
Linguistic Imposition: The Policies and Perils of English as a Medium of Instruction in the United Arab Emirates

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ABSTRACT

There is perhaps no place quite as unique as the United Arab Emirates. It has seen and continues to see rapid progress in industry, architecture and business but these pale in comparison to the linguistic and cultural hybridity that dictates the public and educational lives of its residents, both expatriate and national.

This position paper seeks to address and dissect the trends and practices of this phenomenon in the world of higher education as well as the residual effects the secondary school system have on the Emiratis students who currently populate its tertiary institutions which deliver its content through the medium of the English language.

1. INTRODUCTION

The UAE and its population are dynamic examples of linguistic globalization. This is due to a number of factors but most importantly, foreign labor—both blue and white collar which has led English to become the lingua franca of the country. An influential position of this foreign labor is the live-in housemaid. In many cases the children of the UAE are partially raised by these housemaids who speak to them from an early age in English. It is well-established that developing countries in the periphery of Kachru's 3 circles utilize the proficiency of the English language as a bench mark for furthering one's career, job prospects, social status, economic advancement as well as the perceived education level of its citizens (Kachru, 1986). However, the United Arab Emirates is a country in which its citizens often times are forced to use a second language to conduct their everyday lives as a consequence of the blended demographic with which they interact.

Central to the agenda of this issue is a critical stance regarding the lack of consideration for the Emirati nationals' linguistic right to engage in study, comprehend, discuss and critique subject matter in their own native Arabic language. This not only, as will be argued, infringes upon basic human rights but further perpetuates existing issues of subpar academic performances in the said native language of Arabic.

2. POOR ARABIC SKILLS

A fascinating though oppressive phenomenon exists in this country. There has been a trade-off, whether mutually accepted or not, between the ambition of progress and preservation of linguistic identity. Quite often social mandates and constrictions lead to situations in which an Emirati citizen is unable to speak their own native language in their own native country or rather forced to speak a second language which they often struggle with. Arabic has been the language of the region for thousands of years yet because of the mix of nationalities and ever-increasing demand for a larger population, Arabic remains marginalized in terms of use and study by the people who make up its expatriate community. Dr. Obaid Al Muhairi has recently been tasked with the new Arabic Language Institute at Zayed University, yet another attempt by the UAE government to reinstate the relevance of

Arabic in their own country (Swan, 2012).”Our graduates don’t have a strong command of Arabic” states Dr. Muhairai. “They speak the dialect but don’t read or write classical and modern Arabic” (Swan, 2012).

Unlike other places in the world, the expatriate community does not have the necessity to learn the local language. They, alongside the local population, benefit more by further learning English, a language from a country thousands of miles away.

The government of the United Arab Emirates mandates that all public institution of higher learning provide its entire curriculum through the medium of the English language. This serves as a major challenge for students wishing to continue their education. Dr. Mohmmad Hasab Al Nabi is the head of the Education Department at Al Hosn University has been quite vocal about the fact that secondary schools’ teachers are of a poor standard and there seems to be a “lack of interest” in developing these teachers specializations (Sherif, 2012). He continues stating “Arabic teachers (of English) are still adopting approaches based on memorization that puts off the students’ motivation in learning the language. These unattractive methods reduce the students’ abilities in learning new lexis and create a resentful attitude toward language” (Sherif, 2012). Dr. Howard Reed, Director of Dubai Women’s College, a branch of the Higher Colleges of Technology generalizes “We’d love to see training for Arabic teachers because they are hard to find. Most teach the way they would 500 years and don’t use the benefits of all the research that has been done on making language fun and relevant. Arab children need to be inspired. Right now they think Arabic is boring and they don’t enjoy it, like it is one of the punishments in life” (Swan, 2012). Although presumptive, this statement adds color and clarity to the end product most teachers of higher education face when the first day of college or university comes and they find that the students’ English education has been largely instructed through methods of rote-memorization and not in practical contexts as well as their Arabic skills diminished not only through “text-speak” but also a serious lack of reading. A survey conducted through the United Nations in 2008 revealed that the average Arab in the Middle East reads a total of 4 pages of literature in a year in Arabic (Swan, 2012).

