Code switching in Religious Discourse in Egypt:
The Case of Moez Masoud

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Abstract :

This study investigates the use of code switching (CS) between English and Arabic in the religious discourse of the Islamic preacher Moez Masoud. Data selected for this analysis came from two TV programs, presented by Moez Masoud entitled "The Right Path" on Iqraa TV and "The Journey of Certainty" on CBC TV channel. The results showed a number of functions of code switching, including lack/difficulty of an Arabic equivalent, quoting, smoothing negative connotations of a given expression, establishing authority and explaining academic terminology. In addition, the results of the analysis yielded a number of indexes: prestige, modernity, good education, and refusal.

Keywords: Code switching; stance theory; indexicality theory; religious discourse; sociolinguistics.

ملخص :

هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل ظاهرة التناوب اللغوي بين العربية والإنجليزية في الخطاب الديني. وقد قامت الباحثة باختيار الداعية الإسلامي معز مسعود لهذا الغرض وذلك من خلال جمع الماد العلمية من برنامجين قدمهما معز مسعود في القنوات التليفزيونية الفضائية: برنامج الطريق الصح وبرنامج رحلة اليقين. وقد أظهرت النتائج أن التناوب اللغوي يستخدم للقيام بمجموعة من الوظائف مثل عدم وجود أو صعوبة المرادف باللغة العربية، الاقتباس، التخفيف من المغزى السلبي لتعبير معين، تدعيم السلطة وشرح المصطلحات الأكاديمية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك أظهرت النتائج أن التناوب اللغوي يحمل مجموعة من الدلالات وهي الهيبة الاجتماعية، الحداثة، التعليم الجيد، بالإضافة إلى الرفض.

I. Introduction

Code-switching (CS) is an important linguistic phenomenon which is used in different societies for a wide range of functions in our personal communications. In Egypt, CS is evident in daily activities, including everyday conversations, literary texts, TV shows, and even religious sermons. Code-Switching could be defined as the use of two codes in communications, either written or spoken, and these codes could be either varieties of one language or two different languages (Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Myers-Scotton (1998) argues that "varieties are a cover term for selections at all linguistic levels so that choices between varieties include, for example, choices of one language rather than another, one dialect over another, one style or register over another, and one form of a directive or refusal over another". CS is usually considered as an overarching term that involves other linguistic behaviors including diglossia and footing. Diglossia was first introduced by Ferguson (1959) and at a later stage Fishman (1967) refined the concept. Ferguson defined diglossia as the presence of a "divergent, highly codified" variety of language, which is employed in specific situations (1959, p. 336). While Ferguson discussed diglossia in situations where varieties of the same language are concurrently used, Fishman (1967) addressed it in situations where two unrelated languages are present. Given the fact that diagnosis was introduced by the end of 1959s, it is considered as a precursor to the study of code switching. Another concept that has been associated with code switching is footing. While code switching usually involves a shift

from one language to another, shifts in footing may also be demonstrated in various ways. Footing is a process of aligning communication between a speaker and a hearer. The shift does not have to be linguistic in nature since it could be also physical. Examples may include changes in stance or posture. Footing is usually perceived as the stance or positioning taken during communication. In a communicative act, a language user can take on different roles based on changes in purpose and context. .

A number of sociolinguistic approaches to code switching have been used in the literature. In this line of research, studies attempt to investigate lexical functions CS serves in a specific social context. In such a setting, code-switching can be seen as a "resource for indexing situationally salient aspects of context in speaker's attempt to accomplish interactional goals" (Heller, 1988, p.3). If we take religious discourse as an example, where language, religion, and social context interact, CS could be an interesting area to investigate. Geertz (1971) argues that religion is a system of symbols which attempts to sustain powerful and long-lasting moods and motivations. Based on these ideas, the current study looks into the functions and stances of code switching in religious discourse in Egypt using a sample of episodes from the TV programs of Moez Masoud.

A number of theories have been adopted in the study of code switching, including indexicality and stance theories. Indexicality as a framework allows us to pair linguistic patterns with social meaning (Ochs, 1992). Language is generally used as

an index in particular social settings. For example, while you see humans code-transfer among English and Arabic in Egypt, this is often perceived as an index of high social class or good education. Auer (2005) employed CS as in index of identity. Auer takes immigrants in Europe and the Americas as an example of how language could be employed to index particular features or stances. While the majority language in this context is neutral, the minority language is generally perceived as an index of social identity. According to Bassiouney (2014), speakers have a number of clear associations among linguistic forms and social meaning, which could be used to index and establish particular stances. To better understand the social motivation of CS in Moez Masoud TV programs, the focus of this thesis is on investigating the functions and indexes of CS in this specific preaching experience.

The 'Stance theory taps into how people classify themselves or other speakers into certain categories. These classifications usually shape humans' social identity. According to Du Bois (2007), stance refers to the relationship between the speaker and a stance object (whether human or inanimate). Stance theory is used in the CS literature to study how humans position themselves through language choice. For example, Soliman (2016) looked at stance in CS through the evaluation of CS incidents in the novel (Zaat). The results showed that the characters in the novel used CS to establish specific stances including belonging to a higher social class and sounding more educated, powerful, or religious.

Given the recommendations of a number of researchers (e.g. Bassiouney, 2004; Soliman, 2016), the researcher adopted these two theoretical models in this study: Indexicality theory and stance theory. These two theories lend themselves to the focus of the current analysis and the nature of religious discourse where preachers attempt to serve a number of functions to show specific positions or stances.

