Englishization as a Linguistic Phenomenon among Egyptian Youth with Reference to Selected Egyptian Traditional Dishes: A Lexical-Cultural Approach

Marwa Adel Eissa Mahmoud Nasser
Assistant Professor of Linguistics
Faculty of Women for Arts, Science & Education
Ain Shams University
nasser.marwa76@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper discusses Englishization in the language of Egyptian youth as manifested in the borrowings of food-related terms. In the past few years, the use of English, and the neglecting and belittling of the Arabic language, have been a trend among a group of Egyptian youth who belong to a high socio-economic level which makes it worth to study and examine. Therefore, this paper attempts to shed light on this trend by describing the borrowed words to find out the motivations behind it and the consequences that result from it. By reviewing the literature, it is found that lexical borrowing in Egypt has been extensively studied by many researchers from different perspectives (e.g., Hafez 1996; Ibrahim 2006; Nasser 2014). Some other studies have focused on the language of Egyptian youth such as Nassar (2011); Abdoun (2008); Srage (2014); and, Warschauer, Said, Zohry (2002). The data includes examples of English borrowings of Egyptian traditional dishes and it is collected from Twitter. Moreover, Englishization is examined within the framework of contact linguistics as proposed by Kachru (2005). Then, a discussion of the impact of this trend on the social and cultural identity of Egyptian youth is included. Results show that three strategies in the Englishization process are frequently used in rendering the Arabic culture context into the English context; namely loanwords, compounding and metaphor. In addition, the results demonstrate how this trend can destroy the cultural identity of Egyptian youth and their cultural heritage.

Keywords: Englishization; Egyptian youth language; traditional dishes; contact linguistics; cultural identity; lexical borrowing

Introduction

The spread of English as a global language has its impact on many languages whether this contact between the language and English is a direct or an indirect one. This results in language change which is a natural consequence of language contact situations as mentioned by (Aitchison, 1985; Bloomfield, 1933; Hock, 1986; Kachru, B. 1986 as cited in Kische, 1994). According to Kische (1994), "what brings about change in language form is the transfer of linguistic items as a result of language transfer". According to previous studies, languages have an impact on one another through the transfer of linguistic items from one language to another when they come in contact with each other (B. Kachru, 1989; Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Weinreich, 1953). This transfer of linguistic items results in different aspects such as Englishization, lexical borrowing, semantic extensions, colloquialisms, adoption of structures and code mixing (B. Kachru, 1989; Weinreich, 1953).

Taking Englishization as an aspect to be discussed in this study, it is important first to define the term. Englishization, here, refers to the use of the English language to convert materials in the native language into English. It has been observed that Englishization operates at almost all levels of linguistic structure: phonology, morphology, lexis, and discourse (B. Kachru,1986; Viereck and Bald, 1986). There are several motivations for Englishization which are discussed below. This phenomenon of Englishization has resulted in acculturation

of English in some speech communities. It varies from one speech community to another depending on the degree of education, social class, age, gender and other factors. That is what happened to a group of Egyptian youth. In the past few years, the use of English, and the neglecting and belittling of the Arabic language, have been a trend among a group of Egyptian youth which makes it worth to study and examine. Therefore, this paper attempts to shed light on this new trend in order to find out the motivations behind it and the consequences that result from it. It is noted that this phenomenon appeared especially among a group of Egyptian youth who belong to a high socio-economic level. Those who studied in private universities and who spend their summer vacations in luxurious North Coast resorts (El Sahel) such as Marassi, Hacienda Bay, Marina, and Amwaj. Those group of Egyptian young people try to distant themselves from others by talking in a different way and using English during their communication in a way to look polished, classy and cool.

Giving a name to a particular food or dish is not an easy task. There is a story behind the name of each dish. To change the names of traditional dishes that are considered heritage from the past and to substitute them with English equivalents is a noticeable phenomenon that has appeared among Egyptian youth and needs to be investigated. Thus, instead of saying Falafel, they say Green Burger, Molokheya is substituted by Green Soup, and Kunafa becomes Baby Hair.

Studying this linguistic phenomenon of Englishization can be interesting to many researchers as it sheds light upon the interplay between language, food, and culture. The relationship between food, language and culture is a complex one. Language is a means of communication by which people express facts, ideas, beliefs or events through words. Kramsch (1998) defines language as "a system of signs that is seen as having itself a cultural value" (p.3). He puts forth that speech communities identify themselves and others through their use of language. They view their language as a symbol of their social identity, while the prohibition of its use is often seen by its speakers as a rejection of their social group and their culture (Kramsch, 1998, p.3). Each culture has its own values, traditions, customs, beliefs, lifestyle and foodstuff. Each culture is identified by its own foodstuffs that distinguish it from other cultures. Different food flavors result from different cultures in the world. The relationship between food, language and culture creates the social and cultural identity of a community.

Social conventions, norms of social appropriateness, are the product of communities of language users (Kramsch, 1998, p.6). Hence, people who identify themselves as members of a social group (family, neighborhood, professional or ethnic affiliation, nation) have common ways of viewing the world through their communications with other members of the same group. These views are strengthened through institutions like the family, the school, the socialization throughout their lives. What people decide to say or not to say, and how they say it, is a result of their common attitudes, beliefs and values. Thus, language embodies and symbolizes cultural reality. Besides speech communities of people who use the same linguistic code, Kramsch (1998) mentions also discourse communities which refer to the common ways by which language is used by members of a social group to meet their social needs. Different factors help in differentiating social groups from others. These factors include grammatical, lexical, and phonological features of the language (for example, teenage talk, professional jargon, political rhetoric) as well as the topics they choose to talk about, and how they present information, and their style during interaction. Therefore, this study focuses on Egyptian youth language in order to examine their discourse, especially their use of Englishization. In addition, it studies how this trend affects their cultural identity.

Culture can also be viewed from another perspective, that is, a historical perspective. As Kramsch (1998) points out that the culture of everyday practices goes back to the culture of shared history and traditions. He adds that these cultural everyday practices have gradually evolved and become solidified for a long period. Then, they have been transferred from one generation to the next through speech and writing. This diachronic view of culture, as Kramsch (1998) maintains, "focuses on the way in which a social group represents itself and others through its material productions over time – its technological achievements, its monuments, its works of art, its popular culture – that punctuate the development of its historical identity" (p.7). According to these two views, it can be said that culture is the characteristics and knowledge gained by a group of people over time, including language, religious beliefs, social habits, heritage, traditions, customs, cookery, art, music, etc. Thus, culture and language affect each other as they are deeply rooted.

According to Gambier (2004, p.159), 'culture-specific elements' connote different aspects of life such as education, politics, history, place names, foods, drinks, etc., as experienced in different countries around the world. Everything from food traditions to religious beliefs should be respected, in any culture. Thus, food tradition is one of these values associated with culture. The term 'food' is an umbrella term that refers to whatever can be eaten, however, the term 'dish' has numerous implications. It implies kind of food that is prepared and cooked in a particular way. Thus, dish is used to refer to a kind of food from a particular place or nation.

The subject of food is an interesting topic that stimulates researchers to write about. When mentioning dish, the first thing that usually comes to mind is: What is the name of this dish? Where does it come from and whether it tastes good or bad and is there a story behind it? The answer to these questions is what makes the cultural context, since culture, as mentioned previously refers to language, values, folklore, traditions, lifestyle, beliefs, and even traditional dishes that can function as signs that have arbitrary meanings. Each dish has a name and it provokes different connotations about it.

Any country has its own traditional dishes that are transferred from one generation to the other. Traditional dishes are expressions of cultural identity. Ancient Egypt, besides being one of the oldest and famous culturally rich civilization in the world with its Nile, its pharaohs, pyramids and monuments, is also famous for its traditional dishes that many foreigners prefer and like to eat. Thousands of years ago, Ancient Egyptians left evidence of their love for food on wall paintings and monuments. Many of ancient Egyptian foods are currently eaten in Egyptian homes. Egyptian traditional dishes have a special taste which makes them different from other traditional dishes such as American, Hindi, Asian dishes, etc. Of such traditional dishes, there are Ful medames, Kushari, Falafel, Molokheya, and other dishes. These cultural elements have undergone an Englishization process, as Egyptian young people created new English words instead of the traditional names known many years ago.