Why should the mandate of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) be so in the United Arab Emirates? Why is no option for Arabs to do higher education in their own native tongue? It seems that the progressive, forward thinking mindset of the UAE Ministries has falsely adopted the notion that academia not in English is not a direction they feel worthy of their students embarking on. A recent forum of senior management from the leading public and private universities and colleges meet to discuss this issue. The Accessing Higher Education Language Debate Forum, held at Middlesex University in Dubai was attended by Provosts and policy-makers from the HCT, UAEU, Zayed University, the National Admissions and Placement Office (NAPO) which administers the CEPA college entrance exam, Middlesex University and others (Moussly, 2012). The sediment regarding Arabic during the discussion was best expressed by Ryan Gjovig, the head of NAPO who stated "There is a need in this country for some Arabic universities or even degrees in Arabic at English universities" (Moussly, 2012).

One could look at the happenings of the Kurdish language that Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak describe. Kurdish, a language not related linguistically to the native Arabic of Iraq, is not the language the Kurds are obliged to operate in (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995). As a result of this, Arabic lexis slowly began to work its way into the everyday use amongst the Kurdish population (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995). One can hear similar occurrences in the everyday vernacular of young Emirati Arabic. Many of the English words employed,

albeit modern and technologically driven, do in fact have counterparts in Arabic however the younger generation of Emiratis, perhaps to constant exposure, opt for the English vocabulary and often speak Arabic with code-switching into English.

As a result of these less ambitious standards and practices at the secondary education level, most students upon graduation are not at the required level of English proficiency to enter a bachelor's program taught exclusively in English. Therefore, a Foundations Program is the norm of progression from high school. In the Foundations programs students study English on average 17 hours a week, mathematics for 5 hours a week and Computing Skills for 2 hours a week. Previously, there had also been an Arabic Language component of 2-3 hours a week. This has since been discontinued. In the eyes of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, the study of the Arabic is not considered a necessity after the completion of secondary school. This is especially disheartening as it fuels a viscous linguistic cycle in lack of proficiency in any language. There have been findings by the Stanford Working Group that state "one of the best predictors of second language proficiency is proficiency in the mother tongue" (Stanford Working Group, 1993). Students' lack of Arabic skills has been cast aside as if there is no value to remedying these academic shortcomings.

Emiratis students at public institutions are offered a Career Coaching Department. Here they can learn of new job opportunities as well as hone their learned skills to prepare for the world of work that awaits them. The teaching and career professionals often cite lack of Arabic skills to be the paramount complaint that they hear regarding recent graduates. Ability to write formal business letters and formal Arabic, precisely translate amongst differing varieties of Arabic and general formality of speaking are cited by one Career Coach of the Higher Colleges of Technology as what she is told by employers in the both the private and public sectors are areas which need to improve.

3. LINGUISTIC IMPOSITION

This solution cannot be achieved in idealistic terms. In order for the oppressed to be able to wage the struggle for their liberation, they must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they transform.

- Paulo Freire (1970, p. 49)

Stated quite plainly, today's Emirati students spend the majority of their Foundations education studying a second language while there are still measures of linguistic skill still yet to be sharpened in their own mother tongue. Considering the enormous amount of time, effort and practice these students received in English education, one would expect the levels of English proficiency to be quite respectable. On the contrary, in 2010 the United Arab Emirates as a nation averaged the second to last on the IELTS among the 202 countries who took the test with an average band of 5.1 over all 4 disciplines (IELTS, 2010).

English Language Teaching (ELT) in this country is a unique discipline as it is shifts between the separate corner of English as a Foreign Language, a term primarily used for the teaching of English in a country which English is not the primary or native language and English as a Second Language, a term used for the studying of English in a native English-speaking country. When students leave the English classroom in the UAE, they walk into a society where English is necessary and skills learned in the classroom and can and must be used in real context.

The medium of English is a major force behind the forward progress as well as a hindrance to the local population. Industries, ministries and departments across the country rely on this workforce to be proficient or at least competent in English to function. This includes the academic arenas where nearly all of public, higher education is in the medium of English. Once a student has finished the Foundations Program (which is entirely in English), they enter a Bachelor's Programs in which all content courses are conducted in their second language. As stated before, a mere 5.0 band of English is required to gain entry into the Bachelor's Program. One critique of this paltry benchmark is that a 5.0 band does not carry with it the linguistic ability to succeed or survive the rigors of an academic setting with academic language used in a student's second language of English.

The idea behind this imposition is one of immersion, that through monolingual education, students will acquire the language and become proficient in its lexicon and structure by being exposed to it on a constant basis. This is in direct support and complete opposition to what Phillipson calls the 'monolingual fallacy' which posits language learning as a practice which is aided and expedited through bilingual code switching and clarification (Phillipson, 1992, p. 129).