II. Literature review

II.1 Studies on Arabic- English Code-Switching

A number of studies have investigated the use of Arabic-English CS in a wide range of social contexts. For example, Asali (2011) in his study examined the use of English-Arabic code switching among Arab Americans in the USA. His results found that Arab Americans use Arabic, which is their native language, in casual or informal conversations with their family, friends and intimate relationships. The results of his questionnaire showed another dimension of the phenomena which is the attitude of the interlocutors using CS. The results also demonstrated that the speakers are often divided into two groups. The majority had a positive attitude toward CS while the minority had a negative opinion about it. These two different attitudes depended on a number of factors such as age, nationality, gender and educational background.

Bader (1995) examined CS from Arabic (L1) to English (L2) among Jordanians in their informal daily conversations. He had two objectives of this study: The first one was investigating the influence of different factors that caused the use of CS such as, religion, education, age, and gender. The second objective was examining the reasons behind the occurrence of code-switching in different settings. The results showed that urban well-educated young females substantially code-switch to English more than less-educated old male village dwellers. The study also revealed that CS was usually associated with prestige and social status. Many students also thought that CS to English distorts Arabic (L1) and harms its purity. In addition, they tended to believe that CS causes identity loss and harms national cohesion. Taweel and Btoosh (2012)'s findings are in line with the results of Bader (1995). They investigated the use of CS between eight Jordanian Arabic- English students pursuing their higher education at Arizona State University. They found out that less code switching to English is accepted as much use of it causes damage to the purity of their Arabic language as perceived by those students. Those students conceived of CS as weakness that amounts to disability to speak in their native language.

Hussien (1999) in his remarkable study investigated the use of Arabic (L1)-English (L2) CS among Jordanian university students. The sample included 325 students enrolled in different

faculties at Yarmouk University. The outcomes of the study revealed that the use of CS is not due to poor Arabic Language proficiency. CS is usually used with scientific and technological terminology as there is no equivalent for such specific terms in Arabic. In a related study, Ali (1999) investigated CS among students at Cairo University. The result of the research showed different motives behind using CS such as discussing academic topics and also as a way of showing off. Other factors that caused Arabic-English code switching include personality, language proficiency, social context, and gender. Simialrly, Jdetawy (2007) examined Arabic-English CS among Arab university student in Malaysia. He noted that the majority of students code switch in their conversations and also found no relationship between familiarity with the participants and CS.

Abalhassan and Alshawali (2000) looked at CS in graduate classes. They noted that English comes as a supplement to Arabic language, which is used to facilitate comprehension and not as a primary method of communication. The results revealed many motivations leading to the use of CS in graduate students' conversations, such as ignorance of Arabic terms. Those students usually found it easier to use the English terminology. Other factors significantly affected the use of CS, such as showing off, avoiding taboos in Arabic and also expressing satisfaction or anger.

II. 2 Code-Switching in Arabic Religious Discourse

Another strand of the literature has looked into religious discourse and how language is used in this context to persuade people. Clifford (1990) and Geertz (1971) claim that religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivation in people. This is usually done by attempting to establish conceptions of a specific order of existence and clothing. Religion attempts to create a moral system that includes conservative behaviors and appearance. The moods and motivations of a certain religion are envisioned to be realistic. We cannot define accurately what religious speech is or what its existence is like (real meaning). It is how people, and specifically how Muslims, use language in the context of their faith, i.e., when practicing their rituals. Religious discourse can be expressed both linguistically and behaviorally. Religious discourse involves talk about God, immortality, miracles, salvation, prayer, values, and ethics (Bahnsen, 1992). To conclude, religious discourse is a reflection of religious people's lives, convictions, and principles that have sources in their stories, myths, and narratives.

Until recently there is no adequate research about how religion is closely related to bilingualism and multilingualism and the way they interact together (Spolsky 2003). A good example of this line of research is the way CS is used in religious contexts. Code switching is used in religious occasions like greetings and wishes during the holidays (Bader, 1995). One study that looked

into the use of CS in religious discourse was conducted by Almansour (2010). Almansour (2010) investigated CS in religious discourse among Muslims from different communities and diverse linguistic backgrounds. Those Muslims do not speak Arabic as their native language. His data included a set of audio-recorded interviews of non-Arab speakers. The focus of the analysis was to test the speakers' ability to produce four Arabic phrases used by Muslims: Masha Allah (' whatever God wills'), Alhamdu lillah (' God be praised'), Bismillah ('in God's n;ame'), and Inshaa Allah ('If God wills'). The study showed that although the participants do not speak Arabic, at least they produced the Arabic phrases mentioned above. The results showed that the participants use those religious expressions to assert their Islamic identity and found them more expressive than English in different religious occasions (it expresses the shared identity of Muslims around the world). The study analyzed the sociolinguistic factors behind the use of such Arabic phrases in a second/foreign language setting. The analysis revealed how those sociolinguistic aspects make these Arabic phrases widespread among communities where they belong.

Barnes and Mohamed (1994)'s study examined the use of CS in a bilingual setting and language varieties spoken by Muslim Indians, such as Urdu, Memon and Konkani. The results showed that CS to Arabic happens more frequently when the speakers discussed topics related to worship and other religious events or occasions. In a related study, Susanto (2006) examined the use of

the expression (inshallah) in Arabic language. Three languages were analyzed in this research project: Indonesian, Japanese, and Arabic. The study investigated the use of situational and metaphorical CS within these languages. According to the situational approach, the results showed that the participants switch to Arabic expressions like Baraka and Inshallah to gain religious merits. Based on the metaphorical use of CS, the speakers employed Islamic terms to express their full submission to God. These phrases express the politeness and humbleness of Muslims.

II.3 Modern Muslim Preachers and the Use of Code Switching

Most new preachers are characterized by their use of new media outlets, such as blogs, websites, and satellite channels. Through using these strategies, they attempt to establish an effective relationship between Islam and modernity. This strategy could help in attracting large audience, especially upper and middle class young men and women who are interested in the message conveyed by the preacher. They tend to focus their efforts on changing the individual through preaching and persuasion. 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 influence on the educated and rich Muslims.

