A Tale of a City: The Linguistic Landscape of Cairo Streets

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Abstract

This study investigates the linguistic landscape of Cairo. Setting off from the premise that language practices reflect and shape identities, the researcher examines different categories of signage: street signs, warning notices, informative signs, building names, and advertising signs. Languages and varieties on these signs are identified to document which ones dominate the linguistic landscape. Drawing on Myers-Scotton Matrix Language (2001), the researcher identifies the matrix and embedded language in bi-lingual and diglossic signs. Findings show that, although modern standard Arabic (MSA) features exclusively on official signs, Egyptian colloquial Arabic (ECA) and English are more prevalent, in terms of presence, size, and influence. This prevalence is interpreted using Pennycook (2010) framework, where code choice unveils the motives, and ideologies of a speech community and indexes a linguistic shift. Results demonstrate that two competing forces 'own the public space': the official institution, which is in 'power', yet owns a small, uninfluential and hardly discernable scale in MSA. The second is that of advertising companies , who appear to outweigh the official force and are capable of designing, changing, and dominating the linguistic landscape. ECA is quintessentially used to address a larger public, and English is used symbolically to segment audience as per their socio-economic class. Findings of the study highlights the salience of this 'invisible' tool of language shift. Implications could inform language planning and policy on consistency in the linguistic landscape. It could simultaneously trigger interest in initiating a project for emphasizing the linguistic identity of Cairo, and further Egyptian cities.

keywords: linguistic landscape, bi-lingual signs, diglossic signs, Cairo, language planning and policy

قصة مدينة: دراسة المسطح اللغوي لشوارع القاهرة

مستخلص

تُعنى هذه الورقة البحثية بدراسة المسطح اللغوي لمجموعة مختارة من شوارع القاهرة، عاصمة جمهورية مصر العربية. وتعد دراسات المسطح اللغوي إحدى فروع علم اللغة الاجتماعي إذ تركز على الأنماط اللغوية والتنويعات اللغوية المستخدمة في مجتمع لغوي محدد وذلك بالنظر والبحث في اشكال المسطح اللغوي المختلفة بدءً من أسماء الشوارع والبنايات والعلامات الارشادية في الطرق ولوحات التنبيه والاعلانات والكتابة على الجدران. وقد اختارت الباحثة أسماء البنايات والعلامات الارشادية ولوحات التنبيه والاعلانات الموجودة في الشوارع الرئيسية في القاهرة كعينة بحث وذلك في ضوء الإطار النظري لنموذج اللغة المصفوفة لمايرز سكوتن (٢٠٠١) وذلك لبيان اللغة المصفوفة (الأساسية) الأكثر شيوعا بين التنويعات اللغوية في المسطح اللغوي وكذلك استعانت الباحثة بالإطار النظري لبينيكوك (٢٠١٠) لتفسير الاختيارات اللغوية لذلك المسطح. هذا وقد خلصت الدراسة لوجود قوتين لغويتين تتمثل احداهما في فصحى العصر والتي تظهر بشكل كبير في العلامات الارشادية التي تضعها الدولة بينما تسيطر العامية القاهرية واللغة الإنجليزية على بقية مظاهر المسطح اللغوي والذي يشغل المساحة الأكبر لهذا المسطح. وتوصي الدراسة بضرورة الانتباه إلى التأثير غير المباشر للمسطح اللغوي على العامة كما توصي بضرورة توحيد السياسة اللغوية والتخطيط اللغوي للقاهرة وغيرها من المدن المصرية بما يحفظ لها هويتها وخصوصيتها اللغوية.

كلمات مفتاحية: المسطح اللغوي، العلامات الارشادية متعددة اللغات، القاهرة، التخطيط اللغوي، السياسة اللغوية

A Tale of a City: The Linguistic Landscape of Cairo Streets

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1. Introduction:

The present paper examines the linguistic landscape (LL) of Cairo, the capital city of Egypt. Touring the major streets of Cairo, the researcher investigates the main varieties and codes that dominate the city's linguistic landscape. In their groundbreaking work, Landry and Bourhis (1997) contend that" the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (p. 25). Nowadays, research on LL has significantly diversified to include both linguistic and non-linguistic landscape (Moriarty, 2014), and even virtual landscape on the internet (Biró, 2018; Carr, 2019; Ivkovic & Lotherington, 2009). Drawing on Backhaus's (2006) definition of an LL item as 'any piece of text within a spatially definable frame' (p.55), the corpus of the study comprises 155 photo-recorded signage in public spaces of Cairo: including different forms of street signs, warning notices, informative signs and advertising billboards. The present study sets off from the premise that language varieties displayed on the streets of any city, just like any other language form, not only reflect, but similarly shape ideas and identities. Hence, a thorough description and identification of the LL documents the systematic linguistic patterns that prevail the speech community, and simultaneously unveils the motives, pressures, ideologies and decision making of people regarding the creation of LL.

Investigating the LL of ten major streets across the capital shows that three main varieties are at play: modern standard Arabic (MSA), Egyptian colloquial Arabic (ECA), and English. Codeswitching (CS) between them takes different forms; namely intra-sentential and inter-sentential. Drawing on Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Model (2001), the study explores the matrix language and the embedded language in multilingual and diglossic signs. Working within this model, and informed by Myers-Scotton's work, the study argues that the more ECA and English feature as the matrix language in diglossic signs, or multilingual signs respectively, the more this phenomenon indexes a consistent and systematic language shift.

This analysis is followed by an interpretation of the most salient features of such landscape in the light of Pennycook's (2010) framework of analyzing language as a local practice. Pennycook relates linguistic

landscape to wider social context, hence probes "to investigate the doing of language as social activity regulated as much by social contexts as by underlying systems" (p. 9). The present study attempts to answer these questions: who owns the public space, who is talking to whom, who is represented and who is not, and what is the role of the government in controlling and planning this public space. Answering these questions could inform multifaceted areas of research theoretically and practically.

Findings of the study are meant, on the one hand, to contribute to a synchronic linguistic description of Cairo, reflecting contemporary linguistic practices in the society. This could trigger interest in initiating a project for linguistic description of Egypt. It would simultaneously establish a link between the linguistic status quo in Cairo and the growing corpus of linguistic landscape research around the world. On the other hand, it could inform language planning and language policy strategies on how to emphasize the linguistic identity of Cairo, and further Egyptian cities.

