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The Changing Role of Arabic in Religious Discourse: A Sociolinguistic Study of Egyptian Arabic

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THE CHANGING ROLE OF ARABIC IN RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE: A

SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ARABIC

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

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Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Title: The Changing Role of Arabic in Religious Discourse: A Sociolinguistic Study

of Egyptian Arabic

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This study examined the language situation in the religious discourse in Egypt. It investigated the switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in the religious domain in one of the most renowned preachers in Egypt, Amr Khaled. In order to investigate the phenomenon, I chose to examine and analyze the instances of codeswitching from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in ten recordings of religious speeches delivered by Khaled, focusing on the phonological, syntactical, and morphological features. In addition, the study examined the possibility of a relationship between the frequency of switches and the kind of audience (Egyptians vs. non-Egyptians), and the type of discourse (lecture vs. discussion session). This study attempted also to measure the attitudes and perceptions of educated Egyptians towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse in order to explore perception of language change from Classical to Egyptian Arabic in religious domain. This was carried out by means of two data collection methods: 1) a questionnaire and 2) interviews that were conducted in three states of Egypt; Cairo, Menoufiyya, and North Sinai which represent urban, rural, and Bedouin dialects respectively.

The study showed that Egyptian Arabic occurred with a considerable frequency in religious discourse. Khaled used Classical Arabic whenever he recited Quranic verses, mentioned Prophetic narrations, gave quotations, and supplicated at the beginning and the end of the sermon, but anywhere else he resorted to Egyptian Arabic. The study also showed that there was no relationship between the frequency of codeswitching and the kind of audience (Egyptian vs. non-Egyptian). The audience was not a strong factor in switching to Egyptian Arabic. The topic of the lecture was a more important factor for having a high or low number of switches.

Regarding the relationship between the frequency of codeswitching and the type of discourse (Lecture vs. Discuss Session), the study showed that the number of switches in the lectures was much greater than the number of switches in the discussion sessions. The study revealed the positive attitudes of Egyptians towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in a context that was supposed to disfavor it most. The results of the questionnaire and the interviews revealed that the Egyptian public opinion nowadays regards the use of Egyptian Arabic to be "more practical" "simpler", and "more influential" than Classical Arabic

ACKNOWLEDEGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In the Islamic world, the religious speech context is typically considered a Classical Arabic context. Audiences have expected religious scholars to use Classical Arabic in this formal setting. In Egypt, for instance, religious scholars (sheikhs) who graduate from al-Azhar Islamic University are famous for their use of Classical Arabic in their sermons and even in their daily life interactions. For instance, at home, they talk to their family members in Classical Arabic, paying attention to the declension at the end of the words. They also teach their children how to speak Classical Arabic from an early age. They send their children to the *kuttab*, a pre-school Qur'anic institution, to memorize the Qur'an and develop their listening and speaking skills in Classical Arabic. Moreover, in Egyptian movies, Azhari sheiks speak Classical Arabic at home, in the street, in the market, and in the mosque. Yet, some well-known Azhari sheikhs (e.g., Sha'rawi and Kishk) started switching to the non-standard Egyptian Arabic in their sermons in 1970s. Sha'rawi's weekly TV program "Noor 'Ala Noor" (Light upon Light) was so impressive and well attended. Kishk's audiotapes contained an interpretation of the Qur'an and prophetic traditions in Egyptian Arabic. At that time, the use of Egyptian Arabic in addition to Classical Arabic began to spread more on TV and radio programs. If one compares the speeches of religious scholars before the 1970s with those of contemporary religious scholars, one would be struck by the extent to which the contemporary religious scholars switch to Egyptian Arabic. More recently, Egypt's current Mufti (the learned religious scholar who issues Islamic verdicts) Gum'ah Ameen and other Azhari sheikhs and professors (e.g., Khaled Al-Gindi and Mabrook Attiyyah) appear on Egypt's TV

1

channels using Egyptian Arabic in their speeches. This change, the switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic, in the language of Azhari as well as non-Azhari sheikhs represents language change in the religious discourse in Egypt. While much research has examined language change, relatively few studies have addressed language change in the religious domain.

Language change in Arabic sociolinguistics was underpinned by the theoretical and methodological advances emanating from the works of American sociolinguists on varieties and variation. The research conducted by William Labov in the area of linguistics and variation theory during the past years has added more insights into the study of linguistic change through empirical studies of language in its social context. These studies have been conducted within a quantitative framework and contributed greatly to the understanding of one of the most difficult and complex issues tackled by Labov in linguistics-- how and why do languages change? This question, which has been the center of sociolinguistic theory, has research into social groups that embrace change and those that resist it.

Since 1982, many studies on language variation and change have been carried out in many parts of the world, such as New York, Norwich, Belfast, Montreal, Paris, Panama City, Tehran, Cairo, Amman, Bahrain, Sidney, and other urban centers around the globe (Labov 1982). Other studies followed and developed the methods of language variation and change in other cities (Sydney, 1985; Cairo, 1991; Montreal, 2004; South Carolina, 2006). The study of language variation and change, based on Labov's variationist approach, has developed its principles of theory and method (Chambers, 1995/2003; Eckert, 2000; Trudgill, 2001; Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Coupland, 2007).

The most recent and productive studies in the four decades of sociolinguistic research, according to Chambers (2002), have "emanated from determining the social evaluation of linguistic variants" (p. 3). The study of language variation focuses on "observing language use in natural social settings and categorizing the linguistic variants according to their social distribution" (Chambers, 2002, p. 5).

This study investigates the switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in the highest form of formal discourse, namely religious discourse. The use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse is significant and unique in Arabic sociolinguistics. What makes this situation unique is the fact that Egyptian Arabic is being used in a domain that has historically been dominated by Classical Arabic. Therefore, I have chosen the spoken language of one renowned religious Egyptian preacher, Amr Khaled, who uses Egyptian Arabic in his speech and who retains a wide popularity among Egyptians from all walks of life. His speech is the basis for a phonological, syntactical, and morphological investigation of the uses of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic.

According to extensive research (Mejdell, 2006, Muysken, 2000 & Myers-Scotton, 1993a), speakers in a given language tend to shift from a standard to a dialect variety in many situations, mainly in emotional, conflicting, and persuasive situations. Despite the fact that many scholars have studied the switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic, few of the language scholars have addressed the issue of language variation and change in religious discourse. This change has been spreading since the 1990s when articles on daily newspapers and other publications on a weekly basis were devoted to this topic (Haeri, 2003). The reason Egyptian Arabic is widely used in religious contexts nowadays is that religious scholars are fully aware of the fact that most

of their audience is not well-versed in Classical Arabic, and therefore, Egyptian Arabic serves here as a medium that ensures simplifying religious knowledge delivered to large numbers of people. In other words, Egyptian sheikhs use Egyptian Arabic in their speeches in order to convey their message to a wider audience by means of a simpler and easier language variety.

In the Arab world, in general and in Egypt in particular, the language situation is a highly sensitive topic as it has roots in nationalism, secularism, and religion. A discussion of the uses of different varieties of a language is truly exemplified because of its unique properties. One of the most distinctive features of the Arab world is the coexistence of Classical Arabic and national vernaculars such as Egyptian, Saudi, Iraqi, Jordanian, Syrian, etc. There has been a heated debate among Arab intellectuals about the use of Classical Arabic and Arabic vernaculars in educational curriculum, the media, cultural and literary works, the film industry, political speeches, and religious sermons. There have been arguments that demean the vernaculars and praise only Classical Arabic. In opposition, there have been people who advocate the use of the vernaculars instead of Classical Arabic. In the first half of the twentieth century, the language issue was involved in the struggle of Arab countries against the ruling colonial powers, mainly, Britain and France. The fight for Classical Arabic symbolized the resistance to the colonial policy of promoting English, French, or even colloquial Arabic in education and institutions in the Arab countries. The interest in Classical Arabic was also a factor in the formation of Arab nationalism. By relying on Classical Arabic, nationalism could find a past heritage full of tradition and authenticity. Colloquial Arabic, according to Arab nationalists, could not provide such a golden past. The spread of secularism in the Arab

world increased by the advancing principles of nationalism. Instead of keeping faithful attachment to religion and its institutions, Arab communities began to identify themselves by ethnic origin, language, and history. For instance, in the 1920s and early 1930s, Egyptian colloquial Arabic played a significant role in developing the idea of an Egyptian national identity. Promoting Egyptian Arabic was important to Egyptian nationalists because Egypt, as a distinct country with its ancient history and geographical place, should have its own language which is different from any other Arabic spoken in the Arabic-speaking world. Egyptian nationalists (e.g., Salama Musa, Lewis Awad) dismissed the attempts to build Egyptian national identity on religious grounds because, according to Musa, "religion clashes with science and offers views of the world that are antithetical to progress" and that religion is "a matter for the individual, who may not believe what others believe" (Quoted in Suleiman, 2003, p. 181). Therefore, Egyptian nationalists believed that Egypt must develop its own language to reflect its own unique national identity.

Statement of the Problem

The language situation in Egypt is one of diglossia, according to Ferguson's description (1959), where there are two discrete varieties: Classical Arabic, the High variety of Arabic, and Egyptian Arabic, the Low variety or vernacular. Traditionally, Classical Arabic is used in formal discourse (religious and political speech) whereas Egyptian Arabic is used everywhere else (at home, in the market, among friends and intimates, etc). Religious scholars are expected to be fluent and eloquent speakers of Classical Arabic. Yet, I argue in this study, that nowadays many Egyptian religious scholars switch at certain points of their speech to Egyptian Arabic and that there is more

use of Egyptian Arabic than Classical Arabic. In order to investigate the phenomenon, I have chosen to examine and analyze the instances of codeswitching from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in ten recordings of religious speeches delivered by the well-known Egyptian scholar and religious leader Amr Khaled, focusing on the phonological, syntactical, and morphological features. In addition, the study examines the possibility of a relationship between the frequency of switches and the kind of audience (Egyptians vs. non-Egyptians), and the type of discourse (lecture vs. discussion session). This study attempts also to measure the attitudes of educated Egyptians towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse in order to explore perception of language change from Classical to Egyptian Arabic in religious domain. The attitudes and perceptions of individuals and communities can affect the linguistic usage of a certain language or variety. Labov (1966) and Stockwell (2007) showed how people's attitudes and perceptions may lead to language change in their societies. Labov's respondents in New York City were asked to evaluate the social status of speakers on the basis of the frequency of nonprevocalic /r/ deletion or stop substitution for the interdental fricatives. In his questionnaire, Labov included what he called "a subjective reaction test" asking the respondents to react to taped samples of speech containing the study variables. By doing this, Labov managed to compare what his respondents said about their own and others' usage with their actual usage and note the differences between the two. Labov hypothesized that language attitudinal reactions can be used as evidence in detecting language variation and language change in progress. In other words, "the course of a sound change is apparently influenced by whether the change is favoured or disfavoured by the speech community" (Fasold, 1984, p. 148). Stockwell also stated that it is people's

6

perceptions about language that lead to change. He wrote, "throughout history, people have altered their own language or forced others to change their language because of their own attitudes and beliefs" (p. 16).

Chapters Overview

This study sets out to investigate in detail the style of Arabic used in formal discourse, particularly in the context of religious speech in order to explore the influence of the coexistence of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic in religious speeches, sermons and lectures. The study is divided into six chapters. Chapter one provides a statement of the main research problem, significance of the research, and a discussion of the Arabic varieties used in the study. Chapter two presents a review of literature and discusses some basic concepts such as "codeswitching" and "diglossia". It also gives an overview of significant research that has been published in the literature on religious discourse. Chapter three explains the methodology of the study; how the data are collected, transcribed and analyzed. It explains the design of the questionnaire and interviews to measure educated Egyptians' attitudes and perceptions regarding the shift from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse. Chapter four analyzes and examines the frequency of codeswitching in ten audio/video tapes delivered by the renowned Egyptian scholar Amr Khaled, investigating the phonological, syntactical, and morphological features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. The purpose of this analysis is to find out if there is a relationship between: a) the frequency of the switches found and the type of discourse featured (Lecture vs. Discussion Session) and b) the frequency of the switches and the type of audience (Egyptians vs. non-Egyptians). Chapter five investigates the attitudes of educated Egyptian speakers of various age levels

to the coexistence of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic religious discourse. The concluding chapter, chapter six, is the last part of the study which summarizes the study and presents its results, suggestions and recommendation.

<center>Significance of the Research</center>

Most researchers who have examined codeswitching in Arabic have concentrated on the switch between Classical Arabic and some vernacular forms of the language in formal situations, particularly political. Not only has codeswitching in Arabic religious discourse not been described, but very few previous studies have tackled it specifically in Egypt as well, since this topic has become a phenomenon only recently. Despite the common belief that Classical Arabic is more prestigious and persuasive than Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse (Ferguson, 1959; Abou Seida; 1971; and Zughoul, 1980), several Egyptian religious scholars and preachers switch to Egyptian Arabic when they deliver their speeches. This switch affects Egyptians as religion plays an important role in their lives. They hear the call for prayers five times a day in Classical Arabic and they perform prayers five times a day (at dawn, noon, afternoon, sunset, and evening) in Classical Arabic. On Fridays, they attend a weekly service in Classical Arabic. They fast and perform night prayers during the whole month of Ramadan. They also watch several religious programs on TV on a daily and/or weekly basis, such as "From the Stories of the Qur'an" and "The Speech of the Spirit".

In order to examine the switch from Classical to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse, phonological, syntactical, and morphological investigations will reveal the frequency of the coexistence of the two varieties in the religious context. Then, once having established the codeswitching evidence, findings that derive from examining

<center>8</center>

religious discourse in Egypt may lead to an understanding of the general phenomenon of language variation in these speech communities. The study of religious discourse from a sociolinguistic perspective can help us understand how the Arabic language is currently being used and how it works in the domain of religion. Moreover, previous studies have stated the negative attitudes of Arabs in general and Egyptians in particular towards the use of colloquial Arabic in prepared formal speech or in public appearances such as in religious, political and educational occasions (Abdul-Rahman, 1971; Versteegh, 2001). These studies measured Arabic speakers' attitudes in a single geographical area. However, the present study uses interviews and questionnaires in three states in Egypt in an effort to understand current beliefs and practices across the nation: Cairo which is the capital of Egypt; Menoufiyya, which is a rural state; and North Sinai, which is a Bedouin state. These states were selected to show the attitudes and perceptions of educated Egyptians, who live in different geographical areas and who speak different dialects, towards the shift from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse. The Cairene, rural, and Bedouin dialects represent the most distinguished varieties of Arabic in Egypt (besides the dialect spoken in Upper Egypt). Egypt has four major dialects: Cairene, rural, Bedouin, and Saʕeedi. Based on regional variation, the first three dialects are spoken in Lower Egypt whereas the fourth is used in Upper Egypt. These dialects are termed "major" because of the major phonological and morphological differences among them, not because they are widely spoken. The most widely spoken dialect is Cairene, which enjoys broad exposure because of the Egyptian entertainment media. It is the most prestigious dialect in Egypt as it is the language of the capital and it is spoken by a large number of educated and cultured people. While a fully comprehensive study of all

regions of Egypt is beyond the scope of this research, this study's results will shed light on Arabs' attitudes towards codeswitching in religious context in the Arab world because it provides a "snapshot" of Egyptian attitudes towards the phenomenon of codewitching in three important regions of Egypt.

Previous studies of codeswitching focused on conversational codeswitching in two or more languages, dialects, or styles (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Poplack, 1980; Gumperz, 1982; Bentahila, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1988; Eid, 1992; Al-Mansour, 1998; and Al-Enazi 2002). Myers-Scotton (1993) defined codeswitching as the term "used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" (p. 1). My study is significant as it examines codeswitching in a context that has not been addressed before; using non-conversational data. Therefore, the study offers a modest contribution to the available literature in the field of codeswitching, not only in Arabic sociolinguistics, but also in sociolinguistics in general.

<center>Research Questions</center>

Egyptians are used to listening to religious scholars using Classical Arabic in their speeches. Those scholars are considered to be linguistic models of correct pronunciation. They have had full access to both the Qur'an and Classical Arabic. They have had an important role in maintaining and preserving Classical Arabic in the religious domain. They have also been attached to the notion of language purity and resisted the influence of any other language or dialect in this formal setting. However, I have observed that the linguistic performance of those models has been directed towards Egyptian Arabic. This attracted my attention in order to better understand the phenomenon when religious scholars switch to Egyptian Arabic in their speeches. Therefore, I chose one of the

<center>10</center>

renowned Egyptian religious scholars, Amr Khaled, as a representative of those scholars who use Egyptian Arabic in their speeches. I wanted to examine some linguistic features of both Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic in Khaled's speeches in order to compare where each language variety is used; where Khaled uses Egyptian Arabic, where he uses Classical Arabic, and where he mixes both of them. In addition, I wanted to investigate Egyptians' attitudes towards this language change. This investigation is significant as it reveals whether Egyptians are in favor of Classical or Egyptian Arabic in the religious domain and the reasons for their choice. This investigation also helps to obtain a deeper understanding of the current increase of using a dialect in a formal setting. Another curiosity I wanted to investigate was what happens when an Egyptian religious scholar delivers a speech to a non-Egyptian audience. Will this situation affect the speaker's choice of language variety? Will he use Egyptian Arabic as he does with Egyptian audience? Will he use Classical Arabic more? Will he speak only in Classical Arabic? Will there be a relationship between the frequency of codeswitching and the type of discourse used (lecture vs. discussion session)?

The study intends to address the following questions:

Research Question #1: When do religious scholars in Egypt use Egyptian Arabic in their speeches?

Research Question # 2: What are the phonological, syntactical, and morphological features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic in one particular domain, that of Amr Khaled's religious speech?

 Research Question # 3: What are the attitudes of the educated Egyptians towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious formal speech?

Research Question # 4: Is there a relationship between the frequency of codeswitching and the nature of audience (Egyptians vs. non-Egyptians)?

Research Question # 5: Is there a relationship between the frequency of codeswitching and the type of discourse of religious speech: Lecture vs. Discussion Session?

Arabic Varieties

In the following sections I discuss the Arabic varieties used in the study, namely Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic and highlight the existing gap between them. I will focus on the clash of two approaches--one exalting the vernacular and the other preferring the classical--in the Arab world in general and in Egypt in particular. Egyptians master Egyptian Arabic, their mother tongue, but they differ in mastering Classical Arabic, according to their educational status. Educated Egyptians have more access to Classical Arabic than uneducated Egyptians as the former are more exposed to formal acquisition of Classical Arabic. In their everyday interactions, Egyptians select between the two varieties as the situation demands. For instance, Egyptian Arabic is used at home, work, and everyday communication, whereas Classical Arabic is employed in formal contexts such as talking about cultural topics, abstract issues, science, art, and literature. Daily usage of the two varieties includes a range of linguistic forms that passes from the colloquial speech of the uneducated and illiterate, to a variety of more sophisticated colloquial forms used by the educated, and on to the highly classical use of Classical Arabic. Most educated Egyptians commonly use language that falls somewhere in the middle, employing a form that fits the occasion, being neither pure colloquial nor pure classical (Parkinson 1994). Classical Arabic plays a role largely in religious contexts; for example, it is used in the daily recitation of the Qur'an, during prayers, and

in giving religious speeches. Badawi (1973) described five different language levels based on Egyptians' acquisition of Arabic: Classical Arabic (Religious speech), Modern Standard Arabic (used in newspapers, radio and television), Colloquial of the Intellectuals (used in science, politics, art), Colloquial of the Literate (the dialect of those who have not received many years of education), and Colloquial of the Illiterate (the dialect of the illiterates). Egyptian Arabic and Classical Arabic form what Blom and Gumperz (1972) call the "community linguistic repertoire" (p. 411).

Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic is the literary dialect which is used in the Qur'an, in most print publications including books, magazines, and newspapers, and in formal spoken discourse, including prayers, television news broadcasts, and formal prepared speeches (political and religious). Muslims believe that God revealed the Holy Qur'an to Prophet Mohammed literally, word-for-word, in the Arabic language. Believing that the Qur'an is their authentic book, without any error, omission, or addition, Muslims regard Arabic as the holy or sacred language of Islam. Human error in writing or copying the book is irrelevant for God has willed that He had revealed the book and He will preserve it, as stated in the following verse of the Quranic chapter al-Hijr: "We have, without doubt, sent down the Message, and We will assuredly guard it (from corruption)" (15:9). The fact that the Qur'an has been conserved as it had been revealed to Prophet Mohammed has given it an additional authority which no other Islamic text has ever attained. Muslims, therefore, observe an absolute faith in the Qur'anic text. To question any part of it is to question divine truth itself. For Muslim Arabs, the Qur'an is the unsurpassable

literary model and linguistic authority for language use. They admire its beauty, perfection, grammatical symmetry, logical structure, and divine nature.

The prestige of Classical Arabic in the Muslim Arab world derives from the fact that some verses in the Qur'an set out God's will and His desire to send His revelation in Arabic. In the Qur'an, God says "We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an, in order you may learn" (12:2) and "verily, We have made it an Arabic Qur'an" (43:3). This fact is explicitly stated in the Qur'an (26:195) where the language of the Qur'an is described as "perspicuous" Arabic. Ferguson (1968) "imagined" an argument for the superiority of Classical Arabic as follows:

> God is all-knowing, all powerful; He knows and can utilize all languages; He chose Arabic as the vehicle of his ultimate revelations to the world; consequently, the Arabic language must be, in important aspects, better than other languages. (p. 378)

The elevated status of Arabic in Islam is also mentioned in the Prophet's narrations. The Prophet encouraged his companions to learn Arabic and to aim at stylistic excellence in their speech. Since God has privileged Arabic by making it the language of His book, Muslims believe that God will preserve this language till the end of this world. It is reported that the Prophet's caliphs (successors) urged their communities to learn pure Arabic. The second caliph Umar Ibn El-Khattab, for instance, asked his Muslim community to use correct forms of Arabic as "they enhance a person's wisdom, mental powers and honour" (Suleiman, 2003, p. 46). Suleiman (2003) pointed out how knowledge of Arabic is regarded by the Arab scholars as "a collective obligation" (p. 44) on the Muslim community and as "a personal obligation" for those who want to get their

majors in legal Islamic sciences. Hussein (1969) explained how the Qur'an "protected the Arabic language from destruction and helped in the existence of an Arab unity" (p. 139). Even in pre-Islamic poetry, the Arabic language united Arabs in one culture. With the spread of Islam, Arabic, as the language of the Qur'an, became understood by all Arabs, thus "uniting them linguistically as Islam unites them doctrinally" (Eisele, 2002, p. 6). After the spread of the Islamic empire in many parts of the Arab world, the inhabitants of the Arab countries considered Classical Arabic as the significant symbol of this empire. Even in non-Arabic countries of this empire, Arabic remained the language of prestige that was used for religious, cultural and administrative purposes. According to Versteegh (2001), non-Arabic speakers preferred to speak Arabic, and this "explains the disappearance of all other cultural languages in the Islamic empire, such as Coptic, Greek, Syriac and even Persian" (p. 71). A clear instance occurred in Egypt right at the beginning of the Islamic conquests when Egyptians "abandoned Coptic and adopted the new language" (Versteegh, 2001, p. 159). Many Egyptian intellectual writers have expressed a high praise of Classical Arabic. Abbas Mahmoud Al-Aqqad (1970), for example, admired Classical Arabic for its musical phonetics, its letters which are arranged in sequential groups, its derivation which enables a limitless expansion of words, its case endings which assign to every word a proper place in the sentence, and its words which express symbolic or realistic meanings systematically (pp. 8-13).

However, Classical Arabic has historically been criticized for many reasons. According to Dajani (1990), challenges against Classical Arabic started with the French and British occupations of Egypt (1798-1880). One of these challenges was seen by imposing the English language in Egyptian schools. Another challenge was the call for

replacing Classical Arabic with the colloquial by Egyptian nationalists (Salama Musa and

Lewis Awad). They proposed to adopt a prestigious vernacular, like the spoken dialect of

educated Egyptians, codify it as a written norm, and use it as a medium for promoting

education and cultural activities. This proposal was denied as it was supported by the

British colonial administration in Egypt in 1882. The proposals for using English or

colloquial Egyptian Arabic instead of Classical Arabic were considered "attempts to

weaken the resistance to occupation by loosening people's ties with Islam and with other

Arabs-and a way for the foreigners to strengthen their grip on the population, by having

easier access to their language" (Mejdell, 2006, p. 11). Classical Arabic, wrote Dajani

(1990), was criticized on several grounds:

> the difficulty of its grammar, the gap between classical and spoken
>
> languages; the difficulty in reading caused by the absence of short vowels,
>
> the sweeping rhetoric, the delay in translating and absorbing modern
>
> literary, philosophic and scientific works, the relative inability to expand
>
> vocabulary to cover modern scientific literature. (p. 23)

As a result of these challenges, several attacks were directed against Classical Arabic

which was described as unfit for modern usage.

In spite of these attacks, Classical Arabic is considered the official language of

Egypt. It is the medium of education at all levels in the public state schools where the

majority of Egyptians acquire their education, although no one uses it as a home

language. Children learn Classical Arabic in school as a written language, but once they

leave the book and talk to each other or to their teacher, they use Egyptian Arabic. Their

inability to use Classical Arabic may be due to the lack of competence of teachers, rigid

teaching methods, insufficient time given to teaching Arabic, and lack of resources. The main reason, however, according to Diem (1974) is that there is no motivation or enthusiasm to learn Classical Arabic. He wrote:

> Probably the most important reason for the generally low degree of proficiency in H [Classical Arabic] is the fact that there exists no really vital motivation to learn this language. Since all speakers in the Arabic speech community speak the same or similar primary varieties, the dialects, and since the dialect represents the normal everyday language, to whose use no loss of prestige is attached – he has no problems of comprehension, nor is he forced by prestige to use the H language for everyday communication. In the end, what it all comes down to, is the fact that there exists no group of speakers who speak H as a native language, and thereby use it also in everyday informal situations. (Quoted in Majdell, 2006, p. 20)

Although many Egyptians are not proficient in Classical Arabic, Egyptians show a generally widespread positive attitude towards Classical Arabic in spite of the fact that they are unable to speak it fluently. At home, for example, parents gather their children and teach them how to read the Qur'an correctly, how to pray and what Qur'anic *surahs* (chapters) to recite during prayer time, and some *ahadeeths* (Prophet's sayings). This shows how Islam and Classical Arabic are closely connected; none of them can exist without the other. According to Mejdell (2006), "to most Egyptians outside the religiously learned circles, however, it [Classical Arabic] apparently felt stifled and

17

archaic, yet at the same time with an esoteric beauty-unattainable in its perfection" (p. 10).

The use of Classical Arabic in most written domains also includes instructions of use on commercial products such as fire extinguishers, nose sprays, insect repellents, etc. Unlike the differences among Arabic dialects (i.e. Egyptian Arabic, Iraqi Arabic, Saudi Arabic, Syrian Arabic, etc,), it is used with relatively little variation throughout the Arab world: Egyptians, Iraqis, Jordanians, Lebanese, Libyans, Moroccans, Palestinians, Saudis, Tunisians, and Yemenis who know Classical Arabic will be mutually comprehensible in writing or speech. Arabs learn it in school in the same way that "Europeans once learned Latin for literary and formal purposes" (McGuirk, 1986, p. 1). Chambers (2003) states that Classical Arabic "may be thought of as an international standard in the Arabic-speaking world" (p. 159). Even now, all proposals to modernize or simplify Classical Arabic have been considered as "immoral acts aimed at undermining religion, especially if proposals came from non-Muslim Arabs or from foreigners" (Haeri, 2003, p. 13).

