CODE-SWITCHING AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY: THE STATUS OF ARABIC LANGUAGE IN THE EYES OF NON-ARAB MUSLIMS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to see the relationship between identity and language. It is a literature review study, the data are taken from some comments on a video uploaded to you tube ‘University of Leicester Islamic Society’, then discourse analysis is done toward the data. This study finds the Muslim speakers do code-switching more to express their religious identity instead of lexical deficiency.

Field of Research: code-switching, identity, discourse analysis

1. Introduction

Code-switching is one of the most chaotic linguistic phenomena in the scope of sociolinguistics. Its purposes and aspects, though have been deeply analysed and investigated, are still not completely covered. The code-switching process seems to involve more reasons than lexical deficiency or social discourse. Searching for a preferable identity also plays a significant role not only for the sake of language choice but also in all domains of life.

The emergence of heterogeneous communities all over the world, and in the UK and USA in particular where various practices take place in different economic, educational and political fields, has resulted in languages being mixed at various syntactic, structural and lexical levels. For example, English is the dominant communication language between Muslims in most parts of the UK and America. However, as all Muslims are ordered to follow all orders and teachings of their religion, including learning Arabic either for worship purposes or for the sake of knowledge, Muslim immigrants seemed to be in the middle of an identity dilemma. When listening to a conversation a speech where all involved participants are Muslims, you will probably be able to pick up some Arabic utterances though none of the participants speak the language as their first language. These utterances seem to dominate whenever Muslims come into contact regardless of the topic being discussed or the situation where the conversation takes place and without taking any consideration to social relationships between participants. In spite of the fact that such utterances have their equivalent translation in other languages, the use of these ‘world’ utterances are still used in their original language, even among young generations who had never spoken Arabic as their first language. What is the point behind switching into Arabic if they already have sufficient vocabulary to describe their feelings and attitudes in their first language? Obviously, these utterances have much to do with religious beliefs and identity. Moreover, the insistence of uttering particular Arabic expressions by non-Arab Muslims outside religious contexts (worshipping and prayers) reveals a relationship between code-switching and identity. The study analysed in this paper addresses the issue of identity and its relevance to the language of religion, which is Arabic in this concerned work.

Therefore, the main aim of this paper is to consider the relationship between identity and code-switching through investigating the influence of such utterances among Muslim communities. First of all, a clear definition of code-switching is to be clarified in order to be able to tell exactly whether the
intended discourse represents a case of switching or otherwise according to the researches done so far. In the second section I will aim at finding out why people tend to switch codes, and then judge whether the change is determined by time and topic only, or else. The next section sheds lights on the relationship between identity and language and how that our choice for a particular language could largely affect out behaviours, especially when bilingual participants come into direct contact with other bilinguals with totally different cultural and religious backgrounds. My main argument is however that some cases of code-switching, if the concerned phenomenon is to be considered as such, can be attributed to identities and reflects people’s beliefs in their faith. The last section in this work is a critical discussion of how that some Arabic utterances have been integrated into dominantly English conversations by some bilinguals. These utterances will be analysed on the linguistic as well as discourse levels in order to understand better what functions they play in all paths in Muslim’s lives.

2. Literature Review

More recent works on language and society have emphasised the value of studying language behaviour within their natural settings that is the society where the language is being used to fulfil social actions. Studies of sociolinguistics have revealed that language, society and religion are strongly related (see Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006). The transition towards the study of language and identity has developed significantly in the twenty first century (see Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Many articles explained the association between societies, individual psychologies and religious affiliation (Hunsberger & Jackson 2005; Miller & Kelley 2005; Pargament 1997). As Arabic is an important language for all Muslims, Rosowsky (2008) demonstrates that one possible psychological interpretation for why South Asian born in the UK are still using their L1 is that language is the strong element which determines ethnicity. However, Jaspala and Coyle (2009) argue that “religion also has its linguistic demands”. Meanwhile, other sociological studies have emphasised the significance of language as a marker for collective identity; it identifies and distinguishes one group from another in a remarkable way (Baker: 2001; Brass: 2005).