Cultural connotation

According to semantics, the meaning of signs can be classified into three types: denotative, connotative and iconic meanings. All three types of signs correspond to ways in which members of a given discourse community encode their experience. In that regard, the code is not something that can be separated from its meanings. Words can also serve as culturally informed icons for the concepts, objects, or persons they signify.

Kreidler (1998, p.45) identifies denotation as "the central aspect of word meaning which everybody generally agrees about, whereas connotation is the "personal aspect of meaning, the emotional associations that the word arouses". He points out that connotations vary according to the experience of individuals, however, he asserts that because people have common experiences, some words have shared connotations. A third type of meaning that is mentioned by Kramsch (1998, p.16) is iconic meaning. Signifiers not only point to or are associated with their objects, but they can also be images (or icons) of them. For example: 'Whoops!, WoW!, Whack!' are words that do not so much refer to emotions or actions as they imitate them (onomatopoeia). According to the present study, the focus is on connotative meanings because the collected data under investigation are names of traditional dishes which have no denotative meanings but may evoke connotative ones.

Signs have no natural connection with the outside world and are therefore arbitrary. It is precisely this arbitrariness that makes them so amenable to appropriation by members of culturally embedded discourse communities. Speakers and writers use those signs that are most readily available in their environment, without generally putting them into question, or being aware, as Sapir notes, that other signifying relations might be available. Native users of a language, for example, do not view the linguistic sign as arbitrary; on the contrary, they view it as a necessity of nature. Native speakers do not feel in their body that words are arbitrary signs. For them, words are part of the natural, physical fabric of their lives. Seen from the perspective of the user, words and thoughts are one. A native speaker who starts adopting a style of speaking called "foreigner talk' when talking to a native speaker like him, shows a divergence that can be interpreted either as cultural antagonism or the display of cultural power. According to Kramsch (1998, p.20), the switch in register indexes a switch in cultural alignment.

Speakers of the same community understand each other. They have a common way of viewing and interpreting events. They agree on the meaning and the values of the concepts underlying the words. On the contrary, speakers of different languages can have cultural differences. They do not have the same semantic association of concepts. According to Kramsch (1998), "language can mean in two fundamental ways, both of which are intimately linked to culture: through what it says or what it refers to as an encoded sign (semantics), and through what it does as an action in context (pragmatics)" (p.15). Individuals have a high capacity to create linguistic signs that have meaning. In this respect, Kramsch (1998, p. 15) affirms that a sign is neither the word itself nor the object it refers to, however, it is the relation between the two. He adds that there is nothing necessary about the relation between a given word as linguistic signifier and a signified object. This relationship between the linguistic sign and its meaning is, thus, arbitrary, as there is nothing inherent in the nature of the signified object that makes its linguistic signifier more likely. This can be applied to the names given to the dishes. The relationship between the name given to a special dish and the dish is an arbitrary one. The process of naming a certain dish can have a historical background, however, there are other dishes that do not have a source for the name and the name is an arbitrary one.

Language and Cultural Identity

It is well-known that there is a link between the language spoken by members of a social group and that group's identity. By their accent, their vocabulary, their discourse patterns, speakers identify themselves and are identified as members of this or that speech and discourse community. From this membership, they draw personal strength and pride, as well

as a sense of social importance and historical continuity from the same language as the group they belong to (Kramsch, 1998, p. 65).

Group identity is not a natural fact, but a cultural perception, to use the metaphor. The perception of someone's social identity is very much culturally determined. What is perceived about a person's culture and language is what have been conditioned by our own culture to see, and the stereotypical models already built around our own. Group identity is a question of focusing and diffusion of ethnic, racial, national concepts or stereotypes (Kramsch, 1998, p. 65).

The Contact between English and Arabic in Egypt

Along the history of Egypt, the contact between English and Egyptian Arabic took different forms; either direct or indirect contact. At first, this contact probably dated back to the time of British colonization in 1882. This occupation of the British empire had its effects on the Arabic language as many English borrowed words entered the Arabic language. Later on, this contact boosted after Egyptian President Anwar El Sadat's policy of "opening the door" (Infitah) to private investment in Egypt in the years following the 1973 October War. This policy increased the contact between Egypt and foreign countries, and as a result more borrowed words enter the Arabic language. Recently, the contact between English and Arabic took another way due to the advancement in computer technology and networking represented in the internet, English has been used as a lingua franca among people from different countries, especially when communicating with each other via the internet. In Egypt, Egyptians have increasingly integrated English in their language. They use it in their everyday talk, in their education, and most frequently during their chatting on social media. By doing so, they unintentionally weaken their native language. Education plays a significant role in this respect, especially international education in which English is the medium of instruction and almost all the subjects are taught in English. This helps in marginalizing the Arabic language and downgrading its position as the main language.

Those who graduated from international schools belong to a higher socio-economic class. They lead a luxurious life and they go to private universities like the AUC, GUC, BUE, and others. This social class members see themselves different from other classes; they use English extensively during their conversations. Therefore, prestige can be another important reason why many families pursue foreign education. That is why English becomes integrated in the Egyptian life. In addition, some of them think that they are cool, and the others find difficulty in expressing themselves in Arabic and that is why they resort to English (Nasser, 2014). This is because of their education which focuses on English and gives little attention to Arabic.

According to a previous study (Nassar, 2011), a number of families whose children are students at international schools agree that everything is in English except for Arabic, Religion, and Social studies. To almost all of them, these three subjects are useless, and, accordingly, they pay little attention to them. They have Arabic as an obligatory subject that must be studied in all academic years, but it is not strong like the other subjects: math, science, English, etc. Few families care about the Arabic language, and they give their children private lessons in Arabic so that they improve their learning of Arabic. On the contrary, the majority give little attention to Arabic. Many students of international schools

have no appreciation of their native Arabic language, and accordingly, a wide segment of them have difficulty in reading or writing correct Arabic.

Moreover, Nasser (2014) gives another reason for the dominance of English over Arabic, due to the vast growth of globalization and social networks. This results in the widespread of a new writing system among youth, that is Franco-Arabic writing which includes the usage of English alphabets to write in Arabic. Many Egyptian young people find it easy to use English letters instead of the Arabic ones.

Related Studies

By reviewing the literature, few studies have been found examining the language of youth from different perspectives; Nasser (2014) examined the language of youth from a linguistic perspective through the analysis of lexical borrowing and code-switching in their chat. The study seeks to investigate language attitudes of youth aged 18-30 in order to find out whether the Arabic language is being abandoned or not and why. The results and findings of the study show that although English is the official language of the Internet, yet it is found that Arabic is the dominant language in the Internet, as Egyptian youth prefer to use Arabic in their communication. Srage's book (2014) also provided linguists with the tools to better understand the linguistic interactions taking place during Egypt's revolution. The book powerfully illustrates the substantial impact of protest slogans on the Egyptian revolution. By examining the revolutionary youth's slogans chanted across Tahir Square and other Egyptian cities, and the graffiti, written satire and catchphrases scrawled on Egypt's walls, Srage (2014) provided an engaging linguistic analysis of revolutionary slogans.   Nassar (2011) studied the identity of Egyptian youth from a cultural perspective. She focused on the identity of Egyptian youth. Basing her study on semi structured interviews, she explored the notions of identity held by contemporary young Egyptians, both 'offline' and 'online'. Results showed that a large number of young Egyptians today feel comfortable adopting 'Western' lifestyles, while the others categorically reject these 'Western' lifestyles in favor of more 'traditional' ones. Another group, in fact a large number of young people, adopt both lifestyles, though often in what can be seen as contradictory and inconsistent ways. This identity crisis has been reinforced by the increasing accessibility of the Internet.

