IMAMS' LANGUAGE USE IN MOSQUE SERMONS

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to:

My mother, Hilah, for her powerful inspiration and support

My father, Abdulkarim, who has showered me with support and encouragement

My wife, Abeer, for her patience and care

My son, Abdulkarim, and my daughter, Kinda, for making my life brighter

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Religion plays a pivotal role in some societies, but the interaction between language and religion from a bilingualism perspective has not been fully explored. The overlap between the two, including "the way that religion and language interact to produce language contact" (Spolsky, 2003, p. 81), has recently been considered by Omoniyi and Fishman (2006). Many studies have been conducted regarding language use within institutional settings, such as schools, universities, workplaces and courtrooms. However, less attention has been paid to language use outside of these settings, such as within religious contexts, although mosques are viewed as institutional in nature. In particular, imams may switch between languages in their sermons in the mosque, perhaps similar to priests' practices in churches where they may switch between Latin and English. The shortage of such studies regarding this phenomenon could be a result of the assumption that secularism is increasingly dominant and widespread, especially in Europe. This assumption can lead to an underestimation of the depth of religion in peoples' lives and of the significance of the languages to express it. Another salient aspect may be that prayers tend not to change much over time and thus there is no need for such studies to be conducted. Yet, this is not actually true, especially in the case of Friday sermons, which tend to be less formulaic than prayers and in which ordinary talk also occurs.

To explore this phenomenon, a qualitative study was undertaken by means of simulated recall interviews and non-participant observation with imams (n=10) and mosque audiences (n=7). The study reveals that employing more than one language in one-way religious speech is a means of increasing historical authenticity, exposing audiences to Arabic, overcoming a lack of easy equivalents in English (such as for the word *bidah*), emphasizing religious authority (given the very close links between Arabic and Islam), an assumption of audiences' knowledge of some Arabic features (mostly in the form of words), or accommodating the

diverse backgrounds of the audience, some of whom have knowledge of Arabic. This has been described as having spiritual, historical and emotional significance, invoking religious links associated between Arabic and Islam. Stakeholders, especially audiences, claim benefits beyond the language used in the sermons themselves. Imams, in addition, also tend to see the use of both English and Arabic as socially and culturally salient, a means of uniting people in an otherwise often fractured world, or one frequently presented as such in the media. Attitudes towards this phenomenon in mosques have been reported by all those involved as being very positive.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

An important area in sociolinguistics is the interaction between language and religion, which share a long history together. According to Davis (2013, p. 377), 'it is clear that language and religion depend on one another in both immediate and profound ways'. This interface may produce bilingual speech, when religious language or the language medium of the religion is not that the same as outside the religious context. The reason for bilingual speech occurring is the desire to include religious language, such as that in which the religion was first articulated, as well as official or dominant languages among believers. For instance, in the United Kingdom (UK), the interaction between Christianity and English may include Latin, the interaction between Judaism and English may include Hebrew and the interaction between Islam and English may include Arabic. It is important to note that the variety of Arabic under consideration in this study is 'classical Arabic' (see 2.3.4). This means that whenever Islam is invoked in the UK, where English is dominant, Arabic may also be expected given its close historical links to Islam (see Jaspal and Coyle, 2010). This has led many researchers to argue that the interface between language and religion can result in the use of more than one language in religious settings, such as the combination of Arabic/Latin/Hebrew and vernacular/local languages among Muslims/Christians/Jews (Chew, 2014; Ferguson, 1982; Omoniyi and Fishman, 2006; Sawyer, 2001; Spolsky, 2003).

Moving between two or more languages or language varieties often occurs in bilingual societies and communities (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Many studies have been conducted regarding language use within institutional settings, such as schools, universities, workplaces and courtrooms. Examples of such studies are those of Gumperz (1964a), Ferguson (1971), Halliday (1978) and more recently Bhatia (2014). However, less

attention has been paid to language use outside these settings, such as within religious settings, although mosques are viewed as institutional in nature. In particular, Islamic preachers (hereafter imams) may switch between languages in their sermons in the mosque, perhaps similar to priests' practices in churches, where they may switch between Latin and English.

The shortage of such studies regarding this phenomenon could be a result of the assumption that secularism is increasingly dominant and widespread, especially in Europe. This assumption can lead to an underestimation of the depth of religion in peoples' lives and of the significance of the languages used to express it. Indeed, peoples' attachment to religion in the UK is not the same as it was 100 years ago. According to Wuthnow (2003, p. 17), the field of sociology has 'largely accepted the proposition that the world would gradually become less and less religious'. Yet, secularism is ranked second after Christianity in the UK National Census of 2001. This might indicate that either religion still affects believers' behaviour, including language, or that people are still not comfortable acknowledging their lack of religiosity. Another salient aspect underpinning the lack of research is the view that prayers tend not to change much over time and thus there is no need for such studies to be conducted. However, this is not actually true, especially in the case of Friday sermons in mosques, which tend to be less formulaic than prayers and in which ordinary talk also occurs.

An exploration of the functions of language use affords a fuller awareness of different language aspects. It can reveal the purposes of employing more than one language in religious sermons. The reasons for the inclusion of more than one language in religious speech vary. It can be the result of the impact of religion on language and vice versa (see 2.5 and 4.3 for further detail). Indeed, this impact leads speakers to employ particular languages for particular reasons. These reasons or functions are discussed in the review

of the literature (Chapter 2). This study, therefore, aims to explore how both imams and mosque audiences view the intermingling of English and Arabic and how they view the functions of imams' language use in their sermons delivered in UK mosques.

1.2 Justification for the research

Based on my own experience of attending mosques and listening to sermons in the UK, it is clear that imams sometimes switch in their sermons, '*khubah*', from English, as the majority language of the UK, to Arabic, as the main religious language of Islam. This phenomenon caught my attention from when I arrived in the UK in 2012 and became a regular attendee of these sermons, eventually encouraging me to explore the functions of language use in these particular settings. The reason for doing this research is the assumption that this study may show functions of imams' language use other than those found in previous research in other contexts (see 2.7). This assumption was based on the fact that previous studies focusing on Friday sermons have been conducted in contexts in which Muslims are not minorities (i.e. Egypt, Kenya and Cameroon), in contrast to Muslims in the UK. These contexts are also considered less liberal compared to the UK. Therefore, other functions/reasons for this practice were expected. In addition, attitudes are among the factors that influence language use in multilingual contexts. Thus, a sociolinguistic exploration of imams' and audiences' attitudes towards language use in mosque sermons can help shed new light on this issue. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, this phenomenon has not been explored in the context of the present study, meaning that there is a gap in the literature which could benefit from being filled (see 1.3). According to Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011):

> While … it would be inappropriate to claim that the interplay between language and religion has been badly served by sociolinguistics and the sociology of language over the past decades, one cannot conclude either that continuous systematic attention has been paid to the topic. (p. 2)

This argument indicates an ongoing need to explore this phenomenon further. By the same token, Dillon (2003) argues that:

> …religion is frequently the forgotten or excluded variable in social scientific studies and literature reviews. It is tempting for sociologists to shy away from incorporating religion because of perceptions that religion detracts from reflexivity and social change and the very act of studying religion might be interpreted as legitimating religious belief. (p. 7)

Indeed, some people identify religion as a cold belief in which no change or development is seen in the long term. For example, they argue that prayers and religious books (i.e. the Quran, Bible and Torah) are still the same even after thousands of years. This assumption is partly true, but it can lead to the omission of consideration of other practices within religion, such as spoken language use. It is mistakenly thought that religion restricts believers' linguistic behaviour, which is not completely true, for example in the case of Friday sermons in mosques. Therefore, it is important for researchers, especially those with religious backgrounds, to highlight this phenomenon and show that religion does not detract from reflexivity. This study, in addition, is socially significant as there are many Muslims (around 4% of the UK population) and mosques (around 1,834) in the UK (Otterbeck, 2015) and language use might be a way for minority groups (i.e. Muslims) to affiliate with one another. It may also give worshippers a sense of shared identity as Muslims who share the same belief and membership in the community of Islam. Therefore, this study aimed to explore the attitudes and functions of language use related to both English to Arabic in Friday sermons delivered in mosques in the UK.

1.3 Significance of the study

To date, there has been no such study regarding this symbolic area, which this research topic intends to explore. Religion, according to Dillon (2003, p. 7), is 'similar to other social phenomena in that it can be studied across different levels and units of analysis and drawing on the plurality of theoretical concepts and research designs that

characterize the discipline'. This means that it is beneficial for such phenomena in this particular context to be studied as it may shed new light regarding the interaction between language and religion and the reasons for employing particular language combinations in particular situations. In addition, this study is a good opportunity for non-Muslims in the UK, who probably know little about what happens in mosques, to learn about mosque activities and Friday sermons, should they be interested. This is very important, especially nowadays, as the press can convey a negative image to the public about Islam and mosques. The media may even exploit political problems in the Middle East and correlate them to Islam and mosques elsewhere to mislead the public, or as a result of their own ignorance or misunderstanding. Also, religion is an emotional matter. When emotions are involved, there seems to be a decline of reason. This study can help in providing insights into imams' reasoning for certain language practices in Friday sermons.

According to Holmes (1992, p. 16), a 'sociolinguist's aim is to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community, and choices people make when they use language'. Similarly, Chambers (2003, p. 226) supports Holmes' statement, namely that 'upon observing variability, we seek its social correlates. What is the purpose of the variation? How it is evaluated in the community? What do its variants symbolize?' Chambers emphasized that these questions are the main goal of sociolinguistics. Moreover, Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011) state that:

> …the topic of language and religion is relatively new to sociolinguistics and the systematic development of language and religion as a field of sociolinguistic study only really started to come about in the past decade. (p. 1)

Indeed, examining this phenomenon from a sociolinguistic perspective has rarely been embarked upon and this study adds to the significance of conducting such research.

1.4 Study setting

This study was undertaken in the UK, which is located off the north-western coast of continental Europe. It includes the island of Britain, comprising England, Scotland, Wales and the north-eastern part of the island of Ireland and many smaller islands. Northern Ireland is the only part of the UK that shares a land border with another state: the Republic of Ireland. It is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, with the North Sea to the east, the English Channel to the south and the Irish Sea to the west. It has an area of 243,610 square kilometres (94,060 square miles) and a population of 63,181,775 (National Census, 2011). It has been alleged that the kingdom of England has existed since AD 927. Christianity was and still is the largest religion in the UK in terms of numbers of followers (Elton, 1992). However, it is not clear from Elton (1992) or the UK 2011 census whether or not Christianity includes Catholics, Protestants and other sects. It is recommended in Islam that a Muslim should spread Islam to others and it is believed that Muslim Arabs were the first who took the lead in spreading Islam beyond Makkah and Medina. Kennedy (2007) recalls the reflections of a monk called John Bar Penkāyē, working on a summary of world history, concerning the success of Muslim Arabs in spreading Islam when he came to write about the history of his own times (around the 680s):

> How could naked men, riding without armour or shield, have been able to win … and bring low the proud spirit of the Persians? …only a short period passed before the entire world was handed over to the Arabs; they subdued all fortified cities, taking control from sea to sea, and from east to west − Egypt, and from Crete to Cappadocia, from Yemen to the Gates of Alan [in the Caucasus], Armenians, Syrians, Persians, Byzantines and Egyptians and all the areas in between: 'their hand was upon everyone' as the prophet says. (p. 1)

This success, according to Kennedy (2007), was not only in spreading Islam but also in spreading Arabic. Muslim Arabs managed to convert the majority of these areas (mentioned in the quotation above) to Islam and some of them, for example in the Fertile

Crescent, Egypt and North Africa, adopted Arabic as their mother tongue. This is a clear indication that Islam and Arabic were strongly associated with each other. This association led to Arabic being the vehicle for spreading Islam, which sometimes involved force and pressure. It is thought that the first contact between Muslims and Christians was in the medieval period, during the religious wars launched by the Crusades to recover the 'holy land' from Islamic rule. This lengthy conflict affected perceptions of Islam in England and Europe. In the 18th century sailors from the Indian subcontinent were among the first Muslims to arrive in the UK. From then, Islam began to spread across the country. According to the UK Census of 2011, Islam is the second largest religion in the UK and it has been reported that it is the fastest growing religion, not only in the UK but around the world. According to research conducted by the Pew Research Center (2015):

> The main reasons for Islam's growth ultimately involve simple demographics. To begin with, Muslims have more children than members of the seven other major religious groups analyzed in the study. Each Muslim woman has an average of 3.1 children, significantly above the next-highest group (Christians at 2.7) and the average of all non-Muslims (2.3). In all major regions where there is a sizable Muslim population, Muslim fertility exceeds non-Muslim fertility. The growth of the Muslim population also is helped by the fact that Muslims have the youngest median age (23 in 2010) of all major religious groups, seven years younger than the median age of non-Muslims (30). (p. 3)

Others, in addition, argue that Islam, in relation to other religions, is inclusive of all human beings and open to everyone, regardless of race, colour, gender, age or background. It is reflexive in the way it is practised and is based on a scripture (the Quran) which has no contradictions. As the last revealed religion, acknowledging all preceding religions and prophets (i.e. Judaism, Christianity, Adam, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mary, Jacob and Joseph), Islam has gained credibility and convention not just among Muslims, but even neutral non-Muslims. Therefore, I considered it intellectually

and academically useful to explore a linguistic phenomenon, namely language use in religious institutions (mosques in this case) in the UK.

Figure 1.1. UK map.

Source: https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom

Mosques are religious institutions for Muslims in which they can pray, worship and give/receive Islamic lectures and lessons and meet fellow Muslims. One of these activities is the Friday sermon. On a weekly basis, particularly on Friday, a sermon (*khutbah*) is delivered before noon prayers (*dhuhr*) in the mosque by a preacher (*imam*). The sermon lasts approximately 20−45 minutes. The aim of the imam is twofold: to establish a one-to-one relationship between him and the audience and to establish a relationship between the audience and God (Bassiouney, 2006). These relationships may prompt particular kinds of language choice as the imam chooses to use Arabic quotations from either the Quran or the Prophet's sayings. Within Islam, the prophet Muhammed initiated the delivery of these sermons at gatherings for worship in his mosque 1,400 years ago. Subsequently, it became a religious practice for all Muslims to do this every week.

1.5 Organization of the thesis

Having briefly presented an overview of the background of the study and its setting in this introductory chapter, the organization of the whole thesis is now presented. This study is organized in five chapters: introduction, literature review, methodology, analysis and discussion and finally the conclusions.

Following this introductory chapter, a detailed review of related literature is presented. This includes the interaction between language and religion, Islam in the UK and the relationship between Arabic and Islam. Proposed theoretical frameworks regarding the sociology of language and religion and sociolinguistics of religious language are also presented. In addition, some previous studies regarding language and religion are reviewed and highlighted.

A discussion of the methodology employed in this study is presented in the third chapter. This includes my philosophical stance and position as the researcher. A detailed description of the methodological procedures, including data collection, transcription and data analysis, are presented. Finally, validity and reliability regarding the results of this study are addressed, together with ethical considerations.

The fourth chapter provides an analysis and discussion of the data collected. This includes how the data were transcribed and thematised. In terms of findings, the functions of language use in Friday sermons are presented first. Attitudes towards language use in Friday sermons are then considered. Although the discussion is embedded within the analysis chapter, a final section in this chapter is devoted to a general discussion of the key results as closing remarks.

This study concludes with the fifth chapter. In this chapter, a summary of the key findings together with the study's contributions are presented. Finally, the implications of

the study, suggestions for future research and limitations are addressed and concluding remarks are made.

1.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has introduced the study, presenting an overview of the background and a rationale for doing the research. In addition, its significance and information concerning the study context have been highlighted. In the next chapter (Chapter 2), a review of related literature and theories is presented.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter, an appraisal of the related literature is offered. It begins with a review of literature on the interface between language and religion, including an illustration devoted to Islam, as a religion, that is connected to Arabic, as a language. Following this is a brief outline of Islam in the UK, as a way of better understanding the data of this study. Mosques in the UK, which provide the settings of this thesis, are also discussed, including sermons delivered in these mosques and the language employed by imams. Theoretical frameworks in the field of language and religion are reviewed as systematic platforms to contextualize the thesis. Later, functions of language use in religious contexts, together with attitudes towards this phenomenon, are discussed. Before concluding this chapter, a presentation of some previous related studies is offered.

2.2 Language and religion

Religion plays a pivotal role in some societies (Rodrigues and Harding, 2008). Yet, the interaction between language and religion from a bilingualism perspective has scarcely been explored. The overlap between the two, such as 'the way that religion and language interact to produce language contact' (Spolsky, 2003, p. 81), has recently been noted and has been considered by Omoniyi and Fishman (2006). In addition, the importance of religion (Islam in this case) in language (i.e. Arabic) choice is an area of interest to researchers (Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011). This has even led some researchers to argue that without language there would be no religion, as language is what constitutes religion (Jensen and Rothstein, 2000). Samarin (1987) considers any language that is consistently used in religion as 'religious language'. By religious language, Samarin means 'the product of the intersection of language variables of different sorts within this one domain of human experience' (p.85). The works of Fishman et al. (1966), Crystal

(1966), Stewart (1968), Samarin (1976), Ferguson (1982), Spolsky (2003), Sawyer (2001) and Omoniyi and Fishman (2006) explore the interplay between religion and language and reveal the importance of religion as a relevant factor in the study of language.

Religious language is listed among the 10 language functions,[1] which illustrates the impact of religion on language (Stewart, 1968, p. 541). Sawyer (2001b, cited in Spolsky, 2003, p. 81), co-author of the Concise Encyclopaedia of Language and Religion, states that 'Language and religion share a very long and a very close history and it is perhaps surprising that this Concise Encyclopaedia of Language and Religion is the first of its kind'. Indeed, one might argue that as long as there has been religion there must have been language to express religious ideas. Therefore, language is not separate from religion. It has been alleged that by 'focusing on the role of religion in the spread of a language variety into new domains of language use, one can also focus on the role of religion in the geographical spread of a language' (Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011, p. 8).[2]

The spread of religion, moreover, has accompanied trade and colonization and language spread throughout history. Spolsky (2003, p. 82) rationalized the shortage of relevant studies between religion and language contact as a result of 'scholars interested in language contact [being] themselves so steeped in secularism that they did not easily become aware of the depth of religious beliefs and life'. This statement shows the high impact of scholars' opinions on the wider community. Indeed, scholars' assumption that religion is in decline while secularism is on the rise has led to the neglect of religion and language. Previous studies which have examined both language and religion show that

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[1] These functions are: (1) official language, (2) provincial language, (3) wider communication, (4) international language, (5) capital language, (6) group language, (7) educational language, (8) school subject language, (9) literary language and (10) religious language.

[2] It is worth briefly mentioning that 'swearing' or what others call 'foul language' is also considered an important function drawing on religion. Although swearing is seen as a natural part of human speech for relieving tension, religion, bodily functions and body parts all contribute to cursing and swearing. It has been found that one might use swearing as an emotional way of reducing pain and anxiety, which indicates that it has a purpose even if it is seen negatively in moral terms (Jay, 2009).

there is a close relationship between them among religious people (Harmaini, 2014). It is believed, therefore, that religion plays a significant role in the change and spread of a language and vice-versa (Ferguson, 1982). For instance, Spolsky (2003, p. 82) states that 'wherever Western Christianity spread, it introduced a variety of Latin script for writing previously unwritten languages' and the same would apply to Islam and Arabic. It can be agreed then that:

> …one of the (many) factors that play a role in the dynamic process of demarcation and the quest for solidarity is a shared language. Another factor is religion. (Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011, p. 9)

In particular, language, in some places, is seen as integral to a nation (e.g. Saudi Arabia), while in other places it is more a tool, but not necessarily a cultural or religious symbol (e.g. Singapore).

The gap that should be highlighted and hence explored is that there is no theoretical framework or even a clear image regarding the study of religion and language contact (Spolsky, 2003). Clearly, there is a strong link between the spread of religions and the spread of languages. For instance, Omoniyi and Fishman (2006) link the spread of Spanish and English to the spread of Catholicism and Protestantism in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Likewise, the spread of Arabic language is linked to the spread of Islam in Europe, Africa and East Asia. It is also worth mentioning that the spread of these religions together with their languages has sometimes been accompanied by violence and the use of power. Moreover, there is a belief among some followers of different religions that the destruction of sacred texts would lead to the destruction of their religion (Byrnes, 1999).

This study, therefore, is a response to what Spolsky (cited in Omoniyi and Fishman, 2006, p. 7) called 'a need for a detailed study of the linguistic influence of Islam in the many parts of the world where Arabic is not widely spoken'. It also addresses Pandharipande's

(2006) argument that the phenomenon of mixing languages within the same religious event has not received attention. Although these statements are now 10 years old, I am not aware of any other study conducted in the manner of this research, as will be seen later in the chapter (see 2.7).

Arabic is the choice of language for inculcation in Islamic religious identity as it is seen as the authentic language of the prophet (Chew, 2014). The position of Arabic among Muslims can be seen in the high status attributed to non-first language Arabic speakers who can articulate the Quran fluently in Arabic (Chew, 2014). They also have 'some of the prestige of the resurrection dispensation accruing to them, with many turning that knowledge and prestige to good account' (Sanneh, 2001, p. 56). Sawyer (2001, p. 3) exemplifies the closeness between Arabic and Islam to the extent that:

> …the influence of Arabic on the vast Muslim world can be seen in the number of Arabic loan words in many of the languages of Africa and Asia as well as the widespread use of the Arabic script for writing Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Pashtu, Urdu, Malay and a variety of other languages.

In addition to religion, English and some other languages have borrowed from Arabic in mathematics and science. Rosowsky (2006, cited in Chew, 2013, p. 388) states that 'the best students (in Quran recitation) are usually those who are able to imitate Arabic-inflected pronunciation, stylized and restricted into national contours, and marked voice quality to index the religious character of their faith', thus sounding like a native speaker of Arabic. This prestigious position of Arabic among Muslims is attributed to the Quran, which Muslims believe Allah transmitted to the Prophet Mohammed via the Angel Gabriel in Arabic. This intimacy leads Holes (2001, p. 163) to name Arabic as 'the liturgical language of Muslims worldwide'. Nadwi (2015) claims that the intimate connection between the Quran and Arabic has contributed to the language's special status. He even goes further, stating that 'evidently, the development in Arabic Language, which

studies Arabic scientifically, owes a lot to the "words of God" in the Quran' (p.6). Indeed, the Quran has added to the richness and depth of Arabic, attracting the attention of Arabic linguists (see Khouja, 2012). Clyne and Kipp (1999) argue that because of the high religious affiliation of Arab Muslim Australians to Islam, Arabic is one of the best maintained languages in Australia. One of the motivations for maintaining Arabic among Muslims in Australia is due to their belief in the Quran (Adams et al., 2012). This is likely to be the case in many other national settings, not just Australia. Indeed, religion has been mentioned as an important factor in enhancing and boosting minority languages. Among Malays, for example, is has been contended that the learning of Arabic is an influential factor that has led them to 'gradually give up the animistic part of their Islamic beliefs and to become more Muslim' (Chew, 2006, p. 228). Likewise, Lenk (1987, p. 33) asserts that when religion is deeply rooted in a culture:

> It is an institution that may also bring together different ethnic groups who share the same religion, mostly using the dominant language or divide people from the same nation, as is the separation of the Hindustani lingua franca into Hindi and Urdu for the Hindu and Muslim communities.

In South Asia, according to Pandharipande (2006), previously only Arabic and no other language was recognized as the legitimate code for Islam, although this is not valid nowadays. Adams et al. (2012) also note that imams' use of Arabic in mosques in Kibera, Kenya boosted the maintenance and acquisition of Arabic by non-Arabic Muslim natives. Another study conducted by Kouega and Baimada (2012) found that Arabic in Maroua, Cameroon, is employed solely for religious purposes, namely Islam. This indicates that Arabic is seen as divine in this context. Osman (2013, p. 67) states that 'the rapid expansion of Islam in the seventh century was accompanied by another intriguing, little-studied phenomenon: the spread of the Arabic language'. Moreover, Omoniyi (2006) notes that Arabic is used on the currency notes of Nigeria, which could indicate the

intention of the Nigerian government to link itself to Islam through the use of Arabic. Table 2.1 shows the role of religion in relation to uses of Arabic and English in Nigeria.

Table 2.1. Religion in the spread of Arabic and English in Nigeria

Source: Omoniyi (2006, p. 134)

Missionaries			
1	**Civilization**	European	Middle Eastern
2	**Religion**	Christianity	Islam
3	**Language**	English	Arabic
4	**Status**	Official language	Foreign language
5	**Availability**	Translation (into local languages)	No translation (sole authentic text)
6	**Domains of use**	L2 literacy Mainstream education Initially Sunday schools administration and commerce Media and the home	Religious literacy Quranic education Madrassahs Shariah (Islamic law)

Table 2.1 above shows that Arabic is used for religious purposes while English is used for professional and ordinary purposes. This is an indication on how Arabic is mostly linked to Islam in contrast to English which tends to be linked to Christianity. This view among Nigerians towards Arabic indicates their awareness of why Arabic is used in Nigeria and for what purposes.

This example supports the common belief regarding Arabic and Islam, namely that Arabic is strongly linked to religion and religious practices. Moreover, the language of a religion is not chosen randomly but selectively and purposefully. Pandharipande (2006) states that the languages of Islam in South Asian countries, such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Goa, Bengal and Tamandua, are Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Looking at these three languages, Arabic is the one that we can call an outsider language because it does not have a historical relationship with these areas before the arrival of Islam. In contrast, Persian and Urdu, although they have been influenced by Arabic, have an ancient history in South Asia and they can be termed vernacular languages, especially in the case of Urdu. Arabic was first introduced in South Asia by Muslim Arabs in the early 7th century. According to Elliot and Dowson (2013), India, Bangladesh and Pakistan

were first in contact with Islam as early as 630 AD, 615 AD and 712 AD respectively. According to Pandharipande (2006), the use of Arabic in South Asia is on the rise. The Arabic we are talking about here is 'classical Arabic that is the language of all written Arabic from the seventh century on' (Holes, 2001, p. 164).

From the above review, we can conclude that Arabic language and Islam are very close to each other. They support one another and one can hardly stand alone. Whenever Islam is mentioned, it is highly expected that Arabic will be the language used. No doubt Arabic being the language of the Quran has encouraged its spread and high status.