While some languages, such as Sanskrit and Latin, have been replaced by regional dialects, Classical Arabic is still in a more privileged position than local and regional Arab varieties. One of the functions of Classical Arabic is "to separate the sacred from the profane, writing from speaking and prescribed religious rituals from the personal communication with God" in the Egyptian society (Haeri, 2003, p. 1). In general, those who use Classical Arabic in their speech are considered to be more religious than those who speak the local dialect.

Yet, the actual practice of Egyptian speakers in formal situations reveals that formal speech is not always conducted in Classical Arabic. Official spokesmen, politicians, educationalists, university professors, school principals and teachers, usually tend to use Egyptian Arabic in their speech with little interference from Classical Arabic. Even religious scholars have started using Egyptian Arabic rather than Classical Arabic in religious discourse. In the past thirty years, Egyptian Arabic has become more widespread than Classical Arabic in the religious speech of some scholars in Egypt.

The use of local dialects in addition to or instead of Classical Arabic in religious discourse has begun to spread as a global pattern in the Arab world. The variation from Classical Arabic to local Arabic not only exists in Egypt; it is also being used in almost all Arab countries. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, several religious scholars use Saudi Arabic in their speech, in Kuwait, they use Kuwaiti Arabic, in Yemen, Yemeni Arabic, etc. In Egypt, Egyptian Arabic is used by many religious scholars nowadays. The following figure shows the variation from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse:

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│         ┌───────────────────────────────┐        │
│         │       Classical Arabic        │        │
│         └───────────────────────────────┘        │
│                       ▼                          │
│         ┌───────────────────────────────┐        │
│         │ Classical Arabic & Egyptian Arabic │   │
│         └───────────────────────────────┘        │
│                       ▼                          │
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│         │ Egyptian Arabic More Than Classical Arabic │ │
│         └───────────────────────────────┘        │
│                       ▼                          │
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│         │         What's Next?          │        │
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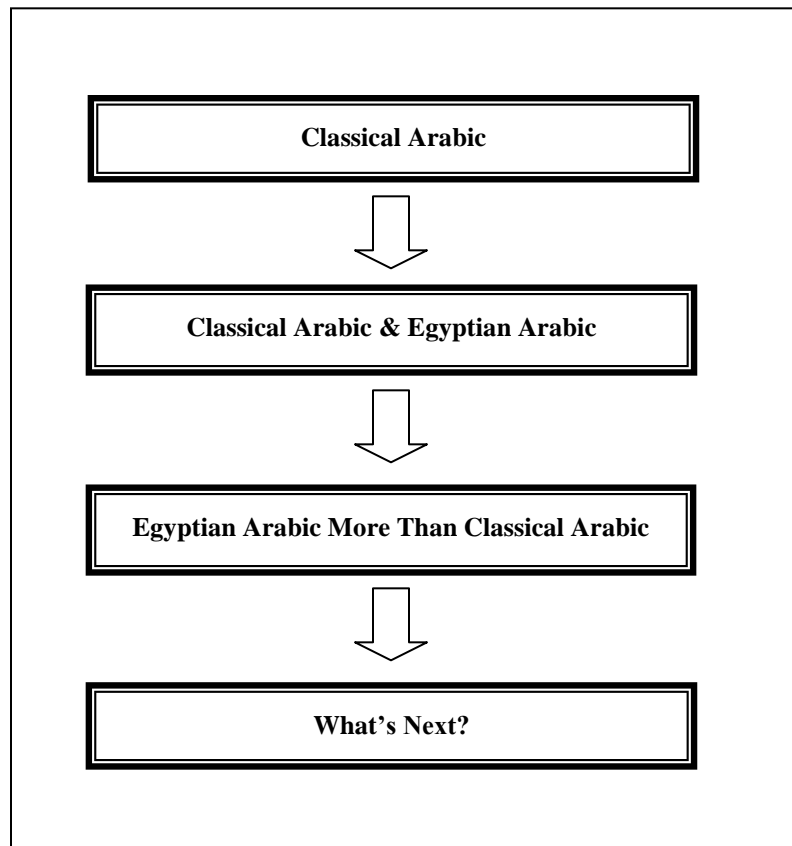
Figure 1. Language variation in the religious discourse in Egypt.

Egyptian Arabic

The Egyptian Arabic described in this study represents the dialect spoken by

educated people in Cairo and its surrounding areas. As the capital of Egypt and the

largest city in Africa, Cairo enjoys an extremely high prestige, not only among Egyptians,

but among Arabs of other countries as well. The Cairene dialect has been considered

prestigious because it is a "well-established" urban dialect whose "historical depth as an

urban variety is not in dispute" (Haeri, 1991, p. 10). Egyptian Arabic, also referred to as

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (Al-Tonsi, 1982) or Colloquial Egyptian Arabic (Gamal-

Eldin, 1967), is used in conversations, songs, films, and television soap operas. Although

there are other dialects spoken in Egypt (e.g. Saʕeedi in Upper Egypt, rural in towns and villages of the Delta, and Bedouin in Sinai and west of Alexandria), they do not enjoy the same prestige as the Cairene dialect. Egyptian Arabic is the language of the daily life interactions, not only within the home and among intimates, but also in institutions and between strangers. When an Egyptian discusses a matter with an official, a clerk, a policeman, he/she speaks Egyptian Arabic, but any resulting written communication will be in Classical Arabic. Haeri (1997) states that "as long as interactions are oral and face to face, Egyptian Arabic dominates" (p. 8).

Egyptian Arabic is spoken only in Egypt (or by Egyptians elsewhere), but it is understood widely in the Arab world due to the popularity of Egyptian films, plays, serials, and songs. Egyptian films are watched by millions of people in the Arabic-speaking world. Egyptian Arabic has spread all over the Arab world as a result of the growing influence of TV satellite channels. In most Arab countries, according to Versteegh (2001), "almost everybody understands Egyptian Arabic, and sometimes the speakers are even able to adapt their speech to Egyptian if need be" (p. 139). The influence of Egyptian Arabic upon other Arabic dialects is so strong that speakers of other Arab countries tend to use Egyptian words in their daily communication. Yemenis, for instance, often use the "Egyptian verbal particle rah- / ha- (will) to refer to the future instead of the Yemeni sa- " (Versteegh, 2001, p. 139). A Jordanian friend of mine told me that when he meets an Arab from another country, both of them use Egyptian Arabic for better communication and interaction. Studying codeswitching in conversations between a Jordanian couple and an Egyptian couple, Abu-Melhim (1991) found that the Jordanian couple switched on the phonology and lexical levels from Jordanian to Egyptian Arabic,

using the Egyptian *aktar* "more", *kaza marra* "several time", *ba?aaluh* "it's been", *binafs issanah* "in the same year, instead of the Jordanian *ak<u>t</u>ar*, *ka<u>d</u>a marra*, *bagaaluh*, and *ibnafs issanah*. Abu-Melhim stated that Jordanians codeswitch from their dialect to the Egyptian one because they are more familiar with the Egyptian dialect as "the urban dialect of Cairo is more predominant throughout the Arab world, chiefly because it is used in the media e.g., movies, television, and music" (p. 236). He noted that there is no instance of codeswitching from Egyptian to Jordanian Arabic in his study. Being more widely spread than any other Arabic dialect, Egyptian Arabic gains "more prestige among the local Arabic dialects spoken throughout the Arab world" (Abu-Melhim, 1991, p. 236). It is also interesting to find that several elementary school teachers in Tunisia spoke of finding "Egyptianism" in their students' writing (Walters, 1991, p. 204). When teachers corrected students' writing, students complained that they "heard these things on television" (Walters, 1991, p. 204).

Another reason for the popularity of the Egyptian dialect among Arabs is the existence of many Egyptians in all Arab countries. Egypt has been regarded as one of the leading countries of intellectual, social, political, and religious development. Egyptians believe that they have participated in the development of Arab countries in many fields. Egyptian professors, teachers, doctors, engineers, builders, and workers have been working in the Arab world. During their stay there, they spread the use of Egyptian Arabic. Mitchell (1962) mentioned how both Egyptian industry and teachers play a significant role in spreading Egyptian Arabic:

> Egyptian films are seen and the Egyptian radio heard in every Arab country and Egyptians teach in schools from Kuwait to Libya; it is hardly

surprising, therefore, that the Egyptian colloquial is much better known than any other. In addition, it has advanced further than other colloquials along the road to linguistic independence, for there exists a clearly recognizable norm to which educated Egyptians usage conforms. (p. 12)

As for written forms, Egyptian Arabic is used in comic strips and, occasionally, in plays, novels and short stories, similarly to how non-standard English dialects might be occasionally used either as a literary device or specifically for the reporting of dialogue and conversation. Although both Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic use the same Arabic script, the two varieties have their own powerful symbolism for Egyptians. Classical Arabic, as the language of the Qur'an and the common language of the Arab nation, is central to their identity as members of that nation and of the broader Islamic community. Egyptian Arabic, as the language of daily communication, jokes, songs, theatre, and cinema, is central to their identity as Egyptians. In 1920s and 30s, there was an attempt to allow Egyptian Arabic to replace Classical Arabic in Egypt, but it failed (Chejne, 1969; Gershoni and Jankowski, 1986). After the Socialist Revolution in 1952, the government preferred Classical Arabic to be the official language of Egypt.

As for the spoken forms, no one speaks Classical Arabic as a mother tongue. Classical Arabic can be used to read a text or recite Qur'an or poetry from memory. Selim (1967) stated that "since one can never carry on a dialogue or a conversation in CA [Classical Arabic], CA therefore could also be called-- in terms of language as speech-- 'monologue Arabic' while EA [Egyptian Arabic] or any other colloquial, 'dialogue Arabic' (p. 133). It is Egyptian Arabic that is acquired as a first language while Classical Arabic is learned through formal education. Children in Egypt speak Egyptian Arabic as

their mother tongue, and begin to learn Classical Arabic when they join the *kuttab* or go to public schools. Many Egyptian children (aged three to six) get their primary education of Classical Arabic when they join the Kuttab; the Qur'an teaching pre-school for children where the emphasis is on learning the Qur'an by heart. The kuttab exists in both rural and urban communities in Egypt. It is frequently attached to a mosque where the sheikh, who is the main instructor, provides children with classical Islamic teachings and trains them to read the Qur'an properly. The sheikh is considered the "oral model", the expert who knows how to read and recite the Qur'an correctly. Recitation of the Qur'an is a significant part of Muslims' prayers and rituals. The ability to recite from the Qur'an verbatim from memory is highly appreciated. Besides reciting and memorizing the Qur'an, children receive the basics of reading and writing at the age of five. The Kuttab plays an important role in preserving and transforming religious and cultural traditions. It shapes the moral and spiritual developments in children. It teaches them daily prayers, religious songs and poems for weddings and other celebrations. It also prepares them for public school education. It has provided intellectual training for those children who pursue their education at Egyptian religious schools, particularly al-Azhar University, the most prestigious afterwards. During her research in Egypt, Haeri (2003) discovered that those people who do not attend the kuttab or public school will exert special effort to learn the prayers. For Muslims, "the correct pronunciation of the prayers, their meanings, the different postures of the body, the number of prayer cycles and their repetition all must be formally taught" (Haeri, 2003, p. 34). Since all prayers are in Classical Arabic, those who do not have a formal education will ask someone at home to teach them how

24

to pray, revealing that Egyptians are tremendously aware of the importance of Classical

Arabic in their religious and spiritual services and their identity as Muslims.

Modern Standard Arabic

In nearly all Arab countries, there seems to be a developing hybrid involving

convergence between Classical Arabic and the local dialect. This hybrid is used as a

special register for discussing serious topics or used in interactions among Arabs from

different dialect areas (e.g. an Egyptian and a Jordanian). Holes (2004) described this

register as follows:

> However imperfectly ordinary Arabs may have mastered its rules, and
>
> however out of place they may feel it sounds in nonformal, everyday,
>
> face-to-face conversational contexts, they know that MSA [Modern
>
> Standard Arabic] is always there as a kind of communally owned
>
> linguistic reservoir that they can dip into when they need to – a word here,
>
> a borrowed phrase there – in order to ensure that they make themselves
>
> understood to Arabs from distant countries or outsiders such as Arabic-
>
> speaking foreigners. In normal face-to-face conversation, as opposed to
>
> writing, however, a blanket switch from dialect to "pure" MSA is rare
>
> indeed, even if it were within the ability of most Arabic speakers, and is a
>
> strategy that is resorted to only when all else fails. (p. 6)

Although Ferguson's model of diglossia (1959) focused on only two varieties

(High/Low), he referred to the existence of "relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate

forms of the language *?allughal wasTa* [middle language]"(1972, p. 240). Ferguson

(1972) defined *?allughal wasTa* as:

a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semi-formal and cross-cultural situations [which] has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary (p. 240).

The middle language *?allughal wasTa*, according to Ferguson, is "the answer to the problem of 'tension' caused by minimal functional overlapping between the two linguistic forms (H/L) (cited in Elgibali, 1985, p. 20). Predicting the linguistic future of the Arabic language, Ferguson (1968) stated that the Arabic of the future will not be a form of colloquial Arabic; it will be a " 'modern', slightly streamlined form of Classical Arabic, purified of all regionalism or of excessive foreign vocabulary, and ignoring some of the subtleties of traditional Arabic grammar" (p. 381). Ferguson's prediction has come true because the "middle language" now consists of the basic traditional rules of Arabic grammar, without declension at the end of words, and free from foreign words. It is neither classical nor colloquial. It does not belong to any specific region.

In the literature on Arabic diglossia, the coexistence of Classical Arabic and a local dialect is described as the origin of a conflict or tension that is "resolved" (Ferguson, 1959) through the emergence of the so-called 'middle' language. Arab linguists have made various efforts to subdivide the continuum between Classical Arabic and the dialect into intermediary varieties. They assume that there is a middle language, following Ferguson's *?allughatul wasTa*, which they call "the language of the intellectuals". This middle language is considered as a form of Classical Arabic that "does not use case endings, follows the colloquial pronunciation and freely introduces

colloquial words, while retaining the general structure of the standard language"
(Versteegh, 2001, p. 191). Holes (2004) defined this middle language as "the modern
descendent of Classical Arabic, unchanged in the essentials of its syntax but very much
changed, and still changing, in its vpcabulary and phraseology" (p. 5).

In the Arab world and in Egypt in particular, many Arab scholars and thinkers
suppose that the intermediate language, which they call Modern Standard Arabic *alllugha
al-mutawassiTa* or *lughat al-muthaqqafeen*, would "fill the gap between the artificial
standard (Classical Arabic) and the lower levels of the language continuum" (Versteegh,
2001, p. 185). Egyptian intellectual writers, such as Hussein and Al-Aqqad, contributed
to the emergence of the simplified Classical Arabic, which became the literary and
scientific medium of expression. With the advent of journalism, broadcasting and
television, and the flourishing activity of publication, Modern Standard Arabic became
the language of the entire Arab world. Holes (2004) stated that "this unified, codified
pan-Arab variety of Arabic is used for virtually all writing in the Arab world and
nowadays, in its spoken form, also dominates the airwaves and television channels of
every Arab country" (p. 5). Although it resembles the Classical language of the Qur'an,
Modern Standard Arabic is still different from the Classical. For instance, Modern
Standard Arabic is characterized by the "disappearance of declensional endings, the
extensive use of the colloquial verb *qama bi-* "made" (e.g. qama bi-ziyara 'to visit') as a
substitute for active verbs, the heavy use of the verb *tamma* "done" as a substitute for the
passive constructions (e.g. tamma tawqi' al-ittifaqiyya 'the agreement was signed')"
(Versteegh, 2001, p. 183).

Modern Standard Arabic refers to the process of modernizing Classical Arabic which appeared during the Arab renaissance in the late 1800s and later during Arab nationalism. The aim was to add new vocabulary and to simplify grammar. At that time, some educators, thinkers, writers, and journalists tried to simplify and modernize the language to keep in touch with the new developments in technology, medicine, and education. For instance, Egyptian intellectuals who studied abroad regarded Classical Arabic as "too literary and flowery and as lacking in modern vocabulary needed for the sciences and for technology" (Haeri, 2003, p. 11).

Modern Standard Arabic was one of the basic elements in promoting the concept of Arab nationalism that started as a political and social movement in the Arab world at the end of the nineteenth century. The elements of this movement were history, culture, religion, language, and common interest. Although all of these elements were acknowledged, none of them was considered to have "the primacy of language" in this nationalism (Suleiman, 2003, p. 162). After independence, governments across the Arab world called for the promotion of Arabic in order to tie them to the larger Arab nation. Although there have been many occasional conflicts and disputes among Arab countries, Modern Standard Arabic remains the strongest bond that has united all Arabs nations. It has come to "be associated with the mission, glory, history, and uniqueness of an entire 'people' and, indeed, it is this variety which helps unite individuals who do not otherwise constitute an interaction network into a symbolic speech community or 'people' "(Fishman, 1971, p. 31). In spite of the fact that Islam has been the most necessary element, Arabs have aimed at establishing "an Arab kingdom to provide a home for all those of Arab descent who spoke Arabic" (Versteegh, 2001, p. 177). Arab nationalism

was based on the idea that those who speak Arabic belong to the same nation. Arab nationalism intended to include all Arabs of every faith and exclude religion and race as bases of an Arab identity. Modern Standard Arabic has been used to refer to what makes an Arab whereas the local dialect refers to what makes an Egyptian or a Jordanian or a Saudi. The Egyptian poet Ahmed Shawqi mentioned that "Arabic started to be promoted as a metaphorical "homeland", as the soil in which a group's national identity is rooted and to which it gives sustenance and life" (cited in Suleiman, 2003, p. 113).

The Study of the Vernacular

The study of vernacular plays an essential role in sociolinguistics. Labov (1984) referred in several studies to the vernacular as the "most systematic data for linguistic analysis" (p. 29). He defined it not as "illiterate or lower class speech," but as that most spontaneous style of each social group "relative to their careful and literary forms of speech" (Labov, 1971, p. 112).

The study of Arabic vernaculars in modern linguistic discourse focuses on a distinction between "an archaic but prestige literary form [Classical Arabic] and a related but stigmatized spoken form in a given speech community [local dialects]" (Eisele, 2002, p. 3). Many modern thinkers and writers in the Islamic world (Belnap, 1991, Mughazy, 2001, Parkinson, 2001, Haeri, 2004, Suleiman, 2004) feel that Classical Arabic is not an adequate vehicle for communication in a rapidly developing technological age. They claim that the colloquial is a development of an earlier language situation and should gradually replace the Classical in most functions. They, therefore, encourage studying the Arabic varieties (the mother tongue of Arabs) in more details. However, Arabic linguistics, which places Classical Arabic in a superior status, does not express strong

approval nor grant a privilege to the study of non-classical varieties. The classical Arab

grammarians see colloquial varieties of Arabic as deviations from the norms of correct or

pure Arabic and not entities of their own. They assume that the colloquial is a corrupted

form and an outcome of illiteracy and, therefore, should not be regarded as a separate

language. According to Versteegh (2001), it is difficult in the Arab world to "arouse

interest in the dialects as a serious object of study" because " many speakers of Arabic

still feel that the dialect is a variety of a language without a grammar, a variety used by

children and women, and even in universities there is a certain reluctance to accept

dialect studies as a dissertation subject" (p. 132). Haeri (2003) also pointed out that there

has been a major concern with the colloquial spoken Arabic in Egypt for a long time. In

1882, for instance, an article in the Ahram Daily with the title "The Arabic Language and

Success", expressed the view of the spoken language as follows:

> How can we give permission to ourselves to replace our glorious language
>
> with another when it is the most noble of languages [ashraf al- lughat], the
>
> most eloquent in words [afsah-haa lafzan], the most elegant in style, and
>
> the most conducive to creativity [badii'an]? How can we support a weak
>
> [rakiika] spoken language which will eliminate the sacred original
>
> language [al-lugha al-asiila al-muqaddasa]? (cited in Haeri, 2003, p. 83)

This view is still widespread among Arabs. Classical Arabic remains the purest

language for all Arabs compared to the local different dialects of the Arab countries. The

local varieties of Arabic are considered to be weak and unable to become separate

languages. In Egypt, scholars describe Egyptian colloquial Arabic as one of the diseases.

Taha Hussein, for instance, one of the most public intellectuals of Egypt and a minister of

education in the 1950s, argued that "the colloquial lacks the qualities to make it worthy of the name of a language. I look upon it as a dialect that has become corrupted in many aspects." (Hussein, 1954, p. 86). A long time ago, Mitchell (1956) found that the "majority of Egyptians view any form of colloquial Arabic with something like contempt and may even consider it…as a degenerate form of Classical Arabic" (pp. 1-2). Regarding Classical Arabic as the language of the Qur'an, Arab Muslims regard the colloquial as a "debased form" of the classical (Versteegh, 1997, p. 158). Classical Arabic has been exalted by religious and secular figures as the "true" language of the Arabs. It is associated with the most cultural achievements of the Arabs and viewed as the embodiment of Islamic civilization. This is why traditional Islamic universities reject the study of dialects and consider it as harmful to Arab unity. For many Muslim scholars, the loss of Classical Arabic would have terrible and awful consequences. Al-Ghazzaly, a renowned Islamic scholar, wrote on one occasion, "if Arabic dies, the Qur'an will be put in museums, and our national heritage and literature will be lost" (cited in Baker, 2003, p. 41).

The clash of the two approaches--one exalting the vernacular and the other preferring the classical--has been controversial for a long time. This dichotomy spread among the Arab Muslim countries and has remained for many centuries. In the eighteenth century, Arabists began to direct their attention to the study of non-standard varieties as entities of their own. More linguists started examining the colloquial language, believing it is the "living language" of the Arab societies. In the nineteenth century, there was a new movement in the Arab countries, favoring the colloquial and stating that the loss of the abandonment of Classical Arabic would be little when compared to the various gains

that could be attained if the language of the common people replaced the classical

(Versteegh, 2001). This movement adopted the paradigm which European linguists

followed to study the European dialects. At that time, many people in the Arab world felt

that the "role of Classical language as the unifying factor in the Arab world was

threatened by too much attention to the dialects, symbols of the fragmentation of the

Arab world" (Versteegh, 2001, p. 132). Reflecting on this attitude in Egypt, Versteegh

(2001) mentioned that:

> There was some truth in this suspicion, since in some cases the colonial
>
> authorities actively promoted the use of the dialect… As a result, dialect-
>
> ology became associated with the divisive policy of the colonial
>
> authorities, and the dialectologist was regarded as a tool of imperialism.
>
> In addition, orthodox circles condemned any attempt to study the
>
> dialects as detrimental to the language of the Qur'an. (p.132)

Since that time, Arab grammarians, philologists, educators, and thinkers have

taken different stances towards the study of the non-standard varieties. The first group

(Abdul-Rahman, 1971) attempted to gradually eliminate the use of local varieties and

adopt a unified standard linguistic variety, parallel to Classical Arabic. The second group

(Shoubi, 1951) advocated the elimination of the superimposed classical, believing that

the use of this artificial variety resulted in the retardation of the Arabs. The third group

(Abu-Seida, 1972) acknowledged the significance of maintaining Classical Arabic while

at the same time admitting the study of the colloquials which are not deviated forms of

the classical. These different stances are significant as they reveal Arabs' attitudes

towards the switching phenomenon from Classical to the vernacular in religious

discourse. The following chapter presents previous studies that dealt with this

codewsitching, particularly in the Egyptian context.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, I review literature relevant to codeswitching and diglossia because they are crucial to the understanding of language change in religious discourse. First, the definition of codeswitching and the major studies of codeswitching in general and in Arabic studies in particular will be highlighted. Second, the concept of diglossia will be defined, followed by a discussion of the diglossic situation in Egypt. Next, a brief review and an evaluation of studies that have dealt with variation in Egyptian Arabic and religious discourse in sociolinguistic research will be examined.

Definition of Codeswitching

In the last two decades, codeswitching has received more attention from scholars in various disciplines, including linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and anthropology. Yet, there is disagreement regarding what constitutes codeswitching as researchers in these different fields have defined codeswitching according to their field of study. Some scholars (Milroy and Muysken, 1995) were concerned about the confusing range of terms used by several researchers to describe the same phenomenon. These terms include "code switching", "code mixing", "code shifting" and "code changing". Generally speaking, codeswitching is often used within the field of bilingualism or multilingualism to refer to the alternative use of two or more languages in a single discourse, sentence, or constituent (Poplack, 1980). Switching between languages may occur "between the turns of different speakers in the same conversation, sometimes between utterances within a single turn, and sometimes even within a single utterance" (Milroy and Muysken, 1995, p. 7). Gumperz (1982) defined codeswitching as "the

juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p. 59). Myers-Scotton (1993) described codeswitching as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation" (p. 4). In bilingual communities, it seems natural for people who speak two languages to use both of them. An obvious example of this kind of codeswitching exists when Arab families, for instance, live in the United States where the family members may switch back and forth between Arabic and English.

Yet, codeswitching also can refer to different styles of speech within the same language, as in the case of monolinguals using formal and informal speech. Deibold (1963) defined codeswitching as "the successive alternation of two different languages, standard language and a dialect, or sociolects of the same language and different written codes" (p. 84). Sridhar (1978) offered a definition of codeswitching as the alternate use of two or more languages or varieties in different social or functional analysis domains. According to Myers-Scotton (1993), codeswitching is used "to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" and that these varieties may be "different languages, or dialects or styles of the same language" (pp. 1-2). McCormick (1994) also defined codeswitching as the "juxtaposition of elements of two (or more) languages or dialects" (p. 581).

Codeswitching is important to this study as religious scholars in Egypt switch from Classical to Egyptian Arabic in their speeches. Researchers have long investigated the reasons why speakers may switch from one language or one dialect to another. Codeswitching has received attention from scholars in various disciplines, including

linguistics (Milroy & Muysken, 1995), sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1977), psycholinguistics (Myers-Scotton, 1993), and anthropology (Heller, 1988). Codeswitching has often been discussed and described in sociolinguistic studies, focusing on bilingual and multilingual speech communities because of the coexistence of two languages or two varieties of one language, each having its own social functions. In Arabic codeswitching has attracted the attention of many researchers, investigating the shift from Classical Arabic to colloquial Arabic, that is, from formal to informal speech, in literary and political speech. Such research is significant because it highlights the conflict between one written variety which is immune to change because of its link to Islam (Classical Arabic) and the other spoken varieties that develop, emerge, and change over time (Egyptian Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, Iraqi Arabic, etc.). The focus of research on codeswitching has been on several issues including the linguistic constraints that govern different kinds of codeswitching, the functional distribution of codes in speech communities, and motivations for codeswitching. However, not so much research has been directed to the topic of codeswitching in religious discourse.

The first serious treatment of codeswitching started when Blom and Gumperz (1972) conducted a study on two Norwegian dialects in Hemnesberget, a Norwegian fishing village. This study explains how codeswitching was initiated by social motivations which mirror the social fabric of the community. According to Blom and Gumperz, codeswitching can be situational or metaphorical. Situational codeswitching is the shift that results from external changes, such as the change of participants or setting (i.e. speakers move from one domain into another and change their codes as a result), whereas metaphorical codeswitching refers to a change in the emphasis of the topic (i.e.

speakers change codes in the middle of a situation). Codeswitching was perceived as a deficit to be stigmatized, based on the belief that the bilingual does not master either of the two languages, until Gumperz (1982) referred to it as an additional resource through which a range of social and rhetorical meanings are expressed. He stated that the alternation of languages has an expressive function and a pragmatic sense. Therefore, codeswitching, according to Gumperz, is not a kind of dysfluent speech; rather it is consistent both linguistically and sociolinguistically. Bilingual speakers communicate fluently, maintaining an even flow of talk, without hesitation, pauses, or changes in rhythm. They code-switch so that they may better express their message to others who are also bilinguals. Heredia and Altarriba (2001) also rejected the notion of "language deficiency" and contended that there are specific reasons to account for codeswitching. They argued that bilinguals switch codes to be better understood.