2. Background:
  2.1. An ambitious initiative:
  Back in August 2022, majma' al-lugha al-'arabiya [Official Academy of Arabic Language in Cairo], supported by a number of parliamentary members, submitted a draft of a law for 'promoting the advancement' of the Arabic language (Appendix 1). This draft included 22 articles, that target endorsing the supremacy of MSA, which 'should' be used in all forms of official documents, statements, contracts, as well as advertisements, companies, institutions and any other official or non-official organizations. Relevant to the present study are Articles 3 and 14. Article 3 stipulates that "any advertisement televised, published, or set on the street or any public space should be in the Arabic Language (MSA). Article 14 stipulates that "all state organizations and all media, research and educational institutions should work hand in hand to *'besiege' (my emphasis)* the colloquial variety, and *fight* (my emphasis) against diglossia". Although, so far, no serious discussion over the drafted law has taken place in the parliamentary Culture and Education Committee, looking around the streets of Cairo underscores how difficult the application of such a law would be, with both colloquial Arabic and English taking over much of the public space.

  The present study emphasizes that "LL can explore overt and covert language attitudes, official and non-official language policies" (Alomoush, 2015, p.21). Indeed, the domain of language planning and

language policy stresses the significance of LL research that helps reflect linguistic hierarchies, power structures and the linguistic diversity of language groups in a variety of territories and regions. Hence, a thorough description of the LL could help in designing a realistic initiative to fulfill the intended outcomes.

2.2. Linguistic Landscape:

The study of the linguistic landscape (LL) is a fairly new area of investigation, with the establishment of its first international conference in 2008 and first international journal in 2015. A sub-branch of sociolinguistics, LL studies are primarily concerned with examining signs in public space. Landry and Bourhis contend that "linguistic landscape can be a very important factor in promoting the use of one's own language and therefore in the processes of language maintenance and language shift" (cited in Gorter & Cenoz, 2008, p.4.) This appears to be quite relevant to the Cairene, and overall Egyptian situation, where colloquial Arabic is slowly but surely encroaching on previously MSA-dominated genres such as health, taxes, and other awareness campaigns, whether on public signs, radio, television, or online.

Shohamy (2012) proposes new dimensions of the LL. She demonstrates that "[L]inguistic landscape refers to texts situated and displayed in a changing public space, which is being redefined and reshaped. This public space is a fertile ground for the emergence of broad and infinite repertoire of text types" (p.314). This justifies why LL is worthy of study, since it provides an accurate and up-to-date description of the dynamics and language practices emergent in a speech community.

Dominance over landscape and symbolic function of codes are two main concerns of any LL study. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) discuss the LL actors or "those who concretely participate in the shaping of the LL… according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies"(p.9). Malinowski (2008) proposes that a simultaneous reading of the source of signs is a determiner of the meaning(s) of the prominence of one code over another. Similarly, in his study on Tokyo, Backhaus (2006) contends that the abundance of English on billboards and commercial signs demonstrate that "the multilingual landscape in Tokyo was determined more by the citizens than by the authorities" (p.55). Blommaert and Maly (2015) argue that "LL studies can detect and interpret social change and transformation on several scale-levels, from the very rapid and immediate to the very slow and gradual ones, all gathered in a "synchronic" space… in other words: it opens the way to a sociolinguistics of complexity

(p.196). As introduced earlier, the study probes to identify who is in power in the public space and who shapes the LL.

Following the seminal work of Landry and Bourhis (1997), a plethora of studies were conducted on the linguistic landscape of different major cities around the world with different orientations. Whereas mainstream research was concerned with the representation of minority groups or immigrants in the LL (Backhaus, 2006; Barni & Bagna, 2010; Blackwood, 2011), other researchers focused on the expansion of English in public spaces (Backhaus, 2005; Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2016; Rowland, 2016). The works of Gorter and Cenoz (2021); Malinowski, Maxim, & Dubreil (2021), Rowland (2013) and Sayer (2010) negotiated the role of LL in second language acquisition, and how it could be an added value.

Few studies on the Arab linguistic landscape have been conducted. Alomoush (2015) examined multilingualism in six major Jordanian cities. Adopting a qualitative and quantitative analysis of 4070 signs, he concluded that " although MSA and English are the most prevalent codes on bottom-up signs, a wide range of languages are used in the bottom-up LL, including but not limited to French, German, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Russian, which are found to be mainly used on brand name and business name signs" (p. 229), with MSA and English emphasizing " Arab nationalism and globalization respectively".

In what is considered the first study on the linguistic landscape of Egypt, Plumlee (2017) conducted a detailed qualitative study which focused primarily on two major neighborhoods in Cairo: Maadi and Nasr City, which she considered as examples of "contemporary multi-ethnic, multilingual neighborhoods" with a significant number of foreigners residing there (p.123). In her study, she mainly focused on tokens (signs) which included "foreign words in languages other than Arabic, and multilingual signs…[and] tokens of documenting the emergence of Romanized Arabic chat script (colloquially known as "franco-arabe" or "arabizi", [whereas] the monolingual Arabic signs and those with limited symbolic use of English tokens are excluded from the discussion" (pp.122-123). This exclusion of the Arabic-only signs underscores one major difference between the current study and that of Plumlee.

Fawzy (2021) analysed public signs on the New Administrative Capital of Egypt from a Foucauldian perspective. In her study, she examined the advertising billboards of real-estate developers as tokens of semiotic landscape. She adopted Jaworski and Thurlow's (2010a) take on semiotic landscape as representing "the interplay between language,

visual discourse and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture". She depended on the photographic record of the Capital advertising billboards on the Suez Road and The Ring Road, in the construct of Foucault's (1984) critical discourse analytic notion of heterotopia. She concluded that the New Administrative Capital "is commodified as a heterotopic space to be consumed…through promoting "different" spatial experiences of silence and of carnival" (p.) Whereas there is an overlap in the data with the current study, both the orientation and the framework are different.

Dabbour (2017) probed the linguistic landscape of Tahrir square protest signs during the 2011 revolution and how they related to Egyptian identity. With a corpus of "over a hundred photographs collected over the course of the 18 days sit-in Egyptian revolution",—; the researcher identified recurrent patterns related to topics of the protest signs. Examining the data from a critical discourse analysis perspective, he found how sarcasm and faith were two dominant features of most of the analyzed data. The study concluded that the LL of Tahrir square was "reshaping the public space, [where] the actors are the people (Egyptians) vs the authority (Mubarak)… [and] the unprecedented unified and determined large number of Egyptian protesters waving with their funny protest signs against the regime has changed the geographical and the linguistic landscape of Tahrir Square (p.160). The data of analysis here has very little intersection with that of the current study.

Nofal (2020) shifted the attention from Cairo to Al Mansoura, where she examined 1350 photographs of shop and business signs on three major commercial streets in Al Mansoura. Her study was quintessentially highlighting the "status and function" of English on bi-lingual and multilingual signs. English was detected mainly in association with 'affluent' neighborhoods. Her results show that "social, economic, and aesthetic factors have played a role in the high presence of English, especially on bi/multilingual signs" (p.19). Focusing on Cairo, the diversity of codes used and the instrumental and functional use of each of these codes would be a major difference from Nofal's study.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, these are the only studies conducted within the research area of linguistic landscape of Egypt, which makes this study one of the first to address this topic. With a different orientation, the study examines how the different varieties, MSA, ECA, and English compete over public space. As elaborate earlier, the study could, thus, inform language planning and language policies.