2.2.1 Bilingualism

The use of language and religion would presumably produce bilingual speech. Bilingualism we refer here is 'the native-like control of two languages' (Bloomfield, 1935, p. 56). In other words, the one's ability to speak two languages would make him/her a bilingual. According to Yang (2017) et al., 'bilinguals must spontaneously and frequently alternate between two language systems, especially when they converse with interlocutors who are speaking different languages'. Evidently, the experience of bilingualism has a significant consequence for cognitive performance (Bialystok, 2009).

There are three types of bilingualism, namely, compound, coordinate and sub-coordinate. These types are seen different in terms of 'the ways in which it was thought that the concepts of a language were encoded in the individual's brain' (Romaine, 1995, p. 78). In compound bilingualism, 'the person learns the two languages in the same context, where they are used concurrently, so that there is fused representations of the languages in the brain'. By contrast, in coordinate bilingualism, 'the person learns the languages in separate environments, and the words of the two languages are kept separate with each word having its own specific meaning'. In sub-coordinate bilingualism, moreover, 'bilinguals interpret words of their weaker language through the words of the stronger

language' (Romaine, 1995, pp. 78-79). It is noticed that bilingualism is a common behaviour among religious figures (e.g. Imams).

2.2.2 Code-switching

Speaking of bilingualism, code switching (CS) is an aspect of being bilingual. Vogt (1954) is considered to be among the first linguists who used the term 'code-switching' in the field of sociolinguistics. Linguists, sociolinguists, psycholinguists and anthropologists define CS in a number of different ways. It has been defined as '…the co-presence of elements from two or more languages in a stretch of discourse' (Omoniyi, 2005, p. 729). Alternatively, '…it is the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages' (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 1). Others define it as '…the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59). It is argued that categorising CS is not a straightforward process (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). CS might occur 'between the turns of different speakers in the conversation, sometimes between utterances within a single turn, and sometimes even within a single utterance' (Milroy and Muysken, 1995, p. 7). According to Blom and Gumperz (1972) there is both situational and metaphorical (or conversational) CS. Situational CS is the impact of external factors on the participants such as setting, topic and social situation. In other words, it occurs 'when distinct varieties are associated with changes in interlocutor, context or topic' (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 59). However, metaphorical CS is the impact of the participant's perceptions with regard to external factors such as setting, topic and social situation. In addition, it occurs 'when there are changes in variety without any such external prompting' (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 59). Wardhaugh, (2011, p. 101) made another distinction between the two former types, that is situational occurs 'when the languages used change according to the situations in which the interactants

find themselves. So, they speak one language in one situation and another in a different one without changing the topic. However, when a change of topic requires a change in the language used we have metaphorical CS'. An example of situational CS is those related to 'religious and ceremonial functions'. Nonetheless, metaphorical CS could be to 'redefine the situation (formal to informal, official to personal, serious to humorous and politeness to solidarity' (Wardhaugh, 2011, p. 102).

2.3 Islam in the UK

According to the Office for National Statistics (2011), only 5% of the UK population identifies as Muslim. This means that Islam is a minority religion in the UK compared to Christianity (59%) and non-religious people (25%) (see Figure 2.1). Ansari (2004) states that most Muslims in the UK are pragmatic and are steadily engaging with British culture. In addition, Ansari (2004, p. 249) reports that 'Muslims have engaged politically with British society in various ways and perhaps more actively than most other ethnic or faith groups'. For instance, the mayor of London and some members of parliament are Muslims. Moreover, as I myself have observed, there are Muslims who are married to non-Muslim British people, mostly Christians, which clearly indicates the high extent of Muslim engagement (see www.interfaithmarriage.org).
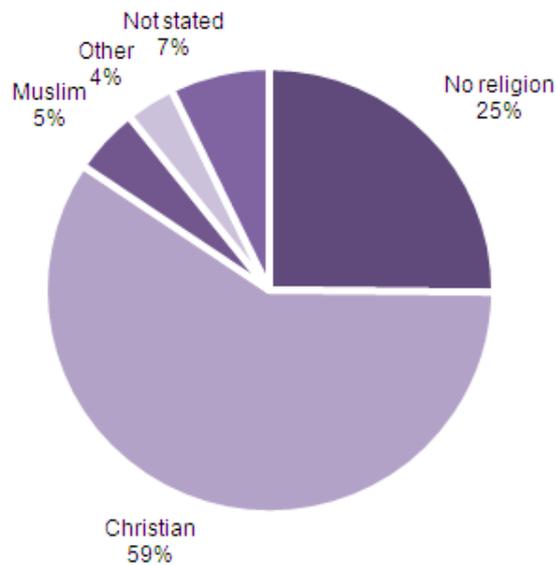
Figure 2.1. Religious affiliation in England and Wales.

Source: UK National Census (2011)

2.3.1 Mosques in the UK

Having highlighted the relationship between language and religion, I turn to mosques in the UK. Mosques are considered official religious settings for Muslims, places in which they can worship and pray. Although Muslims can pray and worship at home and elsewhere, praying together as a group is highly recommended in Islam. Praying in the mosque, according to the Prophet Mohammed, has superiority over praying alone elsewhere: 'Prayer in congregation is superior to prayer alone by twenty-seven degrees' (noted in the *hadith* collections of Bukhari and Muslim).[3] Thus, although praying alone in a place other than a mosque will be rewarded, praying at a mosque will confer twenty-seven times more rewards. This is a typical example of the way in which the Prophet Mohammed used to clarify matters for his followers. This hadith, together with others by the Prophet Mohammed, gave mosques a special status among Muslims. Therefore, a considerable number of Muslims perform their five daily prayers together in the mosque

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[3] Bukhari and Muslim are among the most popular Islamic authors for their *Hadith* collections, considered the most reliable sources by *Sunni* Muslims (see http://hadithcollection.com).

as a response to the recommendation of the Prophet Mohammed. This is also, according to Hopkins (2009, p. 13), because 'the mosque, though not formally consecrated, takes on resonance as the place set aside for prayers'.

In addition, mosques are increasingly becoming a pivotal part of the UK urban landscape (Gale, 2004). The interest of Western scholars in Islam, immigration and the exposure to other cultures via imperial rule resulted in the establishment of mosques in the UK. As noted by Naylor and Ryan (2002, p. 43), 'the British Empire was to have a decisive role in the establishment of sites of worship for Muslims in the UK in the late nineteenth as much as in the second half of the twentieth century'. An English solicitor, Henry Quilliam, who converted to Islam after being influenced by Muslims during his visits to the Ottoman Empire, established the first officially registered mosque in Liverpool in 1887 (see Geaves, 2010). Following this, another mosque was built in 1889 by Dr Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner, a Hungarian scholar in Woking, southern England. Dr Leitner's intention in building the mosque was to provide a convenient place where his Muslim students could pray and worship. This was then followed by the construction of other mosques (most notably in East London) and they have since been steadily growing in number across the UK, from only 7 registered mosques in 1961 to 614 in 2001 (Peach and Gale, 2003, p. 479), to an estimated 1,000 in 2005 (McLoughlin, 2005) and around 1,834 in 2015 (www.muslimsinbritain.org). This dramatic increase reflects the growth of the Muslim population (1,600,000 in 2001), either due to immigration, conversion and/or birth rates, which has also become more diverse over time. For Muslim communities in the UK, 'mosques [serve] a range of functions − as places of worship, as venues for the religious education of both adults and children, as centres for the publication or religious tracts and as libraries and bookshops' (Ansari, 2004, p. 345). The majority of mosques are located near their congregations, i.e. near or within related communities (Naylor and Ryan, 2002).

As a note of interest, the daily call to prayer (broadcast of *azan*) in the UK was first initiated by Henry Quilliam, but encountered opposition from local people, who protested and reacted against this act of what they called the Islamization of public space. The call to prayer continued from the Liverpool mosque in the 1890s and more broadly until the 1980s, when the government banned the *azan* as a response to local people protesting against it (Gale, 2005; Naylor and Ryan, 2002).

2.3.2 Friday sermons in mosques

A weekly talk called the Friday sermon (*khutbah*) is delivered in mosques. This originates from the practice of the Prophet Mohammed, who presented himself as the first Islamic imam in AD 630. The prophet 'used to deliver words of exhortation, instruction, or command at gatherings for worship in the mosque, which consisted of the courtyard of his house in Medina' (Juliastui, 2012, p. 256). These sermons are part of other religious activities. The first activity is the call to prayer, followed by the sermon and then the noon prayer (*dhuhr*). Sermons are delivered by imams, who are supposed to have sufficient religious knowledge. This requirement gives imams high social and cultural status in the Muslim community.

According to Bagby's (2001, p. 9) study regarding mosques in the United States (US), 'on average, 78 percent of participants on a typical Friday are men, 15 percent are women, and seven percent are children. Men make up a majority of participants at Friday prayer in 91 percent of the mosques'. The reason for the low rate of attendance of women compared to men is because attendance at these sermons is compulsory for men but optional for women. If women do not attend Friday sermons, they can undertake the *dhuhr* in a place convenient to them. Making Friday sermons optional for women in contrast to men is seen as a sign of supporting women, especially housewives, who tend

mostly to be in charge of caring for family and cannot leave their children alone, as well as pregnant women.

2.3.3 Language of the sermon

There has long been dispute among Islamic scholars regarding which language should be used in Friday sermons (Ibn-Qudamah, 1983). This is both due to the struggle between modernization and tradition and religious differences among four Islamic schools of thought and essentially comprises two main opinions. One opinion holds that only Arabic should be used in sermons. The justification for this opinion is that Arabic was the language the Prophet Mohammed used in his sermons. The other opinion argues that sermons should be delivered in a language that is understandable to the community. Proponents of this view refute the former argument, saying instead that the Prophet Mohammed delivered his sermons in Arabic because it was the language of his community. They also argue that Islam is a universal faith, not addressed to particular communities. Thus:

> Islam is not limited to one language. Listen and learn from a sermon that our Prophet (peace be upon him) used as a means to educate and enlighten minds for the well-being of society as a whole. The Friday *khutbah* was established to bring Muslims together for Dhuhr (noon) prayers, to help them understand Islam in detail, to deal with major problems in society, and to deliberate and pray to Allah. (Juliastui, 2012, p. 271)

Contemporary Islamic scholars tend to support the second view that sermons should be delivered in the vernacular language. For example, Spolsky (2004, p. 49) states that 'Friday sermon may be given in the local vernacular in non-Arabic communities'. A pragmatic reason for using the local language is that otherwise few people will be able to receive the relevant religious message. Pandharipande (2006) asserts that New South Asian (NSA) languages are employed in the religious domain, for example in sermons. She states that:

…religious sermons are readily given in the NSA languages mixed with the classical languages. This process can be called sacralization of the NSA languages. In contrast to this, the classical language such as Sanskrit and Arabic are being revived in the secular context in contemporary South Asia. This process can be called the secularization of the sacred languages. (pp.151−152)

With regard to the US, Bagby et al. (2001, p. 9) state that in Friday sermons:

> Ninety-seven percent of mosques use English as the main language, or one of the main languages, for the message of the *Jum`ah Khutbah*. Of the mosques that do use English, 47 percent use one or more additional languages for the message of the *Jum`ah Khutbah*. In the great majority of cases, the other language is Arabic.

This is a clear indication that Arabic is the most usable additional language besides English due to its spiritual connection with Islam. The situation in other Western countries may well be similar, including the UK, where English is the dominant language while Arabic is the additional language. Therefore, linguistic practices in the majority of Friday sermons delivered in non-Islamic countries may employ the dominant/vernacular language together with an additional language, mostly Arabic.

2.3.4 Arabic variety in Friday sermons

Classical Arabic, or the Quranic variety, is today considered the medium of use solely in official contexts, such as governments, schools, courts, official media and mosques, in most Arab countries. In other contexts, a variety of Arabic dialects are used. Classical Arabic, also called 'the pure language' and a heritage language, as used here, is 'the Arabic dialect in which the scripture is couched [which] was akin to that of the dominant tribe in Mecca at the time of Muhammad, the Quraysh, and also has considerable affinities with that of pre-Islamic poetry, a notable corpus of which still survives' (Netton, 2001, p. 131). Mattock (2001, p. 60) also contends that Classical Arabic dominates in Islam and goes into further detail in clarification:

Classical Arabic becomes the medium in which the word of God was revealed, part of his heritage, which is to be revered and cherished. It is Islam that has, reciprocally, sustained Classical Arabic. It is the language that the Arabs use for writing of all kinds, for formal oral communication lectures, broadcasts, speeches, etc. and to some extent for communication with speakers of dialects that differ greatly from their own. It is also the spoken native tongue of no one and proficiency in its use varies greatly according to the degree of education of the user.

Although it has been claimed, as in the above quotation, that the Quran is the original source of Classical Arabic and thus does not belong to a particular region or people, others, such as Netton (2001), quoted earlier, have argued that the Quran was revealed in the language spoken in the Arabian Peninsula so that it would be understandable. Some Muslim countries state in their constitutions that Islam is the religion of the country and Modern Standard Arabic, derived from Classical Arabic, is the language of the country. For instance, schools in Bethlehem follow the Quranic Arabic variety (Amara, 2006). Classical Arabic is the dominant variety employed by imams in Friday sermons in Arabic-speaking settings. Regarding the situation in the UK, as I have experienced, it is also the Classical Arabic variety that is employed by imams in Friday sermons. In addition, it is worth mentioning that Arabic is ranked sixth among languages spoken in the UK in terms of the number of speakers (see Figure 2.1), which may be insufficient (compared to other languages) to reinforce the spread of Arabic in the UK; yet, it is Islam that plays the key role in the use of Arabic.
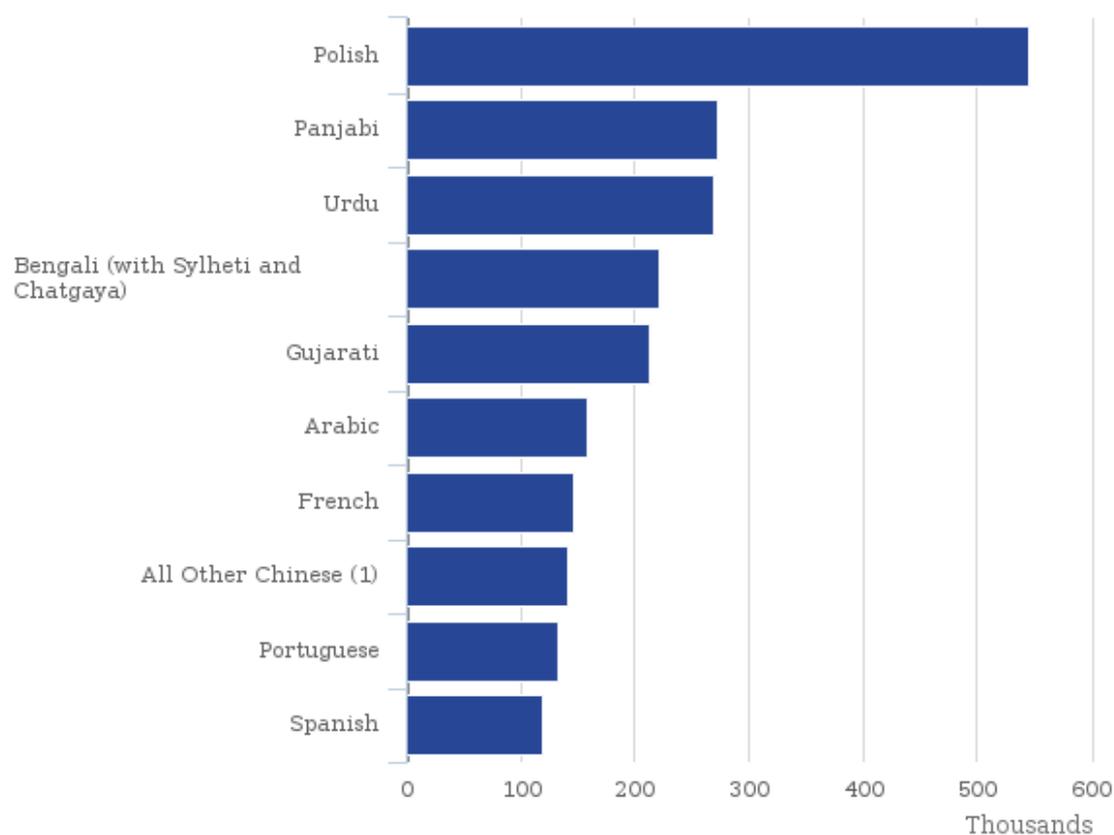
Figure 2.2. Top ten main languages other than English in England and Wales.

Source: UK National Census (2011)

2.4 Theoretical frameworks of language and religion

The study of language and religion from a sociolinguistic perspective is still considered relatively new. Omoniyi and Fishman (2006) argued that what they called 'the parent fields', namely the sociology of religion or sociolinguistics, are yet to be developed as a proper theory and methodology have not been established. They propose a new field to be named 'the sociolinguistics of religious language' and claim that 'sociolinguistics is enriched when it considers religious language and religious domains for language use' (p.7). The study of language policy, for instance, has tended to focus on topics such as language choice and language cultivation. Introducing religion into the analysis would lead to consideration of the diffusion of religion, which is one of the main causes of language diffusion (Omoniyi and Fishman, 2006). The interplay between language and

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religion was thematised first by Haugen and Fishman, William Stewart and Charles Ferguson (Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011).

Fishman (2006, p. 13) argued that 'we must do today in the sociology of language and religion that which we tried to do before in the sociology of language: find a theoretical parental home for ourselves… [We] can adopt a parental home until to be assigned one'. The reason for Fishman building a parental home was to 'provide a nurturing point of departure' (p. 13). Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011, p. 2) assert that:

> …in order to push ahead the systematic development of 'language and religion' as a field of study, Fishman (2006) strongly pleads for the elaboration of a theoretical framework that can serve as a sort of anchorage for the many case studies we are confronted with.

To do so, below is a review of existing frameworks proposed by Sawyer (2001), Fishman (2006), Spolsky (2006) and Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011) respectively. These frameworks are considered of great help in contextualizing the study.

The first of these frameworks is Sawyer's (2001) classification of language and religion into six types (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Sawyer's (2001) theoretical framework.

	Sawyer's classification	Comment
1	Language in the context of particular religions	This category is concerned with exploring the role of language in different religions. Although covers major religions, more depth is required in discussing every religion respectively and providing more insights concerning the understanding of a particular religion in a particular context.
2	Sacred texts and translations	Translating sacred texts, such as the Quran, the Bible and other important religious translations, is the focus of this category.
3	Religious languages and scripts	The focus here is on the role of some language varieties, such as Church Latin and Church Slavonic. This category does not extend to other religions (e.g. Arabic in mosques) to identify differences and similarities.
4	Special language uses	This is about language use in some contexts of worship, such as the use of metaphor. However, some contexts (e.g. mosques) have not been included as extensively as churches.
5	Beliefs about language	This category is devoted to philosophical discussions regarding religious languages and beliefs about the power of names and words. Indeed, religious languages have a powerful impact on religious groups and their contexts. Names and words are believed to have magical powers.
6	Religion and the study of	This is a platform for different studies on language in religious

	language	contexts. This is where more studies are needed, especially the study of Arabic in Islamic domains.

Sawyer's (2001) framework is considered the first of its kind regarding the establishment of language and religion as an independent field of study. The categories focus mainly on language as the main element, rather than religion, possibly reflecting Sawyer's core interest. Following Sawyer's (2001) framework, Fishman (2006) proposed a framework that comes under the sociology of language and religion (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Fishman's (2006) theoretical framework.

	Fishman's classification	Comment
1	The language (or variety) of religion always functions within a larger multilingual/ multivariatal repertoire.	It is essential for members of religions (insiders) to be able to differentiate between the verities of language and what is religion and non-religion. In doing so, greater understanding will be achieved regarding the functions of liturgical languages in religious contexts.
2	The variation posited in principle (1) above exists both intra-societally and inter-societally and may also vary over time.	Religious and non-religious bodies may be less motivated to vary in their speech repertoires than members of middle-range religious bodies.
3	Religious language varieties are more stable than others and affect their secular counterparts more than the latter do the former.	Latin has influenced the languages of Western Christianity; Arabic is different. Classical Arabic (Quranic) is still the basis of literacy, whether spoken or written. This indicates the powerful impact of religious languages over secular ones.
4	A by-product of all of the foregoing characteristics of long-standing vernacular translations ('saintly' translatorship, greater linguistic contrastivity and the sheer weight of traditional usage itself), is their acquisition of a degree of sanctity of their own.	The established translation varieties are used for sermons and extra-liturgical ceremonies. The use of some vernacular varieties for sacred purposes leads to them being seen as sacred themselves.
5	The rise and spread of newly sanctified and co-sanctified varieties (or also of less sanctified ones) within the sociolinguistic repertoire of a speech community renders that repertoire more complex and more functionally differentiated than heretofore.	The result of the differentiation in the repertoire comes from other areas of social change. Also, sociocultural change enhances language shift and language maintenance.
6	All sources of sociocultural change are also sources of change in the sociolinguistic repertoire vis-à-vis religion, including religious change per se. Language spread itself is, of course, the most common carrier of sociocultural change.	One of the most common types of sociocultural change is language spread. Most languages are still spreading into religious functions. This means that functions not written down and unmediated are the first to change, in contrast to ritualized functions.
7	There are several reasons why multiple religious varieties may co-exist within the same religious community.	One of these reasons is that 'social change is neither instantaneous nor evenly spread' (p.20). It has been observed, for instance, that some ethnoreligious linguistic repertoires are expanding in the West due to the continuous migration of these religious groups.
8	The power and ubiquity of sanctified and co-sanctified language exert a major conservative	The spread of religions as a by-product eventually produces texts that support a

	influence on the speed and direction of corpus planning and frequently serve as a counterweight to an emphasis on modernization in the language planning arena.	particular vernacular variety.
9	The languages and varieties of religious functions are not as eternally unchanging as their custodians often imply.	Non-Arabic native Muslims, consciously or unconsciously, Arabize their vernaculars. However, Quranic Arabic is semi-vernacularized.
10	Religious emphasis ebbs and flows and as a result so do religious varieties, the impact of these varieties on non-religious usage and the impact of non-religious usage upon them.	Any speech community with a different social group is different from that in another. Turkey can be seen as an example of those operating against secularism, calling for the restoration of the use of traditional religious varieties.

Fishman's (2006) framework is very detailed and thorough compared to Sawyer's (2001) framework. It comprises 10 sections, with a specific focus on language varieties and vernaculars. Also, sociocultural change and its impact on sociolinguistics are highlighted. However, Fishman encourages other researchers to add to and/or modify the framework with a view to developing the sociology of language and religion theoretically and empirically. In the same year as Fishman, Spolsky (2006) proposed a framework comprising four sections (see Table. 2.4).

Table 2.4. Spolsky's (2006) theoretical framework.

	Spolsky's classification	Comment
1	Effects of religion on language.	An example of this aspect is the impact of religion on language choice, spread, maintenance and lexical borrowing. Indeed, religion has affected the use of religious languages.
2	The mutuality of language and religion.	This aspect is concerned with the changing sociolinguistic repertoire of multilingual contexts. It also includes the interaction between multilingualism and religious pluralism.
3	Effects of language on religion.	This concerns the role of language in building religious communities. The effects of language on religion can be similar to those of the first category regarding the effects of religion on language as both can affect one another.
4	Language, religion and literacy.	This is dedicated to the influence of language and religion on literacy, which is of great importance to language learners.

Spolsky's (2006) framework provides a balance between language and religion, treating both language and religion at the same level without focusing on one and neglecting the other. He also proposes a new aspect regarding the impact of language and religion on

literacy. However, it seems that Spolsky himself is not convinced by his own classification. He acknowledges this by admitting that it is 'parsimonious' and that the framework is 'not terribly revealing'. However, Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011) state that Spolsky's framework is interesting because it highlights policy concerning language and religion on the one hand and religious literacy policy on the other. This classification, according to Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011), is nicely sketched. More recently − and on the basis of the former frameworks − Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011, p.. 5−9) proposed thematic categories as an alternative framework for the study of language and religion, as shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Darquennes and Vandenbussche's (2011) theoretical framework.

	Darquennes and Vandenbussche's classification	Comment
1	The anthropology of language and religion	This concerns the close bond between language and religion and its ability to allow for reflection regarding, for instance, the origin of 'divine' language. They suggest focusing 'on the interlink of physical reality with virtual reality (as expressed in myths, legends and fairy tales) and imagined reality' (p.6).
2	Meanings and uses of religious language	This section is concerned with the use of language of a religious nature in religious domains. Examples of such related studies are those of Crystal (1999) and Samarin (1976).
3	The role of religion in language standardization and language spread	This includes the impact of translation on language standardization and the influence of religion in the spread of language, including the geographical spread of a language.
4	The relationship between language and religion as markers of identity	This relates to the dynamic process of identification as the basis for interaction between language and religion. Language, for instance, plays an important role in the dynamic process of demarcation and the quest for solidarity.

The above frameworks are attempts to establish a fundamental basis for the study of language and religion, either from the perspective of sociolinguistics or the sociology of language and religion. Indeed, these frameworks are conceptually useful and can help researchers establish and conduct their research based on a solid theoretical platform that is systematically applicable and practical. However, as mentioned above, they are still to

be revised and reviewed by researchers for the benefit of developing the scientific field. Sometimes frameworks become theoretically dubious, or simply cannot capture all the variables that exist. They tend to be positivistic in that they tend to define categories that are necessarily restrictive. This study does not adopt a single framework as its sole theoretical view; rather, all the above frameworks are considered to contribute to the theoretical outline for the study, with the relevant sections of each framework providing different perspectives.

2.5 Functions of language use in religious contexts

Exploring the functions of languages in human lives is seen as an important element in understanding the potential meaning of language (Halliday, 2014). Language serves different functions and one of its main functions is 'to serve as a vehicle for rational thought' (Newmeyer, 2000, p. 2). In addition, language functions seek to reveal the purpose of the use of that language in a particular context. By analysing text, which is the language functioning in context, 'we show what meaningful choices have been made, each one seen in the context of what might have been meant but was not' (Halliday, 2014, p. 24). Language also, according to Dunbar (1998), replaced scratching the backs of our friends and family and the primary function of language is to establish and maintain human social relations.

The interface between language and religion sometimes arises with the employment of more than one language, especially in highly multilingual societies. In religious meetings, in which language and religion interrelate, special religious languages or language varieties are employed for different purposes, such as preaching and prayers. This interchange is termed 'glossolalia' by Sawyer, or speaking in tongues, which is 'a conspicuous example where utterances in a language unintelligible to virtually everybody present adds a prophetic dimension to public worship' (Sawyer and Simpson, 2001, p.