Which one is more significant in religious discourse: the message or the language? Content or form? Or both? What might happen if an Egyptian sheikh uses a language that is not familiar to the audience? And if a preacher uses Egyptian Arabic, do Egyptians lose their religion or culture? Is the sheikh harming the message of Islam? In the Quran, 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". 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 about what the messengers said to their people and how their people responded - and most of them were not Arabs. If the messengers had spoken foreign languages, their communities would not have understood them.

Moez Masoud is a Muslim preacher who has gained substantial popularity among younger generations of Muslims in Egypt and the Arab countries at large. He is famous for his unconventional preaching style that is characterized by simplicity, reasoning, and modernity. Moez spent some of his time in western countries and was educated in academic institutions where English is the medium of instruction. This experience has given him the ability to develop advanced proficiency in both Arabic and English. According to Wikipedia, Moez Masoud was selected as the most influential religious figure in Egypt in 2008 and was also

listed in the '500 Most Influential Muslims in 2009' by Georgetown University. Moez Masouz is a good example of modern religious discourse in the Arab world. Moez Masoud switches between English and Arabic frequently in his preaching. This style of preaching has given him substantial appeal among youths since his style is different from conventional religious preaching either in TV programs or mosques. The current study attempts to look into the functions, indexes, and stances in code switching in a sample of Moez Masoud's TV programs.

III. Significance of the study.

As our world continues to be connected through different types of technology, CS makes a lot of sense as people from different backgrounds continue to be in close contact with one another. Different language strategies, including CS, are used to convey meaning, express emotions, and make statements. In religious preaching, scholars attempt to use linguistic tools to reach out to different communities. Their main aim is to convince followers and to make sure that they are on board. Preaching about religion helps in creating a more enlightened society through better understanding our behaviors. Here in this study Moez Masoud considers preaching as a tool to build the pure moral courage and resolve in the face of contemporary societal challenges. This study is important because it helps us understand how and why CS is used to covey different functions. In addition, the study is critical in terms of investigating the indexes and

stances employed when using CS in the context of religious discourse. This information can help us understand how to make religious discourse more appealing to the masses.

IV Research Questions:

The study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the lexical functions of CS in Moez Masoud's preaching?

2. What are the indexes of code switching in Moez Masoud's programs?

3. How is CS employed to show a specific stance by Moez Masoud?

V. The Study Limitations

The study investigated code switching in religious discourse, with specific focus on one preacher: Moez Masoud. Episodes were selected from two TV programs presented by Masoud: The Right Path and the Journey of Certainty. Two theoretical frameworks were selected for data analysis: Indexaclity and stances theories. The study focused only on functions, indexes, and stances of code switching and did not address any issues related to syntactical features.

VI Methodology

VI.1 Source of Data

Data came from TV programs presented by the Muslim preacher Moez Masoud. Moes Masoud was selected given his unconventional preaching style which goes beyond the traditional approaches used by the majority of Muslim preachers. Moez Masoud graduated with a bachelor's degree in economics from the American University in Cairo. His educational background has given him the opportunity to become a fluent Arabic and English speaker. This background has also helped him establish his own preaching style and also attract a large number of young Muslims who have been looking for a different type of religious discourse. Moez was successful in reaching out to those young Muslims and consequently his popularity has been on the rise. The Economist described Masoud as one of the world's five most influential Muslim preachers in the year 2013. Moez was also successful in proving that there is no contradiction between Islam and modernity.

Data selected for this analysis came from two TV programs, presented by Moez Masoud entitled " the Right Path" on Iqraa TV and "The Journey of Certainty" on CBC TV channel. The selection criteria for the study data included the following:

- Availability of episodes online (on Youtube)

- Presence of instances of code switching from Arabic to English

- Adequate number of CS incidents that allow for appropriate data analysis

- Inclusion of different religious topic

Episodes that met the previous criteria were downloaded from Youtube.

VI.2 Description of Data Analysis Procedures

Before final analysis, data was transcribed through converting the audio files into a written text. This made the analysis more convenient and easier for the researcher. Initial coding was done by two coders (including the researcher) in order to identify functions, indexes and stances related to code switching in the data set. The two coders discussed their agreements / disagreements and made sure that they used the same criteria when identifying the issues of interest in this study.

The first question focused on the functions that CS serve. The analysis followed an inductive approach to data analysis through identifying CS incidents in the TV programs and then classifying them into categories. To answer Question 2 and Question 3, two theoretical frameworks were adopted: indexacality theory and stance theory. Previous research was reviewed to inform the current data analysis (Bassiouney, 2012, 2013, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 2010; Woolard, 2004). Indexicality

has been extensively used in CS research (Bassiouney, 2012, 2013, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 2010; Woolard, 2004). According to the literature (e.g., Woolard, 2004) the indexes of each code can help us get a sense of purposes CS may serve. In addition, the stance theory was used to support the analysis and the researcher attempted to identify the stances taken by Moez Masoud during code switching. In order to avoid redundancy, the answer of both questions was merged in one section.

VII. Results

VII.1 Functions of Code Switching in Moez Masoud's TV Programs

The analysis of the data identified a relatively long list of code switching incidents in Moez Masoud's TV programs. The following section provides a summary of the different functions found in the CS data set and offers examples from the data set. Only a small number of examples are presented in this section given the space imitation.

VII.1.1 Function 1: Lack/Difficult of finding an Arabic Equivalent

The first function identified in the data set is the use of code switching to compensate for lack or difficulty of an Arabic equivalent. In Example 1, Moez Masoud used the concept 'cognitive dissonance' basically because it was difficult for him to

come up with an Arabic equivalent. Usually the use of English phrases would also make his speech appealing to the audience. When he appears as a knowledgeable man, the audience is expected to trust and respect what he says, and takes it seriously. In this example the speaker is illustrating a state of mind that usually happens when people are perplexed about choosing an action, and when they cannot decide on one choice. This confusion makes them feel guilty all the time about any decision they make. This is what psychiatrics call *cognitive dissonance*. Here Moez uses English as he cannot come up with an equivalent or specific description for it in Arabic (Ignorance of an Arabic Term).