3.   Methodology

    3.1. Data Collection:

The corpus of the study consists of over 150 photographic records of signs, available on Google drive (Appendix 2) across ten main streets of Cairo, the capital city of Egypt, captured during March-June 2023. Photos were taken from different areas such as Downtown Cairo, El Mohandeseen, El Dokki, Heliopolis, Nasr City and New Cairo. During the initial observation, the researcher made 5 shooting trips in Cairo, producing a total of 500 signs of different types. In the following months of fieldwork, work continued to take more photos reaching a corpus of 730 photos. Then, based on the initial qualitative analysis, this amount was downsized to maintain consistency in the number of signs pertaining to the different categories.

Indeed, methodology is one of the most contested areas within LL studies. Whereas some researchers advocate amassing data from the largest area possible to cover a wide landscape (e.g., Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006), others favored a detailed, in-depth analysis of carefully chosen signs (e.g., Blommaert, 2013; Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009). It is commonly agreed among linguistic landscapers that the two primary challenges of any linguistic landscape study are the representivity and the size of the data. Backhaus (2019) identified two major conditions for sound data collection: "the unit of analysis and the determination of the geographical limits of the survey area" (p. 160). Following this approach, the researcher diversified the sample data, using signs from major and side streets to ensure that it is representative of the Cairene linguistic landscape. In this respect, I followed the "purposeful sampling technique" for data collection which, according to Patton (2002, p.1), "is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest". Representative samples from each sign type are selected and analysed.

    3.2. Procedures of analysis:

The sample data is categorized following Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) taxonomy, namely the taxonomy as per the function and use of the sign (e.g., street signs, advertising signs, warning notices, building names, informative signs, commemorative plaques, signs labelling objects and graffiti). Table 1 gives a breakdown of the signs used.

Table 1. Categories of signs used.

Type of sign	Sub-category	Number
Official signs	Street signs	27
	Warning signs	13
	Informative notices	21
	Building names	12
	Advertising signs	7
Non-official signs	Advertising signs	65
	Building names	10
Total		155

It is noteworthy that advertising signs outnumber all other signs (which all fall within the same range); this is mainly because the former constitutes a much larger scale within the LL, whether in terms of abundance, size, or recurrence. On the other hand, the sample data of street signs, informative notices, and warning signs are quite representative of the linguistic systems used, so taking more sample signs would be only redundant and uninformative. The researcher, however, opted out of giving percentages of languages/ varieties used, in observation of this inconsistency of the numbers of sampled data. It is also worth noting that non-linguistic signs including images, logos signs, verbal and non-verbal communication fall beyond the scope of the study.

The present study adopts a descriptive, analytic, qualitative approach to the selected data. In case of bilingual and diglossic signs, the researcher examines them to highlight the matrix language and the embedded language following the lines of Myers-Scotton's (2001) model by identifying the system morphemes and the content morphemes. The 4-morpheme Model would inform the analysis of diglossic signs where content and system morphemes belong to both varieties. In fact, this section of the analysis would specifically inform how far ECA *competes* with MSA in public space. This could further signpost the direction of language policy and planning.

3.3. Myers-Scotton Matrix Language Model:

In an attempt to examine codeswitching among different language pairs, Myers- Scotton (1997) developed her frame model which postulates that in a clause where two codes (languages/varieties) are used, there is always a *matrix* language/ variety and an *embedded* one. The matrix language is the one which provides system morphemes (underlying grammatical structure, negative markers, prepositions, bound morphemes, etc.) whereas the embedded language mainly provides the content morphemes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs). Her model has been quite praised because "she tries, in an unprecedented manner, to formulate a theory that can explain both the discourse function of code-

switching and the structural constraints on code-switching" (Bassiuoney, 2020, p.43). Scotton later finetuned the model by introducing the 4-Morpheme model (2017) which could accurately address codeswitching in diglossic speech communities such as the Egyptian, and most Arab ones. In this version of her model, she further classified system morphemes as *early*, *bridge*, and *late* system morphemes, as per the level of access to these morphemes in the process of language acquisition. A bilingual projection of complementizers (CP) can consist of 1) ML islands which have only ML morphemes 2) mixed constituents including morphemes from both ML and EL and 3) EL islands consists of only EL morphemes. ML islands are made of ML morphemes and are under the control of ML grammar. On the other hand, EL islands are also well-formed by EL grammar, but they are inserted into an ML frame. Therefore, EL islands are under the constraint of ML grammar. Both multilingual and diglossic signs are examined, to highlight the code-switching patterns, which would inform the findings on LL.

4. Results and Findings:

Examining the linguistic patterns of the signs sampled in the study, the researcher identified three main varieties in use. Firstly, MSA which is exclusively used on warning signs (e.g., Figures 1-5) and informative notices (e.g., Figures 6-8). MSA also features on street signs (e.g., Figures 9-12), yet mostly associated with English, which is an instance of duplicating multilingual writing, as put forward by Reh (2004). 'Duplicating multilingual writing' relates to linguistic practices in which the same amount of information is given in more than one language. Reh called it "societal multilingualism", arising out of technical and affective aspects of communication. Reh further explained that it occurred in cases where people in the target community will not be reached using a single language only (p.8). It is of course quite intriguing why this is adopted in the LL of Cairo, which is far from being a cosmopolitan capital, or even a city with minorities. Reh further introduced three types: 'fragmentary', 'overlapping' and 'complementary' multilingual writing. Fragmentary and overlapping writings refer to bi-lingual or diglossic signs, where code switching occurs, which corresponds to intra-sentential CS. Complementary signs are another type of multilingual writing, where part of the message is given in one code and the rest is given in another code, instantiating CS between language islands, as termed by Myers-Scotton (1997).

Secondly, ECA is the variety mainly used on advertising signs of different commodities and services. Although ECA appears only on advertising signs, its presence is quite dominating for two reasons: on the one hand, it proliferates in different contexts and with different commodities. On the other hand, it is overtaking domains previously dominated by MSA such as health, postal, and banking services, which can be seen as an index of language change.