Another study was written by Abdoun (2008) about the language and culture clashes in Egypt, more specifically, new Arabicized-English words that are coined by youth. She pointed out that youth have developed a modern jargon in order to better express themselves and their lifestyle. Being in a conflict of a conservative culture run by centuries, old traditions and customs and watching friends chatting on MSN, young people have combined both worlds in the way they speak. Consequently, new Arabized-English words are coined everyday. Likewise, the study written by Warschauer, El-Said, and Zohry (2002) analyzed online use of English and Arabic in relation to broader social trends of language, technology, globalization, and identity.

Based on these studies, the current study examines those young Egyptians who adopted the Western lifestyle through their language, in particularly, the trend of Englishizing cultural words represented in the name of Egyptian traditional dishes. This paper studies those English coined words by Egyptian youth, especially from a linguistic perspective, and then, explores their impact on Egyptian cultural identity.

Data Collection and Methodology

The study collects 20 English borrowed words of Egyptian traditional dishes that have been created by Egyptian youth on Twitter under the hash tag: ، أكلاتك_يا_مصر_فرنجوها# (قاموس_الساحل fb.me/Ldcdmqb5) ,طعمية_و_ملوخية#، #قاموس_الساحل_الشمالي، #قاموس_رمضان_٢٠١٨ (see Appendix A for snap shots of list of words on twitter). In 2017, many tweets were circulated among Egyptian youth that displayed englishized Egyptian traditional dishes with their Arabic counterparts. The collected data is classified according to the types pf lexical borrowing. The study describes these Englishized words that have entered the lexicon of Egyptian youth and are being used by them on Twitter. The study gives an overview of the different types of lexical borrowing, and, then, classifies the collected data according to the different types of lexical borrowing. A qualitative method is used in the study to analyze the collected data showing how Egyptian youth changed the names of Egyptian traditional dishes into English equivalents through lexical borrowing. Moreover, it shows how these words affect the cultural identity of Egyptian youth. The analysis, thus, is divided into three parts: First, it explores the different strategies used by Egyptian youth to create these words. Second, using lexical semantic theory, the study explores whether these words have the same effect like the original words or not. Third, the study shows how these borrowed words reflect the psychological state of the Egyptian youth. In addition, it shows the effect of these phenomenon on Egyptian cultural identity. In doing so, the study adopts a lexical and cultural perspective. The study makes use of morphological features, namely word-formation processes to examine the collected data of the borrowed words in order to explain how these new terms have been created. The study focuses on examining the lexical items of culture words that entered the language of youth in order to examine the semantic shift that they have undergone.

Research Questions

The study raises the following questions and attempts to find answers to them:

- How did Egyptian youth create these borrowed words?
- How far have these words the same meaning and feeling that the original words arouse?
- What is the effect of these borrowed words on the cultural identity of Egyptian youth?

Theoretical Framework

The study adopts Kachru's (2005) theoretical framework of Englishization in which he analyzes Englishization within the theoretical framework of contact linguistics. Following Kachru (2005), the study attempts to see how the process of Englishization operates on the lexical level which is an important area to start with, because this is where the influence of English is most felt. In studying Englishization, Kachru (2005) argues that the paradigms of contact linguistics must include sociolinguistic variables as integral to conceptualization and methodology. He uses the term Englishization in a broad sense, not only to refer to phonology, grammar and lexis, but goes beyond these levels into discourse, registers and styles and development of literary genre.

Reasons of Englishization

Englishization has been studied by linguists as a manifestation of language contact. Kachru (2005) proposes several reasons for this phenomenon. First, the uniqueness and multidimensional character of the English language is an important reason. This is manifested in linguistic history, as it has been recorded that English has established contact with almost every language family in all the continents, both formally and functionally. Accordingly, it can be said that English provides a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic indicator of change, acculturation, and convergence. Second, Englishization can be related to the sociolinguistics of English: its unique functional range, as well as its depth through its cross-cultural domains of use. What is generally not recognized is that the British and American identities form only a part of a larger group of identities of English around the world. Third, Englishization can have a psychological reason that is related to linguistic schizophrenia about the language. By schizophrenia, linguists mean the acceptance and rejection of the language. However, this schizophrenia, as Kraschu (2005) notes, has not impeded the accelerating and ongoing contact of English with other languages across cultures. Fourth, the impact of the contact of English and its implication with other languages is another reason. Fifth, Englishization can be related to the development of the creativity of bilinguals that is categorized as 'Contact Literatures' in English (e.g. in South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Africa, East Africa). This aspect has resulted from contact linguistics. The traditional dichotomy between language and literature is another reason. It has been shown in literature that contact linguistics will gain greater insights about linguistic creativity by considering such texts as data for making language-related generalizations (e.g., Smith, 1987). The last reason relates to applied contact linguistics. In language planning, English plays a vital role as a competing language in most of the developing countries. It is an interesting linguistic fact that even the most anti-Western nations are not reluctant to use English for national development. Internal and external reasons conspire in favour of assigning English an important role. These dimensions of cross-cultural sociolinguistic profile of English are indeed of greater impact than the impact of earlier Western prestige languages, Greek and Latin (Kahane and Kahane, 1986). After giving the different reasons of Englishization, it is important to mention the spheres of Englishization to indicate the influence associated with the spread of English.

The spheres of Englishization

Kachru (2005) mentions three major spheres of influence associated with the spread of English and institutionalization of world Englishes. These three spheres are:

1. Traditional regions of contact: This includes the 'inner' periphery of traditional linguistic and cultural contact (e.g. the languages of Western and Eastern Europe). The majority of these languages are cognate languages of English.
2. The Outer Circle: The majority of the languages of this Circle (and of the Expanding Circle) are non-contiguous with English in a geographical sense, and unrelated or not closely related in a genetic sense (e.g. South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Africa).
3. The Expanding Circle: This includes the languages of parts of West Asia, Japan, China, Latin America, and the remaining areas of the world (including Egypt).

Within each sphere, English has acquired the role of a 'source' language for linguistic innovations and creativity. In all the three spheres the local languages have generally been 'receiving' language in terms of the process of Englishization.

It is to be noted that studies on the Englishization of other languages have been divided

mainly into two types. One type is devoted to studies of lexical borrowings from English into other languages (e.g., Viereck and Bald, 1986; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). However, a fewer number of such studies describe the influence of English phonology on another language (e.g. in the case of South Asia as Bhatia, 1967 and later). Other aspects of this phenomenon have received very little attention. Thereby, Kachru (2005) has studied the motivations for Englishization from a lexical, sociological, and cultural perspective.

Motivations for Englishization

Kachru (2005) assumes two essential hypotheses about the motivations for the Englishization of Asian and African languages: the 'DEFICIT HYPOTHESIS' and the 'DOMINANCE HYPOTHESIS'. The deficit hypothesis, on the one hand, presupposes that borrowing necessarily entails linguistic 'gaps' in the language, the prime motivation for borrowing being to remedy such linguistic 'deficit', especially in the lexical resources of a language. On the other hand, the dominance hypothesis is evaluative in terms of the importance of the two cultures which come into contact. In Higa's view (1979, p. 278), when two cultures come into contact 'if one is more dominant or advanced than the other, the directionality of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing is not mutual, but from the dominant to the subordinate.' In this case, then, the determining factor is the functional power of English. The first view attributes the need to the formal limitations of the 'receiving' language, and the second view to the cultural dominance of the 'giver' language. These two views, of course, are not mutually exclusive, and such dichotomies do not necessarily hold in the real world. According to the present study, the second hypothesis can be one of the motivations for such phenomenon, however, it is not the main reason.

Dominance Hypothesis

This is one of the hypotheses for borrowing, which is similar to the phenomenon of intimate borrowing, where the dominated language borrows words from the dominant language. The difference is that the speakers of the dominant language do not necessarily have to be in the same area as the speakers who are dominated. The language for which words are borrowed could be influential because the speakers are advanced scientifically and technologically. For example, English continues to play a vital role as a competing language in most of the developing countries. It is a powerful and influential language in the domains of education, administration, literary creativity, in international, as well as intranational interactions. It is also believed to open the doors to the so-called cultural 'enlightenment'. It is a tool of some form of exploitation and political consolidation. Therefore, it symbolizes the 'killer language' for various regional languages and cultures (Philipson, 1992).