One cannot delve into the tenets or critique the practice of English as a Medium of Instruction without going back and looking at the work of Phillipson and Canagarajah and what has been written about Linguistic Imperialism. Phillipson cites it as "A particular theory for analyzing relations between dominant and dominated cultures, and specifically the way English language learning has been promoted" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 202). This notion goes back to the times of actual imperialism by conquests and militia and can be ascribed to any country or nation which has colonized another's sovereignty. However, while times have changed, "nation building" has been completed and independence has been realized, there is further residue on the dominated nations, namely on their tongues and thus, their minds. Speaking exclusively of the English language, most of the countries in Kachru's inner and outer circles are former British colonies and thus have had exposure and/or education in the English for decades or centuries. This has had an effect on their ontology, their psyche and their identity. One could argue that even those who, in modern times take up the study of English are also affected by this. Phillipson notes,

Naturally, when people learn English, for whatever purpose and by whatever method, they acquire something of the flavour of the culture, our institutions, our ways of thinking and communicating (Phillipson, 1992, p. 36).

This notion is a given and perhaps a benefit to our communities extending a further reach in global understanding and mutual respect. One would expect from learning any foreign language that one of the major outcomes of such study would be to "acquire" this flavor. However, when one imposes this language on students in a setting completely apart from the interworkings of language learning or language use to impose this language on the concepts, tenets and overall comprehension of content material, one could say imperialism, in a linguistic sense is still in practice today. Further, upon first hearing of the notion of Linguistic Imperialism, I came to think of native speakers "imposing" their language on a given population. However, this imposition is often executed, albeit by institutional policy, by non-native speakers of English and in the case of the United Arab Emirates, other native Arabic-speaking teachers. These agents of Linguistic Imperialism are the entire faculty of the public institutions of higher learning in the UAE. Additionally, the imposers of this policy are senior management of these institutions as well as the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research itself. They have imposed their native Arabic-speaking faculty to

teaching in English only, slashed all Arabic language courses and even at times, suggested penalties for students who speak Arabic on campus. Canagarajah states that “we cannot isolate the classroom from the society because it is in fact society itself” (Canagarajah, 1999). Considering this, one wonders with time, how long this imposition will take to replace the native language of Arabic in the UAE and thus a significant part of its culture. A more impending doom of this scenario is that EMI and Linguistic Imperialism forces a population to internalize cultural norms, leading to “cultural deracination” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 54).

This dominating linguistic culture which has spawned in the United Arab Emirates and other places in the world devalues other languages and gives an anglo-centric standard of other cultures. Languages continue to succumb to attrition every day and this is due largely to the weapons of education and power. Calvert notes that “a dialect is never anything other than a defeated language, and a language is a dialect which has succeeded politically” (Calvert, 1974). As stated before, the United Arab Emirates as a population and a community toes the line between an EFL and ESL environment with an unwritten perquisite of English to gain residence and employment for expatriates. No such stipulation or need is required of Arabic. The advance of English, as Phillipson notes, involves the suppression of other languages leading to the fact that inevitably, something is lost (Phillipson, 1992, p. 54). That “something” could range from comprehension of course content, to understanding in a social contexts to inability of natives to use their own language in their own country and the loss or compromise of identity.

This shift, as well as policies of EMI, perpetuate outdated desires voiced by the Prince of Wales in 1935 “to assist the largest number possible to appreciate fully glories of [British] literature, our contributions to the arts and sciences, and our pre-eminent contribution to political practice” (White, 1965). While this may or may not have been achieved, there is still a force imposed on students to express their intellect in a foreign language and with this comes the peril of inaccuracy and an imposed identity.

Much of what Phillipson says, however, is not without its critics. Pennycook and others argue in length that Phillipson denies the individual’s sense of agency when facing this imposition. Much of what Phillipson discusses points to the masses, the population and the people as a group. There is little discussion, argues Pennycook that the singularity of an individual is affected by such imposition or imperialism (Pennycook, 2001). He asks “...if English is indeed promoted as a global language at the expense of other languages, how does the promotion of English produce or create the forms of imperialism rather than just reflect them?” (Pennycook, 2001). Canagarajah echoes Pennycook’s critique

In considering how social, economic, governmental, and cultural institutions affect [sic] inequality; his perspective becomes rather too impersonal and global. What is sorely missed is the individual, the particular. It is important to find out how linguistic hegemony is experienced in the day-to-day life of the people and communities in the periphery. How does English compete for dominance with other languages in the streets, markets, homes, schools and villages of periphery communities? (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 136).