Example 1 : (Episode 13: A globalized Sahriaa - The Certainty Journey program)

الناس بتنفر من بعض أحكام الدين مثلا طلق اللحية اذا كانت واجبة أو لا فيشعروا أنهم عصاه بيقول عليها علماء النفس *Cognitive dissonance*

alna:s btinfur men ba ʕ ḍ aḥk a:m ald i:n masa:lan ṭalq alli7ya: ʔza: ka:nt wa:geba: aw laʔ fy ʃ ʕrou anahom ʕuṣah byqoul ʕnha: ʕulma: alnafs cognitive dissonance

People dislike some religious rules, such as growing a beard, if it is obligatory or not. They feel guilty and this is what psychologists call cognitive dissonance.

Building on the same idea, the speaker in Example 2 talks about envy in our lives. The one who worships God and surrenders to His commands is jealous from the people who disobeyed His majesty. The word used by Moez Masoud to describe this state of mind is Jealot. Since there is no equivalent word in Arabic, he uses the English concept**.**

Example 2: (Episode 13: Your objective in life – the Right Path program)

تدين زعل ان الناس التانية مبطلتش ... بقى بيبص بعين غضبانة وفي نفس أول ما جايه من *the jelot* الوقت بعين حسودة فحتى عمل كلمة بالانجليزي تضحك جدا قال يعني انسان *zealot* منه ومن *jealous* اللي هي الغيرة غيران من واحد ف *jealousy* وعمل *jealousy* و *zealot* متعصب عنده غلو في الدين هو جمع بين

Ɂawil ma tadayan ziʕil Ɂin il-na:s il-tanyah mabaṣaliṭʃ / baɁa byibuṣ b-ʕe:n ḥasu:dah/ b-ʕe:n ġaḍba:nah/ wi fi nafs ***zealout*** il-waɁt bi-ʕ e:n ḥasudah / fa- ḥata ʕamal kilmah

b-il-Ɂingli:zi: tiḍaḥak gedan Ɂa:l *the jelout* / gaya min *jealousy* ʕilli hya il-ġi:rah / ġayra:n min waḥid fa *jealous* minu / wi min *zealout* yaʕi Ɂinsa:n mutaʕaṣib ʕandu ġiliw fi il-di:n/ huwa: gamaʕ be:n wi *jealous* wi Ɂamal *jealout*

When he became religious, he was angry that other people did not stop committing sins. He was both angry and jealous and there was even a funny English word coined based on this *(jealot)* which comes from jealous and zealot – meaning someone who is fanatical and uncompromising about religious beliefs.

VII.1.2 Function 2: Quoting

A quotation refers to a number of words taken from a text or speech and repeated by someone other than the original author or speaker. Here Moez Masoud uses this function to illustrate and support his information and point of view. A switch can be identified either as a direct quotation in a different language or as reported speech.

Example 3: (Episode 22: Satan's plan – The Right Path program)

كان فيه كاتب عمل شعر اتعمل أغنية شهيرة جدا بتقولك:

"you label me , I label you so I dub thee unforgiven"

هتصنفنى هاصنفك ومش هاغفرلك. التصنيف السلبي بيمنع التراحم

Ka:n fi ka:tib ʕamal ʃiʕr ʔitʕamal ʔuġnyia:h ʃahi:ra gidan bitʔulak *"you label m , I label you so I dub thee unforgiven"*/ haṭṣnafni haṣnafak wi miʃ haġfirlak / il-taṣni:f il-salbi

biyimnaʕ il-taraḥum

There was a writer who authored a very famous song that says "you label me, I label you so I dub thee unforgiven". Negative stereotyping discourages forgiveness

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In Example 3, the speaker explains the plan of the devil that attempts to destroy every innocent and pure thing around us and turns it into something evil and ugly. Also spreading negative

energy everywhere is another strategy used by the devil to populate the idea that it is impossible to have a united nation. The devil believes that loneliness leads to weakness. That is why his mission mainly focuses on destroying the passion of teamwork and breaking up relationships among people. Through using quotation the speaker is able to build interpersonal relationship with his audience.

Example 4: (Episode 6: Wine – The Right Path program

افتكرت معنى قاله أحد العلماء الغربيين اللي كان غير مسلم واسلم لما كان بيرد على كارل ماركس كلمة ماركس المشهور الدين أفيون الشعوب:

Religion is the opium of the masses

رد عليه قله لكن الافيون دين الشعوب:

opium is the religion of the masses

ʔiftakart maʕna ʔaluh ʔaḥad il-ʔulama:ʔ il-ġarbyi:n

ʔilli ka:n ġe:r muslim wi ʔaslam / lama ka:n byirud ʕala: Karl Marx kilmit Marx ʔalmaʃ-hourah **:** al-di:n afyu:n

il-ʃuʕu:b *religion is the opium of the masses*/ rad ʕale:h ʔaluh **:** il-ʔfyu:n di:n il-ʃuʕu:b *opium is the religion of the masses*

I remembered something mentioned by one of the western scientist who was not a Muslim and then converted to Islam when he was responding to Karl Marx's famous words: Religion is the opium of the masses. He countered this view by saying: opium is the religion of the masses.

