

Language and Identity: Impact of Globalization on Arabic^(*)

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to describe the present status of Arabic and to emphasize its role in establishing and maintaining national identity. The study investigates the relationship between language and national identity in the Arabic-speaking world, particularly in Egypt. It also shows how globalization poses a serious threat to Arabic and national identity. The study is concerned with the problems which faces Arabic in the age of globalization such as hybridization, variation in terminology and the use of English instead of Arabic as a means of instruction. Moreover, it discusses language planning activities conducted to protect Arabic and national identity.

Keywords: Language attitude; Language maintenance; Identity; Arabic

This study deals with the relationship between language and national identity in the Arabic-speaking world, particularly in Egypt. It is essentially about national identity, its formation and maintenance. It also goes further to discuss the impact of globalization on Arabic and national identity. The present study deals mainly with modern standard Arabic, the language of writing and formal oral expression. The fact that Egypt is the biggest country in the Arabic-speaking world in the Middle East explains this restriction. The entire phenomenon of identity is conceived in the study as a linguistic one, i.e. national identity is mainly linguistic identity. Therefore, addressing the issues of identity is one of the tasks of the linguist.

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اللغة والهوية: تأثير العولمة في اللغة العربية

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الملخص

يناقش البحث العلاقة بين اللغة والهوية بشكل عام وتأثير العولمة على اللغة العربية بشكل خاص، وهذا النوع من البحث يندرج تحت مسمى الاتجاهات اللغوية language attitudes وهو أحد اهتمامات فرع علم اللغة الاجتماعي.

يبدأ البحث بعرض الاختلاف بين الهوية الفردية بوصفها سمات الفرد والهوية الجماعية التي تهتم بالتمائل أي كون الفرد ينتمي إلى جماعة وتعرض الدراسة الفرق بين الهوية اللغوية وهوية العولمة. تعتبر الهوية اللغوية وظيفة متميزة للغة إضافة لكونها وسيلة الفكر والتواصل وعاملا رئيسيا في التنشئة الاجتماعية أما هوية العولمة فهي مبنية على اقتصاد عالمي وتعمل على نوبان الفروق اللغوية والثقافية.

توضح الدراسة آثار العولمة على استخدام اللغة العربية وقد كان لظهور التقدم التكنولوجي في الاتصالات والإقبال على استخدام الانجليزية لغة العولمة أثر خطير على اللغة العربية يتجلى في استخدام كلمات أجنبية مكتوبة بحروف عربية كمسميات للمحال التجارية وتفضيل التعليم الأجنبي على التعلم باللغة العربية. و أصبح من الشائع استخدام كلمات انجليزية أثناء التحدث باللغة العربية ، وإضافة وحدات صرف عربية إلى كلمات انجليزية ، مما أدى إلى ظهور لغة خليط بين العربية والانجليزية ، ومما ساعد أيضا على ضعف اللغة العربية ظهور مفردات خاصة بالاقتصاد العالمي وبالتقافة الغربية.

وتوضح الدراسة نوعين من الكلمات الانجليزية الدخيلة في العربية ، النوع الأول منها ارتبط بالاختراعات والتقنيات الحديثة وهي ليست لها مقابل عربي فتم تعريبها وهذا النوع لا يشكل خطرا على الهوية اللغوية لأن اللغات تستعير من بعضها البعض. أما النوع الثاني فهو ما ارتبط بالاستخدام وهذا النوع له مقابل في العربية وليس له مبرر عند مستخدمي العربية سوى الهوية الاجتماعية وهو يشكل خطرا على الهوية اللغوية.

ومن المشاكل التي تواجه العربية أيضا وجود أكثر من كلمة للمصطلح العلمي الواحد في الدول العربية، وهنا يظهر مفهوم التخطيط اللغوي لمعالجة المشاكل اللغوية التي تطرقت لها الدراسة و تبرز الدراسة الدور الذي يقوم به مجمع اللغة العربية في المحافظة على نقاء اللغة العربية وتطويرها.

Sociolinguistics is the closest approach to a linguistics-related field of study which can investigate the question of language and national identity. In particular, a wide range of terms has been introduced to refer to the study of language change within a sociolinguistic perspective. Language maintenance is used to refer to

the preservation of the use of a group's native language, as a first or even as a second language, where political, social, economic, educational, or other pressures threaten or cause (or are perceived to threaten or cause) a decline in the status of the language as a means of communication, a cultural medium, or a symbol of group or national identity. (Nahir 2003: 439)

Language attitudes research shows how language users form strong conceptions of identities based on the way they speak (Joseph 2004: 12), or the feelings people have about their own language. Unfortunately, the concept of identity in the Arabic speaking world has been often addressed by Arab historians and political scientists. They have exerted a powerful, leading effort in this field of study. Arabic linguists did not pay much attention to this issue. Suleiman points out that historians and political scientists are the ones who have dominated the study of national identity in the Arab Middle East because they were "aware of the functional and symbolic roles of language"(2003: 3).