My question to this in regards to the UAE is what if no sense of agency is prevalent within the dominated community? What connections can we draw upon regarding one’s sense of identity, moral compass and self if the imposition of a language is accepted, welcomed and even harnessed with a yawning blindness therefore negating any agency that once existed? This is what seems to be happening at public institutions in the UAE. The lack of proficient native tongue is well-documented, while students struggle and prolong their

higher education constantly wrestling with academic concept and rigor that is presented in foreign language. Warning flags are high and waving yet persistent insistence on EMI is the norm rather than the exception.

4. THE MONOLINGUAL FALLACY IN TESOL

Although some may argue that we are still at the adolescent stages of development in English language learning and knowing what works best and what remains a challenge, there has been progress in the field. One notion that is still held in high regard today though not everywhere, is that native speakers of English make the best teachers and thus produce the better results. This fallacy may have been perpetuated by the fact that a generation ago and before, it was mostly native English speakers from the West who had the qualifications to attain the positions in English teaching schools. The TESOL industry, however, has grown so quickly and has become so robust that native English-speakers now are in the minority and they have found competition for work in the TESOL from non-native English speakers. One could hardly argue that the dynamic of the classroom is equal regardless. Clearly there are advantages and disadvantages to both from class to class as well as educational effects from student to student.

When questioning my students' perceptions as to why their level of English underwhelms considering the fact that they have been studying the language for over 10 years, they often point to the secondary education English classes. These classes, as are many in the world, are taught by native Arabic speakers and often include explanation in the mother tongue, Grammar Translation Methods and lack in communicative practice. It is no doubt that this is a failure, the point that a Foundations program is necessary points to one of two things, evidence that the secondary education programs do not produce well enough or that the aspirations to make Higher Education in English only are too ambitious.

Canagarajah points to a plethora of reasons why and how a student's L1 can be very beneficial in all levels of studying an L2. Among them, he points to how the L1 can aid the cognitive processes of L2 learning as well laying out the advantages of 'code switching' and the linguistic right of 'code choice' (Canagarajah, 1999). So many countries have stressed the importance of English education and proficiency around the world. While this has been a windfall for the TESOL industry and solidified teachers' positions and careers, what Phillipson calls the "glorifying of English" is tempered with the reciprocal effects of "devaluing other Languages" (Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism*, 1992). Why is there no value to the use of L1 in the learning of an L2? Why place a teacher in the classroom which has little or no knowledge of the social, cultural or linguistic contexts of his or her students? The ultimate goal of the institution is often at odds with that of its students. Sridhar & Sridhar complain that second language acquisition as a field of study "over-emphasizes constructs derived from a monolingual setting and ignore the fact that the reality and goal of their learners is bilingualism" (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986).

5. RESISTANCE TO ELT

For every country like South Korea, Japan and China who place such a high regard for English proficiency and creates a pedestal so high for those who master it, there are countless other countries who teach English with such volumed persistence that the student population finds it to be permanent fixture in their university timetable. There is, however a resistance to is in certain parts of the world. Other countries and leaders are able to see the devaluation of their own language and thus culture in the imposition of English upon their people. While the knowledge and use of English as a global lingua franca might yield financial and cultural benefits to certain countries in which the practice of international

business, commerce and industry are prevalent and vital to the success of a nation, we cannot assume that all countries and nation have such needs or desires. Stated aptly by Kachru,

The role of English in the socio-linguistic context of each English-using Third World country is not properly understood, or is conveniently ignored. The consequences of this attitude are that the Third World countries are slowly realizing that, given the present attitude of TESL specialists, it is difficult to expect from such specialists any theoretical insights and professional leadership in this field which would be contextually, attitudinally and pragmatically useful to the Third World countries. (Kachru, 1986).

Arguing a further was Mohatma Gandhi himself stating that the study and practice through EMI is a detriment to the mastery of the language as he points to time taken for students to directly translate course material into their own mother tongue and how this laborious task detracts from the subject matter itself (Gandhi, 1949). Moreover, he cites the tendencies of students to mock, imitate, eventually internalize and be acculturated to the linguistic norms of the colonizers, something that he himself must have has first-hand experience with having been a law student in Britain (Gandhi, 1949).