In Example 4, Marx believes that people in their religious beliefs attempt to "forget" all their wounds and agonies and get rid of all their responsibilities. They do not want to worship God for the sake of satisfying Him, to see His mercy, or to get blessings from Him. All they want is to use religion as a tool to hang up their laziness and failures on. But sincere Muslims need to "remember" Allah all the time and be close to His majesty and to His prophet Mohamed every moment in their lives. Moez uses a famous speech by Karl Marx and the author who opposes him to support his view about the falseness of the idea that Islam keeps Muslims unaware of their roles and responsibilities in life.

VII.1.3. Function 3: Smoothing Negative Connotations of a Given Expression:

A connotation is a commonly understood cultural association that some words or phrases carry, in addition to their explicit or literal meaning. In other words, connotations make the reader / listener think beyond the basic meaning of a word. Smoothing negative connotation refers to the process of replacing a negative word or a sensitive topic by another one from a different language. This replacement makes the negative connotation more politically correct and acceptable to the audience. It shows how the speaker is considerate and thoughtful when dealing with his audience.

> **Example 5: (Episode 27: The Greatness of Human Beings – the Journey of certainty program)**
>
> اتكلمت (جيرمين جرير) عن الثورة الجنسية ولخصت كلامها
>
> *It is the male sexuality that has been freed*
>
> جعل المكان العام جنسيا بمعنى انه ملئ بالاشارات الجنسية اتكلمت عن حاجه اسمها
>
> *eroticization of the public space*
>
> it-kallimit Jermein Greer ʕan il- θawrah il-ginsyiah wi laxxasit kalamha: (*It is the male sexuality that has been freed*) /
>
> it-kallimit ʕan ḥa:gah ʔismaha gaʕl il-maka:n il-ʕa:m ginsyian / bimaʕna: ʔannahu: mali:ʔ bil ʔiʃara:t il-gensyiah (*eroticization of the public space*)
>
> She (Germaine Greer) talked about sexual revolution and she
>
> Summarized her view as follows: *"It is the male sexuality that has been freed"*. She referred to something called *eroticization of the public space*, i.e. it is filled with sexual connotations.

In Example 5, the speaker addresses issues related to sex in the west and how women are oppressed in the intimate relationship. Sex is a very sensitive issue to be discussed in Islam and the Arab world in general. He uses English language instead of Arabic to make the words sound relatively polite. Here CS functions as a connotation and since Moez is open-minded, this permits him to talk about such sensitive issues.

**Example 6: (Episode 6: A call from the Creator – The Journey
of Certainty program)**

أكبر دين بيكبر في العالم دلوقتى دين ال none ناس بتؤمن بوجود . اللي هو اللا دين
no organized religion الخالق سبحانه وتعالى وبس دين لا

ʔakbar di:n bi-yikbar fi il-ʕa:lam dilwaʔti: di:n il- (none) ʔilli:
huwa: ʔal la: di:n / na:s bituʔmin b-wigu:d ʔal-xa:liq subḥa:nahu:
wa taʕa:la wi bas di:n laʔ (*no organized religion*)

The largest increasing religion currently is no religion –none-
People who believe in the existence of God almighty only, but
with *no organized religion*

In this episode discussed in Example 6, Moez talks
about how people refuse the idea of religion specially organized
religions like Islam and Christianity. Instead of describing the
situation using the word "atheism" he used the word "none" since
atheism refers to the people who do not believe in God at all.
Consequently, he used the word "none" to exclude the category of
people who refuse religions while still believe in God. Then he
used the term "organized religions" to show that there are other
religions, not only Islam, people escaping from. "None" here
comes as a connotation for the word atheism.

VII.1.4 Function 4: Establishing Authority

The fourth function of code switching as revealed in the data has to do with establishing authority as shown in Example 7. Speakers sometimes use a different language to establish authority and show that they are knowledgeable. This usually enhances their image and also make them more trusted by their audience. Moez Masoud usually uses this strategy to make him more appealing to those listening to his sermons. Example 7 is a good way of describing how Moez Masoud uses CS to establish authority. In this episode, he talks about his study abroad and its effect on his preaching. He travelled to many countries and absorbed knowledge from different cultures around the world. Here, he is introducing himself as a rich man who was able to travel and study abroad. He is addressing native Arabic speakers so he is setting himself apart from them. Consequently CS creates a sense of authority over his audience.

Example 7: (Episode 2: Imitating the West- The Right Path program)

I have been there, I have done that انا عشت في الغرب قبل كدة

ʔana ʕiʃ-t fi il -ġarb ʔabl kidah / I have been there, I have done that

I lived in the West before. I have been there, I have done that.

Example 8: (Episode 14: Is There any Conflict between Religion and Arts – The Right Path program)

الفيلم *telling a story visually* انك تحكي فصة *visually* مش متشافه تبقى أكتر

il-film telling a story visually/ ʔinak tiḥki qiṣah visually /tibʔa mitʃa:fah miʃ ʔaktar

The movie is about telling a story visually – just to be watched

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In Example 8, the speaker speculates how life is like a movie. When the main message is expressed in one language, and followed by an explanation in the other language, CS helps in establishing authority and solidifying the position of the speaker. In this episode, he is showing that he was raised and educated in the west. In addition it insinuates that he is a fluent speaker of English who is aware of the western culture not only religion. This privilege that most of his audience do not possess helps him establish a sense of authority.

VII.1.5 Function 5: Explaining Academic Terminology

Code switching is sometimes used when discussing academic topics that are usually accompanied by a large number of academic terms. For practicality and convenience reasons, speakers usually use academic terminology from the English language to discuss such topics.

Example 9: (Episode 27: The Greatness of Human Beings – The Journey of Certainty program)

فيه مرض جديد اتسمى *BDD body dimorphic disorder* مهتمه جدا بشكلك ومش هتعرفي تعيشي الا لو شكلك اتظبط بدأ يتعمل ليه أدوية وتحول إلى تجاره بحالها

fi maraḍ gidi:d ʔitsamma *BDD body dimorphic disorder* muhtamma gidan bi ʃaklik wi miʃ hatiʕrafi tiʕi:ʃi: ʔilla law ʃaklik ʔitðabaṭ / badaʔ yitʕimil li:h adwiyah wi taḥawal ʔila tigarah biḥalha.