Another motivation which functions as a powerful stimulus for lexical, phonetic, grammatical, and stylistic Englishization of the languages in the Outer Circle, as mentioned by Kachru (2005), is establishing distance in a linguistic interaction, maintaining neutrality in terms of class, caste, region, by using English and not using a local language, and for maintaining an identity. This is the main reason of Englishization as seen among a group of young Egyptians. Neutrality, here, can have two senses: it can be a strategy for solidarity and a strategy for immense power. That certainly is the case of English in, for example, the Outer Circle.

In his framework, Kachru (2005) discusses the exponents of Englishization. He states that in

order to capture the range and impact of the exponents of Englishization, one should cross over the traditional boundaries that divide language and literature. Moreover, one must realize that the earlier paradigms of investigation of 'transfer' and 'influence' are not very insightful in capturing the full understanding of the impact of English.

Exponents of Englishization

Kachru (2005) raises a very important question that he attempts to answer in his study. The question is: What has been the impact of English in developing new registers, styles, codes, and literary genres in languages with which English has come in contact? To answer this question, the impact of lexis, syntax, and phonology, for example, is seen in a broader functional and textual context. English has left its impact (in the level of lexis, grammar, phonology, orthography) on other languages at varying degrees, according to the degree of contact and according to whether the impact is on the level of lexis, grammar, phonology, or orthography. In order to appreciate the range of Englishization, it could be done by looking at some examples at each level, which present the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural dimensions of Englishization. In this study, lexis is the focus of interest, and the data available is a good representation of this aspect of Englishization. Therefore, it is important to mention the different processes involved in the phenomenon of Englishization.

Lexicalization

The lexis of any language is open to the greatest interference from a language in contact. In discussing lexical borrowing, the aim of the study is not to provide lexical lists, rather, it is to describe and illustrate some selected processes and tendencies of such borrowing, and to mention some preferred functional domains for lexicalization from English. The importance of such borrowing is evident in languages from both the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. Previous studies have shown how different languages have their impact on Egyptian Arabic resulting in a number of loanwords from English, French, and other languages (Hafez (1996), Ibrahim (2006)). However, the collected data of the present study is different from the examples found in previous studies so far. The collected data represents cultural words in the Egyptian Arabic language which was not tackled before in any previous study.

At the lexical level, Kachru has classified Englishization, according to the processes involved into the following:

1. **Loan words** (nativized in phonology): The intrusion of lexical items is found in practically every domain. However, the registers of science, technology, fashion, television, cinema and advertising have a particularly high frequency of such items (e.g. see Bhatia, 1987).

2. **Loan shifts** (internal creation): These are of two types: **extension of a lexical item** from English (e.g. transport is translated into Tamil as Pokkuvarattu 'going and coming'), and **lexis-bound translation** in which the aim is to establish lexical equivalence (e.g. 'illegal licence' is translated as donga laysensui and common man is translated as sri samanya 'Mr Common' in Telugu and Kannada respectively).

3. **Hybridization**: In hybridization at least one component is from English (e.g. Kannada rit arji, Telugu rit darkhaˉ stu 'writ petition'; Marathi tikit ghar 'ticket office'). I might add that it is also true of several non-Asian languages, for

example, Danish booking-kontor 'booking office'; gospelsang 'gospel singing'; popkunst 'pop art'; German Haarspray 'hair spray'; and Livesendung 'live broadcast'.

4. **Parallel lexical sets**: The use of parallel lexical sets which have roughly the same denotative meaning is an interesting example of the structure of the multilinguals' verbal repertoire (Kachru, 2005).

According to Kachru (2005), there are a number of domains that fulfill the traditional definition of the term 'borrowing', as a process that fills 'lexical gaps'. In this sense, English is the giver language that performs a function towards the receiving language. This is similar to French, German, Latin, Greek, Spanish and Italian for English during earlier periods of its own linguistic history, when it received words from these languages to fulfill lexical gaps. However, there are other reasons, other than fulfilling a lexical gap, for which English continues to provide lexical stock to various languages, and thereby hangs the tale of attachment to the language. In most cases, English provides an additional lexical item for which there is already a native lexical item (as the case study in this paper). That is, all the examples found in the collected data have Egyptian Arabic equivalents, thus, these items of the collected data do not fill a lexical gap in the receiving language.

However, Kachru (2005) maintains that "the point is about the perceived 'neutrality' of English among the codes involved in the bilingual's linguistic repertoire, and the attitude towards English as an 'effective' code of communication". A considerable evidence of the use of English for such attitudinal reasons both in the Outer and Expanding Circles is found. This is obviously seen from the examples that have undergone Englishization process. In other words, according to Kachru (2005), the motivation for borrowing is essentially sociolinguistic. Therefore, using English words or phrases as equivalents to native cultural words is common in educated informal speech (either among friends or on social media as twitter). They use an English word instead of the Arabic word in an attempt to add a note of refinement and elegance to their conversation. In addition, borrowing from English provides a stylistic range to the users of the receiving language.

There is another classification of borrowing mentioned by Haugen (1950). Haugen (1950) assumes that since borrowing has been defined as a process involving reproduction, then any attempt to analyze its course must involve a comparison of the original pattern with its imitation. He calls the original pattern 'the Model' and recognizes that the loan may be more or less similar to it. He adds that it may vary from an acceptable imitation to a native speaker to one that the native speaker would not recognize at all. When the loan is noticeably different to a native speaker from the Model, there will be a case of partial learning due to the interference of other factors, as yet unnamed. Accordingly, two distinct kinds of reproduction are to be differentiated. Haugen (1950) states:

> If the loan is similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own, the borrowing speaker may be said to have imported the model into his language, provided it is an innovation in that language. But in so far as he has reproduced the model inadequately, he has normally substituted a similar pattern from his own language.

Haugen (1950) points out that the distinction between substitution and importation applies not only to a given loan as a whole, but also to its constituent patterns, since different parts of the

pattern may be treated differently.

As for the classifications of borrowed patterns, Haugen (1950) has classified them into 'loanword', 'hybrid', 'loan translation', or 'semantic loan'. These terms are not organically related to the borrowing process itself, however, they are merely tags which various writers have applied to the observed results of borrowing. Haugen succeeds in establishing a division of loans according to their extent of morphemic substitution: none, partial, or complete. Complete morphemic substitution precludes phonemic substitution, but within the morphemic importation there may be a division into more or less phonemic substitution.

Loanword is the vaguest of the group, because it may include practically any of the others. A loanword is imported by the speakers, not only the meaning of the form but also its phonemic shape, though with more or less complete substitution of native phonemes. In other words, both the meaning and the form are borrowed. Hybrid is different from loanwords in the sense that only a part of the phonemic shape of the word has been imported, while a native portion has been substituted for the rest. In this case, the borrowing speakers must have analyzed the compound into its component morphemes while they were borrowing it, or else they could not have made this partial substitution. Haugen (1950) clarifies that this distinction puts the process on a different level from the merely phonemic substitution of the preceding type. Loan translation (known as calque) is the third type of lexical borrowing in which an extension of the process is observed in hybrid. This type involves the analysis and substitution of both halves of the word. The borrowers have imported a particular structural pattern, viz. the combination of the two constituents into a compound expression with a new meaning of its own, not derivable by a simple addition of the two parts. In other words, loan-translation is literal word-for-word translation of both parts of the lending compound. A closely related type to loan translation is the semantic loan, in which no formal structure element has been imported, only a meaning, and the substitution of phonemic shape is complete. This is true also of phrasal loans, in which syntactic patterns are involved.

Haugen (1950) groups the relationship between morphemic and phonemic substitution into the following categories:

Loanwords show morphemic importation without substitution. Any morphemic importation can be further classified according to the degree of its phonemic substitution: none, partial, or complete.

Loanblends show morphemic substitution as well as importation. That is to say, one part of the compound is borrowed and the other is translated. The substitution involves a certain degree of analysis by the speaker of the model that he is imitating.