Perhaps the most extreme public resistance to the spread of English and therefore the abolition of ELT come from Kenyan protest fiction writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o. He echoes much of what Gandhi and others have said regarding the internalization of English's train of thought and continues to propose the impossibility of adequately expressing a nation's or culture's mind and ontology in the foreign medium (wa Thiong'o, 1986). What he says in reference to African communities, though radical, could perhaps have a seed of truth in the context of EMI in the UAE itself being former British colony. Having never really left in terms of language, population and culture, British influence is still highly prevalent in the UAE today. Although the nation has "decolonized" itself politically, the continuation of the use of English as well as the self-mandated education through EMI, the country is, what wa Thiong'o says "Subjecting [itself] and [its] communities to an insidious form of mental colonization" (wa Thiong'o, 1986). I also grudgingly cite the Nazi Party of Germany's critique of the ever-growing British Council which, in 1940 called it "the imposition of a linguistic uniformity which is intellectually and spiritually cramping and a threat to cultural and creative values" (Haut Conseil de la Franophonie, 1986). These two points of view from dramatically different regions and under dissimilar circumstances and times reflect a common root among those with a opposing to the spread of English. Both perspectives can be applied to the spread of EMI and the consequent effect on students' performance and eventual identity upon graduation from the public institutions.

The citizens and students are being dominated by the insistence of the population of an English only policy which transcends the classroom into the streets, malls, restaurants and homes of the nationals. Where the goals should be hybrid discourses in everyday life, the EMI policy is perhaps more guilty than any other facet of life here in the "mental colonization" of the pupils and the perpetuation of the colonizers to exalt themselves and their language to the masses. While there are attempts to negotiate hybrid discourses in the country, this seems to be a one way street by the "inclusion" of Arabic to stand beside the given form of English. Lack of demand and therefore supply of Arabic language instruction coupled with the social stipulation of English finds the land and its people on the short end of the negotiation of discourse and the inferior sibling of their desired pluralistic identities.

6. CONTENTIONS ON EMI

We have seen how English as a Medium of Instruction has both beneficial and detrimental effects on students' academic success. While students may exit their higher education programs with a higher standard of bilingual versatility as well as heightened sense of global citizenship, none of this is without cost. The blatant disregard for further advancement in the medium of Arabic marginalizes the students' ability to identify in a linguistic sense that from which they are. Linguistic ability is a never-ending process even in one's native language. Shall we point to EMI as a potential cause for the lack of sufficient Arabic skills of a population? My contention is that perhaps nothing is more to assign blame to. While higher education in the United Arab Emirates is still a time of educational and academic evolution, it is a context which halts the one already in motion.

Students in content courses through EMI are tasked with having to comprehend challenging concepts of a collegial level all while having to decipher the meaning of the delivery in a language which they may not be proficient in. Findlow inquires "If academic language in general can be used as a tool to obscure comprehension and thereby gain symbolic power, how much more so is this likely to be the case when the academic language is also in a foreign language for the students?" (Findlow, 2006).

Quite simply, delivering all academic content solely through a medium of a second language, things are bound to be lost. In a study conducted at UAE University, Bielenberg found that faculty teaching content courses found difficulty achieving the desired course outcomes through EMI and resorted to a "special English" with a slower pace of delivery and an emphasis on selected vocabulary (Bielenberg, 2004). Other faculty members conduct their classes in a constant state of code-switching to ensure comprehension.

Phillipson argues that those who support the imposition of English in higher education "falsely assume that the language is neutral, free of all cultural ties and serves equally as well" (Phillipson, *English in globalization, a lingua franca or a lingua frankenstein?*, 2009). Quite to the contrary, the language one uses is value-laden to the point that it serves as a mask one must wear in which the receiver of the language must look around or through to decipher the true meaning of the speaker. Voloshinov and others have argued that language itself cannot be neutral, "Whenever a sign is present, ideology is present too" (Voloshinov, 1929). In this way, we can say that when an individual uses a "culturally loaded" language to express an ideology and ontology, it is somehow and irrevocably altered when sent via the filter of linguistic translation (Joseph, 2004). True expression is replaced with, at best, accurate value-laden translation. Joseph continues regarding the reciprocal relationships between language and culture,

The language must be embedded within the cultural habitus in order to function as the vehicle in which the culture will be acquired. Transferred to a different habitus, the language will mold itself to that habitus, rather than the other way around (Joseph, 2004).