Attempting to link codeswitching to group identity, Gumperz (1982) introduced the notion of "we-code" and "they-code" (p. 66). In some speech communities, codes are strongly associated with political and cultural identity. In multilingual communities that include social minorities, the language of the minority is often considered the "we-code" or the code that points to in-group membership. The language of the dominant group is the "they-code" which refers to power and formality. Gumperz wrote," the tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the' we code' and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they code' associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations" (p. 66). These codes are often found in formal colonial settings, where the

language of the colonized indicates in-group membership and contrasts with the language of the colonizers.

Some sociolinguists (Fishman, 1971, Stockwell, 2007) observe that most individuals have a repertoire of codes available to them. They assume that people are able to switch from a casual to formal style or into different dialects in different situations or domains. According to Fishman's (1971) "domain theory" of codeswitching, the choice of code is determined by the domain in which speakers perceive themselves to be. This indicates that the choice of code is communicatively meaningful. Fishman used the term "domain" to describe institutional contexts in which the use of one language is more appropriate than another. Domains are seen to be configurations of particular participants (interlocutors), places and time (locales), and topics. Typical domains include the family or home domain, the friendship domain, the neighborhood domain, the school domain, the work domain, and the religious domain. Each domain is made up of a typical set of interlocutors, who interact with each other in typical locales about typical topics. In the religious domain of the Islamic countries, for instance, speakers are expected to use Classical Arabic, as it is the language of the Qur'an and literary works, rather than any other variety of Arabic. The sermons are usually held in mosques and the topics deal with fundamental issues (e.g., belief in God, His Angels, Books, Messengers, the Last Day, and the Divine Decree), rituals (prayers, fasting, charity, pilgrimage), family (marriage, divorce, parenting, raising children, neighbors), or manners (sincerity, honesty, truthfulness, kindness, politeness).

Codeswitching and Arabic

Previous Arabic studies conducted on codeswitching focused on codeswitching from Arabic to another language or vice versa (Bentahila, 1983; Eid, 1992; Safi, 1992; Al-Mansour, 1998; Al-Enazi, 2002). However, few studies to this date deal specifically with codeswitching in religious discourse. The most significant study which attempted to explore the issue of codeswitching in a religious discourse is Saeed's (1997). He investigated the pragmatics of codeswitching from Classical Arabic to three regional varieties of Arabic (Egyptian, Kuwaiti, and Yemeni) in the speech of three famous Arab religious scholars (from Egypt, Kuwait, and Yemen). He found that codeswitching occurs with considerable frequency in the speech of the three scholars. His analysis shows that codeswitching in religious-oriented discourse is "a purposeful phenomenon" which serves many pragmatic functions (p. 205). He grouped the motivations for codeswitching under the following categories:

1) iconic/rhetorical (switching as a consequence of iconic or rhetorical motivations, e.g. switching to quote or to simplify);

2) structural (switching motivated by linguistic structure, e.g. verb inflections, pronominals, and negations);

3) other (switching as a result of various motivations, caused by linguistic incompetence)

Previous studies of codeswitching in the Arab world investigated the grammatical/linguistic constraints that govern different kinds of codeswitching. For instance, in his codeswitching study of Moroccan Arabic and French, Bentahila (1983) examined types of syntactic boundaries at which a switch may occur and the relation

between the surface structure of the two languages. He concluded that the requirement of equivalence of surface structure does not seem to hold and that most restrictions are attributed to subcategorization rules. For example, in Arabic, adjectives are subcategorized as postnominal whereas in French some are postnominal and others are pronominal; as a result, (a) is used but not (b):

(a) Un professeur ?DIM

    "a teacher excellent"

(b) Un ?ADIM professeur

    "an excellent teacher"

As to the roles of the two languages, Bentahila found that there is more of a tendency to resort to Arabic in regard to grammatical items and function words, such as determiners, pronouns, and others, and to French in regard to lexical items. So the roles of the two languages are clearly contrasted.

Other studies examined the syntactic aspects of codeswitching from Arabic to English, focusing on conversational codeswitching (Eid (1992), Safi (1992), Al-Mansour (1998) and Al-Enazi (2002)). Focusing on Egyptian speakers, Eid (1992) studied the syntactic aspects of Arabic-English codeswitching in the speech of Egyptian-Americans living in the United States in order to determine the principles underlying the alternating use of the two languages. She examined switching at the boundaries of four types of clauses: coordinate, subordinate, relative, and complementary, focusing on the grammatical markers for each of these clauses (coordinate and subordinate conjunctions, relative markers, and complementizers). Her research results show that switching before the marker is unrestricted while it is relatively more restricted after the marker and that

switching is dependent on the language from which the marker is drawn. She expressed

this generalization through her principle, "switching after an English marker is not

permitted. But after an Arabic marker it is free unless that marker is a relative marker" (p.

63). The results point to two significant areas in codeswitching situations. One is the

difference between the roles of the two languages in constraining codeswitching and how

this difference may affect the direction of the switch (English was found to be more

restrictive than Arabic). The other area refers to the phenomenon of "pronoun doubling"

where Arabic-English speakers double the Arabic subject pronoun with an English one,

indicating the general constraint against switching between pronouns and their verbs.

Similarly, Safi (1992), Al-Mansour (1998), and Al-Enazi (2002) studied the

syntactic aspects of Saudi speakers' codeswitching to English. Analyzing the nature and

function of codeswitching in the speech of educated Saudis residing in the United States,

Safi (1992) concentrated on switches smaller than the word (morphemes). She found that

Saudis' switching included articles, prepositions, and definite articles in the middle of

verb phrases. The motivations found included "clarification, avoidance of taboo or

embarrassing structures, and holding the floor" (p. 73).The study results revealed that

Saudis code-switched to their native language where the English equivalents did not give

the desired religious or national feelings, and when the use of some Arabic expressions

indicated the speaker's politeness.

Likewise, Al-Mansour (1998) examined the linguistic aspects of codeswitching

between Saudi-spoken Arabic and English. The study demonstrated that the linguistic

constraints which have been proposed in the literature on codeswitching are far from

universal and are not applicable to the data of the study. For instance, the data showed

that the majority of switches occurred at the lexical level (single-word switches), thus disputing previous claims that phrasal switches are more frequent. Unlike Poplack's (1980) assumption that there is a correlation between a participant's high competence in L2 and a high frequency of all types of codeswitching, Al-Mansour found that most of the switches were made by both highly fluent, proficient participants in L2 and also by less fluent and less proficient participants.

Similarly, Al-Enazi's (2002) study investigated the syntactic constraints and social functions of Arabic-English codeswitching among Saudi bilinguals (adults and children) living in the Unites States. Regarding the social functions of codeswitching, Al-Enazi concluded that codeswitching to English was found to be associated with several practical domains such as academic terms and precise numbers whereas Arabic was highly preferred in areas such as religious terms and some certain discourse markers (e.g. *yaani*, I mean). The study showed that adults switched to English for objectivization and academic terms while children, whose dominant language was English, switched into Arabic for Saudi cultural and religious terms. Both adults and children violated the linguistic constraints of codeswitching; adults didn't code-switch between bound and free morphemes except in cases for the definite article whereas children switched to insert bound morphemes, such as adding the English suffix –ing to an Arabic verb.

Unlike the previous studies that dealt with codeswitching from Arabic to another language, there have been some studies that dealt with codeswitching between Arabic varieties in the same region. For instance, Eid's study (1988) examined the syntactic principles that govern codeswitching between Standard Arabic and Egyptian Arabic, using data from radio and television interviews and panel discussions in Egypt. She tried

to formulate certain constraints on Egyptian Arabic and Standard Arabic codeswitching. Using four syntactic constructions--relative clauses, subordinate clauses, tense and verb constructions, and negative and verb constructions--she identified the markers of these constructions as focal points. Two switch positions were possible for each focal point, so eight logical combinations could be identified. If switching were random, the eight combinations would occur; however, her findings show that switching *before* focal points is free (i.e. any construction can be used), but not *after* the focal points.

<p style="text-align:center">Diglossia</p>

From the early fourth century A.D., there is evidence of several dialects of Arabic spoken in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabs adopted a superposed variety (Elgibali, 1985) for literary and religious reasons while maintaining the colloquial dialects for daily communications. At that time, the superposed variety was not regarded as the language of gods in pagan Arabia. After Islam, however, when Prophet Muhammad conveyed God's message, "the linguistic model of the Qur'an -- which was based on the dialect of Mohamed's tribe, the Quraish--, immediately assumed undisputed supremacy over all regional dialects" (Elgibali, 1985, p. 4). Classical Arabic was perceived as the most prestigious Arabic variety for Muslims as it is the language of the Holy Scripture. The widespread acceptance of the Quranic linguistic model was a result of Muslims' awareness and understanding that they should recite the Quranic verses correctly and avoid any mispronunciation or deviation from that linguistic model. It was reported that Prophet Muhammad corrected the mispronunciation of his companions in some occasions. He referred to the person who made a deviation in speaking Classical Arabic as someone who "went astray". Perceived as the only appropriate language form to

communicate with God, grammarians and language purists attempted to purify the colloquial dialects of all non-classical features. They also codified Classical Arabic so as to "provide an everlasting, unchanging linguistic model for the native and non-native speakers alike" (Elgibali, 985, p. 15).

After the death of Prophet Muhammad in 632, his successors led military expeditions outside the Arabian Peninsula. After a few decades, the Islamic empire was one of the strongest empires in parts of the world. The Arab armies brought religion, culture, and language to the conquered territories such as in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. The Arabic language became the national and dominant language of these lands.This process led to the existence of a new type of Arabic spoken by the inhabitants of the conquered areas. A colloquial type of Arabic appeared when the Arabs came into contact with those people who spoke various languages. The non-Arabs made mistakes when they spoke Arabic, as a result of adopting Arabic to their own vocabulary and pronunciation. This type of new language "developed into the Arabic dialects as we know them nowadays" (Versteegh, 2001, p. 98). Therefore, Arabic had one standard variety and a large number of regional and social dialects. The spoken Arabic had a reduced structure and a simple vocabulary, compared to Classical Arabic. Having two varieties of Arabic "led to a diglossia, in which the Classical Arabic standard language functioned as the high variety…, and the vernacular of the spoken language constituted the low variety…" (Versteegh, 1997, p. 3) in which the Classical was confined to formal written and spoken occasions whereas the regional was used at all other times.

With the Islamic conquests, the Arabic language came into contact with non-Arabic languages and ethnicities, which led to the "contamination" of Arabic (Eisele,

2002, p. 7). This led to the felt need to preserve the purity of Arabic, which resulted in writing and systematizing the Arabic language in the late eighth century by the two grammarians Al-Khalil and Sibawayhi (Holes, 2004). As a result, there existed a "very strong cultural tradition of grammar study, rhetoric, and literary criticism alongside the religious and literary (poetic) tradition" (Eisele, 2002, p. 7). The idea of the purity of the Arabic language has remained the prevalent attitude among several religious scholars such as al-Shak'a (1970), al-Rafi'i (1974), al-Jundi (1982), and Dayf (1994).

In Egypt, the language situation is considered as a typical example of diglossia, that is, "a situation in which one dialect or language is used in formal or written realms and a second dialect or language is used largely in informal or spoken realms" (Ferguson, 1972, p. 244). Diglossia can refer either to the use of two different languages (for example, English and Tagalog in the Philippines) or to the use of two different varieties or dialects of the same language (for example, Standard German and Swiss German in parts of Switzerland). Charles Ferguson is credited for being the first who used the term diglossia in his article "Diglossia" (1959) which brought into focus a phenomenon that was revolutionary in the field of sociolinguistics. Ferguson (1959) defined diglossia as:

> A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, largely which is learned by formal education and used for most written and formal spoken purposes but not used by any sector of the

45

community for ordinary conversation. (p. 245)

Ferguson's definition includes two genetically related linguistic varieties which are perceived as one language. Each variety has its own linguistic features and functions. Ferguson assumes only slight functional overlapping between the two varieties. He describes this diglossic situation using four modern language situations (Swiss German, Arabic, Haitian, and Modern Greek). In such diglossic speech communities, there is a "High" (H) or "superposed" variety that is very prestigious and a "Low" (L) variety with no official status; these are in complementary distribution with each other; they only appear in different contexts. For instance, the H variety might be used for literary and formal discourse and the L variety for informal and ordinary conversation. The high form is used in public and official situations whereas the low form is utilized in private and face-to-face situations. His original definition of diglossia reveals that the two varieties are closely related, and therefore diglossia is not recognized as bilingualism. In his defining examples, he points out that the H variety is always an acquired form, and that some educated native speakers might deny that they ever use the L variety. An important component of diglossia is that the speakers have the personal perception that the H variety is the "real" language and that the L variety is "incorrect" usage. The H variety has no native speakers since "no segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H as a medium of ordinary conversation, and any attempt to do so is felt to be…pedantic and artificial…"(Ferguson, 1959, p. 327). It is similar to a dead language that has no living native speakers.

In the Arab world, people talk about the H variety (Classical Arabic) as being "pure" Arabic and the L variety (the local dialect) as being "corrupt". In the literature on

Arabic speech communities, dialects are connected with the speech of the uneducated

people. Versteegh (1997) rightly described this situation as follows:

> The low variety of the language is associated with low education, since
> the standard is taught and learnt at school, and hence with illiteracy and
> poverty, since people with a poor education cannot make a career. The
> standard language, on the other hand, is associated with higher education,
> success in society and a high socio-economic class. (p. 195)

The two varieties have separate functions regarding the domains of speaking and

writing. Classical Arabic is utilized in formal spoken speech and written works while the

dialect is used in informal speech and comic strips. The terms "High" and "Low" refer to

the standing of the two varieties in the linguistic community. The L variety is considered

a low esteem. In Arabic, it is called "ammiyya" which means "common" or "vulgar". The

H variety, on the other hand, is prestigious as it is the language of religion and culture. It

is called "fuSHa" which means "eloquent" or "classical".

Ferguson's diglossia has become a standard term which has been further studied

by several scholars. His (1959) article "spawned a whole subfield of subsequent

sociolinguistic discourse about language variation, some of it critical of the limitations of

the original proposal but all crucially dependent on its ideas and insights" (Eisele, 2002,

pp. 12-13). Some scholars have conducted research on the linguistic situation in many

countries, including Arabic-speaking countries in order to test the validity of and refine

the theoretical framework of Ferguson's model. There have been various reactions in the

literature. Gumperz (1961, 1962, 1964, and 1966) further examined the term diglossia

and pointed out that diglossic language situations exist, not only in bilingual or

multilingual societies, and not only in societies that utilize vernacular and classical varieties, but also in all societies which utilize separate dialects, registers or functional language varieties. Fishman (1971) attempted to trace the maintenance of diglossia at the national or societal level. Prompted by some inadequacies of Ferguson's paradigm, Fishman attempted to reconstruct the concept significantly. He proposed that multilingual communities reveal four possible combinations: diglossia with bilingualism, diglossia without bilingualism, bilingualism without diglossia, and neither diglossia nor bilingualism. He explained that diglossic communities "tend to reveal marked verbal compartmentalization" where a speaker of one variety pays attention not to switch into another variety, whether phonologically, lexically, or grammatically" as "each variety is kept separate and uncontaminated from the other" (p. 34).

Fishman was one of the theoreticians who set out to extend or modify Ferguson's original definition of diglossia. Porter (2000) pointed out one of the problems in Ferguson's description of the H and L varieties. In a speech community, a speaker may have a repertoire that "consists of three or more strata, with one variety being the superordinate for another, but itself the subordinate of a third" (Porter, 2000, p. 54). A clear example is the linguistic context in Baghdad where Classical Arabic is considered the highest form, with Muslim spoken Arabic and Christian Arabic below that (Porter, 2000). This situation indicates that there can be a number of H and L varieties (H1, H2, L1 L2, etc). In his "Diglossia Revisited"(1991), Ferguson himself admitted the weaknesses in his original conceptualization. He noted that he described speech communities rather than languages, without giving a clear definition of a speech community. Such deficiency led him to clarify and offer a more specific definition of a

speech community as "a social group sharing features of language structure, use, and attitudes that function as a sociolinguistic unit for the operation of linguistic variation and/or change; it may be monolingual or multilingual" (p. 221). He also came to acknowledge the presence of other languages in the community's repertoire in addition to the diglossic pair. This is why other researchers started to use terms such as "triglossia", "'polyglossia", and "multiglossia". Moreover, Ferguson stated that the H variety which he had connected solely with written texts could be spoken. Yet, he wrote "it would be useful to know the extent to which the H variety is used for formal spoken purposes in other communities" (p. 231). Finally, his 1991 revisitation identified the following nine factors that have become essential for a diagnosis of diglossia:

    (1) the two codes had highly specialized functions;

    (2) the more widely established code was more prestigious;

    (3) the prestigious code had a strong literary heritage;

    (4) the non-prestigious code became the first acquired language (L1/NL);

    (5) the prestigious code was supported by formal study and standardization;

    (6) the use and function of these codes was diachronically stable;

    (7) the prestigious code had a more highly developed grammatical structure;

    (8) both codes shared most of the lexicon, but the prestigious code was broader;

    (9) the phonology of the prestigious code was a subsystem of the derived code.

Studies on Diglossia and Variation in Egyptian Arabic

Several studies have dealt with diglossia and language variation in the Arab world in general and in Egypt in particular. Some of these studies reexamined the idea of having two varieties of Arabic and argued that Arabic is multiglossic rather than diglossic. For

instance, Blanc (1960) distinguished five varieties of Arabic, thus increasing the number of varieties recognized:

1. Standard Arabic (Classical Arabic without dialectal admixtures)
2. Modified Classical (Classical Arabic with dialectal admixtures)
3. Semiliterary or Elevated Colloquial (any plain colloquial beyond the "mildly formal" range)
4. Koineized Colloquial (any plain colloquial mixed with features of another variety)
5. Plain Colloquial (the homespun speech characteristic of a given region)

Similarly, Badawi (1973) disagreed with Ferguson's strict dichotomy of the H and L varieties for the linguistic situation in Egypt. He described the linguistic situation in Egypt as a continuum from classical to colloquial, distinguishing five linguistic levels as follows:

1. Classical Arabic   فصحي التراث

2. Modern Standard Arabic   فصحي العصر

3. Colloquial of the Intellectuals   عامية المثقفين

4. Colloquial of the literate   عامية المتنورين

5. Colloquial of the Illiterate   عامية الأميين

Each level has its distinctive phonological, morphological, and syntactical features. To Badawi, the acquisition of a linguistic level is determined by the level and type of education of the discourse participants. The speaker has the ability to use a certain level; yet, some speakers can produce more than one level, depending on the social and educational background of the speaker, the addressee, and the subject matter. Badawi claimed that these levels of Arabic, therefore, show connections and interactions, unlike

Ferguson's characterization that acknowledges slight functional overlapping between Classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic (H/L varieties).

In Badawi's study, the transition from the first linguistic level (Classical Arabic) to the fifth one (colloquial Arabic) describes a continuous flow that takes place gradually, revealing a decrease in the frequency of Classical features and an increase of the colloquial features. For instance, the use of the classical / q / and / th / tends to decrease gradually from level one to five, till they are realized as / ' / and / s / in the colloquial of the illiterate.

Badawi defined these levels sociolinguistically; in terms of how they correspond to the speech of different social groups of people in the Egyptian society. The first level is the language of <u>Qur'an</u> and classical poetry. The second level is a simplified version of Classical Arabic which is used in writing and sometimes on formal occasions in speaking. The third level is the language of educated people used particularly in political speech, radio and television programs whenever educated people are involved. The fourth level is considered the everyday language of educated people, incorporating some Modern Standard Arabic features. The last level is the language of those people who have no formal instruction in Classical Arabic. Although Badawi defines these levels based on the use of a certain style of language, by a certain type of person, in a certain context, it is not yet clear when one level starts and ends. In addition, although the low variety of Arabic is associated with low education and illiteracy and the high variety is associated with higher education or literacy, the low variety is also used by educated Egyptians as a sign of intimacy and friendship. On the other hand, uneducated Egyptians use Classical Arabic to show respect, social distance, and official relationships.

In 1974, Schmidt examined several phonological variables in two different social classes in Cairo. He tried to undertake the same type of analysis Labov (1966) conducted in New York City where Labov chose three socially distinct stores in Manhattan, using the interviewing technique, to elicit the realization of / r / by three socioeconomic subgroups. The subgroup that dropped its r's the least were the salespeople at Saks, the high-prestige store with upper-middle class customers. The subgroup showing the highest degree of dropped r's were the salespeople at Klein's, the low-prestige store with many working class customers. The last subgroup was salespeople from Macy's, the store that was between the two stores in prestige and socioeconomic class, whose use of / r / fell between the other two. Similarly, Schmidt attempted to elicit four different types of speech: (1) informal, (2) formal, (3) reading election, and (4) word list. His study sample compared two social classes in Cairo; upper class (students at the American University in Cairo (AUC) and lower class (workers of a poor neighborhood). One of the problems of this study is Schmidt's assumption that the upper class participants would use Classical Arabic more than the lower class participants, as a result of having high educational level, yet this may not be the case. Upper class educated Egyptians, especially AUC students, are not competent in Classical Arabic as they attend private schools whose language of instruction is a foreign language and speak more than one language even at home. Lower class Egyptians, on the other hand, attend the kuttab (Quranic school) that focuses on the recitation and memorization of the Qur'an in a classical atmosphere for religious training. It seems that lower class Egyptians are more exposed to Classical Arabic than upper class people, particularly those at AUC. Schulz (1981), for instance, observed that "one of the

greatest Arabic stylists, critics and authors of the 20th century, Taha Hussein, grew up in poverty in an Egyptian village" (p. 10).

Focusing on Badawi's (1973) third level (the speech of educated Egyptians), Schulz (1981) described the diglossic situation in Egypt. While Schmidt (1974) dealt with the phonology of this level, Schulz concentrated on the morphology and syntax. Based on data which were recorded from the radio, Schulz found that formal spoken Arabic, as spoken by educated Egyptian speakers on serious subjects, is realized as neither classical nor colloquial. It has some classical elements and some colloquial elements. He stated that none of his 49 speakers used a form that can be called "pure".

In an attempt to reexamine the existence of many levels of Arabic, Elgibali (1985) pointed out that the Arabic language situation has been analyzed in two dimensions; (1) by studying the types of style variations across regional dialects, and (2) by examining the variations of style between colloquial and classical in a single speech area. He examined the accuracy of Ferguson's (1959) H and L varieties and Badawi's (1973) descriptions (five levels) between the colloquial and Classical Arabic in Cairene and Kuwaiti dialects. His research findings indicate that there are close connections and interactions among Badawi's three middle levels. This finding supports Ferguson's characterization of the "middle levels" as non-discrete and undermines Badawi's claims of independent, intermediate discrete levels. Elgibali found the three middle levels connected to each other and distinct from either Classical Arabic (H) or colloquial Arabic (L). Therefore, he considered Badawi's three middle levels to collectively represent one level which can be termed "Modern Standard Arabic".

Two more studies described the language situation in Egypt (Belnap, 1991 & Haeri 1991). Examining the change from Old Arabic (Classical Arabic) to a New Arabic dialect (Cairene Arabic), Belnap (1991) described patterns of grammatical agreement in Cairene Arabic. The study focused on the variation between strict (plural) and deflected (feminine singular) agreement with both human and non-human plural heads in an effort to account for factors influencing speakers' choice between the two. Based on both qualitative (sociolinguistic interviews) and quantitative (a psycholinguistic instrument) methods, Belnap concluded that Cairene Arabic is a natural development of Classical Arabic. The study further showed that the meaningful contrast between deflected and strict agreement in Cairene Arabic could be seen as a natural structural development of patterns present in Classical Arabic.

Haeri (1991) described the linguistic behavior of men and women in Cairo regarding the use of the classical uvular stop / q / and palatalization. She found that men used /q/ more than women in all educational levels and in every social class. Upper middle class women, who attended private foreign language schools, had frequent and advanced palatalization whereas upper middle class men had little palatalization in their speech. The study had the conclusion that palatalization is a sound change in progress and that women are the innovators of this sound change.

In addition, Haeri carried out sociolinguistic interviews to investigate Egyptians' attitudes towards both Egyptian Arabic and Classical Arabic. Unlike other studies, she discovered that the majority of the interviewees' responses had overwhelming positive attitudes towards Egyptian Arabic. The interviewees described Classical Arabic as "heavy", "lacks humor", and that there is "pretense and affectedness" in it. On the other

hand, Egyptian Arabic was praised as "soft", "not difficult", "more beautiful", "easier", "faster", and "reaches the heart and the conscience faster than the Arabic language (fuSHa)" (pp. 171-172).

Sociolinguistic Studies and Religious Discourse

Some studies have concentrated on the sociolinguistic examinations of the language of religious interactions. They have examined the relationship between religious discourse and group identity, and how religious services affect the preservation of some languages. Pike's (1960) study in the United States was probably the first to examine religious life from a sociolinguistic perspective. He analyzed the segments of an evangelical church service, explaining how these segments were bordered within a hierarchical structure. His study focused on how verbal behavior was structured across speech events. His work was a jumping off point for further analysis of verbal interactions in religious life.

Samarin's (1976), Ferguson's (1986) and Boxer's (2002) studies focused on the relationship between religious discourse and group identity. Samarin discussed the functions that language serves in religion. He explained how religious communities strengthen social identity. Religious styles and registers, according to Samarin, distinguish a member of one community from another and form one's identity. Becoming a member of any religious community results in learning new norms of interactions (e.g. recitations, songs, and prayers) which are not common in ordinary talk. Practicing these specific norms will have an effect on one's linguistic repertoire and social identity.

Ferguson connected the function of religious discourse with group identity where religious discourse "affirms the group identity of speaker and audience and reinforces

55

shared beliefs and values" (p. 205). He analyzed three types of religious services: (1) an evangelical service; (2) an old order Amish church service; and (3) an analysis of a Sunday mass on Georgetown University campus. He noticed the segmentation of each of the three services into differentiated speech events. The knowledge of the boundaries of these segments is an important part of the communicative competence of members of each congregation.

Boxer analyzed the event of the Bat/Bar Mitzvah in North American Judaism. This is a ceremony of a youth's coming of age rite passage from childhood to adulthood at the age of thirteen. Boxer provided a descriptive analysis of the speech situation of a bat (a 13-year girl) in Baltimore, Maryland and a bar (a 13-year boy) in Gainesville, Florida. Both the bat and the bar have to read pre-designated parts of the Torah in English and then in Hebrew, followed by giving a short speech about the meaning of the Torah reading to their own lives. Boxer found that this religious ceremony, as a speech situation, has many sub-events and speech acts that "range from the spiritual (e.g. blessing, praying, chanting), to the social (e.g. greeting, congratulating) and intellectual (e.g. debating)" (p. 146). She also noticed various types of religious interaction: (1) face-to-face (e.g. the informal greetings between congregants and people celebrating the bat/bar Mitzvah), (2) face-to-faces (e.g. the bar-led prayers), and (3) faces-to-faces (e.g. the community's participation in two lines facing each other). Among the researcher's findings is that the process of becoming a member of a religious community is one in which "the acquisition of communicative competence is paramount" (p. 146). This communicative competence includes:

knowing the structure of services, knowing when and how to perform

speech acts or be silent, knowing how to appropriately address, greet, and

congratulate fellow members, and generally knowing when and how to

pray, recite, worship, rejoice, chant, bless, and thank God. (p. 146)

Regarding the preservation of languages, Walbridge (1992) analyzed the role of

Islam in maintaining Arabic in the Lebanese Shi'a community of the city of Dearborn,

Michigan. She discovered four factors that affect the preservation of the Arabic language,

particularly the classical form. First, the influx of the newly arrived immigrants who

spoke only Arabic (compared to earlier immigrants) influenced the endurance of Arabic,

as a result of spending considerable amounts of time at the mosque-related activities.