Thirdly, English which again features mainly on advertising signs and as a duplicate on street signs as mentioned above. The use of English as a *lingua franca* is commonly attested across the capitals of the world. Pennycook (2007) contended that "English becomes so rapidly part of the local that it is far less clear than it might appear what it means to say something in English" (115). Cairo streets are overflowing with commercial signs, billboards and shop names containing English words and phrases. The 'snob appeal' of English in the 'Expanding Circle' (Kachru, 1992) has either been interpreted as an index of modernity, globalization or future orientation (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, & Barni, 2010; Piller, 2001, 2003; Scollon & Scollon, 2003) or it could raise issues of power, ideology and identity (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 2003). From the standpoint of Cenoz & Gorter (2006:57), the wide spread of the English language on public and private signs is 'one of the most obvious markers of the process of globalization', whereas Scollon and Scollon (2003) see the proliferation of English in Chinese-speaking community symbolizing "foreign tastes and manners rather than indexes an English-speaking community) (p.118). The researcher agrees with this interpretation, especially that the use of English can be associated with certain services and commodities which target a particular socio-economic class. This obsession with the use of English has led advertisers to use words and phrases that need not make sense as those in Figures 27 where the text reads "simple pleasures come standard" and "everything in sweeping motion".

The final linguistic pattern identified in the Cairene LL is bi-lingual and diglossic codeswitching, which can be taken as examples of overlapping and fragmentary multilingual writing in Reh's (2004) taxonomy. Instances of code switching between Arabic and English or between MSA and ECA are only discernable on advertising signs. Table 2 summarizes the languages and varieties identified on different signs.

Table 2. Languages/ varieties used on the different types of signs.

Sign type	Language/ variety	number
Advertising signs	MSA	14
	ECA	9
	English	13
	English- Arabic	4
	MSA- ECA	32
Building names	MSA	7
	English	8
	Arabic-English	5
	other	2
Street signs	MSA	8
	Arabic- English	19
Warning signs	MSA	12
	Arabic-English	1
Informative notices	MSA	18
	Arabic-English	3

Examining the different signs gives a thorough insight into the linguistic landscape of Cairo. Certain linguistic patterns can be identified, that characterize each type of signs. The most systematic and consistent type of language use pertains to warning signs. This type displays a consistent use of MSA whether these signs are official or non-official. Official signs refer to those put by the government as in the Figures 1, 2, and 3 below.

Fig. 1 Sign prohibiting Fig. 2 Sign Fig. 3 Sign with

| talking on the phone | prohibiting parking next to fly over | multiple warnings |

As the figures show, MSA is used whether the verbal text is complemented with visuals or not. The main structural patterns used are either nominal sentences as in Figures 1 and 2, or imperative sentences as in Figure 3. Non-official signs are those put by private institutions such as schools or even individuals as in Figures 4, and 5 below. The same variety and the same linguistic patterns (nominal sentences) are widely used in all sample data.

Fig. 4 Sign directing individuals to enter school through Fahmy street gate

Fig. 5 Sign notifying people not to pay fees for parking

Official informative notices exhibit similar consistency in the use of MSA as in the figure 6 below. In this photo, one linguistic feature which is commonly realized in other types of signs can be identified: transliteration. The word 'asanseir' is used instead of its MSA equivalent 'miṣ'ad'. This could be taken as an atypical example of code-switching, with MSA as the matrix language and French, providing the content borrowed word 'ascenseur', is the embedded language. Although not quite widespread across other signs, borrowing can be seen in Figure 28 where transliteration of the compound noun 'smart city' is used in a sign featuring complementary multilingual writing, with ECA as the matrix language.

Fig. 6 Informative sign asking people to use the fly-over for their safety, and giving contact numbers

Non-official informative signs display more diversity in the variety used. For example, whereas Figure 7 uses MSA only, Figure 8 exemplifies the use of MSA and its translation English, or in Reh's (2004) terms- duplicating multilingual writing. As will be discussed below, the use of English here is quite intriguing since it neither falls under what is termed as the "snob appeal" of English, nor does it target inclusion of speakers of English which would constitute a very meagre portion of the workers on site.

Fig. 7 Sign giving information on land ownership

Fig. 8 Safety information on construction site

Duplicating multilingual writing is the most dominant pattern on street signs, as exemplified in Figure 9, 10, 11 and 12 below.

| Fig. 9 | Fig. 10 | Fig. 11 | Fig. 12 |

As shown, street signs across the city demonstrate two types of linguistic patters: duplicating multilingual writing, showing the name in MSA, followed by its translation in English (figures 9, 10, and 11). The second pattern is monolingually based, with MSA only. In this respect, three observations can be made. First, there is no clear pattern for the

linguistic variety/ varieties used. Within Al- Abasseya square, one street sign is monolingual, whereas another, only a few meters away is bi-lingual. The second observation is the existence of some cases of inconsistency in translation, where 'meḥwar' is once translated as 'corridor' (Figure 10) and another as 'axis (Figure 11). The third, relevant observation pertains to another instance of linguistic inconsistency, where translation is overwhelmingly adopted with few exceptions as in the street sign where 'masakin sheraton' is transliterated as 'Masakin Sheraton', rather than translated as 'Sheraton Residencies'. One implication of this study would be drawing attention to such inconsistencies to be addressed and avoided where streets would be renovated, and new signs implanted.

Building names, and advertising signs, to be discussed below, are quite representative examples of the significance of studying LL. Both types of signs instantiate Blommaert and Maly's (2016) argument of how "LLS can detect and interpret social change and transformation on several scale-levels" (p.6). The photo-recorded buildings cover a range of different governmental and non-governmental ones. The researcher has detected a paradigm shift in the linguistic systems pertaining to building names, specifically on governmental buildings. Three main linguistic patterns can be discerned. Firstly, the use of MSA exclusively whether on governmental or non-governmental buildings as in figures 13 and 14. This is mainly observed in older neighborhoods, or at least on buildings which have not been recently renovated such as the building names on The Egyptian Meteorological authority in Al- Abasseya, 'markaz nūr al-ḥayāh' in Heliopolis, and Saint Mary Orthodox Church in Bab el Louq.

Fig. 13 Sign on the Coptic Church in Bab el Looq	Fig. 14 Sign on optical center

Secondly, duplicating multilingual writing feature mainly on renovated ones or those in New Cairo as in figures 15 and 16. This discrepancy in naming buildings is yet another example of lack of firm linguistic planning.

Fig. 15 Sign on Ain Shams University dorms	Fig. 16 Sign on The Egyptian water and wastewater regulatory agency

Thirdly, the use of English only on building names such as Figures 17 and 18. It is worth noting that English seems to encroach on Arabic in this respect. Against the researcher's preliminary hypothesis, English is used even with government-owned buildings such as 'Almaza Avenue', and 'Petra Gate Mall'.