A prime study of the relationship between language and national identity is Joshua Fishman's pioneering monograph *Language and Nationalism* (1972). Gumperz (1982) discusses language and social identity. Joseph (2004) explores language and identity from a national, ethnic and religious point of view. As for Arabic language Suleiman (1994, 1996, 1999, 2003) discusses its relation with national identity. Arabic sociolinguistics tends to focus on the traditional functions of the language rather than in its symbolic connotations. By treating the language as a means of communication first and foremost, "Arabic sociolinguistics misses the opportunity to" explore "a layer of meanings" which deals with the symbolic function of language (Suleiman 2003: 4).

1.Types of Identity:

Joseph (2004: 7-8) distinguishes between group identity and individual identity. One can think of identity in terms of sameness, whether with common territory or common language, statehood or shared traditions, history or race. Group or collective identity is described in relation to such variables as age, gender, class, occupation, locality, tribe, religion, confession or sect, ethnicity, nationality or state citizenship; or one can think of identity in terms of discreteness which is labeled individual identity. Both types of national identity are presumed to exist in the Arab Middle East. The study deals only with group identity. Smith (1991: 14) identifies five main features of national identity: “1. an historic territory, or homeland; 2. common myths and historical memories; 3. a common, mass public culture; 4. common legal rights and duties for all members; 5. a common economy with territorial mobility for members”. Suleiman (2003: 6-7) classifies features 1 to 3 in Smith’s list as a cultural concept of national identity, sometimes called ethnicity. Features 4 to 5 in Smith’s list are considered national identity in the political sense.

In this study two types of identities are recognized: the linguistic national identity versus the economic identity. The former type is associated with the language as a symbol of national identity and common cultural medium, which makes the nation a kind of super-fictive family to which all its members irrevocably belong. The latter type is associated with globalization. It’s about sharing economic interests among other individuals.

2.Language and National Identity:

Language interlocks with national identity in many subtle ways. According to Edwards (1988: 1), the relationship between language and identity is not easy to describe. Language plays great roles in man's life. First, language is the instrument of thought. Language and thought are inseparable. Second, language further serves as a means of communication between the members of a particular community, thus

facilitating the transmission of ideas. Third, language is a means of socialization which bonds the individual to a particular culture through child-rearing practices and experiences at an early age. It creates a feeling of interpersonal intimacy in the process. A language is a bonding agent between those who speak it, bringing them closer to each other while, at the same time, setting them apart from those who speak other languages. A single phonemic feature may be enough to include or exclude somebody from any social group. Identification by a single feature of language is one of the functions of language. Language carries out this role in what Fishman (1980: 87) describes as a “peculiarly sensitive web of intimacy and mutuality”. Language is that factor which makes a people a nation by enabling them to imagine themselves as a community that is internally bonded and externally bounded.

Language is also the carrier of a nation’s culture. It is language as the outcome of a common history and as the construction of cultural unity which creates the will in a people to become a nation. Within this framework of close association between language and national identity, the defense of one’s language emerges as a defense of the set of values it shows and transmits from one generation to another. Language acts as the medium for connecting the past to the present and the future. A nation is often associated with language as a marker of its identity which stamps the individual and the community with an imprint that is uniquely their own. As the primary means of socialization, language enables the individual, through the mere fact of early childhood acquisition and lifelong formal and informal education, to participate in the life and culture of the community. It is the identification with a language and loyalty to it which makes a nation. In delivering these functions, language is the medium which makes the identity of a nation.

3. Arabic National Identity:

Language and national identity in the Arabic-speaking world are two sides of the same coin. Arabic is endowed with many characteristics which make it eminently suitable to play the role of the primary marker of national identity. National identity in the Arabic-speaking world is

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mainly linguistic identity which may straddle state borders, and more than one ethnicity. It should not be termed Arab national identity but Arabic national identity because it is based on language. Thus, Arabic plays the essential role in forming, promoting and maintaining various conceptualizations of national identity in the Arab world.