237). The reasons for employing language varieties in these contexts, according to Sawyer, are 'partly to heighten peoples' awareness of the sacredness of the moment, and partly to highlight the continuity of what they are doing with the worship of other communities elsewhere' (p. 237). Stewart (1968, p. 541, cited in Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011, p. 1) 'lists the religious language function (i.e. "the use of language primarily in connection with the ritual of a particular religion") as one of 10 language functions'. Below are some of the functions of language use in religious contexts.

2.5.1 Power and authority

One of the functions of language use in religious contexts is power and authority. The interaction between language and religion can produce a prevailing power for language maintenance and the power of religion (Grosjean, 1982, p. 109). By the same token, Ferguson (1982) argues that religion is a very powerful force due to its links with divinity, which leads to language change and language spread, alongside that of religion. It is alleged that the study of the relationship between language and power is seen as a weakness in linguistic theory in the late 20th century, including in sociolinguistics (Fairclough, 2001). The spread of religion, according to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 230), is a type of linguistic imperialism. This claim is applicable in the case that religion is forced on people (e.g. the imposition of Christianity on people under the Roman Empire and of Islam during the Partition of India). However, if people make a free choice, this claim might not be true. Religious language, in addition, is a powerful tool in generating religious awareness and ideology among people (Rahimi, 2012). Indeed, as Mukherjee (2013) states:

> …the shifting (between language and religion) relations involving authority and power, is made possible in the ideological world each inhabits, through words and rituals that seldom have unambiguous meanings; where the connotations and interpretations are

slippery and shifting; where their very ambiguity and imprecision lend power to the words and rituals of language and religion. (p. 5)

Likewise, Cummings (2001) reports that:

…voicing these (Arabic) sacred words could have powerful effects; the words are a talisman. The unintelligibility of Arabic for most Makassarese only reinforced the sense that speaking Arabic was a potentially powerful way of affecting the human world. (p. 572)

This was also true for many early Christians when they heard Latin. Heller (1995, p. 380) claims that 'Language choices − including (but not limited to) code-switching − are among the most powerful and potentially effective strategies that people have at their disposal to accomplish goals which are related both to the internal operations of institutions and to the place of those institutions in society'. Arabic is seen by Muslim Makassarese to be a spiritual power that comes from the Islamic heartland (Cummings, 2001). It is worth noting that Muslims can be very attached to what they call 'Quranic language', referring to Classical Arabic: the drive for them to use Quranic language is their belief in the power of the 'bedrock of Islam', namely the Quran (Nazzal, 2005, p. 271). It is reported in Cumming's (2001) study that 'rulers of the preeminent Makassarese' (p. 573) employed Arabic to support their status and authority. Arabic has historically had primacy over the vernaculars in Muslim communities because the emphasis was on the 'word as enshrined in the Quran' (Sanneh, 2001, cited in Spolsky, 2003, p. 85). In addition, 'the emphasis was on making the public proclamation of faith in Arabic, a pronouncement that signified acceptance of Islam and entrance into the *ummah* (nation)' (Cummings, 2001, p. 569). Salami (2006) found in his study that 'the Yoruba use language as a persuasive tool to gain material or spiritual power for engaging and/or conquering their adversaries' (p. 98). Pandharipande (2006) argues that the choice of a language should be based on its function rather than its social domain and further that the choice of a language is decided by the power of the language to express it.

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Clearly, the literature reviewed in this section indicates the powerful and authoritative status of liturgical languages among believers. This position is considered an element for preserving and boosting liturgical languages, preventing them from being isolated and therefore diminished, especially in contexts in which these languages are not widely spoken or used.

2.5.2 Authenticity and tradition

Another function of language use in religious contexts concerns the traditional authenticity and practices of religious languages (i.e. Arabic, Hebrew and Latin). For instance, Chew (2014, p. 55) states that 'Arabic is the language of choice for the inculcation of an Islamic religious identity as it is the "authentic" language of the Prophet'. Bassiouney (2012) argues that standard Arabic is associated with Islam, which includes history and tradition. The majority of religions, according to Errihani (2011):

> …have produced exegetic traditions centrally preoccupied with the language of their holy texts. Among Muslims, the revelation of the Quran, and the recognition of its language as the Word of God (*Kalaam Allah*), turned every religious scholar into a linguist and made the mastery of the divine language the single most important prerequisite for intellectual and artistic accomplishments. (p. 387)

Even the isolation of a language could help maintain religious tradition (Byrnes, 1999). It has been claimed, moreover, that the reason for preserving historical liturgical languages is the desire among religious groups to retain (and keep apart) the norms and practices associated with their religions (Jaspal and Coyle, 2010). Webb (1997, p. 47) states that 'different religious practices alter any of a variety of formal and pragmatic features of everyday language in response to their distinctive assumptions about the world, other worlds, and the beings they contain'. He then claims that this indicates how religious practices help in understanding language as a form of action. Indeed, the desire among believers to maintain their liturgical languages, according to the literature reviewed above, leads them to preserve its use in related contexts, such as religious activities.

2.5.3 Emotions

Eliciting emotions is another function of language use in religious contexts. If religion, which comprises 'the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine' (James 2002, p. 38, cited in Mukherjee, 2013, p. 3), and language, which entails 'evoking feelings and emotions' (Rahimi, 2012, p. 8), occur together, the generation of emotions is greatly expected. For example, Errihani (2011, p. 386) states that an imam 'exercises his control over the congregation by directly speaking to their feelings of fear, inferiority and guilt'. The imam will clearly use a language that is convenient in undertaking this kind of emotional control. Jaspal and Coyle (2010, p. 32) argue that 'in certain contexts, the use of a given language can stimulate feelings of similarity' among worshippers. Rahimi (2012, p. 11) goes on to say that 'one of the reasons [for using religious language] is appealing to the sentiments and affection of people so that they can influence their emotion to get things [believers need] done'. Indeed, religion here is considered as a motivating element, with one of the imam's aims being, for instance, to elicit the congregations' imagination and emotions (Errihani, 2011). Chew (2014), in addition, asserts that the content may influence language choice because of the feeling that a particular language, even if it is not the dominant language, is more suitable for expressing some emotions. Herman (1961) noted that 'emotional attachment' is one of the personal variables in language use. The literature reviewed in this section indicates how emotions are emphasized as a result of the intersection between (divine) language and (sanctified) religion. It also shows that religion has a powerful emotional value that ultimately affects language use.

2.5.4 Other functions

Another function that leads to the use of a particular language in religious contexts is the intention to accommodate peoples' preferred languages and those in which they are

proficient. Indeed, if people cannot understand the language, they miss the message. Speakers (imams in the context of this thesis) tend to address the audiences' preference. As an example, Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1991, p. 545), investigating the impact of church affiliation on language choice in Malaita, interviewed participants about their World War II experiences and considered that one of the factors affecting one respondent's shift in language choice appeared to be 'accommodating' the addressee. Moreover, they argued that the shift in language use by the respondent, Annanais, was 'an accommodation to communication with a superordinate social (reference) group' (p. 545). Another function for shifting between languages is what is called 'audience design'. According to Llamas et al. (2006, p. 97), audience design 'is generally manifested in a speaker shifting her style to be more like that of the person she talking to'. They assert that it 'applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual' (p. 97). In addition, language use in religious contexts could be a result of personal habit, either related to level of exposure to particular languages or repetitive practice. Speakers in religious contexts could develop habits in their regular practice similar to teachers. The inclusion of two languages in one context, moreover, could be an attempt on the part of speakers to create interest in a particular language. Chew (2013, p. 392) states that 'the choice of English, Malay and a sprinkling of Arabic has been found expedient in invoking pedagogical professionalism or expertise'. This could be the same for imams in their language use.

To conclude, functions and reasons for employing particular languages in specific religious contexts vary and overlap. They depend on the context, audience and intention of the speaker. As reviewed in this section, the attempt to preserve liturgical languages because of their powerful position and emotional impact on believers are some (but not all) of the reasons that encourage speakers to choose carefully which language to employ.

The functions and reasons found previously and reviewed in this section are correlated with the results of this study in the analysis and discussion in Chapter 4.

2.6 Attitudes towards language use in religious contexts

Besides researching reasons for employing languages in particular contexts, exploring attitudes is also another parameter with which most linguistic researchers are concerned. Attitude can be defined as 'a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour' (Baker, 1992, p. 10), or as 'a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably' (Ajzen, 1988, p. 4). Others state that attitude is 'a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour' (Eagley and Chaiken, 1993, p. 1). In other words, it is not always a straightforward matter to observe peoples' attitudes towards particular issues because peoples' feelings and thoughts are not clearly visible, although we may be able to infer attitudes from behaviour. Attitudes can be examined by eliciting people's responses via different means, such as direct or indirect questions. It is worth noting though that attitudes are not the same as beliefs. According to Fishbein (1963, p. 233), beliefs are 'the probability dimension of a concept', while attitudes are 'the evaluative dimension of a concept'. In other words, an 'individual's attitude towards any object is a function of his beliefs about that object and the evaluative aspect of those beliefs' (Fishbein, 1963, p. 233).

Unlike much terminology in specialized fields, the word 'attitude' is a common term that people use and understand, albeit for different purposes depending on the context. This usability and simplicity makes attitudes an important aspect in research. It links research to practice, which therefore minimizes the tendency to scientism. Moreover, the exploration of attitudes is a good way of gaining an idea of how communities, minority groups and individuals perceive issues under investigation. It has been emphasized that

importance of languages and issues related to them are best explored through attitudes. This is reflecting the widespread use of attitudes as a significant variable in social research concerning languages. The popularity of attitudes is not confined to a particular field or certain topics; rather, they are included in all areas and topics (Baker, 1992).

In sociolinguistics and the sociology of language, for instance, attitudes have been studied to examine the relationship between language choice and language status (Omoniyi, 2006). As an illustration, Osman (2013), examining the spread of Arabic in Medieval times, notes that historically, as time went on, 'the attitude towards the importance of knowing good Arabic in order to be considered a pious Muslim was strengthened even further' (p. 76). Even native speakers of Arabic are in favour of the language being more attached to their religious identity than to their ethnic identity. Zughoul and Taminian (1984), for example, found that Christian Arab Jordanian university students held more favourable attitudes towards English than Muslims. The focus on attitudes in the former examples illustrates how they can help researchers in the analysis and interpretation of language-related phenomena and how people perceive such phenomena. In Chapter 4 of this study, the attitudes of the participants are analysed and discussed.

2.7 Previous studies of language use in religious contexts

As mentioned above, language use is an area of considerable interest among sociolinguistics (Omoniyi and Fishman, 2006). Many studies have been conducted in a variety of contexts: educational settings, family situations, courtroom settings and the workplace environment. In contrast, far less has been done within religious settings (Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011; Dillon, 2003). Some of the very few valuable studies conducted in Islamic communities have found that language use depends on several factors. Susanto (2006) claims that Muslims need Arabic to comprehend the

Quran and *hadith*. Although translations are available in many different languages, Arabic is clearly a pertinent language in the study of Islamic religious discourse. To date, very few studies have explored the interaction between language and religion and it seems that some previous studies have underestimated the impact of religion on (secular) communities and societies. In particular, it is not clear what the functions of language use are in religious settings and how people perceive them. Exceptions are the studies of Samarin (1976), Ferguson (1982), Walbridge (1992), Barnes and Mahomed (1994), Wong (2000), Susanto (2006), Soliman (2008), Almansour (2010), Jaspal and Coyle (2010), Kouega and Baimada (2012), Adams et al. (2012) and Bassiouney (2013). Although the focus of these studies varied between language choice, language shift and codeswitching, all were concerned with language use in religious contexts.

One of these early studies, examining the language of religious interactions from a sociolinguistics perspective, was that of Samarin (1976). By examining the functions of language use in religious contexts, he found that cultural identity is triggered in religious communities. Being part of a religious community might accordingly lead to learning new types of interaction which are unusual in everyday talk. Moreover, religion triggers unity and a feeling of oneness among religious groups. This unity among Muslims will eventually enrich their language repertoire by allowing the religious language to trigger their unity.

Another study conducted by Ferguson (1982) focused on the relationship between religious discourse and group identity. He found that religious discourse supports the identity of both speakers and audience among particular groups. He argued that religion is a very powerful force that could eventually lead to language change and language spread. He also stated that religions with a holy book are more capable of spreading. The language of holy books spreads together with the religion, which is the case of the spread

of Arabic among Muslims. This is probably due to belief in 'the word of God', which leads believers to consider these 'holy books' and their languages sacred. Also, the desire to preserve the language of their holy book by using it leads to followers considering the liturgical language as part of their identity.

Walbridge (1992) explored the maintenance of Arabic in a mosque located in Dearborn, Michigan, in the US. She conducted her study through observations and interviews with imams and audiences. She reported that Muslim Lebanese in the mosque under consideration were attached to Islam and therefore the preservation of Arabic, which distinguished them from mainstream US life. Some, however, showed a propensity to shift more towards the majority position away from their own minority and she observed that it can be hard to see what pushes people one way or another. She also noticed that due to the diverse background of the audiences, with some having knowledge in Arabic and others in English, while others were unable fully to understand English, using a mix of Arabic and English was the best option for imams to accommodate audience preferences. Walbridge's (1992) study is similar to this study in its methodological and analytic procedures. It has some similarities regarding the nature and background of the audiences and their views of using Arabic together with English. However, it differs in that all the participants in Walbridge's (1992) study were Arab Lebanese, meaning that they were more proficient in Arabic than those in my sample. This would make it much more likely, though not necessary, to hear Arabic rather than English.

Barnes and Mahomed (1994) undertook a study examining the mix of Arabic and English in a community of South African Indian Muslims. People in this community were mostly bilingual, speaking both English and one of the ancestral languages (i.e. Awadhi, Bodjpuri, Gujarati, Konkani, Memon, Tamil, Telegu, or Urdu). The researchers found that participants mixed codes with Arabic when they discussed religious topics or

attended religious events. This is probably an indication of the participants' awareness of including Arabic whenever religious matters were discussed. It is a sign of Arabic authority and legitimacy in Islam among Muslims, even in contexts in which Arabic is not widely spoken. However, the researchers neglected to mention the background of the participants (Susanto, 2006). This lack of information might affect the validity and reliability of the study. Knowing the background of the participants may indicate the real reasons for them mixing codes.

Wong (2000) conducted a study to examine the cultural functions of codeswitching among bilingual speakers from different communities. To do so, she emailed questionnaires to four females and five males. She found that participants switched codes for religious purposes and felt more comfortable using particular languages. However, similar to Barnes and Mahomed's (1994) study, Susanto (2006) argues that Wong did not elaborate on the participants' linguistic background, potentially affecting the results of her study. The optimal approach would have been to interview the participants, rather than sending them questionnaires, due to their small number. Interviews would have provided greater depth and elaboration concerning the phenomenon.

Susanto (2006) also investigated the phenomenon of codeswitching in a religious context. The study took place in Indonesia, specifically the *musyawarah* (a regular Islamic religious meeting). The aim of the study was to determine the functions and roles of codeswitching between three languages, Indonesian, Javanese and Arabic, in a religious setting. In particular, the focus was on identifying the location of the Arabic word *Insha'Allah* which means 'if God wills' or 'according to the will of God'. His study drew on situational and metaphorical approaches and found that codeswitching served different types of function (situational, metaphorical and linguistic). In addition, he found that codeswitching occurred in different locations: five locations in Javanese−Indonesian

codeswitching and four locations in Indonesian−Arabic and Arabic−Indonesian codeswitching. The reason for the use of the word *Insha'Allah* in Arabic was to indicate submission to God. An original aspect of this study was that it examined more than two languages. However, limiting the scope of the study to addressing particular utterances rather than including all utterances articulated in Arabic impaired the richness of the study, which might otherwise have revealed more reasons than those found.

Soliman (2008) investigated language shift from Classical Arabic to Egyptian Arabic in religious settings in Egypt. He focused on one imam, 'Amr Khaled', analysing 10 recordings of his religious speech. The reasons for Soliman choosing Amr Khaled were twofold: (i) his popularity as a religious figure among Egyptians; (ii) his continuous use of Egyptian Arabic together with classical Arabic in his speeches. His study draws upon phonological, syntactic and metaphorical features and shows that Amr Khaled mostly uses Egyptian Arabic. However, he shifts to Classical Arabic for indirect speech (quotations from the Quran, the prophet's sayings and supplications at the beginning and end of his speeches). Moreover, the study found no relation between frequency of language shift and the status of the audience (Egyptian /non-Egyptian).

Almansour (2010) investigated the use of codeswitching among non-Arabic speaking Muslims from different linguistic backgrounds, conducting a focus group interview with three participants from different backgrounds (the first participant was a female from India, the second was a male from Indonesia and the third was a male from South Africa). The focus of his study was on four phrases '*Masha Allah*' (whatever God wills), '*Alhamdullilah*' (God be praised), '*Bismillah*' (in God's name) and '*Inshaallah*' (if God wills). He found that his participants codeswitched to use these phrases in Arabic, although they did not know Arabic. According to the researcher, the reason behind this was that it was the participants' way of expressing a common and shared identity as

Muslims. This is an indication that language, similar to religion, can unite people from different backgrounds. Sharing the same religion may consequently lead to the desire to have a common communicative tool − among religious groups, a liturgical language.

In addition, Jaspal and Coyle (2010) conducted a study regarding the functions of liturgical languages and religion among young British-born South Asians. To do so, they interviewed 12 participants via semi-structured interviews and interpreted the transcripts of the interviews. After analysing the data, they found Arabic to be the liturgical language among Muslims. Liturgical languages are considered symbols of religious community and of sanctification. The way their study was conducted with regard to data collection and analysis is similar to how this study was implemented. Their study indicated that even young Muslims, who are supposed to be less attached to languages other those they use on a daily basis, still value their religious/ethnic languages. This could be a result of their parents' attempts to link them to their religion/ethnicity regardless of their potential wish not to follow in their parents' footsteps.

In a recent study, Kouega and Baimada (2012) investigated the language use of religious practices. They observed the congregational prayers in the mosque of Maroua in Cameroon and also interviewed some members of the mosque. The results revealed that both the vernacular language (Fulfulde) and Islamic religious language (Arabic) were used. However, Arabic was the dominant language. The choice between the two languages was based on the belief that 'Arabic is the liturgical language associated with Islam, while Fulfulde is the language of the imam, that of the *Muezzin* and a vehicular language in the neighbourhood' (p. 10). This is in line with other studies claiming that it is very much expected that Arabic will be used in most Islamic activities, together with vernacular languages. However, the study did not elaborate on other mosques in/around Maroua, which might have provided a more comprehensive view regarding the reasons

for employing Arabic more than the vernacular language. Kouega and Baimada's (2012) study is in contrast to many studies revealing that vernacular/dominant languages are employed more than liturgical languages, which could be the result of the imams' desire to use certain languages. In their study, more than half of the audience did not understand the part of the sermon delivered in Arabic. However, an issue with their study is that it seems that the authors were not familiar with Friday sermons, evident from the way they described them. They stated that the imam delivered two sermons, when what they saw was the imam splitting his sermon into two parts and sitting in the middle, a well-known pattern that the Prophet Mohammed initiated and one that all Muslims and researchers should be aware of.

Another recent study is that conducted by Adams et al. (2012) regarding how language is used in religious practices in Kenya, focusing on both Kinubi and Arabic. They found that 'the linguistic relationship between these two languages has played an important role in enhancing the usage of Kinubi in the multilingual setting of Kibera, Kenya' (p. 332). They also found that Kinubi speakers' views of their indigenous language were very positive, indicating their attachment to their ethnicity. This may also indicate that Arabic language is not imposing its religious power and therefore excluding the vernacular language; rather, it actually supports its use and is flexible in being used jointly with other languages. This study is in the opposite of the former, in which vernacular languages were used to a much lesser extent in sermons than the liturgical language. It shows that non-Arabic Muslims are not strict about having a monolingual sermon either way; indeed, they are more pragmatic and act based on what is appropriate.

Similar to Soliman's (2008) study, Bassiouney (2013) carried out research to examine functions of codeswitching between standard Arabic and Egyptian Arabic by observing the sermons of an Islamic imam in Egypt. She analysed 10 hours of mosque sermons

delivered in Egypt and found that 'Muslim religious figures exploit the diglossic situation in Egypt in their sermons in order to convey social messages more effectively to their target audience' (p. 49). This clearly indicates the imam's consciousness of his audience's needs, attempting to accommodate and address the audience as much as possible.

To end this section, former studies regarding the use of languages in religious contexts have revealed that believers are tend to support the inclusion of the liturgical language in their religious activities. The reasons for this support vary, but generally indicate the powerful and emotional position of liturgical languages. They believe that they have to maintain and preserve historical languages from being diminished.

2.8 Chapter summary

To conclude, this chapter has reviewed relevant literature regarding the interface between language and religion. It began by highlighting the closeness of language with religion and vice versa. The association between the religion of Islam and Arabic has been discussed in detail as the focus of this thesis. Theoretical frameworks considering language and religion have been presented and the language varieties employed in Friday sermons and their functions have been addressed. Finally, previous studies conducted in religious contexts regarding language use, choice, shift, mixing and switching have been highlighted. By providing this review of related literature, the scene for this study has been set. The next chapter introduces the methodological stance, including, inter alia, the research design, theoretical framework, data collection and analytic tools.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Chapter overview

After reviewing related literature, including theories establishing the foundation for the study, this chapter sets out the methodology and procedures employed. It begins with an outline of the key philosophical and methodological issues, including the ontology, epistemology, paradigm and methodology. Following this, it presents the research questions together with the methods of data collection and a description of the setting. Then, there is a discussion of research ethics and validity and reliability. This is followed by a description of the processes of data analysis. Finally, a summary of the chapter is presented.

3.2 Philosophical and methodological stance

The process of any scientific research is based on philosophical assumptions (Creswell, 2012). Philosophy is 'the use of abstract ideas and beliefs that inform our research' (Creswell, 2012, p. 16). Huff (2008, cited in Creswell, 2012, pp. 18−19) states that philosophy is very important for the following reasons:

1. It shapes how we formulate our research problem and questions.

2. It tends to be deeply rooted in research training and reinforced by the scholarly community in which we work.

3. Reviewers (readers) make (philosophical) assumptions about a study when they evaluate it.

Therefore, the ways in which researchers address their research, including its shape and formation, are based on theoretical assumptions. Ongoing scholarly work, together with its expert readers, benefit from establishing the philosophical premises on which it is based.
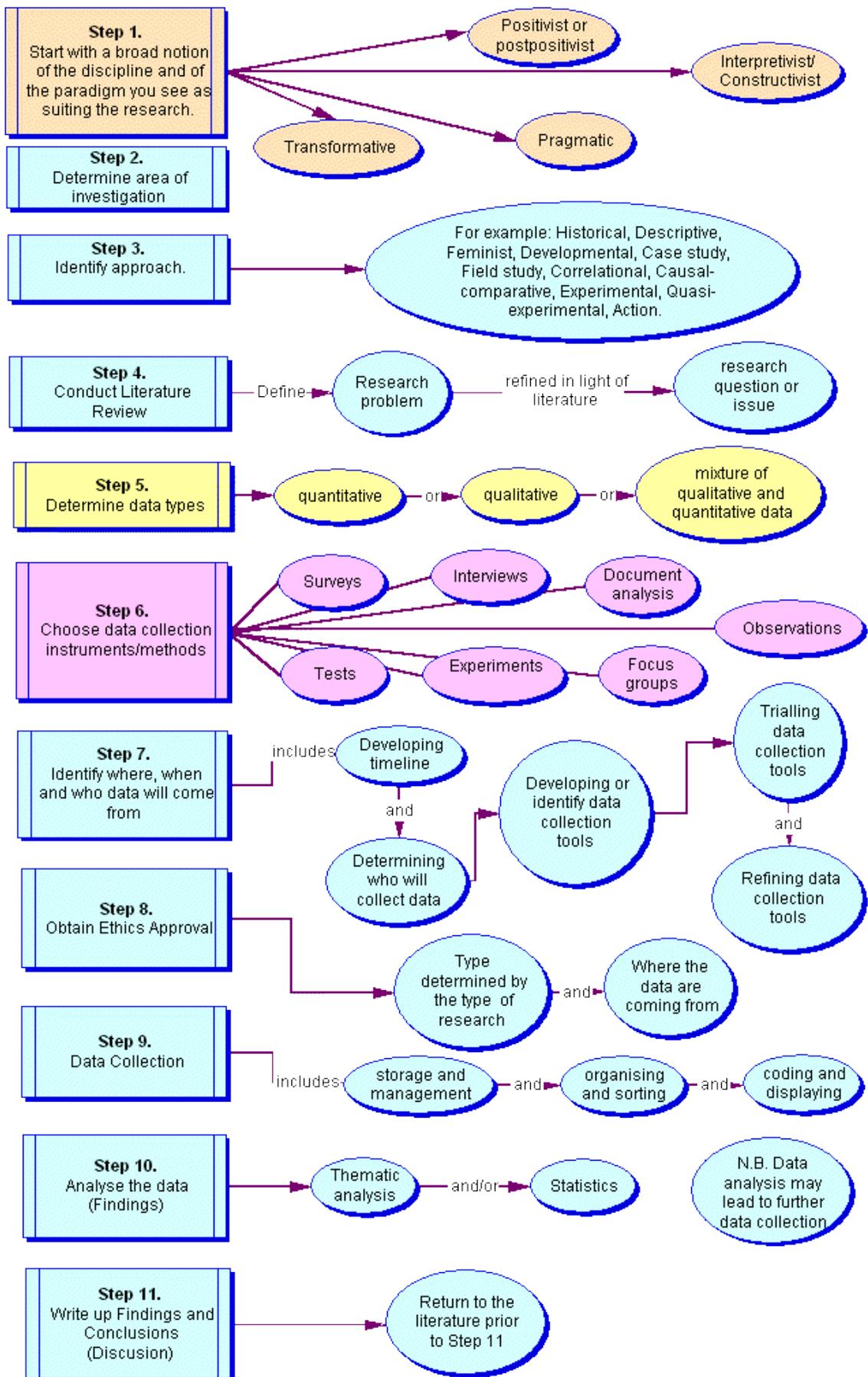
Figure 3.1. The research journey.