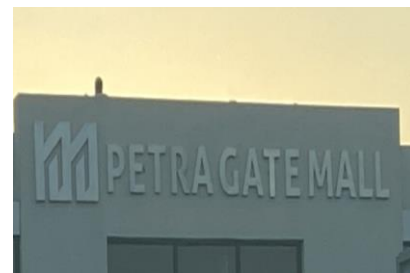| Fig. 17 Sign on government-owned Heliopolis Street mall	Fig. 18 Sign on government-owned Heliopolis Street mall

Non-governmental buildings, especially around Heliopolis and New Cairo feature the type of "social change and transformation" mentioned by Blommaert and Maly's (2016). Walking around the streets of these two neighborhoods, English seems to be the official language or the semi-official one. Although this is mainly detected in advertisements and shop names (which fall beyond the scope of the present study), it is equally discernable with building names as in Figures 19 and 20. Two interesting, yet not recurrent, patterns in language of signs feature in the use of transliteration in naming a private-owned company working on growing and producing minerals. The second sign is used on the Franciscan School in El Tahrir. This sign as well as few others around downtown Cairo are reminiscent of the diversity in the linguistic landscape of Cairo, or what Plumlee calls tokens of "the once-vibrant but now-depleted immigrant communities" (2007, p.121).

| Fig. 19 New Cairo Street Mall | Fig. 20 New Cairo Street mall |

Advertising signs used as sample data cover all forms of commodities and services: healthcare, postal services, telecommunications, real estate, foods, as well as others. Advertising signs constitute the major portion of the linguistic landscape for a number of reasons. Firstly, it abounds in every corner of the city, from El Tahrir Square to side streets in New Cairo, in all sizes with a much larger linguistic content than all other signs collectively. Secondly, the language system shows a higher level of diversity than all other types of signs, ranging from monolingualism in English, monolingualism in one variety of Arabic, or code mixing. Thirdly, they are the best representative of the kind of change occurring in a society, whether social, cultural, economic and linguistic. On the socio-economic level, services and commodities directed at clients of a higher social and economic class is widely presented in English, as a form of audience design proposed by Bell (1991). Linguistically, a shift in the language system used to market for certain services is discerned namely within the banking and postal services.

Looking at advertising signs (whether included in the sample data or even the ones excluded for consistency), the researcher identified a recurrent pattern of linguistic choices across the data. It can be concluded that the choice of the variety is determined by the commodity/ service given. For example, most signs marketing high-end residential projects use English only. This can be seen as a typical example of the 'snob appeal' of English. By using English, which is largely motivated by economic reasons in the LL, businesses seek to increase their profits (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009: 57). This can account for the high visibility of written English on the commercial streets and resonates Sarhan (2016) in which a link has been established between the type of commodity and socio-economic class.

Banking services (even those of the government-owned banks) use ECA or code switch between MSA and ECA. Other goods and services are quintessentially advertised in ECA. This is again another example of a paradigm shift as in figures 22 and 25. Across Cairo, signs and billboards of Banque Misr, National Bank of Egypt, Banque du Caire (which are all mainly government owned) use ECA, or code switch between ECA and

MSA, with ECA functioning as the matrix language. Similarly, as shown in figure 22, the national postal service is also advertised in ECA. This comes in line with Bassiuoney and Muehlhaeusler (2017) who stress the "the central role of 'Standard Cairene Arabic' in Egyptian public life" (p.39).

Code-switching in advertising signs takes two main forms: inter-sentential and intra-sentential, where the latter much outweighs the former which features only in two signs of the selected data. Adopting Myers-Scotton's (2017) Matrix Language Model, results show that ECA is the matrix language in the majority of the sampled signs. Figure 21 shows an example of intra-sentential codeswitching where ECA is the matrix language and MSA is the embedded language. ECA provides the early system morpheme negative marker /ma-sh/ in /ma-yekmal-sh/, whereas the content morphemes belong to both varieties. Intra-sentential CS occurs where ECA features as the matrix language in Figure 22; it provides the early system morpheme /da/ 'this' (determiner), whereas MSA provides the content morpheme /waqt/ 'time', occurring in the same projection of the complementizer, and the possessive morpheme is a neutral one used in both varieties. Figure 23 again exemplifies late system morpheme, relative pronoun, /il-li/ 'which', as an index of the matrix language, ECA, whereas other content morphemes belong to both varieties, ECA and MSA. Similarly, Figures 24-26 are examples of linguistic patterns having ECA as matrix language and MSA as embedded language. In Figure 24, the imperative verb pattern belongs to ECA, /bi'-ha/ 'sell it', rather than MSA. This pattern is an example of what Myers-Scotton (2017) calls late outsider system morpheme, since their form depends on information outside their maximal projection. According to 4-M model, ECA is the matrix language, providing the underlying structure, which again determines that ECA is the matrix language. Using /ba'it/ 'became' and /malyana/ 'full of' instead of their MSA counterparts /aṣbaḥat/ and /malī'a(h)/ respectively are two content morphemes used within an underlying ECA structure. These are just few examples of the spread of ECA across the data. This pattern of code switching occurs in 22 signs and can be easily attested in signs not included in the study.

Fig. 21 Commercial sign	Fig. 22 Governmental postal services	Fig. 23 Insurance service sign

Fig. 24 An agency for selling cars	Fig. 25 A real estate company changing its brand name	Fig. 26 National Bank of Egypt

Code switching between Arabic and English is also observed in the sampled data. Figure 26 instantiates an example of intra-sentential codeswitching where English is the matrix language and Arabic is the embedded language, providing only one content morpheme /ro'ya/ (vision) which plays on the name of the real-estate developer company. This feature of playing with words has also been attested by Plumlee (2007) where "the advertisers sometimes introduce word play and more complex English grammatical features, which reinforces both the elitist nature of the product on offer and the symbolic value of English for those

who can pride themselves on being able to decode the word play" (p.151).

Fig. 26 Sign of real-estate developer with English as matrix language	Fig. 27 Sign of a resort, monolingual in English	Fig. 28 Sign using transliteration

Discussion:

The present study is informed by Pennycook's (2010) framework of analysis, where the linguistic system on signs is seen as an example of what he calls 'local language practices.' Understanding these practices is considered as a step "towards an understanding of language as a product of the embodied social practices that bring it about" (p.9). His take on linguistic landscape is quite relevant to the present study's perspective. He contends that "

> [a] dynamic account of *linguistic landscaping* …allows us to see how different linguistic resources are used, different worlds evoked, different possibilities engaged in as people use the linguistic wherewithal around them. Language as a local practice, therefore, understood in terms of linguistic landscaping, helps us see how we make our surrounds linguistically (p. 69).

