainability of the accent.

Li (2009) investigated if Outer and Expanding Circle users of English thought NS varieties are forced on them, if accents are a form of identity, and if having localized Englishes validated are a proper goal. Using a survey of over 100 respondents that included workers and university students from both Hong Kong and China, the

researchers discovered that most respondents wanted to sound like and be identified as native speakers of English. In focus group sessions, respondents articulated a belief that native speech is more intelligible, so being labeled and understood as a native speaker labeled them as intelligible. Perhaps because of their pragmatic motives toward their language learning, respondents did not believe that they were being forced to adapt to a specific kind of English. Yet, they did not express an aversion to speaking to those with a Chinese accent in English as long as it was intelligible.

Timmis (2002) studied accent issues among students and teachers. The researchers administered questionnaires to 400 students who represented 14 countries and 180 teachers representing 45 different countries. Students overwhelmingly preferred a student with a native sounding accent as well as students who had native sounding grammar. Teachers indicated more of a preference for the student with a non-native accent. They indicated that they believed this because having a non-native accent is more realistic, although many did prefer in principle a native speaker accent. Their end concern is fostering intelligibility, rather than identity with native speakers, in their students. In the same year, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2002) studied the student perceptions of native versus non-native English teachers. The researchers had 76 undergraduates in the Basque region of Spain complete a Likert scale questionnaire. Responses demonstrated that respondents preferred native English teachers. The preference was greater the more advanced the student, and for teaching pronunciation, speaking, vocabulary, and culture. However, non-native teachers were preferred for listening, reading, and learning strategies.

Teacher Attitudes

Teacher attitudes towards these topics convey interesting information about views of the native speaker, particularly because the classroom may foster attitudes or practices that can affect the language learner's own attitudes. Sifakis and Sougari (2005) focused on beliefs around pronunciation and how these views affect teaching. The researchers distributed a questionnaire to 650 teachers of English in the Greek school system with open and closed, 5-point Likert scale questions. Regarding accents, teachers in the primary levels were more concerned with teaching native accents than those at the secondary levels, who were more interested in fostering intelligibility. The primary school teachers were also more concerned with teaching accuracy. Llurda and Huguet (2003) reflected similar differences between primary and secondary school teachers. Using an oral questionnaire with a five-point Likert scale, secondary school teachers indicated more positive attitudes regarding their English proficiency than primary school teachers. About 73% of secondary teachers believed that being an NNS can serve as an advantage to teaching, while only around 47% of primary school teachers concurred. The authors attributed some of this to the more theoretical training that secondary school teachers receive.

Jenkins (2005) uncovered norm-bound attitudes using in-depth interviews of eight non-native female teachers of English from five different countries with varying knowledge of ELF. Jenkins investigated their attitudes toward teaching pronunciation norms found within the ELF corpus. Most teachers themselves seemed supportive of the idea, however most did not believe their colleagues would support such a goal. Some

teachers agreed that if their colleagues travelled and had more exposure to different English varieties, they would be more amenable to the idea.

Finally, Petrić (2009) investigated English teachers who were neither native speakers of English nor of the language of their students in Hungary. The researchers were interested to see how these teachers worked both as non-Hungarian, NNSs as well as to see how their own language or culture had a role in teaching. Two teachers were open to their students about being NNSs. One who did not reveal her background had a native sounding accent that the school found valuable to attract students. However, students who found out about her background generally showed curiosity rather than any outward negative reaction. The two teachers who were open about their backgrounds used cultural and factual aspects about their home countries as part of their lessons, and one even codeswitched between English and her native language in the classroom. The two who were less open about their backgrounds used their origins as “background resources” to try to guess at why mistakes were being made as well as to simply sympathize with the issues their students may have been going through.

Conclusion

The studies above demonstrate a continued preference for native English norms pervasive among students and teachers alike. However, attitudes toward native speaker norms are complicated. Some look to native norms due to perceived intelligibility. Some believe the attainment of native accents is the ideal goal for learners; however they may be realistic in knowing that they cannot be achieved for many learners. While many would like the label of “native speaker”, not being native can also be seen as an advantage. Regarding students, it is interesting that even though there is a preference for

native norms, they claimed that in their day-to-day encounters inside or outside the classroom that they would work with NNSs and teachers. Regarding teachers, the experience or training of a respondent is a major influence. Teachers with more theoretical training tended to focus less on native norms and in general are more realistic regarding the goals of their students vis-à-vis native norms. Therefore, there is reason to believe that people can look at English use in a more complex way than simply native versus non-native.

While it may be interesting for students or teachers in the Egyptian context to rate accent, it may not serve as the most compelling starting point for research regarding linguistic projection or ownership. For one, preferences for native accents have been seen in many different contexts, so it may not be a surprise to see the same trend in Egypt. Second, while teacher attitudes toward accent can be an important determiner of student attitudes and of pedagogy, it may be difficult to uncover what their attitudes are as teachers versus what their attitudes are as members of Egyptian society. Petrić (2009), though, touches on the reality that NNSs are interacting with each other in English, and that their non-native backgrounds can actually enhance the conversation. How Egyptians use English with each other, rather than seeing how Egyptians compare themselves to native speakers, can tell us more about the realities of English usage in Egypt.

English as a Local Social Marker

Introduction

This next group of studies reviewed how English is used between second language users of the language as a means of local identity. Several studies below reviewed either accent or register of English in terms of what impact that may have on

relations between interlocutors. English in Singapore figures heavily here due to the diverse English landscape in that country. The concluding two studies center on how English is used, either in the classroom or in society in general, to see how it marks its user.

Views of Accents and Social Status

Rindall (2010) studied Norwegian learners of English to determine what pronunciation they wanted and the social implications of the pronunciation. Using a matched-guise technique, a British and American speaker read in both British and American accents, and the respondents evaluated the speakers on ‘status and competence’, ‘social attractiveness’, and ‘linguistic quality’ (Rindall, 2010, p. 246). Respondents also completed questionnaires about themselves and their English usage. ANOVA analysis demonstrated that the accent the respondents strove for determined how favorably they viewed the accents they heard. Overall, the respondents perceived the British accent most favorably, and those who favored the American accent found the British accent as too formal. While some respondents indicated that they use the pronunciation that they find easier to pronounce, others indicated that they make concerted attempts to use both varieties, by using British English in more formal situations and American English among friends. Use of English for these respondents is part of a code as to with whom and in which context a person is speaking.

Registers of English and Social Status

Singapore presents an interesting situation for researchers due to a common use of a low register Singapore Colloquial English (SCE), which is often called ‘Singlish’ alongside “standard” English. Tan and Tan (2008) studied views of Singlish among 260

secondary school children in Singapore in light of attempts by the Singapore government toward standardizing English away from this dialect. The students listened to Singaporean and American accents in a matched guise technique in order to rate speakers in terms of such traits as intelligence or friendliness and well as effective teachers of English and Mathematics on 5-point Likert scales. One passage used Singlish exclusively; a second passage used American English, however using both Singaporean and American accents. Students in the sample could distinguish successfully between the standard English and Singaporean accents as well as between American and Singlish varieties of English. They reacted most favorably to American-style English in the Singaporean accent; the researchers posited that it had to do with the recognition of the higher style of English combined with the recognizable accent. Interestingly, while the Singlish speech was not judged as appropriate for the English teacher who is expected to adhere to norms, respondents did not rate it negatively for a mathematics teacher and also noted that it is used with friends. The study indicated that the difference between Singlish and norm-bound English might have had less to do with perceived competency of the interlocutor but rather the perceived social distance between the interlocutors.

Cavallaro and Chin (2009) studied how higher or lower registers of English may be used as a marker of solidarity between Singaporeans. Utilizing a matched-guise technique, 75 Singaporeans and 19 non-Singaporean respondents listened to a female speaker use examples of both registers of Singapore English and asked the speech to be rated on a set of *status* or *solidarity* traits. To the surprise of the authors of this study, both male and female Singaporean respondents rated the higher register of English higher in both status and solidarity ratings; the non-Singaporeans rated both varieties higher and

did not seem to overly stigmatize SCE. However, in follow-up interviews of the Singaporean respondents, they claim to favor SCE over other registers. The authors noted this discrepancy between the matched-guise technique and the interviews could be due to the influence of the government's campaigns to promote higher registers of English at the expense of Singlish.

The studies above demonstrate ambivalence around the place of Singlish in society. While it is understood by its users to be appropriate in certain situations, it must compete with a higher register English in other contexts. Stroud and Wee (2007) studied how bilingualism in Singapore can be a means of student resistance in the classroom. Many respondents did what they could to avoid the use of standard English at all cost. Students indicated that they used standard English only with the teacher, and only reluctantly out of fear of ridicule from their peers. Respondents preferred to use either their mother tongue with friends, such as Malay or Chinese, or to codeswitch between the two. The teachers observed may have referred to the mother tongues or even codeswitched themselves, however they often referred to the mother tongues disparagingly. However, a teacher noted in the study used Singlish in order to help students with standard English as well as to mark less serious portions of the class. The authors supported the use in the classroom of language other than standard English to validate the students' identities as well as to support their development in English.

English as an Enhancer of Identity

In studying underprivileged students in northeast Delhi who only recently gained access to English language education, Vaish (2005) demonstrated a different positioning of English in the classroom. With the growth of outsourcing in India, English is an

important example of linguistic capital, leading to more English teaching in under-resourced schools. The author observed English learning mainly through rote and translation, and teachers used the mother tongue throughout much of their teaching. The author, knowing that this pedagogy is far from perfect, recognized that it gives students access to English skills they did not previously have to be built upon later in job training. It is also interesting to note here that although students are taking English in order to improve their lives, they are not required to check their linguistic identities at the door in the classroom. The mother tongue continues to be important during the lessons. English for this group in India represents a more pragmatic function in society that does not challenge their identity outside of the classroom.

Research above posits how language used is important for linguistic identity with friends, in formal situations, and in the classroom. However, English may more radically affect one's identity. Gordon (2004) focused on two female immigrants in the United States in order to investigate how "linguistic resources" affect gender identity. The study noted how immigration from Laos to the United States affects gender roles; English can specifically broaden women's empowerment and identity vis-à-vis Laotian males. For one wage-earning woman, knowledge of English granted her the ability to know workplace rights as well as to ask for equipment when needed. Other immigrants with few English skills, including the men, did not have these advantages. The other principal participant, who managed the home, displayed even more dramatic empowerment through English. Her husband had few English skills, so she had to deal with the issues 'outside' the home that affected her family, such as legal issues regarding her son or selling the family car. These required her to transcend the boundaries of the home and

use English to interface with different members of society, which then also allowed her to develop more complex English skills. This specific experience mirrors a respondent in Pierce (1995), whose identity as a mother broadened the areas where she would use English as an immigrant in Canada.

Conclusion

This research demonstrates that English does have social functions that can benefit learners and users situated in different contexts. A variety of English, regardless of in which language circle, can be used to mark someone's identity against others in the conversation; a standard, or exonormative variety may mark formal conversations between student or teacher or professional colleagues; more local forms of English may mark solidarity between friends, or as a means to resistance of an exonormative English forced on speakers. English may also signal empowerment. Overall, this is evidence that English can and is used on the local level for local ends.

While these studies uncover findings that are important in Egypt, some of this is of limited use regarding the Egyptian context. It is possible that Egyptians may favor a particular accent due to context as in Rindall (2010). Yet, the studies from Singapore have limited carry-over to Egypt because there are not analogous "registers" of English. Egyptians may have a particular accent or proficiency, but these do not necessarily equate a more formal "high" English versus a less formal English used among peers. This may make it more difficult for an Egyptian to differentiate how he or she uses English with different types of people. Gordon (2004) shows empowerment of immigrant women using English; English may empower Egyptians as linguistic capital, but it would be in different ways due to the fact that Arabic serves as the dominant language in Egypt while

English is a minority language. Finally, Vaish (2005) discussed a classroom environment with strained resources and time; the majority of the participants in the current study come from an educational background quite different than that of the Indian students; there may be linguistic identity issues regarding the use of English in the classroom, they may be of a completely different nature.

However salient English can be on the local level, literature has demonstrated ambivalent attitudes regarding learners' views of native versus NNSs, which leads into the final section of this review: whether speakers believe they own the English that they use.

English Ownership

Introduction

The following studies on ownership attempted to measure the construct of ownership through different means. The first two studies used questionnaires and interviews with either students or teachers of English. The following group of studies observed students as they read aloud and reacted verbally to different sentences. The final study investigated how English may impact the identities of different Saudi Arabian students.

Ownership Attitudes of Students and Teachers

The following studies included questionnaires and interviews in their research designs. Matsuda (2003) studied the ownership of Japanese students in the 12th grade, most of whom had lived or traveled abroad because they belonged to wealthy families. The researcher conducted 10 in-depth individual or pair interviews. They were generally aware of English as being a Lingua Franca, with 35% indicating that they would speak to

Americans using it and 23% saying they would speak to other Asians with it. However, they did not indicate that English belonged either to them or to speakers internationally but rather saw “English speakers” as those who are North Americans or the British. They also had little awareness of different varieties of English. Sifakis and Sougari (2005), discussed above, also asked teachers in the Greek school system specifically about language ownership. The teachers, both primary and secondary, indicated that ownership belonged not to them but to native speakers. Just as the students in Matsuda (2003), these teachers did not have much awareness of the growing work on varieties of English, and the researchers posited that more knowledge of this could change their views on ownership.

Ownership Through Studies of Dyads

The next group of studies measure ownership by analyzing reactions to different grammatically correct or incorrect sentences. Higgins (2003) was the first study to employ this method. These studies created dyads, or groups of listeners who share demographic characteristics, to listen to groups of sentences, some of which were grammatically correct and some of which were made incorrect. The researcher audio-recorded the respondents in the dyads as they judged whether the sentences were correct or not, focusing specifically on how the participants referenced their own use of English, how they used pronouns, and the use of modals. The researchers believed that if words such as the pronoun “I” and the modal “can” are used by the respondents, and if they refer to their own use of English, they are exhibiting ownership due to the fact that these refer to personal uses and judgments of English rather than exonormative ones. Respondents from the Outer Circle countries of India, Malaysia, and Singapore who were

in the United States for less than a year and enrolled in an ESL course participated in Higgins' (2003) research. The researchers used dyads based on country. Two dyads of native speakers also participated. Respondents listened to 10 grammatical sentences and 10 ungrammatical sentences. Although the Outer Circle dyads demonstrated more ownership than expected through their discussions, it was overall to a lesser degree than the two native-speaker dyads. In general, the Outer Circle dyads betrayed much more doubt about the English sentences than did the Inner Circle speakers.

Bokhorst-Heng, Alsagoff, McKay, and Rubdy (2007) modeled their study after Higgins (2003), however they focused specifically on Malay Singaporeans. These participants were divided into dyads based on age and class, which included old and young upper middle class, and old and young lower middle class. Overall, all dyads displayed the same uncertainty around judgments similar to what Higgins (2003) recorded, but this was especially the case for the older, upper middle class dyads. Younger dyads were more likely to rely on intuition. The authors believed that there was evidence of growing ownership among younger users of English in this population of Singaporeans. Another study discussed in Rubdy, McKay, Alsagoff, and Borkhorst-Heng (2008) focused on the Indian community in Singapore with similar dyads of younger and older participants divided between upper middle and lower middle classes. Similar to findings in Borkhorst-Heng, et al. (2007), while there was uncertainty expressed, the younger members of the study exhibited more ownership regarding their judgment of the English sentences than the older participants, who relied more on exonormative standards.

Ownership in Saudi Arabia

Finally, there has been research conducted in the Middle East related to English ownership. McLaren (2009) was interested in the motivations of male university students in Saudi Arabia who were taking English classes. Some students who participated in the study displayed hostility toward the language with worries that it may threaten their Arabic language. However, many students, especially high achievers, were able to learn English and incorporated it as an aspect of their identity without feeling any threat to their own language or culture. They were instrumentally motivated to learn English in order to do such things as discuss business and science, or to travel, however they would always use Arabic for personal aspects of life. For them, both languages comfortably “live” together within the learners’ individual identities.

Conclusion

The ownership research presented presents findings that may perhaps be found in the Egyptian context. First, NNS speakers of English generally confer ownership of English to the native speaker. Yet, there is evidence that at least some second-language users of English may be able to manipulate the language as though it was their own, especially among younger respondents who are growing up in a different era of English use than generations before them. Also, English may carry its own “division of labor” so that it does not compete with the speaker’s mother tongue and fits comfortably within his or her identity. This may also indicate a slow change in the way native speakers and other speakers of English are viewed over time.

Yet, the studies focus on participants in different quite different from Egypt. The studies that employed dyads were conducted in the United States and Singapore, two

countries that host different nationalities located in the Outer Circle that need to use English in a context where English is a, if not *the*, majority language. This presents a wholly different experience with English than the Egyptians in this study, who may use English in a society in which it is not a majority language. English is arguably also more entrenched for these Outer Circle countries than for Egypt, which is in the Expanding Circle. Egyptian participants may not have enough experience using both “standard” English along with a lower register such as is the case in Singapore in order for this kind of experiment to be successfully carried out. The Egyptian case may more resemble the experiences of the Saudi Arabian participants in McLaren (2009). That study used journal writing as the primary means of data collection to focus on motivation, but the interview questions for this study also give the participants room to talk about motivations and other related topics regarding English use.

Research Gaps Addressed by the Study

Work cited above shows a complex evolution in the use of English globally that currently continues. In different contexts, English serves important instrumental and social purposes. However, there is still a problematic relationship between non-native users of English with their English use that impedes a sense of ownership of the language. Yet, it is possible that with younger generations, this could be changing. This research attempted to uncover if these trends found in different contexts can also be found in Egypt.

First, regarding linguistic projection, the studies discussed how variations in English might demonstrate the standing of an interlocutor. Rindal (2010) discussed this in terms of different native accents of English. Studies in the Singaporean context

demonstrated how use of Singlish versus a more formal register of English might show “social distance” between speakers (Tan & Tan, 2008; Cavallaro & Chin, 2009). These different registers of English do not exist as such in Egypt, but work here attempts to uncover if use of English indicated this sense of distance in Egypt. Depending on the interlocutors involved, perhaps English closes or widens social distance.

Regarding English ownership, in the Singaporean context, Bokhorst-Heng, Alsagoff, McKay, and Rubdy (2007, 2008) and Rubdy, McKay, Alsagoff, and Bokhorst-Heng (2008) noted that younger respondents surveyed exhibited a higher degree of ownership of the English language than their older counterparts. While the present study does not specifically compare age groups, it does investigate if university-age respondents in the Egyptian context exhibit a similar trend. Also, this research attempts to uncover if Egyptians respondents are able to incorporate English into their identity. Saudi Arabian respondents in McLaren (2009) demonstrated a comfort with English due to its instrumental advantages. However, this study attempts to determine if Egyptians are able to exhibit ownership of the language in a more personal way, and thus more definitely “own” it. If Egyptians are comfortable sounding "Egyptian" while using English and/or using Arabic vocabulary throughout their English, this could display a degree of ownership of the English language in a way different from how it was revealed in other studies reviewed here.

Finally, while this study does not intend to ask Egyptian students specifically about their views of their use of English vis-à-vis native speakers of the language, perceptions of native speech are still an important aspect of the operational definitions studied here. The studies reviewed demonstrated an overall preference for native speaker

norms, although with caveats. For instance, students realized the practicality of maintaining a non-native rather than native accent while using English (Timmis, 2002). Teachers, depending on training, may even see an advantage at being an NNS when teaching English (Lurda & Huguet, 2003; Petrić, 2009). While it can possibly be assumed that Egyptian speakers of English would want to sound “native” based on studies in other contexts, it cannot be taken for granted that they would not want to identify as Egyptian when using English. This may be related to the degree of ownership a speaker may have. If one’s sense of ownership of the English language is high, it may also be the case that English is very important with his or her Egyptian or Arab identity. This could have long-term implications for how the English language is used, including whether or not exonormative, native-like language norms continue to serve as an important goal for Egyptian speakers of English.

Justifications for Research Questions

Research questions employed for this study are used to analyze specific issues with English in Egypt. Although English is used as a lingua franca within Egypt, as it is globally, Egypt does not have, or perhaps does not *yet* have, a defined English that it can call its own variety of World English. As seen in the literature review, ELF and particular world Englishes have the definition around them in order to conduct corpus studies or other kinds of analyses, yet “Egyptian” English as such does not yet exist to warrant such work. Yet, it is clear from the investigator’s own observations that English usage fulfills important roles for local purposes in Egypt. Therefore, the research questions themselves do not directly address Egyptian use of English as a possible variety of World English. In addressing linguistic power as well as ownership, it addresses two

constructs that may be important toward the fostering of Egyptian English that could be recognized as a variety of WE at some point.

The first research question explores the linguistic projection of English on a local level. Studies reviewed such as Rindall (2010), Tan and Tan (2008), and Cavallaro and Chin (2009) were concerned with how a particular accent or register of English may be perceived by a hearer in terms social distance. These and others having established that native-sounding accents or more formal registers of English may demonstrate greater social distance, and local accents or lower registers may lessen that distance, this research question goes from there to see how linguistic projection may be determined by how someone uses English. The concern this study starts from is if Egyptians use English as a means to foster relations with one another, a means of power or even empowerment (Gordon, 2004), or a means to widen social distance between interlocutors (Tan & Tan, 2008; Cavallaro & Chin, 2009). “Registers” of English is not applicable to Egypt at the time of this research. The study also does not specifically focus on accent as a means of linguistic projection, although participants in the study do bring up the importance of accent.

The second research question explores whether there is a sense of ownership, and if there is, what that may look like. The focus of this research question is not whether Egyptians own English in comparison to native speakers of English, but instead attempts to focus on their ownership of the language through their own perceived uses of the language. As in McLaren (2009), the question attempts to see how English is incorporated into their daily lives. As will be discussed, questionnaire responses indicate, similar as Matsuda (2003) and Sifakis and Sougari (2005), that participants confer

ownership on native speakers rather than themselves. It should be noted, though, that four questions in the questionnaire did reference the native speaker, but in the interviews, participants referred to “native speakers” rarely.

The final research question looks at the relationship between ownership and linguistic projection. Studies within the literature review do not specifically discuss the relationships between linguistic projection and linguistic ownership, however this relationship may be an important way to think about the continued evolution of the use of English in Egypt. The possibility that the existence of a linguistic projection of English could foster a sense of ownership, or vice-versa, is compelling, if admittedly somewhat circular. If such a relationship exists, which data collected indicates, this could uncover how English could have a “life of its own” in Egypt through how it is used. It could also imply that English is spread through the wants and needs of its users rather than through a sense of linguistic imperialism (Kachru, 1991; Phillipson, 1992).

Chapter III – Methodology

Research Design

Method Description

This project employed both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. This study is descriptive. This is appropriate because it is an exploratory study of specific attitudes toward English with no proposed hypotheses.

Sample Characteristics and Recruitment

The sample utilized was a convenience sample selected from the undergraduate student body of the American University in Cairo (AUC). Because AUC is an English-medium institution, students have varying proficiency in English. Candidates for admission who have not already attended an English-medium university must receive at least a score of 83 on the Internet-based Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or a 6.5 (including a 7 on the writing test) on the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) band score for full admission (“TOEFL Cut-Off Scores,” 2010). Close to half of the sample contained a sizeable number of students from AUC’s English Language Institute (ELI) and the other half from the greater student body. Students taking classes in ELI scored sufficiently high enough to enter AUC, however not high enough for full admission to the university (48-82 on TOEFL Internet Based Test [iBT], with a writing sub-score of less than 22, or 5-6 on IELTS, with a writing sub-score of less than 7). ELI provides English language training to these students (“English Language Institute,” 2011). Because the students are still developing English skills, their views of English may differ from those of students more confident in their abilities. Finally, most participants were Egyptians who primarily grew up in Egypt. This characteristic was not

a challenge to obtain since the overwhelming majority of students at the university are Egyptian (“Quick Facts,” 2011).

For this study, the investigator obtained close to 90 usable questionnaires. This questionnaire was distributed to the undergraduate student body. In order to collect the array of viewpoints that might exist regarding the research questions, the investigator publicized the questionnaire in ELI classes, and the chair of the Department of Rhetoric and Composition also publicized it to instructors in that department. A random selection of those who provided contact information was approached for a follow-up interview. Seven volunteered their time. This proved to be a manageable number regarding the transcription and analysis (including coding) that had to be undertaken.

AUC Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was granted to allow this project to be conducted. The application described the use of anonymous questionnaires as the primary means of data communication along with audio-recorded interviews. Because the questionnaire was collected electronically, the consent form was also submitted online as mentioned in the application. The treatment and eventual destruction of the raw data collected was also discussed. This application was submitted and approved in November 2011 (see Appendix C for the consent form).

Instruments and Procedures

The researcher collected attitudinal data via a questionnaire and follow-up interview. The questionnaire was distributed via email to the undergraduate student body of the institution where the study was conducted. Over 103 participants responded to the questionnaire; however the responses from a number of these participants were discarded either because the participant did not respond to the questions beyond the biographical

data, or the participant answered that he or she did not primarily grow up in Egypt. Therefore, questionnaires were used from 88 participants. It contained 31 closed-form items and two open-form items.

The questionnaire began with a series of biographic data questions. The specific questions in this section were selected based on suggestions from a faculty member who advised the investigator on the questionnaire items for both the piloting and final data collection phases. The following questions were divided into three major sections. The first set of questions regarded attitudinal questions toward using the English language. These questions came from a questionnaire investigating Kuwaiti attitudes toward English in Malallah (2000) judged to be appropriate for this study. The second section was comprised of questions that dealt with the issue of the projection of solidarity and power while using the English language. The investigator wanted to write items to measure linguistic projection as discussed in Cavallaro and Chin (2009), although that study used a matched guise technique instead of a questionnaire. The first question, “Overall, I feel confident when I speak English with other Egyptians”, was adapted from Glass (2009), a study that reviewed how Thais feel about writing to other Thais in English. Additional questions were inspired both from the discussion in Cavallaro and Chin (2009) as well as a discussion with a coordinator in the intensive English program at the English Language Institute. The third section included questions about English language ownership. The question, “When I speak English, I want people to know through the way I use English that I am Egyptian” was inspired from Kirkpatrick and Xu’s (2002) study of attitudes toward Chinese English. The item, “When I use English, I intentionally use Arabic words throughout my speech” was inspired from a similar

question about using English loanwords in Japanese in Matsuda (2003). The item, “I want to sound like a native speaker of English” was inspired from questions asked about accent in Sifakis and Sougari (2005). Finally, the item, “I want to speak grammatically correct English like a native speaker” was inspired by the acceptability judgment tasks in Bokhorst-Heng, Alsagoff, McKay, and Rubdy (2007). All other questions in this section are the result of discussions between the investigator and a faculty member in his department.

All Likert-scale items were designed as five-point Likert-scale items that range from Strongly “Agree” (1) to “Strongly Disagree” (5), including “Neutral” (3). The latter two sections each concluded with an open-ended question designed to obtain more detail around how the students thought about the issues. A first draft of questions was piloted and analyzed with a Cronbach’s alpha and an item-total correlation. The second draft of questions (see Appendix A) served as the final questionnaire.

The questionnaire requested an email address or mobile phone number for any participants who would be interested in being part of a follow-up interview. Interviewees were randomly selected from the pool of questionnaire participants who entered this information. Out of the 10 participants who were contacted, seven responded. Of the participants who were contacted and were interviewed, two indicated that they did not grow up primarily in Egypt. This group is not measured in the demographic or questionnaire results, but it was deemed important that they be included in a qualitative section because they do interact with other Egyptians, and thus may have insights important to this study. Interviews were conducted in a meeting room in the researcher’s department. This was determined to be the best place because it was quiet and also being

a neutral space in order to maximize the participants' comfort. Interviews generally lasted for 20 minutes, although two lasted for over 40 minutes.

The semi-structured interviews consisted of questions based upon an analysis of answers to the questionnaire. The interview questions were designed in part based on pre-determined questions and also based on data collected in the questionnaire. Issues discussed were reasons behind using English with certain Egyptians and not others, emotions or feelings behind using English, aspirations to speak like a native speaker, and following prescribed rules of English (see Appendix D). Most interviews lasted around 20 minutes, although two lasted for 40 minutes. The interviews were conducted in a quiet meeting room in the investigator's department and were audio-recorded.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were utilized to analyze data and were computed using SPSS for Windows version 20. Mean (average) scores of Likert scale questions were computed. T-tests were run to measure differences according to gender and whether participants were enrolled in ELI, where intensive English may be taken before full university enrollment.

Open-ended questionnaire answers and interview data was classified according to patterns determined by the answers given. The final coding scheme used for the interviews is included in Appendix D. Of course, it is important to note that qualitative data are sensitive to possible researcher effects. This researcher was particularly concerned about creating interview questions and collecting data in a way that may have artificially inflated a possible conclusion or pattern noted in the survey data. While all data collected and conclusions was the sole responsibility of the researcher, he elicited

advice to avoid this and, as discussed in more detail below, utilized a peer reviewer to review any possible issues.

Collection and Coding of Qualitative Data

Questionnaire

Some qualitative data was collected from the open-form items on the questionnaire. Most of the answers to the open-form question at the end of the linguistic projection section generally dealt with the prestige attached to English. These responses were divided between those that realized it was prestigious and had no specific opinion around that except that it “is what it is”, that prestige around English is linked (or not) to social class, and that the prestige around the language is not a positive thing. The ownership section of the questionnaire ended with an open-form question asking to elucidate their response to the final Likert-scale question, “It is okay if Egyptians use a version of English different from that used by native speakers”. Most responses were simply divided between agreement and disagreement with the statement, although responses regarding accent comprised an important subcategory regarding this data.

Interview

There were several steps for the collection and coding of the interview data, the result of which is detailed in Appendix D. First, throughout the three-week period that interviews were conducted and recorded, the investigator would transcribe the interviews as soon as possible after the interview was conducted. This was done using ExpressScribe transcription software for the Macintosh. Once all interviews were transcribed, the investigator read over all of them again in order to re-familiarize himself with the data and to note any patterns.

Next, the investigator read the transcriptions again, but this time in order to better define the coding he would use to classify the data. He started with anticipated coding he created before he conducted the interviews. Upon reading the transcriptions, he found that he needed to change much of the coding he anticipated as well as include more codes. By the time this re-read was complete, the investigator had divided the coding into five sections: a section for demographic information, a section for each research question, and a fifth section for information regarding English and the recent Egyptian revolution. In order to make similarities or differences between the different participants as transparent as possible, he created codes that would show dual or multiple sides to a topic (i.e. “Used English with friends outside of class” and “Did **not** use English with friends outside of class”; “English users as elitist” and English users as **not** elitist”). Of course, not all coding had a binary nature, but coding was designed to highlight this when seen to make comparisons easier.

Once the investigator was comfortable with his coding scheme, he created a document in which he listed for each code the utterances that applied along with the person who said it. Some utterances were categorized under more than one code. For instance, the following utterance was categorized under NFOC (Did not use English with friends outside of class) as well as IE (Went to school, used English, Arabic inside Egypt): “Yeah, that was like, that was the education I got here, but we mostly spoke in Arabic unless in classes, so, so only in classes. So like between each other, we spoke in Arabic as well normally”. Wherever utterances were coded under two different categories, that investigator noted that in the coding document. While compiling this final document, the investigator made some changes to the coding scheme, albeit minor.

With this final document, the investigator was able to compare the utterances in order to write about them in the results and discussion chapters.

Once these were written, the investigator then employed the help of a *peer reviewer*. The use of a peer reviewer with experience in the Egyptian context was seen as necessary because the investigator himself is not Egyptian and is new to the culture. Howaida Omar, a colleague in the MA TESOL program at AUC who served as this reviewer, is an Egyptian with a considerable degree of experience teaching English to tertiary-level students in Alexandria, Egypt. The motivation behind this process was in order to add rigor to the qualitative data given for this research, particularly because it serves an important role for both the results and discussion chapters. Misinterpretation of the data due to lack of familiarity with the culture could have severe negative impact on the implications for the research, and using the expertise of someone with more familiarity with the culture could be a way to minimize this possibility.

The investigator and the peer reviewer met twice to discuss the research. First, before the results and discussion chapters were written, the investigator showed the coding and some corresponding examples from the interview data to the reviewer. The reviewer asked some questions about the coding and data and then was given the coding as displayed in Appendix D in order to review it at home and become more familiar with it. For the second meeting, the investigator discussed the results and discussion chapters with the reviewer. First, he grounded them with his general findings from the questionnaire, and then talked about how the interview data elucidated or conflicted with questionnaire results. Finally, he spoke with the reviewer in detail about the major discussion points per research question, his main concern being that he did not

misinterpret the data to mean something that would not be reasonable for the Egyptian context. The reviewer did not believe there were any findings or interpretations that seemed implausible. She did, however, add details from her own experience that elucidated what was written and discussed the overall educational conditions in which Egyptian students may learn English. The investigator made some updates to the discussion chapter as a result.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

This chapter details the results collected from the instruments utilized for this study. The first major section of this chapter discusses different aspects of data collected from the questionnaire as well as reliability testing performed on this data. The second major section details the themes of interview data gathered after collection of the questionnaire results

Questionnaire Results

Introduction

This section details data collected from the questionnaire. Questionnaire results are displayed according to the different sections of the questionnaire, which include demographic data, attitudes toward English, projection of solidarity or power while using English, and English ownership. Descriptive statistics, calculated using SPSS for Windows version 20, as well as qualitative data from open-ended questions, are discussed. This section also discusses questions that had statistically significant differences based on gender, school background, and enrollment in a university-level intensive English program. The discussion concludes with the results of reliability testing performed on the questionnaire data.

Demographic Data

The questionnaire began with a brief series of biographical questions to get a sense of the general makeup of the participant population. First, it is clear that the number of female participants exceeded the number of males.