Source: Mackenzie and Knipe (2006, p. 204)

Mackenzie and Knipe (2006, p. 204) call the figure above a 'research journey'. From this, it can be seen that the research paradigm is the starting point of any research after assuming a philosophical stance. In this study, I attempted to follow Mackenzie and Knipe's figure in terms of organizing and conducting the study. The framework comprises 'a loose collection of logically related assumptions, concepts or propositions that orient thinking and research' (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998, p. 22, cited in Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006). Paradigms, together with ontology and epistemology, are the parameters that describe the nature of reality and truth as 'they can influence the way in which the research is undertaken' (Flowers, 2009, p. 1). The research paradigm could be one or a combination of the following (inter alia):

1. Positivist
2. Interpretivist
3. Transformative
4. Pragmatic

In terms of the perspective of this study, an interpretivist paradigm is adopted due to its aim, namely to explore and understand the phenomenon of language use in a religious context (mosques). Some have called the interpretivist paradigm 'anti-positivist' (Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006), while others have termed it 'post-positivist' (Blaikie, 1993) due to the differences in assumptions and interpretations between the social and natural sciences. Research in the social sciences is sometimes referred to as constructivist/naturalistic or rationalistic, the latter more closely related to a positivist perspective. Interpretivists draw meaning from respondents' point of view and create realities to understand them. This position is mainly 'inductive or theory building' (Flowers, 2009, p. 3). In other words, it is a process through which the observer tries to connect particular groups on his/her terms and from his/her own perspectives. Crotty (1998, p. 42) calls this paradigm 'the making of meaning' and it is associated with qualitative research methods (Flowers, 2009).

This study can be considered interpretive research, in which I as the researcher explore the reality of the phenomenon of language use among a group of Muslims (imams and audiences), who are united by a shared set of beliefs, with a view to understanding different meanings. This paradigm, as do others, has four main elements, namely ontology, epistemology, theoretical perspective and methodology (Crotty, 1998, pp. 3−11). Each of these elements is discussed below.

3.2.1 Ontology

Ontology is the first element and concerns 'the study of being and the nature of existence' or 'what is possible to know about the world' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p. 19). In other words, it describes 'our view (whether claims or assumptions) about the nature of reality, and specifically, is this a reality that really exists or only a reality created in our minds' (Flowers, 2009, p. 1). In this study, the ontological stance is based on ideas of multiple realities and perspectives of truth (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). This means that the study values the different opinions of the participants and treats each one as an independent view. Reality itself is socially constructed and changes constantly based on the different interpretations of either the researcher or the participants' views of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2003, p. 8).

3.2.2 Epistemology

The second element is 'the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology' (Crotty, 1998, p. 4). If ontology (the former section) is concerned with what we know about the world, epistemology is concerned with 'how it is possible to find out about the world' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p. 21). It shows 'how knowledge can be produced and argued for' (Flowers, 2009, p. 2). The researcher's stance, in the interpretivist paradigm, interacts with being, which includes values,

constructivism and subjectivism in the way in which each participant's opinion is valued and considered (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

3.2.3 Theoretical perspective

The third element is 'the philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria' (Crotty, 1998, p. 9). Others sometimes call it a 'paradigm' or 'theoretical framework' (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006). Its importance lies in how knowledge is approached and therefore interpreted. The theoretical perspective establishes the basis for the appropriate methodology and research design. In this study, an interpretive framework (as mentioned above), which is in the present study applied to what imams and their audiences say, is adopted due to the nature of this study where realities are understandable in the form of perceptible construction (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). According to Creswell (2012), different philosophical assumptions are embedded. From these different assumptions, social constructivism is adopted in this study due to its belief in different realities that are constructed via our experiences and natural interactions. The findings are co-constructed between the researcher and the researched through interviews, observations and textual analysis (Creswell, 2012). It is worth noting that interpretivists/constructivists, unlike positivists, may 'generate or inductively develop a theory or patterns of meaning during the research process' (Creswell, 2003, p. 9).

3.2.4 Methods and procedures

The last and fourth element is 'the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcome' (Crotty, 1998, p. 11). In other words, it is the procedures undertaken in the study. The methods employed by interpretivists vary, but they tend to be underpinned by similar theory-light or theory-absent approaches. In this study, they comprise 'the

techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to the research questions' (Crotty, 1998, p. 3). Mackenzie and Knipe (2006) and others have stated that interpretivist researchers mostly employ qualitative data collection and analysis. Depending on the purpose of the study and what one is trying to do, different types of research methods are available. Clearly, certain methods lend themselves more to certain purposes than others. For example, if one is trying to explore people's verbal and nonverbal behaviour and culture in depth, qualitative research is the most appropriate approach (Creswell, 2003).

This study, therefore, employs mostly qualitative research methods to gain data that reveal both imams' and audience members' opinions of the functions of language use in Friday sermons in UK mosques and their attitudes towards these. Qualitative research methods are employed:

> …to address research questions that require explanation or understanding of social phenomena and their contexts. They are particularly well suited to exploring issues that hold some complexity and to studying processes that occur over time. We offer this simplified overview as a working definition of qualitative. (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p. 5)

Data in this study were gathered qualitatively through stimulated recall interviews, based partly on what imams said in sermons and also on observations. Observations of Friday sermons were used to obtain 'real-time' language use. Stimulated recall interviews were used to attain both imams' and audiences' opinions regarding the observed phenomenon.

3.3 Research questions

A researcher, according to Ritchie and Lewis (2003), ought to be aware of what he/she wants to describe and explain and the detailed questions to be addressed. The researcher also 'needs to consider whether the research questions are sufficiently clear, of value and interest, and how they relate to existing research' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p. 48). Indeed, this research went through different stages in which I tried to ensure the value of

the study and its position with regard to existing research. As this study aimed to explore language use in Friday sermons in a selection of mosques in the UK, it is worth noting that the research questions below are meant to be exploratory rather than confirmatory. The research questions, with the methods employed, are set out in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Research questions and methods for addressing them.

No.	Research question	Method(s) for addressing questions
1	What language(s) do imams use when giving *khutbah* (sermons)?	Observation of Friday sermons
2	What are the functions of imams' language use in their sermons, according to the imams and audience member interviewed?	Observation of Friday sermons and stimulated recall interviews with imams and audience members
3	How do listeners respond to imams' language use in their sermons?	Stimulated interviews with audience members

These particular questions were developed based on the assumption that the exploration of a rarely-researched phenomenon should be undertaken through discovering its functions and how it is seen and perceived from the perspective of the participants (senders and receivers). In the first research question, I aimed to establish what languages imams use when giving *khutbah*. It is important to determine which languages are employed in Friday sermons in UK mosques, potentially identifying ideas that tend to be given in Arabic, reflecting their potential importance and thus revealing concepts that have special significance to imams and which they wish to impart to their audience(s). Following this, in the second research question, I explored the functions and reasons for imams' use of particular languages. Establishing these from the perspectives of both imams and audience members can indicate the perceived motives for using these languages and their impact.

Based on understanding the functions and reasons for employing these languages in Friday sermons, the third research question aimed to explore how the audiences respond to the imams' language use in their sermons and whether or not they are in support of their practice. Exploring the attitudes of both imams and audience members to imams'

language use generates an explicit indication of their stance towards these particular languages. To conclude, after discussing the aims, philosophy and research questions, Figure 3.2 summarizes the key aspects of the study.
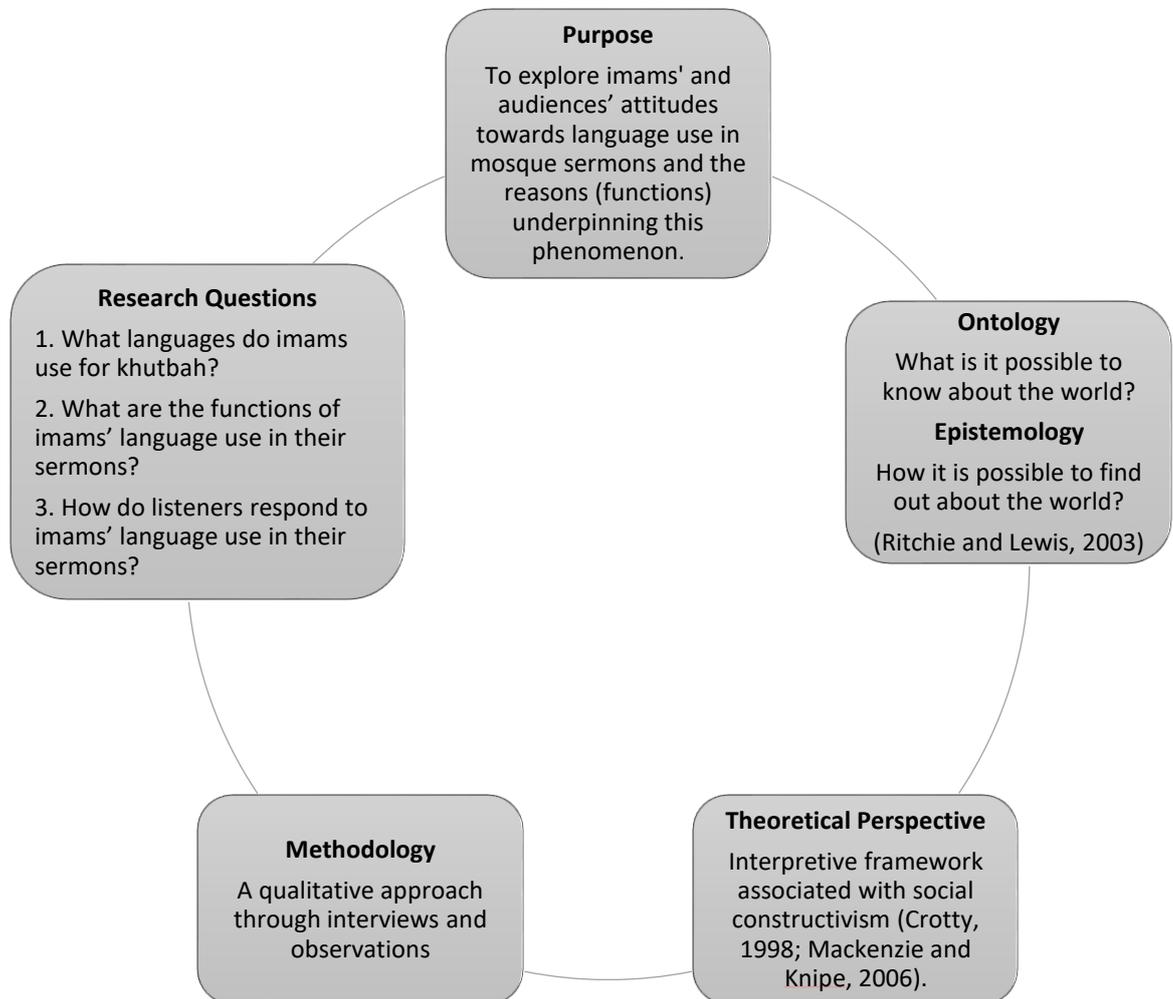
Figure 3.2. The philosophical and methodological stance of the study.

3.4 Methods

The research methods used depend on the aims of the study and how the research questions might best be addressed (see Figure 3.2). As this study was mainly interested in either 'asking questions about meaning, human values, or the understanding of social processes not previously explored or when searching for new theory grounded in the perceptions and traditions of social groups' (Inui, 1996, p. 770, cited in Richards et al., 2012, p. 20), qualitative research methods were used. 'The use of rigorous qualitative

research methods can enhance the development of quality measures, the development and dissemination of comparative quality reports, as well as quality improvement efforts' (Sofaer, 2002, p. 329).

In this study, non-participant observations were used, as well as one-to-one interviews based on stimulated recall carried out with regard to certain Friday sermons to explore the functions of the imams' language use. Following the observations, stimulated recall interviews involving the imams observed were conducted to explore their attitudes towards and their reasons for their language use. Similarly, stimulated recall interviews were conducted with audience members to explore their attitudes regarding the imams' language use. It is believed that the attitudes of individuals, groups and communities influence how language varieties are used. These two methodological instruments can provide rich and in-depth data about language use functions and attitudes. In what follows, a detailed discussion of each method employed in the study is provided.

3.4.1 Observation

Observing a particular community, group or individuals for a particular purpose is a useful practice to gain a better understanding of the actual behaviour of that community in its natural setting. Observation of human behaviour is rooted more in the social sciences than in the natural sciences (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). Its directness, which gives the researcher the opportunity to observe individuals as they speak or act, is of considerable merit. Another advantage is that it can 'describe the observed phenomena as they occur in their natural settings' (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996, p. 206). Different types of behaviour can be observed, such as non-verbal, spatial, extra-linguistic and linguistic behaviours. Observation encompasses 'the watching of behavioural patterns of people in certain situations to obtain information about the phenomenon of interest' (Johnson and Christensen, 2004, p. 186). This study

examined language use in Friday sermons. Being an insider[4] in a particular community, group or set of individuals is a step forward that affords the observer the experience he/she needs to understand how individuals constitute each other (Duranti, 1997).

There are different types of observation in terms of the role of the observer: complete, active, moderate, passive and non-participatory. In the last type, essentially 'the observer has no involvement with the people or activities studied' (Spradley, 1980, p. 59). Creswell (2012) sees these types as a challenge that researchers should deal with carefully as the role of the observer may affect the outcome of the observation. In this study, non-participant observation was employed as Friday sermons are readily available on the Internet (i.e. YouTube). These sermons are regularly uploaded online by staff at the mosques where the sermons were delivered. The reason for mosque staff uploading their Friday sermons and making them available to the public is their attempt to reach out to society and therefore have an impact on their Muslim community.

In addition, these observations were used as a recall tool for interviews. The imams who were observed online and then interviewed were shown some of their language use in their observed talk during the interview to refresh their memories of their linguistic behaviour, therefore enabling them to elaborate extensively on the phenomenon (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996).

3.4.2 Interviews

Qualitatively, interviews are considered the most common instrument employed among researchers in applied linguistics (Mann, 2011). In general, interviews, according to Seidman (2012, pp. 8−9) are 'a basic mode of inquiry' that have 'an interest in other individuals' stories because they are of worth'. Although one may argue that what respondents say may not necessarily reflect what they mean, interviews are still an

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[4] See section 3.8.1 for details on 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives.

effective for eliciting information. They deal with 'thinking and talk that are later transformed into texts' (Nunkoosing, 2005, p. 699).

Moreover, interviews involve shared cultural knowledge (Miller and Crabtree, 1999, cited in Dörnyei, 2007). It has been argued that interviewing is not a method for collecting information, but 'a vehicle for producing performance texts and performance ethnographies about self and society' (Denzin, 2001, p. 24). The involvement of 'the self' indicates that the interviewer is part of constructing the interviews (Nunkoosing, 2005). Mann (2011, p. 8) clearly states that 'all interviews are already sites of social interaction, where ideas, facts, views, details, and stories are collaboratively produced by the interviewee and interviewer'.

It has been argued however, that interviews, as with any form of data collection, have some drawbacks that may affect their validity and reliability, such as the co-construction of the interview between the interviewer and the interviewee. In other words, the interviewer is part of the interview and therefore can affect the data elicited. Indeed, interviews are not naturally occurring, but are a marked event and this can be a weakness regarding the 'accuracy' of the data in reflecting the phenomenon under investigation (Alsaawi, 2014). However, this drawback can be treated by comparing the data elicited, looking carefully for repeated and contrasting themes. This also can be avoided by calling researchers:

> …to give serious consideration to the ways in which the interviewer's participation is significantly implicated in what the respondents end up saying, and how they say it. (Wooffitt and Widdicombe, 2006, p. 56, cited in Talmy, 2010)

In this study, I tried to minimize the inevitable impact of my involvement by using neutral language, i.e. not indicating my position. Moreover, with the audiences, I used the term 'imam/preacher' rather than names as the imams were known to them. I let the interviewees lead the interviews at their own pace and kept interruptions to the minimum,

not stopping the conversation until the interviewees finished. In doing so, although the researcher is still active and co-constructs the interviews with the interviewees, his/her role and therefore possible impact are consequently minimized.

Another issue is whether or not the interviewees speak the 'truth', or what they actually think or believe. Although this study was not considered a sensitive topic because there was no logical reason or potential threat to interviewees that might prompt them not to report their actual views, I addressed this point by providing them with a transcript of their interviews afterwards so that they had an opportunity to evaluate the reliability and validity of the reporting (Mann, 2011). They had the chance to edit, add or even delete any part of the transcript.

Furthermore, Creswell (2012, p. 172) highlights two concerns that the interviewer should consider. One of these concerns is the 'participant's behaviour and ability to create good instructions, phrase and negotiate questions'. In this study, all participants were adults and therefore were able to provide informative data. Another concern is the power of the interviewer and his/her relationship with the interviewees. Creswell (2012, p. 173) states that 'the interview is ruled by the interviewer' and this gives him/her power over the interviewee. However, this may not always be the case, for example when the interviewee is a powerful person. The way out of this dilemma is to conduct 'collaborative interviewing, where the researcher and the participant approach equality in questioning, interpreting and reporting' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, cited in Creswell, 2012, p. 173). I did try not to dominate nor control the interviews but as mentioned earlier, gave the lead to the interviewees by minimizing interruptions and not stopping the conversation until the interviewees finished.

It is recommended to conduct a pilot study to check the validity of the interviews questions (Dörnyei, 2007). In this study, the questions for the interviews with both

imams and audiences were developed by 'trialling the interview questions' (Gillham, 2000). This was done together with consultations with my supervisor and other PhD students. These questions were also tested and trialled during the pilot study (see 3.5.2).

There are different types of interviews that can be employed. It is important to choose the type that can better serve the aims of the study and provide holistic responses to the research questions. These types include structured, semi-structured, unstructured and focus group interviews. Among these types, semi-structured interviews are the most commonly used by researchers. The reason for the popularity of this type is due to its flexibility as it is a mix of two other types (structured and unstructured). Here, the researcher prepares the interview questions (or themes) in advance, but can seek to extend and elaborate on any issue and at any time during the interview, as well as allowing the interviewees to contribute additional points. This controlled openness type can boost the richness and depth of the data gained (Bryman, 2012).

In addition to the above types of interviews, there is another type called 'stimulated recall interviews'. In this type, interviewees watch a visual recording (stimulus) and are then asked to reflect on what they just saw. This practice is undertaken to 'stimulate recall of mental processes occurring during the event in question' (Rose, 1984, p. 23, cited in Gass and Mackay, 2005, p. 14). Similar to semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall allows interviewers to ask for further clarification during the interviews. In addition, stimulated recall:

> …brings informants a step closer to the moments in which they actually produce action. It gives the chance to listen or view themselves in action, jog memories, and give answers of 'I did' instead of 'I might have'. (Dempsey, 2010, p. 349)

In this study, stimulated recall interviews were conducted with both imams and audience members due to the advantages mentioned above. Also, the opportunity to conduct the stimulated recall interviews on either the same day or week following the sermon

observed was an additional advantage as the gap between the observed event and the stimulated recall was short, a lengthy gap being an issue raised by some researchers. A short gap, according to Andrews and McNeil (2005), helps interviewees interpret and reflect on the visually recorded behaviour as this is still in the short-term memory.

3.5 Procedures

This section introduces the setting of this study, followed by the plan according to which the data were collected and organized. Before going into detail, Creswell (2012, p. 146) visualized the process of data collection as a circular series of activities that should be considered by researchers, illustrated in Figure 3.3.
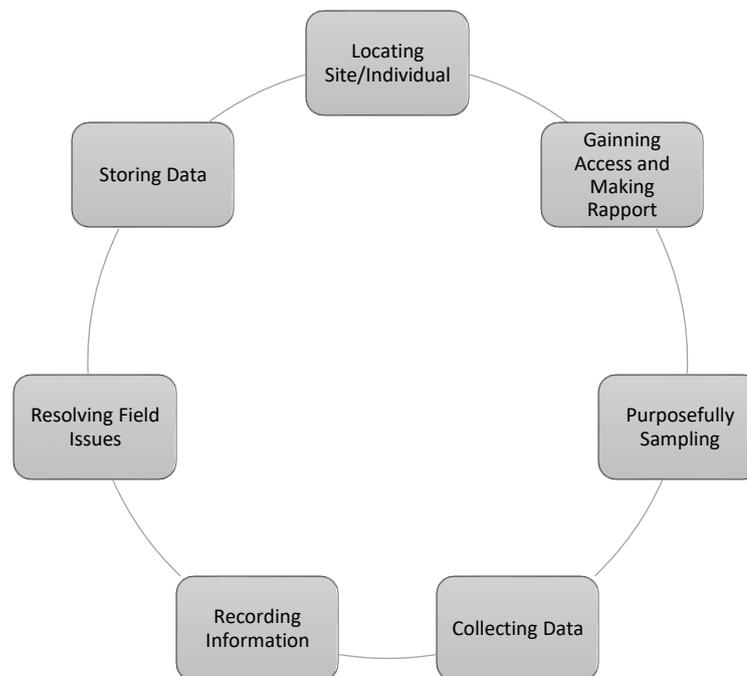
Figure 3.3. Data collection circle

Source: Creswell (2012, p. 146).

Each of Creswell's (2012) stages shown in Figure 3.3 is described in turn below.

3.5.1 Setting and population of the study

This study was undertaken in UK mosques and variation in language use was expected. The target population of this study comprised imams and their audience members. Due to the multicultural background and diversity among imams and audiences who attend

mosques in the UK, it is difficult to have precise criteria applied to the participants (e.g. ethnicity, first language, age, nationality, education level, etc.), although they have something in common in sharing the same belief in Islam.[5] However, the differences must be acknowledged as they may or may not affect attitudes to and views of imams' language use. Therefore, the study focused on participants attending sermons at mosques and the official imams regardless of the criteria mentioned above.

Table 3.2. Participants' characteristics

Participants	Ethnicity	L1	L2	L3	Khutbah experience	Education Level	Gender	Age
Imam 1	African British (Nigeria)	Hausa	English	Arabic	4 yrs.	MA	Male	34
Imam 2	White British	English	Arabic	None	5 yrs.	BA	Male	36
Imam 3	Pakistani British	Urdu	English	None	17 yrs.	High school	Male	75
Imam 4	Pakistani British	English	Urdu	Arabic	5 yrs.	BA	Male	35
Imam 5	African British (Ghana)	Wolof	English	Arabic	4 yrs.	PhD	Male	35
Imam 6	Arab British (Jordan)	Arabic	English	None	5 yrs.	BA	Male	37
Imam 7	Pakistani British	English	Urdu	None	14 yrs.	BA	Male	42
Imam 8	Arab British (Egypt)	Arabic	English	None	15 yrs.	BA	Male	56
Imam 9	Pakistani British	English	Urdu	None	8 yrs.	BA	Male	34
Imam 10	Indonesian British	English	Afrikaans	None	13 yrs.	BA	Male	68
AM1	Arab British (Egypt)	Arabic	English	None	NA	NA	Male	31
AM2	Arab British (Egypt)	Arabic	English	None	NA	NA	Male	64
AM3	White British	English	Arabic	None	NA	NA	Female	22
AM4	White British	English	Arabic	None	NA	NA	Male	32
AM5	Pakistani British	Urdu	English	None	NA	NA	Male	76
AM6	White	English	Arabic	None	NA	NA	Male	22

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[5] It is worth noting that Islamic sects (i.e. Sunni, Shia, Sufi, etc.) were not considered in this study, lacking significance regarding the topic addressed. These differences were not taken into account when the data collection was conducted.

	British							
AM7	Pakistani British	Urdu	English	None	NA	NA	Female	33

AM = audience member

The data set for this study comprised information collected from 17 participants (see Table 3.2). The diverse background of the participants did not indicate any differences in their opinions towards the use of Arabic together with English in Friday sermons. The participants were located in four areas in the UK, namely Newcastle upon Tyne, Edinburgh, Manchester and London (see Figure 3.4). These areas were chosen on the basis of access permission and the willingness of the mosque stakeholders to participate in the study. During the search for potential participants, (31 mosques were contacted) there were some mosques that did not respond to my emails and phone calls. Others responded, but stated their unwillingness to participate due to their busy schedules. It was only the mosques mentioned above that agreed to participate. Ten imams (all males) were observed and then interviewed and seven audience members (two females and five males) were interviewed. Friday sermons formed the focus of this study. These sermons are delivered by imams between 1 pm and 2 pm every Friday and last around 20−45 minutes. These sermons are part of Muslims' religious practices. It is required that all Muslims should attend these sermons. Following the sermon, noon prayer is performed. The topics of Friday sermons vary and depend on the imams, the time and circumstances around the audience. They can be on religious, moral or social topics.

Figure 3.4. Data sampling and collection.

Gaining access to the research context is a crucial step that should be taken as soon as possible by making early initial contacts with stakeholders (McKay, 2006). In doing so, the researcher can secure permission to collect data in the target context. I secured access to the research context by contacting administrators of selected mosques in the UK. Prior to this, I tried to use my networks with Muslims to reach potential imams and audiences. After gaining access, written consent forms were sent to and completed by all participants in this study. Consent is gained by 'providing participants with an information sheet about the research and then, they are asked to sign a form confirming their permission and participation' (Heath et al., 2010, p. 17). The consent forms contained all necessary information about both the research in general and the data collection specifically (see Appendices B, C, D and E).

Regarding sampling, the research questions are the parameter for determining which type of sample to employ (Bryman, 2012). The sample in this research was selective/purposive due to the nature of the research. In other words, it comprised 'a non-probability form of sampling' that aims to 'sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed'

(Bryman, 2012, p. 418). The sample for this study was based on imams' practice in the sermons and permitted access to the research sites (see Figure 3.4).

3.5.2 Pilot study

Prior to collecting the main data, a pilot study was conducted to reveal any potential challenges regarding the participants, interview questions and data analysis. Furthermore, performing a pilot study is a good way 'to maximise validity and test the design' (Hall, 2008, p. 79). According to van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001, p. 1), a pilot study is 'a small scale study (feasibility), trial run (done in preparation for the major study) and pre-testing of a research instrument'.

In this study, the pilot study was conducted with two participants, an imam and an audience member. The reason for including only two participants was due to the limited number of expected participants in the main study. In addition, it was believed that these participants would be able to indicate any potential considerations before implementing the main study. The pilot study was conducted in July 2015 in a convenient place for the participants (a nearby mosque for the imam and a café for the audience member) in Newcastle upon Tyne. Prior to this, extensive invitations to imams and audience members from the mosques that agreed to be part of this study were sent from early June 2015 to estimate the potential number of participants. These two participants, based in Newcastle, were the first to agree to participate and were thus selected to take part in the pilot study.

After conducting the pilot study, initial data, feedback and self-reflection revealed that the interview questions were clear and appropriate. The interviewees were able to respond without confusion, the interviews went smoothly and they lasted a reasonable time. As there were no major changes to the interview questions or procedures, I decided to include the data from pilot study in the main study.