Second, both the types of sermon topics at the mosque and the programs on Dearborn

Ethnic Access Cable television were largely presented in Arabic. Third, the speeches

given at the mosque in Arabic indicated that Arabic is the appropriate language to be

used in this context. Fourth, children learned Arabic at the mosque and they were

expected to join the kindergarten-through-twelfth-grade accredited Arabic school to be

built in the area. The researcher noticed that the mosque was influential in maintaining

Classical Arabic more than the colloquial dialect (s). The preacher's role, for instance,

was to help the community know how to pray and read the Qur'an in Classical Arabic,

paying no attention to the dialects of the community members.

The present study analyzes and examines the frequency of codeswitching in ten

audio/video tapes delivered by the renowned Egyptian preacher Khaled, investigating the

phonological, syntactical, and morphological features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian

Arabic. The purpose of this analysis is to find out if there is a relationship between a) the

frequency of the switches found and the type of discourse featured (Lecture vs.

Discussion Session) and b) the frequency of the switches and the type of audience

(Egyptians vs. non-Egyptians).

The present study also seeks to examine the changing Arabic language in Egypt

as a mirror of changing attitudes and perceptions of its speakers. I have chosen to focus

on the language used in the religious domain, the field that is witnessing some change.

Egyptian attitudes towards the change in religious discourse mirror their understanding of

their culture, their past, their present, and their identity.

<div align="center">Choice of the Speaker</div>

Egypt has recently become a more religious country after years of secular

oblivion. Rituals such as taraweeh prayers (voluntary prayers in the holy month of

Ramadan), 'aqiqa (the sacrifice of a lamb to celebrate the birth of a new baby), hijab

(women's veil) and halaqat Qur'an (group reading of the Qur'an) are now common acts in

the Egyptians daily life practices. Two decades ago, only very religious Egyptians

practiced these rituals. Increasing numbers of Egyptians are performing the daily prayers

at mosques and in their places of business. They have become eager to know more

information and interpretations of the Qur'an. In the 1990s, there was an enormous

Islamic revival in Egypt. This movement was not reserved to the poor, but it

encompassed all people in all walks of life. It is now obvious that Islam penetrates every

social class of the Egyptian society, particularly the well-to-do classes. Students at the

American University in Cairo, wives, daughters, and sons of prominent doctors, lawyers,

and government officials now attend religious lessons at homes, mosques, and even

sporting clubs. Abdo (2000) noticed the elite's attraction to religion when she interviewed

the daughters of Egyptian officials from the ruling Democratic National party who were wearing the *niqab*, a complete veil covering the face. Mona, a daughter of a member of the Egyptian Parliament, expressed her feelings towards her desire to be a better Muslim: "My mother wore bathing suits, my father drank. We had everything in life. I traveled to Europe. I went shopping, but I didn't have happiness…My niqab is my freedom, because it lets me choose who does and who doesn't see me" (Abdo, 2000, p. 140).

This religious revival expressed itself in many ways: listening to religious cassette tapes, watching religious programs, the adoption of Islamic dress by women, and the increased attendance at mosques. During her five-year ethnographic research in Egypt, Abdo (2000) was surprised to see on Fridays that "middle and upper middle-class men would leave their luxurious apartments and villas in Zamalek, once home to Egypt's pashas and kings, to pray on a dusty corner of Ahmed Hishmat Street" (p. 3). She saw men dressed in Pierre Cardin sweaters and fine starched cotton shirts carrying green prayer mats and going to the mosque. She interviewed veiled wealthy women from upper-crust districts who invited sheikhs into their homes to give religious lessons and who also attended religious sermons on Fridays at local mosques. These sermons were delivered by sheikhs who used a simplified language to address and offer guidance to doctors, engineers, lawyers, professors, actors, and actresses, television presenters, emphasizing family values and social bonds. The middle and upper-middle class Egyptians were eager to listen to a sheikh who would relate religion to modern life. They found this in the non-traditional sheikhs whose speech included the language of the club, the Internet, and cell phone, instead of the language of the desert, camels, and horses of the traditional sheikhs. Most of those sheikhs live in luxurious apartments and houses,

wear suits and designer glasses, and look chic. They concentrate their energies on changing the individual, rather than the state, through preaching and worship. Their general message is that people can be both modern and religious at the same time. The increased access to those sheikhs at homes, clubs, mosques, and TV programs has made a significant difference to the spread of Islam among the educated and the rich.

This situation has helped to create more non-traditional Islamic preachers, sheikhs, and scholars who will fill the void that Al-Azhar, Egypt's premier mosque and the most significant religious institution, created during the last decades. In the 1990s, many sheikhs at al-Azhar lost their privileged roles as natural leaders of the community of believers and intellectual keepers of faith, due to al-Azhar's reputation as a mere tool of the secular state. Graduates of al-Azhar University were considered as "puppets serving the whims of an irreligious state" (Abdo, 2000, p. 51). Azharis were accused of interpreting religious texts only for the convenience of the authorities. Abdo (2000) mentioned that:

> When President Nasser needed support in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, he turned to al-Azhar, which declared the conflict a holy struggle against the Zionist enemy. And when Anwar Sadat confronted vehement opposition to making peace with Israel in the late 1970s, he too turned to al-Azhar to codify his actions. The state-controlled institution duly issued an opinion, declaring that the time had come to reconcile with the Jews. (p. 31)

Many Egyptians, therefore, believe that al-Azhar has lost its scholarly mission and the former glory it enjoyed in its golden age in the past. They think that sheikhs outside the confines of al-Azhar are also qualified to give advice to the pious and offer people a

proper religious education. This situation has earned sheikhs of al-Azhar the mistrust as well as the contempt of many Egyptians.

The non-Azhari preachers are everywhere nowadays: in mosques, schools, universities, on TV, on satellite channels, on the Internet, and even in sporting clubs. They present "a genre that is quite different from the austere, authoritarian and less compassionate orthodox discourse", said Asef Bayat, a Sociology professor at the American University in Cairo (Shahine, 2002). They hold non-Azhar university degrees and come from the middle and upper middle classes. They use Egyptian Arabic in their speech to bring to light a more modern form of Islam that appeals to all sectors and classes of the Egyptian society. Yet, their audience is mainly drawn from the well-to-do. They are addressing "classes that were not previously tapped, namely the influential elite who are managers, professors, and businessmen", stated Bayat (Shahine, 2002).

One of those preachers is Amr Khaled who has been exalted to a superstar status by millions of adoring followers. In an age of globalized media and technology, Khaled's face and voice are everywhere: on TV, the Internet, CD-ROM, cassette and video tapes. He appears on various Arab-based satellites TV channels such as LBC, ART, Orbit, and Iqraa. Muslims who live inside and outside the Arab world are able to learn the Islamic perspective on many current controversial issues in Khaled's Egyptian Arabic. The positive feedback that the satellite channels have received for Khaled's speech indicates his success of using an informal, non-intimidating discourse on Islam, presented in an easy and understandable language to Arab Muslims. He communicates his message through satellite TV and the Internet not only in the Arab world, but in Arab communities in Europe and America as well. His viewers send him e-mails, faxes, phone calls, for

comments, suggestions and feedback. His speech has contributed to developing the religious discourse in the Arab world. Developing the religious discourse does not mean changing the principals of Islam. Rather, it means developing the means by which a scholar can address people about the principals of Islam in a more appealing manner. Speaking in a sympathetic tone, often in Egyptian Arabic, Khaled conveys his ethical message about the moralities of everyday life. He advances a religious discourse that Egyptians believe contains passion, clarity and humor, expressed in a distinctly novel style, taste, and language. He is neither an extremist nor a government figure. He represents a "moderate line", said the prominent columnist and Islamic affairs expert Fahmy Howeidy (Shahine, 2003). He does not belong to any political party or religious group. He has offered an alternative to both the official orthodox preaching (represented by al-Azhar and the Ministry of Religious Endowment) and that of political Islam (represented by the Muslim Brotherhood).

Khaled's lectures have created a shift from the traditional turbaned sheikhs speaking in Classical Arabic with a blank background to young suit-wearing scholars using colloquial Arabic in a modern setting with colorful décor. He sometimes appears in blue jeans and T-shirts or in suit and necktie. His audience consists of young and old, men and women, veiled and unveiled women. His audience and topics represent a real-life image of the contemporary Egyptian society. Although he states in several occasions that he wants to reach anyone and everyone, I perceive that he targets men and women of the educated rich class.

Khaled is chosen for both his religious knowledge, fame in the Arab world, and use of non-Classical in his religious speech. According to Al-Ahram Weekly, the tapes of

Khaled's sermons became "the unparalleled bestseller in Cairo's massive Book Fair in 2002" (Shahine, 2003). He is a thoughtful, captivating speaker, with highly effective rhetorical skills. He is famous for approaching current religious topics in the most decent eloquent and polite way. Egyptian newspapers call him "the most beloved, ever-smiling" preacher (Shahine, 2003).

The linguistic performance of Khaled is the focus of this study as it shows when he switches from Classical to Egyptian Arabic and vice versa in addition to investigating Egyptians' attitudes towards this language change.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Sociolinguistic theory has been trying to account for language change, especially in urban speech communities. Language changes take time and it is, therefore, important to observe the different states of the dialect for detecting ongoing change. The change in the Arabic language used in religious discourse in Egypt nowadays is of interest because of religious scholars' use of Egyptian Arabic (the low variety) in the highest form of formal discourse (religious discourse). The current study reveals the presence of the Egyptian dialect in a context that is supposed to disfavor it: religious discourse. Language change can be observed, according to Yang (2000) when "a generation of speakers produces linguistic expressions that differ from those of previous generations, either in form or in distribution" (p. 233).

Because religious discourse is often formulaic, it is possible to see patterns of speech or rhetorical strategies throughout. In delivering formal presentations (religious, political, literary), Egyptian speakers begin with a piece of God-talk or a prophetic narration in Classical Arabic. For example, speakers may start their speech saying "In the name of God, the most Gracious, the Most Merciful". Some speakers may recite some verses from the Qur'an, narrate a story that occurred during the time of the prophet or quote a statement from a religious scholar that suits the occasion. Yet, the use of Egyptian Arabic is replacing Classical Arabic in these types of religious domains. This study examines some influencing factors involved in the process of language change, in particular linguistic factors as phonology, syntax, morphology, and attitudes to the dialect and standard Arabic.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is used to examine the socio-linguistic phenomenon of codeswitching in the religious discourse in Egypt. I chose to use both methods because the research questions are best answered by a mixed approach to data collection and analysis. There were four phases in the process of collecting data for this project. The first examined the frequency of codeswitching in ten audio/video tapes delivered by the renowned Egyptian scholar Amr Khaled in order to find out if there is a relationship between: a) the frequency of the switches found and the type of discourse featured (Lecture vs. Discussion Session) and b) the frequency of the switches and the type of audience (Egyptians vs. non-Egyptians). The second investigated the phonological, syntactical, and morphological features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic of Khaled's speech in the ten tapes in order to see where each language variety is used; where Khaled uses Egyptian Arabic, where he uses Classical Arabic, and where he mixes both of them. The third described a questionnaire designed to measure Egyptians' attitudes and perceptions regarding the shift from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse. The last phase was devoted to conducting interviews with educated Egyptian speakers, to find out their views of the codeswithcing in Khaled's speech. The attitudes and perceptions of individuals and communities are important as they can affect the linguistic usage of a certain language or variety.

The four phases of this process were examined in an attempt to answer the research five questions: 1) When do religious scholars in Egypt use Egyptian Arabic in their speeches? 2) What are the phonological, syntactical, and morphological features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic in one particular domain, that of Amr Khaled's religious speech? 3) What are the attitudes of the educated Egyptians towards the use of

Egyptian Arabic in religious formal speech? 4) Is there a relationship between the frequency of code switching and the nature of audience (Egyptians vs. Non-Egyptians)? 5) Is there a relationship between the frequency of code switching and the type of discourse of religious speech: Lecture vs. Discussion Session? The quantitative methods were used to examine the frequency and distribution of the phonological variables /dʒ/, /q /, / D̪/, / d̪ /, / t̪ /, /ai / and /au /, in addition to the syntactical variables (word-order and negation) and the morphological variables (noun inflection and verb inflection). The qualitative method, on the other hand, was used to obtain Egyptians′ views towards the switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in Khaled′s speech.

The use of either quantitative or qualitative methods in obtaining useful data has been debated in the academic community. Quantitative researchers assume that data collected through quantitative methods would yield more objective and accurate information as a result of using standardized methods. They criticize qualitative research as being merely anecdotal or at best illustrative. They believe that qualitative approaches are neither generalizable nor reliable. In Miles and Huberman's 1994 book Qualitative Data Analysis, Fred Kerlinger said, "There's no so such thing as qualitative data. Everything is either 1 or 0" (p. 40). Qualitative scholars, on the other hand, believe that their methods help observe people's behaviors, interactions, and cultures under natural and real life situations in greater depth and details. They claim that quantitative research forces people or responses into categories that might match in order to make meaning. This debate is sometimes referred to as a "war" where participants are described as "wrestlers" (Datta, 1994) or "warriors" (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998) in a battlefield. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) referred to the positivist paradigm, which underlies

quantitative methods and the constructivist paradigm, which underlies qualitative methods as the two significant paradigms which wage war.

There have been several attempts in the social and behavioral sciences to make "peace" between the two positions. For instance, Reichardt and Rallis, (1994) stated that qualitative and quantitative methods are compatible, presenting another paradigm which scholars have called pragmatism. Pragmatically oriented researchers believe that these two research methods need each other and can be used simultaneously to answer research questions. Currently, most authors consider qualitative and quantitative approaches as "complementary rather than antagonistic" (Thomas, 2003, p. 6).

Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) emphasized the importance of using methods which are suitable to research questions. They stated that researchers are "free to use the methods most appropriate to their research questions" and that research should be conducted "with a clear intent to answer a question, solve a problem, or evaluate a program" (p. x). There is no method which is superior to another; rather, "each research method is suited to answering certain types of questions but not appropriate to answering other types" (Thomas, 2003, p. 7). Johnstone (2000) stated that sociolinguists "have always used qualitative as well as quantitative research methods" though there has been recently more explicit discussion of qualitative methods because "we are asking some different questions than we once did and using more kinds of data, and because increased reflexivity about research in the humanities and social sciences requires us to justify what we do more carefully than was once thought necessary" (p. 5).

 The present study uses a "mixed methods" approach which, according to Creswell (2003), "focuses on collecting and analyzing both quantitative and qualitative

data in a single study" (p. 210). Several different terms are used for this approach, such as integrating, synthetic, quantitative and qualitative methods, multimethod, and multimethodology, but that recent writings use the term "mixed methods" (Creswell, 2003, p. 210). This study incorporates elements of both quantitative (a questionnaire and statistical analyses of Khaled's speech) and qualitative (interviews) techniques which are appropriate to answer each of the research questions. Blending both approaches may yield convincing answers to the questions that the study is intended to address.

Creswell (2003, p.16) mentioned three general strategies/procedures used in the mixed methods approach; (1) sequential procedures, in which the researcher begins with a qualitative method for exploratory purposes and follows up with a quantitative method with a large sample so that the researcher can generalize results to a population (using the results of one method for planning the next method), (2) concurrent procedures, in which the researcher converges qualitative and quantitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem (collecting both forms of data at the same time during the study), and (3) transformative procedures, in which the researcher uses a theoretical lens as an overarching perspective within a design that contains both qualitative and quantitative data (theoretical lenses related to gender, race/ethnicity, and class). The present study uses the second type of these procedures, the concurrent procedure, as both quantitative and qualitative data are gathered at the same time. This procedure is advantageous as it can result in "well-validated and substantiated" findings (Creswell, 2003, p. 217). Coupland (2007) stated that multiple research methods can be combined in sociolinguistics and that sociolinguists, in addition to laboratory work, need to " 'get out there' into the 'real world' of language use' " (p. 24). Collecting diverse

types of data will best provide an understanding of the phenomenon of codeswitching in religious discourse in Egypt.

Data Collection

For the first and second phases (examining the frequency of codeswitching in ten audio/video tapes delivered by the Egyptian scholar Khaled and investigating the phonological, syntactical, and morphological features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic in these tapes), ten audio/video tapes (five audio tapes and five video tapes) delivered by the Egyptian scholar Khaled were chosen. Each tape lasted for one hour. Khaled's speeches/lectures are available online on Khaled's homepage www.amrkhaled.com. Five speeches were delivered to an Egyptian audience whereas the other five were delivered to non-Egyptian but Arabic speakers audiences in Bahrain, Emirates, Jordan, Lebanon, and Qatar. The tapes were selected to examine the switches from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic and to find out if there is a relationship between the frequency of switches and audience. A second purpose was to find out if there is a relationship between the frequency of switches and the type of discourse (Lecture vs. Discussion Session). A third purpose was to examine and analyze the phonological, syntactical, and morphological features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. A set of linguistic variables was selected and their distribution was analyzed in Khaled's speech. These variables are as follows:

1) Phonology:　　　(a) Consonants: [dʒ, q, Ḏ, ḏ, ṯ]

　　　　　　　　　(b) Vowels: /ai/ and /au/

2) Syntax:　　　　(a) Word-Order

　　　　　　　　　(b) Negation

69

3) Morphology: (a) Noun Inflection

                  (b) Verb Inflection

The occurrences of each variable and of each of its variants were counted in both

Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic in order to find out how much Egyptian Arabic

existed in Khaled's speech. Transcriptions of Khaled's ten tapes constitute the database

for the linguistic analysis of this study. The transcribed material serves as the basis for the

detailed analysis of the patterns of codeswitching between Classical Arabic and Egyptian

Arabic exhibited by Khaled.

Questionnaire Design

For the third phase, a questionnaire was designed to measure educated Egyptians'

attitudes and perceptions of the shift from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in

religious discourse. A significant part of the study of language in its social context is to

investigate speakers' attitudes towards the varieties of speech available in their

community. Exploring Egyptians' attitudes is consistent with current developing interests

in sociolinguistics that focus on the interaction of linguistics and social processes. Labov

(1966) showed that language attitudinal reactions can be used as evidence in detecting

language change in progress. Milroy and Gordon (2003) stated that collecting data

through questionnaires is a useful and established method in sociolinguistic research. It

has also been stated that language attitudes are often examined through questionnaires

(Pauwels, 2004) and that the results help show how language attitudes are related to the

changes.

Designing the questionnaire was completed in stages. First, I piloted a field test

among Muslims from several countries to check the word order, choice of words, the

format and directions of a ten-item questionnaire. There were thirty Arab participants (fifteen males and fifteen females); fourteen Saudis, six Jordanians, five Egyptians, two Palestinians, one Yemeni, one Algerian, and one Iraqi. Fortunately, all of the participants have listened to or watched Khaled before. I spent some time with some of the male participants after they had filled in the questionnaire (after a Friday service where only men attend), eliciting more feedback through an informal interview. Following Fishman's (1971) research procedure of sociolinguistic analysis, I played back a recorded sample of Khaled's speech to the participants and I encouraged them to react and comment upon the reasons for the use of Egyptian Arabic as contrasted with the use of Classical Arabic. I asked the participants some questions as "why didn't Khaled use the Classical Arabic *fakkara* (think) instead of the Egyptian Arabic *harash*?", "would it have meant something different if he had said that instead?", and "when is it appropriate to say *harash*?" The participants' comments have been utilized for verification and validation purposes.

The questionnaire consisted of ten statements; nine where participants agreed or disagreed with the statement, and an open-ended statement where participants wrote some ideas, views and opinions that had not been mentioned in the nine statements. I gave each participant both Arabic and an English copy of the questionnaire in case some participants would not be able to understand some statements (in the first nine statements) or express themselves clearly in English (in the open-ended statement). The questionnaire (in Arabic and English) is available in Appendix A.

I also sent the questionnaire to three Egyptian sociolinguists (two of them are professors at the American University in Cairo, and the third is the Head of the English Department at Suez Canal University), three professors of Arabic and Islamic Studies at

the School of Dar Al-Oloum, Cairo University, and three Cairene sheikhs who are al-Azhar graduates. They gave insightful comments in terms of the validity and appropriateness of the questionnaire in light of the research questions.

<div align="center">Interviews</div>

The last phase of collecting data included semi-structured interviews with educated Egyptian speakers in order to acquire a rich understanding of their opinions towards and experiences with the shift from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in Khaled's religious speech. Interviews also allow the participants to elaborate on the responses they gave to the questionnaire items. The interview provided rich data in examining Egyptians opinions and attitudes about the codeswitching phenomenon. In order to find out what is in Egyptians' minds towards this phenomenon, I asked participants' opinions. The semi-structured interview is "the most common" (Erlandson et al., 1993) form which is of an open-ended nature that leads both the interviewer and the participant into a dialogue or, as Dexter (1970) described it as, a conversation with a purpose wherein the interviewer has a set of carefully worded questions to ask the participants and tries to seize the most appropriate time to ask them during the conversation.

The main criterion in choosing participants is to interview people who "have lived through the phenomenon" (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 15) the study seeks to explore. The significance of interviewing people (ninety interviewees) who listen to and understand religious discourse will help to "reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future" (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 85). The participants' talk is very important as it uncovers their knowledge, views, understandings, perceptions, perspectives and

attitudes towards the research point. The participants' perspective will contribute greatly to the understanding of the phenomenon of codeswitching in religious discourse. In these interviews, the balance of talk is in favor of the participants as they have direct experiences with the phenomenon of codeswitching and know more about it than the researcher does. The information that the participants give is valuable to research questions as it can not be obtained by numerical measurements or by direct observation.

In the literature on the Arabic language, there is a common belief that Arabs think that the local dialects are "deviant" or "corrupt" forms of Classical Arabic. This belief has been questioned in several studies. Haeri (1991), for instance, adequately put it, "it seems to me that linguists have generally tended to exaggerate the prestige of Classical Arabic and the negative attitude of Arabic speakers towards their native language" (pp. 176-177). One may simply notice that educated Egyptians use Egyptian Arabic as the language of home, friendship, intimacy, informality, and communication. The present study attempts to measure Egyptians' attitudes and perceptions towards their local dialect, particularly in religious discourse.

Some linguists carry out their own interviews, while others use assistants for that purpose, and still others do a combination. For this study, two research assistants conducted the interviews in three states in Egypt: Cairo which is the capital of Egypt, Menoufiyya which is a rural state, and North Sinai which is a Bedouin state. These states are selected to show the attitudes and perceptions of educated Egyptians, who live in different geographical areas and who speak different dialects, towards the shift from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse. The Cairene, rural, and Bedouin dialects represent broad spectrum varieties of Arabic in Egypt (besides the

dialect spoken in Upper Egypt). Previous studies of variation have been carried out in a number of Arabic speech communities such as Amman (Abdel-Jawad, 1981), Bahrain (Holes, 1983), Cairo (Abu-Lughod, 1971; Schmidt, 1974; Schulz, 1981; Haeri, 1991; Belnap, 1991). The studies which have been conducted in Egypt dealt with two main types of the Egyptian population: urban and rural. Abu-Lughod (1971) dealt with rural, traditional and modern urban. Haeri's study (1991) included traditional urban and industrial urban population of Cairo. This study chooses a sample of three main types of the Egyptian population to provide data in broader scope on Egyptians' attitudes towards the use of Egyptian Arabic besides or instead of Classical Arabic in religious discourse: (1) urban, (2) rural, and (3) Bedouin.

Two male interviewers chosen for this research speak Egyptian Arabic. They are assistant lecturers who teach Islamic Studies at Suez Canal University. Both of them are interested in the study of colloquial Arabic in the Arab world in general and in Egypt in particular. One advantage of having Egyptian interviewers is that they come from the same cultural and religious backgrounds as their interviewees. They do not have to be trained in Egyptian or Classical Arabic and their social contexts as non-Egyptian interviewers do. The speech of the interviewees will not be affected by a "foreign" interviewer. Moreover, knowing that the interviewer is Egyptian, the interviewees will not perceive the interview as "suspicious" as it touches a serious issue in their daily religious rituals. The interviewees would not charge the interviewer with filing a report with CIA or working as a "Zionist spy" (Abdo, 2000, p. 17).

74

Challenges of Diglossic Codeswitching

One of the challenges encountered when examining codeswitching in the same language is deciding what constitutes a switch. It is easier to recognize switches in bilingual codeswitching, as they include components from two different codes. In the case of diglossic codeswitching, the switches come from two varieties of the same system, which makes it more difficult to draw a decisive line or boundary between them. Eid (1988) and Saeed (1997) faced the same difficulty when they conducted their studies on codeswitching between Arabic varieties. Eid described this problem as follows:

> Decisions as to what constitutes Standard vs. Egyptian Arabic are often hard to make since we are dealing here with varieties of the same language which, by definition, would have many shared properties. In making such identifications, the analyst (in this case myself) has to rely on his/her linguistic knowledge (phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical) of similarities and differences between the two varieties as well as extra-linguistic knowledge that involves language use and word choice. (p. 52)

Saeed (1997) encountered a harder situation as he examined codeswitching among three varieties of Arabic, namely Egyptian, Kuwaiti, and Yemeni dialects. He found it difficult to "attempt an accurate definition or description of what comprises one variety as opposed to the other" (p. 71).

Although Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic do show a considerable amount of overlapping, they have two distinct sets of vocabulary items, sounds, syntactical, and morphological rules (which will be discussed in details in chapter four). Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic are perceived as two distinctive entities; an Egyptian speaks either

one or the other. Therefore, like Eid and Saeed, the researcher in this study depends on

his own native speaker linguistic knowledge of both Classical Arabic and Egyptian

Arabic. Yet, many sources that describe the features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian

Arabic are consulted. More specifically, Broselow's (1976) *The Phonology of Egyptian*

Arabic is the basis for the phonological analysis while Gary & Gamal-Eldin's (1982)

Cairene Egyptian Colloquial Arabic is the main source for the syntactical and

morphological analysis. These works describe the Cairene dialect of educated speakers,

which is spoken in Cairo and its surrounding areas. Bateson's (2003) *Arabic Language*

Handbook and Versteegh's (2001) *The Arabic Language* are basic references for

describing Classical Arabic features.

CHAPTER FOUR: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

This chapter analyzes and examines the frequency of codeswitching in ten audio/video tapes of religious discourse delivered by the renowned Egyptian scholar Amr Khaled, investigating the phonological, syntactic, and morphological features of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. The purpose of the analysis is to find out if there is a relationship between a) the frequency of the switches found and the type of discourse featured (Lecture vs. Discussion Session), and b) the frequency of the switches and the type of audience (Egyptians vs. non-Egyptians). Five tapes are delivered to Egyptian audiences whereas the other five are delivered to non-Egyptian audiences from Bahrain, Emirates, Jordan, Lebanon, and Qatar. The length of each tape is an hour, where the lecture covers between three quarters to two-thirds of the tape and the discussion covers between one quarter to one third. In the collection process, the selection criteria are that each presentation should consist of two parts, a lecture and a question/answer session and that the audience should be Egyptians in five presentations and non-Egyptians in five presentations.