Table 1

Gender Characteristics of Participants

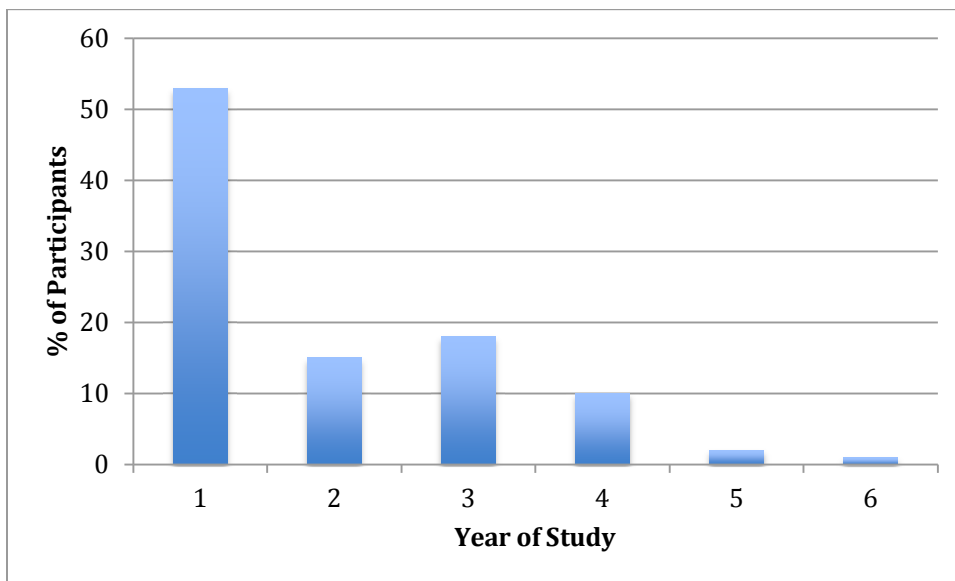
Gender	Number (N = 88)	%
Male	27	31
Female	61	69

This does not represent the proportion of male to female undergraduates as a whole at the university, which in 2011 was respectively 46.7 % and 53.3% according to the university's website ("Quick Facts," 2011).

As can be seen in Figure 1, over 50% of the participants were in their first year of study. As for those who have attended the English Language Institute, the section of the university devoted to intensive English preparation for provisionally admitted students who are required to improve their skills based on their TOEFL or IELTS scores, 47% responded that they attended, and 52% stated that they did not.¹ The participants were also asked if they went to private or public schools; 81% stated that they went to private school, and 17% stated that they went to public school. It must be noted that there was no way for a participant to indicate if they went to both private and public schools before becoming a university student. In order to gauge the participants' exposure to native speech, the questionnaire asked if they were ever taught by native speakers of English before going to university; 61% stated that they did, and 39% said that they did not.

¹ A coordinator in the English Language Institute noted that between 40% and 50% of students who are admitted to the university take classes at ELI.

Figure 1. Percentage of Participants by Year of Study



Participants were then asked to rate their own proficiency in English, either as superior, advanced, intermediate, or beginner. Figure 2 shows how the majority of them, close to 70%, rated themselves as advanced. Figure 3 displays the results of the question, “Please choose the most important reason to you for learning English,” with the given choices of education, get a job, Internet, or other. The majority, with 68%, chose the instrumental reason of “Education”, while no one chose Internet.

Participants who chose “other” were given the opportunity to explain what they meant by the answer. Out of these participants, fifteen answered; five responses referred to the “universal” or “global” nature of English use, four responses indicated either communication in general or with foreigners, and other responses included, “I love English,” and even “Why not?”

Figure 2. Self-Rated English Proficiency by Percentage

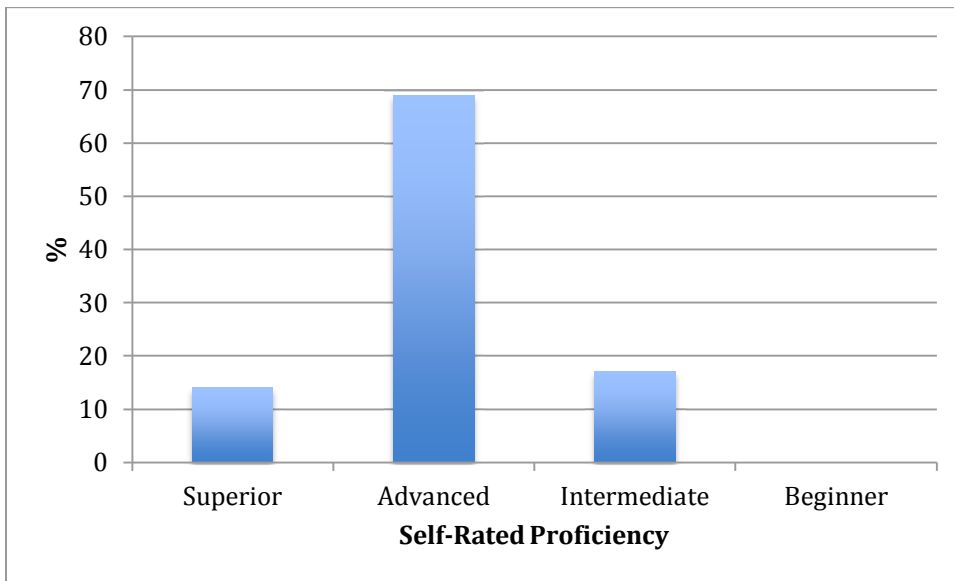
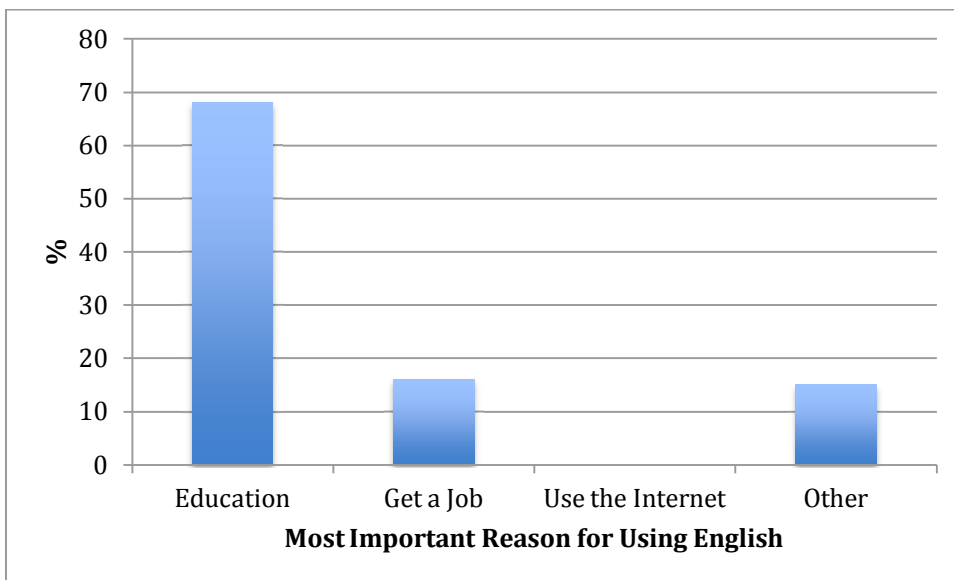


Figure 3. Most Important Reason for Learning English by Percentage



Therefore, it can be kept in mind that the participant population is primarily female, privately educated, generally confident in self-judgment of English level, and instrumentally motivated in learning English. Half of the participant population went

though some sort of intensive English training before becoming fully admitted undergraduates, indicating that the participant population includes those with stronger and perhaps weaker degrees of comfort with English, even if most are at an advanced proficiency level.

Attitudes Toward English

Mean responses to “I find the English language interesting,” and “I find the English language easy,” both scored at high agreement, with over 1.8 and 1.7 respectively. The statements “I do not like speaking English,” and “I do not like watching channels dominated by English-language programming” scored with lower agreement. Participants were ambivalent when answering that they found speaking English prestigious, with a more neutral mean of 2.68. There was rather strong agreement with the statement that participants would want to put their children in English school, but less strong with a mean score of 2.76 to the statement “When I speak English, I feel that I am more educated”. Participants appeared to like English and want their children to learn it, but mean scores also indicate some ambivalence in terms of the language’s supposed prestige.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Attitudes Toward English

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
I find the English language interesting.	1.82	.795
I do not like speaking English.*	1.9	.952
I do not like watching channels dominated by English-language programming.*	1.78	.999
I find the English language easy.	1.70	.749
I prefer the English language to the Arabic language.	3.16	1.38
I find speaking English prestigious.	2.68	1.08
I would rather read in English instead of Arabic.	2.44	1.06
When I speak English, I feel that I am more educated.	2.76	1.22
I hope to put my children in a private English school so that they speak English fluently.	1.81	1.05

*Reverse-scored items.

Linguistic Projection While Using English

Overall, the mean scores of the responses to this section indicate that participants generally do not consciously utilize English to project a sense of linguistic power among other Egyptians. There is general disagreement with the statements, “I start conversations with other Egyptians in English even if I do not know they speak English” and “I start conversations with other Egyptians in English even if I know they do not speak English”. There is a similar degree of disagreement with responses to the question, “I often do not use English because I am afraid that it will not be good as my peers’

English,” and slighter disagreement with the question, “My use of English in the classroom intimidates my classmates,” with a mean score of 3.73. There is general disagreement around the use of English as a means of power projection.

There also appeared to be ambivalence with using English as a means of solidarity with friends. There were mean scores of 3.16 and 3.01, respectively, to the questions, “Overall, I regularly speak to other Egyptians in English,” as well as, “If I know another Egyptian speaks English, I usually speak English with that person”. There was general disagreement with the statement, “I would rather be a friend with an Egyptian who speaks English instead of an Egyptian who speaks only Arabic or other languages,” as well as the statement, “I would rather speak with an Egyptian who speaks English than an Egyptian who speaks only Arabic or other languages”. The statement, “When I speak English with other English-speaking Egyptians, I feel closer to that person than if we spoke Arabic” received a mean score of 3.39, so there was at least slight disagreement with this statement. Finally, “Overall, I feel confident when I speak English with other Egyptians” received a mean score of 2.35.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Projection of Solidarity or Power Using English

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
Overall, I feel confident when I speak English with other Egyptians.	2.35	1.16
I regularly speak to other Egyptians in English.	3.16	1.17
If I know another Egyptian speaks English, I usually speak English with that person.	3.01	1.10
When I speak English with other English-speaking Egyptians, I feel closer to that person than if we spoke Arabic.	3.39	1.31
I would rather speak with an Egyptian who speaks English than an Egyptian who speaks only Arabic or other languages.	3.86	1.12
I would rather be a friend with an Egyptian who speaks English instead of an Egyptian who speaks only Arabic or other languages.	4.03	1.04
I start conversations with other Egyptians in English even if I do not know they speak English.	4.01	1.10
I start conversations with other Egyptians in English even if I know they do not speak English.	4.50	.78
I often do not use English because I am afraid that it will not be as good as my peers' English.*	2.13	1.17
My use of English in the classroom intimidates my classmates.	3.74	.94

* Reverse-scored item.

The section ended with a general open-ended question, “Is there anything you want to add about how English affects your relationships with other Egyptians, whether at AUC or elsewhere in Egypt?” Out of these participants, 25 recorded a response. Regarding English’s prestige, six responses indicated that it exists and that is simply the reality of the situation; six responses indicated that there is a prestige attached to the language, although this is not a positive thing. Regarding the fact that English’s place is the “reality of the situation”, one participant, focusing on the campus environment, noted, “When other people feel that my english language is perfect they tend to respect me more as a student especially the professors”. Another participant repeated this statement, but also indicated a link with social class: “use of English in classrooms led to the use of the English language among Egyptians, especially high class category in order to differentiate themselves from others.” Interestingly, a participant problematized focusing too much on class: “Not everything can be attributed to class issues, etc. Sometimes, it is merely more effective from a utilitarian point of view to convey things in two languages rather than one. Therefore, it is understandable that other individuals who speak the same languages as I do are the people with whom I get along with best because they speak both English and Arabic regardless of nationality”.

Other participants noted that there is a degree of prestige to speaking the language, but they indicated that this is not a positive thing and needs to change. One participant indicated, “That the use of English words, even among non-speakers of the language is evident everywhere in Egypt. I think there is a certain air of prestige attached to it by some when there probably shouldn't be, we need to start learning to have pride in our language.” There were degrees of negativity indicated about these people perceived

to use it as a marker of prestige, for instance, “in most cases i consider egyptians who know arabic well but always speak in english to be less humble and more of a snob or snotty or a classic case of rich person or not very egyptian or plain trivial.” Another participant indicated that it is “demeaning to our culture” to speak English to people who are native Arabic speakers and used very strong language to describe anyone who fit that category.

One participant noted, “I hope that the education in Egypt could give better concern to English”. Finally, one participant highlighted the type of negative personal issues that can arise when knowing or using English that may seem to be at the expense of Arabic: “There are people in my family who I can no longer have a relationship with because I find it very uncomfortable speaking in Arabic. Sometimes people think I am uneducated because when I try to speak Arabic I often translate my thoughts from English to Arabic so therefore it sounds odd and sometimes does not make sense.”

This section indicates that there is ambivalence regarding linguistic projections of power or solidarity when using English. Participants do not appear to “require” English for their relationships, nor does English use necessarily mark close relationships. Participants also generally disagree that their English intimidates others as well as that they are intimidated by others’ English use. They also seem aware of negative perceptions of English use and want to avoid it, although using English can be advantageous.

English Ownership

There was also mixed results between questions in this section. First, there was rather strong agreement with questions that dealt with exonormative English norms with

the questions, “I want to sound like a native speaker of English,” and “I want to speak grammatically correct English like a native speaker”. However, with a mean score of 2.38, there was more agreement than not with the question, “In general, nonnative speakers of English should be able to determine standards and rules in the English language”.

Regarding identity, with a mean score of 3.62, there was stronger disagreement with the question, “When I speak English, I want people to know through the way I use English that I am Egyptian.” On the other hand, participants generally agreed with the question, “My use of English does not threaten my Arab identity”. With a 2.60, participants expressed slight agreement with the statement, “I am as comfortable speaking English as Arabic;” yet, there was also some disagreement with the statement, “My spoken English is better than my spoken Arabic” with a score of 3.54. There was also slight disagreement with the statement, “When I use English, I intentionally use Arabic words throughout my speech”.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for English Ownership Questions

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
I am as comfortable speaking English as Arabic.	2.60	1.12
My spoken English is better than my spoken Arabic.	3.54	1.150
When I speak English, I want people to know through the way I use English that I am Egyptian.	3.63	.88
When I use English, I intentionally use Arabic words throughout my speech.	3.51	1.00
I want to sound like a native speaker of English.	2.04	1.11
I want to speak grammatically correct English like a native speaker.	1.56	.77
My use of English does not threaten my Arab identity.	2.11	1.07
In general, nonnative speakers of English should be able to determine standards and rules in the English language.	2.38	1.05
If listeners think my English is different from that of native speakers, I do not care.	2.57	1.11
I have the right to use English as is most comfortable to me, even if that means breaking rules of the language.	3.29	1.07
I own English just like I own Arabic.	2.86	1.07
It is okay if Egyptians use a version of English different from that used by native speakers.	2.96	1.11

This section of the questionnaire ended with questions that explicitly asked about issues related to English language ownership. The mean scores for the statement, “I have the right to use English as is most comfortable to me, even if that means breaking the rules of the language”, indicated slight disagreement with a 3.29. “It is okay if Egyptians use a version of English different from the used by native speakers”, on the other hand, indicated slight agreement with a mean score of 2.86. The statement, “I own English just like I own Arabic”, indicated slight agreement with a score of 2.86.

This section also concluded with an open-ended question asking to explain responses given to the statement, “It is okay if Egyptians use a version of English different than that used by native speakers.” There were 36 responses. Out of these responses, 13 disagreed with this statement. For instance, one participant indicated, “I disagree the Egyptians should stick to the rules of the English language just like they are”. However, 16 of the participants were more open to the idea to some degree. Four participants seemed to conflate, or at the very least associate, following English rules with accent; through that focus, they indicated comfort with Egyptian English speech not matching that of native speakers. An example of this is: “It is perfectly fine to have an accent. There are so many native speakers of English who do not use grammar correctly and are not always able to read or spell so many words. On the other hand, I know so many Egyptians who can speak and write in English perfectly, yet, they do have an accent.” Another participant responded: “Arabic is the first language for Egyptians and that means that if their accent while using English is different than those who have English as their first language, natives, that is totally fine. However, it is a big problem if they have weak Arabic while it is their first language.”

Some participants felt uncomfortable with the idea of a specific Egyptian English, but gave room for it nonetheless. One participant stated, “If they're making up their own 'English' then its not acceptable to me, however, if its like an inside joke or parody then i don't mind. To me, its more like a 'if you're gonna learn the language then you might as well do it right' stance.” Another participant indicated that this was okay as long as a standard English was used for educational purposes, and one other participant indicated it was okay for purposes of understanding. A final interesting response even noted that learners of Arabic would have their own versions of Arabic, so learners of English would have their own.

Finally, two responses indicated that change or adaptation is likely to happen regardless as people use a language. One participant noted, “Therefore, it is not a matter of whether I think it is okay or not because it will happen in an organic way whether I like it or not, making my opinion irrelevant”. In a related statement, one other speaker conflated accent and grammar when saying, “But I believe that non native speakers should not imitate an accent and speak grammatically correct English.” This participant wanted to ensure that speakers speak correctly but try not force themselves in “faking being native speakers”. So, while, some participants believe in trying to achieve a native norm, others do not believe the natural course of language learning would necessitate this.

Gender Differences

Possible gender differences were explored for two main reasons. First, several colleagues, including a writing instructor and two participants in the study, expressed their belief that women tend to use English more than men. Second, the majority of

participants in the study were women, and women made up six out of the seven interviewees.

Table 5

Questionnaire Items of Significant Difference Between Male and Female Participants

Item	Mean of Male Participants	Mean of Female Participants	Significance
I prefer the English language to the Arabic language.	3.77	2.9	.009
I would rather read in English instead of Arabic.	2.85	2.26	.012
When I speak English, I feel that I am more educated.	2.33	2.95	.031
Overall, I feel confident when I speak English with other Egyptians.	2.78	2.18	.053
I regularly speak to other Egyptians in English.	3.74	2.93	.002
I want to speak grammatically correct English like a native speaker.	1.29	1.67	.055

A t-test was run for all of the Likert-scale items, against the variable of gender. There was a significant difference between three responses in the attitudinal section. The first, “I prefer the English language to the Arabic language” had a mean of 3.77 for male participants and 2.89 for female participants, with a significant difference at $p = .007$. “I would rather read in English instead of Arabic” had a mean of 2.85 of males and 2.2 for female participants and was significant at $p = .015$. Finally, for “When I speak English, I feel that I am more educated,” male participants scored at a mean of 2.33 and female

participants had a mean of 2.95 with a significant difference at $p = .028$. Female participants indicated that they agreed more with preferring English to Arabic as well as to read in English instead of Arabic, but males agreed more with the statement that they felt more educated when using English.

In the linguistic power section of the questionnaire, there were two questions with significant differences. First, “Overall, I feel confident when I speak English with other Egyptians” had a mean score of 2.78 for males and 2.18 for females and was significant at $p = .034$. “I regularly speak to other Egyptians in English” was significant at $p = .004$ with a mean of 3.74 for males and 2.92 for females; this indicates that female participants may use English more than their male counterparts.

In the ownership section of the questionnaire, only one statement approached a significant difference. “I want to speak grammatically correct English like a native speaker”, at $p = .055$, with male participants’ mean score at 1.29 and female participants at 1.67. The female participants tend to agree more that they are more confident with English and use the language more, yet they agreed less than men, albeit slightly, that they wanted to speak grammatically correct English.

Differences By English Language Institute Attendance

Similar testing was run based on whether participants entered the English Language Institute or not in order to see any differences that might occur between those who entered the university with full admission versus those who needed more English training before starting full-time university coursework. Only item 22, “My spoken English is better than my spoken Arabic” was significantly different. Both those who attended English courses and those who did not indicated disagreement with this

question, but those who did attend disagreed more so with a mean score of 3.91 versus a mean score of 3.26 for those who never took the intensive English classes.

Relationship Between Identity and Ownership

The third research question was concerned with whether there was a relationship between identity and ownership. In order to see if this is the case, a Pearson correlation was run for the item totals between the linguistic projection and ownership sections. With $r^2 = .07$, there is not a measureable relationship that can be established via the responses to the questionnaire. Interview data does suggest a possible linkage between the two as will be discussed.

Questionnaire Reliability Testing

Because the data was collected using Likert scales, a Cronbach's Alpha was performed which measured at $\alpha = .816$, with 22 cases being excluded because not all Likert-scale questions were answered. This is a high reliability measurement, which also seemed to confirm that reverse scoring was conducted appropriately.

A Pearson correlation was also run with all of the questions and demonstrated reliability with in the questionnaire. Only item 29, "If listeners think my English is different from that of native speakers, I do not care", resulted with a negative correlation against the total average. Finally, each section total was correlated with the item total. No negative correlations were found with either section against the item total, suggesting that no section needed to be discarded.

Interview Data

Introduction

Interviews were semi-structured in nature and covered how participants use English or witness English use on campus versus off-campus in order to deal with power or solidarity while using English, Egyptian ownership of English, and the role of English during and after the January 2011 Egyptian Revolution. Interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed for coding. Codes are available in Appendix C. Complete transcriptions for the participants are included in Appendix D. Note that where there are quotations from the interview below, the most pertinent part was taken. The bracketed lines allow the reader to read from the entire section of the interview that related to the ideas discussed.

Out of the participants, six were female and one was male. The two participants who lived outside of Egypt for much of their lives had some schooling in Egypt; so all participants had experience with Egyptian education to some degree. Only one participant went to a public school, and only for a portion of pre-secondary education; all other participants went to private schools before reaching the university level. One participant studied abroad in the United States for a year during high school; none of the other participants had any significant experience living in a country where English could be considered a native language.

Table 6

Backgrounds of Interview Participants

Name	Primary Country or Countries of Residence	Public or Private School Background	Primary Language Used with Immediate Family
Amira	Egypt, Kuwait	Private	English
Nour	Egypt	Public and Private	Arabic
Nada	Egypt	Private	English
Nagwa	Egypt	Private	Arabic and English
Amal	Egypt	Private	Arabic
Heba	Egypt, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates	Private	Arabic
Ahmed	Egypt	Private	Arabic

Before reviewing the questionnaire data, there are several things that the reader should be aware. First, as previously mentioned, while the questionnaire analysis only included data from participants that answered “Yes” to the question, “I am an Egyptian who grew up primarily in Egypt,” there were two interviews with participants who answered “No” to this question. Second, while this study has focused on English, its relationship with Arabic came up repeatedly, both due to the participants’ answers as well as some questions that probed Arabic use and learning vis-à-vis English. Fourth, all names used are pseudonyms.

Finally, the investigator realized that on the surface, the relationship of English to the recent Egyptian Revolution does not appear to answer the research questions and may be seen as taking advantage of a recent event of importance to global affairs. However, due to sometimes lively discussion of this topic with Egyptian colleagues that did seem to relate to the topics studied here, the investigator decided that this would be a topic that could enrich the data collected toward answering the research questions.

Childhood Use of English

Regardless of whether the participant went to school in or outside of Egypt, or whether that school was public or private, all participants, even if not exclusively, had to use English within the classroom environment before they reached the university level. Heba, who went to school in Arabian Gulf countries, indicated intense focus on English in school:

I grew up, I went to Saudi Arabia, where I attended an American school, where all our teachers were Americans, and actually, I was like, since Kindergarten, since grade G I was there. And, if we spoke any words in Arabic, we had to pay one riyal [laughs]. (Interview Six, 7 – 13).

She indicated that this was in part due to the dominance of English in Gulf society. Participants who went to schools in Egypt indicated that there was a focus on English, however with varying intensity. Nada went to a private British school in Egypt and made a similar observation of punishment for using Arabic in class. However, Amira, who went to school in Egypt after attending school in the Gulf, made the following observation: “And even though my school taught things like math and social studies and stuff in English it still wasn't as strong because there were all like it wasn't an international or big school so all teachers were Egyptian” (Interview One, 15-20). Nour, who went to an Egyptian public school after going to private school, suggested that English instruction was even less emphasized in the public school system, although reading and writing in English were considered important in the Egyptian public curriculum.

The majority of participants indicated that Arabic was the language of use at home. Amira's family did use English in part due to the importance of using English with other expatriates: "so when I said when I was growing up they speak to me in English, I guess it was stronger back then because of the international community that they were put in" (Interview One, 207-209). Yet, this was not the case for most. For instance, Heba's family used Arabic at home while living in a Gulf country: "So, I think, that's like, for me personally, because my parents, like, stressed on the fact that we have to speak in Arabic at home and stuff" (Interview Six, 32-34). Amal and Heba indicated having to use Arabic at home because their parents had low English skills, or not at all. Amal said, "It was a bit different because most people my age have parents who speak English. My parents do not know how to speak English, so yeah, it was all about school, only school" (Interview Five, 5-7). Amira indicated that Arabic was spoken in the home since she became a university student because her English was advanced enough for her not to have to practice it at home anymore.

Participants who addressed the issue of what language they used with friends growing up noted they mainly used Arabic. Heba said, "Yeah, that was like, that was the education I got here, but we mostly spoke in Arabic unless in classes, so, so only in classes" (Interview Six, 55-57). Amira mentioned that she only used Arabic with the friends she is still in contact with from Egyptian school.

Participants generally indicated that use of English is a classroom affair. Two of the participants used English with family or for interaction with others in their society; however, Arabic was by and large stated to be the language of choice in non-educational

interactions. As will be seen, it seems the way participants used English changed as they moved to the environment of an English-medium university.

Use of English Within the University Environment

In terms of use of English in the campus environment, participants seemed quite aware of who they used English with versus who they did not. First, participants with Gulf backgrounds indicated that English use was often an indicator of friendship. For instance, Amira stated:

but I honestly clicked with the people who had sort of similar backgrounds like me. They all lived in the Gulf or lived abroad. They're all Egyptians or Arabs but they have the same, they used to live in an international community kind of thing. (Interview One, 39-45).

Yet, as time went on, they employed more Arabic or a mixture of Arabic and English. Heba said, “My friends, my close friends, we usually speak in Arabic. Sometimes, we have some sentences in English, like, they're just phrases that we cannot translate or something, or we're used to” (Interview Six, 201-205).

Participants who have lived in Egypt for most of their lives implied that Arabic or a mixture of Arabic and English is still the language of choice for interaction with friends. Nagwa emphasized this when she said, “And people who don't like talking in English and they don't even mention anything using anything in English, so I don't” (Interview Four, 37-41). However, most participants indicated that English could be heard in their speech. Ahmed indicated this mix of English within his Arabic: “But, um, I think that is kind of, the main language and you inter-like, uh, different expressions, or, in English, kind of the main structure is always in Arabic for all of us, like how we think”

(Interview Seven, 56-65). Nagwa stated that students who are more proficient in other European languages other than English may choose to speak English anyway because they are still stronger in it than their spoken Arabic.

Using either Arabic or English also often depended on knowledge of the interlocutor's profession on campus. The investigator would generally give the example of an Egyptian professor outside of class or a staff member of the registrar's office, and responses were that English would be primarily used in these interactions. For instance, Nour said that her general interactions with staff, including places like the Registrar's office, were completed in English. On the other hand, participants indicated that any conversations with people such as food workers, custodial staff, or security guards would be in Arabic. Yet, not all participants try to follow this code of speaking with higher-level staff in English and laborers in Arabic strictly. Amal stated, "I use Arabic but they sometimes they insist there; they respond by English. So I have to make the next response in English" (Interview Five, 39-44). Ahmed had tried to force Arabic in his conversations with staff: "when I'm in the administration, and I talk to them in Arabic, they talk to you in English, which I don't like very much. I always try to kind of make it Arabic again" (Interview Seven, 73-76). Nagwa made the point that she does not feel the need to use English with those in the university administration because it is in Egypt, regardless of its "American" distinction.

In terms of the classroom environment, the participants were asked about reactions to English use in the class between those of lower skilled English versus higher skilled English. First, there were reports that some students may feel intimidated by the English usage of others at first, although this changed the longer they were at university.

Nour stated, “Yeah, at the beginning, yes, it was. I didn't understand why they would do it, why do they do it” (Interview Two, 33-38). Ahmed did not indicate that it was a problem for him when he entered, but he saw it among others: “I think after three years, they tend to see past that. Even though they themselves are not very comfortable using the language, they'll tolerate it” (Interview Seven, 48-52).

In explicitly asking if participants felt that others were intimidated by their use of English in class, there were mixed responses. Nour and Ahmed reported never having experienced that, although other participants did pick up on negative reactions from peers, particularly early in their university education. Amira said, “when I speak it is always in English so sometimes I get that weird vibe like we're having a conversation in Arabic or are you speaking in English kind of thing” (Interview One, 75-86). Amal said she would switch languages based on the interlocutors around her: “Assuming that I know they are uncomfortable, I try to speak in Arabic so that they don't feel that” (Interview Five, 72-75). Nada noticed this tension between Egyptian and foreign, study abroad students rather than between Egyptians of different proficiency levels.

Participants also discussed how or even if the use of English defines or adds to their general identity as students at that institution. The participants who studied for a time in the Gulf answered in the affirmative. Amira stated, “Uh, so I think that is part of the identity because here you'll find people who are just speaking in English. We're talking university-wise” (Interview One, 125-129). Heba confirmed this with, “No, I think “English speaker” is important. As an AUCian, it's how people identify us. Or, we identify ourselves as well” (Interview Six, 301-302). Participants who studied predominantly in Egypt demonstrated more ambivalence toward this issue. For instance,

Nagwa saw the level of English and extent of using English, not just knowing English, as the marker of a member of the university:

Well, it is the case that in AUC, English is thought umm, or they make sure that you know English, at a level that is higher than anywhere else. At other universities English of course is a must, but you reaching a certain level, or you knowing a certain, um, knowing English as, to a certain level or to a certain extent is essential here for studying. (Interview Four, 98-114).

Amal agreed with the idea that English is an important aspect of the university identity, but she noted that different students use English to different degrees, with some trying to project themselves as belonging to a different culture (albeit unsuccessfully):

I know so many people who know how to speak English perfectly, but they don't use it when they don't need it. But there are others who are, it shows from the way they speak that you're not, that's not your culture. (Interview Five, 113-119).

There were several participants who did not believe English was a major aspect of their identity as students at this institution. Nour states that English marks an elite identity, but not necessarily from the university: "Not AUCian, but like you think that you are at the top or you're from an elite, inference from the other people" (Interview Two, 127-131). Nada believed there was too much diversity in students' English proficiency levels for English usage to be an important aspect of identity: "No. You have all of the levels of English being spoken here, from the, you know, grammatically, you know, very correct and what not, and then until you know the...not so good" (Interview Three, 143-145). Finally, Nagwa pointed out the problematic issue of English

as a part of the identity due to the fact that in reality, many people spoke English without any connection to that university.

A popular portrayal of the university is that as a haven for the children of elites. It was already noted that Nour referred to the idea that English can be used as a marker of belonging to the elite. Yet, other participants specifically linked the aspect of university identity, English use, and elitism. Amal indicated that some students may “force” their English in order to belong to the identity: “She's all Arabic and then say, "Oh, its like" [in a high-pitched voice in English]. I'm like, "Why are you doing that?" Its like they push themselves to fit in, as an AUCian” (Interview Five, 113-119). Nada may not have been fully convinced that English was a vital aspect of the identity, but believed there was a view of the students as elitist that may have some sort of connection to English usage: “I think that there is more connotation to it than just English-speaking Egyptians, its more like English-speaking snobby people that don't even know, you know” (Interview Three, 148-153). Finally, Ahmed did not directly address elitism while answering this question; however he did indicate that English within the campus environment creates a “culture” of English use that certain students would not be able to tap into, particularly for those who did not grow up in urban environments in Egypt where English is more accessible.

The interview data above indicates that there are social cleavages that may develop on campus when focusing on English language usage. For some, the use of English marks friendship, although others use Arabic with perhaps some English elements with friends. In terms of English with administration and staff, or Arabic use with campus laborers, language use can be predetermined by job. Finally, English may

indicate elitism, or perhaps better put, hearers *assume* elitism. Some of these trends can also be seen in how the participants use, or witness the use, of English off campus.

The Use of English Off-Campus in Egypt and Perceptions of English

The use of English (or Arabic) off campus could be the result of social or instrumental reasons. Amal and Heba stated that they would only use English with friends; Amira noted that she would only use English with those off campus that she would use English with on campus, unless she was at a job interview or other similar function that required a demonstrated use of English. Ahmed mentioned the idea of off-campus spaces where English may be used or where social circles would be expected to use it:

I mean, if you are in this circle, then it's the norm to say certain things in English. Well not the norm, but this is how they would say it, and it is also what you would also say it. If the statement was in Arabic, people would ask "Why are you using it?" (Interview Seven, 180-188).

Participants also indicated that English would be used in case it was easier to express something in English instead of Arabic, as Nada indicated:

Like, umm, I'll speak in Arabic and if there is a word that I can't seem to get into Arabic I'll say it [in English] and the person in front of me normally like they have some sort of background in English. (Interview Three, 117-122).

Nagwa used English to a greater extent with friends because of deficits in their ability to express themselves in Arabic:

Yes, I have some friends who, they're Egyptian but their Arabic is very, um, isn't very developed because they either lived abroad or they lived in Egypt but in

German school or in French school. So their Arabic, they can talk in Arabic, but they can't really communicate, express themselves in Arabic, so they usually talk in English. (Interview Four, 61-67).

In this example above, English may mark friendship, although English is also necessary for a deficit of expression in Arabic.