The description of Cairo LL reflects such contemporary linguistic practices of the society, with each variety serving a symbolic function, and not just an informational one. As noted by Bassiuoney and Muehlhaeusler (2017), the linguistic map of Egypt is varied, as a result of centuries of migration and contact" (p. 35). Despite being limited in size and domains, MSA still features predominantly on official signs, a fact that emphasizes the official status of this variety, and the exclusive monopoly of these signs by the government. This partially comes in line

with the findings of Calvet's (1990) study on signage in Dakar, which concluded that "despite the multilingual make-up of the population, official signs are available only in the official language". This also conforms to Backhaus' (2006) argument, which sees that "official signs are designed mainly to express and reinforce existing power relations" (p. 52). The researcher could relate this to the initiative of majma' al-lugha al-'arabiya, that considers enforcing MSA in all domains as a token of restoring power over the loose LL. According to the constitution MSA is the official language of the country; it is the language of education, administration and other formal domains. As is the case with other Arab communities, emphasis on using MSA is an index of national identity and solidarity. However, unlike the case of urban Jordan where there is a clear "dominance of MSA on all types of signs belonging to governmental and non-governmental institutions, food stores, restaurants, pharmacies, electronics stores, bookshops, bakeries, and fashion stores and signs written by individuals such as political signs and graffiti" (p. 139), Cairo's LL does not feature similar dominance, and the consistent presence of MSA is mainly shown on limited scope as elaborated.

As for duplicating multilingual official signs, Backhaus's (2006) interpretation of this phenomenon in Tokyo's LL seems partially relevant where signs have been "produced in a multilingual format in order to be of use to people without proficiency in Japanese, foreign businessmen and tourists, but also foreign residents" (p.59). I claim this is *partially* relevant, because, unlike Tokyo which has one third of its population coming from China and Korea, Cairo is not a typical multilingual city, where its population is considerably linguistically homogenous, at least in terms of the different Arabic varieties.

It is quite interesting how 'official' street signs use 'duplicating multilingual writing' as part of governmental efforts to include speakers of other languages, yet the same target speakers are overlooked in warning signs, another type of official signs. Official informative notices are also monolingual in Arabic. The researcher interprets this as an index of the lack of 'language planning' and the absence of a clear language policy. In fact, it raises, rather than answers, the question of 'who owns the public space'.

Whereas this duplicating multilingual writing on official signs could be taken as a sign of inclusion of foreign businessmen, tourists and foreign residents, the use of English on advertising signs is hereby interpreted as an index of exclusion. English-only signs that market high-end residential projects target a certain socio-economic category. This

resonates Sarhan (2016) on how code choice correlates to audience design, as a kind of initiative referee style shifting. It also conforms to Plumplee's argument which sees that "the [English-only] billboards seem to imply that access to these havens of luxury are only available to those with the secret access key: fluency in English" (p.149). She calls this 'aspirational use of English'. This prolific use of English by advertisers further indicates that LL is as much determined by the citizens as by the authorities, which again reiterates the lack of language planning across the capital. This correlation between LL and language planning is highlighted in Alomoush, who saw the proliferation of English in urban Jordan LL as "conscious language decisions on the part of the state and the local community to support the presence of English in the LL…[which] complies with implicit and stated aims of English instruction in the HKJ to produce a cultured and useful citizen" (p.155). In other words, this phenomenon comes as part of a wider official language policy, whereas this is hardly the case in Egypt.

Whereas English as a global language is attested in major cities across the world, Cairo's LL is equally overflowing with advertising signs in ECA. It is common practice to use the low varieties in domains related to casual conversations and everyday talk; in contrast, the high variety (MSA) is commonly used in public domains. This dichotomy is seen to recede as documented in the data, where advertising signs pertaining to banks (even state-owned ones), communications, postal services, as well as others make considerable use of ECA. This is a typical discursive local practice of language as introduced by Pennycook (2010). This code choice indexes a conscious decision of advertisers who want to address audience in their variety. It, however, equally underscores the proliferation of ECA, which would in turn expand the domains where it would be acceptably used on the expense of MSA. Normalizing the extensive use of ECA on public space unconsciously shapes the linguistic norms of the audience.

Although they were beyond the scope of the present study, listening to official informative ads on the radio or watching them on the internet (for example ones related to tax-paying or health initiatives, or even state-run charity *Bayt al Zakah* campaigns) would emphasize the results of this study. Based on observation, rather than robust academic research, several advertisements are now broadcast in ECA, rather than MSA. This could be a seed for another study, which aims at verifying this observation and unveiling its motivations.

It can thus be concluded that two competing forces seem to 'own the public space': the official, state-run bodies who, although are in

'power', own a small, uninfluential and hardly discernable scale. These adopt MSA as their linguistic choice. The second force is that of advertising companies and marketeers, who- at this stage- appear to outweigh the official force and are capable of designing, changing, and dominating the linguistic landscape, in terms of presence, size, and influence. The chosen codes are both ECA and English. Unless this is an acceptable official language policy, majma' al-lugha al-'arabiya would have to present a well-studied executional plan to counter this 'unplanned' LL.

Conclusion:

The present study examined samples from the linguistic landscape of Cairo, the capital city of Egypt. It focused on tokens of signage in public spaces, namely, street signs, warning signs, informative notices, building names, and advertising signs. It aimed at describing the linguistic status quo within the Cairene speech community from a different angle, to understand linguistic diversity beyond the traditional written and spoken forms. Situated within the field of sociolinguistics, linguistic landscape studies are meant to unveil the discursive practices and dynamics of language interactions and language change. The study aimed to understand the motives, pressures, ideologies and decision making of people regarding the creation of LL. Examining the sample data, the researcher has thus documented that signs in Arabic and English abound, with four major linguistic patterns at play: monolingual MSA, monolingual English, duplicating multilingual writing, and code switching between ECA and MSA. Results show that apart from street signs and warning notices, public space is owned by everyone; multiple actors have access to shaping the linguistic landscape, not just the government. Even government-owned (official) signs demonstrate a considerable amount of inconsistency in the language varieties used. As for non-official signs, the linguistic diversity employed in the signs, not only reflect how advertisers have access to constructing the landscape, but it equally indexes the target audience via the code choice. Findings similarly emphasize the general perception that the role of MSA in public space is significantly receding, and the gap is filled partly with ECA or English. ECA is quintessentially used to address a larger public, whereas English is used symbolically to segment audience as per their socio-economic class. Implications of this study include, but are not limited to, giving supporting evidence to the initiative of majma' al-lugha al-'arabiya; which basically sounds the alarm bell about how other varieties are encroaching on MSA. This could simultaneously inform language

planning and language policies attempts to the salience of this 'invisible' tool of language change. Finally, it calls for more consistency in the linguistic landscape. A final potential application for this study is to draw attention to the possibilities of using LL studies in second language acquisition, where signs could be a domain for linguistic investigation. More studies could be conducted to examine both the oral and the virtual landscape to scaffold the findings of the present study.