2.1 Defining Code-Switching

The term ‘code-switching’ was first employed in the field of Linguistics by Vogt (1954) in his article “Language Contacts”. In 2005, more than 1800 articles were published on the subject in different linguistic branches. Nevertheless, none of these articles seems to be able to suggest a clear definition for the term (Nilep, 2006). Wardhaugh (1996, 89) puts forward a loose definition for the term ‘code’ indicating that the term ‘code’ is a communication system used by two or more participants, although the same term could be implemented by a single user as a private code for the sake of protection. Ayeomoni (2006) in which a distinction between the terms code, code mixing and code-switching is investigated suggests that the term ‘code’ could refer to any “verbal Component” which might be as small as a single morpheme or as complicated as a whole language system. Similarly, Bokamba (1989) distinguishes between code-switching and code-mixing and defines the former as the process of switching between two distinct grammatical systems on the level of words, phrases and sentences within the same situation. Thus, it might be possible to suggest that code-switching may occur on various linguistic levels and could also be used by monolinguals to switch from one dialect to another. Moreover, the very simple definition of code-switching indicates that switching may apply to bilinguals who tend to change from one language to another according to particular reasons. McClure & McClure (1975) and McClure & Wentz (1977, 706) tried to suggest a distinction between code changing and code mixing from a social and syntactic point of view. They point out that code mixing occurs at the level of constituent boundaries and these will fundamentally form a structure which exists in L1. The research finally concluded that code-changing is nothing but a stylistic device which may lead to a change in effect, addressee or mode. Moreover, this change should occur between constituent boundaries and should produce utterances which are somewhere between L1 and L2. However, more detailed works done on code-switching show that switching may not be easy to describe (e.g.
Kamwangamalu, 1989). As a conversation between two bilinguals take place the two languages implemented may or may not affect each other either phonologically, morphologically or even syntactically. In other words, there is no clear cut evidence to suggest that any alternation between two dialects or languages could be seen as a code-switching case. On the spoken level, for instance, when a particular word or expression coexists in two languages with the same spelling and different pronunciation, it is then very difficult to decide a case of switching.

Obviously, there is a controversial disagreement, at least, when it comes to decide about what essential elements and conditions are required to describe a case of alternation between two varieties or languages as code-switching. Further to the linguistic issues discussed, other social factors tend to appear as affecting language choice. The next section will aim at discussing the different causes and aspects of code-switching within bilingual communities with variable cultures.

2.2 Code-Switching in Bilingual Societies

Code-switching seems to be a common phenomenon among bilinguals without a clear excuse for it to exist. Most recent works on code-switching have been concerned about how bilinguals, either children or adults, come to acquire a second language and start to switch codes (e.g. Genesee 2002; Reyes 2001). Nevertheless, there seems to be little research on sociolinguistics to understand why bilinguals choose to switch from one language to another. A number of social factors have been brought forward which could bring languages together to construct bilingual societies such as, migration for different purposes (economic, educational, political, or religious), nationalism and federalism, culture and education, trading and business or intermarriage (Grosjean 1994).

One principle question which has to be answered is: is it really necessary for a particular situation or topic to exist in order for the code (i.e. language) to change. Several sociolinguists carried out studies on why and when people switch codes in a social context. The reasons they came up with are: some lexical items are adopted to fill in linguistic gap; the same language would be used to continue a conversation with the last language used; to adopt a direct quotation; when people intend to draw the attention of a particular addressee; excluding a participant from a conversation; sometimes a message needs to be qualified; determining a speaker’s involvement; marking a group identity; expressing emotions; a sudden change in the role (Reyes, 2004, pp. 78-79)

One reason among the above mentioned needs some more detailed explanation namely, expressing identities. For many bilinguals, identity seems to be a matter of to be or not be. As most bilinguals in the world today are migrants, new generations who were born in a foreign country for migrant parents will probably fight a long time before they come to a final decision about choosing an identity. The next section illustrates the endless debate about what is exactly meant by identity and what kind of challenges young immigrant generations are enforced to encounter in order to decide where they belong.

2.3 Language and Identity

The term identity is vital in the modern field of social psychology. The nature and construction of individual and group identities have become the main concern of many scholars (Peek, 2005, p.216). It is suggested that identity is attributed to a number of social concepts such as humans’ sense of self, group memberships, structural positions, and recognised and fulfilled statuses. The term has been highly appreciated in the field of linguistic anthropology in order to investigate it in itself and use it as a background. Much of the identity research was carried out in socio-cultural anthropology was based on linguistic evidence - such as autobiographies, narrations, interviews, humour, oral traditions, literacy practice, and more recently it was revealed on media discourses – acknowledges a vital role played by language in formulating cultural subjectivities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p. 369). Later, the
term identity has been extended to involve the process of ‘becoming’ rather than ‘being’ (Dillon, 1999, p. 250 in Peek 2005). This extension has become a definite end as individuals and small social groups moved and came into contact with larger communities with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds (McMullen, 2000 in Peek, 2005, p. 217).