Otherwise, participants choose to use Arabic in their daily interactions off campus. Amira highlighted the importance of Arabic with her continuing friendships with people she met while in school in Egypt when she said, "So I've never really tried to sort of change the switch in English when I am talking to them because I for some reason I get this feeling of, like, I'm being snobby. So I maintain my Arabic" (Interview One, 103-114). Amal specifically pointed out that a random person's likelihood of being an Arabic speaker is great if walking the streets of Cairo. Heba made a point of using Arabic off campus in order to practice it for instrumental purposes: "I try to use Arabic as...because I have to use it anyway when I start working here. Um, like, I'll have to know actually good Arabic" (Interview Six, 263-266). One other participant also highlighted the importance of knowing both written and spoken Arabic for future job opportunities.

As previously alluded, a reason for not using English off-campus may be a perception that English use exhibits elitism from the speaker. The theme of English as a marker of social status came up relatively often whether in discussing English use on or off campus. Participants referenced this in response to the question if the use of English plays an important part in the identity as students at their institution. Nour did not believe that English was a vital aspect of the identity, but indicated that English use did

influence others perceptions of that person: “Not AUCian, but like you think that you are at the top of you’re from an elite, inference from the other people” (Interview Two, 127-131). Although she categorized herself as one of the students who would be intimidated by others’ English use, as time went on, she seemed less intimidated by these speakers and instead adjusted her speech behaviors into this on-campus norm: “Uh, maybe because all the people speaking in English and like people who are speaking in Arabic like me are very uh, very small number, so its like maybe, um, like the Romans... [meaning, “when in Rome, do as the Romans do”] (laughing), Yeah...” (Interview Two, 49-52). This reflects Ahmed’s observation of how other students acclimate themselves to the English environment in the university.

Other participants simply noted how the use of English denoted some sort of superior standing among others, or at least a more positive view of that person by others in the university community. Nada did not want to sound “snobby” by using English: “And so umm, its considered snobby if you're speaking, if you’re constantly speaking English it's considered really snobby. Yeah, so with certain people I'll try, I'll try, I will make sure that I speak in Arabic” (Interview Three, 108-113). Nagwa reiterated how she did not want the sense of superiority with English to make others feel uncomfortable: “It does send the message that I'm superior or I'm trying to be superior. So, I don't try talk English outside AUC a lot unless someone tries to talk in English” (Interview Four, 148-157). Even more directly, two participants indicated that language choice is tied directly to the social class that the person is in. Heba uses English with people who she thinks these classifications are important: “Some people classify it as which class you are in, you speak that language. So, some people see it that way. Um, so these are the people I

would speak English to” (Interview Six, 195-205). Ahmed discussed how use of English can denote your class and create benefits for the speaker when he said:

Um, so if you're in a restaurant or a club, as you said, and maybe you can't convince you to let you in, if they hear you talking in a different language, they'll probably perceive you better. They'll probably think, oh you know, you belong here because you belong to this social class. (Interview Seven, 197-207).

Participants also addressed how English may affect their friendships. Nour, who stated that she usually uses Arabic with her friends, did not believe that it affected her friendships. Heba pointed out that it could depend on the nature of the friendship, implying that English may denote closer relationships:

But some people, but my close friends, because of the expressions I have to use sometimes, they have to know some English, you know. So, that's, yanni, Its just comments, by the environment I lived in, the place, the place I go to school in, so these are usually my close friends. (Interview Six, 362-367).

Nagwa thought that English could impact relationships due to differing proficiencies between two friends:

...if I'm talking English with people that are not on the same level of the language, they might feel awkward or they might not, they might think I'm superior, so, so that would affect the relationship, that would affect the friendship. (Interview Four, 166-176).

While Amal did not see this in the university setting, she did witness how classmates in school before university would be made fun of by peers if their English seemed more advanced. However, Heba said that people would make fun of others' English not due to

this view of being advanced speakers, but instead due to the Egyptian influences that hearers may pick up in a speaker's English output, such as an Egyptian accent or Arabic grammatical forms in English speech.

Ownership of English

The investigator chose to introduce the concept of language "ownership" to the participants in order to help them understand why the following questions were being asked. While the investigator was initially worried that this could determine answers, it in fact did not seem to, due to the plurality of responses given during this part of the interview.

Participants were asked if when speaking with other Egyptians, there is attention given to making sure they follow the rules of English as they understand them from a "textbook" sense, or if simply being understood is all that is important. Half of the participants indicated that following the rules, or at least their notion of the rules, was important. Nour and Nagwa stated it is necessary in order to continually improve English skills. Nagwa went on to defend the need to adhere to English rules because of a lack of opportunity to use English in the Egyptian context: "I've been abroad and having people talking in English all around is just makes you remember the, all the vocab, remember all the ways, the grammar, punctuation, I don't know, even the writing punctuation, and pronunciation" (Interview Four, 236-244). Ahmed discussed the need to follow rules in writing because of how others would view a writer using incorrect English: "If you write um, you know, if you're not writing, you know, proper punctuation, without proper, you know, not using language properly, I think you're perceived as being less educated" (Interview Seven, 241-246).

Participants seemed open to adjusting English, or changing English in some way so that others of lesser proficiencies could understand. Although the investigator was primarily thinking of grammar when asking about this topic, two participants mentioned pronunciation as an important aspect of adjustment. Amira, who indicated that she tries to follow standard English as much as possible, would adjust words with Egyptians as necessary. She gave this example:

Sometimes if I say "a hamburger" really fast someone who is not really good at English would be like, "What, excuse me?" so I have to say like "hamburger" [she then uttered an Arabic-influenced pronunciation of the word]; how they'd say it in Egyptian Arabic, you know?" (Interview One, 183-196).

Nagwa, who wanted to adhere to standard English rules, also expressed acceptance with flexibility of pronunciation as long as understanding between the Egyptian speakers of English is preserved.

Some responses on the topic of adjustment would perhaps match the response of a native speaker of English. After Nada stated that she would simplify vocabulary with another Egyptian when using English, she then went on to describe her ignorance of English grammar: "I don't really pay attention to grammar because I wasn't really taught it. Like I wasn't taught like an infinitive verb" Interview Three, 222-226). Heba linked American slang as an important inspiration for an "Egyptian English" that she uses with her friends:

Because we happen to watch a lot of, eh, movies and TV shows, and all in English, so its usually the more the slang language, and um, as I told you, a lot like with my close friends we use the Egyptian English version which is usually,

has a lot of grammar mistakes, but we don't really concentrate on that at all (Interview Six, 430-438).

Heba then went on to say that comprehension was more important in her speech than precision.

Participants were also asked if they corrected others' English or knew of instances when this would happen. For those who indicated that they do correct others' English, they would only do so with their friends. Amira and Nour would be careful of who they would do this with in order not to come across as superior to anyone, and Nour emphasized that she would never correct her siblings. Heba, who noted that she and her friends do not worry about speaking correct English, did mention that at the most they would poke fun at each other if any incorrect English was uttered; she noted otherwise that it would be very offensive to correct someone's English.

Participants noted that they often had to use English to express things that they found difficult, or even not possible, to express in Arabic. Nour, who stated that she used Arabic in her general interactions, indicated the need to use English for certain feelings, even very personal ones when she said, "Eh, I think yeah, like personal level, like, um, for example like if I'm sad or I have a problem or something, maybe I start, like... Maybe because the English vocabulary are more expressive" (Interview Two, 134-138). Heba, referring back to their use of English for humorous speech, pointed out how friends would use English with an Egyptian accent for humor. She also talked about the need to use English to express English words that have become more commonly used among Egyptians: "Pepsi means the fizzy drink; Pepsi doesn't not mean the Pepsi itself, or the coke. So you categorize Miranda, anything under the Pepsi. Even within the English

language, we have our own language” (Interview Six, 287-293). These participants displayed how they perceived the need to use English for personal issues or for rather mundane, day-to-day, tasks.

English was also employed for instrumental reasons of importance to the participants when Arabic could not be. Heba and Ahmed specifically talked about how they need to use English to talk about subjects in their field of Political Science. Heba said, “when speaking about politics or something and I'm trying to use things I, I got to learn in class, it's very hard to translate in Arabic” (Interview Six, 377-393). Ahmed also noted the need to use English to discuss topics in his field, but he thought it was necessary to use English to talk in general about politics and specifically issues in a student's own education: “like if you're going to talk about, um, more, um, anything to do with usually your education, uh, not just you're education, but like, you know, politics, or, you know, you then switch to English” (Interview Seven, 112-116). Whether someone would speak in English or Arabic could depend on expression of ideas or feelings. Finally, Nada indicated that she was more comfortable overall in using English, because friends made fun of the way she spoke Arabic.

A final issue explored related to ownership of English was how English or Arabic affected the participants' Arab or Egyptian identity. Many of these responses regarding identity were given in response to a question if the participants tried to improve their Arabic because of or in reaction to their constant use of English. Heba indicated that knowing English gave her the linguistic capital to tell others about her experiences as an Arab or Egyptian. She was in the United States during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, and knowing English in that situation proved to be an advantage: “So, speaking English,

makes me, like, makes it more possible for me to tell the people about our own culture, especially since the revolution was happening at the same time” (Interview Six, 181-186). At the very least, English did not serve as a negative impact on her identity: “So I don't think English has any, like, English has any affect on my identity as an Egyptian” (Interview Six, 178-188). Ahmed went further and indicated that English could be an aspect of Egyptian culture:

But, it's strange because it [the English language] is Egyptian culture, I suppose if the people, uh, who created it are Egyptian, but because it is in English, I feel like its like its a strange subculture of Egyptian culture that is like Egyptian culture, but in English” (Interview Seven, 254-258).

Yet, being “Egyptian” with English as part of that identity would indicate an Egyptian identity that is different from the one assumed by most other Egyptians: “Like, I can, you know, be an Egyptian in whatever language I choose, but it does create a divide between you and whatever mainstream is” (Interview Seven, 283-285).

There were participants who expressed an opposing opinion. Nour indicated that she continued to develop her Arabic skills in order not to lose her “identity as an Arabic speaker”. Heba believed her parents' motivations for using Arabic at home had to do, at least in part, to make sure she maintained this sense of her identity: “So, our parents has always like, ‘OK, you go out, have fun, have all types of friends you want to do, but always keep in mind that you have limitations given your religion and culture”” (Interview Six, 154-160). Although Ahmed indicated that one might have an Egyptian identity while being an English user, he did express a “crisis” of identity that can occur growing up as a student who uses English:

“I mean if you, if you, kind of acquire the language when you're an adult it doesn't affect you, but I think growing up it can be, you know, kind of confuse you at least” (Interview 7, 312-316).

Nagwa believed that using English did not admit her, or any other Egyptian, into a Western culture, but at the same time it could subvert Arabic, one of her own cultural identifiers: “I am not American, or British, or whatever, I can't um, I can't say that I am or I can't pretend that I am, and I can't want to be one because this is who I am, I guess. I don't like people who try to be something they're not” (Interview Four, 335-341). She further identified knowing English as a “luxury” based on her background, she also seems to lament how English can be the “main language” for students like her, while in countries like the United States, the main focus is on the English language even if other languages are learned.

The picture painted by this sampling of responses is complex. In general, speakers want to maintain rules of the language, but at least some adjustment of English may be deemed necessary depending on the proficiency of the interlocutor; however, one participant felt very comfortable using Egyptian elements and American slang with her friends to create their own kind of English. And while English might have hindered Egyptian or Arabic identity, the opposite view was also expressed.

English and the Recent Egyptian Revolution

Due to the nature of English use among many protestors during the January 2011 uprising against President Hosni Mubarak's rule, two questions were asked of the participants. First, they were asked why so many protest signs had English. Second, they

were asked what might happen, if at all, to the role or use of English over the long term due to the revolution.

Regarding the use of the English in the signs used by protestors, many participants confirmed that this was in order to communicate with audiences outside of Egypt. Nour stated that English was used to communicate specifically with American media, although Amal and Ahmed identified more generally “foreign” or “global” media. Heba, echoing Jenkins (2006), noted that English was used there are more nonnative than native speakers of English, so using English would allow them to send their message to many different people. Nada, who previously stated that English use could be seen as “snobby”, echoed Heba’s comments regarding English identity that English was being used to project “the actual voice of the Egyptians going out to the rest of the world” (Interview Three, 260-265).

However, there were reasons given other than communication with foreign media. Nagwa took a more pessimistic view, although a logical one in context with her previous responses. She was concerned that it had to do with a connection and identification with American culture that was not bringing true dividends to Egyptians:

Well, I'm going to be honest, I think a lot of Egyptians are very influenced with America in general, especially America. I'm not talking about Britain or Australia or whatever, they're very uh, influenced by the American lifestyle. So, I think they wanted to be a part of that America, even if it's not really, if you're not really, that's not being a part of it, but they're still aiming for it. They want people to see that they are, they can be that (Interview Four, 350-361).

Ahmed, reiterating the idea that English is needed to express certain concepts, said: “I mean, I think that's the most, but also because a lot of people, when they talk and they're discussing these ideals that they've heard about in, usually in English, you know ‘democracy’, ‘equality’, whatnot” (Interview Seven, 351-368). These two views may be more pessimistic, but there is perhaps reason to believe that this use of English does indicate ownership as to be discussed in the next chapter.

Finally, regarding the question of the relationship between the revolution and English, if any, only Nour saw no connection; English in her opinion would continue to be used more in Egypt regardless of political events. Most other participants did see a relationship. Amal noted that a politician advocated banning English from Egyptians schools, although the reactions she saw on social networks to this were very negative. Nada, Nagwa, and Ahmed saw a reduction of the use of English on the Internet. Nagwa, Heba, and Ahmed noted how Arabic is “connecting” Egyptians with each other in a post-revolution Egypt. Ahmed said, “So you're trying to reach a wider audience, so you're going to more, um, kind of use terms and concepts, and even topics that we're not used to talking about in Arabic, to talking about them in Arabic” (Interview Seven, 407-416). Yet, both Nagwa and Heba did not think that this would remove English from Egypt; in fact, it would be the contrary. Nagwa emphasized how the educated would still go to English schools and use English, however Arabic will be more important to their discourse. Heba indicated that students would use English more regardless of the quality of their education: “The uneducated people would try to use English to get their message through, and they would still be using Arabic because that would be what they're comfortable with. It will remain the same” (Interview Six, 551-560). The overall view

presented here is that English will continue to be an important linguistic tool, but Arabic will take a greater role in public discourse.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

This chapter presents analysis of the data collected from the questionnaires and interviews presented by each research question. Second, implications of the data, based on the analysis will be presented. While the discussion is geared to teachers within the primary/secondary teaching environments in Egypt as well as in higher education, it is possible that teachers in other similar Expanding Circle contexts could find it useful. After discussing limitations of the research, two ideas for further research centered on linguistic projection and ownership in the Egyptian context are offered.

It is important to note before the discussion that the investigator is not a citizen of Egypt, and has limited experience with the culture. Because of this, he asked an Egyptian colleague to serve as a peer reviewer. She is an experienced teacher of English to Egyptians as well as a MA student in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, She reviewed the investigator's coding scheme and analysis (as discussed in a previous chapter) to add rigor to the study. Of course, the final analysis is the responsibility of the investigator and the investigator alone.

Research Question One: When Egyptians speak English to other Egyptians, is there evidence that English is used to project power onto interlocutors, solidarity with them, or either?

The data collected overall suggests that participants are likely to use English as a means of the linguistic projection of solidarity with friends. While some may exclusively use English with certain friends, there is little to suggest that English is necessary for friendship. Second, while there is less evidence that English is actively used to project power, participants are sensitive to a perceived power dynamic that may be associated

with those who use English. They seem to be aware of societal benefits that come with being an English speaker, but they are also aware of the problems that might arise when using English with others and are thus try to avoid those situations. Finally, data suggests that those who study English for instrumental purposes could project linguistic power onto those who study English for more cultural reasons if the appropriate situation arose.

First, data suggest that a primary use of English for participants outside the classroom is in some form among friends. This is not immediately clear in the questionnaire data, partly because use of English with friends is not explicitly asked. Yet, there is slightly stronger agreement to the question, “If I know another Egyptian speaks English, I usually speak English with that person,” than the more general question, “I regularly speak to other Egyptians in English”. It is clearer from the questionnaire that English is not generally a necessity for friendships through the general disagreement with questions such as “I would rather be a friend with an Egyptian who speaks English instead of an Egyptian who speaks only Arabic or other languages”.

The interviews clarified the role of English in friendships. When participants discussed language use among friends during childhood, most indicated that Arabic was used. Yet, this changed once they went to college. Either due to the English-rich environment of the university environment, recognition of similarities with others regarding English proficiencies, or in order to speak to others who are not as good at expressing themselves in Arabic, most participants interviewed indicated that English became more important to them within their friendships at this point in their lives. They represent the colinguals discussed in Schell (2008) who are able to speak to each other in a nonnative language in a nonnative country. This, however, did not mean that Arabic

lost its importance as a social marker. On the contrary, no participant indicated that English is used exclusively in place of Arabic, and one participant specifically noted how she started by using mostly English with her friends, but as she made friendships with people from more diverse backgrounds, she used Arabic more. Participants recognized either in their own speech or that of others the mixing of languages that occur in conversations. These Egyptian speakers use English with Arabic as a completely local communicative practice as part of a trend discussed in Pennycook (2010).

For many of the participants interviewed, enrollment in the university marked a major turning point in using English among friends. Except for participants from Gulf backgrounds, most used very little English outside of the classroom before they entered the university. In the university environment, students were presented with a space where English was more dominant. As discussed in Block (2007), the university represented a community of practice in which knowing and using English represents an important cultural capital needed to belong to the environment. Amira, coming from a strong English background in the Gulf, expected to encounter more Arabic and was surprised at the degree of English usage she encountered; Nour, who came from a background with less English, was intimidated but grew more comfortable over time. Although participants stated that there were spaces or opportunities for English elsewhere in Egypt, it is clear that the university environment presents a unique linguistic sphere.

Yet, while English is used among those as a means of bonding, Arabic does not lose its role in friendships. As a means to conforming to the environment, students may choose to use English more than previously; however, it is not likely, or even reasonable, that students would cease their use of Arabic. These participants confirmed the finding in

Schaub (2000) that spoken Arabic is still very important to function. What this demonstrates is that there is not necessarily a zero-sum conflict taking place between English and Arabic for the participants in this study. For some, Arabic continued to dominate in day-to-day interactions with friends, while English did so for at least particular friends. Yet, most find room for both languages in conversations to some extent. Just as Cavallaro and Chin (2009) noted that respondents found English as a means of solidarity among Singaporean users of English, Egyptians in this university context could claim the same.

The picture painted by the participants regarding English as a means of projection of power is more opaque. Cavallaro and Chin (2009) also noted that Singaporean participants found English use, particularly high register English, to mark status. Egyptians indicated that same reality for Egypt. Participants noted that knowledge of English might grant a sense of power to that person; however, if participants actively used that power for their own benefit, they did not admit it. Questionnaire items generally demonstrated that participants did not want to impress others with their knowledge of English, and those who preferred to use English were described with derogatory terms, such as 'snobbish'. The interviews generally reflected these sentiments; there was recognition that use of English can bring benefits. Yet, several participants stated that they were careful in how they used English in order to not appear to be elitist to others. Stroud and Wee (2007) noted that English was avoided in Singaporean classrooms in order to conform to others' expectations around language choice; participants appear to be doing this in greater Egyptian society as well.

It is interesting that participants generally recognized that there are other Egyptians who use English to project power, although the participants themselves never admit to doing so. This is indicative of a “straw man” effect in which “everyone” knows that there are people who use English to project an elevated image, although no one admits they themselves do this. While participants may be as careful as they claim in order not to make others feel uncomfortable, it is possible that others misinterpret these participants and their peers as projecting power with English. If this is the case, it may imply that the idea of the elitist English speaker is more myth than real, although more evidence would be needed to support such a claim.

Finally, although studies such as Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenböck and Smit (1997) and Timmis (2002) affirmed positive reactions to standard accents among English students, participants did not specifically link using a native accent as a way that Egyptian speakers of English may attempt to project power. An Egyptian accent may play a clearer role in speaking to other Egyptians as well be discussed in more detail (regarding ownership), but participants in this study reflected those Chinese participants in Li (2009), in which an Egyptian accent is fine as long as speech is intelligible. It should be noted, though, that the peer reviewer indicated that knowledge of English (or other European languages) as well as a native sounding accent while using English is associated in Egyptian society with that of high social class. So, whether or not people in fact project power using English, the perception of English and status in Egypt is a powerful one.

An important finding was how Arabic may serve as a means to thwart English’s dominance within the university. While most participants seemed to simply use English

as seemed appropriate since they went to an English-medium university, others tried to use Arabic because they thought it was more appropriate in certain interactions, mainly with staff members. Nagwa noted that she did not feel the need to use English with staff members although they seem to want to. Ahmed would answer back in Arabic to staff members who spoke in English. Yet, students would not attempt to be subversive of English use with everyone on campus. Students indicated that they either spoke English or codeswitched with professors; but no one indicated that they tried to force an Egyptian professor to speak Arabic in any one-to-one conversations with them. Instead of using a form of English with their friends and then another form with staff members as in Rindall (2010), these participants decided to use Arabic with staff, but not professors, to subvert English as could be seen in the classroom studied by Stroud and Wee (2007). Students may be unwilling to challenge professors due to the social distance of the professor. On the other hand, a staff member probably does not wield power over students as does a professor and thus can be challenged. Participants may want to use Arabic with these staff members because they see themselves as less different from staff than they are from their professors; the peer reviewer noted that professors hold a high social standing in Egypt. This perhaps reflects how social distance may influence linguistic choices as discussed in Tan and Tan (2008).

Finally, some responses related to motivation for using English may indicate different ways in which linguistic power or solidarity may be realized. Due to the fact that the population of this study is university students, it could be inferred that a primary motivation for learning English is instrumental. Questionnaire responses also indicated that this could be the case; close to 70% indicated that Education was the most important

reason to learn English. Those who answered “Other” usually mentioned that the global importance of English as a reason to learn, but the need to connect to a foreign culture with English as a native language was never mentioned. There was disagreement with the question, “I do not like watching channels dominated by English-language programming”, which indicated that there is some affinity for foreign media, but this cannot be construed to indicate that the participant population was fixated with a foreign, English-speaking culture. In the interviews, only Nagwa focused at length on the relationship of culture and English. She described other students as using English to disassociate from their own culture and to link with another one, such as American or British culture, and she shared the idea reported in Leung, Harris, and Rampton (1997), that nonnative speakers never really attain membership in a “native” community. The “us versus them” dynamic between Inner Circle native speakers and Outer (or Expanding) Circle nonnative speakers discussed in Rubdy, McKay, Alsagoff, and Bokhorst Heng (2008) may also be realized between those who learn English for differing, if not competing, reasons, and interesting power dynamics could be explored based on these differences.

Research Question Two: What perceptions, if any, of English Ownership do Egyptian speakers of English have?

The questionnaire and interviews indicate that Egyptians possess some degree of English ownership. This ownership is best demonstrated through a use of English that includes Arabic used with their peers as already discussed; it is a form of English useful for their communication. Yet, it is true that participants still indicate a preference for exonormative, rule-governed standards for English as well as that English is still perceived by many more as an impediment to Arab or Egyptian identity rather than as an

enhancement, and these could be serving as hindrances toward a greater degree of English ownership. A particularly salient point to be made, though, is that ownership of English in the Egyptian context should not be assumed to be wholly positive, especially in terms of its implications for the Arabic language. While Egyptian participants may be comfortable in using English to express ideas, this may be the case because they are unable to do so in Arabic; this could be problematic for those who may need to use Arabic professionally at a later stage in life and because of political events in Egypt that are making use of Arabic all the more important.

To start, the questionnaire demonstrated some interesting inconsistencies in the ownership section. Participants indicated disagreement with the statements that they want to come across as Egyptian in their speech, that they intentionally use Arabic words in their speech, and that they have a right to use English as they please. On the other hand, there was more agreement with questions that asked if nonnative speakers could determine rules of English and that they felt that they owned English. There was relative agreement that English usage did not threaten their Arab identities. It was interesting to see how different participants in the interviews confirmed these different ideas. Some of the interviewees expressed the need to adhere as closely to English norms as possible when using English, including not mixing English and Arabic; this reflects attitudes demonstrated in Timmis (2002) and Lasagabaster and Sierra (2002).

Participants, though, may not have expected adherence to native English norms from their interlocutors, perhaps due to the reality that different speakers of English have different proficiencies. Other participants offered more flexible views of English usage. While some interviewees focused on the idea of Egyptian accent, others realized that

their English speech with friends included a mixture of Arabic or English, or even foreign slang, that made the language their own. Regardless of their own personal thoughts toward their own usage of English, virtually all participants demonstrated willingness toward some sort of “adjustment” of their English, including pronunciation or simplification. Although these participants are not necessarily using ELF, they reflect the adjustment that Jenkins (2006) believes is necessary between all parties in speaking English. Overall, this demonstrates previously explored tensions between an “ideal”, native-norm English versus an English that non-native users are grasping more fully on their own.

The effect of English on the participants’ linguistic identities also indicates ownership among some of the participants. For instance, some reflected findings in McLaren (2009) in that those who stated that English did not conflict with, or even enhanced their Arab or Egyptian identity, use English to transmit ideas about Egypt. Supporting the idea in Pierce (1995) that these identities are always changing, participants also noted that they grew accustomed to, if not embracing, of the English environment within the university. Yet, most participants had a more pessimistic view of English vis-à-vis their own Arab or Egyptian identities. Not surprisingly, maintaining Arabic is seen as a necessary thing to maintain this identity, particularly in light of how much they use English in a day-to-day basis. Also, Nagwa reiterated the issue identified in Leung, Harris, and Rampton (1997) that she as an Egyptian would not be granted admittance into a native culture; that made it important for her to maintain her Arabic as an important aspect of her identity. Therefore, regardless of the importance of English to

these Egyptian students, Arabic still seems to be the most important linguistic identity marker.

Yet, Arabic as this marker may prove to be quite important in the long-term for English ownership. This perhaps demonstrates that any future discussions of linguistic ownership should center less on “belief” and instead take into greater account “action” around the use of a language; in looking at this action there may be more ownership of English than the participants may have realized. This is perhaps evidenced in how participants needed to use English to express themselves in certain ways. Nour, for instance, needed English in order to say certain things or to express particular emotions. Heba and Ahmed needed to use English to talk about academic concepts. Yet, these participants also indicated that Arabic may be important within these conversations. To a certain extent, this demonstrates a sense of English ownership in that, as Widdowson (1994) discussed, they are using English as they see fit. Moreover, having the freedom to choose to use English with exo- or endonormative standards may indicate ownership in the sense that speakers are using English as they choose while being fully aware of different options. Yet, it seems likely that if Egyptians speak English with “authority” over the language as Rubdy (2007) posits, it will include some Arabic within it.

Participants, though, may have expressed a sense of *negative* ownership in that the participants may feel in control of the English they are using in order to have certain conversations, but at the same time, they may not really have a choice but to use English to converse about certain topics. This is particularly the case regarding those who use English to discuss academic concepts. The participants who are political science students have heard these concepts only in English, to the point where it is very difficult for them

to use Arabic to talk about these subjects. If the increased use of Arabic online greater than the extent seen in Warschauer, Said, and Zohry (2002) and in other mediums to talk about concepts related to political issues continues, this could be an opportunity for speakers to be more comfortable using either language in these discussions. The peer reviewer stated that the growth of the Internet in Egypt has had a major impact on the spread of spoken English in the country; the increased use of Arabic may have a very interesting impact on spoken language in general in Egypt.

Research Question Three: What is the nature of the relationship, if one exists, between ownership of English and one's linguistic projection when using English?

Based on the data collected, it may be possible to establish a relationship between the linguistic projection of solidarity and English ownership. This is due to the fact that projections based on solidarity imply linguistic exchanges in which the interlocutors are more flexible with the language that they use with their friends. Yet, there is no cause to say that ownership required a particular sense of linguistic projection, or vice-versa. In fact, aspects of ownership, particularly negative ownership as discussed above, are based more on practical realities of language use rather than on any linguistic projection.

As previously discussed, the questionnaire sections dedicated to ownership and linguistic projection were compared using a Person Product Moment correlation, the results of which did not demonstrate any relationship between the two sections. The interviews also proved difficult in establishing such a relationship, if only because linguistic projection and ownership are not clear-cut issues. Yet, it did appear that a projection of solidarity while using English could lead to a degree of English ownership. One sense of this could be seen with how participants may adjust their use of English with other Egyptians in order to facilitate understanding, especially in terms of

pronunciation, but also through simplified grammar if necessary. This demonstrates an instance when participants used English as they saw necessary in order to facilitate comprehension.

Within friendships, some participants found a space where they could use English more freely. Some participants noted not worrying about grammar among friends. Heba and her friends mixed American slang and Egyptian Arabic into a form of English that works for communication within their circle. Not all who used English with their friends exhibited this kind of flexibility, but it does show how a space like this can foster diversities in English without concern for how others outside their group would react. This speech perhaps mirrored the lower-register Singapore Colloquial English that interviewed participants in Cavallaro and Chin (2009) equally preferred to a higher register of English as a marker of solidarity. Widdowson (1994) recognized a community of practice formed through the use of standard English; it is clear that usage of nonstandard English also creates such groups.

It does not appear, though, that a particular linguistic projection is required for a sense of ownership. This was suggested in how English may be used to express things that participants could do more easily in English than in Arabic. While this may represent expressions or feelings that would come out in discussions with friends, it was also evident in the use of English for academic or political discussions. It is certainly possible that use of English for such discussions could involve linguistic projections of some sort, but participants did not necessarily link these discussions to an attitude or situation that would imply a linguistic projection. Linguistic projection may not be as

important to the participants than the practical use of English as linguistic capital that can help them have conversations regarding their academics, if not their future careers.

Implications

The participants at the time this study were advanced users of English, but not so long before were in high schools learning how to be competent users of English for academic and professional purposes. They needed to learn English, just as current and future students in Egypt will be tasked with learning English. They will be taking English in an environment where Arabic is of significant importance; in fact, to a number of them, Arabic may be of equal, if not more importance, than English in their future. There are a number of things that English teachers, or teachers who teach subject matter primarily in English, should keep in mind when teaching and interacting with their students. Not surprisingly, these ideas are often wrapped up in how Arabic is also used in the classroom.

Fostering Linguistic Identity and Ownership Within the Classroom

First, teachers, particularly those who are bilingual Egyptians proficient in both Arabic and English, may need to reconsider the concept of the English-only classroom in Egypt, not only in primary school grades, but also in intensive English programs in university settings. One reason has to do with the identity of using English. Nada, who went to an Egyptian international school, mentioned that Egyptians would get detentions for using Arabic; those who spoke other non-English languages may have been scolded, but not formally punished. Interestingly, participants did not discuss using Arabic as a means of resistance in the English classroom as studied in Stroud and Wee (2007), but one participant did note the “identity crisis” that can result from the intensive use of

English in school. Students do need to be encouraged to use English as much as possible to learn, but there may be psychological impact on students who are not allowed to use Arabic to any extent.

Student use of Arabic is an issue of great importance to intensive English programs in university settings, where the investigator has experienced situations in which he interpreted the use of Arabic among his students as a means of resistance. This may have been due to multiple factors, including fatigue from long hours in class, a lack of comfort using English to express oneself, or a deeper issue of identity crisis due to using a language that did not comfortably fit with the students' linguistic identities. A teacher, regardless of level, may need to identify brief spaces where Arabic could be used within class. Antón and DiCamilla (1999) noted that the L1 might be used between students in collaborative activities as a means to assist each other in producing the content required for a specific task. Through studying adult learners of English, Huerta-Macias and Kephart (2009) noted that those grappling with hard-to-understand concepts or ideas may need to use their L1 for clarification. The Egyptian English instructor could keep these ideas or others in mind when thinking of how to successfully use Arabic without allowing it to subvert the use of English in the classroom.

The nonnative teachers of English in Petrić (2009) who also did not speak the native language of their students could also serve as role models for both Egyptian, native Arabic speakers and non-Egyptian, native English speakers who take the time to learn Arabic. An Egyptian teacher of English who is also a fluent Arabic speaker may find occasional codeswitching in class to be a benefit. A native speaker of English teaching these students who knows or is in the process of learning Arabic may also utilize

occasional codeswitching in order to show his or her students not only the knowledge that Arabic is important, but also to indicate that he or she may be going through the same general issues as an Arabic learner that students are going through as English learners. De La Campa and Nassaji (2009) demonstrated how instructors of German in Canada utilized the L1 for different reasons, including translation, administration, or for codeswitching. Although students in these studies were of low proficiency in German, instructors of advanced users of English in Egypt could use Arabic for similar or different purposes. In allowing these “spaces” for Arabic, a teacher may be creating opportunities for students to make room for English within their own linguistic identities rather than seeing English as an attack on their perceived identity.

While creating space for Arabic can be a means to facilitate the students’ changing linguistic identities, there is also the practical issue stated by the interviewees that regardless of English’s current important status; Arabic can still serve a very important role in the professional lives of Egyptians. Of the two participants that specifically talked about this, one felt that her Arabic skills were not yet at the level needed for professional life. Participants felt that Arabic did not provide them with the tools to express certain things or discuss particular topics. Finally, the recent Egyptian revolution has encouraged more dialogue regarding pertinent issues in Arabic on television and the Internet. This affirms important instrumental uses of Arabic for these participants, as well as other English speaking Egyptians. Teachers need to remember that while they are tasked with teaching English to their students, they need to ensure their students understand that English cannot serve as a replacement in these respects.

This is an issue, though, that may require more attention on the attitude projected from an entire curriculum rather than just a teacher alone.