The ten tapes chosen for this study were transcribed and the switches from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic and back again were counted and analyzed. The total size of the transcribed data is approximately 18,200 words. One of the biggest problems encountered in this study is what constitutes a switch. Recognizing switches between two different languages (English and Arabic) is obviously easier as there are components from two separate codes. But in diglossic codeswitching, there are two varieties of the same language which makes it difficult to provide an accurate distinction between the two varieties. They have some shared vocabulary, syntactic and morphological features.

In an attempt to solve this problem, the researcher, as Eid (1988) recommended, relies on his linguistic knowledge (phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical) of both the similarities and differences between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. I followed these principles: First, a switch is defined as an utterance that reveals non-Classical Arabic phonological, morphological, or syntactic features (Saeed, 1997). Second, the switch can occur in a word, phrase, clause, sentence, or sentences. Third, when there are lexical items that are shared between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic, the term "neutral" (Bassiouney, 2006) will be used. The following are examples of items which are used in both varieties in the data.

a) Verbs: "katab" (he wrote), "?akal" (he ate), "manaʕ" (he prevented)

b) Nouns: "intixabaat" (elections), "maktaba" (a library), "malʕab"(a field)

c) Pronouns: "?ana" (I), "huwa" (he), "hiya" (she)

d) Prepositions: "maʕ"(with), "min" (from), "?ila" (to)

General Results

The quantitative analysis of the data reveals in general that Egyptian Arabic manifests itself in Khaled's religious speech with considerable switches from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic and back again. One can see the organizational pattern of Khaled's sermons. Khaled starts his speeches using Classical Arabic, praising God and asking Him to send His blessings and peace upon Prophet Muhammad. This occurs in all of his speeches. His introduction is in formal Classical Arabic:

inna-l ħamda lillah, naħmaduhu wa nastaʕeenuhu wa nastaɣfiruh.

wa naʕuuḏu billaahi min shuroori ?anfosina wa min saiyy?aati

78

?aʕmaalina. man yahdihillahu fa la muḍilla lah, wa man yuḍlil

fa la haadiya lah. wa ?aʃhadu ?alla ilaha illa Allah wa ?aʃhadu

?anna muħamadan ʕabduhu wa rasuuluh

> All praise is due to Allah.
>
> We thank Him and ask His help and forgiveness.
>
> Whoever Allah guides, none can misguide and whoever He misguides,
>
> none can guide him.
>
> I bear witness that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah alone
>
> and I bear witness that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger.

After the opening sequence, he switches to Egyptian Arabic, addressing the audience with informal greetings: "ahlan beekum ya gamaaʕa" (welcome everybody), followed by stating the sermon's theme. Based on the topic of the sermon, Khaled's language tends to be more classical or more colloquial. Generally speaking, after the opening supplication, greeting, and statement of the sermon's theme, Khaled recites some verses from the Qur'an (Classical Arabic), explains them (Egyptian Arabic), raises a doctrine from the verses (Egyptian Arabic), and applies that doctrine to every-day affairs (Egyptian Arabic). Towards the end of the sermon, his sentences become gradually more colloquial, spoken faster, till he reaches a purely colloquial level. He concludes his sermons with supplication to God in Classical Arabic where he can bring the audience to tears. The following table shows the frequency of switches in the data.

Table 1

Frequency with Percentage of Switches in the Data

	Egyptian Audience				Non-Egyptian Audience			
	Lecture	Percentage	Discussion	Percentage	Lecture	Percentage	Discussion	Percentage
Switches in Tape 1	194	17.6	33	20.8	211	20.1	28	20.6
Switches in Tape 2	225	20.4	41	25.8	214	20.4	25	18.4
Switches in Tape 3	214	19.4	27	17.0	216	20.6	31	22.8
Switches in Tape 4	226	20.5	32	20.0	222	21.2	24	17.6
Switches in Tape 5	243	22.1	26	16.4	186	17.7	28	20.6
Total	1102		159		1049		136	

This table shows that there is a considerable amount of switches in both the lectures and the discussion sessions, to Egyptians and non-Egyptians. The total number of switches in the lectures delivered to the Egyptian audience is (1102) almost equal to the number of switches found when addressing the non-Egyptian audience (1049). This means that Egyptian Arabic, the Low variety, manifests itself clearly in Khaled's religious speech, regardless of the audience. In fact, non-Egyptians are eager to attend Khaled's lectures as well as Egyptians. In Jordan, for instance, when the Ministry of Islamic Affairs invited Khaled to give a speech in May 23rd, 2003, all tickets were sold long before Khaled's arrival. Khaled was welcomed by both the Jordanian religious scholars and the State ministers and princes. The Jordanian king, Abdullah, received him and Queen Rania attended his lecture as well. In 2004, the Lebanese newspaper "Al-Amaan" wrote a long article about Khaled's reputation entitled "Amr Khaled….. from Lebanon to Britain", describing Khaled's unique and simple speech. In the same year, Khaled gave seventeen lectures and workshops in two days in Bahrain! Twelve thousand

people attended Khaled's lectures in Yemen in 2005. In all his lectures, Khaled uses Egyptian Arabic; neither audience nor place seems to change his style.

The data shows that there seems to be no relationship between the frequency of codeswitching and the kind of audience (Egyptian vs. non-Egyptian). The topic of the lectures was a more important factor for having a high or low number of switches in Khaled's speech. For instance, in his lecture entitled "How to Receive Ramadan", Khaled presented the topic in more Classical Arabic in tape 1, reciting many Quranic verses and prophetic narrations. He switched to Egyptian Arabic but not as much as he did in his lecture, tape 5 "Youth and the Summer" where he made many humorous comments, told jokes, and even used twelve English words. At the beginning of his speech in the latter lecture, Khaled said "The title of our topic today is 'Youth and the Summer'. This is not a name of a movie. This is the title of our sermon" and he started laughing. This point refers to the importance of the topic in determining the frequency of switches.

The data analysis also shows that the number of switches in the lectures (2151) is much greater than the number of switches in the discussion sessions (295), given the fact that the lectures lasted for forty five minutes and the discussion sessions were only fifteen minutes. In order to express a specific idea, Khaled tends to make repetition of phrases and a group of words. In one of the sermons (Khaled Ibn al-Waleed) one finds a striking repetition of certain phrases such as "Oh, people" which he repeated twenty one times, and the phrase "Are you following me?" which he repeated nine times. One may expect to find such phrases in an attempt to draw the audience's attention. Khaled uses the same phrases everywhere and in different contexts. Another kind of repetition functions as a stimulant on the audience. He sometimes asks the rhetorical questions: "Who among you

does this? and "Do you see what I mean?". Such questions are not meant to elicit a response from the audience. They are used to provoke thought rather than bring forth an answer. The following paragraphs deal with the features of Egyptian Arabic in Khaled's religious speech.

<center>Differences Between Egyptian Arabic and Classical Arabic</center>

A comparison of Egyptian Arabic and Classical Arabic systems is crucial to understanding when and where the switches from Classical to Egyptian Arabic occur in religious discourse. Egyptian Arabic differs considerably from Classical Arabic in terms of its phonology, syntax, and morphology. Compared to other dialects of Egypt (rural, Saʕeedi, and Bedouin), Egyptian Arabic is not a "conservative" dialect; it has lost some Classical Arabic phonemes, and its derivation and structure systems have been simplified. The following set of linguistic variables is selected and their distribution will be analyzed in Khaled's speech. The variables have been chosen because of the frequency of their occurrence and because they are realized differently in Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. These variables are as follows:

I) Phonology:

    (a) Consonants: [dʒ, q, Ḍ, ḍ, ṯ]

    (b) Vowels: /ai/ and /au/

II) Syntax:

    (a) Word-Order

    (b) Negation

III) Morphology:

    (a) Noun Inflection

(b) Verb Inflection

Phonology

Consonant System

In the phoneme system of Egyptian Arabic, there has been a change in the pronunciation of both consonants and vowels. With regard to the consonantal system, Classical Arabic, for example, has twenty-eight consonants whereas Egyptian Arabic has twenty-five. The following tables show the consonant phonemes of both Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic.

Table 2

Consonants in Classical Arabic

	Labial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Dental-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Plosive	b			t , d		k	q		?
(Emphatic)				ṭ , ḍ					
Fricative		F	t̠ , d̠	S , z	ʃ, dʒ		x , ɣ	Ħ , ʕ	h
(Emphatic)			D̠	ṣ					
Nasal	m			n					
Lateral				l					
(Emphatic)									
Tap				r					
Glide					y	w			

The Consonantal System of Classical Arabic (Watson, 2002, p. 13)

Table 3

Consonants in Egyptian Arabic

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Plosive	b		t , d		k , g		?
(Emphatic)			ṭ , ḍ				
Fricative		F	s , z	ʃ	x, ɣ	ħ , ʕ	h
(Emphatic)			ṭ , ḍ				
Nasal	m		n				
Lateral			l				
Tap			r				
Glide				y	w		

The Consonantal System of Egyptian Arabic (Watson, 2002, p. 20)

The above tables reveal that Egyptian Arabic has lost the interdental fricatives / t̲ ,
d̲ , D /. Egyptians replace the previous interdental fricatives with the fricative dental-
alvealors / s, z, z̲ / or with the plosive dental-alvealors / t, d, ḍ / respectively. In his
lectures to both Egyptians and non-Egyptians, Khaled switches to both the fricative
dental-alvealors and the plosive dental-alvealors in many words, phrases, and sentences
such as the following:

/ t̲ / → / s /:

/ mawaaqifun wa aħdaat̲ /   →   / mawaaqif wi aħdaas /   "Situations and events"

/ min t̲imaari-l dʒannah /   →   / min simaari-l gannah /   "From the fruits of Heaven"

/ ?at̲-t̲abaat /   →   / issabaat /   "Steadiness"

/ t̲ / → / t /:

/ t̲alat̲atu ?alaaf/   →   / talat-talaaf /   "Three thousands"

/ nabʕat̲u lin-nabi /   →   / nibʕat lin-nabi /   "We send to the prophet"

/ ?albadeelu-t̲t̲aani /   →   / ?ilbadeel et-tani /   "The second alternative"

/ d̲ / → / z / :

/ ?id̲a raaħ /   →   / ?iza raaħ /   "If he went"

/ bid̲iraaʕaihi/   →   / biziraaʕaih /   "With his hands"

/ fa ?id̲a /   →   / fa ?iza /   "And if"

/ d̲ / → / d / :

/ ?axad̲a-r raaya /   →   / ?axad ?irraaya /   "He took the flag"

/ xud̲ /   →   / xud /   "Take"

/ min d̲ahab/   →   / min dahab /   "From gold"

/ D̲ / → / z̲ / :

/ naD̲ara ilaiha/   →   / naz̲ar leeha/   "He looked at her"

/ fanaD̲arna /   →   / fanaz̲arna /   "Then we looked"

/ had̲a D̲ulm/   →   / da z̲ulm /   "This is injustice"

85

/ Ḏ / → / ḍ / :

/ ʕala Ḏahrihi /   →   / ʕala ḍahru /   "On his back"

/ ṣalaatu-Ḏ Ḏuhr/   →   / ṣalaati-ḍ ḍuhr /   "The Noon prayer"

/ ?ad-donia Ḏalmaa? / → / ?id-donia ḍalma /   "The world is dark"

        Yet, Khaled pronounces the Classical Arabic interdental fricatives in the

following five situations in all tapes:

🌼   when he recites the opening supplication

🌼   when he recites Quranic verses

🌼   when he mentions a statement from a prophetic narration

🌼   when he quotes what one of the Prophet's companions said, and

🌼   when he offers the final supplication

In these instances, Khaled follows a specific strategy of codeswitching. He recites the

Quranic verses or prophetic narrations in Classical Arabic, and then explains them in

Egyptian Arabic. He does that, going back and forth from Classical Arabic to Egyptian

Arabic and back again to Classical Arabic.

        The above tables also show that Egyptian Arabic has lost the palatal plosive / dʒ /,

the phoneme known as *jeem*, and the uvular palatal / q /, the phoneme known as *qaaf*.

The /dʒ/ is realized in Egyptian Arabic as the velar plosive / g /. Words in Classical

Arabic such as / dʒamaal/ "beauty", / sudʒuud / "prostration", and / sidʒn / "jail" are

pronounced as / gamaal /, /suguud /, and /sign / respectively. Khaled's speech shows that

/ dʒ / is pronounced as / g / in numerous words and sentences such as:

/ dʒ / → / g /:

/ nardʒiʕ lin-nabi /　　　→　　/ nirgaʕ lin-nabi /　　　　　"We return to the Prophet"

/ ?ayyi ħadʒah /　　　　　→　/ ?ayyi ħaga /　　　　　　　"Anything"

/ lamma yuwaadʒihuuna /　→　/ lamma yiwagihuuna /　　"When they face us"

However, / dʒ / has been maintained in all the five areas mentioned above. When he

recites the Qur'an, for instance, Khaled pronounces / dʒ / consistently. For example,

when he recited the following verse: "اذا جاء نصر الله والفتح"　"when comes the Help of Allah

and the conquest of Mecca", he clearly pronounced the / dʒ /. Besides, when

Khaled mentioned the story of the battle of Mu?tah, he said that the Romans were

surprised when they realized that the number of the Muslim army was still big after the

sixth day of the battle. Then the Roman soldiers said to each other, /?a-haa?ulaa?i mina-l

dʒinni ?am mina-l ins/ "Are those from jinn or humankind?" Also, in the Battle of

Yarmook, Hind Bint Otbah encouraged the Muslims to not run away from the battlefield

saying, /?aminal-dʒannati tafirroon?/ Are you running away from Paradise?/

　　　The uvular palatal / q / is realized as the glottal stop / ? / in Egyptian Arabic.

Sentences in Classical Arabic such as /yaqra? / "he reads", / yaquul / "he says", and /

yatalaqqa / "he receives" are pronounced as / yi?ra /, / yi?uul /, and yitla??a / respectively

in Egyptian Arabic. The following words and sentences reveal such a shift in Khaled's

speech:

/ q / → / ? / :

/ yufarriq /　　　　　　　　→　　/ yifarra? /　　　　　　　　"He distinguishes"

/ yaduqqu qalbu-l fard /　　→　　/ ?ilwaaħid ?albu biydu? /　"One's heart is beating"

87

/ ?axlaaq /   →   / ?axlaa? /   "Manners"

Khaled sometimes quotes a statement in Classical Arabic, using /q/ then says the same

quotation in Egyptian Arabic, switching to /?/. For instance, when Hind Bint Otbah saw

her husband in the Battle of Yarmook, she said: /?oqtulu haaḏa-l ħaneef-id dasim/ in

Classical Arabic and then Khaled said /?i?tilu-l mutahamisi-t tixeen/ "Kill this fat

enthusiastic man." in Egyptian Arabic. Yet, Khaled pronounces the following words with

the Classical Arabic / q /, although they are not used in one of the five areas mentioned

before:

/ ?al-quraan /   "The Qur'an"

/ ?al-qura /   "The villages"

/ baitu-l maqdis /   "Jerusalem"

Some words which have / q / in Egyptian Arabic still maintain the Classical Arabic

pronunciation, such as /?al-qaahira/ "Cairo", /?al-qira?a/ "reading", /?al-qaadim/ "the

following", /qurbaan/ "sacrifice", /?al-quds/ "Jerusalem", /?al-qura/ "villages", etc. These

words can be classified under the term "neutral" as they must have been borrowed by

Egyptian Arabic at some point in the past.

Vocalic System

With regard to the vocalic system, Classical Arabic has three short vowels /a/, /i/,

and /u/ and three long ones /aa/, /ii/, and /uu/. In addition to these vowels, Classical

Arabic has two diphthongs /ai/ and /au/. All these vowels exist in Egyptian Arabic while

the diphthongs have been "coalesced historically" to be realized as /ee/ and /oo/ (Watson,

2002, p.22). Accordingly, in Khaled's speech, one encounters several Classical Arabic

words that are pronounced with /ee/ and /oo/ instead of their original diphthongs.

/ai/ → /ee/

/bait/ → /beet/   "house"

/saif/ → /seef/   "sword"

/zait/ → /zeet/   "oil"

/au/ → /oo/

/ dʒauʕ/   →   /gooʕ/   "hunger"

/xauf/   →   /xoof/   "fear"

/yaum/   → /yoom/   "day"

Khaled's speech includes many shifts from /ai/ to /ee/ and from /au/ to /oo/.

/ai/   → /ee/

/ɣeer/ "not" instead of /ɣair/

/ țeeʃ ʃabaab/ "youth's hanging out" instead of / țaiʃu-ʃʃabaab/

/ʔil-leela di/ "this night" instead of /haḏihi-l laila/

/ʔalxeer/ "goodness" instead of /ʔalxair/

/au/ → /oo/

/ʔiħna muntaẓireenu biʃooʔ/ "we're waiting for it (Ramadan) anxiously"

/biʃooʔ/ instead of /biʃauq/

/ʔaṣṣoom/ "fasting" instead of /ʔaṣṣaum/

/ʔiħsaas bilkoon/ "to be fully aware of the universe"

/bilkoon/ instead of /bilkaun/

/biʕoonil laah/ "with Allah's help"

/biʕoon/ instead of /biʕaun/

Syntax

In discussing the syntax of Classical Arabic, it is important to see how Arab grammarians divide the sentences into two types; the nominal sentence /dʒumla ʔismiyya/ which has the SV word order and the verbal sentence /dʒumla fiʕliyya/ which shows the VS word order. A nominal sentence does not usually contain a verb. It has two constituents, a subject /mubtadaʔ/ and a nominal predicate /ħabar/, e.g. /ʔalkitaabu mufeedun/ "The book is useful". /mubtadaʔ/ is the first constituent with which the sentence starts /ʔalkitaabu/, and /ħabar/ is the one that tells something about it /mufeedun/. The verbal sentence always contains a verb and its constituents are verb-subject-object. An example of this structure exists in /kataba-l waladu-d darsa/ "wrote-the-boy-the-lesson" which is "The boy wrote the lesson".

In Egyptian Arabic, however, one finds that the norm is the SV order. The following sentences illustrate the use of VS/SV distinction.

Word Order

Classical Arabic	kaanati-s samaaʼu ṣaafiyah.
	was the sky clear
	The sky was clear.
Egyptian Arabic	ʔis-sama kanit ṣafiya.
	The sky was clear.

In Khaled's speech, the syntax is almost always straightforward subject-verb-object with few inversions. His use of the SV order is clear with both Egyptian and non-Egyptian audiences. During his lecture in Qatar, for instance, he talked about the pleasure of

90

Paradise, reciting the following Quranic verse, "ويدخلهم الجنة عرفها لهم" "And admit them to the Garden which He has announced for them" (47:6). Then he explained the verse saying "and He (God) admits you to Paradise", maintaining the colloquial SV order. He starts his lectures by saying "Today's lecture is about …", preserving the SV structure in Egyptian Arabic. In addition, in his lecture about the fourth caliph Ali Ibn Abi Taalib, Khaled said "لو أنتوا حبيتم الصحابة هتحشروا معاهم" "If you love the companions, you'll be resurrected with them" keeping the SV pattern.

However, Khaled uses VS order, particularly when he speaks in Classical Arabic in mentioning statements from a Prophetic narration, quoting what one of the Prophet's companions said, reciting Qur'an, and offering supplications at the beginning and the end of the lecture. For instance, he quoted what Omar Ibn Al-Khattaab (one of the Prophet's companions) said to a man who reminded him of God, saying: "لقد ذكرتني بعظيم" "Reminded you me of the Greatest" which is "You reminded me of the Greatest". When Omar converted to Islam, the Prophet said:

"لقد فرح أهل السماء باسلام عمر" "Rejoiced the people of heaven with Omar's conversion to Islam"

"The people of heaven rejoiced with Omar's conversion to Islam"

Then Khaled changed the pattern from VS into SV:

"أهل السماء فرحوا باسلام عمر"

Negation

The negation system in Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic is extremely different. In Classical Arabic, verbs are negated by the following markers /ma/ /lam/, /la/,

/sawfa la/, /lan/ and /laisa/. The following examples illustrate how verbs are negated in

the present, past, and future in Classical Arabic.

Table 4

Negation in Classical Arabic

Tense	Negative	Example
Past	ma + verb	ma ?ata "He didn't come."
Present	ma + verb lam + verb laisa + noun la + imperative	ma yaqra? "He doesn't read." lam yaktub "He doesn't write." liasa hunaka aħadun bilbait "There is no one at home." la ta?ti ila-l madrasati muta?axxiran "Don't come to school late."
Future	lan + verb sawfa la + verb	lan yabqa "He won't stay." sawfa la ya?kul "He won't eat."

In Egyptian Arabic, however, the negation is realized by /ma + verb + ʃ/, /miʃ +

verb/, /wala + verb/, or /balaaʃ + verb/.

Table 5

Negation in Egyptian Arabic

Tense	Negative	Example
Past	ma + verb + ʃ wala + verb	/ma-liʕib-ʃ/ "He didn't play." /wala saʔal fiina/ "He didn't pay any attention to us."
Present	ma + verb + ʃ miʃ + verb	/ma-biykdib-ʃ/ "He doesn't tell lies." /miʃ-biyfham/ "He doesn't understand." /balaaʃ niruuħ dilwaʔti/ "Let's not go now."
Future	miʃ + verb balaaʃ + verb	/miʃ haniktib/ "We won't write." /balaaʃ niruuħ bukrah/ "Let's not go tomorrow."

In Khaled's speech, there are many cases of the Egyptian Arabic negation markers /ma +
verb +ʃ/ and /miʃ + verb/ such as:

a) /ma + verb + ʃ/:

/ma ħaṣalʃ/ "It didn't happen."

/ma kanʃ hinaak/ "He wasn't there."

/ma ħas-sitʃ/ "I didn't feel."

/ma ʕodtiʃ ʕaawiz/ "I don't want any more."

/ma-t namʃ/ "Don't sleep."

/ma bitfakkarʃi illa fi ʃuɣlak/ "You don't think of anything but your job."

/mataxudhaaʃ leeh/ "Why won't you take it?"

b) /miʃ + verb/

/miʃ laazim/ "It's not necessary."

/miʃ kidah ṣaħ/ "Isn't it right."

/miʃ raayiħ hinaak/ "I'm not going there."

/ʔinnabi illi ʔaal kidah miʃ ana/ "It was the Prophet who said so not me."

/miʃ waxdah baalik min goozik leeh/ "Why don't you take care of your husband?"

/miʃ hayiʕraf yiʕeeʃ illa kidah/ "He can't live but like this."

There are few examples of /balaaʃ/ such as /balaaʃ nibki/ "Let's not cry" and /balaaʃ

nitkallim ʕanil maaḍi/ "Let's not talk about the past". However, in some cases, the

dialectal negation is replaced by a classical one, e.g., /lam yafʔal/ "He didn't do" and

/laisa kul ma yatamannahul marʔ yudrikuh/ "Man may not achieve all what he wishes"

94

and /laa ya rabbi lam yarawha/ "No Lord they didn't see it (Paradise)" . But these are intended to be word-for-word quotations from the Qur'an, prophetic narrations, or literature. There are eighty six negative markers in Khaled's EA whereas there are only fourteen Classical Arabic ones. The following table gives the frequency of the use of negation in Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic.

Table 6

Classical Arabic Negation Markers in Khaled's Speech

Classical Arabic	ma	lam	la	laisa	lan	sawfa la
Negation	2	3	2	2	3	2

Table 7

Egyptian Arabic Negation Markers in Khaled's Speech

Egyptian Arabic	ma + verb + ʃ	miʃ+ verb	balaaʃ+ verb	wala+ verb
Negation	32	38	3	13

One could see from the above tables that Khaled's use of the negative markers in Classical Arabic occurs with almost the same degree of frequency while he uses / ma + verb + ʃ/ and/ miʃ+ verb/ more frequently than / balaaʃ+ verb/ and / wala + verb/ in EA. Khaled tends to use more Egyptian Arabic negation markers than he does with Classical Arabic. This resembles what Bassiouney (2006) found out in her study of codeswitching in political speeches, mosque sermons, and university lectures in Egypt. She stated that where a stretch of speech is mainly Egyptian Arabic or evenly mixed,

Egyptians tend to favor Egyptian Arabic negatives over Classical Arabic ones. Khaled sometimes mixes negation in both varieties and sometimes negates a sentence using both Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic markers at the same time. In his lecture about "Good Manners", Khaled used the Classical Arabic negative marker /la + verb/ and followed it by an Egyptian Arabic negation, using the marker /ma + verb + ʃ/:

Classical Arabic   /la naqbalu haaḏa abadan/   "We don't accept that at all"

Egyptian Arabic   /?ana ma ?ultiʃ dah/   "I didn't say that"

In another situation, he gave the negation in Classical Arabic and then gave it in Egyptian Arabic:

Classical Arabic   /la yadxuli-l dʒannah man kaana fi qalbihi miṯqaalu ḏarratin min kibr/

"Whoever has an atom weight of pride in his/her heart will never enter Paradise."

Egyptian Arabic   /miʃ hayidxul ?ilgannah ?illi fi ?albu miṣqaal ẕarra min kibr/

One of the common negatives that Khaled uses is /ma feeʃ …/ "There's no…". He used it twelve times in one sermon with an Egyptian audience and ten times with a non-Egyptian audience. The following illustrates this point:

/ma feeʃ ħaagah/   "There isn't anything."

/ma feeʃ ħad/   "There is no one."

/ma feeʃ faidah/ "There is no use."

Morphology

Noun Inflection

      A basic difference between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic is the

declension (ʔiʕraab) which exists in the former. ʔiʕraab is the case endings of the words

in the sentence, which indicate the syntactic functions of particular words. Classical

Arabic has three grammatical cases that affect the noun endings and which are indicated

by the changing of the vowelling of the final consonant. These cases are:

1. Nominative: /rafʕ/ (vowelled with ḍamma) for the subject of a sentence

2. Accusative: /naṣb/ (vowelled with fatħa) for the object of a verb

3. Genitive: /dʒarr/ (vowelled with kasrah) after prepositions and the possive

    case (iḍaafa).

      The following table shows how the three cases work for indefinite and definite

nouns. The underlining shows the case ending of the word "a house".

Table 8

Case Endings in Classical Arabic

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
Indefinite	Bait<u>un</u>	bait<u>an</u>	bait<u>in</u>
Definite	ʔal-bait<u>u</u>	ʔal-bait<u>a</u>	ʔal-bait<u>i</u>

Egyptians do not pronounce the case ending of these three cases in Egyptian Arabic.

Thus, the indefinite word /baitun/ "a house" is pronounced as /bait/ or even as /beet/,

dropping the nunation /-un/ at the end of the word. Khaled's speech always shows the

dropping of these case endings. When he quotes from the <u>Qur'an</u>, narrations, Islamic

literature, or supplicates, he uses Classical Arabic words with the case endings whereas he pronounces these words without the declension when he switches to Egyptian Arabic. The following pairs illustrate this point:

Table 9

Declension in Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic

Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	English
qunootun	qunoot	supplication
ṣiyaamun	ṣiyaam	fasting
?at-tawwakulu	?it-tawwakul	reliance
ʃamsan	ʃams	sun
bil-laili	bil-leel	at night

When Khaled speaks Classical Arabic, he pronounces the case endings, and when he speaks Egyptian Arabic, he doesn't, and he even uses the Egyptian Arabic equivalents of these words. The following are some pairs of Classical Arabic and their Egyptian Arabic equivalents:

Table 10

Egyptian Arabic Equivelants of Classical Words

Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	English
?anfun	manxoor	a nose
?ams	imbaariħ	yesterday
ɣadan	bukrah	tomorrow
?alaana	dilwa?ti	now
muqaddarun	mi?addar	decreed
taħaddaṯa	?itkallim	he spoke

Verb Inflection

In Classical Arabic, a verb consists of a root of usually three consonants. These roots are filled with vocalic infixes to express voice, aspect, and verb class. The roots, with vocalic infixes, are prefixed and suffixed by person, gender, number, and mood affixes. For example, the verb root /skn/ which consists of three consonants /CCC/ means "to dwell". It may have several forms based on its conjugations. Verbs in both Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic consist of a stem plus affixes. Every verb has two shapes; "perfect" which is inflected by means of suffixes and "imperfect" which is inflected by both suffixes and prefixes. The following table shows what the verb "to dwell" /yaskunu/ looks like in Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic.