If we are to assume that languages are the medium used by societies to say and do things, individuals in multilingual countries where acquiring a second or third language is quite possible such as UK, a powerful struggle seems to occur among individuals as well as ethnic groups. This influential impact of one’s cultural background creates a kind of an identity crisis when individuals are forced to give up their original identity, or part of it, in order to live and achieve success in their everyday life. That is, when two people of two different nations meet in a foreign country where etiquette is totally different from their originals, much of the cultural and social behaviours would be hidden or changed in order to maintain a better communication with the other person. Instead, more ‘global’ and ‘international’ behaviours dominate the conversation according to the context and the topic discussed. Two recent works by Bailey (2001 and 2002 in Nilep, 2006, p. 13) on issues of race, class, ethnicity and domination reveal that Dominican American youths who were born in the United States define their ethnic difference from the rest of American residents as “non-white and non-black”. According to Nilep (2006), Bailey’s participants, on one side, consider themselves like any other African-American citizens who are outside the dominant population ‘white’. However, on the other side, they refuse to be identified as African American on the basis of their ancestors or phenotype.

On the contrary, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) claim that people who decide to belong to a particular group; their choice is based on agency and power. For instance, a case of a group of French-language high school students in English-speaking Canada who belonged to different linguistic, racial and ethnic identities has been observed. It was found that as those multicultural students were not able to integrate into the grouping available in the school, they decided to form their own multicultural group. The formula of this new identity was based on a mixture of ethnic and racial backgrounds in addition to a shared youth style, hip hop (Heller, 1999 in Bucholtz and Hall, 2004). Bucholtz and Hall (2004) found that making a social group with consistent identity depends on not only discovering or acknowledging similarity but more importantly it relies very much on inventing similarity by eliminating differences. Whereas Vryan et al (2003 in Peek, 2005, p. 217) assumes that in spite of the stability of social identities salience hierarchies, people are still altering or adopting new social identities, give up old ones or reorganise salience in their identities. Thus, taking these findings into consideration, it is then possible to say that bilinguals could have as many identities as they could join diverse groups regardless of their cultural differences. In the next section, this hypothesis will be tested through investigating the secrets behind the identity of Muslim bilinguals who though diverge in cultural and linguistic backgrounds; they are reunited in terms of religious beliefs and moral attitudes.

2.4 Language and Religious Identity

Studies on Islamic communities show that changing individual’s behaviour could be attributed to the goal of expressing not only belonging and identity but also a deep belief in faith. The reason why Arabic language today occupies a remarkable position in the world can be principally put down to the expansion of the Islamic empire during the seventh and eighth centuries from Asia to the Atlantic.

Previous reviews and identity theories seem to ignore the role played by religion in shaping societies. Peek (2005, p. 217) states a number of studies where religion was not classified as an identity category (Howard, 2000). However, other sociolinguistic investigations shed light on religion as a vital factor in sustaining group identity in particular for immigrants (see Min and Kim, 2002). It is asserted that immigrant groups have different perspectives to their religious and ethnic identities. While some groups tend to prioritise their religious identity more than their ethnic background, others seek to
preserve their cultural traditions and ethnic identity through the assistant of religious institutions (Yang and Ebaugh 2001 in Peek, 2005, p. 218). In Muslim communities, priorities seem to be given to religion in almost all aspects of life starting from one’s own private life to their relations to other Muslim and non-Muslim communities. A study was conducted in Toronto District School on immigrant Somali students found that “the process has involved the overlay of Islam on traditional customs and beliefs, which in turn has affected how Islam is lived on a day-to-day basis” (Collet, 2007, p. 139). A number of Somali students were interviewed to answer the question of how Islamic religion is related to their Somali national identity. Most speakers emphasised the influence of Islam on Somali culture in general terms and admitted the impossibility of separating between culture and religion. Some interviewees added that religion offers them models for their behaviours which affect their culture and identity. Moreover, a 20-year-old female pointed out that religion presents valuable guidelines in the path of life. Surprisingly, another study on a number of multicultural nationalities found a different opinion from some Turkish participants. These participants considered being Muslim is more like a cultural but not a religious identity.