A teacher may successfully create an environment in an English class that reaffirms the importance of Arabic and allows it to have some space in the classroom, but it is also important to encourage students to use English to talk about cultural and political topics of importance to the Egyptian context as has been noted in other contexts (Canagarajah, 2006b; Nault, 2006). Kachru (1991) recognized the trend of NNSs using English to communicate in the Expanding and Outer Circles; if students take this a step further to talk about things that they may have used Arabic to discuss, this could further facilitate linking the language to one's existing and ever-changing linguistic identity.

At first glance, giving more room to Arabic in Egyptian education appears to negate English learning; however as the research here has hopefully demonstrated, the relationship between Arabic and English is far from a zero-sum game, and one may in fact support the other. First, evidence showed that Arabic facilitated English ownership through the mixing of English with Arabic. This may not reflect the rule-governed English that a teacher is expected to teach students, however if students are mixing the languages, it could help the student become more comfortable with English in general while using more "standard" English in the classroom. Second, this could encourage greater use of English outside of the classroom at an earlier age. Participants who went to school in Egypt seemed to agree that little to no English was used outside of the classroom with friends. If the classroom invites a more flexible use of English, students may feel encouraged to use it with each other in more environments. While it would be likely of the mixed English-Arabic variety, it would allow for more usage of English

outside of the classroom, which for many participants was little before going to university. This kind of conversation would also more accurately reflect the speech that Egyptians would encounter in day-to-day life when using English.

Finally, fostering ownership may be as simple as raising awareness among students about the ELF and WE issues currently discussed in more scholarly circles. Jenkins (2006) suggested that teachers be made more aware of ELF pronunciation as evidenced in corpus work; perhaps talking directly to students about these issues will instill more confidence in the local Englishes they may be using with friends and others. Part of this message would not be a hard sell to students; through the questionnaire and interviews, participants demonstrated their awareness of the global importance of English. Making them more sensitive to, and accepting of, Englishes that diverge from native norms, including ELF and WE may be more of a challenge.

Managing Linguistic Projection in the Classroom

A teacher has to keep in mind the power differentials that may be exhibiting themselves in an English classroom. Just as with other power relationships among students in the classroom, there is a limit to what the teacher can do about asymmetries between students, assuming he or she is even aware of them. From the interviews, there are two possible power plays in the classroom that teachers may be able to easily recognize. First, students who recognize advanced English in a peer may poke fun at that student; second, students may ridicule a student whose English exhibits different kinds of Egyptian influences. In both situations, the class focuses on the student in order to force conformity to a specific type of speech or to simply humiliate; the consequence could be that this student uses less English, and thus does not develop necessary language skills.

This is a difficult situation for a teacher to control. The second situation may reflect the findings of Timmis (2002) in which students preferred native sounding accents and grammar as opposed to non-native, thus students react the way they do to the non-native influences. This is when teachers could take a cue from the secondary school teachers surveyed in Llorca and Huguet (2003) and Sifakis and Sougari (2005) and emphasize the importance of intelligibility over native-like precision. This will not immediately solve any social pressures that arise from perceived accent or other Egyptian influences, but the awareness raising may help.

Similar power issues could be seen in an intensive English class in a higher educational institution. However, having to be in such a program may create a completely new us versus them dynamic in which the “us” equals those in the intensive English program and the “them” equals everyone who did not have to go through the program. The questionnaire item with significant difference between those who have been enrolled in an intensive English program versus those who were not was the question, “My spoken English is better than my spoken Arabic”; both groups disagreed, but the intensive English group disagreed more. These students may feel linguistically vulnerable vis-à-vis their counterparts who did not have to undergo extra language training; and the investigator has heard different accounts that highlight the stigma that may fall on students enrolled in the program at his institution. Yet, there is reason to believe that there could be less of a difference between the students than may seem in that several participants, none of which had an IEP background, expressed surprise at the English usage in the university and had to adjust their speech behavior in some way to cope. Teachers in such programs may want to express to students this possibility and

emphasize that there is no need to assume that other students have no issues in using their English. This could also encourage students to think more about how others use English in order to avoid “straw man” situations in which other Egyptian speakers of English are assumed to be using English for “elitist” purposes.

Conclusions

In all, allowing some Arabic into the English class may have positive effects for English regarding ownership as well as linguistic identity. It also would also reflect their reality while using English because it is likely that the students will use both English and Arabic while conversing with Egyptian speakers of English. While it is difficult for teachers to influence linguistic projections one way or the other, it may help students if they are aware that there is nothing inherently wrong or worth making fun of regarding English with L1 influences; it is in fact likely and should be accepted by the student and teacher. Finally, English teachers may be able to subvert to a small extent the idea of English proficiency as a marker of prestige by promoting the idea that most Egyptian users of English have challenges to face as they speak English, including when they go through new experiences like entering an English-medium university. These methods may especially be useful for male students, who may differ significantly from females in terms of their frequency of use, confidence, and ownership while using English.

For Egypt as a whole, this data gives reason to have a very positive view of the nature of English in Egypt going forward. Users of English appear to be very sensitive to how they are perceived when using it. If this is a trend among English users throughout the country, the “perception” of English’s prestige may deflate, at least to a certain extent. English could be more recognized as a linguistic capital rather than a marker of

social class. The more English spreads as an instrumental language in Egypt, the more opportunities it thus has to be not only a language of Egypt (as it arguably already is), but also to become an “Egyptianized” language. The more it is assumed as an aspect of Egyptians’ linguistic identities, the fewer the tensions that may exist in the English classroom, and well as in greater Egyptian society, around English use.

It is possible that the renewed use of Arabic after the Egyptian revolution, particularly online, may influence English in this way. English may find renewed competition in Arabic as Arabic is used to include as many Egyptians as possible to new political dialogue and social movements. While it is unlikely that this will cause English to be unimportant, it may cause Egyptians to question why English is important, and what role should English play in a post-revolution Egypt. This could lead to a revision in English’s perceived relationship with social class. Of course, politics in Egypt may have very surprising consequences to come for both languages.

A Note About Public and Private Students

Items geared toward primary and secondary-age students in the implications section has been written with both private and public students in mind. Yet, the investigator is well aware that there are differences between the experiences of students from these different backgrounds. Based on previous discussions, it was not such a surprise to the investigator that the interviewed participant who went to both private and public schools said that English was not as intensive at the public school compared to private.

The investigator has also heard of differences between public and private schools, but everything he heard was simply by word of mouth. He has no experience directly

with public or private schools in Egypt, and so refrained from making any recommendations between the two. It should be noted, as the peer reviewer discussed, that public schools themselves have few resources compared to private schools. Also, there is a very large gap between the pay of public school teachers and private school teachers. There are also differences between different private schools, such as the higher reputation of so-called “international schools” versus “language schools”. Ahmed referred to these differences as he described his own private school background: “I was in a very regular school, not like, you know, the more, um, like, the high-end, you know” (Interview Seven, 10-17). The peer reviewer also noted that teacher pay between the different private schools, as well as between Egyptian and foreign private school teachers can be very different. This indicates that the educational infrastructure in Egypt is quite complex and with various inequalities. The investigator hopes that implications would be of assistance to a teacher in any educational setting, although would have to be tailored to the specific needs of his or her context.

Research Limitations

First, the primary limitation regarding this study was the means of data collection. In using a questionnaire, the investigator relied on the self-reporting of the participants rather than a study of participants’ behavioral patterns or reactions. It is likely that the participants answered as truly as they thought possible. Yet, as Cavallaro and Chin (2009) pointed out in their study regarding perceptions of English registers in Singapore, participants may note a preference or opinion in a questionnaire, but investigations that look at these through other means can reveal the opposite conclusion.

Second, there are three research questions that may have been problematic for the study. Number 27 asked the participants if English threatened their Arab identity. It would have been better if the question asked about “Egyptian” identity rather than Arab identity. One thing many colleagues, as well as the investigator, have noted is that many Egyptians consider themselves as Egyptian before they consider themselves as Arab. Question 31, which asked whether participants own English as they own Arabic, may have proven to be a thorny question in that participants may not really think of themselves as an owner of their own native language, let alone that of another language. Speakers of English, Arabic, and other languages learn rules in school that they are supposed to follow when using their native language; these rules could possibly seem as alien to them as the rules of a foreign language. Also, as noted in the interviews, some Arabic speakers may be deficient in that language to the point where it would be difficult to conclude that they could consider ownership of it. Question 32, which asked participants if it would be acceptable for Egyptians to have a different version of English than that of native speakers, may have also posed a problem to participants to answer. Egyptian English speakers tend to learn either British or American English in school, so it may have been difficult for them to conceptualize what a version of English different from that to be used in Egypt would be.

Also, as concerned as the study was regarding Egyptians in general, the participants, who attended an elite English-medium university in Egypt, do not represent most of the Egyptians who use English in their day-to-day interactions with other Egyptian interlocutors. This study certainly helps us grasp some of the issues around

English ownership and identity which Egyptians deal with, but it must be clear that there are a multitude of experiences that this study does not include.

Future Research Directions

In order to more fully address the issues of linguistic projection and ownership in the Egyptian context, in addition to any additional questionnaires and interviews, participants might need to be observed completing some sort of task. In order to discuss ownership, the method pioneered in Higgins (2003) that had dyads react to different grammatically correct and incorrect sentences may be of use in the Egyptian context. For a study among Egyptians, while age would be an important variable, it may be interesting to specifically to study gender differences, since the data in this study suggested that women might have a higher degree of English ownership than men.

A task-based learning environment, which requires students to accomplish a task using English in the classroom, may be a more appropriate way to gauge Egyptian English learners' linguistic projection when using English. A study using this method could be exploratory. However, data collected here suggested that those with an instrumental reasons for learning English could conflict with someone who is learning English more due to an interest in English-speaking cultures. If it were possible to place learners who represent both motivations in a dyad to work on a task-based activity, this could allow one to test the hypothesis that one who studies English for instrumental reasons would project power over those who study English for cultural reasons. Of course, each member of the dyad would have to have some background knowledge on his or her teammates for the possibility of this to work.

Finally, while this study focused on students who attended a prestigious university in Egypt, this may mirror the circumstances and experiences of the English-speaking children of elites in other Arabic-speaking Expanding Circle countries. It would be interesting to see if similar studies using similar populations in other Expanding Circle countries, particularly in the Middle East, demonstrated similar results. Work could particularly focus on the relationship of Arabic and English in Middle Eastern countries in the midst of political change such as in Egypt. This may help us understand how English is used among students who have the potential to assume influential roles in their respective countries at a later time, and thus have an important say in what English means to their contexts.

Research projects such as these would be ways to see how Egyptians use English at what may prove to be a formative time in the use of English in Egypt. There is not yet an “Egyptian” English that is found throughout Egypt; at the same time, exonormative, native-like English is still seen by many as the English to aspire to learn. Yet, the participants in this study demonstrated how there is an English, mixed with Arabic, which Egyptians can call their own. This may be an English currently used predominantly at the university level, but this may change. The participants as well as their peers may spread this kind of English outside the walls of the university. It is also possible that the political events of a post-revolution Egypt will have an impact on the linguistic makeup of Egypt. It may encourage greater use of Arabic in political and social dialogue, particularly on the Internet; however, that does not preclude English’s growing influence in Egyptian society. Only time will tell.

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Appendix A
Final Questionnaire

Section I – Biographical Data

Thank you for participating in this survey. Before you begin with the questions, please complete some questions about yourself. All information will be kept confidential.

1. Are you an Egyptian who grew up primarily in Egypt?

2. What is your Gender? Male Female

3. Please circle your current year of study at the American University of Cairo (AUC):
1 2 3 4 5 6

4. Have you in past or do you currently take classes at the English Language Institute (ELI)?
Yes No

5. Did you attend private or public schools prior to enrolling in the American University in Cairo (AUC)? (Circle One)
Private Public

6. Before enrolling in AUC, were you ever taught by a native speaker of the English language?
Yes No

7. I would rate my English proficiency as...
Superior Advanced Intermediate Beginner

8. Please circle the most important reason to you for learning English:

Education Get a Job Use the Internet Other _____

9. If you are willing to be contacted for additional questions regarding this survey, please fill in the blank with your mobile phone number or e-mail address.

Part I: Attitudes Toward Using English

	SA	A	N	D	SD
1. I find the English language interesting.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I do not like speaking English.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I do not like watching channels dominated by English-language programming.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I find the English language easy.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I prefer the English language to the Arabic language.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I find speaking English prestigious.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I would rather read in English instead of Arabic.	1	2	3	4	5
8. When I speak English, I feel that I am more educated.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I hope to put my children in a private English school so that they speak English fluently.	1	2	3	4	5

Part II – Using English with other Egyptians

	SA	A	N	D	SD
10. Overall, I feel confident when I speak English with other Egyptians. P	1	2	3	4	5
11. I regularly speak to other Egyptians in English. P	1	2	3	4	5
12. If I know another Egyptian speaks English, I usually speak English with that person. P	1	2	3	4	5

	SA	A	N	D	SD
13. When I speak English with other English-speaking Egyptians, I feel closer to that person than if we spoke Arabic. P	1	2	3	4	5
14. I would rather speak with an Egyptian who speaks English than an Egyptian who speaks only Arabic or other languages. P	1	2	3	4	5
15. I would rather be a friend with an Egyptian who speaks English instead of an Egyptian who speaks only Arabic or other languages. P	1	2	3	4	5
16. I start conversations with other Egyptians in English even if I do not know they speak English. P	1	2	3	4	5
17. I start conversations with other Egyptians in English even if I know they do not speak English. P	1	2	3	4	5
18. I often do not use English because I am afraid that it will not be as good as my peers' English. P	1	2	3	4	5
19. My use of English in the classroom intimidates my classmates. P	1	2	3	4	5
20. Is there anything you want to add about how English affects your relationships with other Egyptians, whether at AUC or elsewhere in Egypt?					

	SA	A	N	D	SD
21. I am as comfortable speaking English as Arabic. O	1	2	3	4	5
22. My spoken English is better than my spoken Arabic. P/O	1	2	3	4	5
23. When I speak English, I want people to know through the way I use English that I am Egyptian. O	1	2	3	4	5
24. When I use English, I intentionally use Arabic	1	2	3	4	5

	SA	A	N	D	SD
words throughout my speech. ○					
25. I want to sound like a native speaker of English. ○	1	2	3	4	5
26. I want to speak grammatically correct English like a native speaker. ○	1	2	3	4	5
27. My use of English does not threaten my Arab identity. ○	1	2	3	4	5
28. In general, nonnative speakers of English should be able to determine standards and rules in the English language. ○	1	2	3	4	5
29. If listeners think my English is different from that of native speakers, I do not care. ○	1	2	3	4	5
30. I have the right to use English as is most comfortable to me, even if that means breaking rules of the language. ○	1	2	3	4	5
31. I own English just like I own Arabic. ○	1	2	3	4	5
32. It is okay if Egyptians use a version of English different than that used by native speakers. ○	1	2	3	4	5
33. Please explain your answer to the final question.					

Thank you for participating in this survey!

Appendix B

Interview Questions – Linguistic Projection and Ownership with English

1. Talk about how you learned English growing up? Was it used in your family, or mainly school? Which language are you more comfortable with?
2. When on campus, are there certain people that you use Arabic or English with specifically? If so, have you ever thought why that is the case? On campus, are you confident of using English, or are you reluctant to do so? Do you think your English is as good or better than that of your peers, or do you feel self-conscious? How does your use of English in the classroom affect your relationships with your classmates outside of class?
3. Does use of English constitute an important aspect of the university identity? Have you tried to learn Arabic better as a consequence of your English use?
4. Are there places or situations where you use English off campus, or does Arabic dominate your speech?
5. As you speak with other Egyptians in English, do you try to follow the rules of English that you learned, or are you simply concerned with being understood? Is comprehension among your peers more important than following standards that would be used and understood by natives?
6. Regarding the Revolution of January 25, 2011, why were so many of the protest signs in English? What will the long-term role of English be in Egypt after the revolution?

Appendix C

Consent Form

Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

Project Title: Linguistic Projection of Solidarity and Power with the English Language in Egypt

Principal Investigator: Phyllis Wachob, 2615-1923

*You are being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of the research is to explore social aspects of English use in Egypt as well as the degree of ownership Egyptian users of English have toward the language. The findings may be published, presented, or both. You will be asked to complete a questionnaire of 30 questions that should take about 15 minutes. The questions include biographical information, questions about attitudes toward English, and questions about usage of English with peers. In case you are invited for an interview, you will be asked about similar topics for about 30 minutes.

*The data will be saved on a password-protected computer to be only seen by the researcher. Your name or any other personal identification will not be kept with the data.

*There will not be certain risks or discomforts associated with this research.

*There will be no benefits to you from this research.

*The information you provide for purposes of this research is anonymous and confidential.

*Questions about the research, your rights, or research-related injuries should be directed to Phyllis Wachob at 2615-1923.

*Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Signature _____

Printed Name _____

Date _____

Appendix D

Coding Scheme for Interview Responses

Table 1

Demographic Section Answers and Coding

Anticipated Answer(s)	Code
Went to school; learned English, Arabic outside of Egypt	OE
Went to school; used English, Arabic inside of Egypt	IE
Used English with immediate family	IF
Did not use English with immediate family	NIF
Used English with friends outside of class	FOC
Did not use English with friends outside of class	NFOC

Table 2

Question 1 Answers and Coding - When Egyptian undergraduate students speak English to other Egyptians, is there evidence that English is used to either project power onto interlocutors, solidarity with them, or both?

Anticipated Answer(s)	Code
I speak English with friends who I already know speak English	FE
I speak Arabic or mixture with my friends	FA
English because they are in my major and my major uses English	EM
I assume the person knows English or Arabic based on his or her job.	JE
I assume the person knows English or Arabic based on my knowledge of his or her income/class	IE
AUCian/staff starts to speak it with me.	AUCS
I speak English with people off-campus	OCE
I speak Arabic with people off-campus	OCA

Table 3

Question 2 Answers and Coding - What perceptions of Egyptian ownership, if any, do Egyptian undergraduate speakers of English have?

Anticipated Answer(s)	Code
Confident/OK When Using English	CE
Self-Conscious with English	RE
Strange feelings from others	SF
No strange feelings from others	NSF
Intimidated by other's English Use	INTE
Not intimidated by others English use	NINTE
English users as elitist	EE
English users not as elitist	NEE
English as part of AUC Identity	AUCEI
English not part of AUC identity	AUCNEI
Additional Arabic Learning	AL
No additional Arabic Learning	NAL
English has effect on relationships	NA
English does not have effect on relationships	ENA

Table 4

For these Egyptian undergraduate students, what is the nature of the relationship, if one exists, between ownership of English and one's linguistic projection when using English?

Anticipated Answer(s)	Code
Try to follow rules of English	RI
Care only to be understood	UI
I correct others' English	CORRE
I do not correct others' English	NCORRE
I have to use English to express things	EXPE
More comfortable in English	CEG
More comfortable in Arabic	CAG
English for Arab/Egyptian Identity	EAID
English Against Arab/Egyptian Identity	NEAID
Adjust English for others	AE
Don't adjust English for others	NAE
Others incorrect or "Egyptian" English bothers me	IEB
Others incorrect or "Egyptian" English does not bother me	NIEB
English = American Culture	EAC

Table 5

Questions about Egyptian Revolution

Anticipated Answer(s)	Code
Signs in English for Media	TM
Signs in English because of comfort with Language	TC
Sings in English because of American Culture	TAC
Relationship between English and Revolution	ER
No relationship between English and the Revolution	NER

Appendix E
Interview Transcriptions

Interview One - Amira

- 1 Investigator: Any questions you are not comfortable answering, its fine, nothing should
2 be too personal, but, umm, anyways, I guess let's start the conversation,
3 what was your if you don't mind talking about your experience learning
4 and using English growing up before now just so I can get an idea of it.
- 5 Amira: Uh, well, learning English growing up first I was uh, like born in Egypt
6 but I was raised in Kuwait. Uh my parents put me in a British school, the
7 British school of Kuwait. Its uh, its mostly, uh like we learned to learn
8 English like even before we learned Arabic uh and uh like obviously we
9 learned both languages hand-in-hand but like the English language was
10 very important in my school especially in Kuwait and like countries in the
11 Gulf. Umm, I was in Kuwait in that school for about umm I think 7 years
12 and then I came back to Egypt for elementary. I stayed in Egypt in a
13 language school in Maadi. I don't remember the name of the school...
- 14 Investigator: Doesn't matter...
- 15 Amira: I was in Egypt for another seven years until uh about 2006. I think that
16 sort of strengthened my Arabic. And even though my school taught things
17 like math and social studies and stuff in English it still wasn't as strong
18 because there were all like it wasn't an international or big school so all
19 teachers were Egyptian except the English teachers and everyone in the
20 school used to speak Arabic. And then, umm, 10th grade I went back to
21 Kuwait and I went to the American International School of Kuwait. So,
22 that's where I took IB, the International Baccalaureate, and that's again my
23 English was strengthened again thanks to the program and things like that
24 then I graduated and went to the AUC.
- 25 Amira: So, you have you grew up with a lot of use of English. Did you use,
26 before coming, uh, growing up and learning English did you use English a
27 lot of English with your family or was that still an Arabic transaction?
- 28 Amira: As far as I remember, like obviously I don't remember as a child I
29 remember in my teens my parents used to show me like these little
30 recording tapes of when I used to learn English and my parents at home
31 used to speak to me in English a lot just to teach me and sort of enhance
32 my language. But now, let's say for the past 10 years, I speak with my
33 family strictly in Arabic. I am assuming that happened because when we
34 moved back to Egypt, that sort of English phase kind of faded away.
- 35 Investigator: And your English is very strong, so why practice?
- 36 Amira: Yeah, they wouldn't do that anymore.
- 37 Investigator: So on campus, when you are here on campus with your peers, what do you
38 primarily speak?
- 39 Amira: Umm, well it really depends with who I'm speaking to. If I am talking to
40 my close friends, which are, they are Egyptians, but I honestly clicked

41 with the people who had sort of similar backgrounds like me. They all
42 lived in the Gulf or lived abroad. They're all Egyptians or Arabs but they
43 have the same, they used to live in an international community kind of
44 thing, so we'd speak in English, just say, with a little bit of Arabic like
45 yanni or things like that but we usually always strictly speak in English
46 but again when I widened my social circles or when I made friends with
47 other people or, you know, I'll be on campus a lot, I speak in Arabic. With
48 a little bit of English.

49 Investigator: With a little bit of English, reverse. So when you widened your social
50 sphere of friends, most of those that you're speaking Arabic most of the
51 time are people who grew up primarily in Egypt?

52 Amira: Primarily in Egypt. And when I think their English like I mean their
53 English is pretty good, it is pretty fine. They went to good schools, but
54 they like they grew up in Egypt so they had, I guess, no purpose to interact
55 in English.

56 Investigator: Right. Did any of them ever ask to speak English with you just for more
57 practice or anything like that?

58 Amira: Uh, no.

59 Investigator: OK. How about off campus, does English ever get, except for maybe
60 again your close friends or family, does English get, do you use English at
61 all off campus?

62 Amira: Except for interacting with people that I do with on campus, no, not at all
63 actually. The only times I think I would if I am in an interview at a
64 company or something trying to get a job or for internships or things like
65 that. Or, um, no, or unless a foreigner asks me on the streets, for example,
66 for directions. But if I am interacting with Egyptians, no.

67 Investigator: OK. So, you're using English primarily with people who have the same
68 level of English, who have the same background using English. Do you
69 feel like when you're in a class, so of course we are in an English medium
70 university, so you are in a class and a professor calls on you, you answer
71 in English. Do you feel that students, do you ever get the idea that certain
72 students who do not have the strong English skills are intimidated or there
73 might be some weird feelings from them based on your use of English?

74 Amira: I wouldn't go as far to say intimidated but I do sometimes get the weird
75 feeling part, like I um, I don't get it now because I mean obviously I have
76 been at AUC now for like four years so I am back to the whole Arabic-
77 English integration kind of thing but like it seemed my freshman year, ah I
78 would speak English all the time in all my classes so whenever a professor
79 would ask a question and I answered strictly in English or someone would
80 asked something in English that they did not understand they say, "I don't
81 understand", not on what I said, but what the professor is saying, they'd be
82 like, "I don't understand" I don't understand in Arabic, you know? And
83 the professor would kind of explain it in Arabic but then so the class is
84 sort of an Arabic interaction and then I like when I speak it is always in
85 English so sometimes I get that weird vibe like we're having a
86 conversation in Arabic or are you speaking in English kind of thing?

87 Investigator: Ah, ok, so the class becomes for a little while its like an Arabic and then
88 you're going back in with the English.

89 Amira: Yeah, but I never notice this anymore I guess because I don't know
90 because I guess I am used to it. Sometimes when I contribute to the class
91 in asking questions sometimes it is in English and sometimes it is in
92 Arabic depending on the, how the conversation is going in the class. So I
93 sort of let's say altered my use of the language.

94 Investigator: Have you noticed, just a side-note, have you noticed if you have a faculty
95 member is foreign, do students ever try to use Arabic or is there, is it no,
96 no, just English.

97 Amira: Not with the professor, but asking each other in all the time in Arabic.

98 Investigator: Of course, of course. In again probably a more personal question, you
99 don't have to answer if you don't wish to, but with your friends who do not
100 have the stronger English skills, who have a bit of a different background,
101 do they have an awareness of your English skills that they know that you
102 might be stronger than them and does that, does that have any impact?

103 Amira: When you mention that I think of the friends that I made when I was in,
104 like, the period here when I was in Egypt between the ages of eight and
105 like fifteen. So those friends that I still know them until today and
106 everything and I don't see them as much, but when I do actually I am not
107 sure if they have that awareness of how strong my English is or whatever
108 because when I'm with them I never speak in English. They actually do
109 have like they do speak English sometimes but, um, in the sense of when
110 they say when they are all speaking in Arabic and the see something and
111 they say, "Oh I love that," kind of thing but they don't hold an entire
112 conversation in English. So I've never really tried to sort of change the
113 switch in English when I am talking to them because I for some reason I
114 get this feeling of, like, I'm being snobby. So I maintain my Arabic.

115 Investigator: Ok, and actually with some of the questions on the questionnaire that I
116 asked for people to type in, I have that theme coming in. It's some people
117 like you that recognize that that could be the way. Some people, it was
118 interesting, some responses were very as a matter a fact about it, it is what
119 it is. Umm, so do you equate the ability to ability to speak English as a
120 very important aspect of the AUC identity as an undergraduate? Does that
121 make AUCians very different from the people outside the walls of this
122 campus?

123 Amira: I think so. I mean, uh, I have only been to other campuses, like the only
124 other campus I have been to was GUC, and I was just there because I was
125 visiting a friend. I'm like people there like would social wise or whatever
126 they talk to each other in Arabic and stuff, again with little bits of English
127 words but not a lot. Uh, so I think that is part of the identity because here
128 you'll find people who are just speaking in English. We're talking
129 university-wise.

130 Investigator: Yes.

131 Amira: Yeah. But in high school, for example, at CAC, AIS, MES, all of these
132 schools. I mean that's where students who speak English in the AUC
133 come from.

134 Investigator: So they're just bringing with them what they have already been doing.

135 Amira: Right.

136 Investigator: OK, How about in one thing, one thing that I was also interested in is
137 when using has using English, or have you been motivated to learn
138 Arabic... did your use of English ever motivate you to go back and learn
139 Arabic more, umm, in terms of written Arabic, anything to get better skills
140 in that? Did you ever feel like there was a backlash, "I'm really good at
141 English but I really need to increase my Arabic skills"?

142 Amira: Umm, I actually I have never made that connection. Uhh, like actually
143 because I came from IB I took IB Arabic in Kuwait, so I was actually
144 exempted from Arabic here. But the funny thing is about how the
145 connection you would say. Normally, I would get that, like "OK,
146 language is very good now I would like to improve my Arabic", but I don't
147 think a lot of people would get that vibe, let's say speaking of myself I
148 would not get that because learning Arabic is not fun, I mean usually I
149 don't know if you have taken Arabic courses or not but it is usually about
150 the grammar, and the grammar is really not something that is fun to learn.
151 And I'm not saying that for me to learn something it has to be fun, but I
152 mean growing up learning English, what do we do we read books, we read
153 novels, sometimes write essays. We kind of branched out after learning
154 you know the verbs and things like that. In Arabic, usually most of the
155 time, it's just concentrating on the grammar. You know, I mean I only
156 took this one class. Uhh, I mean sorry what strengthened my Arabic when
157 I was in Kuwait was that we actually went past the whole grammar thing
158 so we had to read novels, and the learning technique was that we would
159 get a book, like, let's say like Jane Eyre, it was one page in English and
160 one page in Arabic. And then we'd read that and then our professor would
161 make us, like she was actually the one who introduced us to SparkNotes,
162 where we would go to the website we'd read the like the analogy in
163 English and then we would translate it in Arabic. And then we'd kept
164 going like that all the way until we got to Arabic books, like Naguib
165 Mahfouz or something and like you know and anthologies of that book are
166 not online do we had to do a lot of our own but we learned that from when
167 we did it in the English. So in that sense, I would be really motivated to
168 improve my Arabic but I know that doesn't really exist here.

169 Investigator: Especially with, and for you this question will not apply as much but I'll
170 ask it anyway. The other question that you may have gotten a sense from
171 the questionnaire I have is this idea of this sense of ownership of English
172 where because English is being used in so many contexts now, people are
173 starting to come up with new rules of the language that might be different
174 from how a British or an American person speaks it. A big example
175 would be Singlish in Singapore, which is, its getting to the point where a
176 native speaker would find it difficult to understand even though it is

177 English. Um, when you speak English, er, with other Egyptians, do you
178 have, have a conscious effort and again this might not apply to you but a
179 conscious effort to follow rules, to follow grammar so you have this
180 native-like speech or do you see when you speak English with other
181 Egyptians that you might be using it in a way where if you were speaking
182 to a native speaker it might be different?

183 Amira: Umm, it really depends on whom I am speaking to. I mean, most of the
184 time, my answer would be, like, no I speak English instead to everyone
185 that I speak to unless I am speaking to someone who's English is very
186 little, so I would have to sort of change the way I, umm, pronounce words
187 just so they can understand what I'm saying. Not in the sense of, uh, so
188 they feel like I'm not superior, it would strictly be for understanding, like
189 if I can't think of anything but let's say words like, I don't know words
190 like, I don't know, a "hamburger". Sometimes if I say "a hamburger"
191 really fast someone who is not really good at English would be like,
192 "What, excuse me?" so I have to say like "hamburger" [*Arabic*
193 *pronunciation of hamburger*]; how they'd say it in Egyptian Arabic, you
194 know? So, it's, that's something that would only change if someone's
195 English is very little and for understanding purposes. Otherwise, my
196 English is standard.

197 Investigator: Because, really, in your situation if it's somebody whose English is very
198 weak you might just be using Arabic with that person anyways.
199 Interesting thing, I was just wondering, do people in your accent with
200 Egyptian Arabic, do people realize, how you talk, that you grew up
201 outside of Egypt or because of your schooling, is it pretty native?

202 Amira: Yeah, a lot of people used to get the impression that I either grew up
203 outside of Egypt or I'm not Egyptian. But, it yeah, it happens. But then I
204 correct them, like "No I'm Egyptian, I just had stronger English". That's
205 the thing, for a class last semester we had to videologue with students
206 from Stanford University so I, you know, said things, and uh, after the,
207 like, it was a class versus class kind of thing, so we were all sitting and
208 afterwards, they asked if some students would be willing to, like,
209 interview the person like conducting the videologue. And when I did he
210 was really surprised at my English and he said lie, "Wow your English is
211 very good" and I was like "Yeah, its, you know, I learned English" and
212 they asked "Are you full Egyptian?" and I said, "Yes". That came up in
213 the conversation.

214 Investigator: Um, okay. And when you're speaking English with other Egyptians, have
215 you ever been in a situation where you have even corrected somebody's
216 way of saying something?

217 Amira: I only do it with my friends. Because people could get offended or
218 something like that.

219 Investigator: Ah, so you would with your friends maybe rephrase what they're saying if
220 that's necessary.

221 Amira: Yeah, but uh, like I would correct my friends because of I don't know, I
222 don't know, I guess that's who I am but with other strangers I wouldn't
223 because they would, I think, get offended.

224 Investigator: And would your friends appreciate that just to help their English?

225 Amira: Yeah, they would appreciate it again sometimes, they would, you know,
226 take it as a funny thing like, ha ha, or whatever, but like if something is
227 wrong and I'm like, "It's this" and they're like "Oh, whatever" and they
228 continue talking.

229 Investigator: Oh, okay.

230 Amira: Like, we're just going to blow past the fact that I said something wrong,
231 but still. Like I think that they do appreciate it.

232 Investigator: Oh, good, good. Going back to just your family, your parents, I, they
233 speak English...

234 Amira: Yeah, but not actually like, they don't speak English as well as I do. I
235 mean my Dad, both of my parents graduated from Cairo University, umm
236 yeah. And uhh like my Dad's English is ok because my Dad travels a lot
237 and he works and everything but my Mom is actually a stay-at-home
238 Mom. So she, uh, her English is uhh it's like much weaker so when I said
239 when I was growing up they speak to me in English, I guess it was
240 stronger back then because of the international community that they were
241 put in. I mean Kuwait is like 50 % expat. So, again with time, I guess that
242 was the strength that they had. But with time, it got weaker. Here I
243 interact with people in English and things like that but they don't really do
244 that as much at home.

245 Investigator: So Kuwait would be the type of place where if you go to the grocery store
246 you might be very well using English with somebody there?

247 Amira: Yeah, grocery stores, malls, supermarkets, because most of the working
248 class is actually either Indian and Philippino and they speak English.

249 Investigator: Right, right. I find it interesting that the immigrants coming into Kuwait
250 are using English and not learning Arabic. It's interesting from my point
251 of view because coming from the United States where it is so
252 monolingual, or so English, which is unfortunate. With your extended
253 family, would you use Arabic with them?

254 Amira: Yeah, yeah. Even with my extended family, I'm not even sure if they do
255 speak English but I use Arabic with them the whole time.