Broadly speaking, the Arabic language situation is characterized by diglossia: the existence of a formal or “high” variety, and the vast array of dialects which constitute the informal or less formal or “low” variety. This paper is directed at the “high” variety, referred to as standard Arabic, to distinguish it from the colloquial or “low” variety. The term “Arabic” is used without any qualification to designate the totality of the Arabic varieties, without distinguishing between standard and colloquial. The high form of the language is characterized with an established norm for pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. The orthography is well established and has little variation. By contrast, the low form has no settled orthography and wide variation in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary (Ferguson 2003: 350). Moreover, there is literary heritage written in the high form which provides the speech community with high self-esteem (2003: 349). Furthermore, in spite of the diglossic nature of the Arabic language situation, the standard language remained intelligible to the elite and, in modern times, gained access to an expanding number of school-educated people. The media, press and electronic, have enhanced this trend. The trend is towards convergence, not divergence, in which the standard is cross-fertilized with the dialects producing a middle form of Arabic (Ferguson 2003: 350). Although colloquial Arabic can be sometimes exploited as a means of socialization in making territorial national identity, only standard Arabic can serve as the form of language which makes Arabic national identity. Suleiman (2003) argues that:

some supporters of standard Arabic tend to dismiss the colloquial as a corrupt and base form of the language which is unworthy of marking the Arab national identity. The argument goes that a people with a proud heritage and high aspirations for the future cannot possibly accept such a variety as an ingredient of their national identity. (Suleiman 2003: 9-10)

Standard Arabic constitutes Arabic national identity because of its status as the language of the Qur'an. Any role which religion plays must be mentioned through its contribution to the language. The role of Islam in nation-formation is relevant only to the extent that it enhances the position of Arabic. It is not possible to separate it from the religious identity of the majority of Arabic-speakers. Attempts to replace the standard by the colloquial as the marker of the territorial national identity are refused on religious grounds. But this is not the only reason for the dominance of standard Arabic. It represents a past heritage, a "golden age", of which the nation can be very proud. Aspects of the past satisfy the condition of resonance in dealing with the issue of Arabic and national identity.

In Egypt, the national identity is also the Arabic national one. Some supporters of colloquial Arabic in Egypt called for an Egyptian national identity. An Egyptian national identity is based on the premise that those who share colloquial Arabic as their common language belong to the same nation. It is true that the Egyptian national character is culturally distinct, historically unique and environmentally determined, and that only by accepting this characterization of their collective personality could the Egyptians determine a course of action which would lead to the realization of territorial national identity; however, standard Arabic succeeded in shaping the national identity in the Arabic speaking world in such a way that alternative territorial national identities are rejected. Arabic started to emerge as the factor which binds Egypt in ties of identity with other Arabic-speaking countries. The idea that Egypt is Arab because its people, Muslims and Christians, speak Arabic formed the nucleus of the Egyptian national identity. Ibrahim Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini (1890–1949), argues that:

Nationalism is nothing but language. Whatever the nature of a country may be, and however deeply embedded in antiquity its origins may be, as long as peoples have one language, they are only one people ... Every language has its own

modes and methods, modes of thought and methods of conception ... In this regard, the sons of each language conform to and resemble each other and are distinguished from the sons of every other language. (cited in Gershoni and Jankowski 1995: 118–19)

There is an increasing awareness of the role of language as a marker of group identity and as the medium which can replace religious affiliation as the common bond par excellence between Muslims and Christians in Egypt. One of the essential features of the Egyptian model is to accept Arabic as a marker of national identity. Christians and Muslims in Egypt more actively seek and use Arabic words intentionally in their religious literature. For various reasons, these groups have chosen formal written Arabic with very few loan words for their religious discourses. Eventually, Arabic users certainly feel proud of their Arabic language, and their religious upbringing in many ways emphasizes also their loyalty to Arabic, the language of the sacred book. The Qur'an has contributed immensely to the development of the Arabic language in all its departments, and heroically championed the cause of Arabic. However, the study emphasizes, in many ways, the need to look beyond the Arabic situation.

4.Impact of Globalization on Arabic and national Identity:

Globalization appeared with advanced technologies for communication and opportunities for jobs. Globalization has further dampened the enthusiasm for the use of Arabic. Ibrahim (2006) points out that globalization has a clear and evident impact on the spread of new concepts. A number of language-related problems can be recognized here. Rapid changes in the choice of personal names, shop names, changes in naming processes, preference for the study of languages other than Arabic in all levels of education, use of an extremely hybridized style. Kamel (2003) discusses the issue of shop names. Unrestrained use of words from English with Arabic letters in written communications between individuals have become commonplace now. Movie dialogues abound in hybridized sentences, with a profuse use of English words, phrases, sentences, and idioms.