Table 11

Perfect Verb Forms in Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic

	Perfect Classical Arabic	Perfect Egyptian Arabic
3 sing m	sakana	sakan
3 sing f	sakanat	sakanit
2 sing m	sakanta	sakant
2 sing f	sakanti	sakanti
1 sing	sakantu	sakant
3 dual m	sakanaa	sakanuu
3 dual f	sakanataa	sakanuu
2 dual m&f	sakantuma	sakantum
3 plural m	sakanuu	sakanu
3 plural f	sakanna	sakanu
2 plural m	sakantum	sakantum
2 plural f	sakantunna	sakantum
1 plural	sakanna	sakanu

The above table shows that almost all Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic forms are

different. In Egyptian Arabic, there is a tendency to shorten or omit the final vowel

("sakanuu" becomes "sakanu" and "sakana" becomes "sakan"). Also, Egyptian Arabic

has no dual verb forms and uses the plural forms instead ("sakanaa" becomes "sakanu",

and "sakantuma" becomes "sakantum"). The Egyptian Arabic inflectional system is,

therefore, simpler than Classical Arabic as it "has lost all of the dual forms of the verb,

and there is no gender distinction in the plural" (Schmidt, 1974). The following table

shows the differences between the imperfect verb "to dwell" /yaskunu/ in Classical

Arabic and Egyptian Arabic.

Table 12

Imperfect Verb Forms in Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic

	Imperfect Classical Arabic	Imperfect Egyptian Arabic
3 sing m	yaskunu	yaskun
3 sing f	yaskunu	yiskun
2 sing m	tskunu	tiskun
2 sing f	taskuneena	Tiskuni
1 sing	?askunu	?askun
3 dual m	yaskunaani	yiskunu
3 dual f	yskunaani	yiskunu
2 dual m&f	taskunaani	taskunu
3 plural m	yskunuuna	yiskunu
3 plural f	yaskunna	yiskunu
2 plural m	taskunuuna	tiskunu
2 plural f	taskunna	tiskunu
1 plural	naskunu	niskun

Verb inflection is the most common area for switching in Khaled's speech (275).

The frequencies are also high in the discussion sessions, both to Egyptians and non-

Egyptians (126). The main features of these switches are the tense and aspect markers.

For instance, in Classical Arabic the vowel of the imperfect verb is /a/ whereas it is /i/ in Egyptian Arabic. Therefore, instead of realizing the imperfect marker /ya-/, /ta-/, /na-/, Egyptian Arabic realizes it as /yi-/, /ti-/, /ni-/. The following imperfect markers appeared in Khaled's speech:

- [rabbina yigmaʕna fi gannatih] "May our Lord gather us in His Paradise."

  /yigmaʕna/ instead of /yadʒmaʕna/

- [nibʕat lin-nabi] "We send to the prophet."

  /nibʕat lin-nabi/ instead of /nabʕaṯu lin-nabi /

- [baʕḍi-ʃ ʃabaab biyiʕṣi rabbina] "Some young men disobey our Lord."

  /biyiʕṣi/ instead of /yaʕṣi/

- [di ?awwil xaṭwa ʕalaʃan tibda?] "This is the first step to start with."

  / tibda?/ instead of /tabda?/

- [yiktib irrisalah]   "He writes the letter."

  /yiktib/ instead of /yaktubu/

The data shows that there is a considerable number of switches to Egyptian audience and to non-Egyptian audience as well. These switches reveal the density of codeswitching in the Egyptian religious discourse. When switching to Egyptian Arabic, the Egyptian preacher uses the fricative dental-alvealors / s, z, ẓ / or the plosive dental-alvealors / t, d, ḍ / instead of the Classical / ṯ , ḏ , Ḏ /. He uses /g/, /?/, /ee/, and /oo/ instead of /dʒ/, /q/, /ai/, and /au/ respectively. The subject-verb-object order is more common than the verb-subject-object order and the negation is realized by /ma + verb + ʃ/, /miʃ + verb/, /wala + verb/, or /balaaʃ + verb/ in Egyptian Arabic. The case endings of

the nominative, accusative, and genitive words are dropped, the dual verb forms are replaced by the plural forms, and the imperfect markers /ya-/, /ta-/, and /na-/ are realized as /yi-/, /ti-/, and /ni-/ in Egyptian Arabic.

CHAPTER FIVE: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

The aim of this chapter is to report on an investigation of the attitudes and perceptions of educated Egyptians of different age levels, occupations, and geographical areas to the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse. This investigation is significant as it reveals how Egyptians view Egyptian Arabic in the religious domain and the reasons for their choice. This investigation helps to obtain a deeper understanding of the current increase of using a dialect in a formal setting. This was carried out by means of two data collection methods: 1) a questionnaire and 2) interviews that were conducted in three states of Egypt; Cairo, Menoufiyya, and North Sinai which represent urban, rural, and Bedouin dialects respectively. The questionnaire was given to ninety participants, both males and females, who have strong background in Arabic and Islamic religious studies and who were then audio-taped for oral interviews. The participants were Egyptian sheikhs, professors and teachers of Classical Arabic, and graduate students whose major is in Arabic or Islamic studies. They were chosen because they use Classical Arabic in their jobs and/or studies and they are more aware than any other participants with regard to the shift of Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse. Both the questionnaire and the interviews were administered from August 30, 2004 to April 3, 2005.

The questionnaires (see Apendix A) and interviews (see Appenix B) were conducted by two assistant lecturers who teach Islamic Studies at Suez Canal University. The participants were asked to fill out a ten-item questionnaire. Nine of the statements were multiple-choice whereas the last one was an open-ended statement where participants wrote their own opinions about the switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian

Arabic in religious discourse. After the questionnaire, one interviewer sat with a participant and asked him/her one question at a time until all of the eleven questions were answered. The interviews took place in different places according to where the participants teach, study, or work. For instance, the interviewers conducted the interviews with the professors in their offices at their universities. Then they interviewed graduate students on university campuses. After that, they went to senior high public schools to interview teachers of Classical Arabic. Finally, they went to the mosques to interview the sheikhs. By permission of the interviewees, these interviews were audio-taped. Both the questionnaires and the interviews provided the data for investigating Egyptian attitudes and perceptions towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse.

Investigating Egyptians' attitudes towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse is necessary to the understanding of the linguistic usage and the nature of Arabic in its social context. Examining the literature on language attitudes in the Arab countries, particularly in Egypt, one observes that there is a feeling of contempt and aloofness towards the use of "colloquial Arabic" in formal speech, in general, and in religious speech, in particular (El-Dash and Tucker, 1975, Herbolich, 1979, and Hussein & El-Ali, 1989).

Rejecting the colloquial in religious speech may be due to the following factors. First, Classical Arabic is considered the sacred language of Islam as it is the language of the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions. Second, Classical Arabic was the language spoken by the Prophet and his people in Makkah. Therefore, the sheikh, scholar or preacher should be an expert of Classical Arabic in order to have a proper understanding of the Book which is based on appropriate knowledge and appreciation of its language. Third,

since the early history of Islam, scholars and pious leaders have encouraged Muslims to learn, speak, and master Classical Arabic, and try hard to avoid any grammatical mistake in their speech which is known as "grammatical solecism" or "laħn" in Arabic. There was a fear that such solecism would lead to an increase in making mistakes when reciting the Qur'an. Fourth, religious scholars, sheikhs, and preachers are expected to use Classical Arabic as it is the language of reciting the Qur'an, reporting the Prophet's narrations, and describing incidents and events in the Islamic history. Finally, many Arabic linguists and grammarians consider "colloquial Arabic" to be inferior and a distortion of Classical Arabic (Zughoul, 1980) as it is not a language of declension.

Despite the highly negative attitudes towards Egyptian Arabic, there is an increasing number of Egyptian religious scholars, sheikhs and preachers, including Amr Khaled, who switch to Egyptian Arabic in their speech. Besides, the use of Egyptian Arabic has become visible in all social contexts of the Egyptian society, including formal speech (political and religious). In the Egyptian parliament, for instance, speeches are given in more colloquial language. President Mubarak easily switches to colloquial language in his political speech. Versteegh (2001) mentioned an interesting example of the speech of the late President Sadat in parliament of 1981. The day after assassination, his speech was written in the newspapers in "a colloquial version, with a note by the publisher that there had been no time to 'translate' it into standard language" (p. 196). Whenever sheikh Muhammad Husein Ya'qoob, a contemporary Egyptian sheikh, reads a passage from a literary classical text, he says: "أترجم" which means: "shall I translate?" And then the audience will say "please". Then sheikh Ya'qoob explains and breaks down the classical text into Egyptian Arabic.

In the literature, there have been some studies that dealt with speakers' attitudes towards language varieties in the Arab world (Sobelman 1962, Altoma 1969, El-Dash & Tucker 1975, Herbolich 1979, and Haeri 1996). The results of these studies are important and valuable, though most of them depend on the use of only questionnaires. Examining the feelings, perceptions, and attitudes of speakers towards language usage in their societies by means of only questionnaires is not sufficient and is considered "a methodological drawback for addressing the complexity of the issues involved" (Haeri, 1996, p. 194). The findings of the present study depend on the use of both a questionnaire and interviews to better and fuller understand Egyptians' attitudes towards their language varieties.

In conducting the questionnaire, ninety participants were asked to agree or disagree with nine statements and express their views in an open-ended statement in Cairo, Menoufiyya, and North Sinai. The following table shows the number, sex, places and occupations of respondents.

Table 13

Participants' Sex, Number, Locations and Occupations

Respondents	Faculty members		Teachers of Arabic		Graduate students of Islamic studies		Azhari Sheikh	
Sex	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Numbers	15	10	10	5	15	8	27	
Cairo	6	4	4	2	8	4	12	
Menoufiyya	5	3	4	2	4	3	8	
North Sinai	4	3	2	1	3	1	7	

The data in Table 14 indicate the participants' responses to the first statement in the questionnaire that says "Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse because they want to convey their message in a more simplified language". Ninety three and thirty three per cent (n= 84) believe that the main reason for using Egyptian Arabic is its simplicity compared to Classical Arabic. This refers to the fact that Egyptians are mainly exposed to the use of Egyptian Arabic in their daily interactions with family members, friends, and neighbors. They hear Egyptian Arabic on the radio and on television. At school, although teachers are supposed to use Classical Arabic, at least in Arabic classes, they revert to Egyptian Arabic instead. This phenomenon continues throughout Egyptians' elementary, high school, and even university levels. As a result, they seem uncomfortable and feel pretentious when they listen to Classical Arabic in any formal occasions on one hand. When they use Classical Arabic, their speech appears to be slow, full of hesitations, and with many pauses, on the other hand. It is interesting to note that even Azhari sheikhs, who are graduates of al-Azhar University, think that the use of Egyptian Arabic is simpler for the sheikhs and more suitable to the Egyptian audience. One of the sheikhs stated, "The use of Egyptian Arabic is appropriate and easy because Azhari graduates are not competent in or capable of speaking Classical Arabic due to offering few training language programs for scholars." A professor of Arabic and Islamic studies at the School of Dar Al-Oloum, Cairo University, said "using Egyptian Arabic leads to better communication and understanding as the majority of the audience is not proficient in Classical Arabic. Egyptian Arabic is much less complicated and easier than Classical Arabic". Some respondents mentioned that no one speaks Classical Arabic as a native, nor is it used for

conversations or daily communications. Those who disagree think that scholars must use

Classical Arabic which has the potentiality to convey the message faster, clearer and

more simplified than Egyptian Arabic.

Table 14

Participants' Responses to the First Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo	7	2		1		4	2				7	4		1		9	2		1	
Menoufiyya	6	1		1		4	2				6	1				6	1		1	
North Sinai	5	2				2	1				2	2				5	1		1	

SA= Strongly Agree   A= Agree   U= Uncertain
D= Disagree   SD= Strongly Disagree

Table 15 displays the participants' responses to the second statement that says

"Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious

discourse because Classical Arabic is difficult and complex". While 22.22% (n= 20)

agree that Classical Arabic is difficult and complex, 70% (n= 63) disagree, and 7.77%

(n= 7) are uncertain. A closer look shows that Azhari sheikhs represent the highest

percentage 27.77% (n= 25) who do not agree with the difficulty and complexity of

Classical Arabic. This is not surprising as Azhari sheikhs spend sufficient of time reading

and interpreting the holy Qur'an. Believing that the Qur'an is the Word of God, religious

scholars have become linguists and made all efforts to master the divine language. They

consider the language of the Qur'an a miracle and the perfect language. For many

believing Muslims, there is no Islam without Classical Arabic, since it is crucial for

reading the Qur'an, performing daily prayers, and carrying out other religious rituals and

obligations. This is why faculty members, teachers of Arabic, and graduate students of Islamic studies also disagree with regarding Classical Arabic as complicated. Linguistically, Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic are "genealogically related" (Haeri, 2003, p. 3) as they are in the same family of languages. They share sounds and phonemes, though they are different syntactically and morphologically.

Table 15

Participants' Responses to the Second Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo	1	3	2	2	2		2		2	2	1	3		5	3		1		6	5
Menoufiyya		1	3	3	1		1		3	2		1		4	2		1		5	2
North Sinai		1	2	3	1		2		1			2		2					5	2

Table 16 presents participants' responses to the third statement that says "Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse because they are deficient in Classical Arabic". Forty four and forty four per cent (n= 40) disagree, 34.44% (n= 31) agree, while 21.11% (n= 19) are uncertain. Those who disagree state that they easily use Classical Arabic for reading texts dealing with Quranic subjects, the hadiths, Islamic law and theology, history, geography, biography, poetry, medicine, astronomy, and other sciences. Those who agree connect scholars' deficiency with the educational system in Egypt where there is less attention paid to teaching Classical Arabic in all educational stages, particularly the negligence of listening and speaking skills. Many sheikhs, therefore, can read and write in Classical Arabic, but they fail to speak it correctly. Many participants state that

those scholars who use Egyptian Arabic are obviously weak in Classical Arabic. If they master Classical Arabic, they can use other simplified vocabulary, not difficult words, from Classical Arabic that will help them convey their message. Those scholars who master Classical Arabic can never leave it and switch to the dialect.

Table 16

Participants' Responses to the Third Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo		4	1	3	2		2	1	2	1		4	3	3	2		5	2	3	2
Menoufiyya		3	2	2	1		2	2	2			2	2	2	1		3	1	2	2
North Sinai		1	2	3	1		1	1	1			2	1	1			2	1	2	2

Table 17 presents participants' respondents to the fourth statement that says "Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse because they are competent speakers of Egyptian Arabic". Seventy per cent (n= 63) think that scholars are knowledgeable and skilled in Egyptian Arabic, whereas only 16.66% (n= 15) disagree and 13.33 % (n= 12) are uncertain. Egyptian Arabic is the mother tongue of Egyptian speakers, including religious scholars; it is the variety over which they have control and ability to express and convey humor, intimacy, and seriousness. It is the variety that they can "mold lexically, phonologically, and syntactically to convey myriad meanings without fear of strong prescriptive norms" (Haeri, 1996, p. 200). One of the interviewed sheikhs in Cairo said, "even my university professors used Egyptian Arabic in their lectures of Islamic subjects". Haeri (1996) also interviewed an Egyptian female professor of Classical Arabic who, after expressing her preference of Classical Arabic over Egyptian Arabic, said that

111

Classical Arabic "is not full of life like ammiyya" (p. 207). A graduate student of Islamic studies in the School of Education in North Sinai said, "I think religious scholars use Egyptian Arabic in their speech because they are used to it. It has no case endings like Classical Arabic, so it is easier for them to speak Egyptian Arabic".

Table 17

Participants' Responses to the Fourth Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo	1	4	4	1	1	1	2	1	2		3	5	2	2		5	4		3	
Menoufiyya	3	3	1	1		2	2		2		2	1	2	2		3	3	1	1	
North Sinai	2	3	2			2	1				1	2		1		5	2			

Table 18 provides participants' responses to the fifth statement that says "Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse because they want to deviate from the norms of pure Classical Arabic". Here, participants' responses are similar; 33.33% (30) agree, 35.55% (32) disagree, whereas 31.11% (28) are uncertain. For a long time the deep knowledge of Classical Arabic has been the privilege of a small number of scholars. Ordinary people in Egypt do not master Classical Arabic completely and do not give due attention to the application of the grammatical norm. Some participants state that the grammar of Classical Arabic is more complex than Egyptian Arabic because the former is not learned in a natural manner. This is the reason behind the careless style of even Egyptian writers who are indifferent towards the use of correct language. As the majority of Egyptians do not pay much

attention to the norm, some scholars try to avoid it and refuge to the local dialect.

Researchers, such as Schulz (1981) and Abdulaziz (1986), observed that most Arabs

experience difficulties in maintaining Classical Arabic in its spoken form. Kaye (1970)

and Ibrahim (1983) held the same view and proposed that Classical Arabic has no "native

speakers" but it has "native users" who can read and write Classical Arabic with less

effort than listening to and speaking it. This can be attributed to the fact that Egyptian

Arabic is everybody's mother tongue whereas Classical Arabic is the language that is

learned at school. Moreover, Morsly (1986) observed that when Arabs speak Classical

Arabic, their language contains a lot of dialectal elements. She wrote:

> In the great majority of oral situations we notice that Dialectal
>
> Arabic is ever present, even when the speakers believe or assert
>
> that they are speaking Classical Arabic. As a matter of fact, the
>
> phonology and a great part of the syntax they use are those of
>
> their dialect. It is, doubtlessly, at the lexical level that they borrow
>
> most from the classical language. (p. 255)

For those participants who disagree, they state that the Qur'anic text and traditions

depend on Classical Arabic and that "Qur'anic Arabic" is still considered to be the

sublime norm.

Table 18

Participants' Responses to the Fifth Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo	1	3	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	4	4	3		1	2	5	2	2
Menoufiyya		2	3	2	1		1	3	1	1		2	3	2		2	2		2	2
North Sinai		1	2	2	2		1		2			2	1	1		1	2	2	2	

Table 19 presents participants' responses to the sixth statement that says "Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse because they want to enhance communication with the audience". Sixty five and fifty five per cent (n= 59) agree, 14.44% (n= 13) disagree, and 18.88% (n= 17) are uncertain. A graduate student at Menoufiyya University said, "using Egyptian Arabic makes it easier for the majority of the audience to understand the topic". An Azhari sheikh stated that scholars should use "an easy language" so that the audience may understand them. He mentioned a hadeeth where Prophet Mohamed said "We, i.e. prophets, are ordered to address people according to their different minds". The main importance of Egyptian Arabic lies in its ability to express sentiments and emotional feelings with less grammatical pressure. Van Mol (2003) stated that "the dialect expresses the sentiment, whereas Classical Arabic expresses the intellect" (p. 44). The emotional value of Egyptian Arabic is not restricted to the spoken field as it occurs in the written form as well. According to Werner Diem (Van Mol, 2003, p. 45), when lettered Arabs were asked in which language they would write a letter to their mother, they answered that they would do so in dialect. Diem also mentioned another example when a journalist wrote a report about a lawsuit in Classical Arabic and then switched to

dialect when he allowed the mother of the murdered child to speak, as "otherwise he

cannot adequately express the deep feelings of the mother" (p. 45).

Those participants who disagree think that if the scholar uses Egyptian Arabic all

the time, there is better communication. Yet, this communication is only through the

dialect, and once the scholar uses Classical Arabic afterwards, he is considered as a

heretic and old-fashioned one. This situation harms both Classical Arabic and all

scholars who use it. In the future, people will look down upon those scholars who use

Classical Arabic, and this, therefore, will lead to the extinction and death of Classical

Arabic. Besides, the use of Egyptian Arabic will make the lecture too simple. One of the

scholar's goals, according to those participants, is to elevate and increase his listeners'

culture and this can be done by means of using the standard language, not the dialect.

Some participants recommend using Egyptian Arabic in places where the majority of

the audience is uneducated such as workers, villagers and farmers. Even in such a

situation, the scholar should move gradually from Egyptian Arabic to Classical Arabic

until the audience is familiar with the language of Islam. A professor of Arabic

linguistics at Suez Canal University said, "Classical Arabic is connected with the Holy

Qur'an and the traditions and therefore we must protect and guard this language".

Table 19

Participants' Responses to the Sixth Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo	3	3	2	1	1	1	3	1	1		3	4	3	2		4	5	2	1	
Menoufiyya	3	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1		3	2	2			4	5	2	1	
North Sinai	3	2	1	1		2	1				1	1	1	1		2	3	1	1	

Table 20 reveals participants' responses to the seventh statement that says "Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse because they want to receive more respect from the audience". Seventy two and twenty two per cent (n= 65) disagree, 20% (n= 18) are uncertain, whereas only 6.66% (n= 6) agree. The majority believe that there is no connection between using Egyptian Arabic and receiving respect from the audience. "A scholar is respected for his knowledge, and not because he uses Egyptian Arabic", said an Azhari sheikh. Besides, if the audience finds that the scholar is a pious and true Muslim, they will respect him, whether he uses Classical Arabic or Egyptian Arabic. Those who disagree think that the educated people refuse the use of Egyptian Arabic in spite of the importance of what the scholar says. "Using the dialect," said a professor of Arabic at Suez Canal University," will decrease the value of the language. Language is not mere vocabulary; language is thinking and vision, and both thinking and vision will deteriorate or descend if the level of the language descends." The scholar's status will be higher if he masters both Classical Arabic and the content of the lecture, according to a graduate student of Islamic studies at Menoufiyya University.

Table 20

Participants' Responses to the Seventh Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo			3	5	2		1	2	2	1		1	2	6	2			2	5	5
Menoufiyya		1	1	3	3		1	1	1	3			2	2	3		1	1	4	2
North Sinai			2	4	1				2	1		1	1	1	1			1	4	2

Table 21 present participants' responses to the eighth statement that says "Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse because they want to address all classes of the Egyptian society". Seventy two and twenty two per cent (n= 65) agree, 16.66% (n= 15) are uncertain, whereas 8.88% (n= 8) disagree. Those who agree state that the scholar should have complete knowledge of Classical Arabic and at the same time should speak Egyptian Arabic as not all the audience has studied Classical Arabic; some of them are educated, others are half-educated, and many are uneducated. Those participants complain about an Egyptian TV program called "The Spirit's Speech" where the announcer, who is a university professor, speaks Classical Arabic and it is too difficult to understand. One participant said, "This professor needs a university professor, like him, to understand his language. Even the examples that he gives are more difficult than the discussion point". Other participants believe that there are other scholars who use a simplified language that suits all classes. This simplified use does not harm Classical Arabic in the future at all.

Table 21

Participants' Responses to the Eighth Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo	3	3	2	1	1	2	2	1	1		5	4	2	1		4	5	2	1	
Menoufiyya	3	4	1			2	3	1			3	2	1	1		3	3	2		
North Sinai	3	2	1	1		1	2				2	1	1			3	2	1	1	

Table 22 presents participants' responses to the ninth statement that says "Religious scholars code-switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse

because they belong to a high socio-economic class". Seventy one and eleven per cent (n= 64) disagree, 17.77% (n= 16) are uncertain, while only 11.11% (n= 10) agree. The majority state that there is no relationship between the use of Egyptian Arabic and being rich,   wealthy, or of a high-economic status. It is not necessary for the scholar to be rich or poor, but it is important that he is knowledgeable and pious. Some participants believe that the rich audience may think the use of the dialect is much easier for their understanding and therefore they respect those scholars who use Egyptian Arabic.

Table 22

Participants' Responses to the Ninth Statement

Respondents	Faculty members					Teachers of Arabic					Graduate students of Islamic studies					Azhari Sheikh				
	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
Cairo		1	2	5	2			1	2	3		1	2	5	4		1	2	5	4
Menoufiyya		1	1	3	3		1	1	3	1		1	1	2	3		1	2	3	2
North Sinai		1	1	3	2				2	1		1	1	1	1		1	2	2	2

In the last statement of the questionnaire, participants were given the opportunity to express their views towards the codeswitching phenomenon in religious discourse. The tenth statement says "I feel that switching from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse is ………..". Their answers varied; some wrote that codeswitching is acceptable and necessary in order to convey the scholar's message in a simple and easy language to an audience of different classes, to better influence the common and uneducated people, to fully explain the difficult vocabulary, to use the language of the audience, and to achieve better and easier understanding. Others objected to the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse as it destroys the Classical

118

Arabic of the Qur'an, leads to the disappearance of the language of the Holy Book for the coming generations, and results in losing Muslims' glory and dignity.

After administering the questionnaire, participants were interviewed to explain and comment on their language choice and to answer some questions about the use of Egyptian Arabic in the Egyptian scholars' religious discourse in general and in Khaled's speech in particular. Interviews were conducted in the college campus, in a professor's office, in a classroom and in the mosque. Interviews ranged in length from nearly twenty minutes to one hour. The majority made it clear that Egyptian Arabic is a powerful vehicle for expressing one's personal thoughts and feelings. Some participants expressed their concerns about the future status of Classical Arabic. They stated that religious scholars should stick to their classical language, their history and literature.

All participants state that they watch or listen to religious sermons two to four times a week. Not surprisingly, they often watch Khaled and some of them read, call, or email him. The number of the audience attending his recent program "Life-Makers" has reached a couple of thousands. Participants are pleased to find a non-Azhari Islamic preacher who speaks in an easy and understandable language, wears casual, plays soccer and tennis in the Shooting Club, goes to restaurants, and comes from a metropolitan middle class family. One of the major causes of Khaled's success is that he has managed to reach for the public in a simple language with no complications, in the language ordinary Egyptians use daily. It is worth noting that not only professors, teachers, and graduate students of Arabic and Islamic Studies agree that Egyptian Arabic is simpler than Classical Arabic, but Azhari sheiks as well. After describing the main features of colloquial Arabic and Classical Arabic, Zughoul (1980) stated that:

Colloquial Arabic is simpler than FA (Fusha Arabic) in syntax and lexicon. The 'iraab inflections are deleted. The dual is rarely used, and plural formation is simpler. CA (Colloquial Arabic) uses simpler, more frequent, more 'familiar' vocabulary. It is also more open to borrowing from other languages … Phonologically, CA has almost all the sounds of FA in addition to some phonemes which are foreign to FA. (p. 205)

Although previous studies stated that the use of Classical Arabic is expected in formal settings, particularly in religious speech, and is considered more appropriate than any other dialect in that context, the results of the questionnaire and the interviews reveal that the Egyptian public opinion nowadays regards the use of Egyptian Arabic to be "more practical" "simpler", and "more influential" than Classical Arabic. This new view has resulted from a change in the setting of the religious sermons and lectures (decorated, more lights, the use of modern technological equipments [Overhead Projectors & videos], a change in the speech of the scholar or sheikh [common & familiar vocabulary, the use of foreign languages], a change in the appearance of the scholar or sheikh [wearing a suit and a tie], a change in the audience [men & women, veiled & unveiled women, women asking questions and reflecting on the lectures], and a change in the speaker-listener interaction pattern [receiving phone calls, emails, faxes, audience coming to stage to ask questions and/or give comments].