256 Investigator: Okay, so English is not really an issue, you just use Arabic and that's it.
257 So the good thing is that you answered a lot of my questions without me
258 asking....

259 Amira: Yeah, I do talk a lot.

260 Investigator: Uh, that's fine. The interesting thing is that the questionnaire told me is
261 that, you know, I think the students here think about English very
262 intensively; think about how it is being used. Anyway, it is really great,
263 you have given me a lot of information here, umm, and I appreciate your
264 time.

Interview Two - Nour

- 1 Investigator: Just to start off before I get in some of these other questions, can you tell
2 me just a little bit about how you learned English growing up, and we'll
3 just go from there.
- 4 Nour: Okay. So I started learning English because I was in the private school
5 was private, so I started learning English when I was like little. Then I
6 moved to governmental schools which the English was taught there but
7 not so intense. And then I spent a year in the US for exchange student.
8 And then I came back, holding the Thanawia Amma and then to AUC.
- 9 Investigator: Thanawia Amma, they do have English on there, do they?
- 10 Nour: Yeah. Just the grammar and stuff, not, yanni, speaking and listening, just
11 grammar, writing.
- 12 Investigator: So when you were, you said you started in a private school,
- 13 Nour: Uh huh.
- 14 Investigator: Was that an English-only school, do you remember?
- 15 Nour: Yes.
- 16 Investigator: And so then you went to public schools after that, and so they just had a
17 little bit of English?
- 18 Nour: Yeah.
- 19 Investigator: Okay, okay. So, umm, to think about how you use English at AUC, do,
20 when you're with any friends or anything like that, are there people who
21 you primarily use English with when you're talking?
- 22 Nour: Ah, maybe, like classmates and professors. But like my close friends
23 around the campus, I don't speak English with them often.
- 24 Investigator: No, it would be Arabic only, ok... Why, with certain classmates, why do
25 you think you might use English with them and not with other people?
- 26 Nour: Actually because they start speaking in English, not me. Like when I was
27 here first with FYE, that first week, I was impressed by how many people
28 speak English with each other and why not Arabic, but then I figured out
29 that almost all the people speak English with each other (ends with a
30 laugh).
- 31 Investigator: Did you find that intimidating, like the way people spoke English with
32 each other; was that hard on you?
- 33 Nour: Yeah, at the beginning, yes, it was. I didn't understand why they would do
34 it, why do they do it. Em, I thought maybe it was kind of cultural thing
35 that we are at the AUC, and it's an American, English speaking language.
36 But..now I think it is going just fine.
- 37 Investigator: Ok, so you're comfortable with it.
- 38 Nour: Yeah.
- 39 Investigator: Do you, so When you hear classmates speaking English, you are talking
40 about Egyptian classmates who are using English. Do you, umm, so did
41 you think from your point of view that there was kind of like an elitist,
42 they were being elitist in using English or would you say that or is that too
43 strong?

44 Nour: At the beginning, yeah, uh huh. It's like they are the top, uh, maybe and
45 they had to speak the language as foreigners.

46 Investigator: But again, not so much now...

47 Nour: Now, no.

48 Investigator: Why do you think your opinions have changed on that?

49 Nour: Uh, maybe because all the people speaking in English and like people who
50 are speaking in Arabic like me are very uh, very small number, so its like
51 maybe, um, like the Romans... [meaning, when in Rome, do as the
52 Romans do...] (laughing), Yeah...

53 Investigator: Yeah, its interesting when to think when you're in a country that's an
54 Arabic country, why do you have these pockets of English, its
55 interesting... Um, an intere---one thing that I was curious about was you
56 run into another AUCian who you don't know, do you start by speaking in
57 Arabic or would you use English if you did not know this person?

58 Nour: Arabic, yeah. Unless....[stops]

59 Investigator: And still now, if you do not know somebody, Arabic?

60 Nour: Yeah.

61 Investigator: And, umm, with staff members here, what language do you primarily use?

62 Nour: English.

63 Investigator: So even if you are at the Registrar's office? Do you use English with
64 them?

65 Nour: Yes, uh-huh.

66 Investigator: Really? Interesting. Umm. Final question, like, is it easier for you to
67 express yourself in Arabic than English, or?

68 Nour: Umm, OK like, when, because I have been to the US, maybe the culture
69 exchange thing gives me like some feeling of how, like, of what the
70 American feelings, so sometimes I can say a word in English that it
71 express myself more in Arabic, but like originally or "La" ["No" in
72 Arabic] I speak in Arabic, I think more.

73 Investigator: Ok, so naturally speak from Arabic. Did you feel that year in the US was
74 beneficial for your language?

75 Nour: Yes

76 Investigator: OK, what part of the US did you live in?

77 Nour: Iowa?

78 Investigator: Iowa, wow! There is actually a big Arab population out there? Yeah, the
79 first time a Palestinian American friend of mine grew up in Kenosha,
80 Wisconsin, so the first time I went to Wisconsin was with him.

81 Investigator: Umm, Ok, so in terms of class, where in this English-medium university,
82 um, when you use English in class, do you have any particular feelings
83 about using English, like do you worry about how you look to others?

84 Nour: Yeah.

85 Investigator: Talk to me about that.

86 Nour: Yeah, I think I worry about that very much because I am sure I am not
87 speaking English as many other students here, because, like, yes, I was in
88 private school but then I moved to the public one, so I kind of, like,
89 worried about my accent and like my grammar mistakes.

90 Investigator: Do you think other Egyptian speakers of English; do you think they really
91 can pick up on your accent and grammar mistakes?
92 Nour: I think, maybe not grammar but accent.
93 Investigator: Okay, so they do hear that.
94 Nour: I think.
95 Investigator: Are there people who, so you seem to be a little on the side where you
96 might be among the students who might be a but more intimidated in
97 using English but did you ever run into the situation where when you used
98 English, there are other Egyptians who might be intimidated by you?
99 Like, maybe they, have you ever felt that other Egyptians have been, have
100 reacted negatively because they have lesser skills than you?
101 Nour: Uh, I don't think so.
102 Investigator: OK, um, and with your classes, like so, your doing political science, very
103 intense speaking... When the professor's talking, is it pretty clear to you
104 what the professor is saying?
105 Nour: Yeah. Uh-huh.
106 Investigator: Are most of them Egyptian or foreign?
107 Nour: Uh, I think foreign. Until now, foreign.
108 Investigator: Do you, in terms of using your English do you notice either your strong
109 ability compared to others or not as strong ability toward others, does
110 English affect your relationships with classmates here, the knowledge of
111 the language, the use of it?
112 Nour: No, I don't think so. Not...
113 Investigator: So, its not an issue. Um, do you, so, thinking about out of AUC, do you
114 ever use English on the street in Egypt?
115 Nour: Mm, maybe, sometimes.
116 Investigator: And what would those situations be like, why would you use English
117 outside of AUC?
118 Nour: Uh, just like if I feel something, uh, like I express more in English, I so,
119 like, I speak in English more than Arabic.
120 Investigator: Oh, Ok.
121 Nour: But, maybe sometimes some people are saying that I am AUCian, like my
122 friends for example like outside the AUC, they think that because I am
123 going to the AUC I am talking in English. So, it's...
124 Investigator: Oh, so simply because you're at AUC, you're speaking English. So, in
125 Egypt, if not here, is English a major, id--, aspect of your AUCian
126 identity?
127 Nour: Not AUCian, but like you think that you are at the top or you're from an
128 elite, inference from the other people.
129 Investigator: Do you feel that difference yourself? Do you think that you are different
130 from other Egyptians?
131 Nour: No. [Laughs]
132 Investigator: Just, and maybe you can't think of it, what would something be easier for
133 you to express in English? Is there is a certain kind of topic or...?

134 Nour: Eh, I think yeah, like personal level, like, um, for example like if I'm sad
135 or I have a problem or something, maybe I start, like... Maybe because the
136 English vocabulary are more expressive...

137 Investigator: Really?

138 Nour: ...for me than the Arabic one. And like ordinary topics I don't use English.

139 Investigator: Has it happened where you were speaking with somebody who you
140 usually speak Arabic with and you said something in English and it was
141 very, very shocking to that person?

142 Nour: Not shocking, but like they looked at me like they think that because I am
143 going to the AUC, so I am like raising myself.

144 Investigator: And so this would be somebody not at the AUC?

145 Nour: Yeah.

146 Investigator: But if it was somebody here, would it matter?

147 Nour: No, No.

148 Investigator: Has your increased use of English, as you have used more English and
149 improved in it, did it ever make you think, "Well, I should learn Arabic
150 better, reading, writing, whatever, did it ever make you go back and learn
151 more Arabic."

152 Nour: Yeah, maybe I think that like learning or like learning in English a lot is
153 making me like forget my Arabic. So, I started like writing in The
154 Independent [College Newspaper] here at the AUC and maybe like
155 reading books in Arabic.

156 Investigator: So you write in Arabic? Good, good.

157 Nour: Yeah, kind of I mind losing my identity as an Arabic speaker. I have this
158 question in my mind.

159 Investigator: So English does maybe make you feel like that English might make you
160 lose your identity a little bit. So Arabic speech is very important.

161 Nour: Yeah. I think so.

162 Investigator: So, one of the things that I am also interested in is this idea of ownership
163 with English. More people who are not native speakers of English use
164 English than there are native speakers of English. So it has a life of its
165 own separate from people like me. So one of the thing I mention is the
166 idea of nonnative speakers of English owning English the way I think I
167 own English. So, some of these questions... When you speak with other
168 Egyptians in English, are you, and this is specifically with other
169 Egyptians, do you feel like you are trying to stick very closely to the rules
170 of English; the grammar and the pronunciation? Do you, are you
171 concerned with that?

172 Nour: To me, yes. Maybe because I am working on improving my English, so I
173 want to do it all of the time, not only with the people who know English.

174 Investigator: Do you or your friends or do you correct your friends' English or do they
175 correct your English? Do you help each other out with your English?

176 Nour: Like my friends who want to talk with English, yeah I can correct them.
177 But others I don't because I think that maybe they would think like I am
178 correcting them because I think I am better than them. So I don't do it.
179 But, my sisters, for example, no we correct each other.

180 Investigator: So do your sisters go to AUC?
181 Nour: No.
182 Investigator: So your friends, so these would be friends who would primarily be at
183 AUC or outside?
184 Nour: Outside
185 Investigator: Oh, outside AUC. And when you talk to your friends in English, would
186 you..
187 Nour: La [Arabic], I don't.... [Laughs]
188 Investigator: You would not say anything. OK. Do you believe, though, that, so you're
189 speaking to me and five minutes after you leave you speak to an Egyptian
190 friend of yours in English. Do you think how you're in that kind of
191 situation, do you think the way you're speaking to me might be different
192 than the way you would speak English to the other Egyptian?
193 Nour: No, for me, no.
194 Investigator: Ok, for you, "no", okay. So, what if, if you had an Egyptian who came up
195 to you, and said: "You're an AUCian so I'm going to speak English
196 because I never see a foreigner". If that English was broken and wasn't
197 really correct, but you understood what that person was getting at, what he
198 was trying to say, is that OK for you or would that bother you?
199 Nour: That he is not speaking correctly?
200 Investigator: Yeah.
201 Nour: It doesn't bother me, but the only thing that bothers me that he is saying,
202 like they, some people pronounce the Z, but that's it. Not other things.
203 Investigator: So you're worried, the pronunciation is an issue.
204 Nour: Yes.
205 Investigator: And, so if you were to hear other Egyptians who were not really good at
206 English and they were speaking and it was not really grammatically
207 correct, again in that, and you're not involved, would that bother you or
208 would have any reactions to that?
209 Nour: No.
210 Investigator: Just, "They're speaking, and that's it".
211 Nour: Yeah.
212 Investigator: I don't have any other major questions here. Is there anything else, any
213 other thoughts from the survey or anything that you thought of when, um,
214 you took the survey or just now anything else that you think I should know
215 about?
216 Nour: Maybe like here in the AUC community, I think that people who speak in
217 English, they attach themselves so much to the American, like, uh, culture
218 and values and stuff more than the Arabic one. I do not know why; I do
219 not know if it is the language that makes them, like the culture thing, or
220 the culture thing affects the language. You understand?
221 Investigator: Yes, I understand what you mean.
222 Nour: I do not know what really affects the other, but I feel that like they are
223 attached to more the American community more than the....
224 Investigator: Oh, okay. Have a lot of those that you know of, like visited the United
225 States like you have, or?

226 Nour: Oh, yes, I think.
 227 Investigator: Actually, one other question I was thinking of before you came here, what
 228 is your opinion on, during the Tahrir, in Tahrir Square a year ago, when all
 229 of those signs were in English, or a lot of the signs that people were using
 230 were in English, what were your thoughts on that, what was their motiv...
 231 why do you think people did that, wrote their signs in English?
 232 Nour: I have not thought about that but maybe now I think they, like, a message
 233 that they wanted to deliver to the American media, the foreign media?
 234 Investigator: Ok.
 235 Nour: Maybe...
 236 Investigator: So maybe not the US, but maybe everywhere.
 237 Nour: Yes, yes.
 238 Investigator: Everywhere?
 239 Nour: Uh, huh.
 240 Investigator: Again, the political events, years to come we'll see, but what, do you think
 241 that the political changes that may happen in Egypt, do you think that they
 242 will impact English in Egypt? Do you have any ideas about how English
 243 might change?
 244 Nour: I don't think so. I don't think there will be a relationship. I think that like,
 245 English is spreading more and more in Egypt but I do not think that any
 246 political event will affect it.
 247 Investigator: So regardless of what happens, English is still going to be very...OK.
 248 Nour: Yeah.
 249 Investigator: I've had some very interesting discussion with Egyptians about this and
 250 lots of theories...Ok, um... I think that is about it. I think you answered all
 251 of my questions, very good.

Interview Three – Nada

1 Investigator: To start, could you just tell a little bit about how you learned English
 2 growing up?
 3 Nada: Umm, I was born into an Egyptian family. Um, but uh but in the
 4 preschool that I was in, they taught English and Arabic simultaneously,
 5 uh, and so my parents were both they were both educated in like English
 6 schools, bas, not this was in Egypt, not, yeah. So I grew up like, yeah, just
 7 learning both simultaneously. But when I entered into like school and
 8 stuff, I went to a British school and uh, so I grew up in an international
 9 community. Actually, we had detention for speaking Arabic, because they
 10 would exclude the international uh, children so ah, yeah. So, that is why.
 11 Like most people would say that my English is better than my Arabic. Uh,
 12 I would agree because I do everything in English, like, um, like written.
 13 Like my written Arabic is really bad.
 14 Investigator: Oh, okay, I hear that from many students.
 15 Nada: At AUC?
 16 Investigator: Yes

17 Nada: Its, um, the thing with international schools here in Egypt. They don't
18 focus so much on the Arabic because they're an international school. And
19 plus it is the way, um, the curriculum in Arabic, the Arabic curriculum, it's
20 more you just memorize it and put it in, you know.

21 Investigator: So you went to private schools growing up. Were you as an Egyptian and
22 other Egyptians students segregated from other international students, so it
23 was as if you were in class and you used Arabic, you would...

24 Nada: I would get a detention.

25 Investigator: But, so its like a special punishment for Egyptians.

26 Nada: But, like, if we had a couple of Indian kids, they were speaking together,
27 they wouldn't be given a detention, because I guess, I don't know why
28 [laughs]. They would get warnings but not a detention.

29 Investigator: So of course the starting point here in terms of using English here at AUC.
30 I'll start with AUC specifically; are there people here that when you speak
31 you use English with a certain student or certain type of person here but
32 you use Arabic with other people.

33 Nada: Yeah, definitely. If I know that the student is a foreigner, that's my first,
34 uh, thing I would do. I would automatically speak in English. Uh,
35 professors, I'd speak in English, and with the administration I would speak
36 in English. Just because it is the American university and therefore it
37 should be..., that was what I was taught at school, Egypt. It is a British
38 school so you speak in English; you don't speak in Arabic. And the level
39 of professional, you know.

40 Investigator: So when, it's a professor, administrator who's is Egyptian, it is still an
41 English conversation?

42 Nada: If they're with a certain status. But if I am talking to the security guards,
43 no, no, no, I will speak in Arabic.

44 Investigator: Ok. And so the social status is an issue in terms of AUC. With your
45 friends, what is, what language do you speak with your friends?

46 Nada: We speak a mixture of both. Uh, I, uh, one of the questions was "Do you
47 make sure you put in English and Arabic". But no, but with friends, it is
48 whatever comes out first. It's just the way you're saying...

49 Investigator: So you're not even thinking about it.

50 Nada: I never actually thought about it until I did the questionnaire, and then I'm
51 like, "wait, uh", so yeah.

52 Investigator: And it's sometimes hard to think about that when you are just asked.

53 Nada: Yeah.

54 Investigator: Um, what are you most comfortable with when you're just speaking, you
55 did indicate that you mix when you're with your friends, but when you
56 think of the language that you are most comfortable using with people in
57 general would that be Arabic or English when you are communicating?

58 Nada: I am not sure but if I had to pick one I would pick English because people
59 make fun of me, make fun of my Arabic, so uh, yeah.

60 Investigator: Oh, really? Who would be making fun of you?

61 Nada: My friends, but they are different friends, they were my friends from
62 outside school, so they would be brought up in more Arabic oriented
63 environment.

64 Investigator: And maybe they went to public schools?

65 Nada: No, no, no.

66 Investigator: No, they also went to private schools?

67 Nada: They went to private schools, but it is just there are different levels of
68 private schools.

69 Investigator: Ok, ok. This can be an uncomfortable question, but, um, so you don't
70 have to answer but would you consider those friends of yours to have
71 better, or have used Arabic more, would you consider them a lower or
72 different at least social class, or the same.

73 Nada: No.

74 Investigator: All right. When you, so again going back to the idea at using English at
75 AUC, umm, how confident, when you use your English in a classroom
76 environment, the professor calls on you and you answer, are you perfectly
77 confident in your English in front of your peers who may or may not have
78 strong English, so you don't have weird feelings about using it?

79 Nada: No, no.

80 Investigator: Conversely, do you feel like your English is so good that you might feel
81 self-conscious around other students?

82 Nada: Yes, who don't have, yeah, who don't speak...Like if I know the kids in
83 front of me doesn't have a very good background, I will make sure that the
84 vocabulary that I use is not a high-level sophistication, even if it is
85 something that required that kind of vocabulary, I'll find some other
86 words.

87 Investigator: Even in larger class discussions, maybe? Or are you talking about...

88 Nada: No, it's like more one-on-one or it's a group, but if it's in a class and the
89 professor is using the vocabulary, I assume that the other people do
90 understand it.

91 Investigator: OK, so do you get, do you ever feel that you are getting weird feelings
92 from... I know this is not very tangible, but do you ever feel like that in a
93 classroom environment that people might be reacting to you because they
94 feel that your English is more advanced than theirs, like they may be
95 reacting more negatively to you...

96 Nada: In the class I have noticed that, I feel with the foreign students more,
97 because they like they know words that we don't even know what they
98 mean or context or whatever so its like, I can see it but it hasn't happened
99 with me personally, but I've seen that happen.

100 Investigator: Ok, so you have seen it but you haven't felt it.

101 Nada: No.

102 Investigator: Do you believe that your use of English, your strength in English, affects,
103 so a little bit of the same question, but does it affect any of your
104 relationships, any of your friendships, maybe your English is better or not
105 than other people and it has an effect on how you are with others?

106 Nada: The way people perceive me, you mean?

107 Investigator: Yes.

108 Nada: OK, yeah. Like I said before, my friends, they were actually, they were
109 really my friends, they still are, but they made fun of my Arabic. And so
110 umm, it's considered snobby if you're speaking, if you're constantly
111 speaking English it's considered really snobby. Yeah, so with certain
112 people I'll try, I'll try, I will make sure that I speak in Arabic. I'll put the
113 effort into it.

114 Investigator: OK, so when you're on the street downtown or wherever it is, do you ever
115 find yourself using English outside with people who you do not really
116 know?

117 Nada: No, I don't. Like, umm, I'll speak in Arabic and if there is a word that I
118 can't seem to get into Arabic I'll say it [IN ENGLISH] and the person in
119 front of me normally like they have some sort of background in English,
120 even if their not, you know, very high in level of education, they do
121 understand a lot, or what you mean by the context or what not, but no, but
122 Arabic on the streets definitely.

123 Investigator: Ok. And I guess going back to how your friends make fun of your Arabic
124 growing up, do you still get that sense from people on the street that they
125 hear you and they...

126 Nada: And like if we're walking on the street and even not even the street but a
127 mall, ah, we're just like walking, umm, the moment people hear English
128 they just look back, like, to see you to see what you look like and "She
129 looks like and Egyptian, why is she is talking in English?" you know?

130 Investigator: And that could go for speaking in English or mixing, right? If they hear
131 you mixing?

132 Nada: And if I do see them look and starting to stare like, no, I'd be like, we do
133 speak Arabic, like, you know? I'll put in some Arabic, or if you're in a
134 tourist place they'll automatically think that you speak English and I'll be
135 like, "Ana Misryia," "I'm an Egyptian." So that you go, you know...

136 Investigator: That is interesting, so at tourist places they might just assume that you are
137 not Egyptian.

138 Nada: Yeah.

139 Investigator: I haven't heard that before; I am glad that you mentioned that. Um, in
140 terms, the ident... of how you see the AUC identity as well as maybe how
141 others who aren't as proficient in English here see, does being an AUCian
142 equal speaking English?

143 Nada: No. You have all of the levels of English being spoken here, from the,
144 you know, grammatically, you know, very correct and what not, and then
145 until you know the...not so good.

146 Investigator: Do you think that people outside the walls of AUC know that too, or do
147 they just ump all the students together as English speaking Egyptians?

148 Nada: I think that there is more connotation to it than just English-speaking
149 Egyptians, its more like English-speaking snobby people that don't even
150 know, you know...But it is part of the American, like, the American name,
151 its like they don't even live with us, they don't understand what we're

152 going through and they're always in their own little bubble; that come
153 before the English speaking part.

154 Investigator: Does AUC, if you're OK, thinking of the population in general, does AUC
155 mean being in American culture, being more part of American culture?

156 Nada: Like, umm, when you do your ID, your identification card, umm, they're
157 supposed to write, like if you're in the American University they write
158 "Tallaba... Gamma Amreekiya", "AUC Student". My Mom was like, no,
159 my Mom specifically asked that they don't do that because they treat you
160 differently.

161 Investigator: In a bad way?

162 Nada: Yeah, it depends on where you are. Sometimes, you know, they'll do it in
163 a good way, but other times where they look at your ID, its something
164 police related or whatnot, its like...

165 Investigator: Oh, okay, so that can be a bad thing. OK, umm, so another issue that you
166 may have seen in the survey was this idea of ownership of English, how
167 people who are not "native speakers" own it. But the interesting thing in
168 Egypt and I could consider you as one of these is that you are pretty much
169 a native speaker in many ways. I mean we have this traditional thing
170 where if you were born in the US or Europe, or Britain, but... So these
171 questions may not apply to you so much but try to see what you can do
172 with them, and you'll remember some of this from the questionnaire, but
173 when you speak with Egyptians, specifically, don't think of me thing of
174 Egyptians, um, is there a conscious effort to follow grammatical rules as
175 was prescribed in school?

176 Nada: Eh, no.

177 Investigator: No. So with Egyptians, there could be, not a breakdown, but a change
178 with the way you use English.

179 Nada: Yes, because there's a complexity of the vocabulary that the person in
180 front of you might not understand. So if I am speaking English, I will do
181 my best to simplify it.

182 Investigator: OK, so simplify vocabulary?

183 Nada: Yeah.

184 Investigator: Do you think that maybe you change your grammar a little bit when you
185 are around people weaker?

186 Nada: No

187 Investigator: No. So grammar you stick to.

188 Nada: Yeah.

189 Investigator: What about pronunciation?

190 Nada: Umm, well I can, like, I was, 'cause I was brought up in a British school,
191 so I can put on a British accent, but I don't because you know I just don't
192 want to. And umm, then again I can put on an Egyptian one, a full
193 Egyptian one, I just use whatever is normal. But I guess I won't, I don't
194 know, because being labeled "snobby" to me is a big thing. I don't like it.
195 So I'll try my best to keep it as simple and to the point, and not...but
196 pronunciation stays the same.

197 Investigator: Do you think that the, um do you think that the "snobby" label is fair?

198 Nada: Um, I don't know, I really don't know, ah, I understand why, though,
199 because, like one of the things is that if I'm speaking to someone who
200 doesn't understand very well, or not even, not even that, but umm, its just
201 second nature, lots of times I can't make the words. I'll be like, umm, well
202 I can't think of anything right now; I'll use the word and I'll try to translate
203 immediately. Ah, and, they'll be like I understand what you're talking
204 about and you don't have to translate everything. I don't need to do it that
205 way, and other times, I do it a lot because they don't. It depends a lot on
206 who I am talking to, and that's it...

207 Investigator: So you're... you're in this role where you are kind of constantly looking
208 around...

209 Nada: Yeah, I guess so, yeah.

210 Investigator: Would you consider that, to be self-, if I were to say that you were self-
211 conscious in these situations outside the walls of here is that a true...

212 Nada: Outside of AUC, yes, definitely.

213 Investigator: OK, ok.

214 Nada: But AUC in itself is different.

215 Investigator: Different world, right, right. Umm, so I guess, going back to the idea of
216 how you might be different, how your English could be different somehow
217 with Egyptians, umm, does in those situations could it, is being understood
218 by them more important to you than following rules of language?

219 Nada: Yeah, yeah.

220 Investigator: Ok, so understanding is most important. But, of course when you're with
221 a native speaker, somebody who you know, that is not as much an issue?

222 Nada: I don't really pay attention to grammar because I wasn't really taught it.
223 Like I wasn't taught like an infinitive verb... So sometimes when they,
224 like, if I'm taking Arabic and they're saying, "This is the infinitive verb";
225 "What is the infinitive verb?" you know? I don't, like, know these names
226 and like, just like, nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs..."

227 Investigator: Yeah, well that's actually the way natives are. I took this grammar class
228 last year for my degree and it was all new to me. I don't remember any of
229 it. So, another question is did your use of English, whether the intent of
230 use we used it here or being outside and realizing how you could be
231 perceived as different from everybody else, did it ever make you think, oh,
232 "I really need to re-learn my Arabic."

233 Nada: Oh yeah, definitely. Umm, I once, a lot of people during the situation of
234 the revolution or whatnot like, they want to leave. Um, quite the opposite
235 I want to stay, and I'm very interested in development and things like that
236 and I am actually going to have an internship with an NGO, and uh, I'm
237 finding it quite hard to keep all of my work in Arabic. And, its just, yeah,
238 I'm like, I have to learn how to read and write and everything properly
239 because if I want to make it here, they look at me more or less as a
240 foreigner. But I have the culture but not the language, yanni, I've the
241 spoken language yes, spoken I'm fine, but uh, the written and the reading
242 takes me time, like I can do it but it takes me time.

243 Investigator: So in doing NGO work, the written is also important.

244 Nada: Yeah.
245 Investigator: All the documentation in Arabic and everything?
246 Nada: Yeah.
247 Investigator: That's actually good to hear; I just assumed everything was English.
248 Nada: They need people with both, with like, very strong bilingual skills because
249 they take, like, they do the proposals in English because their funding
250 comes from abroad or whatever umm, and then the people you work with
251 are Egyptians, so you, they're the ones that come up with the idea and the
252 ones who have to write them down, like that.
253 Investigator: Oh, ok, the bilingual thing there, good.
254 Investigator: You brought up the revolution, why do you think that all of those signs in
255 Tahrir in January and February 2011, why were all of them, well, not all
256 of them, but why were many of them in English?
257 Nada: Media.
258 Investigator: Media?
259 Nada: Yeah. Um, when we were there we did a couple of signs and they were
260 double; they were both, double-sided. We did one in Arabic, one in
261 English so whatever, you know, so whatever side we were holding it on,
262 people were able to see it, but if there was any cameras around, we'd put
263 the English side on because our, its a representation of our view rather
264 than what the people are saying, or the media that's being, you know, its
265 the actual voice of the Egyptians going out to the rest of the world.
266 Investigator: In a language [the world] they understand?
267 Nada: Exactly.
268 Investigator: How much time did you spend in Tahrir, during that time?
269 Nada: Not a lot like, because uh, my parents were very umm, concerned with
270 safety issues. Ah, but when it was known that it would be a peaceful uh,
271 you know demonstration, that I would go.
272 Investigator: What do you, do you think that the revolution, I mean, its still growing, I
273 mean this is something 30 years from now we can maybe talk better about,
274 um, but what changes, if any, could the revolution have on the way people
275 use English here? Do you have any idea about that?
276 Nada: They way they use English?
277 Investigator: Yeah.
278 Nada: I don't know, umm, I haven't really thought of it. Um, but actually I see a
279 lot of people in the AUC community striving to, to have better Arabic.
280 Umm, and like, Twitter feeds and Facebook are starting, there is an
281 increase in the Arabic language on Facebook and Twitter, which is a
282 statistic which I have heard but I kind of wonder the percentage maybe.
283 So, I think the Arabic part is, yanni, people are willing to grow towards
284 that more than the English. From my perspective, at least.
285 Investigator: And when you say Arabic, you mean the real alphabet, not the English
286 letters?
287 Nada: Yeah, yeah, they use the written Arabic.
288 Investigator: Ok, so you've answered a lot. So we're, actually this is longer than the
289 other two I have done, you've been great. One more question I just want

290 to get back to is you obviously went to a British school and you saw a lot
 291 of English there. What was it like within your family? Umm, did you use
 292 English there, or...

293 Nada: It was a mix as well...uh, yeah. But going back to my grandfather because
 294 my grandfather was, um, when he was in school it was the time of British,
 295 uh, were, colonized, um, Egypt, so the educational system was influenced
 296 by that, and so my grandfather put his children, through, you know, more
 297 the same, where English, um... British school.

298 Investigator: So, with the good chunk, it seems like with your greater family you could
 299 use English.

300 Nada: Yeah...

301 Investigator: Are there any people who you're in touch with a lot that do not know
 302 English?

303 Nada: It is normally do know English, but um, like, ah, I don't want to, especially
 304 because they are older than I, I don't want them to make them feel like,
 305 umm, I know more whatever...So I just stick to Arabic.

306 Investigator: Ok, very good, very good. Great, umm, unless you have, you've been
 307 great, if you have anything else you want to add, you can do so otherwise
 308 you're free to go, so...

309 Nada: If you have anything else you can send an email.

Interview Four – Nagwa

1 Investigator: So, um, I'd like to start, just to start the interview, can you tell me a little
 2 but about your growing up and learning English, what your experience
 3 was in learning English?

4 Nagwa: Ok, well, I was um, I was in international school and it, I went to the
 5 Egyptian system, I was in the Egyptian system when I first, primary
 6 school generally but I was taught English starting, I don't know, first
 7 grade. And the school I was in had the foreign teachers at the time, so I
 8 had a good base I guess. And then I grew up, English was the main, I
 9 guess they focus on English more than the Arabic. The Arabic was just,
 10 just, um, equivalent, something that was not really stressed on because
 11 everyone knows Arabic. And even if they did stress on Arabic, uh, it was
 12 the grammar, Arabic grammar, writing, lots, lots, how to talk, how to
 13 pronounce, fusha [*modern standard Arabic, primarily for writing*], is in
 14 Arabic. So English, English was focused on and then, I went to, uh, I
 15 went to, I, sorry... I went to the IGCSE British system, in secondary. And
 16 umm, so high school was IGCSE, but I had pre-IGCSE before, and, um, of
 17 course everything was in English, and I stopped taking Arabic. So I took
 18 Arabic just past the, um, the grammar until exams, just to pass. We don't
 19 have to get good grades, just pass or fail.

20 Investigator: Are you referring to "Thanayiyya Amma"? Or is that a different...

21 Nagwa: Yeah, and umm, "Ada Daya", its, it's the low...yeah.

22 Investigator: Oh, okay.

23 Nagwa: And with Thanayiyya Amma you just have to pass, 50 again, 15, its 15
24 sorry, 15 points, 5 to pass. So they focus on English look, all subjects in
25 English, and English was writing and, um, reading, and listening. That
26 was the English test. And I guess that's it.

27 Investigator: Okay, when you said you went through the Egyptian system, does that
28 imply that you did any public school or was it...

29 Nagwa: No, no, sorry.

30 Investigator: So, it was all private school.

31 Nagwa: Yeah...

32 Investigator: International school...Okay. So, coming, within AUC, within the walls of
33 here, um, are there certain people who you use English with regularly and
34 certain people who you never or very little use English with?

35 Nagwa: In the AUC community?

36 Investigator: Yes.

37 Nagwa: Umm, I guess so. Um, some friends of mine, usually communicate in
38 English, it's how they joke, they joke in English they talk in English, so I
39 guess I talk to them in English. And people who don't like talking in
40 English and they don't even mention anything using anything in English,
41 so I don't.

42 Investigator: Okay.

43 Nagwa: So it depends on the person in front of me, how he communicates.
44 Sometimes, he, some people mix the two languages, so I guess some point
45 to come, but someone makes sure not to talk in English, I don't talk in
46 English. Maybe it's not comfortable talking in English.

47 Investigator: So, if you do not know somebody, you might wait to see how they talk to
48 you first?

49 Nagwa: Yeah, I don't talk to English, because after all we're in Egypt, and Arabic
50 is the main language, so, I don't find the necessity to talk in English, even
51 if we are in the American University, its still Egypt.

52 Investigator: So that would go with Egyptian professors and administration, staff would
53 you start in Eng--, excuse me in Arabic with them as well?