Many people in the audience may not really understand such expressions, but they soon come to view such usage as prestigious and worthy of emulation. The real danger now is the possibility of Arabic emerging as one of the most hybridized languages in the world: English words with Arabic derivational and inflectional processes, and Arabic words with English derivational and inflectional suffixes. In reality such practices are established mainly because of the lack of adequate acquaintance with the Arabic language through proper schooling. That class of people becomes models for others to emulate.

In the age of globalization the ruling economic powers dominated the Arabic speaking world. There is a conflict between the economic identity and the cultural or linguistic identity which is mainly linguistic. The economic identity is by far the most salient of the factors leading to losing national identities. The juxtaposition of different speech communities is often brought about by economic factors such as trade, marketing, work and modernization. Ideologies of language in the age of globalization are a shift from national symbol to economic asset. This study looks at the challenge globalization offers to traditional ways of connecting language, 'race' and nation, and at the emergence of language ideologies which treat languages primarily as market commodities. Globalization is a force promoting homogeneity (especially "westernization" or "Americanization"). In the sphere of language the key question here is whether globalization means "Englishization", or whether it is more likely to lead to an increase in individual and societal multilingualism. The economic identity means that English is promoted over Arabic because of globalization. The hegemony of English, the globalization tongue, is threatening Arabic, the indigenous language. But, rather than disappearing, Arabic continued in a somewhat muted way under the banner of borrowing (Arabicization). Standard Arabic never lost its commanding position among those to whom it was a common language.

4.1 Globalization and Language Contact:

There have been always points of contact and conflict between English, the global tongue, and Arabic, the national tongue. Language contact was traditionally initiated by the spread of languages of power

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and prestige via colonization (Mesthrie et al 2000:248). Globalization made English a language of power. English influence on Arabic is mainly represented by two types of language contact:

1. Direct borrowing (arabicization): e.g. /baTTariyya/ (battery);
2. Calquing / loan translation: e.g. /naTiHat siHab/ ('skyscraper').

These two conflicting trends are noticeable in all languages. But Arabic has traditionally used loan translation and direct borrowing. The term "borrowing" has come to the fore in sociolinguistics, where it is mainly used to refer to linguistic forms which one language takes from another. It is different from code-switching which denotes the switch a bilingual speaker makes between the standard form and a regional form of a language, and code-mixing which refers to "the transfer of linguistic elements from one language into another" (Crystal 1997:66). Borrowing occurs when one language adds a new word or morpheme from another language to its own lexicon. On the other hand, the scientists of a society coin their own technical terms in their national language in place of the terms of international use. They need to maintain their national identity and to meet the demands of education through the mother tongue or the national language. However, for the age of globalization, there has been strong tendency toward borrowing. Words from English are not treated as borrowed words, but as part of Arabic repertoire.

The move towards an internationally accepted common terminology has given priority to the tendency of preferring to borrow in languages of developing nations. Scientists in the Arabic-speaking world are in favor of borrowing in the place of coinage. At the formal language level, the need for effective communication between scientists of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds requires the retention and maintenance of technical terms that are common to all the practitioners irrespective of the diversity in their cultural and linguistic background. When scientific concepts are adopted on a massive scale, because of the newness of the concepts as well as the newness of agencies and systems that import such concepts, there may be a large-scale importation into a language of technical terms that

have their origins in the languages of other societies. Newman (2002: 1) states that the structure of Arabic has never been influenced by lexical borrowing throughout history. But in the global age the Arab world is not technologically advanced. Therefore, the developed countries, i.e. western countries, are culturally-dominant and their language, English, is also dominant. Lexical borrowing in the age of globalization is one-way process which takes place from the culturally-dominant languages to the borrowing languages.

The increasing rate of one-way concept-borrowing and subsequent lexical borrowing that has been taking place almost universally from the technologically advanced countries... has initiated fears in a growing number of speech communities that the borrowing languages may be swamped by the foreign language (usually English) and eventually lose their linguistic identity. (Nahir 2003: 427)

The study shows that the use of many foreign words is very common in Modern Standard Arabic in Egypt nowadays. In some cases, there is an Arabic equivalent of the borrowed words. In others, the borrowed word is used as it is with some changes in vowels or consonants, or both. There are very few words do not undergo either morphological or phonological changes.

Examples of the borrowing process and the phonological and morphological adaptations of foreign words are very common in spoken Arabic. Ibrahim (2006) surveys the process of borrowing in written Arabic rather than spoken. The study is concerned with written Arabic. The study draws heavily upon the examples Ibrahim (2006) attested in issues of the national Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram from 1987-1988, 2000 and 2005. She finds out that the majority of borrowing are nouns. She counts a number of foreign words which entered Arabic in the age of globalization.