Nonetheless, there were things I learned from the pilot study, such as when to interrupt the interviewee (if needed) and how to begin the interview with a short introduction about the project and myself. I also learned that consent forms should be introduced to the participants prior to the interview and sufficient time should be allowed for participants to read and complete these forms. Another thing I learned was to check the battery of the recorder regularly and make sure there was a nearby electrical socket in case charging was needed.

3.5.3 Main study

Having conducted the pilot study, I began to collect the main data in the same way as in the pilot study. As mentioned in the former section, invitations to potential participants were sent early in June 2015. Interviews were conducted between 27 July and 14 October 2015. Ten Friday sermons were observed and 17 stimulated recall interviews were implemented (ten imams and seven audience members). The interviews lasted 15−35 minutes. It was noticed that the interviews with imams were longer than those with audience members. The potential reason for this variation is that the imams are the producers of the data (Friday sermons), so they have control over what language is used, more so than audiences. All the 10 imams were video-taped while delivering one of their sermons before the interviews were conducted. Although I was open to carrying out more interviews with both imams and audiences, based on the data collected, it appeared that 'saturation' or 'redundancy' had been reached in that no new themes were emerging.

3.5.4 Observation

Friday sermons are usually video recorded by the staff in the respective mosque and some of these video recordings are shared online. The reason for mosques recording and sharing their sermons is an attempt to reach the public and surrounding communities. I was not involved in recording the sermons. However, I was a regular attendee at these

sermons, so I was fully aware of the nature of these sermons. I sought permission to download and use the recordings to observe the phenomenon of language use. Using the recordings had the benefit of avoiding the imams experiencing anxiety during observation as they were used to being recorded. Moreover, repeated observations of these sermons helped me 'gain a deeper and more multi-layered understanding of the participants and their context' (Mackey and Gass, 2005, p. 176).

3.5.5 Interviewing

As stated before, the recorded observations were used during the interviews for stimulated recall. The interviewees were shown some situations in which particular language choices occurred as a way to elicit in-depth information, rather than asking them to draw on potentially weak memories and what they imagined had happened. The clips were selected on the basis of their recent occurrence and the presence of the audience members in the selected clips. This procedure, according to Rose (1984, p. 23, cited in Gass and Mackay, 2005, p. 14), 'will stimulate recall of mental processes occurring during the event in question'. Indeed, it was clear that stimulated recall encouraged the participants to elaborate extensively on the phenomenon under consideration.

In the interviews, imams were asked 12 questions (Appendix E) and audience members were asked 8 (Appendix F).

3.5.6 Data transcription

After the successful completion of data collection phase, which went smoothly and was straightforward, the next step was to organize and transform the data into an analysable form of information. To do this, both the audio-recorded interviews and video-recorded Friday sermons were manually transcribed as verbatim as possible. Verbatim transcription here refers to writing out the interviews and observations focusing on the

semantic content of the speech (see Appendices H, I and J). Therefore, prosodic and non-verbal elements were not included in the transcription as they were not needed for the analysis (Dresing et al., 2012). The focus of the transcription for both interviews and observations was on the features pertinent to the study, namely the use of Arabic and English, their functions and attitudes towards their use. Codes were used to anonymize the identity of the participants. Line numbering was also used in transcribing both the interviews and observational data (Friday sermons) for ease of reference.

3.6 Data analysis

Having described the data collection process employed in this study, this section sets out the procedure of analysis undertaken to answer the research questions. The written transcripts, from both observations of Friday sermons observations and interviews with imams and audience members, were the material for analysis. The analysis of qualitative data is 'neither a distinct stage nor a discrete process; it is something that is happening, in one form or another, throughout the whole research process' (Richards, 2003, p. 268).

The analysis of research data is based on the research questions and the instruments used to gather the data. There are many qualitative analytical methods that can be employed for analysing verbal, non-verbal and written data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), these methods can be divided into two categories. The first category includes methods that are based on theoretical or epistemological approaches, such as conversation analysis (CA), discourse analysis (DA) and narrative analysis (NA). In contrast, the second category of qualitative methods includes more independent methods, such as thematic analysis and content analysis. These methods are versatile in that they can be adapted to any appropriate theoretical or epistemological approaches. The flexibility and data-driven nature of thematic analysis is an advantage in potentially conferring in-depth analysis and rich data. Although there are similarities between content analysis and thematic analysis,

content analysis was not used in this study due to its main focus on quantity and frequency, rather than themes and their significance. Thus, in this study, thematic analysis was employed, although in terms of functions, prevalence was considered.

Thematic analysis, 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79), was used to analyse the transcribed data from the interviews and observations. Bryman (2012) states that thematic analysis is one of the most common approaches in qualitative data analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasize that it is a foundational approach in qualitative studies, meaning that it boosts novice researchers' analytic capability before trying other types of qualitative analysis. By the same token, Holloway and Todres (2003) stated that 'thematising meanings' is one of the generic skills in qualitative analysis. Consequently, thematic analysis is considered a general tool across research methods.

Analysis in the thematic approach, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), is usually conducted by adopting a framework. However, it is not committed to a particular theoretical framework. Thus, it can be employed within different types of framework. The analysis begins by constructing themes from the transcripts of the data. It is crucial to ask 'what counts as a theme?' Braun and Clarke (2006) consider that it is the researcher's responsibility to decide what constitutes a theme. If the researcher 'captures something important in relation to the overall research question', a theme is obtained.

Themes can be identified either inductively or deductively. More specifically, if themes are connected to the data collected for the research and the analysis is data driven, the analysis is inductive. If themes are driven by the researcher's interest, the analysis is deductive. I therefore consider that this study involves elements of both inductive and deductive analysis, as the themes were linked to the data (data driven), but also based on my interest, represented by the research questions. Another way of identifying themes

mentioned by Braun and Clarke (2006) is to decide the level of analysis, namely semantic or latent. A semantic approach focuses on the explicit meaning of the data, while a latent approach focuses on aspects beyond the explicit meaning of the data, such as ideologies and assumptions. This study adopted the latent approach as it looked for the reasons behind imam's language use.

In this study, there were six phases in conducting the thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 87).[6] These practical phases are not exclusive to thematic analysis as some phases are similar in other approaches to qualitative analysis. The steps are set out here and additional details are provided in Appendix J.

1. Familiarizing oneself with relevant data: the process of collecting the data eventually gives an understanding of the data itself. This means that the researcher has a prior knowledge of the data before starting the analysis. In addition, reading the data repeatedly confers familiarity with the data and therefore the capability to start the coding process.

2. Generating initial codes: after becoming familiar with the data, the researcher moves to the next step, generating some ideas that attract the attention and interest of the researcher. After identifying the main ideas within the dataset, they are initially coded.

3. Searching for themes: after generating interesting ideas and coding them, in this phase, the codes identified are allocated into themes.

4. Reviewing themes: in this phase, potential themes identified in the former phase are refined. For example, similar themes might be merged together under one theme, while others could be separated.

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[6] Braun and Clarke's (2006) analytic process has been validated by being adopted and applied in many qualitative studies (Riessman, 2005). It is viewed as appropriate for this study based of the aims of the research.

5. Defining and naming themes: the researcher refines the themes and gives them their final names, then conducts and writes a detailed analysis of each one.

6. Producing the report: in the last phase, the researcher writes up the thematic analysis and tells the story of the data, convincing the reader of the validity and reliability of the analysis undertaken.

The analytic procedures in this study, similar to Jaspal and Coyle (2010), began by repeatedly reading the whole transcripts to become familiar with the accounts. In doing so, I noted preliminary impressions and interpretations in the left margin, leaving the right margin for noting emerging themes. I then started coding features related to the research questions across the entire data set. Such coding, according to Attride-Stirling (2001, p. 390), encompasses three broad phases, namely: '(1) the reduction or breakdown of the text; (2) the exploration of the text; and (3) the integration of the exploration'. Codes were 'applied to the textual data to dissect it into text segments: meaningful and manageable chunks of text' (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 391), resulting in the identification of 31 codes (Appendix K).

These 31 codes were then listed under potential themes, leading to the emergence of 12 main themes. The themes were 'extracted by a careful mental process of logical analysis of content from all data sources' (Germain, 1986, p. 158). This process helps in 'reframing the reading of the text and enables the identification of underlying patterns and structures' (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 392). For example, one of the themes was the 'authenticity and tradition' of Arabic, which was identified by repeatedly reading through every interview transcript and coding any text mentioning Arabic used for the sake of authenticity and tradition, whether explicitly or implicitly. All codes referring to authenticity were grouped under a single theme labelled 'authenticity and tradition' (see Appendix K).

The potential themes emerged through reading and rereading the data and ensuring that a key idea, repeated and emphasized in a statement, had the same features as the key idea in other statements. They were labelled on the basis of words, phrases and sentences abstracted from the transcripts of interviews (DeSantis and Ugarriza, 2000). Some of the themes thus identified were then refined and combined with other themes 'specific enough to be discrete and broad enough to encapsulate a set of ideas contained in numerous text segments' (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 392). The refining process reduces the selected themes, in this case forming ten main themes due to the merging of some themes with others. Themes that did not directly address the research questions were discarded. The whole analytic process was repeated to ensure the validity of themes and coded extracts. The themes identified and discussed in Chapter 4 are in line with Braun and Clarkes' (2006, p. 83) statement that they should be an 'accurate reflection of the content of the entire set'. Later, the coded extracts were tested to ensure their fit with their suggested themes. This procedure was employed for every interview transcript in the data set.

Doing the analysis manually in this study instead of using Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) has its own merits and drawbacks. Although the use of CAQDAS would help the researcher for creating codes and discovering themes (Zamawe, 2015), I felt the need that I should do this demanding task as it would enhance my immersion into the data and therefore my understanding to the emerging codes and themes. Therefore, it is vital for me as a researcher to choose the tool I feel comfortable with and also 'recognise the value of both manual and electronic tools in qualitative data analysis and management and not to reify one over the other but instead remain open to, and make use of, the advantages of each' (Welsh, 2002, p. 12).

3.7 Validity and reliability considerations

It is crucial for any empirical research to assess its validity and reliability. Patton (2002) views validity and reliability as among the main aspects to be considered carefully when designing, analysing and evaluating research. This section, therefore, begins with an overview of the different terminology used in qualitative research compared to those used in quantitative research. Then, it describes the measures of validity and reliability undertaken with regard to this study and to what extent these measures were met. Ethical issues are addressed in a separate section.

Many have noted the attempt 'to assimilate reliability and validity' of quantitative research 'into qualitative research with little change of meaning other than playing down the salience of measurements issues' (Bryman, 2012, p. 376). However, in qualitative studies, there is an argument that the terminology used in qualitative research to discuss validity and reliability should differ from that used quantitative research due to their different measurement criteria (Mason, 1996). For example, LeCompte and Goetz (1982, cited in Bryman, 2012) state that qualitative research focuses on internal validity and reliability (i.e. consistent analysis and the relationship between researcher and theory), whereas quantitative research focuses on external reliability and validity (i.e. replication and generalization). Thus, they came up with alternative criteria and terminology to assess qualitative research, namely trustworthiness (validity) and authenticity (reliability). In detail, the first criterion, trustworthiness, comprises: credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability) and confirmability (objectivity). The second criterion, authenticity, comprises: fairness and ontological, educative and tactical authenticity. This study, similar to others such as Bryman (2012), adopts the classification of LeCompte and Goetz (1982, cited in Bryman, 2012), which categorizes the validity and reliability as follows:

1. External reliability which means the possibility of accurate replication.

2. Internal reliability which means that more than one observer agrees on one explanation of a particular behaviour.

3. External validity which means the possibility of generalising the findings.

4. Internal validity which means "whether there is a match between researcher's observations and the theoretical ideas they develop" (p.376).

In detail, validity and trustworthiness in qualitative research can be achieved through respondent validation. Respondent validation or (credibility) can be attained either by providing participants with a transcript of what they said during interviews and conversations, or an account of the findings. This study employed respondent validation by providing every participant with a transcript of what was said during the interviews. Participants were asked to confirm the accuracy of the content of the transcripts.

In addition, depth rather than breadth is the main point of qualitative research. By providing 'thick description' of the phenomenon under consideration, it is possible to make 'judgments about the possible transferability of findings to other milieu' (Bryman, 2012, p. 392). Generalization, according to some researchers, cannot be achieved due to the nature of qualitative studies; however, this is not the aim of qualitative research. For instance, qualitative researchers do not look for one reason that applies to a large population; indeed, they accept different reasons even among a small population. However, it is worth noting that phenomenon examined in the context of the present study, based on my experience, is seen in other contexts in which imams deliver their sermons in two languages, namely the vernacular/dominant language and Muslims' liturgical language, Arabic. This is the case, for example, in the US, where English and Arabic are employed in Friday sermons (Bagby et al., 2001). Nonetheless, it is not intended to make a claim for generalization of the findings of this study, but rather the

possibility of 'transferability'. Respondent validation and thick description were employed in an attempt to ensure the validity of the data and stability of the findings.

Reliability and authenticity are also very crucial to any research (Bogdan and Biklen, 2006). The interviews were conducted in a calm and friendly atmosphere. Regarding replication, there is debate concerning the possibility of doing so in qualitative research. The detailed account provided here potentially means the study can be replicated in other contexts. However, it is not necessarily the case that such research would reach the same conclusions. Moreover, in relation to replication, there is also the issue of whether other researchers with the same data would reach the same conclusions, i.e. reliability in qualitative research. According to Peräkylä (2004), among the issues that should be considered are which parts are worth recording, the quality of the selected recordings and the quality and effectiveness of transcripts. These criteria determine the possibility of replication.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Because of the involvement of human subjects as participants in this study, ethical issues had to be carefully considered. The research ethics guidelines provided by Newcastle University were consulted and followed. Formal ethical approval was granted for this study by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences before collecting the data. Some of the concerns that qualitative researchers should keep in mind, according to Bryman (2012, pp. 118−125), are: (1) avoiding harm to participants, (2) gaining informed consent, (3) ensuring privacy and (4) ensuring no deception. In detail, in this study all efforts were made to guarantee that no harm would come to participants during or as a result of their participation in the study. Such harm can be physical, related to the participant's development, or suffering loss of self-esteem or stress.

I explained to all those involved that participation in the study was based on freely given informed consent. In the consent form, I explained what the study was about and how it was going to be conducted. Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity were assured and guaranteed. The data were kept in a secure online file and on separate hardware with a password. In addition, anonymity was assured 'by assigning numbers or aliases to individuals' (Creswell, 2012, p. 174). Participants were reassured that there was no attempt to deceive them about the real nature of the study as a way of gaining support and convincing them to get involved. Participants were given the right to decline and withdraw from participation at any time. These four concerns were considered and therefore treated carefully. Further to the former concerns, Creswell (2012, p. 175) states that 'personal experiences with participants could minimise the bracketing that is essential to construct meaning and reduces information shared by participants'. All ethical considerations mentioned above were addressed.

The relationship between the researcher and his/her role in the research design are very important in qualitative research (Gillham, 2000). As this study included interviews and observations, my role encompassed elements of what Duranti (1997, p. 187) called 'insider and outsider perspectives'. These roles and their combination can be either beneficial or prejudicial. In detail, being an insider in the context of this study was seen as an advantage. I was born Muslim and had been involved with the context of this study since coming to the UK in 2012. This involvement and attachment gave me an insider stance and therefore an analytically native eye. I had the advantage of sharing the same belief and religion with the participants. This religious oneness encouraged the participants to express their views and opinions freely and extensively. Nonetheless, an effort was made to exclude researcher bias (being Muslim and looking at things from a Muslim perspective) through taking a non-judgmental position in interpreting the data. This bias, though, is not seen as a problem by some researchers. Baker et al. (2013), for

instance, argue that there is no analysis that is completely unbiased. They go further to claim that all social science research is biased in some way. The solution to this inevitable 'human bias' is to acknowledge its impact on data interpretation.

It is worth noting, however, that being an insider is not without its drawbacks. For instance, my familiarity with the context of this study could accidentally affect the way the data were viewed and interpreted. Also, it could affect decisions considering which parts of the data were of importance to the research. These limitations were mitigated by adopting a rigorous stance in the research procedures. For the interviewees, another drawback of my being an insider might have lain in leading them to give responses they thought I would like, thus avoiding making negative comments (social response bias). As noted previously, I used neutral language to avoid eliciting particular responses.

In addition to being an insider, I could also be viewed as an outsider because I am not a British citizen, in contrast to the participants. Being an international student (foreigner) placed me in an outsider position. However, this did not appear to affect the interviews or my ability to undertake the research, as I was able to interact easily with the participants.

3.9 Chapter summary

To conclude, this chapter has discussed issues with regard to the data collection process and analysis. The philosophical and methodological stance underpinning this study have been presented. The qualitative research approach adopted, research questions and study methods and procedures have been presented and discussed. The data analysis process has been outlined, together with validity and reliability considerations. Before concluding this chapter, ethical issues were discussed. The findings of the study are now provided in the next chapter (Chapter 4), followed by the conclusions in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Chapter overview

Having discussed the methodology, this chapter presents the analysis of the interviews with both imams and audiences and of mosque sermons in the UK. Following this introductory section, an overview of the interviews and observations conducted in this study is presented. Then the functions of imams' language use in their sermons are outlined and discussed. Imams' views concerning the inclusion of Arabic in their sermons are presented and analysed under relevant themes, illustrated by a representative selection of extracts. The attitudes of imams towards their choices of the language they employ in their sermons are set out, as are those of audience members, based on perspectives they revealed in the interviews, again illustrated with extracts. Participating imams were asked 12 questions (see Appendix E), while selected audience members were asked 8 questions (see Appendix F). A selection of salient responses from the interviews is presented and analysed.

4.2 Overview of observations and interviews

Ten Friday sermons (six hours of recording in all), delivered in UK mosques, were video-recorded (by mosque staff) and 17 interviews were audio-recorded, 10 with imams and 7 with members of mosque audiences. All participating imams were male[7] and of the seven audience members, five were male and two were female (see Table 3.2 for further details). Sermons are delivered regularly every Friday afternoon in mosques. Although Muslims can pray at home or in any other place, mosques have additional spiritual value. Praying together with other Muslims can boost spiritual desire and encourage Muslims to interact with each other. Such communal places of worship (for any religion) tend to reinforce people's beliefs. The audience usually arrives before the beginning of the

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[7] Due to religious regulations, imams are only male. It is not within the scope of this study to discuss or explain the reasons for this. For an introduction, see http://aboutislam.net/counseling/ask-the-scholar/acts-of-worship/women-leading-friday-prayer-amjas-statement/

sermon, so that people can pray and read the Quran individually. Following this, the call for noon prayer is announced just before the imam starts his sermon. After finishing the sermon, the noon prayer is performed, usually led by the same imam. The imam generally stands in front of the audience and delivers a sermon lasting around 20−30 minutes. This is divided into two parts, with the imam sitting for few moments between the two parts, following a general religious pattern that is nearly always observed. It is a practice the Prophet Mohammed is reported to have launched and has since become a tradition followed by imams.

It is worth noting that the analysis here focuses on the body of the sermons, excluding the opening and closing and direct quotations from the Quran and Prophet's sayings. The reasons for this are twofold: first, including these resulted in a vast amount of data, challenging for analysis; second, based on recommendations from some Islamic scholars, the opening and closing of sermons is often formulaic, using particular Arabic phrases and citing verses from the Quran in Arabic. Although these recommendations are not always followed, they were not included. Here, the focus was on the body/content of sermons in which new ideas and meanings could appear and in which there was 'language choice', rather than on formalities that are generally repeated and recycled in Arabic. The formalized opening and closing of Friday sermons tends not to change much over time and seen as helping maintain the continuity of form and ritualization.

The 10 imams who participated in the study represent the diverse ethnicity and background of Muslim communities in the UK (see Figure 3.4), although they were included primarily based on their accessibility.

As set out in 3.6, following the transcription of the audio-recorded interviews and the video-recorded observations verbatim, focusing solely on the semantic content of the speech (see Appendices H, I and J), the data were coded, resulting in 31 codes. Based on

these, the analysis focused on the discursive themes shared among the interviewees with a special interest those that were common across the participants as a whole. Therefore, popular and common themes among the participants were given precedence in this study. The 12 identified themes were then refined into 10 themes to avoid redundancy and repetitiveness. The process is summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Summary of the analytic process

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006)

	Description of the analysis process
1	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

4.3 Functions of language use

Exploring the functions of languages in human lives is seen as an important element in understanding the potential meaning of language (Halliday, 2014). Language serves different functions and a primary function of language is 'to serve as a vehicle for rational thought' (Newmeyer, 2000, p. 2). By analysing the text, which is language functioning in context, 'we show what meaningful choices have been made, each one seen in the context of what might have been meant but was not' (Halliday, 2014, p. 24).

In this section, the functions of language use in Friday sermons are analysed and discussed. This section is divided into two parts. The first concerns the functions of imams' language use from their perspectives. The second deals with functions of imams' language use from the perspective of the audience members. In each part, the functions that emerged as specifically given by respondents are listed, analysed and discussed

respectively. The functions arose from the interviews with both imams and audience members and are discussed using relevant selected extracts from the imams' sermons and participants' comments in the interviews. As mentioned before, the extracts were selected on the basis of the ideas that arose when imams switched language in their sermons. In other words, all significant data were connected with the inclusion of Arabic in Friday sermons.

The functions discussed below start with the more frequent and common functions identified in the data on the basis that the more particular functions occur, the more important they might be. Thus, they take priority in the analysis and warrant being discussed in greater depth and breadth. Prevalence was addressed in both interviews and sermons by:

- Determining which Arabic words/phrases were used most frequently in the sermons observed (see Appendix L).
- Identifying the relevant emergent functions most mentioned from the perspective of both imams and audience members in relation to the high-frequency Arabic terms (see Appendix J).

It should be noted that out of the ten functions/themes that emerged from the interviews with imams and audience members, five were reported by both imams and audience members, whereas three functions emerged from imams only and two from the audience only. This may indicate the importance of the seven shared functions among the participants, as they may reflect the intended functions and reasons for language use in Friday sermons.

4.3.1 Functions of language use from the perspective of imams

This section sets out the functions revealed by the imam participants regarding their language use in Friday sermons. The majority of the sermons observed showed that

imams use both English and Arabic in their speech: English as the most widely used language in the UK and Arabic as the liturgical language for Muslims (cf. 2.2). In contexts other than the UK, it can be claimed that Arabic can be found in any Friday sermon around the globe. Clearly, the accompanying language differs based on the context, for instance, the use of French interacting with Arabic language in Friday sermons delivered in France, German in Germany and so on (see Otterbeck, 2015). Consequently, although this study is not meant to be generalized, there may be similar situations of more than one language being used and therefore similar findings can be expected outside the context of this study.

Eight themes related to functions of language use in Friday sermons in the UK, based on the imams' perspectives, were identified (see Figure 4.1). As stated by Pandharipande (2006), the choice of a language should be based on its function. It is worth noting that these categories are not entirely separate. Extracts and comments were linked to a particular function and not another based either on participants' responses, linking certain functions to certain situations, or on my attempt to correlate extracts and comments to the most related functions (see Appendix J). Most imams are aware of their language practices during sermons and are conscious that they do not solely use English, although they may not always know why this is the case. They are also broadly supportive of the inclusion of Arabic in their sermons, as evidenced in extracts from their interviews, the reasons for which are discussed below.
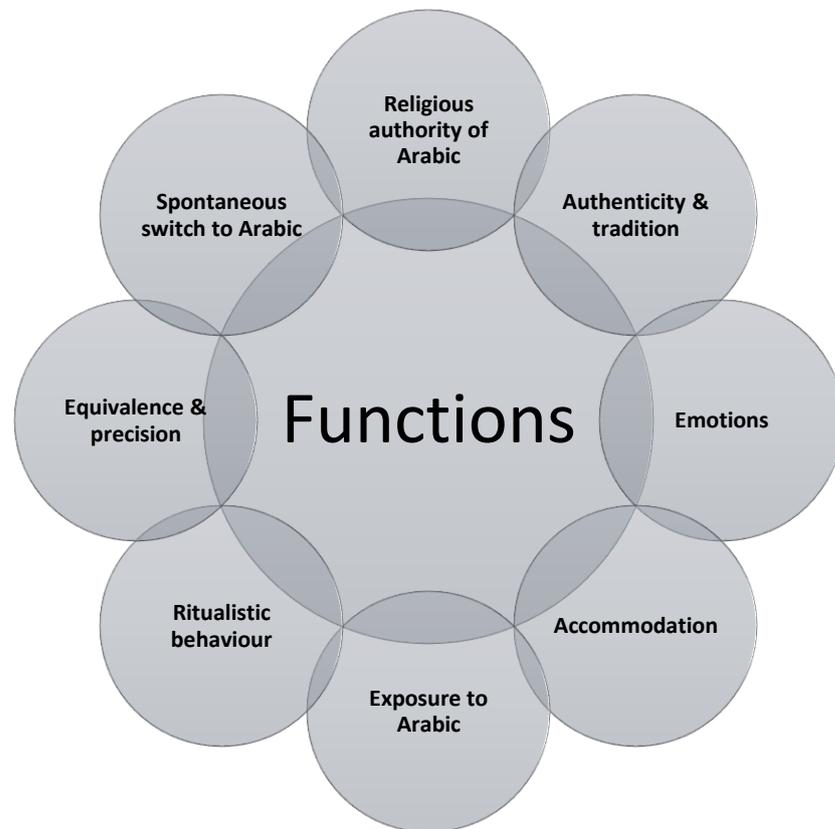
Figure 4.1. Functions of language use from imams' perspective.[8]

The titles of the functions in the Figure 4.1 above were derived to capture the essential qualities of the accounts. Each function is presented below respectively. The functions identified in this study are not the only possible functions of language use in the data set; rather, they those this study revealed.

In the quotations from the sermons and interviews presented below, bolded and italic material indicate utterances in Arabic and material included within round brackets provides clarification for the bolded material. In addition, all numbered extracts in this section are from sermons while non-numbered extracts are from interviews.

It is clear that imam participants are in support of the inclusion of Arabic together with English in their Friday sermons. They rationalized this inclusion based on cultural, social and emotional functions (discussed in the following sections). They are keen to maintain

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[8] See section 4.2 for details on how these functions were achieved.

the Muslims' liturgical language for the purpose of authenticating their sermons. They revealed the authoritativeness of Arabic in this religious context. It is their aim to make their audiences feel welcome by using the liturgical language. Engaging the audience emotionally is another reason for imams including Arabic. In what follows, a detailed elaboration of the functions of language use from the perspective of imams is presented. Each function of Arabic is discussed in turn, ordered based prevalence in the data and illustrated with extracts from the imams' video-recorded sermons and audio-recorded interviews.