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Appendix 1

مادة (١) اللغة العربية هي اللغة الرسمية الوحيدة في جمهورية مصر العربية، ولا يجوز استعمال أية لغة أخرى في المكاتبات والبيانات والعطاءات والإعلانات والعقود والمخاطبات الرسمية والتراخيص والإيصالات والعقود والسجلات والدفاتر والمحاضر وما يلحق بها من وثائق، فإذا كان شيء من ذلك محررًا أصلًا بلغة غير عربية وجب أن تُرفق به ترجمتها إلى العربية، ويترتب على عدم مراعاة هذا الحكم اعتبار المحررات المذكورة كأن لم تكن.

مادة (2) يجب استعمال اللغة العربية في جميع وجوه النشاط الرسمي للوزارات والمصالح الحكومية والمحافظات وأجهزة الحكم المحلي والمؤسسات العامة والخاصة والأحزاب السياسية ومنظمات المجتمع المدني والجمعيات والشركات والنوادي والمؤسسات التعليمية أيا كانت طبيعتها، ويشمل ذلك تسميات تلك الجهات ووثائقها ومعاملاتها وسجلاتها وقيودها والوثائق والعقود والمعاهدات والاتفاقيات والعطاءات التي تكون طرفًا فيها، والكتب والمجلات والمطبوعات الصادرة عنها ومنشوراتها الداخلية وقوائمها ولوائح أسعارها والبيانات والمعلومات المتعلقة بالمنتجات والمصنوعات المصرية، ويدخل في ذلك المنتجات المصنوعة في مصر بترخيص من شركات أو مؤسسات أجنبية، وأنظمة العمل الداخلية لأي شركة أو مؤسسة أو هيئة رسمية أو أهلية أو خاصة، وعقود العمل والتعليمات الصادرة بموجب القوانين واللوائح، وأدلة الإجراءات والعمليات الخاصة بها، وكذلك يجب استخدام اللغة العربية في أية إعلانات مرئية أو مسموعة أو مقروءة موجَّهة للجمهور أو أية منشورات دعائية أو غير دعائية، وأية حملات إعلامية أيًا كان موضوعها. وإذا دعت الحاجة إلى استعمال لغة أجنبية في أيِّ مما سبق فعلى الجهة ذات الشأن أن تُرفق بها ترجمة صحيحة إلى اللغة العربية.

مادة (3) يجب أن يكون باللغة العربية أي إعلان يُبث أو يُنشر أو يُثبت على الطريق العام، أو في أي مكان عام، أو على وسائل النقل العام، ويجوز أن تُضاف ترجمة له بلغة أجنبية على أن تكون اللغة العربية أكبر حجمًا وأبرز مكانًا، ويسري ذلك على اللافتات التي تحمل أسماء الفنادق والمطاعم والمحال العامة والتجارية أو السلع التي توزعها أو أسماء أصحابها أو مديريها.

مادة (4) الأفلام والمسلسلات وسائر المصنفات الناطقة بغير العربية المرخَّص بعرضها في مصر مرئية أو مسموعة يجب أن تصحبها ترجمة عربية صحيحة منطوقة أو مكتوبة.

مادة (5) يجب أن تُكتب باللغة العربية العلامات التجارية التي تتخذ شكلًا مميزًا لها، والأسماء والإمضاءات والكلمات والحروف والأرقام وعنوانات المحالِّ والأختام والنقوش البارزة.

ولا يجوز قبول طلب تسجيل علامة تجارية تتخذ أحد هذه الأشكال والمميزات إلا إذا كُتبت باللغة العربية.

واستثناءً من حكم الفقرة السابقة يجوز قبول طلب تسجيل علامة تجارية مكتوبة بلغة أجنبية إلى جانب اللغة العربية بشرط أن تكون اللغة العربية أبرز مكانًا وأكبر حجمًا من اللغة الأجنبية.

ولا يجوز تجديد تسجيل علامة تجارية انتهت مدة حمايتها القانونية إلا إذا تم تعديلها بمراعاة الأحكام سالفة الذكر.

ويجب على مالك علامة تجارية سُجِّلت بلغة أجنبية أن يتقدم في خلال سنة من تاريخ العمل بهذا القانون بطلب جديد لتسجيلها بعد تعديلها وكتابتها باللغة العربية.

مادة (6) يجب أن تُكتب باللغة العربية البيانات التجارية المتعلقة بأية سلعة تُنتج في مصر.

ويجب أن تُلصق بطاقة باللغة العربية على المنتجات والبضائع التي تُستورد من الخارج تتضمن البيانات التجارية التي تؤثر في تحديد قيمتها والبيانات الخاصة بالمواد الأولية الداخلة في إنتاجها.

ويصدر بتحديد تلك البيانات قرار من وزير التجارة، ويجوز أن تُضاف لغة أجنبية إلى جانب اللغة العربية فيما يتعلق بالبضائع المُعَدَّة للتصدير إلى الخارج، ولا يجوز أن يقل حجم الكتابة بالعربية، في هذه الحالة، عن حجم الكتابة باللغة الأجنبية.

مادة (7) يجب أن تُحرَّر باللغة العربية أوراق النقد والمسكوكات والطوابع والنياشين والأوسمة المصرية وبراءات منحها، والشهادات العلمية وقرارات معادلة الشهادات الأجنبية وصيغ التصديق عنها.

فإذا دعت الحاجة إلى كتابة شيء مما تقدم بلغة أجنبية وجب أن تصحبها ترجمة باللغة العربية على أن تكون الكتابة بالعربية أكبر حجمًا وأبرز مكانًا.

مادة (8) يجب أن تُسمَّى بأسماء عربية سليمة: الشوارع والأحياء والساحات والحدائق العامة والشواطئ والمتنزهات وغيرها من المواقع، وتُستثنى من ذلك المواقع المسماة بأسماء أعلام غير عربية، ويجب أن يُكتب تحت اسم العلم العربي أو الأجنبي بيان شديد الإيجاز دالٌّ على أهمية صاحبه العلمية أو السياسية أو الفنية أو التاريخية ونحوها. ويجب أن تُسمَّى بأسماء عربية سليمة المؤسسات التجارية والصناعية والمالية والعلمية والاجتماعية والخدمية والسياحية والترفيهية، وسائر المؤسسات العامة والخاصة.

مادة (9) تعتمد الدولة سياسة لغوية ملزمة، لجميع مؤسساتها العلمية والتعليمية والبحثية، من شأنها التخطيط لتعريب تدريس العلوم كافة في المدارس والجامعات، وإلزام الأساتذة بالتأليف في تخصصاتهم باللغة العربية، وبترجمة أحدث المراجع في كل علم من لغته الأصلية إلى اللغة العربية.

مادة (10) اللغة العربية الصحيحة هي لغة التعليم في مراحله كافة وفي جميع فروع المعرفة، وهي لغة البحث العلمي، وتلتزم الدولة بإعداد الأساتذة والمدرسين إعدادًا يمكِّنهم من تنفيذ هذا الالتزام.