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In the 1980s, words such as "strategy," "computer," and "telephone," which continued to be used in Arabic, were at that time new concepts, products, or inventions that were entering Egyptian society as innovations....By 2000, English words from the field of technology, such as "laser," "fax," "internet," "remote control," and "digital," had found their way into the language.... In 2005, vocabulary related to new inventions appeared in Al-Ahram, such as "multimedia," "flat" (for television screens), "plasma" (also for television screens), "turbo internet," "super turbo internet," and "hard disk," and all were written in Arabic and sometimes in English as well. However, the following were written in English only: "Ipod," "DVD," and "MP3 player."(Ibrahim 2006)

The study distinguishes between two types of borrowing: loan words which do not have equivalents in Arabic and those which have equivalents. There are two main reasons for borrowing: a loan word is used to express a concept or thought that is not available in the borrowing language, or though there may be equivalents in the borrowing language its use is associated with prestige, the image of being modern, and educated, and is used in the language of fashion, modern sports, and leisure (Ngom 2002 :37-38). The first type is inevitable because it is associated with the dominant culture which provide inventions and modern technology. The second type is considered the real danger because there is no reason to use these loan words. Most of the examples in the following tables have been attested by Ibrahim (2006).

Table 1: Loan words which have no Arabic equivalents

| Loan word | Translation | Phonetic Transcription |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| اتوماتيك | automatic | /ʔutumatik/ |
| ديب فريزر | deep freezer | /di:b fri:zir/ |
| ديموقراطى | democratic | /dimukra:yi:/ |
| فيديو | video | /fidyu/ |
| ستيريو | stereo | /stiryu:/ |
| موتور | motor | /mutu:r/ |
| موديل | model | /mudi:l/ |
| كاميرا | camera | /kamira:/ |
| البطارية | battery | /ʔal-baTTariyya(t)/ |
| جينز | jeans | /jinz/ |
| بلاستيك | plastic | /blastik/ |
| هامبرجر | hamburger | /himbargar/ |
| بيتزا | pizza | /bi:tza/ |
| سوبرماركت | supermarket | /suber markit/ |
| الأسمنت | cement | /ʔal-ʔasmant/ |

Table 2: Loan words which have Arabic equivalents

| Loan word | Translation | Phonetic Transcription | Arabic equivalent |
|------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| كومبيوتر | computer | /kumbuytir/ | حاسب آلي / حاسوب |
| البنك | bank | / ?il-bank/ | مصرف |
| كافيتريا | cafeteria | /kafitirya:/ | مقصف |
| كوفي شوب | coffee shop | /kufi šub/ | مقهى |
| فروت سالات | cocktail | /kuktiyl/ | سلطة فاكهه منوعه |
| باورستيرنج | power steering | /bawir sti:ring/ | عجلة قيادة آلية |
| راديو | radio | /radyu/ | اذاعة |
| أتوبيس | bus | / ?utubi:s/ | حافلة |
| أكاديمية | academy | / ?akadimiyya(t)/ | مجمع |
| تليفون | telephone | /tilifu:n/ | هاتف |
| فيرنيتشر | furniture | /firnitšar/ | أثاث |
| كانز | can | /kanz/ | عبوة مياه غازيه |
| عالزيرو | brand new | /?alziiru/ | جديد |
| آيس تى | Ice tea | /ays ti:/ | شاي مثلج |
| جيولوجيا | geology | /jiyulujiya/ | علم طبقات الارض |
| فيزياء | physics | /fiziya?/ | علم الطبيعة |

Notice the borrowed word may be used as it is with some changes in vowels or consonants, or both. There are very few words do not undergo either morphological or phonological changes. The pronunciation of the borrowed item is often altered to fit the phonological rules of the borrowing language. The sound [v] is non-Arabic, therefore it is written with an [f]. The change applies to all borrowed words that include this sound. Arabic does not have the [p] sound either, and [b] is used in its stead. Notice emphatic consonants are often substituted for non-emphatics (except for /z/), which phenomenon affects loanwords of various origin : e.g. /busTa/, /baTTariyya/. The sound [T] is used instead of [t]. The following is an overview of the Arabic treatment of English phonemes as evidenced in the corpus of some loanwords.