- **Religious authority of Arabic**

Arabic is the official language of more than 25 countries and is ranked fourth among the most spoken languages in the world. Islam was and remains a key factor in the spread of Arabic around the globe (Ferguson, 1982; Osman, 2013). This function of Arabic was the most frequently referenced among the participants (see Appendix K).

Jubayr (1852) noted that most Muslims, from different parts of the world, attending the annual pilgrimage and visiting the two holy mosques in Islam (Makkah and Madinah) in Arabia a long time ago probably interacted in Arabic as the language most applicable to Muslims. This positively boosted Arabic's authority and spread among Muslims. Keane (1997), for instance, believes that ritual speech has an authoritative position over hearers. This ritual speech clearly gains some of its authority from the language used. Therefore, the authority of Arabic sources of religious speech is unquestionable for the majority of Muslims (Errihani, 2011). In addition, in being able to speak 'the words of the scripture', the imam is capable of invoking a grand style (rhetoric) in front of the audience (Augustine, 1996). Indeed, Arabic has a prestigious position among Muslim imams. The imam's religious authority with his congregation, according to Errihani (2011), will ultimately eliminate the barriers between them by building trust in what imams say.

A central function repeatedly raised by the participants for including Arabic with English in Friday sermons is the powerful and authoritative stance of Arabic among Muslim believers in that Arabic is the medium in which the original source of Islamic knowledge is conveyed. According to Pandharipande (cited in Omoniyi and Fishman, 2006, p. 161), 'authority should be treated as mechanism of change in the structure and function of religious languages in particular and languages in general'. Some of the imam participants believe that Arabic has a power over other languages in Islamic discourse, in line with McLuhan's (1964) claim that the medium is the message. Imam 2, for instance, stated that:

> Arabic language has a power that other languages don't have. When Arabic is used, it affects people in a way that other languages don't. It has a power to shape a person. For people who don't understand Arabic, I personally believe that they will be in some spiritual level affected by it even if they don't understand it.

This claim from a White British imam who is still learning Arabic is an indication of how Muslims, regardless of their ethnicity or background, are strongly touched by Arabic, especially in a religious setting. This shows that in the case of religion, beliefs are likely to be more important to believers than ethnicity or nationality. It seems that the imam is placing Arabic in a high position, as he declared later, because of his belief in its divine nature. Indeed, conveying the 'word of God' via Gabriel to the Prophet Mohammed in Arabic has a huge impact on the Arabic stance among Muslims. Similarly, Imam 8 stated:

> Arabic has a strong effect and because I am speaking Arabic and English, when I read the same thing in Arabic and English, the effect is completely different. The effect of Arabic terms and words especially the Quranic terms are very special and strong.

Again, claim is similar to the former, as it supports the powerful function of including Arabic with English in the Islamic context. This was said by an Arab British imam whose first language was Arabic. Thus, it seems clear that the ethnic differences between the participants did not lead to different opinions concerning the sociolinguistic phenomenon.

This is probably because the uniting factor in this context is religion (above other variables). The imam in the comment above declared that the combination of the two languages in his sermons has its own influence. This may indicate that being able to use the liturgical Muslim language (Arabic) with English adds credibility to his sermons and therefore their impact. This opinion was in line with Imam 5, who argued that:

> Using these two languages is like a source of power to my sermons.

This is another claim from an African British imam that being bilingual in delivering Friday sermons is a source of an authoritative power, demonstrating high literacy both religiously (Arabic) and professionally (English). It is noted though that Imam 5 did not specify Arabic as the only powerful element in the sermon; rather, he indicated that both languages empower his sermons. The power function raised by the participants are in line with previous studies, which found that whenever language and religion are intermingled, the combination can produce power leading to language change, language maintenance and language spread (Ferguson, 1982; Grosjean, 1982). The following extract shows how Arabic terms potentially have greater religious influence than English equivalents when it comes to discussing Islam:

Extract 4.1

> …so for a Muslim to carry out this humble call, calling the people to Islam, bringing the people to peace, taking the people out of darkness into light, from out of ***Jahannam*** (hell) into ***Jannah*** (heaven), know the fact that this is a composed react upon every Muslim…
> (Lines 130−132; time: 13:42−27:01)

Imam 4 in the above extract used two Arabic words '*jahannam*' (hell) and '*jannah*' (paradise or heaven). This extract came in the middle of the sermon, when he was talking about Muslims' duty to call people to Islam. He stresses the point that as Muslims believe in hell and paradise, by calling people to Islam, they simply raise their chance of going to the latter. This is an important aspect for Muslims, similar to Christian

missionaries who call people to Christianity. The imam repeatedly used the word *jannah* (seven times), but mentioned *jahannam* only once.

Moreover, in the entire data set, *jahannam* was not used in any other sermon, whereas *jannah* was employed 19 times in 7 sermons by 7 imams, regardless of the topic of the sermon (see Appendix K). This indicates the impact of positive reinforcement. It seems that imams believe that eliciting emotions through love is more effective than through fear. Indeed, the audience, as human beings, will usually prefer to be attracted with passion, rather than given dire warnings. It looks as though this is what the imams are doing.

It is believed that the reason for using these particular terms in Arabic rather than English is due to their powerful impact (see 2.5.1) on the audience, even non-Arabic speakers, according to the imam himself. This impact is linked to the original Arabic words *jannah* and *jahannam*, which are mentioned in the Quran 66 and 77 times respectively. Indeed, these particular words are related to special events and they are more powerful for Muslims if they are mentioned in the original version revealed in the Quran and the prophet's sayings. Although these words are familiar to some non-Muslims, the Arabic version is still special for Muslims (see 2.5.4), having a sense of conveying the word of God (Quran) for believers.

By the same token, Mukherjee (2013, p. 5) states that 'the shifting (between language and religion) relations involves authority and power'. Indeed, the interaction between Arabic and Islam, in the context of this study, triggered the powerful and authoritative position of Arabic among Muslims. It can further be argued that the combination of two aspects (i.e. Christianity and Latin, Judaism and Hebrew and Islam and Arabic) is more powerful and significant than the two as separate entities. This prestigious position of

Arabic, which arises from the link between 'language and religion' and what some people believe about this link, stimulated Imam 2 to claim that:

Arabic is the lingua franca of Islam among all Muslims among the whole world.

This statement in itself is very strong and gives Arabic a high eminence in the Islamic religious setting. This is probably due to the assumption that Arabic, as the language of the Quran, is specifically linked to authority among Muslims, especially for religious purposes. This intimate connection gives Arabic an influential position which is clearly reflected in the quotation above. Some imams compared Arabic to English as Arabic is the language of Muslims whereas English is the language of the world. This claim by a White British imam reveals the authority of Arabic among Muslims, which consequently led imams to include it in their speech. However, this goes beyond religion: Cummings (2001), for instance, found that Makassar rulers employ Arabic in a non-religious context just to boost their authority. If Arabic boosts Muslim rulers' authority, it clearly does so with imams. This suggests that the authority of language is extended beyond religious domains, but that it derives from the link between language and religion. The following extract is another example from Imam 6 of this function:

Extract 4.2

…we are becoming excessive in our purification, we will make it difficult for ourselves, and once you make the ***deen*** (religion) difficult for yourself, at some point you leave it, you find it difficult and you stop doing it, you say I don't want to pray anymore, so be careful. (Lines 212−214; time: 22:36−26:36)

This extract reveals how Arabic is used for the function of establishing authority. The extract above came from the middle of a sermon discussing the topic of 'achieving purity' as an important part of a Muslims' life. He talked thoroughly about the importance of purity in Islam, when praying or at any other time, as impurity is a crucial element that could destroy your prayers. It should be noted that what the imam means by purity is the

physical cleanliness which is a crucial aspect for Muslims, who must cleanse themselves before praying as a sign of being clean from the outside (dirt) and inside (sins). The word '*deen*' was used once in this sermon and was employed a total of 11 times in 5 sermons by 5 imams in the collected data set.

Such uses indicate the symbolic significance of this word beyond its literal meaning. In saying the word *deen* instead of religion, Islam is directly referenced. In this context, using the word religion would not have the same impact as there are many religions out there. Indeed, the word *deen* excludes all other religions and gives Islam a sense of its uniqueness as it is heavily featured in Islam. Thus, the powerful and authoritative sense of the term leads imams to Arabize it in their sermons: Cummings (2001) states that just voicing such religious words has a powerful effect.

In using *deen* in Arabic, Imam 6, Arab British, stressed the point he was making, which was not about rendering religion difficult by exaggerating the achievement of purity and applying it in a very strict way, because this is not the aim of the religion. Thus, instead of using the word religion, he used the Arabic word *deen* to bring the audience back to the original authoritative form, with its cultural, spiritual and religious background. This claim was also made by some of the other imam participants. The articulation of such words in the religious language, according to Cummings (2001), has a powerful impact because 'the words are a talisman' (p. 572). Believers of religions usually treat their liturgical languages with divine qualities because they assume that these languages are blessed by God.

In addition, the intent to emphasize particular situations or meanings and to stress aspects that it is believed to be important for Muslims to understand (i.e. religious ideas) leads to the inclusion of Arabic together with English in Friday sermons. This emphasis tends to attract the audiences' attention to what is said. The attempt to highlight a particular point

can influence language choice (Herman, 1961). Imam 4, in his response to my question 'What kinds of effects are you trying to achieve by using Arabic, as well as English, in your sermons?', claimed that it was for:

> …emphasis and create an interest to keep their attention which is one of our aims to keep the audience attention during the time of the ***khutbah*** (sermon). By using these methods people tend to like the speaker more and would like to know him and come to his speech more.

This deliberate practice from the imam reveals his awareness of the languages he employs and the reason for him switching between these languages. The rhetorical function (emphasis and creating interest) raised by Imam 4 in the above quotation is in line with Sanneh's (2001, cited in Spolsky, 2003, p. 85) finding that the use of Arabic among some Makassar rulers is to emphasize the 'word as enshrined in the Quran'. This is a common strategy, which includes repeat an idea or saying it in another language to 'mark' it as unusual in some way. By the same token, Imam 7 stated:

> If I was fluent in Arabic, I would add and use more of these Arabic words such as ***rahmah*** (mercy) and so on to emphasize a point.

This Pakistani British imam is clear about his attitude towards the inclusion of Arabic with English in his Friday sermons for the purpose of stressing and emphasizing a point. He used the word '*rahmah*', which means 'mercy', because it was one of the Arabic words mentioned in his sermon. Thus, he justified his articulation of this word in Arabic rather than English for emphasis. Some words have rich connotations, so they are capable to convey more than the literal meaning (Mukherjee, 2013). They are attached to a heritage that allows hearers to retain this when articulated in the original version. The following example is an indication that Arabic (similar to any other language) can be employed to emphasize a particular point:

Extract 4.3

> …as you will know in this morning there was a solar eclipse, and during the times of ignorance; in the times of *jahiliyyah* (ignorance) as you will also know, whenever there was a solar or a lunar eclipse, the people will think that this was either the death of someone that who was great, or the birth of something that is great, or it was an torment of some sort. (Lines 93−96; time: 12:02−22:26)

The above extract came in the middle of the sermon, in which Imam 7, an African British imam, was talking about how people in Arabia in ancient times reacted when they saw a solar eclipse for the first time. It was falsely believed at that time that this happened because of the death or the birth of someone great. The imam used the Arabic word '*jahiliyyah*' (ignorance) once in his sermon, although he mentioned the English equivalent before the Arabic term. This indicates the symbolic significance of this word beyond its immediate meaning (showing the time when ignorance began to decline). Mentioning ignorance in English first instead of using the word *jahiliyyah* could indicate the imam's commitment to prioritizing English as the norm in the sermon over Arabic. It can also be seen as the imam's attempt to highlight how miserable the days of ignorance were compared to nowadays because of the knowledge people have. The days of *jahiliyyah* were the time before the beginning of Islam in Arabia. Therefore, it seems that the articulation of the Arabic word *jahiliyahh*, which is conceptually significant, is an emphatic and rhetorical device, enabling the audience to reflect on these olden days and what comes after, which the imam talked about later in his sermon. Retaining some words in their original version signposts the valuable connotations they imply.

Some of the imam participants, moreover, claimed that including Arabic with English in their sermons was a strategy to attract their audiences' attention and motivation. Observant Muslims, in general, are highly motivated to have access to the Quran and Islamic literature in its authentic language. This motivation urges imams to maintain

Arabic in their sermons to stimulate their congregation (Adams et al., 2012). For instance, Imam 4 claimed that he employs Arabic:

> …to create interest for those who don't understand Arabic. So, interest meaning that when I say something in Arabic for those who don't understand it, it catches their attention to understand and to see whether or not what is the meaning of this verse and what is the translation of what you just said. So for those who don't understand it, it will be interesting to them.

This claim from a Pakistani British imam clearly shows how keen imams are to attract the audiences' interest in their speech by including Arabic. This is in line with Crystal's (1966) argument that delivering religious information usually follows the same pattern in any context; however, the techniques used to convey this information and the way it is delivered will differ, ultimately attracting the hearers' attention. One of these techniques, of course, is the use of codeswitching. Indeed, by switching to Arabic from English, imams are grabbing the audiences' attention to what it is being said. The imam participants, furthermore, treated Arabic language with high status, as one might expect. This stance is a reflection of their respect for what they see as a powerful and authoritative liturgical language. Indeed, some Muslims treat Arabic language 'in the highest esteem and value it as the medium of a rich cultural heritage' (Nadwi, 2015, p. 6). Liturgical languages are seen as the communicative tool chosen by God to deliver his words to his people. Imam 2, for instance, stressed that:

> Arabic has the high status as it is the language of the holy texts of Islam. … God revealed his final book in Arabic and that's something very profound and that's why Arabic has this high status.

This statement from a native speaker of English with regard to Arabic justifies his choice to include Arabic in Friday sermons in a non-Arabic setting. All the former extracts clearly support the imams' claim that they use Arabic for the sake of its high prestige and eminence among Muslims.

It seems that Arabic functions here in a similar fashion to poetry, song and other media that are meant to appeal to the heart more than the head. This is one of the draws of religious language. For example, Chew (2014) and Nadwi (2015) believe that Arabic, similar to the languages of other religions (e.g. Sanskrit in Hinduism), holds a prestigious position among Muslims and therefore will be treated with high status. The high status of Arabic among Muslims is also attributed to Arabic manuscripts written by prominent Islamic scholars (Spolsky, 2003). An example of an imam including Arabic to lend his speech high status is the following from a sermon given by Imam 5:

Extract 4.4

> …they send them as envoys and give them gifts so they can bribe the Anajashi, the king of **Habasha**, Abyssinia (Ethiopia), so that he may expel the Muslims from his land, but however Najashi he was more just than that, so he sent to the Muslims and he ask them about their religion … (Lines 45−48; time: 10:07−17:39)

This extract came in the middle of his sermon, when the imam was talking about the miserable days Muslims encountered at the beginning of Islam in Makkah, under the rule of the majority non-Muslims at that time, as a result of which their lives became intolerable. The Prophet Mohammed, their leader, allowed them to leave for a new area, known at that time as '*Habasha*' (Abyssinia) − today comprised of Ethiopia, parts of Somalia, Djibouti and Eritrea − as there was a fair king who was not oppressive. In his sermon, the imam employed the Arabic word *Habasha* three times, followed by its current name in English, Ethiopia. Stating the Arabic name of the former empire before its English name may have been intended to highlight the symbolic significance the word *Habasha*, as it played an important role in the early days of Islam when Muslims were a minority hounded by those opposed to them. Sheltering Muslims in a safe place, *Habasha* helped in strengthening Muslims, enabling them later to return to their home (Makkah).

This is an important part of religious practice, the 'saying of a word or words'. It is a way for the imam to give prestige to his speech with the audience, demonstrating that he knows Islamic history and can render it in the original language the prophet used in his sayings. Thus, knowing Arabic in this setting gives one 'social capital', triggering the effective function of the relationship between members of Islamic society (Portes, 1998). According to Holes (2001, cited in Sawyer and Simpson, 2001, p. 163), 'the status of Arabic as the language of Islam has had the most profound effect on its development and continues to provide one of the major cultural matrices which condition that development'. The extract from the sermon delivered by this imam, a non-native speaker of Arabic (African British), is an example of how some imams exploit particular terminology to give their sermons a sense of religiosity through Arabization in their sermons for the audience.

The above examples indicate the strength of Arabic and its position and status among Muslims. For instance, employing the words *jannah*, *jahannam* and *deen* in Arabic endorses the status of imams and sermons alike. These words are important in Islam and among Muslims. They have symbolic importance that relates them to their religion and therefore their future in the hereafter. These words represent the potential outcomes for Muslims after leaving this life. This is not exclusive to Islam and Arabic, but can also be seen in the relationship between Christianity and Latin, Judaism and Hebrew and Hinduism and Sanskrit (Spolsky, 2004). Christian missions, for instance, played an important role in the Pacific islands and elsewhere in shaping how language is used. This strong attachment affected the choice of language to be used for schooling and liturgical purposes (Gegeo and Gegeo, 1991). In other words:

> …religion functioned as a linguistically unifying force, but also as a divisive force. Religion bound Christian Europe to Latin, the Islamic world to Arabic and Jews to Hebrew. (Joseph, 2006, p. 166)

In addition, the powerful status and position of religions among believers led, for example, to Persians accepting the use of Arabic for all Islamic purposes (Spolsky, 2004). Hebrew also managed to maintain its central position among Jews, especially for religious teaching (Spolsky, 2003).

- **Authenticity and tradition**

The second most common theme in the data was authenticity. Authenticity here refers to the language used by imams 'as a means to stimulate interpretations of the intended message' (Breen, 1985, p. 62). Retaining the language used in the Muslims' holy book (the Quran), which Muslims generally believe is the 'word of God'[9] and the native language of the Prophet Mohammed, with a history of more than 1,400 years in an Islamic religious context, is a sign of an attempt to preserve the authenticity of the religion. Indeed, Arabic is seen as a valuable tradition among Muslims that must be preserved, especially in non-Arabic contexts. Ali (2002, cited in Errihani, 2011) argues that Arabic:

> …constitutes a fundamentally crucial discursive tool. In fact, in the Arab and Islamic rhetorical tradition, the art of oratory, which the Friday sermon clearly epitomises, was always ignored at the expense of the rhetorical features of the Arabic language, namely its tropes and figures of speech. (p. 387)

Errihani (2011, p. 387) comments on the former quotation that 'these stylistic features are what prove the miracle of the Quran, its perfection and thus the inability of humans to imitate its composition', according to believers. According to Imam 7, the Quran is highly poetic for him, meaning that it is well structured and has emotional impact. This reflected his poetic background (as a poet himself) and also the structure of the Quran, which gives its readers a sense of particular rhythms and patterns, particularly in certain verses. This authentic tradition of employing Arabic in Friday sermons and other Islamic

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[9] Muslims believe that the Quran is the word of God as revealed to the Prophet Mohammed through the Angel Gabriel.

religious contexts is not confined to spoken code, but also 'ensures that all Muslims are initiated into the written code of Quranic Arabic' (Rosowsky, 2006, p. 321). Moreover, the circulation of traditional religious materials in standard Arabic played a crucial role in the spread of Islam (Sanneh, 2001). A function of religious bodies is to disseminate their message to try and ensure as many followers as possible. Some religions do not do this though, or not to the same extent. For example, Hinduism was not successfully assimilated into other regions that it passed through (Gumperz, 1964b).

Some of the imams in this study highlighted more than once in the interviews that one of the reasons for using Arabic together with English in their sermons is the authenticity and legitimacy of Arabic language in the Islamic context. They believe that Arabic should be preserved as the legitimate liturgical language for Muslims by using it to the utmost. For example, Imam 2 stated that:

> Arabic is the holy and sacred language of Islam so I feel it is important that Islamic sermons should have some Arabic as I believe it gives it more gravitas and makes the sermon more powerful and gives it more depth as well.

This statement indicates the strength of the significance of Arabic for British imams delivering religious speeches in religious places (mosques). According to Imam 2, using Arabic in sermons 'gives the discourse a religious tone, gravitas and depth'. Thus, Arabic adds a special tone (authenticity) to the sermon. Likewise, Chew (2014) calls Arabic the authentic language of the Prophet. Imam 1, in addition, shared a similar opinion:

> …knowing Arabic language would make you appreciate the eloquence, values and sweetness of lots of conceptual issues in Islam as well as understanding the beauty of the Quran.

The above quote from the African British imam illustrates how authenticity in the use of Arabic is linked to the ability to understand the Quran and the religion in general, regardless of the availability and accessibility of related sources in other languages.

Although non-Arabic speakers can understand the Quran and religion without learning Arabic, this positive stance towards Arabic among the participants could be a result of what Imam 5 reported:

> It goes back to the issue of authenticity as it is the language of Quran and *hadith* and even outside of these two.

Indeed, the special value of Arabic, the language of the Quran − which Muslims believe contains the 'word of God' and the prophet's sayings − is endorsed in the old manuscripts of Islamic scholars and placed in a superior position for all Muslims. However, the desire among Muslims to maintain Arabic in non-Arabic religious contexts is not employed excessively such that it could affect comprehension of the sermons. Evidently, most of the imams were aware of this, as can be seen through their practice in their observed sermons. An example of this is provided in a sermon by Imam 1:

Extract 4.5

> …that a believer, the similitude, the example of a believer to another believer is just like a building, **yashuddu baedahu baedan** (support one another): one part of building is supporting another part, this is how the ummah is supposed to be, one part of a building supporting another part. (Lines 65−67; time: 06:30−27:45)

The above extract is a detailed explanation of one of the prophet's sayings (*hadith*). Imam 1 quoted the *hadith* literally first in Arabic, although he is not a native speaker of Arabic, then he explained it thoroughly in English via translation. The above extract came in the early part of the sermon, when the imam was trying to exemplify his claim that Muslims should treat each other with support and care. It is thought that mentioning the Prophet's sayings first in Arabic then in English, not vice versa, is an indication of the importance and authenticity of Arabic in this particular context. Moreover, referencing in Arabic first could be an attempt to attract the attention of the audience, bearing in mind that the dominant language in the sermon is English, in terms of quantity. Thus, by shifting and uttering the phrase in Arabic first would help grab the audiences'

attention more than if it was said vice versa. What is surprising though is that although he mentioned the whole *hadith* in Arabic, he used Arabic phrases in the English interpretation, which is supposed to be a clarification for non-Arabic speakers.

The Arabic utterance *yashuddu baedahu baedan* was mentioned only once in the sermon. Such utterances are of particular importance to Muslims. There are many *hadiths* encouraging Muslims to support each other and especially to help others who are in need. Saying this in Arabic would bring the Prophet Mohammed's voice to the sermon and therefore have a strong impact on the audience. After recounting the *hadith* in Arabic, the imam explained it in English. This kind of practice, according to the imam and my own experience, is an attempt to authenticate and endorse the sermon and therefore also to authenticate the imam using an original utterance of the prophet, albeit directed to non-Arabic speakers.

Using Arabic in this particular situation is a sign of awareness and deliberation on the part of the imam to boost the legitimacy of his speech, helping maintain religious tradition (Byrnes, 1999). Indeed, the maintenance of religious tradition is an important part of sermons as it reflects the imams' desire to keep the way in which sermons are delivered as close as possible to the Prophet Mohammed's practice. Furthermore, the example below shows how Imam 2 used Arabic as a way of authenticating his speech:

Extract 4.6

> …we will need to prepare our souls to the great trials and tribulation which will strike the ummah towards the end of time, we need to be ready so our iman will survive all of these strange and terrible things which will come before the universe is destroyed and ***yaoum alqyama*** (the day of resurrection) kicks off. (Lines 63−66; time: 11:56−19:19)

From the above extract, it can be seen how the Arabic utterance '*yaoum alqyama*' (day of resurrection) was used in the sermon. The extract was taken from the middle of the sermon, which was about the signs of the end of the world. He was reminding the

audience that they should prepare themselves for the day of resurrection, when all will be questioned and judged by God. Indeed, this is a very important and significant day for Muslims and one for which they should be prepared. The imam indicated that he used this Arabic term to give his speech the flavour of authenticity because this Arabic utterance is exclusive to Islam and is not shared by other religions and would thus not have the same resonance in English.

It may also indicate an attempt, as a non-native speaker of Arabic, to add credit to his sermon and himself in front of the audience. This term is frequently used in the Quran and prophet's sayings as it addresses an important event for Muslims, thus adding to its spiritual force. It is an event for which Muslims prepare. On this day, good deeds will be rewarded, while bad ones will be judged. Again, saying this in Arabic would link it more closely to Islam, as the day of resurrection is also found in Christianity and is not exclusive to Muslims. Surprisingly, the imam did not explain or interpret this utterance in English.

This is a single example of many other similar instances in which the imams used a word or a phrase in its original version to convey a sense of authenticity among the audience. This practice among religious groups, according to Jaspal and Coyle (2010), helps preserve historical liturgical languages such as Hebrew, Latin, Sanskrit and Arabic. This is not exclusive to Islam and Arabic, but can be seen elsewhere when believers of other religions attempt to preserve their liturgical languages. For instance, Jews maintain the teaching of religious subjects in Hebrew to maintain the continuity of Hebrew among the younger generation (Spolsky, 2003). Jews are strongly attached to their liturgical language to the extent they have officially established Hebrew as the language of Israel (Herman, 1961). This practice indicates the high impact of religious languages on religious groups.

- **Emotions**

It was evident among the participants that religion is as much emotional as intellectual. Indeed, religion evokes and changes emotions among religious people (Rahimi, 2012). This function was the third most prevalent in the data. The attachment between religion (in this case Islam) and liturgical language (in this case Arabic) can give rise to a high level of inspiration. Errihani (2011), for instance, expressed his experience of Friday sermons stating that:

> …one of the most effective methods of achieving such effect is through the wailing and crying that takes place during many Islamist sermons. By engaging in such practices themselves, the imams implicitly invite the congregation to join them and give free rein to their raw feelings. The congregation members are especially receptive to such behaviour when the imam is speaking on such sensitive themes as paradise, hell and death. In so doing, the imam exercises his control over the congregation by directly speaking to their feelings of fear, inferiority and guilt. (p. 386)

Although 'the crying' in Friday sermons was not observed in the data collected for this study, nor did I experience it here in UK mosques, the emotions of the congregation may well peak. These emotions can be elicited by the use of particular languages, as is the case for Arabic in Islamic contexts (Jaspal and Coyle, 2010). I expect this would be similar in other religions. For instance, the use of Latin in churches or Hebrew in synagogues would be likely to evoke emotions. Some of the imam participants declared that the use of Arabic is emotional for them. Also, contacting God through supplication is triggered by the practice of the Prophet Mohammed, whose prayers and supplications have been documented and are therefore widely read by Muslims in the Arabic version. This is in line with Imam 3, who commented:

> Actually using Arabic would touch your heart. I am not a native speaker of Arabic. Sometimes it touches my heart and gives a strange and emotional feeling, especially when discussing certain issues.