Loanshifts show morphemic substitution without importation. These include what are usually called 'loan translation' and 'semantic loans'. The term 'shift' is suggested because these loans appear in the borrowing language only as functional shifts of native morphemes. It is assured that for all types, semantic importation has taken place.

Haugen (1950) has divided borrowing into two broad types. These broad types are, in turn, divided into various types. He has classified borrowing into direct and indirect. Direct borrowing, on the one hand, is classified into cultural borrowing, core borrowing and therapeutic borrowing. Indirect borrowing, on the other hand, is classified into calque or loan translation, loan shifts, and loan blends or hybrids. The following figure represents the types of lexical borrowing, as proposed by Haugen (1950).
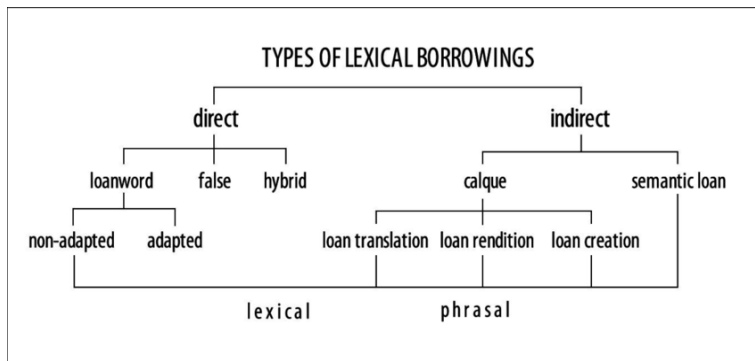
After reviewing the theoretical framework to be adopted in this study, the following section is devoted to the analysis of the collected data.

Data Analysis

Few years ago, a new linguistic phenomenon emerged through the social media (e.g. Twitter) in Egypt among Egyptian youth, especially those wealthy people who belong to higher socio-economic class. Those people are known as coastal youth who spend their summer in North coast in resorts such as Marina, Haicienda, Marassi, etc. Therefore, the study investigates how those Egyptian young people created new English names for already existing words that are related to Egyptian traditional dishes in the native language. They englishized words that were inherent and known in Egypt many years ago. These English borrowed words become part of their lexicon.

Food-related terms are those words that belong to cultural specific elements. To transfer these words from Arabic into English is not an easy task. It is even difficult for professional translators. Any traditional dish consists of a number of unusual ingredients, cooked in such a way as to create a special dish in culinary culture. It is well-known that culturally-embedded expressions have a special value that can not be easily transferred into another language. Each language has its own sets of cultural specific words which are different from other languages. Therefore, the question is how do Egyptian young people change those words, which are associated with cultural elements, into another language? The answer to this question lies in the concept of lexical formation. Seeking other words with similar meanings, and at the same time to present the meaning to others, is not an easy task. How young people transfer those culturally-embedded words from a source language (Arabic) into a target language (English) is a question to be raised in this study. The following section attempts to answer this question through describing the borrowed words in order to identify their origin, and how they are created. A very noticeable feature is that almost all the invented words are compounds. The collected data consists of twenty words of traditional dishes in Egypt. By analyzing the collected data, it is found that they have undergone many procedures of borrowing. The term 'borrowing' refers to the 'adoption of individual words or even of large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect' (Hock 1986, p. 380). The process can be divided into borrowing with adaptation and borrowing without adaptation. For Egyptian youth, borrowing without adaptation is the common process used, giving this foreign sense, may be because the period these words has been in the language is still short as this phenomenon appeared in 2017 or may be because these words already exist in the native language. Therefore, the borrowed term does not need to be integrated in the linguistic system of the native language. Moreover, it can be attributed to a prestigious reason, as they want to distance themselves from the others by using English.

Egypt is not only famous for its ancient history, monuments, beautiful beaches, but also for its cuisine and the different traditional dishes it is widely known for. A big part of Egyptian culture is the gathering and celebration of family members or friends together around delicious food. Egypt is known for a number of traditional dishes that are characterized by being vegetarian, which makes them cheap delicious meals that can be purchased by poor and rich people. By analyzing the collected data, and according to Kachru's (2005) classification of Englishization at the lexical level, the following processes are used: borrowing, loan translation, compounding, loan shift and metaphor.

The dominant process used by Egyptian youth to create englishized words instead of the native words of traditional dishes is loanwords (borrowing). In the current study, borrowing without adaptation is the main process. This is because an effort is always made to find equivalents through other means. It is also noticed that all the borrowed words are formed as compounds, that is, they are formed of English words that are joined together to refer to the original native equivalent. The following description shows how these borrowings are created by young Egyptians. The words below illustrate this process, for example:

Falafel (فلافل) or Ta'meyya (طعمية) is the most common traditional dish in every Egyptians' breakfast. Ta'meyya is made of fava beans, in addition to a fresh combination of chopped cilantro, parsley, white onion, garlic and leek, giving Ta'meyya its vibrant green color. With some spices added to this combination, and, then, rolled into balls, and fried, the result is this delicious Ta'meyya, which is favored by most Egyptians. Egyptian young people changed the name to be '**Green Burger**'. Thus, the word is a combination of two words, the adjective 'green' (that stands for the green color of the ingredients of Ta'meyya) and the noun 'burger', which is an English loanword that refers to a flat round mass of minced meat or vegetables, which is fried, and often eaten in a loaf of bread. Probably, they give it this name because of the resemblance in shape between Ta'meyya and burger, as both are rolled into balls. However, Ta'meyya is smaller in size and usually has a rounded shape.

Sometimes, beside Ta'meyya, there is also Fuul medames, which is another popular dish that is always present on Egyptian breakfast. Both Ta'meyya and Fuul medames (فول و طعمية) are given the name '**Oriental breakfast**'. Thus, the name is also a borrowed compound word that is composed of the adjective 'oriental', which generally means 'eastern', and the noun 'breakfast'. The name as a whole refers to this breakfast that contains these two oriental dishes 'Ta'meya' and 'Fuul'.

Koshary (كشري) is one of the most traditional Egyptian food that goes back to the 19th century. It is usually found on Egyptian streets served from food carts and restaurants, and it's one of the cheapest and filling meal that is totally a carb bomb! Koshary is an interesting mixture of rice, macaroni, lentils, and chickpeas topped off with caramelized onions, thick red sauce, and a garlic/chili/vinegar/ sauce. Young Egyptians name this dish '**Egyptian Pasta**', thus, it is also a borrowed compound name that is composed of the adjective 'Egyptian' to refer to the origin of this food, or may be to differentiate it from other pastas of different origin like the Italian, for example. This is, in addition, to the loanword 'pasta' which refers to one of the ingredients of this dish. Although this dish is made of a mixture of carbs; rice, macaroni, vermicelli, they use pasta, in particular, to name this dish.

Molokheya (ملوخية) is a favorite dish that is liked by all people. It is a stew made up of a leafy green, cut into tiny pieces and prepared in chicken, rabbit, beef or seafood soup mixed with

ground coriander and fried garlic, known as 'Tashah'. It is usually served with rice or bread, and choice of chicken, beef or seafood. It is made in different ways depending on the region in Egypt. Inhabitants of cities along the coast like Alexandria usually eat Molokheyya with shrimp or fish. Molokheyya is named after the leafy green that the stew consists of, also known as jute mallow. Egyptian youth create a borrowed compound name for this dish. They call it '**Green Soup**', thus, the name is made of two words; an adjective 'green' to describe the dish by its distinctive green color, and the loanword 'soup' to refer to the substance of which this dish is made; either chicken soup or beef soup.

Mahshy (محشي) is also another favorite dish that is found in almost all Egyptian homes. In some families, this is a side dish beside the main dish, while for many other families, it is the main dish of the meal. Mahshy is made using vine leaves or cabbage leaves. Then, a mixture of rice and green leaves and different spices are used as the stuffing, and wrapped in vine leaves. The name '**Wrapping Pasta**' is given to this special dish, as it refers to the way it is made by wrapping vine leaves with rice. Again, the name is a compound that is made of two words: an adjective 'wrapping' plus a noun 'pasta' to refer to the content inside the wrapping vine leaves. Using 'pasta', instead of 'rice', is not a good choice, as it does not refer to the content of this dish. Young Egyptians took this name from a foreign dish that is called 'Pasta Wrap' which depends on wrapping.