Consonants

i. Plosives

/p/ = /b/ : e.g. computer /kumbuytar/

/b/ = /b/ : e.g. biscuit /baskawi:t/

/t/ = /t/ : e.g. telephone /tilifu:n/

= /T/ : e.g. battery /baTTariyya/

/d/ = /d/ : e.g. CD /si: di:/

/k/ = /k/ : e.g. camera /kamira/

= /q/ : e.g. democracy /dimuqraTiya/

/g/ = /G/ : e.g. telegraph /tiliGra:f/

ii. Fricatives

/f/ = /f/ : e.g. film /film/

/v/ = /f/ : e.g. video /fidyu/

/s/ = /s/ : e.g. cinema /sinima/

= /z/ : e.g. pizza /bitza/

/z/ = /z/ : e.g. plasma /blazma/

/š/ = /š/ : e.g. shower /šawar/

/j/ = /j/ : e.g. jeans /jinz/

/h/ = /h/ : e.g. hair gel /hir jil/

= Ø : e.g. hello /alu/

iii. Nasals

/m/ = /m/ : e.g. film /film/

/n/ = /n/ : e.g. monitor /munitur/

/ŋ/ = /ng/ power steering /bawar stiring/

iv. Liquids

/l/ = /l/ : e.g. high life /hai laif/

/r/ = /r/ : e.g. computer /kumbutar/

At the same time, loanwords are not a problem on condition that they comply with the Arabic phonotactic constraints. The problem lies in the fact that the essential phonological, graphemic and morphological features of Arabic could be drastically altered. In Arabic, there are no graphemes for the voiceless bilabial stop /p/; there is no use of aspiration whatsoever in any of the available voiceless stop graphemes; there is no grapheme to represent the voiced labiodental fricative /v/. The educated native speakers of Arabic manage this so-called inadequacy by simply using the English pronunciation for various technical terms, ignoring the sound values represented by the letters of the Arabic language to represent these words. In that case, note that the phonological and morphological features of Arabic may be subject to change. Other less educated Arabs do their best to approximate the assumed correct pronunciation of these terms by using sounds that may sound closer to the spelling used to represent the English term. And until then, a major problem exists as to how one could manage the spelling changes that are imposed on the transcribed terms because of lack of adequate letters so that a technical term borrowed from English could be recognized as relating to its original form in English. Arabic users should continue to depend on the transcription of borrowed words only with the letters available in their native script. The study is against using foreign sounds such as /p/ and /v/. The only foreign sound which can be maintained is /g/ because it is used in the Cairene dialect of Arabic. The problem could be solved, to some extent, if Arabic could adopt the foreign word with suitable modification, just as it was done through the history of Arabic when the word 'philosophy' was modified to /falsafa/, 'physics' modified to

/fizya?/. Arabic has been following well-laid principles in the past as to how the borrowed words should be treated and represented. This will certainly change the phonological structure of the foreign word. The only inescapable change which may occur is due to the consonantal sequence of the loan word. Words such as /striyu/ (stereo) and /blastic/ (plastic) maintain the sequence /st/ and /bl/ which do not exist in Arabic. Sometimes a vowel is added before the sequence to avoid borrowing the sequence as in the word /?istatiki/ (static).

Morphological changes are also noticed. Some of the loanwords appear inflectionally productive: e.g. automatic /utumatik/ or /utumatiki/, i.e. the use of /i/ as a zero-morpheme in word-final positions. Few of the borrowings appear in the plural and take a sound (external) feminine plural (even in the case of male referents) - e.g. batteries /baTTariyya-at/. Some of these words, such as /?al-baTTariyya:t/ etc, have the definite article /?al/, which means that these words have been integrated into the Arabic language. Another phenomenon appears at the level of spoken Arabic. Arabic native speakers apply morphological processes of derivation and inflection of Arabic to some English words. Loan words are not learned simply as nouns, although the majority of these are indeed nouns. For example, some English verbs with Arabic derivational and inflectional suffixes, such as 'yekansil' and 'yefarmit' to mean 'to cancel' and 'to format' respectively, are some of the processes Arabic users often easily practice. How do Arabic users subject the borrowed items to perform these functions in communicating the concepts and processes? How do they make a loan word productive in Arabic language? In fact, they do not borrow and adopt all the related items to the originally borrowed item. They let the native morphological processes apply automatically to such terms. This usage was adopted largely when terms from English are borrowed both for colloquial usage and technical terms. Arabic does not seem to prefer the borrowing of the morphological processes as well from English.