54 Nagwa: Well, class is in English. Even if it is an Egyptian professor, but, um,
55 outside the classroom, is um, I usually talk to them in Arabic unless they
56 want me to start in English first. I don't see why, to talk, I don't see the
57 necessity to talk in..., we're in Egypt, use Arabic first. [Laughs]

58 Investigator: (Laughing) Did, with are there friends of yours at AUC who you, all
59 Egyptian friends who you always speak English to? Or would they be
60 Arabic that you would be speaking with them?

61 Nagwa: Yes, I have some friends who, they're Egyptian but their Arabic is very,
62 um, isn't very developed because they either lived abroad or they lived in
63 Egypt but in German school or in French school. So their Arabic, they can
64 talk in Arabic, but they can't really communicate, express themselves in
65 Arabic, so they usually talk in English. Even, I don't know any other
66 languages so I cannot talk in French or German. So we usually
67 communicate in English.

68 Investigator: Okay, so English as a common tongue to use, okay. Umm, and I guess
69 thinking of outside AUC, when you're beyond the walls of AUC and of
70 course in a majority Egyptian dialect society, um, would there be any
71 situations in which you would speak English to somebody, or is that
72 virtually unheard of in your personal communication with people?

73 Nagwa: No, no. Uh, I use English, um, with everyone. Not everyone, but even at
74 home, with my parents, I'm sure Egyptians parents are Egyptian, but
75 sometimes I talk in English because, um, I don't know I'm used to,
76 especially in the schools I've been to I'm used to talk in English, um, or,
77 link my, the way I link my connotations and the way I speak with what I
78 am thinking of, I guess. Does that make a lot of sense? But in, because I
79 think, because all of my studies are in English, and because I take English
80 in, in university, so even when we're browsing for ideas for writing or
81 vocab I can, I can relate, I can express with English, but Arabic, um, like I
82 said I didn't take it in high school, Arabic, I just took... but I needed to
83 talk for the exam, so sometimes I expressed myself in English better.

84 Investigator: Okay. So, if you're on the street in downtown Cairo or anything, would
85 you, do you ever like, how you're saying here you might see how people
86 are speaking first and then you react in a specific language, Arabic or
87 English, do you do that out---do you do that as well on the street or do you
88 just assume that it's Arabic you are going to be using with people?

89 Nagwa: No, I use Arabic.

90 Investigator: Yeah, so.

91 Nagwa: Yeah.

92 Investigator: That's the assumption, that's the assumption, okay. Um, do you think that,
93 um, in terms of English here at AUC, do you, if there's an identity of being
94 an AUCian, with other people that might pick up on that in what they've
95 been talking about, does English seem to be a vital part of that identity, of,
96 "I am an AUCian, therefore I am an English user," or is that too easy, is
97 that not really the case?

98 Nagwa: Well, it is the case that in any AUC, English is thought umm, or they make
99 sure that you know English, at a level that is higher than anywhere else.
100 At other universities English of course is a must, but you reaching a
101 certain level, or you knowing a certain, um, knowing English as, to a
102 certain level or to a certain extent is essential here for studying. And, um,
103 I guess they also focus, because in AUC the extracurricular activities are,
104 there are extracurricular activities that depend on English. I mean, there
105 are many newspapers where you focus on writing in English. So it is
106 becoming needed, and most people, a lot of people not most, a lot of
107 people who study at AUC, um, want to work abroad after, or do Masters
108 abroad or live abroad for a while, or, so they also focus on um, talking or
109 learning English. But outside of AUC and other universities they CAN
110 talk in English and they DO talk in English, and, and, so they know
111 English like many AUCians, their level is not lower than AUCian, but um,
112 their priorities might be different, or they might not use it, or they might

113 not need it, or they might need it for common knowledge. But not work or
114 a specific...but it varies. Different people have different things.

115 Investigator: When um, so another issue I'm interested in is using English in class. Um,
116 with, obviously as you were saying this English-medium university, so in
117 class your using English. Um, do you, just in general, I mean from my
118 perspective you have native like English, it is very strong. Do you feel
119 confident using English when you're in a group of a lot of other Egyptians
120 or do you feel self-conscious about your English? Do you think about that
121 at all when you speak?

122 Nagwa: Yeah, I do. Um, especially, uh, I know I have good English, but its varied
123 because generally I'm uh, especially here, it's, people are, I mean, someone
124 will be confident if it is a society that you are considered the best. But, in
125 this society, no one really is the best because like some people have strong
126 English, but they have strong pronunciation, but they have ok
127 pronunciation or they can pronounce English and they go away, but they
128 can't write for instance, they can't write very well, so it differs. And a
129 person that has, that can talk in English in a native way or can speak
130 English like foreigners, for instance, this won't be help him in a writing
131 course, or a cap. So it's really different.

132 Investigator: From your point of view when you're using English, you don't seem
133 concerned about how other people...

134 Nagwa: No, yeah, of course I do. I do, because generally, personally I am not the
135 kind of person who thinks I'm good at every... I'm a self-conscious person;
136 my personality, I don't, I have low self-esteem, so I don't assume that I
137 have good, I don't do that. So I guess I try even if I do know that I have
138 OK English, I try to read, I try to watch English movies, I don't know. I
139 try to improve English, but I don't just go, "I have good English".

140 Investigator: OK. So you're always trying to improve.

141 Nagwa: Yeah.

142 Investigator: Conversely, have ever picked up on strange feelings from people who you
143 think may have had less skill in Arab--, excuse me, less skill in English
144 than you and you're speaking in class or even outside of class, do you ever
145 get negative feelings um, because they, they, detect that you might have
146 better English than them, and it might cause some sort of weird, intangible
147 feelings. Have you ever felt that before?

148 Nagwa: Yes, but at that same time, it also varies, because a person might not have
149 good English, but he must have a good field he's good at. He might speak
150 French, and he might speak German, he might be good, be a prodigy for
151 all I know, I don't know. So everyone has a thing, and uh, but I don't try
152 any...if I'm outside the classroom and the people around me don't really
153 speak English that well or they don't know English very well, I don't talk
154 in English because it does feel awkward. It does send the message that I'm
155 superior or I'm trying to be superior. So, I don't try talk English outside
156 AUC a lot unless someone tries to talk in English, because I don't know,
157 like, I don't like to make someone feel uncomfortable.

158 Investigator: Did, so that this is very interesting. So, you're very conscious not to try to
159 send a message of superiority with English, you're very self-conscious
160 about doing that. Um, final question just related to this is do you, in a
161 more specific way with your relationships with others, do you feel that use
162 of English, and for you, you might have already answered this, but I'll say
163 this anyway, does your use of English affect any of your specific
164 friendships or anything, so has that been a dynamic that has affected
165 relationships or no?

166 Nagwa: Well, yes, um, I guess it does affect them uh, like if I'm talking English
167 with people that are not on the same level of the language, they might feel
168 awkward or they might not, they might think I'm superior, so, so that
169 would affect the relationship, that would affect the friendship, or, so that
170 would give the impression that I am trying to show off for instance. Um,
171 it does not really happen with me because I did, I try to make sure not to
172 do something that would make someone feel uncomfortable, but I guess
173 that would send the message that I'm, I don't know I'm showing off or I'm
174 giving the impression that for instance that my parents put me into
175 international school, so I am better than you. But that is not really the case
176 because they might be good at a lot of other stuff that I'm not.

177 Investigator: Have you ever, do self-consciously mix English and Arabic in a way that
178 maybe if you know somebody isn't as good in English but you're in a
179 situation that you are needing to use English, like maybe if you switch it
180 can help a little or if you mix that can help their understanding so they
181 don't feel so put off in that situation?

182 Nagwa: Yeah, I do that, once.

183 Investigator: Yes, so very consciously?

184 Nagwa: Yeah, it's something I can't express in Arabic, or I can't express in English
185 than I use both.

186 Investigator: Okay, good. Um, actually, going back to, before I forget to ask, with your
187 family, did your parents have a similar upbringing where in terms of
188 English that they learned in an International school or did they have a
189 different kind of background?

190 Nagwa: My parents um, my parents know English. They, growing up they, they
191 have, they were taught English in school. But not, of course, not at the
192 same level as I was. They were taught very simple, very um, very uh, I
193 don't know, very basic level. But uh, when they went to college, my Mom
194 took English courses. Um, actually the AUC from AUC, but she was, in
195 Tahrir at the time. So she took English courses and my Dad too. Because
196 they needed it for, for work, for degrees, for Masters and PhDs. So um,
197 they did take courses, um, now they do talk in English, of course not very
198 fluently. They can write very good English, they can read English very
199 well, very fast. The can do it, but pronunciation itself is not very native,
200 not very...you can tell that they, they, they can, I don't know, they had the
201 surrounding when they were children. It's different.

202 Investigator: Right...So a final thing, topic that my research explores is ownership of
203 English by Egyptians which, uh, is a bigger field, uh, the idea people who

204 may not be considered native speakers of the language might feel
205 ownership of it a similar to the way to the way a native speaker would, so
206 uh, some of the questions are just around this. The interesting thing of
207 course is people who grew up in international schools is that you are in
208 this foreign, here in Egypt it's a foreign language, speak English, but
209 people do have almost a native, you're almost as much a native speaker of
210 the language as somebody who is in Britain or the United States which is
211 interesting too. But, when you speak English with your friends, so you're
212 with friends who you know are pretty much the same kind of English level
213 that you have, um, do you, uh, this can be a very hard question to answer,
214 uh, because you might not think about it, but do you self-consciously stick
215 to grammatical rules and proper use of English? Is that important to you
216 when you're using English with other Egyptians, to have this precise
217 English that you would learn in a textbook?

218 Nagwa: Actually, yes.

219 Investigator: Okay.

220 Nagwa: Even online, on Facebook, or all of the other websites people usually use
221 short English abbreviations, words, and, they usually don't stick to the
222 right grammar. They tend to use very simple um, vocab, but I try not to
223 because if you use abbreviated words or abbreviated sentences that usually
224 just makes you get used to that.

225 Investigator: Yes, right.

226 Nagwa: And, and at the same time I'm not a native uh, speaker of, of the language.
227 I mean, I just, my main language is Arabic, so I'm still getting, I'm still
228 learning English. So even even its, its an advanced level, but still I'm
229 learning. And if I get used to using uh, abbreviation of words, I might
230 stick to it, and, and uh, I guess that would stick. Just, wreck all of the
231 pieces, the progress I've done, with having good English. So I try not to,
232 to use short words or short, um, sentences because it, sometimes I'm trying
233 to learn a lot; I'm not trying to...I don't know (ends).

234 Investigator: OK, so proper English to help your skills stay where they are, if not go
235 up...

236 Nagwa: Yes. Um, I guess, uh, typically because in Egypt not everyone talks in
237 English, and having a society, or having people around you, um, to talk in
238 English isn't really available, in general, outside AUC. So you have to
239 actually stick to the, because, outside, I've been abroad and having people
240 talking in English all around is just makes you remember the, all the
241 vocab, remember all the ways, the grammar, punctuation, I don't know,
242 even the writing punctuation, and pronunciation. But here, its still class,
243 and you don't go to class all of the time, its generally... So you don't get to
244 have, I don't know, like, because, yeah... [ends].

245 Investigator: So, absolutely and it is interesting in the United States, the internet speak
246 is very controversial because people express similar um, statements about,
247 "Will this change our English so we don't even know what we're saying to
248 each other?" You know, 'cause it is interesting, um, uh... When you, so
249 among your friends, when you're at an equal level of English, the precise,

250 good English is what you strive for. Have you ever been in a situation
251 where, hmm. Have you ever been in a situation where there's an Egyptian
252 who is trying to learn English, and he or she found out you're good at
253 English and decided to practice with you and talk with you. Do you get
254 into those situations at all?

255 Nagwa: Yeah, at school.

256 Investigator: Here?

257 Nagwa: Here?

258 Investigator: OK.

259 Nagwa: No, here?

260 Investigator: Oh, no not here? Before here?

261 Nagwa: Not here, at school...

262 Investigator: OK, OK...

263 Nagwa: At school, uh, I had some employees in mind that if they have, they
264 wanted me to pronounce words like, like foreigners do; I think they
265 wanted to develop the pronunciation. I'm not an expert but I guess they
266 thought that I can talk in a relaxed manner. I can express without trusting
267 on the words, trusting on the letters, I guess they, some of them, I don't
268 know, they were really flexible the way to pronounce, so some of them
269 actually asked me to talk to them in English so they can improve but that
270 did not really last long because people usually forget about things. But,
271 yes. I guess they, they, its as if they tried too hard to talk in English, so
272 they stressed on the letters, and they were not really flexible with talking
273 and just expressing, not actually trying to pronounce words by words,
274 so....

275 Investigator: Ok, um, if you, because they're learning, um [whispers under breath]. If
276 you, if when you hear people who might be um, speaking or learning and
277 their English, you might be hearing Arabic influences in how they say
278 English like maybe more uses of definite articles and things like that. Do
279 you feel bothered by it at all or if they're saying at least English that is
280 understandable is that ok with you or do you get this feeling that you
281 really want to try to correct them so that they have a precise English?
282 Really in the end understandability imp..., being understood important, or
283 is precision more important to you when you're listening to other
284 Egyptians speak English?

285 Nagwa: Understanding of course is more important. But sometimes, um, if
286 someone is reading for instance and is reading very slow to pronounce
287 every word, that does annoy me. It doesn't annoy me and I don't get
288 annoyed at the person, but sometimes I would just try to help him or her,
289 but understand of course that I don't, if he can't express himself in a way
290 that I can understand him, I don't care how he pronounced the words; its
291 more important for him because it that....

292 Investigator: So, if more people in Egypt, because this is happening elsewhere too, if
293 more people in Egypt were really starting toward English, if they were
294 able to get more resources to go to classes and they got a certain amount
295 and people were starting to learn English but it became more influenced

296 by Arabic, it became kind of standardized in Egypt, so there is this kind of
297 like English that was very Egyptian-Arabic influenced, which is
298 happening in other places, would that be something that you would
299 consider to be okay, or would you be of the opinion that really should be
300 more of a precise standard-based English?

301 Nagwa: Well, I think that every language has it, I mean, you have to respect every
302 language the way it is. And I'm not talking about old English and old
303 Arabic because they're very different. But Arabic should be, I should
304 respect the way Arabic, should not try to influence it by any means and the
305 same goes for English. It is a language and um, I don't know I guess I
306 think of it, and I don't have the right to change it. It is not mine. And, um,
307 I am generally not the person, I don't like change. So I like things the way
308 they are.

309 Investigator: Oh wow, you're the longest interview so far. We're about done. I
310 appreciate all of this so... Actually, just a few more questions and that's it.
311 Um, have, has your, especially now, you're probably, you might be using
312 English more now at AUC than you ever have, maybe. Right? Well, you
313 use English at international schools, so that's not quite right, but do you
314 feel like when you use English a lot, or as you have been learning English
315 does that make you feel like "I really have to reinforce my Arabic
316 learning," "I, because I'm doing all of this English I need to go back and
317 be a better writer or a better speaker", or...

318 Nagwa: Yes. Because, somewhat ironic that I am an Egyptian, I mean, when I
319 read an Arabic book, I cannot really pronounce the words very well, so its
320 kind of weird. But, yeah, I, I definitely do that. I try to read Arabic as
321 much as I read English, because after all, it is my language, it is my main
322 language. And, um, so I guess once you've spoken from both, and, and
323 people focus on English because it will open doors, so I don't know, even
324 French, I don't know, all the languages open doors. But still Arabic is a
325 very important language. Its also can open doors. It can open actually a
326 lot of doors, if you use it very well. If you learn it, precisely and you
327 know what to do with it. So, at the same time, you have to be good at
328 both. I'm still not really there, but I'm working on this, I'm working on
329 this.

330 Investigator: Do you, so, keeping up with this Arabic, is that important for an Egyptian
331 or Arab identity in general, or conversely, using English a lot perhaps a
332 little, um, could it perhaps ah, negate your identity as an Egyptian, and
333 that's why you might want to learn Arabic? Is that too strong a statement
334 or is there some truth to it?

335 Nagwa: No, actually, it is because Arabic does define who I am in a way. Because
336 I am not American, or British, or whatever, I can't um, I can't say that I am
337 or I can't pretend that I am, and I can't want to be one because this is who I
338 am, I guess. I don't like people who try to be something they're not. And I
339 am Egyptian, I talk in Arabic, and I try to focus on Arabic, but learning
340 English is kind of a thought point, its kind of a, its kind of uh, and
341 advantage of having luxury, to be in an international school. So, it is not

342 my main field, its not my main language, its not, even though I do talk in
343 Arab..in English, and do take English, uh, I read English, I my books are
344 in English, my classes are in English, but so, Arabic is still very important.
345 Investigator: Now, just because everything is about the revolution these days, um, just a
346 couple of questions. What was your opinion looking on being at Tahrir, or
347 seeing pictures um, all of the signs a year ago that were in English, that
348 protestors were using. Why do you think that so many signs were in
349 English at that point?

350 Nagwa: Well, I'm going to be honest, I think a lot of Egyptians are very influenced
351 with America in general, especially America. I'm not talking about Britain
352 or Australia or whatever, they're very uh, influenced by the American
353 lifestyle. So, I think they wanted to be a part of that America, even if it's
354 not really, if you're not really, that's not being a part of it, but they're still
355 aiming for it. They want people to see that they are, they can be that. Or
356 they have the, the, I don't know, the resources or the knowledge to be part
357 of the society that is not really connected to them in any way other than
358 politics. I mean, so, I mean American society isn't really connect to
359 Egyptian society the way that they both think aren't really connected; it is
360 connected by transactions, politics, something that, but they are really
361 different. I mean Egyptian society in general is extremely different from
362 American society. But it's so, some people still want to live in Kansas,
363 they want to live the American Dream in Egypt, which is, I don't know, I
364 would call not right, but it is just different. So, its different I mean from
365 how all the generations, I mean, my parents weren't raised like that, but
366 generation, this generation, is trying to, uh, make you think and to build its
367 own life, own society. So, I guess before the revolution, they weren't
368 really patriotic, not a lot of them were really patriotic, and they wanted,
369 and that, the fact that they depended on English, media, I don't know, it
370 signifies that they weren't really proud of Arabic. Yanni, after the
371 revolution, a lot of, a lot of internet, even on the internet, a lot of people
372 started to use Arabic instead of English, because I don't know, they started
373 to feel the connection to Egypt that this is their country, this is not just a
374 country where you were born and you were living in until you actually
375 travelled abroad and lived a more curious life or a more, a life with
376 purpose; this actually you can have here in and can have a life with
377 purpose here in Egypt, too. So, it kind of it's kind of gave them a wake-up
378 call.

379 Investigator: So, I guess my section question which you have started to answer this is of
380 course, with the political events of the revolution, we need decades to see
381 what the effects are, but what would you predict the political events might
382 hap -- if there would be an effect on English, what do you think the effect
383 on English in this country would be, in, based off of the political events
384 we witnessed over the past year?

385 Nagwa: Well, I won't really think that the relationship between the United States
386 and Egypt are, really political wise, I mean, their relations aren't very
387 good. I think though, but English has, I mean, it has been in our society

388 for a long time. I mean, from the invasion of Britain, and it has been here
389 for a very long time, so its not very easy to shake off the language. On the
390 contrary the language will still exist, and it will still--the people will still
391 teach the children, and they will still let them go to English schools, and
392 even more, because they want them to learn. But at the same time, Arabic,
393 will take a part, will take a role in their lives because growing up, my
394 parents focused on English more than they focused on Arabic. But I think
395 after the revolution, people should focus on both. So, they both will
396 remain. But, its a matter of "Are you going to put this, a bit of sense of, a
397 sense of ah, I don't know, Egypt in it. Cause, people, often they don't, they
398 don't really signify Egypt. They give it, it is underrated, I think, that
399 Egypt is not really appreciated.

400 Investigator: By the Egyptians?

401 Nagwa: Yes.

402 Investigator: Okay, Okay.

403 Nagwa: And the language, it is not really appreciated and its, its very sad to see a
404 foreigner appreciating Egypt more than an Egyptian does.

405 Investigator: Do you see this a lot?

406 Nagwa: Yeah, I do. Like a foreigner comes in, he brags, well he doesn't really
407 brag he just says how, he believes that Egypt is very beautiful and has lots
408 of resources, and he sees the positive, the positive side of Egypt, or the
409 advantages, or is just optimistic, I don't know, but Egyptians are
410 constantly pessimistic and they don't believe in the country. So, I think
411 that blending both languages would make the children, I guess, more
412 patriotic, I don't know. It's very important because how, you can have
413 someone living in Egypt and he's and Egyptian person, but he's not
414 connected to it, to it anyway,

415 Investigator: So, so when you say, "blending" languages, I take it you mean that people
416 have an equal focus and not a lop-sided English focus?

417 Nagwa: Yeah...

418 Investigator: Okay, very good, great! OK, unless you had any other comments or
419 things to say you've given me a lot of information so is there anything,
420 based on what we talked about, or...?

421 Nagwa: Yeah, I just want to say that about the last point, I wouldn't really know,
422 but, I think that in English, um, country or generally where people speak
423 English, first in the states, they tend to learn Spanish, I guess, I think so.
424 They learn other subjects, but they focus on English? They focus on
425 English completely. I'm not really sure but I know people from the states
426 and English is their main language, even if they do know another
427 language, English is their main language. So, its very sad to see the
428 Egypt, Arabic, is not the main language. That's it.

429 Investigator: Um, we in the United States are very monolingual, very monolingual, and
430 umm, from my point of view, my own opinion, that's not what I am
431 supposed to be doing, your opinion is what matters, but it is interesting as
432 an American coming to Egypt is that I am very impressed with the
433 linguistic abilities that people have here and to have conversations with

434 cab drivers with very good English. And we just don't have that in the
435 United States and that's too bad, it's very unfortunate. So I think, maybe
436 Egypt from your point of view, the way things are in Egypt and then from
437 my point of view the way we are in the United States with language, we
438 need to find like a nice central thing...

439 Nagwa: Yeah, in Egypt, even for the touristic thing. So, people should or they try
440 to talk in English because, I don't know, this is they way they live. Its not,
441 they say it in Arabic, I can't really express it right, but its, its, um, its two
442 words of it is where they, they, is, is a thing that makes them eat. So I am
443 just trying to say it from Arabic but I can't express it in English very well.
444 So, tourism will, will give their income, a lot of people income will come
445 from tourism, even cab drivers. Cab drivers transport a lot of tourists from
446 the airport, to the airports to hotels, so, so English is really important
447 because it is the universal language, it is considered a universal language.
448 So, they tried, I don't, to pick up some, some, even if they do not know,
449 English, they try to pick up two words so they can, I don't know, so they
450 can... I'm trying to translate it from Arabic, so they can work out their
451 business, work out...work out their the, I don't know.

452 Investigator: What's the word in Arabic, I am not a great Arabic speaker, but what's the
453 word that you're thinking?

454 Nagwa: *Yaadu Halhoum*. It means, that they can support, as if a poor guy just
455 wants, he can do anything, so he can, can just get, get money so he can he
456 can just cope. So he can cope.

457 Investigator: Yes. Okay, good, good. Well, um, I thank you very much for all of this
458 information. This is very good. Oh, actually just one last, and this will be
459 it, when you're speaking English with other AUC students here, do you
460 ever find yourself correcting people's English?

461 Nagwa: No.

462 Investigator: No.

463 Nagwa: No, I don't like that.

464 Investigator: No, okay, okay. Otherwise, I think you've been very generous with this,
465 this is over 40 minutes, so you get the award for the longest one and
466 you've been very generous.

Interview Five – Amal

- 1 Investigator: Just, some of these questions will seem familiar based off the
2 questionnaire you filled out, but just to start with, if you don't mind to talk
3 about how you were learning English as you grew up, what was the
4 situation was for you as a learner?
- 5 Amal: It was a bit different because most people my age have parents who speak
6 English. My parents do not know how to speak English, so yeah, it was
7 all about school, only school.
- 8 Investigator: Did you go to, uh, international school, or did you go...
- 9 Amal: Yeah, from grade 9, I went to an international school.
- 10 Investigator: Did you go to a public school before that?
- 11 Amal: No.
- 12 Investigator: No. But you went to schools throughout, in Egypt?
- 13 Amal: Yeah, since grade one, yanni, the English language is the main language
14 of instruction (inaudible).
- 15 Investigator: Okay, would um, would you ever have gone to these language schools?
- 16 Amal: Yeah, from grade one.
- 17 Investigator: Okay, okay, good, thank you. Um, so you're parents don't speak English.
18 Um, anybody else in your family speak English?
- 19 Amal: Not anyone who I interact with a lot. Maybe some uncles, something...
- 20 Investigator: Okay. So thinking of how you use English on campus, um, are there
21 particular people, whether its friends or administrators, whoever, who you
22 use English with regularly, and others who you don't use English with
23 regularly?
- 24 Amal: According to the relationship, um, most professors, I speak English with
25 them, because they speak in English, so that's the way. And um, but with
26 students, uh, I normally speak in Arabic as long as they understand it, like
27 if they're not comfortable with the Arabic --sorry, use English.
- 28 Investigator: If you don't know who the student is, but you assume that that person is
29 Egyptian, would you just use Arabic with them?
- 30 Amal: Normally, I start with something that is not English, not Arabic, like "Eh?"
31 [*laughing*] and they would speak so I would know what to do.
- 32 Investigator: Okay, so, okay. So, primarily when you are speaking English, it's because
33 somebody has the job of professor, and so you just speak English. And
34 during, with some friends, maybe some expressions or some, eh, its just
35 about some joke or something about a show that's in English, we would
36 speak in English, but mainly in Arabic.
- 37 Investigator: How about um, people who are on staff here, like people who are at the
38 registrar, what would you normally use with them?
- 39 Amal: I use Arabic but they sometimes they insist there; they respond by English.
40 So I have to make the next response in English.
- 41 Investigator: Even Egyptians will respond in English?

- 42 Amal: Yeah. I don't know why is that. No, seriously, when my Dad came with
43 me, uh, vacation, uh, she started speaking English, so I told her "Arabic
44 please".
- 45 Investigator: Wow, yeah, its, this English world here. So you usually speak Arabic
46 with your peers. Um, are you in general, are you more comfortable using
47 Arabic than English when you are speaking?
- 48 Amal: Well, it's kind of the same, if I had the choice I would use Arabic, but I
49 like English okay.
- 50 Investigator: Okay, okay. Good. So, using, so still talking about using, um, English at
51 AUC, do, when you're using, of course we're at an English medium
52 university so the expectation is English in class. Um, but there is the
53 situation where some people in a classroom have, you know, counting
54 study abroads from America or Europe or somewhere, some will have
55 better English some will not have good English. When you speak English
56 in class in response to a question or group work, do you feel subconscious
57 about your English vis-à-vis other Egyptian students?
- 58 Amal: I might feel that if its outside of class, but as long as it is inside class, I feel
59 like I'm here to learn so it is okay.
- 60 Investigator: Okay, so what is more important is to get your language out so you can
61 learn.
- 62 Amal: Yeah, and to practice.
- 63 Investigator: How about in class, or outside of class, um, do you ever think that perhaps
64 because... do you ever think that maybe you're in the situation where your
65 language skills are better and you're using English and somebody who
66 might not have your skills as well developed as yours might some give off
67 some sort of weird vibe to you? Some sort of weird feeling because of
68 your use of the English that they might not be able to have?
- 69 Amal: [Shrugs, does not understand the question]
- 70 Investigator: Like, um, like there is some sort of, I don't want to say jealousy or
71 something, but something, like, some sort of weird feeling.
- 72 Amal: Assuming that I know they are uncomfortable, I try to speak in Arabic so
73 that they don't feel that.
- 74 Investigator: Okay. So, if you sense that, you switch to Arabic.
- 75 Amal: Yeah.
- 76 Investigator: Um, do you think that um, with your friends that you usually speak
77 English, or, in Arabic, or some English with, do you ever think, whether it
78 is on campus or off campus that your knowledge of English has ever
79 affected friendships; does it matter to any of your friends?
- 80 Amal: The problem here in Egypt is that so many people view English as, um,
81 they would view the speaker as (inaudible). I don't know why is that..
- 82 Investigator: So it is a negative, to know English, really?
- 83 Amal: Yeah.
- 84 Amal: I remember in class, um, here in, we're encouraged to speak in English,
85 but I remember that there were several students that the teacher should
86 say, "You have to speak in English" but they would speak in Arabic
87 because they were afraid, peer pressure, because the others would mock

- 88 them and say, "Auntie", "Mommy and Daddy". They make fun of them.
 89 So, they don't practice, so they end up really bad.
- 90 Investigator: So these are AUC students making fun of other, AUC?
 91 Amal: No, at AUC its not like that. But at school, its more, at school people
 92 mock each other because they spoke English, I mean, usually, better than
 93 you, what are you talking about?
- 94 Investigator: So, perhaps, the mocking was because their English... the people mocking
 95 were not as good as English as the other person.
- 96 Amal: It could be.
 97 Investigator: Okay, it could be.
- 98 Investigator: So, and you alluded to outside the walls of AUC. So when you're outside,
 99 um, you uh, indicated that with your family, it's Arabic because they don't
 100 really speak English. Are there people outside, uh, that you do normally,
 101 outside the AUC, that when you're on the street in Cairo that you might
 102 use English? Are there any situations where that might come up?
- 103 Amal: Only with friends.
- 104 Investigator: Okay, okay. So you would never use English to somebody who you don't
 105 know if you're walking around downtown?
- 106 Amal: Yeah.
 107 Investigator: You would use Arabic?
- 108 Amal: Yeah, because, the probability is that their Arabic is much more...
 109 Investigator: Yes, obviously... Um, then going back to the idea of AUC, does, in your
 110 opinion, is the abili...is speaking English a very important, if not central
 111 aspect of being an AUCian, or having the identity of an AUCian? Is
 112 English very important to that identity?
- 113 Amal: It is, but that's absurd on many.... It's, I know so many people who know
 114 how to speak English perfectly, but they don't use it when they don't need
 115 it. But there are others who are, it shows from the way they speak that
 116 you're not, that's not your culture. That's not how you're raised. You're
 117 trying to show off. She's all Arabic and then say, "Oh, its like" [in a high-
 118 pitched voice]. I'm like, "Why are you doing that?". Its like they push
 119 themselves to fit in, as an AUCian...
- 120 Investigator: Okay, so some people are forcing the issue?
 121 Amal: Yeah.
 122 Investigator: Okay, okay...and these could be people who might be...I mean from my
 123 point of view I see people who have traveled a lot, others haven't...
- 124 Amal: That's okay, it shows that's the way they are, its okay. But some people
 125 force themselves to be somebody who they're not.
- 126 Investigator: Okay, okay. All right. So, I'll get to my next section here. Um, a concept
 127 that I also talk about that you would have seen in the questionnaire is the
 128 idea of the ownership of English, whether people who are considered
 129 nonnative speakers of English feel like they have the ownership or control
 130 of the language the way somebody who is a native has. So, when you
 131 speak English, with other Egyptians, don't think of people like me, but just
 132 other Egyptians. Um, are you concerned, ideally, with following the rules
 133 of English that you would have learned in a textbook, that this is the

- 134 grammar of English, etc., etc., or are you just mainly concerned with that,
 135 with everybody understanding what you're saying in English?
- 136 Amal: Um, if I get to use grammar correctly, I'll do it. [Laughs]
- 137 Investigator: Okay, okay, if you know the grammar, you'll use it. Um, so if, do you
 138 ever find yourself in a a situation where you might be using English with
 139 somebody... So normally from previous statements if somebody's English
 140 wasn't so good, you'd probably switch into Arabic.
- 141 Amal: Yeah.
- 142 Investigator: But, what if, has there been a situation where either somebody wants
 143 practice with you or you were in class so you had to use English and you
 144 might have changed your English a little bit so the other Egyptian could
 145 understand or whatever?
- 146 Amal: Maybe, um, simple vocabulary and speak slowly, I don't know. We'd try
 147 to practice...
- 148 Investigator: Oh, okay. Um, and how about mixing the languages. So you intentionally
 149 try to do that when you speak?
- 150 Amal: No. But, so many people do. Yeah...
- 151 Investigator: Okay. Do you think they're thinking about it, or do they just do it
 152 naturally?
- 153 Amal: Some, some people it happens spontaneously, and it shows. And its okay,
 154 and I'm fine with those people. But some people, I feel that inside their
 155 mind, "I'm now going to use English"; "Well, in relation to what?
 156 English".
- 157 Investigator: Okay. Did you, do you specifically try to keep the, when you speak
 158 English, you only use English when you use Arabic, you just stick to the
 159 Arabic vocabulary?
- 160 Amal: Yeah.
- 161 Investigator: This is a more, um, abstract idea, but say in Egypt there were to be more
 162 resources available for language study, so more and more Egyptians could
 163 get more English to either work with tourists or work with people who are
 164 coming in, um, and say that the more people here have learned English,
 165 the more that... Ok, so enough people learn English, but their English
 166 reflects the Arabic or the Egyptian characteristics. Say that happened,
 167 would that be something that would bother you, you'd day, "Well, they
 168 ought to really speak the more grammatically proper English", or, or if
 169 there was an Egyptian version of English, would that be okay with you as
 170 long as people were able to understand each other?
- 171 Amal: I'm okay with accents, but not "Egyptian English"; I mean, English is
 172 English. But if you have an accent, its okay because, for example, some
 173 people, because we don't have the "p" in Arabic, so, it not like they're
 174 (inaudible). Well, actually its okay, but creating an Egyptian grammar is
 175 not okay.
- 176 Investigator: Okay. When you mentioned the "p" it makes me think of when I try to
 177 say the "Ein" [Arabic letter], so we also have our problems. So, um,
 178 another thing, with all of the emphasis you have here on English as well as
 179 before in high school, um, in growing up, uh, did you ever focus so much

- 180 on English, that you thought, you know, "I really need to make sure that
 181 either my written or my reading in Arabic or etc., that I need to really go
 182 back and keep that going so I don't have, uh, so my English doesn't ruin
 183 my Arabic." Do you think that?
- 184 Amal: Yes, because its really pathetic how so many people here in Egypt, they
 185 don't know how to speak proper Arabic, neither proper English. They
 186 think something, "You don't have a language", "You don't even have
 187 proper Arabic or proper English".
- 188 Investigator: And that's the kind of language that is mixed?
- 189 Amal: Yeah.
- 190 Investigator: Right. Um, do you consider yourself to have that kind of proper Arabic
 191 speaking it at least...
- 192 Amal: Yeah.
- 193 Investigator: Of course, growing up with parents who didn't speak English....
- 194 Amal: Yeah...
- 195 Investigator: And just another way of asking you the same question, which I have
 196 already asked, if you're speaking to a native speaker of English such as
 197 myself, do you ever feel that you are saying your English differently or is
 198 it the same as you would use with anyone? Like, have you, do you notice
 199 that when you speak to native speaker that you might change how you're
 200 saying your English or you might be more concerned about your grammar
 201 or anything like that? Does that come up?
- 202 Amal: No, but it, when I speak to you I feel more comfortable to make mistakes
 203 than when I speak to another Egyptian like, maybe his English is better.
 204 Here, you are proficient, but with you comparatively it is not so bad
 205 because you're an English speaker, so it's okay for you to make mistakes.
 206 [*More on this in 5 March email response below*]
- 207 Investigator: That's interesting, glad you mentioned that.
- 208 Investigator: Okay, another thing is, to, just to finish up, because we were a year away
 209 from the revolution now and everything, I just have been asking a couple
 210 of these questions. First, why do you think so many of the signs, not all of
 211 them of course, but why so many of the signs in Tahrir Square during the
 212 revolution had English only or English and Arabic, um, even if the English
 213 wasn't perfect, but it was English. Why do you think people were using
 214 English on those signs?
- 215 Amal: Well I guess they try to do that for the press. For, the media. So it's
 216 because the news went global so everyone needs some English, yeah.
- 217 Investigator: So it was a way to speak to people all over the world? Because Egyptians
 218 knowing the way English is there they probably know that everywhere
 219 there is a lot of English?
- 220 Amal: Yeah.
- 221 Investigator: Do you think that, of course, we probably couldn't answer this until twenty
 222 to thirty years from now, but do you have any predictions, if any, of how
 223 the political events in this country may effect the role of English or the
 224 place of English?