Rice with vermicelli or Roz Bel She'reyya (رز بالشعرية) is a main dish that is always present on lunch meals. Rice is cooked in different ways either with She'reyya (vermicelli), or alone just fried in some oil, and, then, cooked with some soup. Young Egyptians refer to this dish as 'Italian rice', which is a famous dish in Italy.

Feseekh (فسيخ) is a kind of raw fish that is made by drying the fish in the sun before preserving it in a lot of salts till it is done. Usually, this dish has a bad smell and not all Egyptians love it, however, it is loved by others as it goes back to ancient time. Feseekh is eaten during Sham el-Nesiim festival, which is a spring celebration from ancient times. Two names are given to this dish, that are; 'Dirty fish' or 'Egyptian Sushi'. The two names are borrowed compound words that are made of an adjective plus a noun. 'Dirty fish' is given to this type of fish. They use this adjective in particular due to the bad smell of this kind of fish after it is done. Egyptian Sushi is another name that is given to Feseekh, that is composed of the adjective 'Egyptian' to refer to the origin of this dish in order to differentiate it from Japanese Sushi, which is a famous Japanese dish that is made of seafood and vinegared rice.

Shorbet 'ads (شوربة عدس) is a very delicious soup that is cooked especially in winter, as it is served hot to provide people with warmness. Those group of Egyptians, who englishized Egyptian dishes, call it lentils soup. It is a loan translation of the original name. This translation method entails translating the term directly from the source language into the target language.

'**Torshi**' (طرشي) is a part of a meal that is served before the main dish to stimulate people's appetite, making them extra hungry for the meal. Young Egyptians use the loanword 'appetizers' to name this dish that is made of homemade pickles (either cucumber, olive, turnip, etc.).

Egyptians are also known for their love of desserts that have a delicious and outstanding taste like **Kunafa** (كنافة) which is the queen of Egyptian sweets, especially when celebrating the

holy month of Ramadan. It is made of a very thin noodle-like pastry, filled with cream or nuts, baked and eaten with syrup. The origin of Kunafa is very mysterious, as its has been recorded in Arab medieval cookbooks in Egypt, the Levant (Syria), and also in Turkey, but its exact origin has always been unknown. Again, this name undergoes an Englishization process and it changes from Kunafa to '**Baby hair'**, which is an English borrowed compound that refers to the shorter hair starting at the beginning of your headline (urbandictionary.com). Young Egyptians use this metaphorical name to label this dessert which looks like small, very fine, delicate hair. Thus, a semantic shift occurs here as the meaning of the word 'baby hair' changes to mean a traditional dish.

Zalaabya (زلابية) **or Loqmet El Qaady** (لقمة القاضي)are delightful dessert, that are crunchy from outside. They are eaten freshly fried and covered with syrup or sprinkled with powdered sugar. They are all shaped like small balls as in donuts holes. Egyptians name this dessert '**Golden donuts**' as a metaphor due to the resemblance between it and Western donuts. The difference is that the color of Zalabya is golden because they are fried. Young Egyptians considered it the middle Eastern version of donuts.

Another dessert, that is usually associated with the holy month 'Ramadan', is **QaTaayef** (قطايف). It is filled with nuts, or cream, and then fried, and finally dipped in syrup. The name given to this dish is '**Cute Lips**'. Like Baby hair and Golden donuts, Cute lips is a metaphorical name that describes the shape of this dessert.

Swaabe' Zeinab (صوابع زينب) **or Balah eshsham** (بلح الشام) is also associated with the holy month of Ramadan. The name given to this dessert is also metaphorical, as they call it '**Cute fingers**'. By analogy with 'Cute lips' that refer to QaTaayef, they use the adjective 'cute' instead of 'Zeinab', and they join it with the word 'fingers', which is the literal translation of the first element of the original Arabic name.

Even snacks are also given English names such as '**Popcorn'** instead of **Feshaar** (فشار), '**Cotton candy**' instead of **Ghazal el Banaat** (غزل البنات). These two names are loan which are the translation of the original words. Another snack that is usually sold on the beach in Alexandria, as peddlers carry them inside large glass boxes over their shoulders, is '**Freska'.** which is a round sweet paper-thin wafers. Young Egyptians call it '**Crispy bites**', which is a metaphorical name that is made of a compound word; the adjective 'crispy' refers to how Freska is eaten, as it is made of a paper-thin wafer which makes it crunchy and not easily broken. That is why they give it the name crispy. The other element of the compound is 'bites'. 'crispy bites is a famous name that refers to foods that have this sound from the first bite, whether these are main dishes like fried chicken, for example, or desserts.

Moreover, fruits also undergo Englishization process, especially those that are found nowhere except in Egypt like '**Harankash'** (حرنكش**),** which is given the name '**Golden berry**', as an analogical formation with raspberry, strawberry, and blueberry. Again, it is a compound word that is made of the adjective 'golden' which refers to the color of Harankash and the noun 'berry' which refers to a small, round fruit that looks like raspberry and blurberry. In addition, drinks are also englishized by Egyptian youth as instead of saying ' 'aseer mothalag' (عصير مثلج), they name it '**Smoothie**', which is a loan translation that refers to a thick drink made from crushed fruit, sometimes with yogurt or ice cream or just crunched ice.

After describing the collected data, according to the different processes of lexical borrowing and word formation, the following section is a discussion of how these new englishized

names are far from the Egyptian cultural connotations of the original names. Moreover, the researcher discusses the impact of the use of such englishized names on the identity of Egyptian youth.

Findings and Discussion

This current study focuses on the language of youth. This raises the question: Why do we study youth in particular? Before stating the reason, first, it is important to mention some statistical facts about youth. Youth is the future of any society upon which it depends. According to the Population Council Survey (2011) conducted on Young People in Egypt, the Egyptian population has a large population of young people in comparison to other age groups. About 62.0% of the population is 29 or younger, and 39.4% are aged 10 to 29. Based on the collected data of the survey, the dominance of young people in the population is obviously perceived. Being the majority of population in Egypt, youth is an important sector that all researchers should focus on for a better future for Egypt. One of the important issues that relates to youth is their language. It plays an important role in language change, as youth is the age of creativity in which young people manipulate and change language in different ways. Eckert (1997, p.52) describes youth as "the linguistic movers and shakers… and a prime source of information about language change and the function of language in social practices". From one generation to another, language is transferred through the power of youth. Language flourishes by people who use it and it dies by people who neglect and belittle it. Youth language is different from adult language in that it displays exaggeration, anomalies, passions, wordplay, frustration, and more. This leads many researchers to investigate their use of language from different perspectives. This current paper studies youth language from a linguistic perspective through the examination of a new trend among them and, then, explain this trend from a cultural perspective through examining their connotations to find out how far this phenomenon can affect the cultural identity of Egyptian youth.

From the description of the collected data, it is found that all the borrowed words have equivalents in the native language, and they are still used by Egyptians. They are not archaic or outdated, however, they are commonly used words, and in spite of that, Egyptians borrow English words to name their traditional dishes. Although the predominant belief is that English words are borrowed because they are usually shorter than words in the receiving language, contrarily, this is not the case in this study because all the examples of the collected data are compound loanwords created by Egyptian young people, which makes them longer than the original words.

It is also noticed that young Egyptians not only depend on loanwords as a method of englishizing traditional dishes, but they use also compounding beside borrowing to create new names. In addition, they resort to other techniques such as metaphors, when there is a difficulty in finding a suitable equivalent to the term. Hence, they use metaphor to produce the same image in English or to replace the image of the traditional dish with a standard English image. The following table summarizes the different processes and techniques used to create new English names for traditional dishes.