4.2 The Problem of Hybridization

The status of Arabic as a marker of national identity is threatened by many problems because of excessive borrowing. The first problem

is hybridization. Excessive borrowing of words which have equivalents in Arabic results in the phenomenon of hybridization. The process of hybridization currently going on in Arabic has come to be as a way of life. Clear-cut patterned structures are easily discernible. Bakhtin's definition of hybridization that it is "an utterance that belongs, by its grammatical and compositional markers to a single speaker, but that actually contains mixed within it two utterances, two speech manners, two styles, two 'languages,' two semantic and axiological belief systems" (1981: 304, cited in Ghosh 2001), is suitable for the current situation in Arabic. However, what can be noticed is a move toward the communal use of the hybridization process in the speech of almost every educated or literate Arabic users. Hybridization in Arabic adds complexity to the situation in Arabic: in addition to the existing differences between the spoken and written forms of the language, there is a newly emerging level of hybridized tiers both at the spoken and written levels. Social prestige and communicative convenience are always offered as the rationale for the profuse use of foreign words in the spoken and written language.

4.3 Wide Variation in Terminology

The second problem is that the different methods of coinage in Arabic resulted in variation in terminology. Scientists may use different words for the same concept in Arabic, e.g. many words such as "علم اللغة ، لغويات ، ألسنية ، لسانيات" are used for the term "linguistics". They may also use the same word for different concepts. The matter is much worse in the use of technical terms, with each Arabic-speaking country trying to adopt its own technical terms. Some scientists are influenced by their dialects. Some are influenced by the content, shape and even the pronunciation of the technical terms in English. Some are guided by a particular aspect of the concept. Some are given to indulge in the excessive use of metaphor to avoid using technical terms in their native language. Some even go to the extent of adding some new derivational processes. Some choose a word and impose on it a new meaning.

4.4 Use of English as a Language of Instruction

Inherent in the situation is the third problem: the widespread use of English as a language of instruction in Egypt. In the early years of independence from the British rule, Egyptians were more apt to pursue education through their mother tongues. However, with the advent of globalization, parents soon realized that jobs and other opportunities that brought in more money and real power went to those who had better control of the English language. Learning English now has a twin function: that one may be able to go abroad and make a living because of English skills, and that, even if one does not get an opportunity to work abroad, the same person may be able to land a better job in Egypt with better English skills. There had always been an admiration for the usefulness of English all over the world in all walks of life. Forced to choose between Arabic as the official language of Egypt and English as the language of national and international importance, Egyptian parents started to prefer English over Arabic as the medium of education for their children. Confronted by the slow growth of economy in Egypt for various reasons, and consequent lack of adequate jobs, the employment opportunities opening up in the Gulf coupled with wider openings for immigration in the affluent western nations, incited the parents of all classes to seek education through English, rather than through Arabic. In some sense, negligence of the mother tongue education resulted from the emergence of globalization. Globalization has further accentuated the existing problem. It is not surprising that the change from Arabic to English as the language of instruction in some educational institutions may actually have been partly responsible for weakening Arabic national identity. While it is true that learning a language in early childhood will bring in better competence in that language, there are other issues of identity. Maintenance of one's own languages, loyalty, etc. are of great importance.

5. Language Planning Activities:

Language planning is practiced by the Arabic-speaking countries to solve the problems of Arabic. Nahir (2003: 423) defines Language Planning as "deliberate, institutionally organized attempts at affecting

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the linguistic or sociolinguistic status or development of language." In fact, there are numerous activities which are carried out in Egypt by various institutions. The first activity is language purification, i.e. to preserve the purity of language. Nahir (2003: 426-427) observed two types of language purification: external versus internal. The former aims at protecting the language from foreign influences. The latter is used to protect it from internal undesirable development.

Proponents of such positions are always from the so-called Arabic zealots or pure Arabic adherents. Ultimately such arguments almost always made an earnest appeal to the need to maintain the purity of the language in order to demonstrate one's devotion to the mother tongue. But convenience in communication rather than the retention of the purity and identity of Arabic holds the fort among young Arabic users. Under such conditions, restraining the influx of foreign words into Arabic may not lead to much success. This tension is sought to be resolved by accepting the reality of the profuse use of foreign words in the spoken informal language, and by seeking to restrain such use in the formal spoken and written language. The Arabic Academy tries to avoid and eliminate foreign terms. This tendency has its roots in the ancient efforts to avoid and eliminate words of foreign origin, and supply and use in their place existing Arabic words, and if no Arabic words are available, to coin new Arabic words through loan translation. As a result, there is conscious, massive and sometimes time-consuming effort made for the coinage of technical terms. Arabic scholars and scientists need to revisit the situation and decide how a balanced approach could be developed.