There is a new disease called body dimorphic disorder (BDD). You are obsessed with your body image and would not be able to live unless you are in good shape. That is why many drugs were produced and this has been turned into a full-fledged business.

In Example 9, Moez discusses the importance and the common desire of women to be attractive and pretty. In this episode, CS is used to explain the academic term BDD which is a medical issue unknown by many people in the audience. The use of this term in English reflects the high educational level of the speaker and also because of the convenience of using the English term.

Example 10: (Episode 3: Romanticism – The Right Path program

بيقولوا فيه فجوة بين السن اللي بيبلغ فيه الانسان ومابين السن اللي بيبقى جاهز مش بس جسميا لكن اجتماعيا ونفسيا بيبقى جاهز للزواج

psycho-social Maturity

b-yiʔulu: fi fagwah beːn il-sin ʔilli b-yibluġ fiːh

il-ʔinsaːn wi ma beːn il-sin ʔilli b-yibʔa gaːhiz miʃ bas gismyian laːkin ʔigitimaːʕyan wi nafsyaːn b-yibʔa gahiz

lil-zwaːg *(psycho-social maturity)*

They say that there is a gap between the puberty age and the age in which the person becomes not only physically but also socially qualified for marriage: *psycho-social maturity*

The speaker in Example 10 refers to the desire of youth to marry. They are not mature enough to get married, be responsible and raise a family. They may be physically ready but still do not have adequate psychological and social skills to rely on in marriage. This status is called "Psycho *social maturity*". This is an academic term from the field of Psychology.

VII.2: CS Indexes and Stances in Moez Masoud TV Programs

Given the connection between indexes and stance and to avoid redundancy, the answer of Question 2 and Question 3 will be presented in one section. In addition, stance and indexicality are strongly related and it would be more coherent to discuss them together. Furthermore, the context of the examples is of value to understand both indexes and stance.

VII.2.1 English as an Index of Prestige

As indicated earlier, English is sometimes used to index prestige. In Example 11, Moez Masoud is using the phrase 'cold stone'. While Arab speakers may be familiar with the word grave, but many of them are not familiar with the expression (cold stone). This unfamiliar choice creates a distance between him and his audience and perhaps gives him sense of superiority and by default prestige. Following the same strategy to establish prestige, the speaker is quoting lines from an English movie in Example 12. In this episode, he shares his knowledge about movies; something that is usually different from other preachers who tend to address only religious aspects in their discourse. Along the same lines, Example 7 is used to describe his study-abroad experience and its effect on his preaching style. Here he is introducing himself as a rich man who is able to travel and study abroad. CS is used here to establish a sense of authority between him and his audience and also indexes prestige.

Example 11:

القبر الميت القبر البارد ميته وخلاص "*cold stone*" ومفيش غير ال

Wi mafi:ʃ ġe:r il- *cold stone* il-qabr il-mayet / il-qabr

il-ba:rid myitah wi xalaṣ

And there is nothing there except for the cold stone. She is already dead.

Example 12

اللي شاف الفيلم بتاع الشيطان اللي عملوه الغرب لما ختم وقال الغرور ذنبي المفضل
vanity is definitely my favorite sin

illi ʃa:f il-film bita:ʕ il- ʃayṭa:n illi ʔamalu:h

il- ġarb lama xatam wi ʔa:l il-ġuru:r ðanbi: il-mufaḍal *vanity is definitely my favorite sin*

Those who watched the Western movie about the devil when he concluded by saying: Vanity is my favorite sin.

Example 7

انا عشت في الغرب قبل كده

I have been there, I have done that

ʔana ʕiʃ-t fi il -ġarb ʔabl kidah / I have been there, I have done that.

I lived in the West some time ago. I have been there, I have done that.

V.2.2 English as an Index of Good Education

English is sometimes used to index good education in many parts of the worlds. With the expanding role of English worldwide, many nonnative speakers of English use it in their daily conversations as a sign of good education. In Examples 4 and 13, he is using academic terminology (e.g., equality feminism, difference feminism, and body dysmorphic disorder) to show the breadth and depth of his knowledge. In Example 4 he is quoting Karl Marx and in Example 14 he is referring to theories of the universe. These CS incidents is a good sign of the good education Moez Masoud has received and also the knowledge he has acquired from different scientific disciplines.

Example 13

احنا مخطئين.المساواة ليست تسوية . احنا طلعنا غير بعض. كنا بننادي بال

difference feminism دلوقتي بننادي بال *equality feminism*

ʔiḥna muxṭiʔi:n il-musawa:h laysat taswyiah/ ʔiḥna:

ġe:r baʕḍ / kuna: binna:di bil-*Equality Feminism* / dilwaʔti: binnadi bil- *Difference Feminism*

We are wrong. Equality is not equity. We are different. We were calling for equality feminism. However, we are no calling for difference feminism.

Example 4

افتكرت معنى قاله أحد العلماء الغربيين اللي كان غير مسلم واسلم لما كان بيرد على *Religion is the opium* كارل ماركس كلمة ماركس الدين المشهور الدين أفيون الشعوب *opium is the religion of* رد عليه قله لكن الافيون دين الشعوب *of the masses*
the masses

ʔiftakart maʕna ʔaluh ʔaḥad il-ʔulama:ʔ il-ġarbyi:n

ʔilli ka:n ġe:r muslim wi ʔaslam / lama ka:n byirud ʕala: Karl Marx kilmit Marx ʔalmaʃ-hourah **:** al-di:n afyu:n

il-ʃuʕu:b *religion is the opium of the masses*/ rad ʕale:h ʔaluh **:** il-ʔfyu:n di:n il-ʃuʕu:b *opium is the religion of the masses*

I remembered something mentioned by one of the western sciences who was not a Muslim and then converted to Islam when he was responding to Karl Marx's famous words : Religion is the opium of the masses. He countered this view by saying: opium is the religion of the masses.