This statement from a Pakistani British imam, who is a non-native speaker of Arabic, shows the extent to which the language of religion can affect people's emotions towards a particular language (i.e. Arabic in this case). This clearly reveals that the intimate interactions between language and religion 'evoke feelings and emotions' (James, 2002, p. 38, cited in Mukherjee, 2013, p. 3). It seems that voicing Arabic (religiously related) words evokes hearers' feelings and links their emotions to the sacred 'word of God'. Indeed, the positive attitudes held by Muslims towards Arabic can be felt from the way Imam 7 described the language:

> Arabic language is beautiful, so poetic and so delicious, this is the best word. When you hear it in its purest form, it strikes your heart.

Again, this claim from a non-native speaker of Arabic is an additional indication of how Arabic touches Muslims' emotions. The strength of this comment may be due to his personal attachment to Arabic which he frequently uses in his prayers. Indeed, religion can potentially influence emotions, expressed through language, as religion is a divine belief that includes love and fear. The interaction between the two (Islam and Arabic) combine religious spirituality with the sanctity of language and consequently elicits emotions. An example was provided by Imam 1:

Extract 4.7

> …one of the words, the prophet *salla allahu alayhi wa sallam* addresses the whole **ummah** (nation) in his last sermon, the farewell sermon **khutbatu alwadaa** (the prophet's last sermon) the prophet – *salla allahu alayhi wa sallam* − stood in the *minbar* (pulpit) addressing the whole *ummah*. (Lines 159−162; time: 19:29−27:45)

The above extract came from the later part of the sermon, in which the imam was talking about brotherhood and equality among people regardless of their faith, colour, tribe and gender. He highlighted equality by giving an example that the Prophet Mohammed highlighted in his last sermon before his death. The extract above, according to the imam himself, shows how he uses certain Arabic words and phrases in particular situations in

which he means to attract the attention of the audience and elicit emotions to reflect on what he is saying. Indeed, highlighting that the prophet was addressing the '*ummah*' (nation) and giving his '*khutbah alwadaa*' (last sermon) before his death in one sentence was very emotional and passionate. In such situations, the hearer tends to be emotionally affected and touched. Articulating these words in Arabic in this particular context is meant to lead the audience to reflect on the main points that the Prophet Mohammed mentioned before his death because they were his last words. The term *ummah* was used by the imam in his sermon 22 times and 30 times by other imams in their sermons. This word has special significance as it is exclusively used among Muslims and is seen as a pure Arabic word (not used before Muslims) to demonstrate the unity and oneness of the Muslim community.

The sense of oneness among Muslims in a diverse community such as the UK would only be brought out through the Arabic word *ummah*, which reflects the unity of religion rather than race or nationality. This may indicate how Muslims employ certain Arabic words as a sign of shared identity. In addition, *khutbah alwadaa* was mentioned in the above extract as a reference to the last sermon delivered by the Prophet Mohammmed before his death. It is a well-known sermon among Muslims as it is considered to comprise a summary of the main issues on which Muslims should act. The fundamental points mentioned by the Prophet Mohammed in his last sermon to Muslims can be summarized in four points, namely the primacy of:

- the Quran and *hadith*, which comprise the constitution of Muslims

- justice and equality among human beings

- unity among Muslims

- not committing sins

Thus, the articulation of *khutbah alwadaa* evokes the last advice of the prophet with its emotional impact as the last sermon. This emotional attachment, according to Herman (1961), would consequently determine which language to use; in the former example, the imam chose Arabic over English due to the emotional impact described earlier.

In addition, swearing (in the sense of swearing to a deity) is viewed as an element eliciting emotions in speech. For instance, Dewaele (2004) found that swearing has emotional force. The following extract from Imam 8 is an example of how employing swearing in a particular language (Arabic) serves an emotional function:

Extract 4.8

> ***Wallahi*** (I swear to God) I was shocked a few weeks ago when somebody told me that somebody he sold his house because of gambling, he destroyed his family, and now he is living in the flat, why? Because for nothing, it is shahwat nafs (self-desire). (Lines 79−81; time: 7:59−15:52)

The above extract is another example of what the imams meant when they said that Arabic evokes strong emotions. The Arabic word '*wallahi'* is a common ritualistic Arabic word that roughly means 'I swear to God'. This ritual utterance has a special divine function that speakers usually employ to support and stress morally appropriate behaviour. It makes something even more true and factual. To swear in this fashion has religious significance beyond swearing. Religion is used as the crucible in which certain actions are judges. The imam used the word *wallahi* three times in his sermon. Each time he employed it to support a claim. This term was also used by Imam 5 twice for the same supportive and ritualistic purposes.

The extract above was taken from the middle of the sermon, encouraging Muslims not to commit sins. The imam gave some examples of the proscribed sins in Islam, such as 'adultery, consuming alcohol and gambling'. The Arabic word w*allahi* was used when he exemplified his surprise that a man sold his house because of gambling. It appears that he

used the Arabic version rather than English to highlight the statement following the term, i.e. infraction of the man selling his house for the sake of gambling. By using *wallahi*, the imam indicated the importance of the following utterance, a frequent practice in Arabic. This is seen as a very powerful instrument for evoking emotions with regard to a particular stance. According to the imam, he uses such choices as a powerful emotional tool to attract the attention of the audience. Dewaele (2004) notes that such swearing is commonly employed in the first language among bilinguals and multilinguals. This is evidenced in the above extract, in which *wallahi* was employed by an Arabic British imam. However, it was not the case for Imam 5 who also used such terms in Arabic, although it was his third language (see Table 3.2).

It is worth mentioning that swearing is frequently mentioned in the prophet's sayings, which clearly explains why it has special influence. The use of swearing in the Islamic setting, unlike other normal settings in which swearwords used when one is angry or frustrated and constitutes a negative behaviour, is not used as such in the Muslim community; rather, it is perceived as a supportive element of speech that is often employed. Indeed, Pinker (2008) found that swearing evokes powerful emotions.

Furthermore, the use of Arabic indicates its importance to these imams. This can be observed when imams employ Arabic in Friday sermons as their own language although they are not native speakers of Arabic. This practice reveals a sense of cultural identity and an integrative attitude towards Arabic, which is seen as part of Islam. Indeed, Arabic has cultural bonds with Islam (John, 2004).

Friday sermons consist of diverse ethnic groups, with the audiences sharing nothing but same religion (Islam), which indicates that Arabic is deeply rooted in Muslims' culture. This can be seen when it comes to the use of certain Arabic words where their equivalents in English would not give the intended meaning because the Arabic words

are culture-specific, conferring group identity. Identity here means 'the way we conceive ourselves as individuals or as members of groups or, indeed, the way others perceive and categorize us' (Edwards, 2009, p. 1). Feeling that you are part of a group is emotional in itself. For instance, Imam 4 said:

> I prefer listening to the *khutbah* in Arabic over in English and I feel it has more attraction and boosts my faith and religious spirituality, which is due to Allah's blessing as he blessed Arabic language. So, if that all was in English, it would not be the same.

The comment above clearly shows the link between language choice and the sense of attachment to Arabic, which is seen here as a conduit to understanding Islam. This quote from a Pakistani British imam supports the claim that liturgical languages play a powerful role among people (Rahimi, 2012). He clearly discloses his spiritual feelings concerning the inclusion of Arabic together with English in his sermons.

This emotional connection with Arabic led the imam to study the language at the Islamic University in Medina, Saudi Arabia, where the Prophet Mohammed lived for most of his life. He did not study Arabic in Egypt, for example, which has some of the oldest universities in the Arab world; rather, he went to the city of the Prophet Mohammed, which could indicate that Muslims see Islam and Arabic as one thing.

The imam stated that hearing Arabic (which he considered a blessing from God as Arabic was chosen as the language of the Quran) in the sermon was highly desirable because he considered it 'boost[ed] his faith and religious spirituality'. The connection between Islam and Arabic is sometimes seen as a marker of identity (Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011; Mukherjee, 2013). Moreover, Jaspal and Coyle (2010, p. 20) argue that 'it is reasonable to assume that, although language is unlikely to constitute the self-aspect which gives rise to collective religious identity, it may be employed as a tool to strengthen the sense of community and oneness'. Indeed, it is not necessarily the case that language creates religious identity; rather, it boosts the feeling of oneness and unity.

In Extract 4.9, Imam 4 chose to some Arabic words in his sermon to indicate Muslims'

attachment to one another:

Extract 4.9

> …so we have that great chance as **we call it in the Arabic language to give *dawah*** (the
> call to Islam) to the non-Muslims openly, secretly, like I said, with exhibition, in any
> possible manner, to the ***dawah*** to the Muslims and as well to the non-Muslims, bring
> them closer to the understanding of Islam. (Lines 31−34; Time: 4:19−27:01)

The above extract came from the middle of the sermon, in which Imam 4 was talking

about calling people to Islam. The Arabic word expressing the topic of the sermon is

'*dawah*', mentioned twice by the imam in the above extract and four times in the whole

sermon.[10] In addition, the imam clearly states in his speech that he is using an Arabic

word by saying 'we call it in the Arabic language to give *dawah*…' Thus, before using

the Arabic word '*dawah*', he literally tells the audience that he is going to use an Arabic

term, which he later explains. What is interesting is the rhetorical use of 'we' as inclusive,

although he is not a native speaker of Arabic. This practice indicates his strong feelings

towards Arabic to the extent that he considers it the language of all Muslims.

Jaspal and Coyle (2010, p. 23) state that 'Arabic is conceptualized as the most desirable

linguistic code for Muslims solely', although some Muslims may not think much about

this. Therefore, imams see Arabic as the language of all Muslims and not exclusive to

Arabs. Chew (2014, p. 55) claims that 'Arabic is the language of choice for the

inculcation of an Islamic religious identity as it is the "authentic" language of the

Prophet'. She argues that religious identity is attached to its liturgical language. By using

Arabic, the Islamic identity is preserved and thus Muslims ritualize the use of Arabic in

religious contexts.

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[10] Calling people to Islam is an important role for Muslims. However, it is not seen as a pillar that every
Muslim must undertake to fulfil. Islam has only five pillars making one a Muslim: (1) stating that there is
no God except Allah and Mohammed is his last messenger, (2) praying five times a day, (3) fasting in the
month of Ramadan, (4) giving annual charity and (5) making a pilgrimage once in a lifetime.

It is worth noting though that neither Imam 4, quoted in the extract above, nor the other imams or audience members explicitly mentioned 'identity' as a reason for including Arabic in Friday sermons. This is possibly because I did not confront them during interviews with specific questions about identity due to my attempt to be neutral. It may also not have occurred to them to state it explicitly. Nonetheless, it may be implied from other talk or kinds of behaviour. Moreover, it could indicate that identity is not what mainly drives imams to include Arabic in their Friday sermons, especially if that identity is mostly associated with ethnicity (Goldberg and Noels, 2006).

- **Accommodation**

Among the participants, the imams' endeavours to include and accommodate the congregation's preferences were addressed. This function was the fourth most prevalent in the data. Usually accommodation occurs when people attempt to integrate and/or assimilate with others (Omoniyi, 2010). Arabic has an inclusive function in the context of this study. According to Llamas et al. (2006, p. 109), accommodation comprises 'the convergence of two or more interactants' way of speaking within an interactional episode'. Indeed, by employing two languages in Friday sermons, imams are trying to accommodate everyone's preferred language, thus ensuring the congregation feels comfortable and comprehends the key message. This behaviour on the part of imams can be viewed as similar to that of other speakers (i.e. teachers), who try to respond to their audiences' needs. According to Meyerhoff (2015), this behaviour is termed 'audience design', in which speakers tend to design their speech according to their audience's needs (see also Bell, 1984). Some of the imams revealed that using both Arabic and English in the sermons is the optimal choice in order to be able to address an audience with a diverse background so that no-one feels excluded. For example, Imam 8 stated that:

> Both languages must be used in the ***khutbah*** (sermon), especially Friday sermons where different ethnic minority attends the praying.

This kind of awareness indicates that imams are trying to accommodate the differences among the audience members, particularly with regard to language use, as articulated by Imam 1:

> In the UK here, Muslims are from different background, some would understand Arabic while the others would understand English.

It also shows that Arabic is used to put the audience on the same level, where they share something in common. This consciousness among imams indicates their desire to acclimate everyone (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1991). Imam 1, in the above quotation, does not address audience members who may not understand Arabic or English, such as South Asian Muslims. However, it may well be that South Asians do not expect their first languages (e.g. Urdu, Tamil, Indonesian) to be employed in Friday sermons. Therefore, they may be included with those preferring English, Arabic or both in the sermons. It is found that accommodating the audience is one of the factors affecting language shift (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1991). The following extract from Imam 1's sermon is an example of how imams use both languages to accommodate audience preferences:

Extract 4.10

> …When the prophet – salla allahu alayhi wa sallam − even the orientalist, they appreciate that no a single unique brotherhood ever on the surface of the earth as like the prophet of the Islam did to *sahaba* (companions), to the companions, when he met them ... (Lines 109−112; time: 12:02−27:45)

The above extract came in the middle of the sermon, when the imam was talking about the brotherhood in Islam and mentioned the companions of the Prophet as an example to show how they treated each other as a large family. In the context of this topic, the imam mentioned the word '*sahaba*' three times in the whole sermon. After using the Arabic word '*sahaba*', Imam 1 uses the English equivalent 'companions'. This behaviour, according to the imam himself, is an accommodation practice, so that he can include the

audience's language preferences. Although this practice was not applied throughout the sermon due to impracticality and time restrictions, it can be seen as an attempt by the imams to accommodate the audience and attract their attention to the speech by including their preferred language, either Arabic or English.

- **Exposure to Arabic**

It is clear from the data that for the imams among their reasons for including Arabic together with English in their sermons is exposing audiences to Arabic. This function was fifth in terms of prevalence. The desire to read the Quran in its original language (Arabic) encourages its use in Friday sermons. Yaeger-Dror (2015, p. 71) states that 'one acquires the language variety that one is exposed to'. Indeed, the frequent exposure to a particular language will result in acquiring something from that language. Imams' intention to expose their audiences to Arabic could eventually lead to it being employed very often. It also shows incidental benefits for the audience members which can be linked to 'language education'. It seems that audiences encourage this behaviour and welcome it, based on their positive attitudes which will be discussed later in section 4.7. This exposure, according to Imam 2, has an impact:

> Many Muslims who aren't from the Arab world have strong desire to learn Arabic.

The motivation among Muslims to learn Arabic is due to their desire to read the Quran, which Muslims believe is the word of God, in its authentic and original language (Mattock, 2001). Liturgical languages, according to Keane (1997, p. 49), are 'deeply implicated with underlying assumptions about the human subject, divine beings, and the ways their capacities and agencies differ'. In this regard, religious languages have superiority over other non-religious languages for believers due to their divinity and sanctity. It is worth acknowledging though that the comment above is an impression that

has no scientific evidence, as far as I am aware, so we need to accept this as his impression rather than a true fact.

In addition, imams consider Friday sermons a platform for them to trigger the use of Arabic. For example, Imam 10 claimed that the sermon:

> …becomes an opportunity to teach, inform and inspire the audience without any distractions.

This indicates the imams' eagerness to encourage the audience to learn Arabic, which they believe is very important for all Muslims to help them understand the Holy Scriptures. It seems that the linguistic flexibility given to imams leads them to determine which language to use in their sermons, where and why. Imam 6, for instance, rationalized his inclusion of Arabic together with English as follows:

> If we deliver the ***khutbah*** (sermon) completely in English, people would understand what we are saying but they would not feel the need to learn Arabic.

This is a clear indication that imams are encouraging the audience to learn what they call 'the language of Islam'. They are very keen to boost this practice regardless of how time consuming incorporating two languages may be. This effort devoted towards the use of Arabic suggests that it has a high priority among Muslims (Rosowsky, 2006). Consequently, the inclusion of Arabic is an implicit exhortation to learn the language. An example of this is given in the following extract from Imam 2's sermon:

Extract 4.11

> …may Allah save us from his punishment in this world and in the next, may Allah save us from the hell and admit us in the Jannah, may Allah grant us strong ***Iman*** (faith) and absolute ***yakeen*** (belief)…amin, may Allah grant us ***saber*** (patience) and ***hikmah*** (wisdom) and ***husna dan bi Allah*** (good intentions towards God). (Lines 72−74; time: 12:43−19:19)

In the above extract, Imam 2, who is a non-native speaker of Arabic, uses some Arabic words that expose the audience to the language. This extract is a good example of

inserting Arabic words into religious discourse. The extract above came before the conclusion of the sermon. The imam's topic was the time at the end of the world. During the sermon, he shared his opinion according to the signs of the end of the world mentioned in the Quran, which are manifesting now, such as the increase in the number of killings and wars, more than at any time before.

The extract illustrated above is a supplication to God to keep the imam and the audience on the right path and strengthen their faith, patience, wisdom and belief in God and His control in the world. He used the Arabic words '*iman*' (faith), '*yakeen*' (believe), '*saber*' (patience), '*hikmah*' (wisdom) and '*husna dan bi Allah*' (good intentions towards God). These words have special significance beyond their denotational meaning. Being said in Arabic possibly reflects the imam's emphasis on the connotations associated with these words. It could also indicate the imam's desire to call God in the language He chose to reveal His words (Quran). Some Muslims may think that calling God in the language of the Quran (Arabic) would make their supplication more appealing, although Muslims believe that God creates and knows everything, including languages. The word *iman* was mentioned twice by Imam 2 in his sermon and about 13 times by 8 imam participants in the collected data. The next words *yakeen*, *saber*, *hikmah* and *husna dan bi Allah* were used once each by Imam 2 in his sermon. The potential reason for the imam saying these particular words in Arabic rather than in English is due to their meaning among Muslims and their religious nature. They may also reflect Muslims' commitment towards God and their actions. The word *iman* is a strongly religious term, as all Muslims should believe in and have a strong faith in their religion. The same applies to the other Arabic words *yakeen*, *saber*, *hikmah* and *husna dan bi Allah*, which indicate important characteristics that Muslims and non-Muslims alike should attain to be able to encounter and endure life challenges with patience. The imam did not mention their meaning explicitly in English, considering it possible to convey the meaning through the context and atmosphere of the

speech. In another extract below, Imam 10 repeats particular Arabic words and explains their meanings in English, which clearly shows, unlike the former extract, the explicit intention of the imam to help the audience get closer to their religion via Arabic and to expose the audience to some new words:

Extract 4.12

> …we all have an inner self and inner state, a lower *nafs* (self) and *arrouh* (soul), and *arrouh* is always calling us towards higher and noble things, justice, beauty and compassion but the *nafs* has got different level and *alnafs alammarah bialsawe* (bad-self) is the *nafs* clean to the earth and calls us towards filthy things, anger, jealousy and hatred and this battle within ourselves we have to battle with lower **nafs** and we have to let our *rouh* and the higher *nafs*, higher itself and prevail. *alnafs allawamah* (blaming-self) is the *nafs* that blame itself and the high state of *alnafs* is *alnafs almotmaennah* (good-self) which Allah Taala cause us to obey. (Lines 52−58; time: 06:21−22:19)

The above extract shows how the Indonesian British imam used the Arabic words '*nafs*' (self) and '*rouh*' (soul). The word *nafs* was used 10 times by Imam 10 in his sermon whereas *rouh* was used three times in the same sermon. The potential reason for this is the focus of the imam on the *nafs* (self) more than the *rouh* (soul) because, according to the imam himself, the *nafs* is the element responsible for committing bad deeds and intentions; the *rouh* is much higher and non-problematic. This repetitive usage may indicate the imam's intention to explain the connotation of the Arabic word *nafs*. Indeed, repetition is a frequent practice in the religious domain for the purpose of 'fixing it in peoples' minds' (Whitehouse, 2002). This repetition eventually leads to comprehension.

The whole extract represents the imam's explanation, conveying the meaning of these two words. It seems that the imam is aware of the audience members' background and the fact that some of them do not know the difference between the two words (*nafs* and *rouh*). These are very important in understanding the topic of the *khutbah* and its implications. Moreover, he extended the explanation of *nafs* to articulate that there is

alnafs alammarah bialsawe and *alnafs allawamah*, which are the two types of the inner self.

The extract above came in the middle of the sermon, which was about the tragedy Muslims encounter because of their insincerity and hypocrisy. He, the imam, put the blame for this misery on the inner self, which all human beings have in their hearts. The inner self, according to him, has two faces: one good and one bad. These aspects are all mentioned in the Quran and narrated by the Prophet Mohammed. Thus, the imam referred to these significant Arabic terms perhaps as a way of helping the audience members grasp their meaning and import.

The imam did not have to go into detail and explain these two Arabic words thoroughly; instead, he could have given the English equivalent. However, it seems that he had a strong intention, which he declared in the interview, to expose the audience to the connotation of these Arabic words and their distinguishing types. This kind of behaviour from the imams indicates how committed they are to exposing the audience members, especially non-Arabic speakers, to Arabic as they believe it is crucial to understand the Holy scriptures and therefore 'become more Muslim'(Chew, 2006). It may also indicate the spiritual resonance of Arabic over English in this particular context.

- **Ritualistic behaviour**

All religions have their own rituals, which tend not to change (or not much) due to the desire of believers to preserve traditions and rituals from being misinterpreted. In this study, rituals were determined on the basis that they were performed by imams in a prescribed Islamic order. It is argued that 'Language itself is the product of a pervasive natural ritual' (Bellah, 2003). It is worth mentioning that religious language needs to be distinguished from everyday talk. This function was the sixth in terms of prevalence in the data. According to Stewart (1968, p. 541, cited in Darquennes and Vandenbussche,

2011, p. 1), 'the use of language primarily in connection with the ritual of a particular religion is one of the 10 language functions'. The choice of using ritual language has resulted in the spread of various religions. Therefore, it is observed that most religions are strictly attached to their liturgical languages. For example:

> Hinduism is closely associated with Sanskrit. Hindu nationalism supports Hindi for all India, and Sanskrit as language of scholarship. Sanskrit is the set language of ritual, and texts are transmitted orally from teacher to pupil. Sanskrit spread from ritual to scholarly use. (Killingley, 2001, cited in Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011, p. 84)

Likewise, Islam, Judaism and Christianity are all associated respectively with Arabic, Hebrew and Latin, regardless of the availability of translations. However, some of these liturgical languages have by now diminished. For example, Haeri (2003, cited in Errihani, 2011, p. 387) states that 'Sanskrit came to be replaced by the local languages of India, and Latin eventually gave way to the European vernaculars, generation by generation, and domain by domain until even the Vatican stopped requiring it to be the language of prayers'. Arabic though is still prominently used, not only in Muslim prayers but also in most religious activities. Even in non-Arabic communities, Arabic can be seen interacting with other vernaculars.

Some of the imam participants in this study assumed that some of the Arabic terms they chose were already known to the audience, even non-Arabic speakers. The reason for this assumption, according to them, was that these terms are frequently used among Muslims due to their ritualistic nature, so there is no need to translate or explain them. Some examples of these are the praise of God (*subhanahu w ta'ala*), Prophet (*salla llahu alayhi wa sallam*) and the eminent Islamic scholars (*radia allahu anhu*). Imam 2 articulated this point:

> I use such Arabic words without translating them, it means that I assume most of them know the meaning of them. Even non-speakers of Arabic they would know them.

The quotation above from a White British imam confirms that some Arabic words are frequently employed and therefore there is no need to give them in English (e.g. *radia allahu anhu*). Similarly, Imam 9 stated:

> I mention the name of the prophet without translating it because I know that the audience know what it means.

Again, the Pakistani British imam in the quotation above was of the opinion that certain terms are known. The assumption of the participants that the meaning of these Arabic terms is known is due to their ritualistic nature. This assumption may or may not be well founded, but the repetition of certain utterances based on their symbolic value might lead the audience members to check their meaning if unsure. Usually, ritualistic actions are known to worshippers, including the meaning of ritual statements, except if it is their first time in a mosque. The audience may know the reasons for the ritual without knowing the meaning of the content. The following extracts (4.13 and 4.14) from Imam 9's sermon and extract 4.15 from Imam 2's sermon are examples which would show how imams employ these ritualistic terms only in Arabic:

Extract 4.13

> …to my respected brothers, and beloved elders, may Allah **subhanahu w ta'ala** (exalted is he and high above) reward you for attending the *khutbah*, for listening and attending early enough to listen to the *khutbah*. I want to start this *khutbah* by asking you all to imagine, imagine this situation where you have a ship, and the ship is sailing and it is made of two decks… (Lines 24−27; time: 01:43−19:39)

The above extract is an example of some Arabic ritual utterances that are frequently used among Muslims and are presumed to be known to the hearer/audience. In the extract, *subhanahu w ta'ala* is a special ritual utterance which roughly means 'exalted is he and high above'. This is one of the most frequently used Arabic sayings (after *salla llahu alayhi wa sallam*). It was mentioned by Imam 9 five times and was employed by four imams in the data collected about 97 times. Similar to *salla llahu alayhi wa sallam*, its

ritualistic function could be the reason for its common usage. It is generally used whenever God's name is mentioned during the sermons. Here, it was used five times by the same imam, including opening the sermon and introducing the topic.

It might be the rhetorical value of the utterance that is important, although audiences will tend to see this as 'religious value'. This kind of practice is very common among Muslims, including imams, as it is one verbal way, among others, to show respect and gratitude towards God, who Muslims believe created them, guides them and takes care of the whole world. The prevalence of this utterance could also be a result of Muslims' desire to gain reward from God, although saying this in other languages would not prevent the receipt of reward. The Prophet Mohammed always reminded Muslims to praise God, which will result in gaining rewards from God, but it was never mentioned that it should only be in Arabic and thus rewards are not exclusively linked to a particular language. For example, the Prophet Muhammed said 'The first to be summoned to Paradise on the Day of Resurrection will be those who praise God in (both) prosperity and adversity' (Al-Tirmidhi, *hadith*, p. 730). This is a generous invitation from the prophet to all Muslims to praise God and therefore receive his rewards.