This change of Egyptians' attitudes sheds light on some essential and basic issues that are crucial to understanding the language situation in the Arab world in general and in the Egyptian society in particular such as the on-going and unsettled issue of Arabic

and modernization, standard vs. prestigious language, and the conflict between
Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic regarding receiving knowledge.

Arabic and Modernization

In the Arab world, the linguistic conflict between Classical Arabic and
modernization started as early as 1880s. There has been a debate to whether the Arabs
should abandon Classical Arabic in favor of the colloquials. Some scholars and
intellectual writers, such as As'ad Daghir and others, argue in favor of Classical Arabic as
the language of modernization, believing that the defense of Classical Arabic is a
religious duty towards the pure Arabic language. They liken the use of the colloquial
against Classical Arabic to someone who rejects his true religion. To them, refusing
Classical Arabic will bring humiliation to both Islam and the linguistic modernization of
the sacred Arabic language. This is why the defense of Classical Arabic against
colloquials and modernizers is regarded as a severe battle between good and evil where
the language-defenders will be victorious at the end. Suleiman (2004) went further in
describing this struggle as "a holy war, a kind of jihad in which the glories of the past
serve as harbingers of things to come" and at the end "the modernizers will be
vanquished, and the language-defenders will triumph" (p.49). Muhammad Husayn (1979)
described the struggle as "invasion from within" where the modernizers are "the enemies
of Islam, the advocates of enslavement, the mouthpiece of the missionaries, and the
agents of Zionism" (p. 165). The titles of some Arabic books refer to the rhetoric of
language defense which Suleiman (2004) called "a linguistic holy war in defense of
Arabic" (p. 50). In the dedication of his book, az-zahf ala lughat al-<u>Qur'an</u> (The March
against the Language of the <u>Qur'an</u>), Attar (1966) wrote the following:

To the friends, supporters and patrons (ansar) of the pure Arabic

language (fusha) who are waging a truly holy war (yujahidun fi Allah

haqq al-jihad) by aiding the language of the Qur'an, its literature and

sciences. [To those who defend the language and fight the opponents of the

creeds of destruction and sabotage (hadm wa-takhrib) whose aim is to

destroy the Qur'an, sabotage the Prophetic Traditions (hadith), exterminate

Islam, and demolish Arabic with its grammar, literature, sciences and arts by

aiding and establishing the colloquial and by making it triumph over the pure

Arabic language. [To these friends, supporters and patrons I dedicate this

book.] (Cited in Suleiman, 2004, pp. 49-50)

Similarly, other scholars reject modernizing Classical Arabic as this will lead to

losing the Arab national identity, since Classical Arabic plays a significant role in Arab

nationalism. They believe that Arabic is in danger of both internal and external

interferences/forces, though the worse enemies are mostly insiders. They consider the

modernization project as a threat to their identity and therefore they call for defending

Classical Arabic against the use of the colloquial. They state that all Arabs have common

interests as they speak one language whereas when Classical Arabic is divided into

separate varieties or dialects, the number of those who understand and communicate in

other dialects will decrease. For instance, if a book is written in Classical Arabic, millions

of Arabs and even non-Arabs who study Classical Arabic (the language of the Qur'an),

will be able to read it whereas if it is written in one specific dialect, (e.g., Egyptian

Arabic), all the previous people will not understand it. This step will cut the bonds of one

nation and lead to more separation in the cultural, political, and national aspects.

Deserting Classical Arabic that unites Arabs into separate dialects will lead to the separation of Arabs and it will weaken their identity and unity in the fight against the occupiers"as the French and British were known". Arab scholars and linguists also state that this modernization project is part of al-ghazw al-fikri "cultural invasion" and that the modernizers are considered as linguistic invaders who aim at destroying the Arabic language. Those invaders claim that modernizing Classical Arabic will result in having dialects that have less complicated grammar and syntax, but they forget that dialects have their own grammar and syntax that are more complicated and more irregular than Classical Arabic. This modernization may bring about a situation of "political and cultural subordination to outside powers" and lead to a conflict where Classical Arabic "is not only engaged in a linguistic battle, but in one involving a clash of civilizations" (al-Alim, 1997, p. 10). Therefore, defending Classical Arabic is considered as defending the nation that speaks the Arabic language.

On the other hand, there are calls to reform and modernize Classical Arabic made by some scholars such as Ibrahim Mustafa, Abdel-Aziz Fahmi, Ahmed Lutfi El-Said and Anis Frayha. They call for the simplification of Arabic grammar and bringing the gap between Classical Arabic and the colloquial as close to the colloquial as possible. In the Egyptian society the modernization issue started with the Napoleonic invasion to Egypt in 1798 and the rule of Mohammed Ali during the Ottoman Empire in 1805. As a result of contact with the West, there was an urgent desire at that time towards modernization of the military, sending educational missions to France, and establishing institutions that would put the empire on an equal footing with its European rivals in the military, political, and educational spheres. On the linguistic domain, Arabic was considered as the

123

medium of this modernization project and therefore an argument existed towards modernizing the language itself. As a result, the modernization of Classical Arabic in Egypt was a host for debates and conflicts which touched several cultural, political, educational and linguistic aspects, particularly those belonging to the religious aspect. These debates and conflicts were waged by two groups in Egypt; the modernizers and the language-defenders.

The modernizers, such as Ahmed Lutfi Al-Said, Salama Musa, Lewis Awad and Ghali Shukri, considered Classical Arabic as unfit and outdated to keep in touch with modern sciences and believed that it was rooted in a desert culture and thus would not suit the new world of science and technology. The modernizers thought of Classical Arabic as being an obstacle to modernization rather than a means that can bring it and that there has been a positive relationship between Classical Arabic and underdevelopment and backwardness. They ridiculed Classical Arabic for being "anti-modernization in the social arena and anti-democracy in the political sphere" (Suleiman, 2004, p. 44). They claimed that modernization refers to a language full of life, truth, and strength compared to a language that is dead, false and weak. It is the language of the ordinary people in normal and everyday situations, in contrast to a language that exists in books and dictionaries. It is the language of the present and the future, compared to the language of the past.

Moreover, the modernizers believed that the existence of diglossia created a kind of "linguistic schizophrenia" (Suleiman, 2004) where Egyptian speakers think in one medium (Egyptian Arabic) and encode their thoughts in another (Classical Arabic). For all of these reasons, the modernizers thought that Classical Arabic could not serve the

124

modernization project in Egypt without subjecting it to major modernization itself. This modernization includes the simplification of Classical Arabic grammar, the modification of style, the adoption of foreign words, and bridging the gap between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic by bringing the former as close to the latter as possible.

The language-defenders, on the other hand, pointed out that Classical Arabic is a rich language lexically and morphologically and that the modernization project could not proceed without the use of Classical Arabic in the Egyptian soil. Safi (1992) accused the opponents of Classical Arabic of shame and of pursuing change for its sake and that "abandoning one's language because of any temporary deficiency it may have is similar to abandoning one's mother because of her ragged clothes" (cited in Suleiman, 2004, p. 43). The language-defenders regard themselves as the protectors of the language of the Qur'an, the true word of God. To them, the modernizers are considered to be disbelievers as they try to destroy the Arabic language, thus destroying the language of Islam. This is why defending Classical Arabic is considered as an act of martyrdom in the cause of Arabic. They see that Classical Arabic is under attack and that the danger comes from a "low" variety which is not even a fully-formed language in terms of the linguistic resources it has. By seeking to replace Classical Arabic with Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse, those scholars who use Egyptian Arabic are accused of harming the message of Islam, owing to the close relationship between Classical Arabic and Islam. Some conservative scholars interpret the use of Egyptian Arabic in this context as an indication of a feeling of "cultural alienation" in the Egyptian society, which may induce negative feelings in the young towards the language of Islam.

More recently, Haeri (2004) raised the following questions that are related to attempts to modernize Classical Arabic: "What does it mean to modernize a sacred language? What do such processes look like? How do they intersect with political interests and official policies? And what is a modern language in the first place?" (p. 3) She found that there have been many attempts to modernize, change, or simplify Classical Arabic during the history of the Arabic language, but they have been resisted and interpreted as immoral, evil, or sinister. Besides, she stated that since Classical Arabic, the sacred language has a "divine origin" whereas Egyptian Arabic does not, Muslims are considered to be "custodians" and not "owners" of Classical Arabic. Muslims, therefore, can not modernize or change Classical Arabic as they can not modernize or simplify a language that they do not own. Egyptian Arabic, on the contrary, is not the pure "Word of God" but the mother tongue of Egyptians who have the freedom to add and change it. Egyptians are, therefore, considered to be the "owners" of their dialect who love it, raise it, and create it. Osman Sabri, once said:

> Egyptian Arabic was created by our fathers and grand-parents and
> we suckled it like the milk from our mothers. We learned it while we were
> still young and pronounced in it the first words that left our mouths. We
> remained speaking it throughout our lives, at home, in the field, at the
> factory and in offices, at the market and the university until it mixed
> with our blood and satiated us and we began to love it just like we love our
> fathers and mothers. We add something new to it everyday, and in doing
> so we feel that we are perfecting it-we educate it and bring it up as if it
> were our daughter and we grow to love it like we love our children. Our

love for it is twofold: the love for our parents and the love for our children.

(Quoted in Haeri, 2004, p. 143)

In the previous quotation, Sabri stated that Egyptian Arabic belongs to Egyptian speakers; it is their property and they have the freedom and the right to create, modify, educate, and bring it up. There are no restrains or restrictions on adding new words, giving new meanings to the same words, or even adding foreign words to Egyptian Arabic. For example, actors, actresses, singers, authors and writers create new words in Egyptian Arabic and many people use them. For those who are unaware of these new words, they feel as if they do not live in the same society; they are not on the same page with other members of the society. Some of the most recent words are "riwish" (smart), "muzza" (a beautiful woman), and "kullishinkan" (a variety of items). One can observe the new view of Egyptian religious figures and teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies who participated in this study. They stated clearly that Egyptian Arabic should be the variety of religious discourse.

The Conflict between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic

Regarding Receiving Knowledge

This change indicates some changing perceptions of the Egyptian people toward their mother tongue. They practice using it in the religious domain, Ferguson's High variety, and they support using it instead of or besides the classical. Such transformation in religious practices refers to the increasing importance nowadays of the Egyptian dialect in regard to the on-going battle between the dialect and the standard language, or in Ferguson's terminology, Low vs. High variety. The use of Egyptian Arabic instead of the sacred language means that Egyptians can acquire knowledge through their dialect,

127

not necessarily through Classical Arabic which is considered the only language for

acquiring knowledge in the Arab world. Acquiring knowledge through Egyptian Arabic

is easier and simpler because Egyptians have more control and less constraint in their use

of Egyptian Arabic. They are the owners of Egyptian Arabic; they have the power and

authority to create, innovate, and change their language. It is the only means of face-to-

face communications. Haeri (1996) explained the use of Egyptian Arabic inside the

Egyptian society as this:

> But even within institutions, employees speak to each other and to
>
> their clients in Egyptian Arabic. Outside of institutions, aside from
>
> political speeches, the nightly televised news program, and some debate
>
> oriented programs on radio and television, the variety used orally by the
>
> overwhelming majority of people in most "public" settings is not Classical
>
> Arabic. Men and women who might be very active in this domain, come
>
> across Egyptian Arabic far more frequently than Classical Arabic. Thus
>
> both Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic are languages of the "public"
>
> domain, and since people communicate to each other far more frequently
>
> through oral channels than written ones, it is Egyptian Arabic that
>
> dominates. (p. 176)

Thus, Egyptians, educated and uneducated, who seek religious knowledge can gain it

through Egyptian Arabic. Sheiks, preachers, and scholars may communicate basic

religious knowledge (knowledge of Allah, knowledge of the Prophet, and knowledge of

Islam) and explain various Islamic branches of knowledge, such as Aqeedah (creed),

Tafseer (interpretation of the Qur'an), Hadiths (Prophet's narrations), Fiqh

(understanding of religion), Sharee'a (legislations), Seerah (biography of the Prophet) in Egyptian Arabic and, therefore, Egyptian Arabic becomes another container of knowledge besides Classical Arabic. Egyptians have no difficulty in comprehending the various branches of Islam in Egyptian Arabic. Their mother tongue is the only variety used to communicate all branches of knowledge at schools, universities, and other educational institutions. They learn chemistry, physics, geography, history, math, economy, psychology, social studies, and other subjects in Egyptian Arabic. So why can't they receive religious knowledge through the same variety (Egyptian Arabic)? Haeri (2004) rightly put it as follows:

> The change from the use of a sacred language to that of a
>
> vernacular changes a community's conception of knowledge
>
> because what comes to be created in the vernacular will also
>
> be considered as knowledge. In Egypt, Classical Arabic continues
>
> to be viewed as the prime container of knowledge-by learning it,
>
> one automatically acquires knowledge. Hence generally what is
>
> outside of it, is either of secondary importance or of none at all.
>
> Indeed, Egyptians are discouraged to produce work in their own
>
> language. In this way, vernacularization changes a community's
>
> relation to its past and present through a transformation of what
>
> constitutes knowledge. (p.147)

Using Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse makes it easier for Egyptians to gain both religious knowledge and rewards from God. It was reported that Prophet Muhammad said "whoever follows a path seeking knowledge then Allah will make the path to Paradise

easy for him". Egyptian Arabic, therefore, is the means of gaining knowledge which will lead to entering Paradise.

<center>Standard and Prestige Language</center>

In sociolinguistic literature, there is a generally accepted assumption that the standard language is the prestigious language in many languages. As for Arabic, Ferguson's dichotomy refers to the High and Low varieties where H is both the standard and prestigious variety. He stated that it is superior to L in many aspects. However, findings from Arabic sociolinguistic research do not support Ferguson's view.

Based on the evidence from studies of a number of languages, it is generally believed that within the same socioeconomic class women have the tendency to consistently use "more socially prestigious speech than men" (Smith, 1979, p. 113). Women in the Arab world, on the contrary, tend to prefer the dialect more than the classical. Abdel-Jawad's study (1981) stated that men in Amman consistently "use the standard linguistic forms more than women" (p. 324). Kojak (1983) also found that "male informants use more prestigious forms than females" (p. 4). Schmidt (1986) mentioned that Egyptian women do not support the "western sociolinguistic hypothesis that women are more sensitive than men to the prestige of prescriptive norms, in this particular case Arab women seem to be deliberately choosing to downplay a particular standard phonological variant" (p. 59). Haeri (1996) found that Egyptian women use the urban Cairene forms more than men who use Classical Arabic forms. In this study, not only women, but also men prefer using Egyptian Arabic in the highest formal domain. Ninety three and thirty three per cent state that Egyptian Arabic is simpler than Classical Arabic, seventy per cent think that scholars are competent, knowledgeable, and skilled in

Egyptian Arabic, sixty five and fifty five per cent agree that scholars switch to Egyptian Arabic in order to enhance communication with the audience, and seventy two and twenty two per cent agree that scholars use Egyptian Arabic in order to address classes of the Egyptian society.

In the past, researchers assumed that Classical Arabic is the only highly valued variety in the Arab world. But evidence from various sources shows that the urban spoken dialect in many countries, like Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Bahrain, is recognized as prestigious as well. This is why Ibrahim (1986) stated "the identification of H as both the standard and the prestigious variety at one and the same time has led to problems of interpreting data and findings from Arabic sociolinguistic research" (p. 115). In this chapter, the majority of the participants stated that Egyptian Arabic is a powerful vehicle fro expressing one's thoughts and feelings and that is simpler and easier to understand than Classical Arabic.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study is concerned with one particular aspect of the current language situation in Egypt: the codeswitching from Classical Arabic into Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse. The mixing of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse is characteristic of the diglossic nature of the Arabic language situation. Some Egyptian preachers, such as Amr Khaled, switch at certain points of their speech to Egyptian Arabic. Khaled's sermons exemplify two major principles: 1) the sermon must be presented in the language of the audience, and 2) the Qur'an must speak to contemporary people and their needs. What distinguishes Khaled from other religious preachers is his discussion of the Muslim community's real affairs and concerns in a simplified language. Since a scholar's task is to transmit religious knowledge to the common people, it is natural for Khaled to use a language that all people/audiences will easily understand. His linguistic choices are more typical of a casual conversation than they are of a formal sermon. His speech is an example of language variation where the style drops from a language approaching Classical Arabic at the beginning of the sermon to a very colloquial form of Egyptian Arabic only to rise again in the last part. His use of Egyptian Arabic is beyond his reputation not only in Egypt but also throughout the Islamic-Arab world.

Khaled's use of Egyptian Arabic in his speech has made him so popular in Egypt that his tapes are sold more than the tapes of the famous Egyptian singer Amr Diyaab! (Bayat, 2003). In several newspapers in Egypt, it is said that Khaled and other young Egyptian scholars are pulling the rug from under the feet of their older conservative counterparts. Those young scholars convey their messages in a more accessible way than

their predecessors did. They have acquired reputations both in Egypt and the Arab world as well. They constitute a revival of religious discourse, based on speaking the language of their audience. They have gained several benefits due to their use of their mother tongue.

The use of the Egyptian dialect in religious discourse has several advantages. First, it gives the scholar the opportunity to use and/or borrow words from other languages such as English and French. The use of Egyptian Arabic allows Khaled to use English words and phrases that are currently popular in the Arab world, particularly to educated young Arabs. Khaled is not only aware of the educational background of the audience, especially its knowledge of the English language, but he knows that people will understand him as well. The use of English words is necessary to facilitate understanding and make the communication easier. A good example is the use of the word "style" when Khaled said, " معين style ليه " (He has a specific style). Other English loanwords that are sometimes used are "mood", "casual", and "teamwork". The following sentence may also illustrate the use of English in Khaled's speech. Once Khaled said, "take-off لما الطيارة هت (when the plane takes off). In his speech, Khaled uses the English verb "take off" instead of saying " الطيارة هتطير ". Khaled is applying the morphological rules of Egyptian Arabic to an English verb. He uses the Arabic prefix [ه] which means "will" in order to refer to a future action and the prefix [ت] which is an integral part of the verb to refer to the third person in the present tense. This kind of codeswitching to English is known as "partial codeswitching" (Abu-Melhim, 1991) which refers to the use of English words with Arabic morphological structure. Khaled does not have to switch to English to be understood since he will be able to say the same thing in Egyptian Arabic. But the use of

133

Egyptian Arabic gives him the opportunity to switch from the dialect to any other foreign language.

Had Khaled used Classical Arabic, he would not have been able to borrow English vocabulary in his speech, as it would have seemed inappropriate and unacceptable in the formal environment. Once I attended a sermon where the preacher used to work as a supervisor of English language and had taught English for several years. Recognizing that some of the audience were teachers of English, including myself, he used some English words in his speech. One of the surprising examples was when he said: ("naked" يعرض المرء يوم القيامة) which is "Man will be resurrected naked on the Day of Judgment". Using the English word "naked" was not appropriate as he was using Classical Arabic and some of the audience were uneducated old people who would not understand its meaning. After that sermon, the preacher was criticized by the teachers of English for the inappropriate and awkward use of English loanwords in his speech.

Generally speaking, the use of foreign words is regarded as an indicator of prestige in speech in the Egyptian society (El-Essawi, 1999). El-Essawi found out that Egyptian women tend to use more foreign words in their speech than men do, attributing this to the conviction that "women are more concerned than men with the kind of speech they produce, and that, therefore, they are more likely to be influenced by the prestige norms in the language than their male counterparts" (p. 205). Khaled's use of foreign words has attracted a large number of young men and women to attend his sermons (Bayat, 2003). Having men and women setting next to each other in Khaled's sermons has changed the image of the traditional male-dominated audience in religious settings. Recently, it has been noted that there are many educated working women and upper

class/elite women attending Khaled's sermons. At present, Khaled has been frequently criticized and attacked for having more women than men in his sermons.

The above view regarding Egyptian women's preference of using prestigious forms of speech seems to correlate with the findings of Labov (1970) in New York and Trudgill (1974) in Norwich as they found that female speakers use more prestigious forms of speech than male speakers do.

A second advantage of using Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse is that the scholar finds it easy to tell jokes, folk proverbs, and humorous or funny stories related to the topic of the sermon. Jokes tend to be closely linked to one's culture. Humor and emotional reactions are also easily expressed in one's mother tongue. Egyptians are known to tell jokes almost every day in order to reduce stress and overcome an anxiety-filled life. Having humor in religious discourse is one of the effective means of attracting the audience's attention, keeping them awake, and promoting interaction. It is used to "entertain and to lessen the formality and seriousness of the atmosphere" (Saeed, 1997). Moreover, it is an effective way to help the audience remember key concepts or important ideas. Khaled's popularity rests in part on what seems to have been a delightful sense of humor.

The third advantage of using Egyptian Arabic is that it helps the scholar create a high degree of involvement by making the audience express their views in their mother tongue instead of using Classical Arabic with which they may not be competent. Khaled creates a certain kind of involvement when he asks the audience to tell stories about or reflect upon the topic of the sermon in the Discussion Session. Such an intimate and emotional involvement leads to better understanding between Khaled and the audience.

Tannen (1989) talked about how to create an impression of "involvement" in conversational discourse and across a variety of other discourse genres. She claimed that "understanding is facilitated, even enabled, by an emotional experience of interpersonal involvement" (p. 34). This emotional experience is considered the source of communication. Although the audience is familiar with speaking Egyptian Arabic, they are not used to speaking or hearing it in religious discourse. Thus, Khaled changes the norm of the Discussion Session by means of encouraging the audience to use Egyptian Arabic in their speech and present themselves as narrators of stories. Their speech is similar to an informal conversational dialogue which includes some colloquial phrases and expressions such as /ʔinta ʕaarif/ "you know", /ʔinta waxid baalak/ "you notice", /yaʕni/ "I mean", etc. It is worth noticing that non-Egyptian speakers switch to Egyptian Arabic in the Discussion Session. Some of them adopt Egyptian phonology, such as when a Jordanian said /il-magalla/ "the magazine", /il-mogtamaʕ/ "the society", and /maʔdarʃ/ "I can't". Her pronunciation would have been /il-madʒalla/, /il-modʒtamaʔ/, and /magdarʃ/, respectively had she used Jordanian phonology. A Qatari speaker once said /biyʔoolo/ "they say" and /kiteer/ "a lot" whereas he would have said /biygoolo/ and /kaṯeer/ in Qatari Arabic. Other Bahraini speakers borrow some Egyptian words, such as /imbaariħ/ "yesterday", /innaharda/ "today", and /dilwaʔti/ "now". Non-Egyptian speakers' codeswitch from their dialects to Egyptian Arabic may be used as an "accommodation strategy" (Abu-Melhim, 1991) where they try to accommodate to the Egyptian scholar. Giles et al (1987) first introduced the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) which attempted to explain the cognitive and effective processes underlying

136

speech convergence and divergence. According to Giles, convergence refers to "the linguistic strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's speech by means of a wide range of linguistic features, including speech rate, pauses of utterance length, pronunciations and so on" (p. 14). Individuals are motivated to adjust or accommodate their speech styles in order to gain one or more of the following goals: "evoking listeners' social approval, attaining communicational efficiency between interactants, and maintaining positive social identities" (Giles et al, 1987, p. 15). As a result of the wide spread of the Egyptian dialect in the Arab world, non-Egyptians are familiar with Egyptian Arabic and may use it to achieve some kind of intimacy and closeness with the Egyptian scholar. The significance of speakers' convergence to Egyptian dialect can "lead persons to attribute to the converger the traits of friendliness, warmth, and so on" (Giles et al, 1987, p. 15). They modify their speech towards Khaled's Egyptian Arabic to get his social approval and be on the same page with him. The use of Egyptian Arabic here reveals how Arabs of different vernacular backgrounds may communicate across community boundaries by means of a shared variety (i.e. Egyptian Arabic).

A fourth advantage of using Egyptian Arabic is the opportunity to use terms and expressions common to radio and TV shows, newspapers, magazines, which suit various ages, socioeconomic levels, educational, and professional backgrounds. Khaled uses expressions such as "mission", "technology", "administration", "goal", "professional", "Internet", "chatting", "club", "body", "aerobics", and "gym".

A fifth advantage of using Egyptian Arabic is to have a modern view of the religious scholar. With his stylish business suits, trim moustache, thinning black hair, use of Egyptian Arabic in a studio setting, Khaled's first show /kalaam mini-l Qalb/ "Words

from the Heart", was an effective hybrid of entertainment and spiritual education. A key component of "Words from the Heart" was the use of Egyptian Arabic which was different from what the audience used to listen to in such an environment. People used to see a turbaned Azhari sheikh in a robe, sitting in a mosque, speaking Classical Arabic and dealing with basic principles of Islam. Khaled, however, could reach the hearts of the well-to-do women and youth who started loving religion instead of fearing it, through simple and compassionate speech, and discussing subjects that are related to the heart such as aspects of personal piety. His show was so popular and successful that it was aired on Dream TV in 2001 and then Khaled signed a contract with the Saudi-owned Iqra? channel where he produced two more shows, "Beloved Companions" and "Until They Change Themselves". Most recently, he produced "Life Makers" which is a twelve-step program to a better Islamic life, where he focused on social reform projects ranging from boycotts of smoking and alcohol drinking to collecting food for the poor, and trying to eliminate computer illiteracy. Besides these modern shows, there have been other services that help people ask and get answers for their current problems. These services include "dial-a-sheikh" telephone services, sending emails, and online chatting where Internet users seek spiritual guidance and ask for up-to-date questions such as: Should teenagers be allowed to date? How should Muslim women dress at the beach?, etc. Khaled's fans say he is a great preacher as he "speaks the simple ammiyya, or colloquial language, of Egyptian youth, telling stories, smiling, laughing, and explaining the faith in simple and positive terms" and that he" looks like them, speaks their language, and makes their religion relevant to their lives without shouting at them about Hellfire and brimstone in incomprehensible Classical Arabic" (Wise, 2004).

Finally, using Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse increases the number of audience members as the educated and uneducated, male and female, conservative and liberal, knowledgeable and unknowledgeable, young and old can listen to or attend the sermons and lectures. Thus, religious discourse can be delivered to "everybody"; none is excluded. Khaled usually identifies himself with the audience as "we", "us", and "our message". He uses first person plural verbs "we agreed", "we have trust in God", and "we have to reconsider our worship". Once he said "Allah tells *us* to be good and kind to *our* parents, neighbors, etc." The relationship, therefore, between him and the addressees, becomes stronger as he becomes a part, an insider, of the same group. That's why he chooses the inclusive plural personal pronoun 'we' and when he even uses the first person singular pronoun "I" to share personal experiences, he returns back to the use of "we", creating some sort of intimacy. He often connects the Quranic verses to the audience's daily practices, making a point that he is specific to this particular audience. Moreover, everybody can properly understand the message and also participate in the Discussion Sessions as the questions, comments, and suggestions can be made in Egyptian Arabic or in any other Arabic vernacular (by non-Egyptians), with no concerns about the "grammar" of the standard language.