Example 14

نشوف ان فيه نظرية *the big bang* الانفجار الاعظم والكلام ده نظرية وبتتغير وفيه كذا احتمال وكذا زاوية للنظر وكلام *black holes, universes multi-verses* وكلام مش بسيط

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niʃu:f ʔinn fi naðryiah (*the big bang*) il-ʔinfiga:r il-ʔaʕðam wi il-kala:m dah naðariyah wi bititġayar wi fi kaza ʔiḥtima:l wi kaza zawiya lil-naðar wi kala:m ʕan il

(Black holes, universe, multi verses)

For example, the big bang theory, which is a changing theory and there are many hypotheses and perspectives about it, such as black holes, universes, and multiverses – very complicated stuff.

VII.2.3 English as Index of Modernity / A stance that Islam Embraces Modernity

Many traditional Muslim preachers try to stay away from some modern artifacts, especially those that might sound controversial, such as songs and movies. However, Moez Masoud used code switching in which he quoted songs and movies. This is a stance that shows Islam as a religion embracing modernity. In Example 3 and 15 Moez Masoud quotes lyrics performed by Western singers in his discussion of different religious and social issues. This is a revolutionary style in a region where many preachers think that songs are sinful. This is not usually something to be tolerated by some Muslim scholars in certain countries. This stance is powerful and also indexes modernity and open-mindedness.

Example 3

كان فيه كاتب عمل شعر اتعمل أغنية شهيرة جدا بتقولك :

You label me , I label you so I dub thee unforgiven

هتصنفنى هاصنفك ومش هاغفرلك. التصنيف السلبي بيمنع التراحم

Ka:n fi ka:tib ʕamal ʃiʕr ʔitʕamal ʔuġnyia:h ʃahi:ra gidan bitʔulak "*you label me , I label you so I dub thee unforgiven*"/ hatṣnafni haṣnafak wi miʃ haġfirlak / il-taṣni:f il-salbi

biyimnaʕ il-taraḥum

There was a writer who authored a very famous song that says "you label me, I label you so I dub thee unforgiven". Negative stereotyping discourages forgiveness

Example 15

pink fluid : We do not عارف لسه فيه عربية معدية حالا ورايا بتقول اغنية مش محتاجين نتعلم.... صحيح الاغنية كانت بتتكلم عن نوع *need no education* من التعليم مضر لكن والله الشباب عادة بيسمعوها ومش فاهمينها

ʕa:rif lisah fi ʕarabyiah miʕadyiah ḥa:lan waraya bitʔu:l ʔuġnyit *Pink Fluid*: *we do not need no education*

miʃ miḥtagi:n nitʕalim / ṣaḥi:ḥ il-ʔuġnyiah ka:nit bititkalim

ʕan nu:ʕ min il-taʕli:m muḍir / lakin wallahi il-ʃaba:b

ʕa:datan byismaʕu:ha wi miʃ fahminha

You know there is a car that just passed by and they playing a song for Pink Fluid (We do not need no education). While the song refers to a bad type of education, young people usually hear it and they do not understand it.

V.2.4 Using English as an Index/Stance of Objection and Refusal

CS is used by Moez Masoud when discussing taboo topics or things that are not allowed in Islam. CS is used in this context to express a specific stance related to keeping a distance from such topics or as an index of objection and refusal. In Example 5 below, Moez is referring to sexuality, a sensitive topic in the Arab world, using code switching. CS switching here has been successfully used to distance himself from such topics and show a stance of objection and refusal.

Example 5

اتكلمت (جيرمين جرير) عن الثورة الجنسية ولخصت كلامها

It is the male sexuality that has been freed

اتكلمت عن حاجه اسمها

جعل المكان العام جنسيا بمعنى انه ملئ بالاشارات الجنسية

eroticization of the public space

it-kallimit Jermein Greer ʕan il- θawrah il-ginsyiah wi laxxasit kalamha: (*It is the male sexuality that has been freed*) /

it-kallimit ʕan ḥa:gah ʔismaha gaʕl il-maka:n il-ʕa:m ginsyian / bimaʕna: ʔannahu: mali:ʔ bil ʔiʃara:t il-gensyiah (*eroticization of the public space*)

She (Germaine Greer) talked about sexual revolution and she

Summarized her view as follows: *"It is the male sexuality that has been freed"*. She referred to something called *eroticization of the public space*, i.e. it is filled with sexual connotations.

Along the same lines, Moez used CS to address the sensitive topic of atheism and other movements that do not embrace a specific religion while still believe in God. He skillfully employed CS in Example 6 to express a stance that helps him convey his message while keeping a distance from such issues.

Example 6

أكبر دين بيكبر في العالم دلوقتى دين ال none اللي هو اللا دين . ناس بتومن بوجود
الخالق سبحانه وتعالى وبس دين لا *no organized religion*

ʔakbar di:n bi-yikbar fi il-ʕa:lam dilwaʔti: di:n il- (none) ʔilli: huwa: ʔal la: di:n / na:s bituʔmin b-wigu:d ʔal-xa:liq subḥa:nahu: wa taʕa:la wi bas di:n laʔ (*no organized religion*)

The largest increasing religion currently is no religion –none- People who believe in the existence of God almighty only, but with *no organized religion*

VIII Discussion

The following section includes a discussion of the study results and also provide some practical implications for different stakeholders.