ويُستثنى من ذلك ما تقرره وزارتا التعليم والتعليم العالي والبحث العلمي، كل فيما يخصها من تدريس مواد معينة بلغة أجنبية.

والأساتذة الجامعيون والباحثون في مراكز البحوث الذين يكتبون دراسات بلغة أجنبية للنشر في الدوريات أو لتقديمها إلى الملتقيات العملية يجب أن يقدموا ترجمة عربية لها إلى الجهات التي يعملون بها توسيعًا لنطاق الإفادة منها.

والمناقشات والمداولات في المؤتمرات والندوات وورش العمل وسائر الاجتماعات التي تُعقد في مصر يجب أن تكون باللغة العربية، فإذا كان بعض المشاركين لا يُحسنها تعيَّنَ أن توفِّر الجهة المنظِّمة للاجتماع ترجمة فورية من العربية وإليها.

مادة (11) يجب أن يحرص القادة والمسؤولون والسياسيون والدعاة والمعلمون والمحاضرون والمتحدثون في وسائل الإعلام من المذيعين ومقدِّمي البرامج والضيوف على التحدث بلغة عربية سليمة سهلة.

مادة (12) تلتزم المؤسسات الصحفية والإعلامية بتعيين مصححين لغويين مؤهلين يكون عليهم الاطمئنان إلى صحة ما يُنشر أو يُذاع من الناحية اللغوية. وفيما عدا شعر العامية المصرية لا يجوز نشر أية مقالات أو كتابات أدبية أو سياسية أو غيرها باللهجة العامية.

مادة (13) (يجب أن يجتاز كل مرشح للعمل في وظيفة مدرس في التعليم العام أو الفني بأنواعه والمرشح للعمل عضو هيئة تدريس في الجامعات والمعاهد العليا الحكومية والمرشح للعمل مذيعًا أو مُعِدَّ برامج أو محررًا في أي مؤسسة إعلامية امتحان كفاية في اللغة العربية.

ويُعِدُّ هذا الامتحان ويشرف عليه ويصحح أوراقه ويعلن نتائجه مجمع اللغة العربية وفق لائحة لهذا الشأن تصدر بقرار من وزير التعليم العالي بعد أخذ رأي وزير التعليم.

ويُستثنى من أداء هذا الامتحان غير الناطقين باللغة العربية من المعلمين الذين يدرِّسون بلغة أجنبية، والعاملون في الأقسام الأجنبية في وسائل الإعلام.

مادة (14) تلتزم مؤسسات الدولة كافة، وكذلك المؤسسات التعليمية والبحثية والإعلامية الخاصة بالعمل على إشاعة اللغة العربية الصحيحة ألفاظًا وتراكيب ونطقًا وكتابةً، وبمحاصرة اللهجة العامية ومحاربة الثنائية بينها وبين العربية الصحيحة وبين هذه الأخيرة واللغات الأجنبية، ويتعين أن تكون للبرامج

الإعلامية المسموعة والمرئية، وللأعمدة والأبواب الثابتة في الصحف والمجلات، أسماء عربية صحيحة مع تجنب الأسماء العامية.

مادة (15) تلتزم المؤسسات التعليمية الأجنبية، مدارس وجامعات ومعاهد تخصصية، بأن تُضَمَّن برامجها التعليمية مناهج لتعليم اللغة العربية للطلاب، ويكون ذلك تحت إشراف وزارة التعليم أو التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي، حسب تبعية المؤسسة المعنية، وأن تستمر هذه المناهج على مدى سنوات الدراسة كافة.

مادة (16) تلتزم الدولة بوضع برنامج، قابل للتنفيذ، للقضاء على الأمية في البلاد في خلال مدة لا تجاوز سبع سنوات من تاريخ العمل بهذا القانون.

مادة (17) تعمل الجهات الإعلامية الحكومية، والمؤسسات الإعلامية الخاصة على توسيع المساحة التي يُعتمد فيها على اللغة العربية الصحيحة، وعلى مجمع اللغة العربية أن يقدِّم سنويًا إلى الجهات المعنية، ملاحظاته حول اللغة المستعملة فيها للتشاور حولها واقتراح وسائل تنفيذها.

مادة (18) يُقْتَصَر على التعليم باللغة العربية، في جميع المؤسسات التعليمية للأطفال، منذ الالتحاق بها إلى سن التاسعة بحيث لا يبدأ تعليم لغة أجنبية قبل بلوغ الطفل هذه السن.

مادة (19) تصدر جميع تشريعات الدولة، ولوائحها التنفيذية، والقرارات الإدارية بأنواعها كافة باللغة العربية وحدها. ويجوز إذا اقتضت الحاجة إرفاق ترجمة، معتمدة من الجهة الرسمية المعنية، إلى لغة أجنبية أو أكثر، ويكون ذلك بموافقة الوزير المختص.ويُعَيَّن في كل وزارة أو محافظة أو مؤسسة عامة خبير متخصص في اللغة العربية تكون مهمته مراجعة ما يصدر عن الجهة التي يعمل بها والتأكد من صحته اللغوية.

مادة (20) مجمع اللغة العربية هو الجهة المختصة في الدولة بمتابعة مدى الالتزام بهذا القانون، وعليه أن يرفع تقريرًا سنويًا بملاحظاته في هذا الشأن إلى وزير التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي مع طلب توجيهه إلى من يعنيهم الأمر من القائمين على الجهات المذكورة فيه.ويتابع المجمع، من خلال وزارة التعليم العالي، نشر قراراته في الوقائع المصرية وفقًا لما نص عليه القانون رقم (112) لسنة 2008م.

مادة (21) يُعاقب كل من يخالف أحكام المواد: 1 و2 و3 و4 و5 و6 و7 و8 و12 و14 و15 و18 بغرامة لا تقل عن خمسة آلاف جنيه ولا تجاوز عشرة آلاف جنيه.

وتحدد المحكمة للمخالف مهلة لا تجاوز ثلاثة أشهر لتنفيذ ما أوجبه النص الذي وقعت مخالفته، فإذا انقضت المهلة ولم يقم بتنفيذ ذلك عُوقب بغرامة لا تقل عن خمسين ألف جنيه ولا تزيد على مئة ألف جنيه أو بإحدى هاتين العقوبتين.

مادة (22) يُلغى القانون رقم (115) لسنة 1958 والقانون رقم (102) لسنة 1976 بتعديل بعض أحكام القانون المذكور، ويُلغى كل نص يخالف أحكام هذا القانون.

Appendix 2

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/15dRAIVoI9SAh0RnexhEokDmD2CnM1Qi9?usp=sharing