Egyptian Traditional dishes	Englishized word	Process used	Other word-formation processes involved	Other techniques involved
Ta'meyya (طعمية)	Green burger	Loanwords	Compounding	Metaphor
Molokheyya (ملوخية)	Green Soup	Loanwords	Compounding	Metaphor
Koshary (كشرى)	Egyptian Pasta	Loanwords	Compounding	
Fishar (فيشار)	Pop corn	Loanwords	Importation without adaptation	Lexical borrowing
Ghaza El banat (غزل البنات)	Cotton candy	Loanwords	Importation without adaptation	Lexical borrowing
Zalabya/Loqmet El Qadi (زلابية /لقمة القاضي)	Golden donuts	Loanwords	Compounding	Metaphor
Kunafa (كنافة)	Baby hair	Loanwords	Semantic shift	Metaphor
QaTayef (قطايف)	Cute lips	Loanwords	Compounding	Metaphor
Fiseekh (فسيخ)	Dirty fish/Egyptian Sushi	Loanwords	Compounding	Metaphor
Balah El Sham (بلح الشام)	Cute fingers	Loanwords	Compounding	Metaphor
Harankash (حرنكش)	Golden berry	Loanwords	Compounding	Analogical formation
Ful &Ta'meyya (فول و طعمية)	Oriental breakfast	Loanwords	Compounding	Analogical formation
Mahshi(محشي)	Wrapping Pasta	Loanwords	Compounding	Metaphor
Shorbet Adas (شوربة عدس)	Lentils Soup	Loan translation	--------------------	----------------
Roz Bel She'reyya (رز بالشعرية)	Italian Rice	Loanwords	Compounding	Substitution
Torshi(طرشي)	Appetizers	Loanwords	Importation without adaptation	Substitution
SalaTah Baladi (سلطة بلدي)	Oriental Green Salad	Loanwords	Compounding	Analogical formation
Friska (فريسكا)	Crispy bites	Loanwords	Compounding	Metaphor
Macarona Bel Salsa (مكرونة بالصلصة)	Red Sauce Pasta	Loanwords	Compounding	Loan-translation
'aseer mothalag (عصير مثلج)	Smoothie	Loanwords	Importation with adaptation	Substitution

Table (1) Processes and techniques involved in creating new names

From the above table, it is noticed that some English words are used in a creative way. Usually, youth language is characterized by being creative, different and innovative. This is seen in the creation of new English names for traditional dishes by young Egyptians. According to the procedure for forming words, Egyptian youth have the mechanism to coin new words. They have coined all the names using two main processes; borrowing and compounding. They depend on borrowing (loanwords) to create new englishized names. Besides, they use compounding to come up with a name that can be equivalent to the original name. It is also observed that they use two parts of speech frequently as a source for coining new words, (adjective + noun). Moreover, the analysis of the collected data showed how young people used an English word in a metaphorical way to replace a native word. The creation of the names in many examples depends on the shape of the dish. For example, the name 'Green Burger' is designated from the shape of Ta'meyya which looks like burger, and the adjective 'green' is added to the word 'burger' because of the green ingredients of which Ta'meyya is made. Similarly, 'Green Soup' is a kind of metaphor in which Molokheyya is compared to soup, as both are liquefied in form, and the adjective 'green' is also added to describe the color of Molokheyya.

Two other names that involve metaphors are 'Golden donuts' and 'Golden berry'. The name 'Golden donuts' is given to 'Zalabya or Loqmet el Qadi' which has this shape of rounded balls. The name is a metaphor in which Zalabya is compared to donuts which also has this rounded shape. The adjective 'golden' is added to the word donuts, as the color of these rounded shape dessert is golden because it is fried. 'Golden berry' also involves a metaphor in which Harankash is compared to berry, as both are round and small in shape, while the adjective 'golden' is added to the name as an analogical formation with blue berry, strawberry and cranberry.

'Egyptian pasta' is different from these two previous examples as the name is taken from one of the ingredients of this dish which is pasta. There are other ingredients in this dish such as rice, she'reya and lentils, yet Egyptians choose pasta, in particular, to name this dish. This can be attributed to the foreign sense of the word 'pasta' which they want to give to the coined word. In addition, they add the adjective 'Egyptian' to distinguish it from other kinds of pastas such as Italian pasta, for example. Another example that includes the word 'pasta' is given to 'Mahshy' which they call 'Wrapping Pasta'. Again, although this dish is made of rice, yet Egyptians give it the name pasta like Kushari which is named 'Egyptian pasta'. The adjective 'wrapping' is added to the word to refer to the way this dish is made by filling vine leaves with rice and wrapping it to form those fingers of Mahshy. Similarly, the name 'Egyptian sushi' given to Fiseekh also involves a metaphor, as this kind of dish is compared to Japanese Sushi,i.e. both are made of raw fish.

Some examples are pure loanwords. In other words they involve importation without adaptation such as 'Popcorn' and 'Candy cotton' that are found in both cultures. Another technique that is used by Egyptians is substituting the original name with a foreign word such as using the word 'Appetizers' to refer to 'Torshy', 'Italian rice' to refer to 'Roz bel She'reyya', and 'Smoothie' to refer to icy fresh juice ''aseer mothalag' . Thus, they substitute traditional dishes with other cultural equivalents in English. Therefore, Egyptian youth borrowed the names as they are without any manipulation. Other examples are loan translations of the original words such as lentils soup whichis literal translation of 'Shorbet Ads' and 'Red Sauce Pasta' which is a translation of 'Macarona bel salsa'.

The most extraordinary examples are those examples that do not have translation equivalents, and in spite of that, young Egyptians are able to find English names for them such as 'Baby hair', which is a name given to 'Kunafa'. This name also involves metaphor by comparing those noodle-like pastry of which Kunafa is made with baby hair which refers to very fine delicate hair. Two more examples that involve metaphors are 'Cute lips', which is given to 'QaTayef' and 'Cute fingers' which is given to 'Sawabe' Zeinab'. By looking at the shape of Qatayef, it is found that it looks like lips, and the adjective 'cute' is added to the word lips, which is a common word in English, unlike 'cute fingers', which is given to 'Sawabe' Zeinab'. Fingers is a loan translation of the word 'Sawabe', and, by analogical formation, the adjective 'cute' is added to the word finger to form the name 'Cute fingers' like 'cute lips'. Another name which involves metaphor is 'Crispy bites'. The name is given to Freska which is a kind of sweet crispy wafer. Taking this feature of being crispy, young Egyptians use the word crispy, and add it to the word 'bites' to give this sense of being hard enough to be broken easily. Using analogical formation, young Egyptians launch the name 'Oriental breakfast' on Fuul and Ta'meyya together as compared to English breakfast. Similarly, they refer to

'SalaTah Baladi' as 'Oriental Green Salad'.

Reasons for Englishization

Englishization can be related to different causes: cultural, political as the dominance of one language on another, or it can be a semantic cause as to express a meaning that is difficult to express in one's own language. By examining the period in which these words are coined, it is found that there is a dominance of the English language as an international language used by people all over the world through the internet. Moreover, by studying the nature of youth, it can be said that there is no significant reason for creating new English names, however, several interpretations can be assumed to this trend. Egyptian youth may want to show how cool, ingenious and distinctive they are. Borrowing words from English can be a type of register used by young people to distance themselves from others. They may want to show that they are highly educated and belong to a higher social class. They believe that Englishized words sound classier and more trendy than native words even if these words are culturally embedded words like the name of traditional dishes. For them, these names are more modernized and fashionable than the original Arabic counterparts. They are associated with a sophisticated, western lifestyle, and they are only used by young Egyptians because of their foreign appeal. This reflects how much Egyptian young people are influenced by the English language and the western culture. This is in line with what Kay (1995) comes up with in his study, for he states that: "loanwords are often associated with a sophisticated, western lifestyle and may be used in place of Japanese words of equivalent meaning because of their foreign appeal. Their modern image often makes them preferable to domestic equivalents where these exist" (p. 74). The modernization of some Egyptian young people, as seen from the examples of the collected data, shows how they are affected by the English language, forgetting their cultural identity.