The colloquial language of Egypt is different from the Classical language of the Qur'an in many aspects. First, Egyptian Arabic is characterized by simplification and innovation as opposed to Classical Arabic which is regarded as more conservative. Egyptian Arabic has been influenced by other languages (English, French, Italian, etc.). This feature of Egyptian Arabic makes it more flexible towards adding more words to its vocabulary. The religious scholar will be able, therefore, to reach a wider audience of

various educational backgrounds when he uses Egyptian Arabic in his sermons and lectures. It's not surprising, thus, to find some linguists and students of Arabic (Mitchell, 1962, Gamal-Eldin, 1967, Schmidt, 1974, Broselow, 1976, Schultz, 1981, Belnap, 1991, Parkinson, 2001, Mughazy, 2001) who believe Egyptian Arabic to be a sufficient and independent language, accordingly. It's the most widely understood dialect of spoken Arabic in the world today. In an interview, Dr. David Wilmsen, Director of Arabic and Translation Studies at the Center for Adult and Continuing Education at the American University in Cairo, stated that Egyptian Arabic is "a language like any other, and you can learn to speak it and understand it by interacting with it" (Egyptian Arabic). For those who desire to learn Arabic, Dr. Wilmsen explained that both spoken and written Arabic should be studied as they have a relationship like Latin to Italy, "It is like learning Latin and moving to Italy. You have the basis of the language but obviously the language has evolved a lot since the days that Latin was spoken. It has similarities, but the language itself is just not spoken any more" (Egyptian Arabic).

Second, declension is one of the most distinctive features of the language of the Qur'an, but it disappears in verb, noun, adjective and adverb forms in Egyptian Arabic. Whenever Khaled recites Quranic verses, quotes, supplicates at the beginning and the end of the sermon, the declension occurs, but anywhere else he resorts to the "sukoon" (negative declension) at the end of these forms.

Third, the Classical Arabic negation markers (lam, lan, laisa, ma, sawfa la) are replaced by the Egyptian equivalents (mish, wala, balaaʃ, ma + ʃ). Dual nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives do not exist in Egyptian Arabic. Instead, the plural forms are used.

Besides, the Classical Arabic verb-subject order is realized as subject-verb in Egyptian Arabic.

Fourth, the phonology of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic is different. When Khaled switches to Egyptian Arabic, he uses the Egyptian Arabic /g /, / ? /, / ẓ /, / z /, and / s / instead of the Classical Arabic / dʒ /, / q /, / Ḍ/, / ḍ /, and /ṭ/. Besides, The Classical Arabic diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are realized as /ee/ and /oo/ in Egyptian Arabic.

Although some linguists regard Egyptian Arabic as a corrupt version of Classical Arabic, the role of Egyptian Arabic in common, ordinary, and even religious discourse is manifest. It is claimed that Egyptian Arabic lacks written grammar and is generally considered to be nonstandard. Yet, its grammar has been written, but it is written for non-Egyptians who are interested in learning Egyptian Arabic. Egyptian Arabic represents a sort of urban standard variety that has more prestige than any other dialects spoken in Egypt. The prestige assigned to Egyptian Arabic stems from its popularity in the Arab world thorough media. In the Arab world and in Egypt, although Egyptian Arabic is not codified, it enjoys great prestige. Ibrahim (1986) observed that a language with prestige is not necessarily a standard language. He believes that dialects can also be standardized. This prompted him to use the term "non-standard standard language" (p. 115). Haeri (2003) concluded that there are two types of standard: "an 'organic' standard developing out of the colloquials and the 'classical' Arabic as a standard" (cited in Van Mol, 2003, p. 46).

The Use of Egyptian Arabic in Religious Discourse According to the Islamic Law

There is an important chapter in the Islamic Law (Sharee'ah) entitled "the Rulings of the Intentions and their Means" /ahkaamu-l maqaasidi wa- wasaa?luha/. It

141

explains that the means have the same ruling as the intentions; if the intention is obligatory /waajib/, then the means is obligatory; if it is liked /musħ ahabah/, then the means is liked; if it is prohibited /ħaraam/, then the means is also prohibited; if it is good /ħalaal/, then the means is good. The word "wasaa'il" (means) refers to the means or mediums that lead to the thing sought after or desired. The word "maqaasid" (intentions) refers to the desired or sought after thing (objective or aim). An example that may illustrate this point is the performance of the prayer "salaah". The performance of prayer is what is desired or intended "maqsid" and walking to perform it is the means "waseelah" that will enable or lead to its performance. The means of achieving or fulfilling what is sought after in this example is the walking towards the mosque "masjid" where the prayer is established. The performance of the obligatory prayer at the mosque is an obligation, therefore, the means to establish it takes its ruling, and it is walking. So the means (walking) becomes an obligation. Whatever is required to fulfill an obligation is itself an obligation. If the intention is a prohibition, the means that leads to it is also a prohibition; when it is prohibited, then whatever leads to its establishment or performance is also prohibited; when it is disliked, then whatever leads to its establishment is also disliked. So that which leads to the fulfillment of the obligation/obligatory act is an obligation itself, the means which leads to the fulfillment of a recommendation/ recommended act is itself a recommendation, and the means that leads to the fulfillment of a prohibition/prohibited act is itself prohibited. This ruling is applied to all acts of worship and obedience to God. Performing pilgrimage "hajj" to the Sacred Mosque in Mecca, for instance, is not fulfilled except by traveling to perform it. Then traveling in order to perform the obligatory "hajj" becomes an obligation. Likewise,

if a person intends to travel to another country to commit a major sin (i.e. stealing, killing, etc.), then traveling becomes forbidden. The traveler in this case is in a state of disobedience, his traveling is written against him and he is sinful.

Delivering religious speeches (the intention) can be achieved by means of Classical Arabic, any variety of Arabic, or any language that is understood by the audience. Scholars, sheikhs, and imams in the United States and English speaking countries, for instance, use English in their sermons, those in France use French, and those in Pakistan use Pakistani, etc. Those scholars who use Egyptian Arabic in their lectures and sermons do that in order to convey the message of Islam in a simple way. Their intention is good and noble; therefore, their means (Egyptian Arabic) is also good and permissible. This is supported by the previous basic principle that says "the means take the same ruling as the intentions". Besides, the use of Egyptian Arabic makes it easier for more Egyptians to fully understand the sermon and concentrate.

<div align="center">The Message or the Language?</div>

Which is more significant in religious discourse: the message or the language? Content or form? Or both? What might happen if the Egyptian sheikh uses a language that is not familiar to the audience? And if he uses Egyptian Arabic, do Egyptians lose their religion or culture? Is the sheikh harming the message of Islam? In the Qur'an, God says: "We did not send a Messenger except (to teach) in the language of his people in order to make things clear to them" (14:4). This verse means that God did not send any messenger before Muhammad except with the same language of the messenger's community so that the messenger could explain, teach, and convey to his people God's obligations and prohibitions. The Qur'an informs us what the Messengers said to their

people and what their people responded, and most of them were not Arabs. If the Messengers had spoken languages that were difficult to understand, their communities would not have understood them. Al-Mubarakpuri mentioned that Ibn Kathir, a well-known interpreter of the exegesis of the Qur'an, said that it is from God's Mercy upon His creatures that he has sent to them messengers from among them, speaking their languages so that they can understand what the messengers have come with (Ibn Kathir). Therefore, in order to prevent miscommunication, it is important that the sheikh, scholar, or preacher use a language that can be understood by the audience so that the message can be understood properly. In our case, Egyptian Arabic is the language that Egyptians are more familiar with than Classical Arabic.

<div align="center">Egyptian Arabic and the Print Media</div>

One of the effects of the spread of Egyptian Arabic is that it has started to occur in the mass media. For instance, it has been the journalistic practice in the Egyptian newspapers and magazines to report Egyptians' colloquial language in Classical Arabic. When the presidents, politicians, actors, and even sportsmen give a speech, their language is translated in the newspapers in Classical Arabic, whether their language is Egyptian Arabic or not. Haeri (2003) mentioned a situation where some writers and intellectuals asked President Mubarak in 1996 some questions on "privatization" in "a rather solemn Classical Arabic". Yet, the President responded to their questions "almost entirely in a very jaunty and informal Egyptian Arabic" (p. 99). The next day, Al-Ahram and other Egyptian newspapers reported the President's speech in their first pages in Classical Arabic to the extent that in the whole article "Al-Ahram did not attribute one word, phrase or sentence to him that was in Egyptian Arabic" (p. 99). Egyptians know that

when the President delivers a written speech, he uses Classical Arabic. Otherwise, he speaks in Egyptian Arabic. Yet his speech in both cases is reported in Classical Arabic. However, it has recently been observed that some writers in the Egyptian daily newspapers and several magazines write some articles in Egyptian Arabic. They try to reach a wider audience in a more flexible and simplified language. For instance, in the Daily Ahram, an article about Khaled's speech employing several Egyptian words entitled "Intelligence is better than Perfection" "؟!..الفهلوة عكس الإحسان " and in the Women's Magazine, there was an article with the title "*New Look*" "نيولوك" . Two articles were written in pure colloquial Egyptian Arabic in the Yaqaza Magazine with the title "The Rotten Cooking" "الطبخة البايظة " and "You're the Stranger… No, You're the Stranger" "انت الغريب لأ أنت الغريبة".

Conclusion

The use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse is important and unique to Arabic Sociolinguistics. What makes this situation unique is the fact that Egyptian Arabic is being used in a domain that has historically been dominated by Classical Arabic. Along the Islamic history, Classical Arabic has always had higher prestige than any other variety of Arabic (Egyptian, Moroccan, Sudanese, etc.). The outcomes gained from this study may not only contribute to Arabic and English Sociolinguistics, but also to Sociolinguistics in general. In the past, Egyptian Arabic was usually considered as bad Arabic in need of eradication rather than study. Yet, the results of this study reveal the dynamics of a new linguistic situation in Egypt. There is a change in progress in the Egyptian speech community. Classical Arabic, the High variety, has become restricted to few formal situations whereas Egyptian Arabic, the Low variety, has become so popular

that it is now used in formal situations as well. The analysis of the data shows that

Egyptian Arabic occurs with a considerable frequency in religious discourse. Although

religious scholars are expected to use Classical Arabic in this domain, the data proves

that the Egyptian scholar does switch to Egyptian Arabic. This finding sheds light on the

relationship between the High variety and Low variety which Ferguson (1959) initiated.

In such a diglossic situation, Ferguson (1959) stated that in some situations "only H is

appropriate and in another only L, with the two sets overlapping only very slightly" (p.

328). In this study the H and L varieties are overlapping, but not "very slightly". The H

variety is the one that is supposed to be used in this formal situation. Yet, there is a

considerable number of switches to Egyptian audience (1102) and to non-Egyptian

audience (1049) as well. These switches reveal the density of codeswitching in the

Egyptian religious discourse. Such finding contradicts Ferguson's claim that there could

only be a very slight overlapping between the two varieties. Mejdell (1996) concluded

her study of stylistic variations of spoken Arabic in Egypt by stating that Egyptian people

often switch from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic. More recently, in her study of the

functions of codeswitching in Egypt, Bassiouney (2006) found out that the basic and

dominant language is Egyptian Arabic whereas the embedded language is Classical

Arabic. She concluded her data analysis by stating that the basis of codeswitching is an

Egyptian Arabic syntactic structure into which Classical Arabic lexical elements are

inserted. The two codes (Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic) have existed side by side

for a long time. Classical Arabic is the language of the Qur'an, literature, sciences,

humanities, and classical films and songs. Egyptian Arabic is the mother tongue of

Egyptians, the dominant language of the popular culture and Egyptian movies, plays, and songs.

The data reveals that the Egyptian scholar used Classical Arabic at the beginning and end of the sermon, when reciting Quranic verses, in mentioning statements from Prophetic narration, quoting what one of the Prophet's companions said, and in offering supplications. These utterances seem to be more serious and formal as they are expressed in the Classical variety. Egyptian Arabic may be used anywhere else.

The data also shows that there is no relationship between the frequency of codeswitching and the kind of audience (Egyptian vs. non-Egyptian). The audience is not a strong factor in switching to Egyptian Arabic. The topic of the lecture is a more important factor for having a high or low number of switches. Regarding the relationship between the frequency of codeswitching and the type of discourse (Lecture vs. Discuss Session), the data shows that the number of switches in the lectures is much greater than the number of switches in the discussion sessions.

This study also shows that speakers of different Arabic dialects accommodate to the Egyptian scholar in the Discussion Session. They employ two strategies of accommodation; first was switching from their dialect to Egyptian Arabic and second was switching from their dialect to Classical Arabic. In using Egyptian Arabic, non-Egyptian speakers want to feel warmth and intimacy with the Egyptian scholar. Francois Grosjean (1982) noted that:

> Codeswitching not only fulfills a momentary linguistic need, it is also a
> very useful communication resource… [Speakers'] main concern is with
> communicating a message or intent, and they know that the other person

147

will understand them whether they use one or two languages… Code-switching can also be used for many other reasons, such as quoting what someone has said (and thereby emphasizing one's group identity), specifying the addressee (switching to the usual language of a particular person in a group will show that one is addressing that person), qualifying what has been said, or talking about past events. (Quoted in Abu-Melhim, 1991, p. 248)

It was observed that Khaled did not switch to non-Egyptian words at all during his taped lectures. He switched to Egyptian Arabic in order to facilitate comprehensibility and better convey his message in a simplified language. He switched to Classical Arabic for purposes of accuracy in quoting and providing emphasis.

After investigating Egyptians' attitudes towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse, it has become clear that Egyptians don't see their mother tongue as a "disease", "corruption", or "stigma". Rather, they love it, live with it, and support using it everywhere and at all times, even in the most formal setting/discourse (i.e. religious discourse). The data of this study reveals the positive attitudes of Egyptians towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in a context that is supposed to disfavor it most. They stated that it is "simpler", "easier", "softer", "faster", "more beautiful", and "less difficult" than Classical Arabic. Egyptian Arabic is not looked upon with contempt or disgust, nor is it connected to illiteracy and ignorance. All Egyptians; upper, middle, and low classes speak it. It is the only means of communication, particularly in face-to-face interactions. It is not surprising to find that Egyptian speakers have positive opinions and attitudes towards the variety over which they have control. According to Ferguson (1986), Arabs

have positive attitudes towards their national vernaculars. They believe that their own dialect is "the nearest to classical, the easiest to learn and the most widely understood of the colloquial dialects"(p. 379). Other studies have tried to examine Egyptians' attitudes towards Egyptian Arabic and Classical Arabic, and they found that Egyptians prefer Egyptian Arabic. In her study of language attitudes and ideologies in Egypt, for instance, Haeri (1997) asked Egyptian speakers whether they like 'aamiyyia (Egyptian Arabic), and the result was ninety-four percent of the speakers was positive and only six percent was negative. When Haeri asked them whether they prefer 'aamiyya or fusha (Classical Arabic) or there is no preference for them, sixty eight percent of the speakers preferred Egyptian Arabic to Classical Arabic, 11% preferred Classical Arabic, and 10% liked both. In describing the characteristics of Egyptians, El-Messiri (1978) stated that one of these characteristics is that they speak their mother tongue (Egyptian Arabic). She stated that the:

> The 'real' Egyptian must be loyal to his country, love it and
>
> remain attached to it. The *ibn al-balad* (the son of the country)
>
> also sees himself being direct and simple in speech, not sophisticated.
>
> It is often said in conversation, when someone starts to philosophize
>
> and use Classical Arabic words, 'Make your point in *baladi*'.
>
> (Quoted in Haeri, 1997, p. 217)

Egyptian Arabic is the language of all Egyptians; it is prevalent at home, at work, at school, in the street, in the neighborhood, on TV & radio, and even in the mosque. In the beginning years of their lives, Egyptians acquire Egyptian Arabic at home and in the neighborhood. When they reach six years old, they join elementary schools where they

start learning Classical Arabic and English. Yet, Classical Arabic is used in the religious and Arabic language classes only, if the teacher speaks Classical Arabic in these classes. Therefore, Classical Arabic has become, like English, a language which is used for specific purposes. Watching TV and listening to the radio also play a great role in acquiring Egyptian Arabic, as the movies, serials, plays, songs, commercials, sports, and many programs are in Egyptian Arabic. Egyptians graduate from the university speaking their mother tongue and writing Classical Arabic. When they speak Egyptian Arabic, they easily express themselves, control their speech without feeling afraid of making mistakes, and everybody in Egypt understand them. That is why Egyptian religious scholars choose to speak Egyptian Arabic in delivering sermons, lessons, and lectures. They have more freedom when they use Egyptian Arabic than they do when they use Classical Arabic. They are not concerned about making mistakes or errors in the structure of Egyptian Arabic. They have the right to add, change, or use any other language when using Egyptian Arabic, as they are the "owners" of Egyptian Arabic. They are not forced to follow prescriptive rules as the scholars who use Classical Arabic have to.

Another important observation is that there is a relationship between the religious discourse form of sermons and the audience's reaction. When the scholar and the audience share the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the scholar can easily embed certain types of alignments in his sermon performance. He may use everyday expressions, proverbs, stories, etc. to convey his message. The success of the sermon lies in the scholar's ability to effectively engage the audience in the current performance and create the impression where the audience may gain added access to his heart and mind.

Besides, the scholar must create the impression of being fully engaged with both the topic and the audience.

This study has also dealt with the *fusha-ammiyya* debate or (Classical Arabic-dialect debate) or in Blommaert's (1999) term "the language ideological debate" which may enhance our understanding of the linguistic, religious, political and social aspects of the Egyptian society. In the first place, the battle/struggle between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic is a conflict between change and tradition. This conflict will continue as the two groups (modernizers & language defenders) have their own logical reasons and supporters. Modernizers support change whereas language-defenders maintain tradition. Modernizers have been trying to change the Egyptian society in the name of modernity whereas language defenders do their best to preserve the fundamental character of the society that respects Arabic and Muslim traditions. Both groups realize the socio-political nature of this linguistic conflict. They understand that such a conflict is "a power struggle over who has the right to decide on the mixture between change and tradition in the language, and what the exact makeup of this mixture should be" (Suleiman, 2004, p. 53). They both struggle for who will have the upper hand and hold the authority over language as a power resource in Egypt.

Second, Classical Arabic will never disappear as it is the language of Qur'an, culture, heritage, and Arab national identity. Scholars who use Classical Arabic in their speech will use it as they believe that Islam can not exist without Classical Arabic and vice versa. It is Classical Arabic, not the dialects, that unites Muslims and Arabs under one umbrella. Egyptian intellectuals and grammarians talk about how Classical Arabic is in danger of being overrun by Egyptian Arabic and how it is abandoned by its Arab

speakers, particularly religious scholars and sheikhs. Seen as a threat to Classical Arabic, this situation has impelled Arabic linguists and scholars to call for defending Classical Arabic against Egyptian Arabic. There is a belief that the use of Egyptian Arabic is effective in religious discourse as it is the mother tongue of Egyptians and the language of daily communication. Yet, this use should not exceed the use of Classical Arabic as it is the language that links Muslims to the Book of Allah and the religion of Muhammad (peace be upon him). Classical Arabic should be visible in the spectrums of religious discourse and in the written fields as it is the reservoir of religious knowledge and a prerequisite for attaining this knowledge. Its absence will inevitably lead to the absence of a culture and a way of life. A forgotten language, the language of the Qur'an, leads to a forgotten Book, and will lead to a forgotten religion and a way of life. Although Classical Arabic is not the medium of everyday expressions and communications and not the mother tongue of the Egyptian people, it has survived for many centuries and continued its presence in the lives of Egyptians. Every Muslim should have some knowledge of Classical Arabic in order to perform the five daily prayers and recite the Qur'an. Performing prayers and reciting the Qur'an can only be done through Classical Arabic whether Muslims are men or women, educated or uneducated, poor or rich, Arabs or non-Arabs.

Third, Egyptian Arabic will never disappear as it is the mother tongue of Egyptians. Those scholars who use Egyptian Arabic in their speech will continue doing so as they believe it helps in making and conveying the message easier for all classes in the Egyptian society. They regard using Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse as

152

significant and effective as using Classical Arabic since all prophets and messengers used the language of their communities to convey God's message.

Whether Egyptian Arabic is considered "a language" or "an inferior dialect" is a controversial issue that continues to be debated within the Egyptian society. There has been a delusion that the Egyptian vernacular has neither grammar nor systematic rules. However, Egyptian Arabic has a systematic and linguistic structure like any other language form. It is neither better nor worse than Classical Arabic. The study of Egyptian Arabic has been carried by both Arab and non-Arab linguists who have been interested in the spoken language of Egypt (Spitta 1880, Mitchell 1956, Gamal-Eldin 1967, Broselow 1976, Abdel-Massih, 1981, Gary & Gamal El-Din 1982, Parkinson, 1992, Haeri, 2003, Bassiuoney, 2006). Those linguists were concerned with writing a grammar of Egyptian Arabic. Nowadays quite a lot of textbooks of Egyptian Arabic are being used in Western universities and some regional ones, such as the American University in Cairo, for the purpose of teaching foreigners.

Scholars are free to choose the language variety they are confident with and which their audiences understand. Using Egyptian Arabic, the mother tongue of both the scholar and the audience, helps convey the message perfectly and harmoniously and increases the interaction with the audience. The Classical Arabic-Egyptian Arabic codeswitching in Khaled's speech reveals the friendly attitude between the speaker and the listeners. It changes the formal situation into an informal, pleasant, and welcoming situation. It avoids any ambiguity and discomfort. In the discussion session, the use of Egyptian Arabic helps the dialogue to be more casual, direct and informal.

The results of this study do not mean that one language or code is going to replace the other. Rather, it refers to the continuous contact of both Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic which may lead to a "composite matrix language" (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 299) or a "composite code" (Bassiuoney, 2006, p. 151) based on elements and structures from both codes. Even though Classical Arabic is not the mother tongue of anyone, it still exists in the formal discourse with high prestige, particularly in the religious speech. However, with the increase spread, prominence and popularity of Egyptian Arabic, some religious scholars have used it to the extent that their language has become a mix of both varieties. They do not speak pure Classical Arabic nor pure Egyptian Arabic. Rather, they use a language that can be described "al-luɣah al-fuṣriyyah", "the fuṣħa-ʕaammiyyah language" or as (اللغة الفصرية) the "Classical-Egyptian language"; a blend or a composite code of Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. Mejdell (2006) wrote,

> The use of verbal strategies which result in a kind of 'mixed'
> discourse, taking its linguistic means partly from the 'standard'
> and partly from the vernacular, has, however, long been
> acknowledged both by outside scholars and by language
> users themselves as an (unofficial) appropriate way of
> copying with more formal spoken settings. (p. xii)

Implications for Further Research

The present study has shown that Egyptian Arabic occurs considerably in the reglious discourse in Egypt. It has also revealed that the struggle between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic is a conflict between modernizers and language defenders.

Further work needs to be carried out in the processes of modernizing a sacred language and the political and social issues involved in such processes. Another research area is the relationship between the Arabic language and national ideology. The role of the Arabic language in the conflict between Arab nationalism and Islamic nationalism may lead to fruitful results in the socio-political arena.

A more interesting area for research would be to conduct a study on the interaction between the Arabic language and national identity. The call for promoting the vernacular in Egypt is based on the idea that Egyptians should use their mother tongue in all aspects of life. Egyptians have a strong sense of their national identity and of their differences with other Arabs. It is very important to examine the various transformations when Egyptian Arabic becomes the official language of Egypt and its influences on Egyptians' national identity.

Another area of research would be to compare the use of the Arabic vernacular in the religious discourse in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, the the birthplace of Islam, focusing on the identity of Egypt and Saudi Arabia as Muslim and Arab countries and trying to provide solutions to the ideological conflict between Classical Arabic and the vernaculars. Researchers need to examine and compare the attitudes of Egyptians and Saudis towards the switch from the Classical to the vernacular in the religious domain.

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161

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

A Questionnaire to Measure Egyptians' Attitudes & Perceptions Towards Codeswitching in Religious Discourse

Religious scholars code-switch from Classical to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse because:

1. **they want to convey their message in a more simplified language.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

2. **Classical Arabic is difficult and complex.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

3. **they are deficient in Classical Arabic.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

4. **they are competent speakers of Egyptian Arabic.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

5. **they want to deviate from the norms of pure Classical Arabic.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

6. **they want to enhance communication with the audience.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

7. **they want to receive more respect from the audience.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

8. **they want to address all classes of the Egyptian society.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

9. **they belong to a high socio-economic class.**

   Strongly Agree   Agree   Uncertain   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

10. I feel that switching from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious discourse is ....

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إستبيان لقياس ميول واتجاهات المصريين نحو استخدام اللهجة المصرية فى الخطاب الدينى

يميل الدعاة فى مصر إلى الإنتقال من اللغة العربية الفصحى إلى اللهجة العامية للأسباب الآتية:

1) لأنهم يريدون أن يوصلوا رسالتهم بلغة أكثر سهولة.

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

2) لأن اللغة العربية الفصحى صعبة ومعقدة.

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

3) لأنهم ضعفاء فى اللغة العربية الفصحى .

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

4) لأنهم متحدثون بارعون فى اللهجة المصرية.

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

5) لأنهم يريدون أن يبتعدوا عن قواعد اللغة العربية الفصحى.

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

6) لأنهم يريدون أن يحسنوا الإتصال بالجمهور.

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

7) لأنهم يريدون أن ينالوا إحترام الجمهور.

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

8) لأنهم يريدون أن يخاطبوا كل طبقات المجتمع المصرى.

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

9) لأنهم ينتمون إلى طبقة إجتماعية راقية.

أوافق بشدة   أوافق   غير متأكد   لا أوافق   لا أوافق بشدة

10) أرى أن الإنتقال من اللغة العربية الفصحى إلى اللهجة المصرية فى الخطاب الدينى

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Appendix B

Interview Questions

1. Do you like to listen to or watch religious speeches or sermons?

2. How often do you do that?

3. Who are your favorite scholars and sheikhs?

4. In Egypt, several scholars and sheikhs use Egyptian Arabic in their religious formal speech. Do you think the use of Egyptian Arabic is appropriate in religious discourse?

5. Is it easier for scholars to convey their message in Egyptian Arabic?

6. Are those scholars who use Egyptian Arabic incompetent in Classical Arabic?

7. Do those scholars belong to the upper class?

8. Have you ever listened to or watched Amr Khaled?

9. What do you think of his speech style?

10. When Amr Khaled speaks, he shifts from Classical to Egyptian Arabic. What is the advantage, you think, of using Egyptian Arabic?

11. Do you think Khaled's use of Egyptian Arabic earns him the audience's respect?

<p dir="rtl" align="center">أسئلة المقابلة الشخصية</p>

<p dir="rtl">1) هل تحب أن تستمع إلى أو تشاهد محاضرات دينية؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">2) كم مرة تفعل ذلك؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">3) من هم المشايخ أو الدعاة المفضلين لك؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">4) يستخدم عديد من المشايخ والدعاة فى مصر اللهجة العامية المصرية فى خطبهم. هل تعتقد أن استخدام العامية المصرية مناسب فى الخطاب الدينى؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">5) هل توصيل الرسالة باللهجة العامية يعتبر أسهل من توصيلها باللغة العربية الفصحى؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">6) هل تعتقد أن المشايخ والدعاة الذين يستخدمون العامية المصرية ضعاف فى اللغة العربية الفصحى؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">7) هل ينتمى هؤلاء المشايخ والدعاة الى الطبقة الراقية فى المجتمع المصري؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">8) هل استمعت أو شاهدت من قبل الأستاذ عمرو خالد؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">9) ما رأيك فى أسلوبه الخطابي؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">10) عندما يتكلم عمرو خالد نجده ينتقل فى خطابه من العربية الفصحى الى اللهجة العامية المصرية. ما فائدة استخدام العامية المصرية فى خطابه الدينى من وجهة نظرك؟</p>

<p dir="rtl">11) هل تعتقد أن استخدام عمرو خالد للعامية المصرية يكسبه احترام الجمهور؟</p>

Appendix C

English Transliteration System

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b	ب
t	ت
t̲	ث
dʒ	ج
ħ	ح
x	خ
d	د
d̲	ذ
r	ر
z	ز
s	س
ʃ	ش
ṣ	ص
ḍ	ض
ṭ	ط
D̲	ظ
ʕ	ع
ɣ	غ
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