As for why Muslims should learn Arabic, Rosowsky (2006) writes that as Muslims people are obligated to read the first chapter in the Holy Quran, which is in Arabic, in all their prayers (Rosowsky 2006 in Jaspala and Coyle, 2009). In fact, that is only one basic purpose for learning Arabic. Arabic is not only a means of understanding Islamic teachings. According to Kistler (1993) the powerful claims of Muslim Scholars about Hebrew and Aramic leads us to accommodate that Arabic was Adam’s language. Adam is said to have spoken Syriac one day when he was expelled from heaven. However, after repenting, Adam started to speak Arabic (Kistler 1993 in Edwards, 2009, p. 105). Taking all the linguistic power that Arabic enjoys which supports group identity, it is reasonable then that priority for Arabic should be claimed (Edwards, 2009, p. 105). Second generation Asians were interviewed to find out how they feel about their liturgical language within the framework of their religious identity. One of the interviewees illustrates that: “Arabic is holy […] It’s the language the Prophet Mohamed used to speak in so it’s holy for Muslims” (Jaspala and Coyle, 2009, p. 7). Esposito (2002) attributes this view to the fact that as Muslims believe that Mohammed is the final and most influential prophet in all lifetime and Allah’s messenger. (Esposito 2002 in Jaspala and Coyle, 2009, p. 7). Nevertheless, it is still argued that this appreciation of Arabic as the most desirable code to use among Muslims is due to the use of this language by the Prophet himself (Jaspala and Coyle, 2009, p. 7). Indeed, this might be the case for some Muslims who belong to a particular Islamic party. However, this may not involve the issue of language. It might be more appropriate to think of the issue of language choice as a marker of fellowship rather than belonging.

3. Analysing Muslim Speech

A Discourse Analysis

In 2008, in the University of Leicester for the Islam Awareness Week, the Islamic Society invited a Muslim scholar (Muhammad Osama Jawaid). This ceremony is conducted every year for the sake of raising conscious among people concerning some basic misunderstandings which people have of Islam. A number of Muslim and non-Muslim participants were interviewed and asked a couple of questions related to Islam. The interviews were recorded and uploaded on YOUTUBE for comments from viewers. The relationship between language, religion and identity is investigated thoroughly through the attached comments obtained from YOUTUBE website about the concerned video.

During my stay in the UK, I have spotted some Arabic utterances of Islamic backgrounds such as, ‘Subhana Allah’ [Halleluiah], ‘Alhamdulillah’ [Praise be to God], ‘Jazak Allah’ [May God reward you] and ‘Ma Sha Allah’ [God wills] is being repetitively used by all Muslims with hardly noticed infections because of the local languages. In spite of the fact that these utterances could be easily translated...
through most, if not all, languages spoken today, Muslims seem to stick to the original transcription of these utterances.

We normally choose what to say according to the purpose we want to achieve from what we intend to say. Choosing a particular utterance to express our feelings requires more than simply selecting a word or phrase. Crystal (2007, p. 275) points out that people are always influenced by pragmatic factors when they come to select sounds, grammatical structures and vocabulary from the available language recourses. For example, in the English culture, people since childhood are taught to say please and thank you, or in some areas of England, it is considered impolite to address an adult female as she in her presence. (Crystal, 2007, pp. 275-281)

Similarly, all Muslim adults either parents, teachers or even friends, seem to encourage young generations to learning particular utterances and use them according to their purpose. In the first line of the text (see Appendix), the participant has used the Arabic utterance ‘inshallah’ which reflect his/her belief that the following action may not happen if Allah (God) does not want it to happen. However, if we are to assume that the participant is not Arabic because of the discourse language (i.e, English), what forced him/her to use that utterance in its original pronunciation without attempting to translate it into the dominant language, which is English in this context.

Crystal (2007, pp. 275-276) demonstrates that different functions of particular utterances are recognised in some European languages. For instance, the use of the word please exists in almost all questions of request in English. However, their interpretations may differ according to context. He states that while thank you in English implies accepting an offer, the French word merci could imply saying no thanks. Similarly, in the second line of my context, the participant changes codes to express her gratitude to the uploader of the video saying ‘jazakaallah Kher’ instead of ‘thank you’ which transmits the same linguistic meaning. This utterance appears also in lines 13 and 23 to express the same intention though preferred spellings may vary. In fact, this expression seems to have more than one representation. Lexically, the utterance means ‘May God reward you’. That is, the speaker here is asking God to reward that person on behalf of him/her. Metaphorically, the utterance represents the appreciation and gratitude of the speaker to the addressee. The same commentator again shifts codes to Arabic as he/she is finishing her writing when he/she writes: ‘Salam alykom’ (line 3). Interestingly, this expression could also be used among Muslims to welcome each other (see line 13 also). The response to this greeting appears in line 11 with an extended version because according to Prophet Mohammed whenever Muslims are greeted with a greeting, they should reply with a better one. Therefore, it is quite common to notice that the response greeting looks longer and includes more vocabulary.