All the borrowed words of the collected data are perceived as neutral. The original names of the traditional dishes have their local connotations. Looking at the English equivalents, they have neutrality and they show ineffectiveness, however, they show the class and level of education of the speaker. Moreover, they do not give a precise meaning as the original name. According to Aitchinson (2001), loanwords can be used because they can be semantically more elastic and flexible. However, by looking at the examples of the collected data, it is found that traditional dishes have a fixed meaning. In other words, they are arbitrary and not flexible in their meaning. Accordingly, their englishized equivalents might not have the same fixed meaning and the same connotation as the original term. Consequently, englishized Egyptian traditional dishes have stimulated the annoyance of many Egyptians who have a high sense of pride of their culture and identity, and feel irritated about these new names. It is noteworthy, in the following section, to shed light on the effect of these englishized words on the cultural identity of Egyptian youth.

Do the Loanwords Evoke the Same Connotations as the Original Names?

By comparing the original names with the new coined words, it is found that all the coined words differ from their Arabic equivalents in meaning, and even their connotations do not relate to the original words. For example, Burger has different connotations as it evokes negative connotations of fast food, an American food, meat pressed into a round, flat shape and fried or grilled, and it is usually associated with French fries. It fails to have the same connotation as the real word 'Ta'meyya', as it is a cheap meal that is made of veggie ingredients, and it lacks that tasty tahina and garlic kick which accompany this dish. Ta'meyya is this browned fried balls that are crispy on the outside and soft from the inside.

Naming Koshary as 'Egyptian pasta', which is almost a national dish that is a very carb-heavy ingredients of a mix of macaroni, rice and lentils, topped with tomato sauce and fried onions. The new coined word fails to evoke these connotations that accompany the word 'Koshary', as the meaning of the name does not include all the ingredients of this dish. Egyptian Pasta does not evoke this sense of a carb bomb because of the components of this dish which cause gastric problems to the colon. The coined name depends on only one ingredient, and therefore does not match the original meaning.

Mahshi , which is a generic word that means "stuffed", is a combination of vine leaves and other vegetables, stuffed with rice and herbs. That is why young Egyptians use the word 'wrapping' to name this dish. However, they use, instead of rice which is one of the main ingredients of this dish, pasta which is not a good choice, as it fails to match the original word and does not provoke the same connotations associated with Mahshi.

Molokheyya, which is heavily flavored with garlic and quite intense, due to its main ingredient, that is, those green leaves known as Molokheyya, is named 'Green Soup', based on its appearance, as it is a soup made of this green leaves. However, it also fails to have the same connotations evoked when mentioning the word 'Molokheyya'. For the first thing that comes to mind is this smell of garlic with coriander (Tasha) that is placed on Molokheya after it is stewed. As for 'Green Soup', it is a Spinach soup which is a common dish around the world. Thus, it does not match the original name.

Baby hair is not a good choice because it evokes connotations that have nothing to do with desserts or food in general. The same goes with Cute Lips and Cute Fingers. Cute lips evoke connotation of flirtatiousness, while Cute Fingers do not evoke any particular connotation.

Naming Zalabya as Golden Donuts is also an unsuitable choice. Donuts evoke this implication of a delicious ring-shaped piece of sweet fried dough. There is a resemblance between Zalabya and Dounts, as both are fried dough, but whereas Zalabya has ball shape, donuts has ring shape.

Why do they name 'Roz bel She'reya' as 'Italian rice'? Italian rice is rice cooked with broth and sprinkled with grated cheese. Therefore, the coined name does not match the meaning and the way this original dish is made. There is a difference between the two recipes, and, in spite of that they name it Italian rice. Therefore, it is not a good choice too.

The coined name 'Crispy Bites' evokes different connotations. It can refer to cookies, fried chicken, potato chips, etc. Crispy is the word we use to describe the sound of something light and thin when it is being ground or chewed. (For example, the sound you hear when you bite a cookie or biscuit or when you leave bread in the toaster for a long time). By naming 'Freska' as 'Crispy Bites' does not evoke these connotations that are associated with Alexandria, the beach, and street vendors who walk along the beach with this small glass box containing Freska.

From all the above examples of the new coined words, it is found that all the examples are neither assimilated, according to the orthography, nor the pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic, thus, they have this foreign sense, and this results in completely loss of the Egyptian identity.

The following section discusses the effect of those borrowed words on the cultural identity of young Egyptians.

Egyptian Cultural Identity

The recent linguistic trend, among young Egyptians of inserting elements from English into their native language, Egyptian Arabic, enables them to show solidarity or distance from other discourse communities. According to Kramsch (1998), "refusing to adopt the same language when you are seen as belonging to the same culture can be perceived as an affront that requires some facework repair" (p.71). Language crossing can be used for complex attitudes by speakers who wish to display multiple cultural memberships, and play off one against the other. Not frequently, speakers who use phrases from one language, as citational inserts into the other, distance themselves from alternative identities or to mock several cultural identities by stylizing, parodying, or stereotyping them all if it suits their social purposes of the moment (Kramsch, 1998,p. 71). This can be one of the interpretations of this phenomenon, as young Egyptians who belong to a high socio-economic class want to show off multiple culture, and they want to identify themselves as stereotypes to suit their social purpose as belonging to a different class.

Being the keystone of life, food lies at the soul of one's cultural identity. Egyptians have attempted to destroy this cultural identity by englishizing the names of Egyptian traditional dishes. They did so in different ways. Some terms are created by first looking at the preparation of the dish, its original recipe, finding the ingredients and considering strategies that will make the dish look foreign by using loanwords, and at the same time have a relation with the original name. In some cases, this technique did not work, instead, they resort to other strategies such as using a metaphor. Although the methods used are creative, yet on a cultural basis, they fail to provide the same sense of the original words. They fail to find out this intersection between cultural and linguistic aspects of the Egyptian dishes. By their creation, they fail to restore the original conception of the term. The new created words lose these cultural references, because they appear fake and sham to other native speakers in Egypt who are deeply involved in their culture.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has discussed a linguistic phenomenon that appeared few years ago, in Egypt. A group of young Egyptians choose to live a western lifestyle, and as a result Englishization emerged as a phenomenon that helps them fulfill their choice. It is noticed that some English words are used in a creative way. This is because youth language is usually characterized by being creative, different and innovative. This is obviously seen in the creation of new English names for traditional dishes by young Egyptians. They have tried to find English equivalents for Egyptian traditional dishes. In doing so, they have used different linguistic strategies such as borrowing, loan translation, compounding, and metaphor. By analyzing the collected data and by comparing the original words to their English equivalents, it is found that the coined names do not evoke the same connotations as the old words. They are linked to other English words, but they do not quite match the semantic interrelation established for such food in the Egyptian culture.

Moreover, the motivation for Englishization can be attributed to different reasons. In fact, youth has their own way of life, and sometimes they do so to distance themselves from other people, or to show solidarity as a distinctive group. The preference for English over Arabic

terms is mainly psychological. By using English counterparts, Egyptian youth want these new coined words to replace their counterparts in Arabic, because may be they view their language as a symbol of their social identity. In other words, they want to show that they are highly educated and belong to a higher social class. They believe that Englishized words sound classier and more trendy than native words, even if these words are culturally embedded words like the name of traditional dishes. For them, these names are more modernized and fashionable than the original Arabic counterparts. They are associated with a sophisticated, western lifestyle, and they are only used by young Egyptians because of their foreign appeal.

It is noteworthy to say that this phenomenon destroys the cultural identity of those Egyptians. It shows that those young Egyptians do not show respect to their native language. To be a bilingual is certainly a merit that people should seek, however, to be proficient and skillful in one's own native language is a credit. Nevertheless, substituting a native language with a foreign language without necessity is unacceptable. This reflects the image of a cultural cringe in which the members of a community thinks that everything foreign is good, whereas everything that is local is bad. What reinforces this phenomenon is that young Egyptians, now, have more access to foreign media, including music, movies, or TV series. Moreover, almost everything can be easily retrieved from the internet. Egyptian youth become more inclined to Western languages as they are attracted by everything that is foreign, which eventually affects their insights and stereotypes. The Arabic language reflects the Egyptian culture, and younger generations should be aware of the importance of their native language, as well as the importance of its tradition as a means of preserving their Egyptian heritage.

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Appendix A