VIII.1 Functions of Code Switching

The study yielded various motivations for Arabic to English CS in the TV programs of the Egyptian preacher Moez Masoud. The analysis showed how the use of English in religious discourse is a unique experience that created a special relationship between the preacher and his audience. Usually code switching is perceived as an indication of good education and open-mindedness; In other words, it shows how the preacher is ready to face our contemporary demands of today's life. Currently, English is a universal language that is widely used worldwide and that is why being able to use it would make preachers more appealing and would be able to reach out to a large group people, especially younger generations.

The first function 'lack/difficulty of an Arabic equivalent' is usually used when the speaker makes use of a different language or variety to compensate for the lack / difficulty of an Arabic equivalence. While Moez's Arabic proficiency is superb, it could not be argued that he uses English because of deficiency in Arabic competence as suggested in the literature. This is not one of the options in this context since Arabic is Moez Masoud's native language. The previous research that provided this interpretation usually focused on CS from the target language to the native one. The literature also referred to this as 'floor

holding' in which the speaker uses CS to bridge the gaps related to incompetence in a foreign language (Eldridge, 1996). In most cases Moez Masoud used code switching from Arabic into English with lexical items that do not have equivalence in Arabic or it is more common to use the English word in Egyptians' everyday language. This is very common with vocabulary related to technology and modern issues. This in agreement with Hussein (1999)'s study who found that CS is usually used with scientific and technological terminology as there is no equivalent for such specific terms in Arabic.

The second function of which was observed in the CS incidents is Moez Masoud's programs is quoting. According to the literature, quoting does not only involve repeating the meaning, but also animating characters. Moez Masoud used quoting to reinforce his ideas by drawing on experiences of other people. This could help him become more convincing and also provide support for arguments he is making. As for the third function 'smoothing negative connotation of a given expressions, it serves a very important purpose especially in the Islamic community. In a conservative society, there is a long list of taboo topics that people try their best to avoid at least in public. Topics related to sex and politics are not usually discussed directly. There should be a kind of words that smooth sensitive matters. For example, when

Moez Masoud was referring about the famous feminist Germaine Greer in example, he used English when talking about issues related to sexuality issues. These results agree with Abalhassan and Alshawali (2000)'s findings that showed CS being used to avoid taboos in Arabic.

The fourth function of code switching in this study is 'establishing authority'. When Moez Masoud switches into English, which is a language that has always been associated with advances in sciences and technology, this gives him credibility and by default helps establish authority. This result is in agreement with other research that showed code switching being used to establish authority. For example Myers-Scotton, (1993) referred to establishing authority as one of the specific functions of discourse. As for the fifth function, 'explaining academic terminology'. When using academic terminology, speakers of different languages tend to switch to English since English is currently perceived as the language of science. For example, many of academic conferences worldwide use English as the medium of communication. Moez Masoud made good use of this function. Moez Masoud studied abroad so he is aware of many English terms in science, humanities, and social sciences. This function may be the one that has been used the most in the preaching of Moez Masoud. A good example of his intensive use of academic terminology was obvious when he was discussing the big bang theory.

VIII.2 Indexicality and Stance in Code Switching

The analysis of Questions 2 and 3 were guided by both indexicality and stance theories and were interested in identifying how linguistic resources are used to display specific positions (Martin, 2000). Usually when a speaker uses language, it tends to imply specific ideological alignments and oppositions (Jaffe, 2007). In religious discourse, ideology is one of the main motivations behind preaching. The analysis showed a number of indexes and stances made by Moez Masoud when using code switching including the following: Modernity, good education, prestige, and objection/refusal. The researcher illustrated every category of indexes of code switching in the previous results chapter. It was noticed that Moez Masoud used the index of "*Good Education*" more than any other index in his discourse. His high education abroad in English language and being knowledgeable created a kind of distance between him and the audience. Here I do not mean the negative meaning of distance. The type of knowledge exhibited by the speaker makes him more appealing and convincing. The findings are similar to Bader (1995) who showed that urban well-educated young females substantially code-switch to English more than less-educated old male village dwellers

The index of modernity has also been conspicuous in many parts of CS incidents in Moez's programs. By taking this stance, Moez attempted to show that he is progressive and open-minded. He also wanted to prove that there is no conflict between religiosity and modernity. This style of preaching is very appealing to younger generations who tend to have be attracted to western values and way of life. The third index revealed in the analysis is prestige. This was not done intentionally nor on purpose. Tay (1989) refers the "unconscious" nature of CS behavior, which means that typical code switchers are usually not aware of why they switch codes at certain points in discourse. Here prestige is something spontaneous not used for showing off. Many sentences in the speech of Masoud carried a sense of *prestige,* which is usually associated with his social class and the education he has received. These results are in agreement with the results of Bader (1995) who found that CS was usually associated with prestige and social status.

As for the fourth index *'objection and refusal,* it has always been associated with topics that are in conflict with religious rules. In other words, CS is used in this context to express a specific stance related to keeping a distance from such topics or as an index of objection and refusal. Examples of these issues include taboo topics, such as sexuality and atheism. This result is in

agreement with the study of Abalhassan and Alshawali (2000) who argued that speakers sometimes use code switching to avoid taboo topics in Arabic and also to express satisfaction or anger.

VIII.3 Implications of the study

The study results provide a number of implications. First, it is clear from the analysis that code switching serves a wide range of functions and by default helps preachers to attract the attention of listeners. In addition, many indexes and stances are represented in code switching that help preachers convey the message across. Religious discourse needs to adapt to the demanding nature of today's issues and needs to also understand the dispositions and mentality of younger generations. Without this adaptation and understanding, it would be difficult to win the hearts and minds of a large segment of the society. In addition, religious discourse should also address challenging topics that are always raised by younger generations. Islam has never been in conflict with modernity and preachers need to be open-minded and flexible.

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