The next highlighted expression ‘Mashallah’ (in line 5) has been employed by the commentator to express amazement. This judgement might be easy to predict from the rest of the comment as the commentator starts with an exclamation: “What a[n] excellent way to spread the message”. In line 6, once again, we can see the same expression has been used by another commentator to indicate admiration of the programme arranged by the Islamic Society in Leicester. The aim is also clear from the following comment: “This video gives me a lots of ideas … thanks! The same utterance is used in line 8 for almost the same purpose as the remaining part reveals it: “MashaAllah[,] It was a good job bruva ….”. In line 16, the participant, expresses his admiration of the knowledge and background the scholar has about Islam.

The next participant has used the expression ‘Insha’Allah’ within a request utterance: “A great way of doing daw’ah! May he be rewarded Insha’Allah” (see line 7). Here the writer starts his/her participation part with expressing amazement to the way Islam has been introduced to people. S/he is finally prays Allah that he might reward that scholar for his deeds. The utterance “Insha’ Allah” here has been employed to reflect sincerity and good intentions from the addressee towards the addressee.
The last utterance used in the concerned text seems a bit strange, at least to me. In lines 16 and 18, the participants expressed their gratitude to the uploader by saying ‘barak ala feek’ and ‘BarakAllahu Feek’. This utterance carries almost the same meaning as ‘jazak Allah’ explained earlier. However, one possible interpretation for this unexpected utterance is that the participant in lines 14 and 17 are Arabic speakers, or at least they have a good command Arabic. This appears particularly clear from the language structure which will be discussed in the following section.

One last point has to be declared concerning the employment of these utterances is that neither the topics discussed nor the situations seem to restrict their usage. They are syntactically free and do not interfere with the dominant language. As a matter of fact, the real function of these utterances is more or less to indicate one’s level of religious identity. In other words, the more Muslims use these utterances, the more they indicate their Islamic identity while ‘ignoring’ their national one.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the need for a religious identity seems to be a more influential factor than obtaining an identity. In the case of non-Arab Muslim communities, it might have been clear that switching may take place in a conversation in one language, however, tendencies to shift to Arabic seems to be more like a way of expressing loyalty and fellowship rather than an aim to stick to a satisfactory identity. Finding boundaries for the definition of code-switching was rather debatable for a number of issues. On the first place, the endless and unclear definition of the term itself often led to variable interpretations and analyses to tell a case of code-switching from other language choice phenomena such as lexical borrowing or loanwords. In some occasions, Language seemed to be enforced and prioritised by religion for the influence religion has on some societies. Throughout my investigation for the phenomenon of code-switching in different societies, among many reasons for switching codes, the search for a pride identity seemed to be a significant issue among bilinguals who live in a foreign country. More detailed studies are recommended to be done about religion as an influential factor on people’s language choices.

5. References


Appendix

The Uploader’s Comments:

*Here is a video that brother Muhammad Osama Jawaid made for the Islamic Society of the University of Leicester for Islam Awareness Week 2008. The aim was to make people aware of some of the basic misunderstandings that people have of Islam, with a conclusion that makes sense. Many thanks to all the participants, and Sheikh Ibrahim Moghra, for a great amount of input, Jazak Allah Khair. May Allah accept this attempt to convey the purity of Islam. Please leave comments of what you think. [Accessed from: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KRiopQROubo] Comments from perhaps students of Leicester University

- beautiful.. i love the idea... infact im gona inshallah mention it my fellow university students.. i fink its a very good way to introduce and educate people... jazakallah kher and may allah reward u for ur actions... amin.. Salam alykom..
- Brilliant.....it is really wonderful work and thankful effort...god bless u
- Mashallah, what a excellent way to spread the message.
- mashallah, this video gives me a lots of ideas... thanks!
- A great way of doing daw’ah! May he be rewarded Insha’Allah :)
MashaAllah It was a good job bruva....Well done may Allah reward you for the efforts....
I really Liked Ibrahim Morgra till he made d dua for "OUR BOYS" he didnt mean the mujahideens...For which i do not agree at all...

W alykom al salam w al raham eyak/eyaki. Thanks for watching it, the nice comment n may Allah bless you. ^_^

Aslamu Aleykum all..JzkAllah... that really amazing... may Allah reward u all the good things u've done
realy appreciated work by the muslim students at Leicester unviersity, thx. barak alah feek ya sheikh muhammed & may god bless u.
i've met this sheikh very learned mashallah keep up the gud work
BarakAllahu Feek brother! :)
w eyaki sis Shaykha. Yeah I have one long time ago when they started to give this service so I got the opportuny and had it lol. If you need to upload any long video please don't hesitate to ask. I will be glad to upload it. ^_^
[This is Shaykha] I meant comment with my account, sorry!
you have a director's account! :o Awesome! JazaakAllah Khair for upload