Considering this, the United Arab Emirates as a population once again defy all modern, rational logic in this relationship. While the Arabic language is "embedded within the culture" as Joseph suggests, there is little acquisition of the culture by the expatriates within the demographic. Rather, there is an imposition of the English language, and therefore the values and norms of the West, which necessitates a shift and accommodation by the habitus to the language.

At the heart of this matter is the need to temper the benefits, all considered, of a bilingual, multi-cultural society with the myriad effects that this has on a nation's psyche.

Most assume that this intercultural ability boosts the versatility and hybridity of a people. For every critical argument against the use of EMI and the spread of English, there are multitudes of counter arguments in praise and favor of this practice. A Minister in the government of Sri Lanka has suggested that the teaching of English throughout Asia, Africa and the Pacific needs to be placed upon the same pedestal as the World Health Organization and UNESCO (English Today, 1985). Statements such as these have only increased in the past decades.

However, concealed within this Trojan Horse could very well be unintentional ulterior motives to a monolingual, multicultural yet dominant cultural society. The United Nations report on the country of Namibia states that these dominant societies, typically former colonizers are “made permanent parasites on the developed countries for knowledge and information. By destroying interdependent, self-directed societies, the elites in these countries achieve what colonization failed to achieve through coercive occupation. Africans have been psychologically conditioned to believe that only European languages are structured to aid development” (UNIN (United Nations Institute for Namibia), 1981). The same could be said of a number of nations which almost devalues their own native language in their preference and demand for the English language and EMI. Referring back to what Gandhi, wa Thiong’o and other have said, this is not only a hindrance to a student but a sacrifice and relinquishment of one’s own identity.

All this considered, it is the voice of the students themselves which is likely to shed a brighter light on what the effects and preferences actually are. The findings of Findlow show that over 50 % of students surveyed actually preferred to be instructed in English over Arabic (Findlow, 2006). This percentage stands tall over the mere 22% who would prefer to study their content courses in their native Arabic. This being only study in the matter, it should be noted that English being a “world language” is the most frequent reason such a preference was given (Findlow, 2006).

7. CONCLUSION

Arab intellectuals have voiced their opposition to the linguistic imposition of English on their region. The preservation of the Arabic language is something which has not only been expressed by them in academic circles but also in political and social realms by the government of the UAE. These changes and the *‘a wlama* (globalization) which drives its growth will continue to affect and shape the United Arab Emirates of tomorrow by many social and cultural means but not more than the education system and the EMI policies of the public institutions. Gaber Asfour, the head of the Supreme Council for Culture in Egypt writes.

...there is a pressing need to critique how ongoing changes impact ‘routine and day-to-day cultural practices’ in local culture. Indeed, a world of accelerated change, Arabs are involved in globalization processes in economy, politics and culture. Arabs have been relocated into other cultures. This begets issues that need to be framed for analysis and then actions to remove present obstacles, and to successfully face future problems (Asfour, 2006).

Upon reading this, I am struck by the ambiguity Asfour uses in the “relocation” he mentions. While this may be meant in a literal way, I wonder if figurative elements exist in the “placement” of Arab culture amongst other cultures in their own land. In this way, Emirati Arabs remain one of many while rooted in their Emirati soil.

These arguments are given while the following is held in mind. The possibility of plurality among the Emirati population is more likely, the ultimate goal of EMI and the use of

English with the UAE society. The identity of the local population is negotiated, although not in their favor linguistically, with this plurality in mind. It is not the wish but rather the consequence of the policy-makers that the Arabic language, along with the study and procurement of other languages, is served with the short end of a linguistic spectrum. An inadequate number of studies actually define or discuss the specificity of the linguistic phenomena of the Emirates. It is with further study that light is shone on the dualism and plurality that does, does not, can and also cannot exist in such a multicultural society in which necessity, rather than population dictates the lingua franca of this ever-evolving population.

Perils exist in the attrition and compromising of the Arabic language as English continues to dominate. One could point to the linguistic happenings and shift of Lebanon and the addition and replacement of English from French. Currently a triad of languages mires utterances spoken with the local community. Often in the UAE code switching occurs amongst locals between English and Arabic in a similar fashion. The real consequence and, perhaps oppression, lay within the local community and marginalization of the local, dominated language. At risk is the future of that language through English education and EMI policies of its institutions.

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