- 225 Amal: Right now, uh, like yesterday uh, I don't know what his name was, but a
 226 person in the parliament, what's his name, someone. He said that uh,
 227 English should be banned from school for now on because uh, its outside,
 228 [laughs] foreign, conservative thing. So I'm not sure what will happen. I
 229 think that if its the Muslim Brotherhood who took over, I don't know what
 230 will happen.
- 231 Investigator: Oh, okay. Did he get any reactions from the parliament, did you hear
 232 anybody respond to that?
- 233 Amal: No, so many people they go up and say anything and they sit down. But
 234 the comments, yanni, on Facebook and other social networks, they're all
 235 negative. They're all like, "What? What are you saying?"
- 236 Investigator: Okay. If, from my point of view, um, I'm coming from the United States
 237 where we are monolingual, very English focused. I am quite envious of
 238 how many Egyptians, even cab drivers have very good English, and I wish
 239 we wished that we emphasized these skills. We have a big Spanish-
 240 speaking neighbor to the south and we don't really learn Spanish when we
 241 should. But anyway, hopefully that can change. And, um, I think that's
 242 about it... Yeah, I think that is pretty much everything. Do you have any
 243 from, the questionnaire or what you were saying just now, do you have
 244 any final comments or things that you want to mention about English, how
 245 your attitudes or anything or, nothing else, that's fine too.
- 246 Amal: Um, no. I feel that people, most of them speak English in order to appear
 247 more cool, I'm not cool [referring to herself] but it is just trying to
 248 practice, they're doing it for self-improvement, then that's fine. The
 249 problem is that so many people are doing it out of...and they think their
 250 accent is so good but their grammar is really bad.
- 251 Investigator: Okay.
- 252 Amal: Yeah, they sound like American, but when they write or they read, they
 253 cannot read the lectures or words or something.
- 254 Investigator: Okay. So maybe the people doing that don't need English for a job, or
 255 something. They're just doing it...
- 256 Amal: They want to appear, a higher stature.
- 257 Investigator: When, um, when you're, was your motivation behind English, like, for
 258 work, or for education, um, well you had to learn English for education,
 259 right?
- 260 Amal: Yeah.
- 261 Investigator: So that was your major motivation, or did you have any other ideas for it?
- 262 Amal: I don't know, maybe that's why my parents made sure I go to English
 263 school, maybe they knew how they'd, not to have another language,
 264 maybe. So that's why they're like, "Learn and do well and go to the
 265 AUC." [She laughs].
- 266 Investigator: Sometimes, parental pressure, you know, some of the things they didn't do
 267 they wanted me to do it, not successfully. Like, playing music and stuff,
 268 but... Okay, that's great, um, I really, you covered my major questions...
 269 so thank you for your time and that took about 20 minutes. Good, I didn't

270 want to talk too much of your time, so this is very helpful. Thank you
271 very much.

272 **E-mail Addition: 5 March 2012**

273 Investigator: I was listening over the weekend to our interview, and I was struck by a
274 particular point you made toward the end; you mentioned that you were
275 more comfortable making mistakes in English while speaking to a native
276 English speaker such as myself than with an Egyptian speaker of English.
277 If you have any time in the next few days, would you mind writing a
278 sentence or two as to why you think that may be the case? I do not want
279 you to put much time into this, just a simple explanation if you can.

280 Amal: Of course! No problem.
281 I feel comfortable making mistakes in front of you because we are not the
282 same. There's no valid comparison. On the other hand, if there is a student
283 who went to the same school I went to (or maybe just similar education
284 system) and goes to the same university and lives in the same city but
285 his/her English is better than me, comparison is valid here. It's like I have
286 no excuse for being less than him/her and so. You cannot say "Which is
287 better, pop/rock music or oriental Arabic music?" It will be just stupid.
288 Maybe compare between two pop/rock bands or oriental Arabian
289 musicians or singers.
290 When I talk in front of another Egyptian of my same age range,
291 insecurities might show up. I would wonder if I'm "as good as him/her" or
292 "better" or "way below his/her level". I might be concerned about what
293 that person is thinking of my English. There would be peer pressure and a
294 desire to be as good as or even better than that person along with other
295 psychic business going on.
296 When a foreigner rapes Arabic in front of me, I feel it's alright because
297 he/she's not a native and that's an excuse. And that's what I presume
298 foreigners would think of me when I speak their language, unlike other
299 Egyptians who would rather be judging and evaluating my performance.
300 If you have any other questions or any other clarifications let me know.

Interview Six – Heba

1 Investigator: Thank you for your time today. So, I'll be asking questions, that, based on
2 the questionnaire you filled out will probably not be a surprise, but if
3 there's anything that feels a bit too personal, you don't have to answer
4 anything. Um, so, with that being said, if we can just start by, uh, what's
5 your experience growing up and learning English? What was your
6 background in that?

7 Heba: OK, I actually moved a lot. I grew up, I went to Saudi Arabia, where I
8 attended an American school, where all our teachers were Americans, and
9 actually, I was like, since Kindergarten, since grade G I was there. And, if
10 we spoke any words in Arabic, we had to pay one riyal [laughs]. Even in
11 the breaks. So I got used to speaking in English, as, like whenever I was

- 12 outside, especially that in places in the Gulf usually, English is the most
 13 spoken language because there are a lot of nationalities. And I only spoke
 14 Arabic at home. My parents had to like, made us speak Arabic so we
 15 won't forget or something. And I came back here, and it was fine. I lived
 16 here for four years. And then I went to Dubai. I lived in Dubai for nine
 17 years, and this was like, the place I lived in the most. And in Dubai,
 18 English is the first language. And even, and then when I went to
 19 university, I went to the American University in Sharjah, was where I
 20 started studying, and we spoke English. All of our professors or all of our
 21 teachers spoke in English. And, like, we got used to speaking English all
 22 the time, almost all the time as long as we're on campus. And then it
 23 became like more. Like we sort of speaking to each other in English even
 24 though we're all Arabs, but we spoke to each other in English, even if
 25 we're not on campus. You know, if we're just going out or something. I
 26 think part of it is because of the different accents which makes it like...
 27 Especially for Egyptians, the Egyptian accent is usually understood by
 28 everyone in the Arab region, but we don't understand the Gulf region
 29 much because they have a different accent [Note, it seems that she is using
 30 the word "accent" for "dialect". That seems apparent throughout]. Which
 31 makes it easier for us to speak in English, because this is something we all
 32 understand. So, I think, that's like, for me personally, because my parents,
 33 like, stressed on the fact that we have to speak in Arabic at home and stuff.
 34 It's more for me with friends on campus. First of all on campus, only
 35 then, think ofand when I came to here to the AUC I thought I would be
 36 speaking more in Arabic because most of them are Egyptians, but then
 37 English was the language we used the most. It's more frequent for us
 38 now. Like even if we start speaking in Arabic we have some English
 39 words in between. So, that's my experience, like, speaking, learning in
 40 English, and like. I, like, the university is different than school because
 41 you spend more hours actually at the university. And, sometimes,
 42 unintentionally I speak in English at home, which makes it frustrating for
 43 my parents because they're like, "You're not all speaking English all the
 44 time. You have to speak in Arabic." I speak to them just like I speak to
 45 my parents. So, it's Arabic and English in the same language, in the same
 46 sentence.
- 47 Investigator: So, uh, the, uh, American curriculum, you had. So in Saudi Arabia when
 48 you were at an American School, that means like, equivalent to American
 49 curriculum.
- 50 Heba: Yeah, American curriculum.
- 51 Investigator: You said you were in Egypt for four years. Uh, what education were you
 52 getting here?
- 53 Heba: I was getting the Egyptian curriculum, but we talked in English.
- 54 Investigator: Okay.
- 55 Heba: Yeah, that was like, that was the education I got here, but we mostly spoke
 56 in Arabic unless in classes, so, so only in classes. So like between each
 57 other, we spoke in Arabic as well normally.

- 58 Investigator: Was it an international school?
- 59 Heba: No, it was an Egyptian school actually.
- 60 Investigator: Public?
- 61 Heba: Not public. It was private; its, a private school, but we got to learn the
62 Egyptian curriculum.
- 63 Investigator: Ok.
- 64 Heba: Because, initially I was in primary school. Usually, people even here,
65 like, we study, even if its an international school, its like, we have some
66 parts of the Egyptians curriculum that we have to take. But the Arabic, the
67 religion and social studies, we have to take, even the Egyptian as well, the
68 Egyptian curriculum one. And then we have the others. And then, we're
69 going to high school, his is, like, either where I go to American, British,
70 the sections, the degree I guess is one of these. I actually got my high
71 school degree in the British part, but I when I started, I started at an
72 American curriculum school.
- 73 Investigator: OK. Do you recall, so, so, in Egypt when you were going to school here,
74 it was English in class.
- 75 Heba: But outside classes, Arabic.
- 76 Investigator: But outside classes, Arabic. So, do you recall students ever trying to use
77 English outside of class with each other?
- 78 Heba: Umm, not much, but because I didn't really, like school, for me, was just
79 for going to classes. But I have more friends in the club. Like, in our, it's
80 my swimming team and stuff. So usually, people that try to speak in
81 English we took it in a way that they're trying to look prestigious but its
82 not working. [Laughing] So that's how we usually view that. So we really
83 didn't use English much. But, even now, they, now that's we all went into
84 university now, like, I'm in my fourth year. And all of my friends that I
85 had on my swimming team, as well, it's all unintentional we all went into
86 English universities, so we all speak in English now.
- 87 Investigator: Ok, it gets, stuck.
- 88 Heba: Yeah [Laughs]
- 89 Investigator: So, um, if, do you remember, before we move on to more current things,
90 do you remember when people used English in class when you were in
91 Egyptian school? Um, was there, were there certain students who were
92 better at English and other students who would make fun of their English?
- 93 Heba: Yeah. That has always been the case. Actually, um, I think its, its part of
94 the Egyptian culture, that we tend to make fun of everything. So, and we
95 have, even though, when I first, when I lived in Egypt, these four years,
96 we, people kept on making fun of the Egyptian accent they speak in
97 English. They have this like, they say the "Za" and "tha". They have
98 letters they pronounce differently, but when I got to live abroad and I got
99 to interact with lots of different nationalities, it's almost the case with
100 everyone. It's not only Egyptians. But, we make it more obvious because
101 we keep making fun of it. That has always been the case, even in school.
102 Sometime, people make fun of the teachers.
- 103 Investigator: Okay

- 104 Heba: That has been like, not the normal accent that we were used to.
- 105 Investigator: Were there any Egyptians that had a very native sounding accent that
106 would be made fun of for that?
- 107 Heba: No, not really.
- 108 Investigator: Just, only if people heard Egyptian influences.
- 109 Heba: That's interesting. That's very interesting.
- 110 Investigator: It is interesting also that, um, no, it's always, you know, native speakers
111 who definitely hear accents. But when non-native speakers hear them too,
112 that's interesting. That means they're very aware...that's good.
- 113 Investigator: What were your parents' motivations in speaking, ok, first, do your parents
114 know English? Can they speak English like you can?
- 115 Heba: Not like I can. Actually, I, well, I have to select, my Dad has better
116 English than my Mom does. And that's because of the job, I think. Um,
117 plus my Mom is a history teacher. The Egyptian history teacher, so she
118 usually teaches in Arabic. But my Dad is an engineer, and since we lived
119 abroad a lot and he had to be with a lot of multi-national, he had to be
120 working with multi-national companies. So he learned English by
121 practice, I would say. Like, he, and his accent was because it was just like
122 practice. But nowadays, he was asking my help for writing some, like,
123 long emails or something. Like, he, so, they're not, I would not say they're
124 native speakers, because they got their education in Arabic, but they got to
125 learn English by practice. Even my Mom when living in Dubai, had made
126 her have to speak in English, because that's the only way you can get
127 around.
- 128 Investigator: Oh, okay. Grocery stores, stuff like that?
- 129 Heba: Yeah, stores, any stores, taxi drivers...everything you have to speak in
130 English.
- 131 Investigator: They're not, so the people aren't Arab, who would be at the grocery stores?
- 132 Heba: No, they're usually actually Asian.
- 133 Investigator: Ah, okay.
- 134 Heba: Yeah.
- 135 Investigator: Was it like that in Saudi Arabia too?
- 136 Heba: I don't really recall much in Saudi Arabia, but you don't have, you didn't
137 have the freedom to go out in Saudi Arabia like we do in Dubai. Like my
138 Mom would not really go out alone without my Dad in Saudi Arabic. But
139 in Dubai, it's fine.
- 140 Investigator: Okay. Interesting. My wife and I are applying for jobs now, because she's
141 also here. We applied to a few in Saudi Arabia. They make it very clear
142 that there's compounds.
- 143 Heba [Laughing] The compound is different, it's a totally different country.
144 Once you get out of that, it's...
- 145 Investigator: ...totally different? [Laughs]
- 146 Heba: Yeah.
- 147 Investigator: So what were your, you alluded to this already, but what would you say
148 were your parent's motivations in keeping Arabic at home? Because

- 149 sometimes parents might try to use English at home to keep the skills.
 150 Why were your parents insistent on Arabic at home?
- 151 Heba: I think that it is partly because, um, see, like, I don't exactly know the
 152 reason, but maybe because we have to come back to Egypt every summer
 153 vacation. And we have our cousins that we all speak in Arabic to.
 154 Additionally, it is that because of religion. So, our parents has always
 155 like, "OK, you go out, have fun, have all types of friends you want to do,
 156 but always keep in mind that you have limitations given your religion and
 157 culture." So they, they always emphasize that. So even like, people talk
 158 about Egyptian nationalism, and its rising only in the revolution, that's is
 159 not really true because keeping Arabic at home for example, for us, its
 160 what's part of like, us knowing where we actually come from. Knowing
 161 our nationality, knowing all of that. Because living abroad, like, and being
 162 raised up abroad, it makes it more, um, what I say, like frequent or
 163 possible for you to forget about your own country and your own culture.
 164 So, yeah. Arabic is part of our culture. It's not like they, force on us
 165 learning fusha, like, the actual Arabic that is written in the Qur'an, for
 166 example. No, it's just our own accent [dialect] as Egyptians, so we use
 167 Arabic at home.
- 168 Investigator: Okay, okay. So, Egyptian identity is important. Do you, so, this would be
 169 a question I would ask a few minutes later but since we're talking about it,
 170 I'll just ask now. Do you feel that you're use of English now, or ever, do
 171 you feel that infringes on your Egyptian identity?
- 172 Heba: No, not at all. I think it's the opposite. Since I, see, I when I was in
 173 university, AUS, University of Sharjah, we, I had to travel with the
 174 university to two competitions abroad. One was at the University of
 175 Oxford, its a moot court, its like a law competition. So one was at the
 176 University of Oxford and one was at Miami. So when we went to the
 177 University of Oxford, we were a team of five, and we're like three
 178 Egyptians and one Palestinian, so it was fine. But when I was in Miami, I
 179 was the only Egyptian, and I was in a team of Indians and Pakistanis, and
 180 is the entire competition has no other Egyptians. I was the only Egyptian,
 181 I was the only Arab. So, speaking English, makes me, like, makes it more
 182 possible for me to tell the people about our own culture, especially since
 183 the revolution was happening at the same time that I was in Miami. Like,
 184 keeping, knowing English doesn't, like I don't think they're really linked
 185 because its given me more, channels of communication to tell people
 186 about your culture and your identity. As long as you know you're attached
 187 to it, so you can express it to everyone. So I don't think English has any,
 188 like, English has any affect on my identity as an Egyptian.
- 189 Investigator: Okay. Um, so to get into, the next thing I want to talk about is, um,
 190 English use here. Of course, we're at an English medium university. Um,
 191 but are there people who you use English, a classification or whoever, a
 192 type of people who you use English with all the time here, versus people
 193 who you never used English here, that you would use Arabic with only?
 194 Do you, are there dichotomies like that?

- 195 Heba: Well, in class, it's usually, we have to all speak in English. There are
 196 certain people as I told you who when I was young, how we viewed
 197 people speaking English as something prestigious. So, these people I have
 198 to speak English to so that they won't go like, "Oh, she doesn't know
 199 English" or "She went to, like, a different..." Some people classify it as
 200 which class you are in, you speak that language. So, some people see it
 201 that way. Um, so these are the people I would speak English to. My
 202 friends, my close friends, we usually speak in Arabic. Sometimes, we
 203 have some sentences in English, like, they're just phrases that we cannot
 204 translate or something, or we're used to. So these are expressions we
 205 would use.
- 206 Investigator: OK, so certain ways to express yourself. Um, so you will use English if
 207 you're with somebody who feels the need to use it for their own identity,
 208 or...
- 209 Heba: Yeah.
- 210 Investigator: OK, but you wouldn't put yourself in that?
- 211 Heba: No, I wouldn't put myself in that category.
- 212 Investigator: Okay. Um, so would people who work here, the registrar's office, well,
 213 you know, we could say janitors, but most are mainly Arabic only, people
 214 who work here, do you usually try to at least start in Arabic, or...
- 215 Heba: It depends, actually. Like, um, because I come from AUS, I saw, like, we
 216 had English was like the language we used with anyone from the
 217 administration, even if they spoke Arabic. But, um, so, I got like used to
 218 it. But, when I got, like, this is my third semester here at AUC. So, when
 219 I started like, some people in the registrar, you would speak to them in
 220 Arabic and they would reply back in Arabic, so that was fine. Some you
 221 would start talking Arabic, they reply back in English, so you have to shift
 222 again to English. When buying food, or something, it's just Arabic.
 223 Because we know these people won't really have the ability to speak in
 224 English all the time. They would understand me if I tell them that I
 225 wanted this sandwich in English. But it confuses, if I know how to speak
 226 Arabic. Even international students, they try to practice their language, by
 227 using it with these people. Because unfortunately, we [AUC students]
 228 don't help them when, if they want to speak to us in Arabic. So they want,
 229 like I, I think this the first international students that I met here, they're
 230 like, "We're trying to speak to people in Arabic to practice our Arabic, but
 231 people usually reply back to in English.
- 232 Investigator: And not just on AUC, um, but...
- 233 Heba: Yeah, everywhere, downtown. I have a friend, he lives in the dorms in
 234 Zamalek, and just like, the grocery man speaks to us in English. I was like
 235 he's just trying to be friendly. But they are not sure you are trying to learn
 236 Arabic because they don't know you're registered here for an Arabic
 237 course. They're just trying to be helpful. People that live, and work in
 238 such touristic areas, they know a lot of languages. They actually know a
 239 lot of languages, so they do prefer speaking to... they see them as tourists.

- 240 They don't see them as people living here studying. So they try to be like
 241 like....
- 242 Investigator: Of course, of course. I mean one time, I took fusha a long time ago and
 243 my Arabic is horrible now. Including my Egyptian. I once said "kuwais"
 244 [Egyptian dialect for "good"] to somebody, and they were so impressed,
 245 like wow, you know a word. It's amazing! I agree with you the
 246 friendliness aspect. OK, very good. Um, let's see, um, when you're, okay.
 247 So we discussed people, so uh, the other thing is on campus here, if you do
 248 not know somebody, um, and you need to instigate or start a conversation,
 249 what language would you start it in if you don't know who that person is?
- 250 Heba: I would start in English.
- 251 Investigator: Start in English. OK. And maybe that they replied to you in Arabic...
- 252 Heba: Yeah, maybe, I think that it's rare to happen that someone would then
 253 reply in Arabic, yeah. I would start in English, because...
- 254 Investigator: Yeah, just in case...
- 255 Heba: Yes, just in case.
- 256 Investigator: Um, when you get out of campus, when you're off campus outside the
 257 walls of this institution, um, are there situations that, a regular kind of
 258 situation that you would find yourself using English outside of here?
- 259 Heba: Only with friends maybe. But not, like, not at home. I happened to say
 260 some phrases in English at home or something, but, like, with my cousins,
 261 with my brothers, like, we speak in Arabic.
- 262 Investigator: OK.
- 263 Heba: Maybe with some friends, but um, not always. I try to use Arabic
 264 as...because I have to use it anyway when I start working here. Um, like,
 265 I'll have to know actually good Arabic. I'll have to write in Arabic. But
 266 um, sometimes, you have to use English...
- 267 Investigator: For expressions?
- 268 Heba: For expressions, or something, or and yeah. Sometimes, they're actually
 269 using a funny Egyptian language, a funny Egyptian accent, the English
 270 one. Just out having fun, this is for some sort of jokes or something.
- 271 Investigator: Do people, if English slips out when you are not here, um, if English
 272 slips out when you are at a restaurant or something, do people respond in
 273 any sort of way, or does it, like, they're shocked, they're pleased, they're not
 274 happy?
- 275 Heba: Actually, it happened to me one, I was ordering at McDonalds outside
 276 campus, and then when the guy gave me the check, I said "Thank you"
 277 and he was like "Thank you" (okay...). That was the only thing I said; you
 278 usually say "Shoukran" ["Thank you" in Arabic]. So I was "Thank you"; it
 279 just came out of me unintentionally, because I'm used to it. He actually
 280 paused because it's funny.
- 281 Investigator: The interesting thing is, with McDonalds, I was with another foreigner
 282 who's got good Egyptian conversational Arabic, not academic Arabic, but
 283 he was even saying when you're in a place where everything is in English,
 284 where do you use the Arabic? It almost seems more logical to say, "Thank

- 285 you," in English after you have said you want a hamburger, french
286 fries...[laughs]
- 287 Heba: Actually, its very funny, like, how for example when Egyptians get to, if
288 we order on the phone, like, and then we go like "I want one sandwich, but
289 I want a combo, and I want Pepsi, but I want it to be Seven-up." So like,
290 this is how we say, like, "Pepsi" for us doesn't mean for us "a soda" or "a
291 fizzy drink". Pepsi means the fizzy drink; Pepsi doesn't not mean the Pepsi
292 itself, or the coke. So you categorize Miranda, anything under the Pepsi.
293 Even within the English language, we have our own language.
- 294 Investigator: Yes, right. That's a good point. Um, ok, so, a final thing regarding, um,
295 the AUC and English, does, so you have not spent, you will have
296 graduated without having been here from freshman year, right? You had
297 different experiences, so this could be different from your point of view.
- 298 Heba: Yes.
- 299 Investigator: But in terms of, if there's an identity, AUC identity, what is an AUCian, is
300 an "English speaker" important, central, not important?
- 301 Heba: No, I think "English speaker" is important. As an AUCian, its how people
302 identify us. Or, we identify ourselves as well.
- 303 Investigator: When other people identify you as AUCian, especially focusing in
304 English-speaking, is that a good or bad connotation? What do you, like
305 your impression of what other people might think, is that good or bad?
- 306 Heba: As "English speaker" I think its good. Yeah. But it, the AUCian, itself
307 has a lot of other, uh, stereotypes and a lot of other things which
308 sometimes have negative connotations. But not the English part.
- 309 Investigator: It's something else?
- 310 Heba: Yeah, it's something else.
- 311 Investigator: So, okay, when you're in, another thing I am interested in is dynamics of
312 English use, um, just between people. So when you're in class, again, we
313 understand "English medium", but when you use English in class, um, are
314 you, first of all are you compared to your peers, are you confident in your
315 English, or are you kind of reluctant to use it based on your perceived skill
316 with the English?
- 317 Heba: Personally, um, I'm fine using English in class. And I'm not, like there are
318 some students here who don't have perfect English or, like, yeah, and I, I
319 think they don't, don't have any problem with speaking, even with their
320 accent. After all, they're usually the most people that speak up in class.
321 But they're usually the ones that came from Egyptians schools that usually
322 graduated with really high scores. So, I think they already have the
323 confidence to speak up and say what, uh, they want. Um, and I would
324 think also people make fun of, in class, you know, we don't at all, like,
325 make fun of any other colleagues accent or something. They usually say
326 really good information with regards to the class.
- 327 Investigator: Ok, another way to say what you said is "As long as the person's ideas are
328 important, you're not concerned."
- 329 Heba: With accent...

- 330 Investigator: Okay, Okay. Did, so you've pretty much already answered this, but I'll ask
 331 it anyway. When you, um, you, have you been in situations where you
 332 have an advanced skill level compared to the person that you're speaking
 333 to, or in class or outside of class. And let's just say you're speaking
 334 English. Have you ever been in a situation where you get a kind of weird,
 335 uncomfortable vibe, or feeling from that other person, you think maybe its
 336 because my English versus their English.
- 337 Heba: No, I have never been in that situation.
- 338 Investigator: OK. Um, I guess related to that, that might be a person and disagree with
 339 me, its fine, but that might be a person you're speaking Arabic with
 340 anyway? Right? So you wouldn't even speak English to that person, or...?
- 341 Heba: No, not really. Like whether I wouldn't speak English to that person or if I
 342 would speak English?
- 343 Investigator: Yeah.
- 344 Heba: I've never been in that situation. So, no.
- 345 Investigator: Okay.
- 346 Heba: I can't, like, recall anything that I would think of as....
- 347 Investigator: Okay. And actually, it just came to mind, going back to saying how
 348 people would make fun of the Egyptian accent in school, maybe I already
 349 asked this...did you ever get the feeling that people were being made fun
 350 of, the idea that the person's English was very good...
- 351 Heba: Oh, no, that never happened.
- 352 Investigator: OK, I think yeah.
- 353 Heba: It's just the opposite.
- 354 Investigator: Um, and a final thing, and I think I know how you'll answer this, but does
 355 your use of English in a classroom or, you know, outside of classroom, do
 356 you think that English has an effect on your friendships with other people?
 357 The knowledge of it, the use of it. Have you ever thought that before?
- 358 Heba: Um, maybe, with some people, but like it depends on the type of
 359 friendship you're having. Because some people are just passing, some are
 360 just colleagues on campus that I get to, I know we won't have life-long
 361 friendships until we die. But I know them on campus, on, um, so if, like,
 362 it depends on the person in front of me. I personally wouldn't, um, pick
 363 my friends based on who can speak English and who can't. But some
 364 people, but my close friends, because of the expressions I have to use
 365 sometimes, they have to know some English, you know. So, that's, yanni,
 366 Its just comments, by the environment I lived in, the place, the place I go
 367 to school in, so these are usually my close friends. So they happen to
 368 speak English, so, um, but I have my cousins, they're not, they don't speak
 369 perfect English, and they could, some of them go to Cairo University, and
 370 like, they, they... And I have my, my closest cousin, she doesn't speak
 371 perfect English at all. And it's fine with me; not just because she is my
 372 cousin. If she was just a friend, I would have had her as a friend, not
 373 because of her English. It's not something I judge people on.

- 374 Investigator: Okay, okay. Very good. And, actually before we go onto the final
 375 section, what kind of things, if just one or two, if you can think of it, seem
 376 to be easier for you to express in English than of Arabic?
- 377 Heba: Um, I would say, when, when speaking about political science, I am a
 378 political science student, when speaking about politics or something and
 379 I'm trying to use things I, I got to learn in class, it's very hard to translate
 380 in Arabic. So I have to express that English and ask my Dad to translate
 381 it. That's like, if we're having a discussion or something. And another
 382 thing, let's see, um. I can't think of something else. It's all related to
 383 AUC. Because, um, part of ISAAC, which is a youth-run organization.
 384 An international one, actually. And we have, part of it at AUC. And, um,
 385 I like, I can't translate a lot of things into Arabic. I was just put in a
 386 situation where we had to advertise for something in Ein Shams
 387 university, and I had to give a presentation to people, and then I started to
 388 speaking in English, and everyone was like, yeah, they didn't really say
 389 anything; the slides were in English, and I am trying to speak in Arabic,
 390 and it was very hard to do. So, but it went well. At the end, like I was
 391 able to, to say what I wanted to say, give them the information, but not in
 392 the like, there are some terms that you have to use that are, they're
 393 probably, they can be translated but I can't do so.
- 394 Investigator: Okay, well with time.
- 395 Heba: With time it would come. Yeah.
- 396 Investigator: Of course. In, um, why would you need to know Arabic after, and I mean,
 397 on this face of it a silly question, but why would you need to know to
 398 write well in Arabic after you leave here? What would you be doing with
 399 Arabic here?
- 400 Heba: Because I'm thinking of going to foreign ministry, and if I do so, I have to,
 401 I have to go through an exam, and that exam is in Arabic. Like, a very
 402 small part of it is in two foreign languages because we have to speak
 403 English and something else. And the bulk of the exam, the bulk is in
 404 Arabic. So I have to know how to speak and write in Arabic in fusha, not
 405 only the Egyptian dialect. And, I've tried practicing that, it was very hard.
 406 I was an intern in, um, Arabic newspaper, it's called "Al Mal" its an
 407 economics one. And it took me around like a few weeks to write an
 408 article, but because its very hard, event to type it because I don't know
 409 where the letters are on the keyboard. So, um, that was the hard part. Its
 410 hard, but I think because I already have the background of the Arabic
 411 language and, I personally use it, its, just needs practice. But, if for other
 412 people, because Arabic is a hard language its not an easy language at all. I
 413 think English is easier. But, um, for other people to, who don't know after
 414 all Arabic, is pretty much hard. Uh, I think I have this on my side that my
 415 parents making us speak Arabic all the time, is something good for me in
 416 the future.
- 417 Investigator: OK, OK. And, um, the, one final thing that just sprang to mind, um. If
 418 you're around somebody, well actually, can I do this? OK, I'll actually
 419 start here. So the final concept I'm interested in is the ownership of the

- 420 English. The idea that a "non-native" speaker owns it, feels like they own
 421 it like a native speaker does, which entails a lot of things. Um, and the
 422 interesting thing is in Egypt, you see a lot of examples of people who grew
 423 up speaking English, so it does challenge the definition of what does
 424 nonnative versus native really is, it depends. Um, so when you're
 425 speaking with other Egyptians, take me out of the picture, um, people like
 426 me out of the picture. Are, is your idea when you're speaking English to,
 427 do, are you focusing, you're not focusing, but do you want to be following
 428 the rules of grammar, the things that you learn in English textbooks, do
 429 you worry about that?
- 430 Heba: No, not at all. Because we happen to watch a lot of, eh, movies and TV
 431 shows, and all in English, so its usually the more the slang language, and
 432 um, as I told you, a lot like with my close friends we use the Egyptian
 433 English version which is usually, has a lot of grammar mistakes, but we
 434 don't really concentrate on that at all. But sometimes if we're speaking in
 435 English, in English, and the one of us like, it slips out of them, that they're
 436 speak-- they, they a grammar mistake or something, we just make fun of
 437 it. But its just for, between friends and stuff. We don't usually care about
 438 grammar, I don't think we do.
- 439 Investigator: OK, you mentioned, slang, as in American slang?
- 440 Heba: Yes, American slang.
- 441 Investigator: So you feel as comfortable using slang? So you would feel as comfortable
 442 using slang maybe as a native speaker would, because you have been so
 443 exposed to it? Or, do you feel at least as comfortable using it?
- 444 Heba: Yeah, it's fine with me using it. And, um its very, like, its very interesting
 445 how you mentioned how, its very hard to categorize yourself as a native
 446 speaker because I don't think I have an American accent. But I have
 447 English that, like I can understand English very well, I write well in
 448 English, and I speak it, like I can understand anyone speaking English.
 449 But still I would not categorize myself under a native speaker. So it's very
 450 hard to, even though I understand it. So, it's very hard to categorize
 451 people under it.
- 452 Investigator: Absolutely. So, the interesting thing you just mentioned is, you have,
 453 when you're speaking with other Egyptians, do you feel that the English
 454 you might be using with other Egyptians could be different than what
 455 we're speaking right now? Like do you think the mix of American slang
 456 and Egyptian influences, it might be different?
- 457 Heba: Yeah.
- 458 Investigator: OK, OK. So, you do own it...[Laughs] That's what my research would
 459 say. Yeah, but, so, and the idea "comprehension", so "precision" versus
 460 "comprehension". What would matter most to you?
- 461 Heba: Um, I'm not sure, um, probably comprehension.
- 462 Investigator: Yeah. So again if somebody make a mistake, it doesn't matter?
- 463 Heba: It doesn't matter.
- 464 Investigator: Have you ever, you mentioned how you may, you know, you kind of tease
 465 somebody if they make a grammatical mistake. Do you ever get to, like,