Since it was formed in 1932, Egypt's Arabic Academy has been involved in language purification. It managed to issue law 112 in 2008 which asks governmental institutions in Egypt to be committed to protecting Arabic. However, language purification is also implemented by other institutions. Ministry of Education strictly control the selection of model textbooks for schools. Groups of oration and Arabic handwriting are formed at schools. In addition to columns in the press, programs on radio (e.g., "Lughatuna al-Gamila")

are adopted. But there are still other activities which can be suggested, such as organizing festivals on language problems or giving a telephone service advice on correct language (see Nahir 2003: 428).

The second Activity is lexical modernization: Motivated more by Arabic national identity than by issues relating to inter-personal, social, and educational communication, language planning in Arabic for a long time focused on coinage of technical terms. Efforts to put them into use succeeded only partly, especially because reforms relating to the introduction of Arabic as the major medium of instruction never took off in strength. The Arabic Academy in Egypt goes in for the coinage of pure Arabic terms as far as possible. The Arabic Academy does its best to have its own consistent endings for the technical terms of each discipline. Equivalents for -ics, -num and so on are also coined and an attempt is made to use them in a consistent fashion. The excessive pre-occupation of seeking, finding, and coining Arabic equivalents could be sometimes refused. Moreover, this trend makes a heavier demand on the users to acquaint themselves with the newly coined terms and to actively reconstruct their mental lexicon. Furthermore, The Arabic Academy seems to be influenced in their coinage of terms by a desire that the technical terms be comprehensible only to the scientists, but not to the general public. They exhibit a tendency to elevate the terms used in the colloquial language to the status of a scientific term assuming that this elevation would lead to better comprehension, propagation, and even the acceptance of the concepts.

There are still other activities which can help enrich the status of Arabic as a marker of national identity. First, terminology unification is necessarily required to "reduce communicative ambiguity, especially in the technological and scientific domains" (Nahir 2003:433). Second, stylistic simplification is necessary to narrow the gap between professionals and laymen (2003:435). Third, language spread in education is also important. Arabic should be used as the language of instruction in schools and universities. Fourth, auxiliary-code standardization can be adopted in all aspects of life. It is the "modifying of the marginal, auxiliary aspects of language such as

signs for the deaf, place names and rules of transliteration and transcription" (2003: 441). This activity has been achieved in Egypt at the level of street names, but shop names are still a problem.

6. Conclusion:

As verified in the study, an attempt has been made to identify, define the problems which threaten Arabic and national identity in the Arabic-speaking world, and particularly in Egypt. Problems such as hybridization, variation in terminology and the use of English as a means of instruction have been recognized. In fact, the impact of globalization on Arabic cannot be ignored. Arabic as a borrowing language may be dominated by English, the global tongue, and its users eventually lose their linguistic identity. The Arabic Academy has adopted a lot of activities to protect Arabic and national identity. But there is still much work to be done. The whole Arabic-speaking communities should be concerned with the issue and be aware of the problems which threaten Arabic and national identity.

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Appendix: Transcription Conventions

In transcribing the examples, the study uses the following symbols as a transliteration scheme:

Consonants

| Arabic | symbol |
|--------|---|
| ب | /b/ voiced bilabial stop |
| ت | /t/ voiceless dental stop |
| ث | /θ/ voiceless interdental fricative |
| ج | /j/ voiced alveo-palatal affricate |
| ح | /H/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative |
| خ | /x/ voiceless uvular fricative |
| د | /d/ voiced dental stop |
| ذ | /ð/ voiced interdental fricative |
| ر | /r/ alveolar trill |
| ز | /z/ voiced dento-alveolar fricative |
| س | /s/ voiceless dento-alveolar fricative |
| ش | /ʃ/ voiceless alveo-palatal fricative |
| ص | /S/ voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic fricative |
| ض | /D/ voiced dento-alveolar emphatic stop |
| ط | /T/ voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic stop |
| ظ | /Z/ voiced dental emphatic fricative |
| ع | /9/ voiced pharyngeal fricative |
| غ | /G/ voiced uvular fricative |
| ف | /f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative |

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| | | |
|---|-----|-----------------------------|
| ق | /q/ | voiceless uvular stop |
| ك | /k/ | voiceless velar stop |
| ل | /l/ | voiced alveolar lateral |
| م | /m/ | voiced bilabial nasal |
| ن | /n/ | voiced alveolar nasal |
| ه | /h/ | voiceless glottal fricative |
| ء | /ʔ/ | voiced glottal stop |
| و | /w/ | voiced bilabial approximant |
| ى | /y/ | voiced palatal approximant |

Vowels:

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| /i/ high front. | /i:/ its long counterpart |
| /u/ high back | /u:/ its long counterpart |
| /a/ low central | /a:/ its long counterpart |