- 466 have you ever had a relationship with somebody, either at your level at
 467 English or somebody below you in English in which you would correct
 468 them, but it was appreciated, or they wanted it, or they didn't like it
 469 because you corrected them?
- 470 Heba: Yeah, we would usually make fun or tease the person who had a good
 471 English, and it just slipped out of him, he's just not concentrating or
 472 something. But people who actually, like, who don't have a good English
 473 in the first place, we wouldn't do so because it would be offensive. It
 474 wouldn't really be nice if we make fun of them, especially that this person
 475 probably knows they have some problem with the accent, so its not nice to
 476 make them even less confident. We wouldn't do that. Some people would
 477 like, I have a friend who's a journalism major. She always, always correct
 478 anyone's grammar mistake; she enjoys it. She is a journalism major, so
 479 she does it, and we have gotten used to it. But its fine with us, but if there
 480 is a newcomer coming into the group, we wouldn't do it and [*friend's*
 481 *name*] would try not to do it. But we would just tell him "That's how she
 482 is."
- 483 Investigator: But this person's Arabic, you would say her spoken Arabic is fine?
- 484 Heba: Yes, her Arabic is really good. She would usually speak Arabic with us,
 485 like, and, if we're out, off campus, out of class we just use Arabic.
- 486 Investigator: OK, very good. So I will, let me just see how, oh good. This is good. So,
 487 when, I consider myself very lucky to have been here because I was here
 488 during the revolution and it was great, eh scary at certain times. But,
 489 otherwise it was great to be here and also to do this research, because I
 490 think the revolution will affect everything to a certain extent. The first
 491 question I have is, so you were in Miami when all of this happened?
- 492 Heba: Yes, I was in Miami since the 26th of January. Actually, I wasn't in
 493 Egypt, I was from Dubai to Miami. I was in Dubai, and I went from
 494 Dubai to Miami, and then I came to Egypt on the third of February.
- 495 Investigator: Okay. So did you participate in Tahrir at all?
- 496 Heba: I went to Tahrir once. Before, the day before Mubarak stepped down, the
 497 10th of February. And that's because my Mom wouldn't let me go, it was
 498 very scary. My brother managed to go and not tell her, but I couldn't do
 499 so.
- 500 Investigator: So why do you think so many of the signs had either Arabic and English,
 501 if not just English behind them. What was the reason behind that?
- 502 Heba: On the signs?
- 503 Investigator: Signs, yes, yes.
- 504 Heba: See, I would, like, as an AUCian, like being more academic and stuff, I
 505 would say that people that use English strive to, like, reach a larger
 506 audience, and that's probably would be the case because English is the,
 507 like, most spoken, like Chinese is more spoken because of the Chinese
 508 people, but English is spoken by more nonnative speakers. Um, that
 509 probably would be the reason, but, um, maybe because people like
 510 AUCians and AUCians participated in this, and English is the language we
 511 use. We're more comfortable using English. So, maybe that's why...And

- 512 Arabic of course, we use Arabic because we're an Arab country, and some
 513 people don't speak English or don't ace English to write a sign in English
 514 so they would write it in Arabic. And you would actually find, in Arabic,
 515 fusha and Egyptian, and then in English. These are the three signs you
 516 would find that. It's different, because when you write in the Egyptian
 517 Arabic, its different than the fusha.
- 518 Investigator: Like writing "mish" or something like that.
- 519 Heba: Yeah, it's Egyptian.
- 520 Investigator: Yeah, I saw a sign for a furniture, or some sort of housing development,
 521 "Mish bas bayt" ["Not just a home"], or something like that. It's very
 522 colloquial, right?
- 523 Heba: Yeah, lots of billboards are in colloquial. Like in Arabic. We have a very
 524 influential, I would say, like living in different places and getting to see a
 525 lot of different advertisements used by Egyptians and multinational
 526 companies. In Egypt, they really do it well. And that's why they use the
 527 Egyptian dialect. Because, let's face it, we are in a location where most
 528 people are ignorant, so this is how we can meet them.
- 529 Investigator: OK, so that's a very interesting answer, so it's about getting out to the
 530 media but also a comfort level with English. The final thing is, of course,
 531 20 or 30 years from now this would be an easier question to try to answer,
 532 but do you have any suspicions as to what the affect of the revolution on
 533 how English will be used in Egypt? Any idea, would it have an effect on
 534 English, or is, would the political landscape possibly change the way
 535 language is used here?
- 536 Heba: Um, I'm not sure about that, uh, English would be used, um, because of
 537 the revolution? But I see that in the media, Arabic is used more, even um,
 538 even with some phrases in English, actually. Some English phrase are
 539 used with, eh, interview media, by the interviewer or the interviewee.
 540 They use some, like English words or something. Sometimes, they do
 541 interview AUC professors or issues or something. And uh, usually the
 542 interviewer themselves are, they speak English so they would put some
 543 words in English, or... But I, like, it has always been the case, like, its not
 544 something new because of the revolution. But, I think that the probably
 545 even though I disagree, I completely disagree with people that say that
 546 Egyptian nationalism has arrived because of the revolution, it has always
 547 been there. But, Arabic, like, its probably increased or something.
 548 Maybe, its increased because people came under one thing, like they all
 549 wanted one goal. But, um, maybe their use of Arabic would be more
 550 because people want to get attached to Egypt, or they feel more attached to
 551 Egypt now. But, as well, they want, people still want to, their voices to be
 552 heard, especially with now, like people not really liking the government
 553 and stuff. They want their voices to be heard so they're using English
 554 again. So I think there will still be the same categories, like the educated
 555 people would be using English when they can to, to express their message.
 556 The uneducated people, actually the educated people will be using English
 557 maybe because they are more comfortable with it? The uneducated people

- 558 would try to use English to get their message through, and they would still
 559 be using Arabic because that would be what they're comfortable with. It
 560 will remain the same.
- 561 Investigator: Remain the same. Very good. That's great. One question, we're about
 562 done here. You've given me a lot of information. The one, one thing is,
 563 that I forgot to ask is, did you ever feel... So you've mentioned that you
 564 need to improve your written, etc. Um, did you ever feel like you've used
 565 so much English that, you reacted to that and said, "If I'm so good at
 566 English or if I use it so much, I really need to come back to Arabic, like
 567 the written or the reading of the Arabic."? Like, have you ever had that
 568 thought?
- 569 Heba: Yes, yes, definitely. Actually, I had thought and sort of reading uh, Arabic
 570 novels. So, to, make sure, because I used to read, even if its written in
 571 Arabic, I would read the translated one. And that, my parents used with
 572 me when I was young to make my English stronger. They were trying to
 573 make me better in English. And then, it's kind of far-fetched, because
 574 now I need to do the same thing with Arabic, because I want to use
 575 Arabic. As well, so I, I started reading Arabic novels.
- 576 Investigator: In Arabic?
- 577 Heba: In Arabic.
- 578 Investigator: Well, its interesting, the translated novels because you get Arabic culture,
 579 but you get in in the second language.
- 580 Heba: In the second language.
- 581 Investigator: That's very good, very good. That's a good idea. That's actually a good
 582 idea in terms of, because identity, and culture, that's very important stuff
 583 to know. Well, um, I think we're uh, yeah. That's... And I guess related to
 584 that too, when you were growing up were you happy with the Arabic, like,
 585 where you went to school, did you get any Arabic education you were
 586 happy with?
- 587 Heba: No, because it's more complicated than what you use at home. Its fusha,
 588 its very hard, its very hard grammar, and it wasn't really easy. So, I
 589 wouldn't like it. I usually liked the easy things. But, uh, no, I didn't really
 590 enjoy learning Arabic when I was at school.
- 591 Investigator: Okay, well as a student trying to learn it, its tough. So I feel that pain. So
 592 very good, you're the longest interview, but that's good, that's very good.

Interview Seven – Ahmed

- 1 Investigator: OK, so, um, first question I'd like to start with is, what is your experience
 2 learning and using English growing up?
- 3 Ahmed: Um, mostly in school. I mean, um, my parents never used English around
 4 the house, personally. But, um, I think, uh, if you want to give your
 5 children a quality education, its probably going to be a Western education.
 6 Um, so you, um, everyone goes to a, um, mostly English or American
 7 schools, but also French sometimes. So that's I think, um, education is the

- 8 biggest, um, when I think of, uh, when I'm going to be using English, it
 9 usually has to do with what I'll be studying.
- 10 Investigator: OK. So, you went to international schools?
- 11 Ahmed: Not, not international, but the, language instruction was, um, uh, I mean
 12 you take the sciences... I mean not in a high school [not meaning grades 9
 13 - 12, but instead in reputation], I was in a very regular school, not like, you
 14 know, the more, um, like, the high-end, you know. But they were still, I
 15 mean, but they would still teach you, um, I mean you take history,
 16 geography, Arabic, Religion, all these in Arabic. But you take math,
 17 science, all of these subjects in English. Which kind of, you know,
 18 reinforced the idea that the modern subjects had to be in a modern
 19 language. But then, when I went to high school, it was in the British
 20 system.
- 21 Investigator: OK, is that the IGSCCE, ok? I'm learning more about this. So at home, you
 22 never spoke English?
- 23 Ahmed: No.
- 24 Investigator: Did your parents know any English?
- 25 Ahmed: Not really. I mean, the basics.
- 26 Investigator: Oh, okay. So, um, on campus, uh, when you're here, um, do you ever give
 27 thought to who you might always use English with versus who you never
 28 use English with? Who you might you use English with more than others?
 29 How would you classify or categorize those people?
- 30 Ahmed: Um, I think people, um, from the same major as I'm in, the humanities, the
 31 social science, I think they tend to use English more, because, um,
 32 everything they learn is in English and that the content that they know.
 33 Um, but for example, talk to, you know, like engineering students, they
 34 rarely use English. And I think that also girls tend to use it more than, um,
 35 guys do. I mean, um, and that goes for French as well. I have a lot of
 36 friends who attended French school and, um, the guys don't want to, they
 37 rarely use French but the girls use French. But, uh, I don't know. I mean I
 38 do think a lot of, I mean, a lot of it also has to do with, I say, class, their
 39 social background. Some people might think you're, um, being
 40 pretentious or your being... I mean not maybe not in AUC specifically,
 41 but um a lot of people might think you are showing off if you use a
 42 different language. That kind of...
- 43 Investigator: So in Egypt, obviously this is an English language medium university, but
 44 within AUC, do you think, you pretty much already answered this, but it
 45 does not seem so much as pretentious or showing off if you're using
 46 English with your friends or...
- 47 Ahmed: Not within my major, or, perhaps in other circles. And pretty much
 48 except, I think, when you're a freshman its more obvious. But, but then a
 49 lot of people who come in here saying, "Oh you know people use English
 50 all the time", you know they don't like it. I think after three years, they
 51 tend to see past that. Even though they themselves are not very
 52 comfortable using the language, they'll tolerate it. Where if I'm on another

- 53 campus, people are not as, they'll point it out all the time. But people here
54 don't, really don't.
- 55 Investigator: So, those peop...so its interesting that you mentioned class. So, among
56 your friends, do you use mainly English-speaking, or do you use Arabic?
- 57 Ahmed: I would say Arabic. I mean, obviously its Egyptian Arabic. But, um, I
58 think that is kind of, the main language and you inter-like, uh, different
59 expressions, or, in English, kind of the main structure is always in Arabic
60 for all of us, like how we think. Um, it also depends what you want to
61 say. I think if you're talking, um, mainly discussing Egyptian politics, its
62 very awkward in English. But if you're discussing, you know, I don't
63 know, its very hard to talk about it in Arabic, you know the terms you
64 don't know. So if you're talking more, you know, intellectual, or more you
65 know, whatever, it's mainly in English.
- 66 Investigator: Maybe that goes back to the fact that in school you always used English?
- 67 Ahmed: Yes, we speak the language with, um, this kind of knowledge.
- 68 Investigator: How about with, um, you know, staff and faculty at AUC? What do you,
69 by in large what language would you use in the registrar's office or with a
70 professor who's Egyptian?
- 71 Ahmed: Um, Arabic, usually.
- 72 Investigator: Arabic.
- 73 Ahmed: But then again I mean I'm kind of conscious about this issue a little bit. I
74 mean, I make it a point to use Arabic even when I, like people, um...when
75 I'm in the administration, and I talk to them in Arabic, they talk to you in
76 English, which I don't like very much. I always try to kind of make it
77 Arabic again. But I think, uh, with professors, um, usually I mix, I code-
78 switch a lot.
- 79 Investigator: If you do not know, if you're approaching somebody who you know is an
80 AUCian, students, but, or, yeah, yeah, let's just say its a student and you're
81 not quite sure, you, being here long enough you know, you can't take for
82 granted people's language skills one way or the other. What language
83 would you usually speak to them, and if you don't know who they are and
84 am instigating some sort of conversation?
- 85 Ahmed: Um, I think it has to do with, well it would have to do with the person. I
86 mean, I don't, I mean I never want to be, you know judge people based on,
87 who know, but you do unfortunately. And I feel like, um, if they, just the
88 way they are, you kind of guess what kind of education they've had. With
89 experience, when you've been raised here you kind of know which people
90 are more, will be more tolerant of that. And gender does make a big
91 difference, I think. I tend to use, um, English, um, I think with like girls
92 more than guys. If you're like with a bunch of guys they tend to think
93 you're...
- 94 Investigator: So, before you were talking about gender, you were referring again to
95 class.
- 96 Ahmed: Yeah.
- 97 Investigator: So, and I don't mean to put words in your mouth here, but maybe if you
98 perceive someone to be of a higher class, you would use English...?

- 99 Ahmed: I might tend to use English more.
- 100 Investigator: And then if they're not in that high class, you might use Arabi...
- 101 Ahmed: Arabic.
- 102 Investigator: And going back to gender, it's interesting. I was sitting on the bus
103 yesterday going back home. And the woman sitting next to me was using
104 French and English, and she was talking with a guy across the aisle, it was
105 very clear she was leading the linguistic, like she was switching and he
106 would follow. I found that to be very interesting, yeah. OK, so, very
107 good. Do you, when it comes to speaking in general, English versus
108 Arabic, is there one you feel more comfortable with speaking in general?
- 109 Ahmed: Um, it depends on what I'm saying. I mean, I think, um, it's easier to, um,
110 communicate in Arabic, um, when it comes to everyday things. And um,
111 so, I don't know, like a lot of expressions you just use in everyday life, you
112 use Arabic because obviously of just where we are. But when it comes to,
113 um, as I said before, like if you're going to talk about, um, more, um,
114 anything to do with usually your education, uh, not just you're education,
115 but like, you know, politics, or, you know, you then switch to English.
116 But overall, I think the most comfortable with the Egyptian.
- 117 Investigator: So even if you're talking about what happened in January 2011, then you
118 might go back into English?
- 119 Ahmed: Yeah.
- 120 Investigator: Oh, okay. So, thinking about using, um, English in class, of course, the
121 requirement is English in class here. Um, when you use English in class,
122 um, well, are you, first of all are you confident of using English in class?
123 Of course, again we understand that's what we're supposed to do here, but
124 do you feel confident here, or do you feel reluctant to use it? You know,
125 based on who you're sitting around, with who's in the class. Do you have
126 any thoughts about that?
- 127 Ahmed: No, I'm very comfortable using it. I don't really, uh, I don't think it,
128 especially if you're amongst Egyptians. I think the way we're raised here;
129 knowing a foreign language, um, is um, an indicator of class, of status,
130 um, so a lot of people tend to perceive you in a more positive way if you
131 speak better English or better French. Um, better English. Um, so I don't
132 think about it very much. I've actually would be more self-conscious if we
133 had the discussion in Arabic, which is surprising because I'm not used to,
134 to using this language for this particular, in this context. And other, you
135 know situations I'd be more, I can use, if I travel or if I am among people
136 who don't speak Arabic, its very awkward using English in a lot of
137 situations. But in classroom settings, English is, I'm just used to it.
- 138 Investigator: OK, so, do you travel outside of Egypt?
- 139 Ahmed: Yeah, not a lot, but yeah.
- 140 Investigator: So, maybe if you had to use English outside, its sounded like from what
141 you were saying that if you're using it for these everyday kinds of
142 conversations because your out of an Arabic area that you might feel more
143 uncomfortable? Am I correct?
- 144 Ahmed: Yeah.

- 145 Investigator: OK, good. OK, um, do you, so, vis-à-vis your peers in general, do you
 146 feel like you're stronger than them, or the same, or when it comes to your
 147 use of English?
- 148 Ahmed: Um, I'm kind of equal. My school peers definitely, I mean they, their
 149 English isn't very good. But the people that go to AUC, its more equal; its
 150 some kind of thing people don't usually go below to go here. Especially,
 151 again, in my discipline, because, uh, its very difficult to discuss these
 152 things if you don't have the English.
- 153 Investigator: Do you ever feel in class that you know that even though you said pretty
 154 much your impressions that people have an equal grasp of English? Do
 155 you ever, especially when you started and you may have been in more
 156 diverse classes, did you ever feel like your English use was intimidating to
 157 others in the class? Did you ever get vibes, strange feelings?
- 158 Ahmed: Yeah, um, it, I guess um, especially if you're one of the freshman, um, that
 159 was more reassuring. I did a summer abroad, and over there you don't
 160 have that kind of an advantage, obviously, everyone speaks English, or
 161 whatever language, you know everyone whether an American or an
 162 international student, so, you don't really have that advantage. But here,
 163 when you um, I mean I'd like in an ideal world, it wouldn't be an
 164 advantage. But over here I think when you're um, people do tend to
 165 perceive you in a more positive way, so it, it does, yes.
- 166 Investigator: So I think to segue into leaving the safe walls of AUC and thinking about
 167 Egypt more in general, um. OK, um, in Egypt more in general, um, what
 168 kind of situation do you use English at that point, uh, or at all when you're
 169 outside of AUC, are there general kinds of situations where English is
 170 spoken or people who you speak English with, or is that not the case?
- 171 Ahmed: I think. Could you be a little bit more specific?
- 172 Investigator: Sure, yeah, I mean when you're out downtown or anywhere in general, do
 173 you ever find situations that you would regularly use English in?
- 174 Ahmed: Um, it depends on who I'm with. Um, I supposed if your in a place that
 175 most people look like they would be using English, you would also use it,
 176 that kind of thing. Um, another thing is that the person coming to you, he
 177 asks you a question in a certain language, its very difficult for you to, uh,
 178 answer in another language. So, it's, if I have someone, um, questioning
 179 me in Arabic even if they're not very good in Arabic, I tend to answer in
 180 Arabic. So, I, I mean I can't think of a specific situation, but maybe if
 181 you're in a place where the quote-unquote "elite" go or whatever. I
 182 sometimes its there, like people, its just enormous, so people, you say
 183 something, and people still use Arabic obviously, but if you say something
 184 that's in, I think you'll feel more self-conscious saying things in Arabic,
 185 that um, that aren't considered... I mean, if you are in this circle, then its
 186 the norm to say certain things in English. Well not the norm, but this is
 187 how they would say it, and it is also what you would also say it. If the
 188 statement was in Arabic, people would ask "Why are you using it."
- 189 Investigator: OK, so that might, so when you say we're the elite, that could be a nice
 190 restaurant or a club, or something like that?

- 191 Ahmed: Yeah.
- 192 Investigator: Do you ever think that your, I mean did you find yourself where you use
193 English outside AUC, and you're saying that there's this perception that it
194 can be good to be an English speaker; has the perception of being an
195 English speaker, being higher or something, has that ever benefited you
196 outside the walls of AUC?
- 197 Ahmed: Yeah, I think, I still find it hard to recall something specific, but it helps
198 you with, um, it, people think uh, of you as belonging to a higher class.
199 Um, so if you're in a restaurant or a club, as you said, and maybe you can't
200 convince you to let you in, if they hear you talking in a different language,
201 they'll probably perceive you better. They'll probably think, oh you know,
202 you belong here because you belong to this social class and, you know,
203 maybe you have friends in there, and blah, blah, blah. You know its just a
204 simple, um, it doesn't matter what you're dressed like, or, it makes, I mean
205 it doesn't make all the difference, but sometimes, you know, people, um,
206 they're surprised when they hear you speak a different language. They
207 think, "Oh we misjudged you, you're better".
- 208 Investigator: OK, um, finally going back to the idea of AUC, being an AUCian, do you
209 find, if you were to write a paragraph on "What is an AUCian", "What is
210 their identity?", is English a very important, if not central aspect of that?
211 Or, is that not as important?
- 212 Ahmed: It is important, I think. I'd like to say that it isn't. I mean I don't know
213 what the "AUC identity" is, I don't think we don't have such strong
214 connections. But, um, yeah, I think it is, um, I think people who um don't
215 speak very good English, or people who don't, you know, they're uh, like
216 the people who uh, they're a lot of students who come from outside Cairo,
217 and, uh, their English is noticeably, I don't know what the word is, less
218 fluent, less whatever. I think they tend to feel a little bit, um, outside.
219 Because, um, the, you know, language kind of creates a culture, so there's
220 no, um, so they can't relate, um, to others, um, in certain aspects because
221 they can't really be, uh, part of, uh, that culture. Um, so it is, I think it is
222 kind of not being all supportive thing, but its pretty much...
- 223 Investigator: OK, um, so I guess the final section of my work that I am concerned with
224 is this idea of ownership. There is a section of the questionnaire about
225 ownership of English. Meaning, you know, if a "nonnative" speaker feels
226 like they own it. I think the particularly interesting thing, um, about this is
227 when you ask students here growing up speaking English for school, I do
228 think it challenges what is a "nonnative" versus a "native" speaker.
- 229 Ahmed: Because people are almost like native.
- 230 Investigator: Yeah, I mean for instance, if I met you in New York City or something, I'd
231 swear that you're Arab American, you grew up here. I would not
232 necessarily think, "Oh, you grew up in Egypt and came here". Um, when
233 you're speaking English with your friends, um, maybe not even so much
234 subconsciously, or consciously, but, are you concerned with following
235 grammatical rules as the textbooks that you grew up with presented to

- 236 you? Do you and your friends really follow the standard English that, um,
 237 you know, you would see in a book?
- 238 Ahmed: Um, I think we actually, the people who we say speak better English
 239 follow those rules. So, they're, um, I think they're kind of, we perceive
 240 people who, um, especially um, on mediums such as, uh, Twitter,
 241 Facebook, and the blogosphere. If you write um, you know, if you're not
 242 writing, you know, proper punctuation, without proper, you know, not
 243 using language properly, I think you're perceived as being less educated.
 244 Or maybe less intelligent, because you know, we know you went school
 245 that was very expensive, but whatever, but you're less intelligent if you
 246 can't really use the language properly. Um, so not everyone uses language
 247 that way, but I think people want to be perceived as being more educated
 248 and more, um, intelligent, you know. Uh, they didn't want to be writers
 249 and you know, they um, I think either they're, the language they're most
 250 comfortable using is English, so they kind of, um, they try to use English
 251 as properly as they can. They don't try to, like, add to the language or, I
 252 guess, though, we do add to the language because um, we borrow from
 253 Arabic a lot and um, we make it, like, Egyptian, and not the purely
 254 Egyptian culture. But, its strange because it is Egyptian culture, I suppose
 255 if the people, uh, who created it are Egyptian, but because it is in English,
 256 I feel like its like its a strange subculture of Egyptian culture that is like
 257 Egyptian culture, but in English. Like literature, um, like magazines, and
 258 uh, all these things. I mean they're geared towards Egyptians and written
 259 by Egyptians, but they're all in in English. So discussing things that are
 260 central to Egyptians in newspapers, all these, so they're, they, you know in
 261 that respect we do kind of, but I don't feel like, um, I don't know about
 262 ownership, I don't know if they, they like change the language. They
 263 certainly feel comfortable enough they think of it as their own, they don't
 264 think of it as using another person's language.
- 265 Investigator: The way you're speaking with me now, I mean when you are with your
 266 friends, maybe with code switching, like how, is the way you're speaking
 267 English to me the same way you would be using your English with your
 268 friends? Does it seem pretty much the same to you?
- 269 Ahmed: Um, yeah.
- 270 Investigator: Except, maybe you'd be using more Arabic?
- 271 Ahmed: Yes, but this is kind of an interview setting, and its more, you know, but
 272 yeah, I don't use, you try to follow, for me at least, I try to follow the...but
 273 its the same thing in Arabic. Not the Egyptian, there's no standard
 274 Egyptian Arabic. But, I don't know. Its more, um, I think its a form of
 275 tribute, you know, kind of follow the rules.
- 276 Investigator: OK, so if, I mean in a situation where say more resources opened up for
 277 more, I mean a lot of Egyptians of course grew up having some English in
 278 school of course, but if there were a lot more resources and more
 279 Egyptians could take English more seriously, um, but that English, you
 280 have more Egyptians, they get a little bit more in English, and say that, if
 281 the situation was that the English that was being learned was being

- 282 Egyptianized more, maybe some of the grammar would reflect Arabic,
 283 spoken Arabic and stuff. It sounds like you might not think that's as a
 284 good of a thing to happen, or would it matter to you?
- 285 Ahmed: It's not a bad thing or a good thing. I mean, its not, I mean there, I don't
 286 think we're, um, at that state. I mean you have, we don't have something,
 287 like you have like South African English or Indian English, you don't have
 288 that here. So, because the people, there are a lot of people that use
 289 English. That's, you know. They're not, I mean they're a minority, but
 290 um, there are a lot of them that could be studying, but um, most of them
 291 use English because they were are schools who, it hasn't reached yet, I
 292 think, it hasn't reached the level, it reached like mainstream, um, so that
 293 people actually change the language, so people bend rules. So they don't
 294 pick up the language from other, um, you know, like, if they, they learned
 295 it in school, so uh, its not like, you know you picking up the language and
 296 therefore then forming your own, like how different groups in the US, um,
 297 like they, they speak differently than, like the main, like, standard. But
 298 that's because, you know, they're immersed in it, unlike here.
- 299 Investigator: That's a good point, the idea of immersion creating a new, fluency, a
 300 fluency of different, like Ebonics in the United States. It's a very good
 301 point. Um, another interesting thing I fund interesting is your, obviously
 302 you've had to use English intensively here in a country that's Arabic
 303 speaking. Did you ever feel that there's a reaction in your mind, that using
 304 so much English, I ought to really go back to my Arabic and learn it and
 305 be strong in it, written and spoken, or?
- 306 Ahmed: I have written and article about this in Arabic, and um, and papers, and its
 307 because its um, and its not just me. I think for a lot of people kind of, um,
 308 get to this point where, I think in my sophomore year, where it, you know,
 309 you kind of question, you know, which language are you really most
 310 comfortable with and what are the implications of using this language
 311 versus your own. And why do you feel that you can say this better in
 312 English, even though you know the terms in Arabic. So there is this kind
 313 of this identity crisis that comes along when you, you um, growing up. I
 314 mean if you, if you, kind of acquire the language when you're an adult it
 315 doesn't affect you, but I think growing up it can be, you know, kind of
 316 confuse you at least. Um, when you're faced with, um, I mean I, most of
 317 the people I interact with before I came to AUC, would definitely not
 318 speak as much English as they did here. But, um, after a while when you
 319 use English for a very long time, you feel like, um, you're just kind of
 320 forsaking something. I don't know, you know, it's difficult, there's this
 321 kind of cultural, um, like this loss of identity.
- 322 Investigator: OK, so English can infringe on, it sounds like you're saying that you're,
 323 that English has infringed on your identity or has the ability to if you don't
 324 do something about it?
- 325 Ahmed: Maybe. I mean, not everyone feels that way. Like, I can, you know, be an
 326 Egyptian in whatever language I choose, but it does create a divide
 327 between you and whatever mainstream is.

- 328 Investigator: OK, good. One more question just around ownership and then we'll get
 329 into a couple more, and then we'll be done; in terms of when, maybe if
 330 you're speaking English and maybe, you haven't been in this situation, but
 331 you're speaking English with someone with skills below you but they want
 332 to do this in English, maybe practice or whatever. Do you adjust, how, if
 333 at all, how do you adjust your English so they can understand, or does
 334 that...
- 335 Ahmed: Yeah, I think you use it more, I think more, vocab simplified, uh, or you
 336 just talk in Arabic. They will respond in English, but I can make the
 337 conversation, if they're Egyptians, but I think if they're not Egyptian, of
 338 course you speak English to them. But there are people who, um, their
 339 second language is English, you know, maybe they're Portuguese. So
 340 they, you know I don't speak their language, I have to speak in English
 341 and we use this kind of pidgin, this simplified form. So, yeah, I think you
 342 do, have to not use, the same way you would in Arabic also, you know.
 343 You talk to people from disparate backgrounds, you know, you are going
 344 to use certain words and not others, maybe change the register.
- 345 Investigator: Very good. Final thing is because of the revolution and all of the changes,
 346 um, just a couple of questions about how English fits in that or doesn't.
 347 Um, the first thing is, with all of the signs that were in English or English
 348 and Arabic, or English, fusha, and dialect, you know, why do you think
 349 English is being used on signs during the, the, a year ago or a little over a
 350 year ago?
- 351 Ahmed: Um, I think to get the foreign media's attention. I mean, I think that's the
 352 most, but also because a lot of people, when they talk and they're
 353 discussing these ideals that they've heard about in, usually in English, you
 354 know "democracy", "equality", whatnot. Its, um, it depends what, again,
 355 what paths they're from, or you know, how their education was, to be
 356 more accurate. But, um, I mean, they use um, they use values that you
 357 want to, uh, implement in your country, um. I think there's a tradition of
 358 using of, um, I don't know how to say this, but they're not, the terms aren't
 359 very, um, they're not as effective in Arabic for some reason. You don't
 360 have that same, like the wording or the word "secularism", for example.
 361 In English, um, they have the same meaning; I mean you can't really, um.
 362 In Arabic there is not the same tradition, I think connected to the history,
 363 like how Europe was, and how, you know, things here were, and so, the
 364 word has a different association. So I find that a lot of Egyptians, like, call
 365 for a secular country, and they talk about it and, but in Arabic, they don't
 366 really, they never use the word, they never talk a lot, they never... So
 367 that's the different, um, I mean, "democracy" comes with perceived kind
 368 of with the Western values.
- 369 Investigator: So, "democracy", "secularism", these words have, these things happened
 370 in the West due to historical reasons within the West, and then it comes
 371 here and these are these Western terms and the history is different, right?
- 372 Ahmed: Yeah, you're used to hearing about them through, um, through Western
 373 culture so that's, that's why, you know, when you say "human rights",

- 374 you'll find a lot of articles written, you know, by, um, like Egyptian
 375 newspapers or, news agencies that cater to Egyptians, um, the language is
 376 different, though. They talk about human rights, they talk about these
 377 kind of things, the word is stronger, you know, there's a stronger, uh,
 378 attribute behind it. When you use *hoquq insan* ["human rights" in Arabic],
 379 its not as, people, there's no culture, um, you know, it doesn't mean
 380 anything to a lot of people, "What are...", so they'll talk about in English.
- 381 Investigator: When you were saying the "strong", that means when you read it in an
 382 English article, its stronger than if you read it in the Arabic.
- 383 Ahmed: Yeah.
- 384 Investigator: OK, and the final thing, I mean, this is a question that will take decades to
 385 really know, but do you have, with the political events happening in
 386 Egypt, do you have any opinions, or, that it could affect English, the place
 387 of English in Egypt, the, what's politically happening? Or do you think
 388 its, English, will be what it's going to be here, regardless?
- 389 Ahmed: Um, I think we can't yet break the hegemony that you know the elite have,
 390 or whatever, can't really break that. Um, I can't see in the, uh, much sort
 391 term or, I don't know about the definite future but I don't think that will be
 392 happening anytime soon. What I do think is, is happening, and visibly,
 393 um, a year or more after the revolution is that more people, I think, are
 394 using, um, are using Arabic, um, because they have to discuss politics. If
 395 you, my news feed on Facebook is full of the Arabic, you know, and they
 396 actually, they use the Arabic script, they don't use the Latin script. Which
 397 is a big deal because um, I talked about this before the revolution with a
 398 lot of my friends, and, you know, they found it was really alien, foreign,
 399 not to use he internet, to use the Arabic. But now everyone is using that,
 400 because they are following the news, which is primarily in Arabic. So
 401 they're kind of being connected to a culture that is in Arabic, whereas
 402 before you couldn't really, um, get them, this class, I think that you can't
 403 really, no satisfactory way to express yourself, or um, in Arabic because
 404 you're not allowed, the culture doesn't allow it, politically at least. But it
 405 does talk, and also because if we have, um more freedoms, then, uh, but
 406 this is a big "if". Uh, I mean if we have more freedoms and we have more
 407 intellectual debate, um, a lot of it will be in Arabic because, um, where as
 408 before your main audience was, you know, just the educated, or you know,
 409 you wanted to write a book so you come here and give a lecture at AUC,
 410 but now you, you're on TV, they're debating. So you're trying to reach a
 411 wider audience, so you're going to more, um, kind of use terms and
 412 concepts, and even topics that we're not used to talking about in Arabic, to
 413 talking about them in Arabic. I think that's going to have to happen
 414 because you are going to have to reach a wider audience. You're no
 415 longer just stick in that little framework.
- 416 Investigator: That sounds like a great development in my opinion.
- 417 Ahmed: I know, I hope it continues.
- 418 Investigator: Well, you have given a great amount of information here, so thank you
 419 very much.