I turn now to another extract from the same sermon:

Extract 4.14

> …brothers what happens if they continue to that, and they make the hole in the ship? Everyone drowns, we all know everyone will drown. Now I don't tell you this example or this situation just for the fun of it, because it's an example that our beloved messenger *salla allahu alayhi w sallam* (peace be upon him) he told us … (Lines 39−42; time: 03:31−19:39)

Here, *salla llahu alayhi wa sallam* is another ritual utterance dedicated to the Prophet Mohammed that is used frequently and roughly means 'peace be upon him'. Again, it usually occurs whenever the Prophet Mohammed's name is mentioned. The ritual

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utterance *salla allahu alayhi wa sallam* was mentioned eight times by Imam 9 in his sermon and by all imam participants about 99 times in their sermons, which makes it the most employed Arabic utterance in the whole data set. This is potentially due to the ritualistic nature and high impact of this utterance among imams and audience members alike.

Similar to *subhanahu w ta'ala*, Muslims use this phrase to praise the Prophet, which will result in gaining rewards from God. The imam above used the actions of the Prophet Mohammed heavily as examples of what Muslims nowadays should do. This utterance is another way of showing respect and gratitude towards the prophet who conveyed the message of God, the same as previous prophets, to all mankind, regardless of how miserably he (the Prophet) was treated and the difficulties he confronted. As with *subhanahu w ta'ala*, the prevalence of the utterance *salla allahu alayhi wa sallam* could be a result of Muslims' desire to gain reward from God. It is mentioned in the Quran (Surat Al-Ahzab, Verse 56), roughly given as: 'Indeed, Allah confers blessing upon the Prophet, and His angels [ask Him to do so]. O you who have believed, ask [Allah to confer] blessing upon him and ask [Allah to grant him] peace'. This is a very strong command from God to his people concerning his messenger. In complying, Muslims obey God's command and therefore gain rewards.

Extract 4.15

> …numerous hadiths indicate that the hour will only come upon the worst of people, when the name of Allah is not even mentioned on earth. Imam al-bukhari: hadith number 2222, and Imam Muslim: hadith 155, narrate that Abu Hureyrah said ***radia allahu anhu*** (may God reward him/her)… (Lines 30−32; time: 07:55−19:19)

Similarly, the utterance in extract 4.15 above, *radia allahu anhu*, is also a ritual utterance for the companions of the prophet and roughly means 'may God reward him/her'. Its significance lies in gaining rewards from God, both for those who say it and those who

receive it. This utterance was used once each by four imams in the data set. Similar to the above utterances in this section, it usually accompanies the mention of one of the prophet's companions. In the sermon from which the above extract is quoted, the imam was about to introduce one of the Prophet's sayings in the middle of the sermon, which was narrated by Abu Hureyrah, who was one of the closest companions of the Prophet. It is believed by Islamic scholars that without the outstanding books and writings of the Quran and the prophet's sayings, all knowledge Muslims have now would not be available (see Basha, 1992). Thus, this utterance is a ritualistic behaviour showing respect and gratitude for their valuable efforts. Again, saying this utterance in Arabic instead of English was based on the imam's assumption that the meaning of ritual utterances would be known to the audience due to its repetitive use. It is also seen as a ritualistic utterance the articulation of which will confer benefits (rewards) on both the speaker and the receiver.

To conclude this section, the reason for saying these utterances in Arabic is their ritualistic nature. It is assumed that the audience will know the meaning of these words as they are frequently used among Muslims. Moreover, they have symbolic value beyond their literal meaning. Indeed, 'this shift of control over speech and thus responsibility is reinforced by the textual features, including the use of a ritual register' (Webb, 1997, p. 53). However, it should be noted that although these utterances are very common among imams, not all of them say these phrases in Arabic. Some of the imams in this study, for instance, articulated these utterances in English. The potential reason for this is the deficiency of some imams in Arabic, especially considering that these utterances are not just single words but also comprise long phrases, which could make it difficult to articulate them accurately.

- **Equivalence and precision**

Sometimes, imams' awareness of the possible ambiguity and vagueness of their speech, in which connotations and interpretations are slippery and shifting, leads them to choose the words of a particular language (Mukherjee, 2013). This function was seventh in terms of prevalence in the data. One of the functions for including Arabic in Friday sermons, according to some of the imams, was related to the difficulty of finding precisely equivalent words in English. The equivalence here though is more about connotations rather than the actual meaning. Some words, according to Kashgary (2011), are culture-specific terms and may be considered 'untranslatable'. Lindbeck (1997) goes even further to claim that religion itself is 'untranslatable'. Lindbeck's claim has been refuted by Moyaert (2008), who argues that if religion is 'untranslatable', it means that those who do not understand the religious language cannot understand the religion. Nonetheless, Moyaert (2008) agrees with Kashgary (2011) that finding equivalence is not straightforward. Indeed, the 'choice between two or more distinct but linguistically equivalent variants represents the existence of a linguistic variable' (Llamas et al., 2006, p. 3). For instance, Imam 2 stated:

> Some of Arabic terms are difficult to translate to English. For example, how can you translate a big word like ***bidah*** (innovated things)!! So I think I would just say it in Arabic.

The Arabic word *bidah* mentioned in the above quotation supports Kashgary's (2011) claim that some words are culture-specific terms, for which translation would fail to reflect the cultural meaning. Indeed, if the word *bidah* is translated as 'innovation', it does not give the intended meaning. Innovation in English is a very positive term, whereas *bidah* is actually a negative term that connotes creating untrustworthy knowledge that is not based on fundamental regulations agreed among Islamic scholars since the time of the Prophet Mohammed. This word has a particular connotation in

Arabic so that using similar terms in other languages cannot convey the intended meaning. Imams are keen to achieve precision and accuracy in delivering their sermons and thus use the original Arabic term. Likewise, Imam 3 talked about *bidah*:

> Some would translate ***bidah*** (innovated things) to innovation but this is not accurate and need more explanation in English. It is better to use as it is.

This is another quotation that supports the claim and discussion mentioned earlier. In addition, the agreement among the above two imams (Imams 2 and 3) in using *bidah* instead of any English equivalent strongly supports Kashgary's (2011) view. Imams are aware of their responsibility and that they should be cautious about what they say and how. Some of them indicated that they put a great deal of effort into delivering the sermon for the sake of being accurate. Moreover, Imam 5 pointed out:

> A terminology in Arabic requires up to three or four phrases to summarize it in English and would takes away the power of that word you are conveying.

Again, this highlights the culture-specific impact of some terms, as raised by Kashgary (2011). This is a clear and expected phenomenon, not only in religious discourse but in others as well. It seems that they are also conscious of the time constraints for Friday sermons, which sometimes hindered them from explaining some Arabic words in English in, rather keeping to the original Arabic word. An example of this is given in the following extract:

Extract 4.16

> My dear brothers and sisters, if shaitan is not successful in taking a believer all the way to kufr, he will then try to involve him in all sorts of ***bidah*** (innovated things) which are innovations, newly invented matters and beings. (Lines 48−51; time: 09:31−26:31)

The extract above confirms Imam 3's claim that there are some Arabic words, for instance *bidah*, which cannot easily be conveyed in English in the religious context because of the connotations surrounding this word. The word *bidah* was mentioned six

times in the data set by two imams. The above extract came in the middle of the sermon, which was about the negative impact of Satan on Muslims and how keen he is to seduce them not to do good deeds and follow God's instructions. Speaking of Satan's impact, the imam goes on to say that when Satan fails to seduce Muslims away from following God's instructions, he will alternatively try to make them invent new matters as part of the religion, but they actually are not.

The imam was constrained to keep the original word and explain it in English afterwards. Indeed, such words or connotations are challenging to convey in another language, as I found when trying to explain the meaning of these terms in this study. These words and phrases are culture-specific terms and are strongly attached to their original religious context. Although the imam in the above extract explained the meaning of the Arabic word *bidah*, he kept to the original word first as he was not confident that an English translation could convey the connotation. Another example of the difficulty of finding an equivalent that precisely reflects the meaning of some Arabic words is as follows:

Extract 4.17

> …there is a fact that is missing amongst our youth, and that is a practical side of Islam, know the fact that when we call the people to Islam, we have to be practical in regards to our own religion before calling others to Islam, without that we lose the ***barakah*** (blessing), we lose the blessing ... (Lines 144−147; time: 15:04−27:01)

The issue of accuracy and precision is again reflected in this extract from the middle of Imam 4's sermon, which concerned the role of Muslims in educating others about the religion so that everyone has the opportunity to think about it. The imam argues that when Muslims (in this case including audience members) educate others, they will gain the blessing or *barakah* in their time, health and wealth. Although he used the Arabic word *barakah*, he explained it afterwards in English. This practice, again, is a sign of the imam's reluctance solely to use the English equivalent 'blessing' as it might not convey

the connotation, divorcing the word from its context and thus changing the intended meaning. Unlike 'blessing', which is limited to God's protection, *barakah* includes one's benefit in terms of time, physical objects, place, health and money. These connotations are not reflected in 'blessing'. Imam 4 commented on this practice stating:

> Arabic words are quite diverse and its meaning even if you look at the commentator of the Quran, we would find the fact that one word would have many different meanings but the general meaning such as *barakah* (blessing), which roughly means 'blessing' as you said, can come under many categories because its translation is more general and may be used based on the context where it was mentioned.

The word *barakah* was mentioned three times in the data set by two imams. *barakah* could mean a blessing in a particular context, while it could mean graces or glory in other contexts. Imam 4 said that some Arabic words have multiple different meanings; this is clearly not exclusive to Arabic but is also seen in other languages. Other imams stated that they include Arabic for the sake of accuracy, which I view as similar to precision and equivalence. Imam 4, for example, stated:

> I want to make sure that I am delivering the accurate meaning because translation would not deliver the exact meaning. Also, I want to keep myself in the safe side in case someone quoted what I said in English only which might not be accurate so by saying it in Arabic first, I can be sure that what I said is correct and precise.

Imam 4 above was very clear that he was cautious about others misquoting his speech. He mentioned later that misunderstanding any part of his speech might lead to a long debate and discussion with the audience after the sermon, especially with those who have sufficient religious knowledge and a strong understanding of Arabic. By the same token, Imam 7 literally identified 'terrorism' as a potential threat to himself with reference to being as accurate and precise as possible in his sermons, especially using Arabic when misinterpretation is possible. He reported that the notion that others might misquote, either mistakenly or purposively, what he says led him to be careful in his sermons and choice of which language to use. Using two languages, according to him, is the best

solution for overcoming such potential misunderstanding. Of course, for audience members who do not understand Arabic, using Arabic only might equally lead to misunderstanding, illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 4.18

> Now *Al-wudu* (ablution) is one kind, it removes ***al-hadathu al-asghar*** (minor impurity) the minor impurity, the minor impurity can be remove by wudu, but also there is a state when there is a major impurity that can't even be solved by only wudu, and then you have to make *ghusl* (Lines 139−141; time: 15:33−26:36)

The above extract came from the middle of Imam 6's sermon, where he was talking about purity and its importance. He explained that in Islam there are two types of impurity: major impurity and minor impurity. In the extract above, he used the Arabic version *al-hadathu al-asghar* before the English 'minor purity'. This shows that imams are conscious about the use of some terms that might be conveyed inaccurately. The imam used the Arabic phrase *al-hadathu al-asghar* once in his sermon, which he then explained in English as 'minor impurity'; however, it should be noted that this is only a partial explanation, conveying the literal meaning but not the full intended meaning, which is 'physical and spiritual cleanliness'. In addition, some terms such as *al-hadathu al-asghar* are not familiar to non-Arabic-speaking Muslims even after translation into English. Therefore, the imams play it safe and provide such specific terms in both languages to ensure they are understood properly.

In sum, it seems clear from this section that imams are very conscious regarding their speech and how it is perceived and understood by the audience. Out of the 10 imams in this study, 9 explicitly expressed their consciousness of their language use in their sermons. They were also aware of the congregations' needs and preferences. This leads them to include Arabic as a cautious approach to ensure their sermons were delivered as intended.

- **Spontaneous switch to Arabic**

Other than the above functions of the imams' language use, the choice between two languages in one context can be a spontaneous and unplanned behaviour. This function was the least prevalent in the data: only Imam 9 reported spontaneous behaviour after he saw short scenes from one of his video-recorded sermons. He admitted his surprise and stated:

> I don't know myself doing that as often as I did. … why I am subconsciously saying that and don't actually really realize that I am doing it.

It is likely that he is not the only one to do this, but he was the only imam to indicate impulsive linguistic practice in his sermon. It is clear that the majority of the imams are aware of their speech. During the interviews, they were able to elaborate and justify their language use. Imam 9's impulsive practice could be related to his self and personality rather than outside factors. It is worth noting that not all Imam 9's language use was spontaneous, but he did recognize several instances and was surprised at the extent of this. The following extract could be an example of his unconsciousness practice of including Arabic together with English:

Extract 4.19

> ….I am here to say to you: if you think that this is not a problem; then seriously there is something wrong, if you are ignoring that there is a problem, then actually what you are ignoring is one of the *sunnas* (practice) of the prophet … (Lines 133−135; time: 14:24−19:39)

The above extract came in the middle of a sermon, when Imam 9 was talking about showing goodness and bringing good to society. He then went on to insist on the importance of doing good for society as a way of showing the beauty of Islam; this was the *sunna* (practice) of the Prophet Mohammed. His insistence on not forgetting to follow the practice of the prophet led him to say the word *sunna* in Arabic. *Sunna* was used 10 times in the data set by 4 imams in their sermons. According to Imam 9, it was a

spontaneous inclusion of the Arabic word, which roughly means 'the practice of the prophet'. This spontaneous behaviour could be a sign of the imam's high level of exposure to Arabic. It could also be a habitual behaviour as he used to deliver such sermons regularly and frequently, leading to him subconsciously using some frequently employed Arabic words and phrases without thinking of the implications for the audience. This is in line with Yaeger-Dror's (2015, p. 71) claim that 'speakers' linguistic experience is assumed to determine the outer envelope of linguistic possibilities: one acquires the language variety that one is exposed to in childhood and adolescence'.

4.3.2 Functions of imams' language use from the perspective of audience members

Following imams' opinions regarding their language use, this section explores the functions articulated by the audience participants regarding imams' language use in Friday sermons. I consider that audience members play an important role in the way imams deliver their sermons. The previous section revealed that imams do not consider their audiences to be passive recipients, but actually respond to their audience members' needs. As will be seen later in this section, the audience members themselves acknowledged that imams respond to their preferences. This particular behaviour is called 'audience design', in which speakers (i.e. imams in this case) consciously attempt to respond to and address the needs of their audience (Bell, 1984; Meyerhoff, 2015). The majority of the sermons observed showed that imams use more than one language in their speech, namely English as the dominant language in the UK and Arabic as the liturgical language for Muslims.

Similar to the former section, it seems that imams' inclusion of Arabic together with English serves different functions from the perspective of the audiences. It should be noted that in this section only interviews with audience members are analysed and discussed. Thus, the sermons observed are not included, although the audience

participants were shown short clips from the sermons during the interviews as a stimulated recall tool. The reason for excluding extract is because I sought imams' self-reflection on their 'actual' language use in sermons. Audience opinions and responses concerning this phenomenon have been placed in a separate section due to: 1) the slight difference in the functions revealed from the audience perspective compared to imams; 2) the richness of responses and information received from the imams compared to the audience members; 3) imams' ability to elaborate extensively on their practices.

Speaking of the different functions revealed by imams and audience members, the latter did not see emotions as a reason for imams to use Arabic in their sermons, in contrast to imams who considered that feelings are triggered when Arabic is used. This may indicate that imams are affected emotionally more than audience members. Also, the audience members did not consider imams' use of Arabic to comprise spontaneous behaviour, but they did think imams have their own reasons for employing Arabic. They were of the view that imams are entirely conscious of the language they use. Moreover, audience members considered the background of imams played an important role in their language use, whereas the imams did not see their first language as having an impact on their speech, which might/might not lead to the use of Arabic in their sermons. This might indicate that audience members pay more attention to the imams' background and hence link their language use to their linguistic repertoires.

Seven themes related to functions of language use in Friday sermons in the UK were identified based on the audience members' perspectives (see Figure 4.2). It is worth noting though that these categories are not entirely separate. Extracts and comments were linked to a particular function and not another on the basis of either participants' responses in which they linked some functions to certain situations, or based on my attempt to correlate extracts and comments with the most related functions. The

following functions were treated in the same way as in the former section. It is clear that

the majority of the audience members were aware of the imams' language practice in the

sermons in terms of employing Arabic together with English. They also supported the

inclusion of Arabic in the sermons.
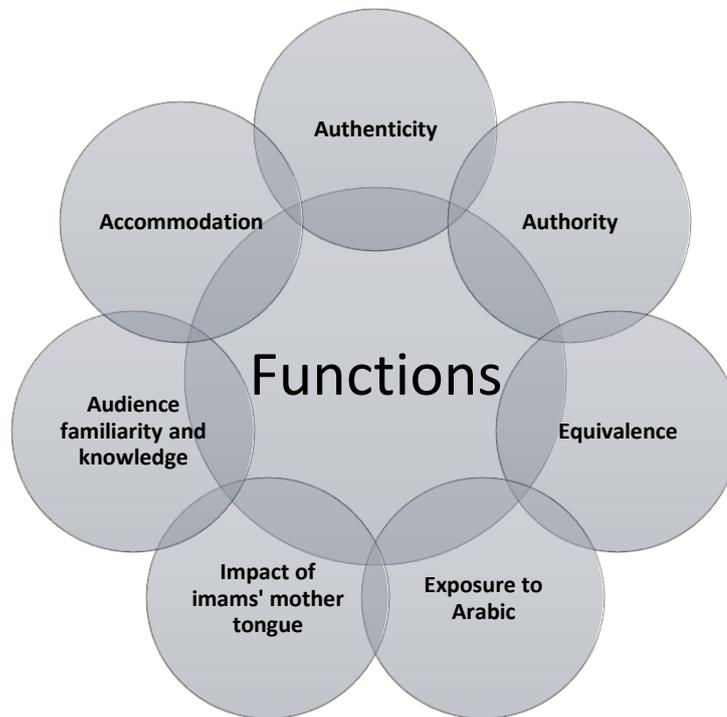
Figure 4.2. Functions of language use from audiences' perspective.

As in the former section, audiences' opinions of imams' language use were correlated

with some comments from their interviews; however, it was difficult to correlate some

extracts from the sermons observed with the audience perspectives as their views were

more generic and speculative rather than reflective. For example, some of the audience

participants, in contrast to imams, were not able to elaborate on certain situations (short

clips they saw during the interviews) in which the imams used Arabic instead of English.

Due to space constraints, the audience members' data were not as exhaustively analysed

as the imams' data. The functions in the Figure 4.2 were noted in an attempt to capture

the essential qualities of the accounts. Each function is presented below respectively. The

functions identified in this study are not the only possible functions of language use in

the data set, but they are the most common. It is worth noting that in the quotations from the interviews presented below, bolded and italic material indicate utterances in Arabic and material within round brackets provides clarification concerning the bold material. The audience members are identified by AM and a number (e.g. AM1).

On the whole, it seems that most of the audience participants were in support of imams' inclusion of Arabic together with English in Friday sermons. They justified this inclusion as serving social, cultural and emotional functions. They wanted imams to employ the Muslims' liturgical language for the purpose of authenticating the sermons. They also agreed with the authoritativeness of Arabic in the religious context. Some of them felt comfortable when they hear the liturgical language used in the sermon. Others stated that using Arabic would affect them emotionally. In what follows, the functions of language use from the perspective of audiences are presented in turn. Each function is illustrated with some extracts from the audience members' audio-recorded interviews. The functions are ordered below on the basis of their prevalence in the data.

- **Authenticity**

Similar to the imams in the previous section, all the audience participants considered authenticity the major reason for including Arabic together with English in their sermons. This function was the most frequently mentioned by the participants. Authenticity here refers to the language used by imams 'as a means to stimulate … interpretations of their intended message' (Breen, 1985, p. 62). Unlike the imams, audience members addressed authenticity to a greater extent than authority. The potential reason for prioritizing authenticity was due to its impact on them as a congregation. Authority is perhaps more related to imams as beneficiaries. The audience members considered that imams try to authenticate their sermons by employing Arabic:

…it is more traditional as the time of the prophet and early ***khutbahs*** (sermons) were delivered in Arabic so they may try to retain that. (AM3)

AM3 correlated the authenticity/tradition of Arabic with the sermons delivered by the Prophet Mohammed solely in Arabic. This view from a White British audience member could indicate the level of involvement of non-Arabic Muslims in the Arabic literature on Islam regardless of the availability of translated literature. Moreover, it reveals that imams' use of Arabic in their sermons serves the intended purpose for the audience:

…because we are Muslims and we should keep this tradition going. Arabic is the religious language and we want to keep this custom going. (AM5)

Again, this is a strong indication from a Pakistani British audience member of how non-Arabic Muslims are attached to Arabic as the liturgical language, the use of which they consider a precious tradition/custom that should be maintained (Byrnes, 1999; Chew, 2014). As argued by AM4:

…it is important to use Arabic in the ***khutbah*** (sermon) because when people thinking about giving sermons where we get this from the Prophet Mohammed who used to give sermons as well so I feel that perhaps if Arabic was completely diminished and never used in the ***khutbah*** (sermon), it might lose its feeling or importance although we are in England but I think it is important to be said.

Indeed, Arabic has gained its status because of the religion; otherwise, it would not have this superiority among Muslims in discourse. In the above quotation, a White British audience member stated the value of Arabic due to its link to the Prophet Mohammed and hence its significance in terms of authenticity. He stressed that although the sermons are delivered in an English-speaking country, Arabic is still of importance. The authenticity of employing Arabic in Friday sermons and other Islamic religious contexts, according to Rosowsky (2006, p. 321), 'ensures that all Muslims are initiated into the written code of Quranic Arabic'.

- **Authority**

Another function of the inclusion of Arabic in Friday sermons from the perspective of the audience members was that imams employ Arabic as a way of giving their speech an authoritative tone. The authority of Islam among Muslims is conveyed through many ways and one of these is using Arabic. By using Arabic, imams are adding credit to their speech as well as to themselves. This function was the second most prevalent in the audience members' data. The role of authority as perceived by the audience members is in line with the point previously made concerning Muslim Makassar rulers, who employ Arabic in a non-religious context just to boost their authority (Cummings, 2001) and indicates that Arabic has a prestigious position among Muslims in both religious and non-religious contexts. It is worth noting that although authority was addressed by both imams and audiences, it was prioritized more by imams. A possible reason for this is that imams benefit from gaining an authoritative position. Nonetheless, authority was recognized as a function of Arabic use. For instance, AM1 stated:

> …moving between both languages in a parallel manner also makes him sound more credible among the audience and that he is not making things up.

In using Arabic as well as English, the imam demonstrates that he understands Arabic and therefore has religious knowledge based on its original sources. For Muslims and especially Islamic teachers, knowing Arabic is like having access to a precious source. This opinion was also shared by AM5, who stated:

> …I think he try to reach to the public by using Arabic language.

Again, this comment shows that the audiences are aware of the imams' intentions and that both imams and their audiences share similar opinions concerning the authoritative stance of Arabic among Muslims. The reference to 'reaching the public' in the above quotation perhaps reflects Cummings' (2001) point, namely that by using Arabic imams are keen to gain the audience members' respect, demonstrating they are highly qualified

as imams to deliver Friday sermons, which includes, of course, knowing the Islamic liturgical language. Indeed, the prominent position of Arabic among Muslims will ultimately boost the status of its users (Chew, 2014; Nadwi, 2015).

- **Equivalence**

The third most prevalent function raised by the audience participants as a purpose for imams including Arabic in their sermons was equivalence. As already noted with reference to the imams, there are some terms, according to Kashgary (2011), that are culture-specific and potentially have connotations beyond their literal meaning. Indeed, some Arabic terms, especially those used in the religious context, are much better rendered in the original version to ensure accuracy in conveying the intended meaning. As AM6 noted:

> …there might be no equivalent in English like even if you say it in Arabic then translate it to English, they may not match the meaning.

Similar to imams, audience members recognized that there is an issue with accuracy in conveying what Kashgary (2011) called 'culture-specific' terms in different languages. The connotations of some Arabic terms constrain imams to keep to the original version for the sake of precision. Thus, AM2 stated:

> …some Arabic words 'the religious ones' cannot be translated accurately whatsoever as these Arabic words are very deep.

The reference to depth of meaning is highly pertinent with regard to connotation. Certain terms in Arabic are very rich in meaning, such as the word *bidah* (cf. 4.6.1, Equivalence). These quotations from the audience members reveal that they consider the deficiency of equivalent terms to be reason for employing Arabic in Friday sermons. AM3 supported this claim, stating that:

> …the meaning of some Arabic terms will be lost through translation especially that English language does not have as much vocabulary as Arabic so sometimes you may resort to a word in English that is near translation but it is not the exact meaning as if you say it in Arabic.

The claim that English has less vocabulary than Arabic is interesting; rather it is the case that a single word in Arabic may need extensive explanation in English. However, this does reflect that audiences consider Arabic may be used to avoid ambiguity, i.e. the choice to render certain terms in the particular language (Arabic) of a particular religion (Islam) (Mukherjee, 2013), particularly in the case of those imams who are still in the process of learning Arabic.

- **Exposure to Arabic language**

In addition to the former functions, audience participants considered that one of the reasons imams include Arabic in sermons is to foster an urge among non-Arabic speakers to engage with Arabic. This function was fourth in terms of prevalence in the audience members' data. As noted previously, it has been argued that 'one acquires the language variety that one is exposed to' (Yaeger-Dror, 2015, p. 71). Thus, there are incidental benefits to the audience members which can be linked to 'language education'. For example, AM1 claimed:

> …it is also useful for new converts who don't understand Arabic or whose Arabic is at the novice level.

AM1 considered there were benefits to be gained from being exposed to a particular language, as confirmed by AM6, who stated:

> …I think from hearing them a lot from people saying them. The first time I came to *khutbah* (sermon), I didn't understand any of the terms. But, I learned them from hearing them a lot like in the context when the *khateeb* (imam) say them in Arabic then translate them in English. When they say *rahma* then (mercy), I understand what that word means.

Thus, AM6, a non-Arabic speaker, reported learning some Arabic terms as a result of his exposure to them during Friday sermons, especially when they were translated later. This, besides other reasons, justifies the imams' consistency in maintaining the use of Arabic in their sermons, as also noted by AM2:

> …this 'the use of Arabic' will give them the chance to learn some Arabic words as well which an advantage for them.

All the former comments from the audience members confirm the non-religious, i.e. linguistic, benefits to be gained from attending the sermons, especially for non-Arabic speakers. Although this is not the main aim for imams or their audiences, both acknowledge that repetitive exposure to Arabic in Friday sermons has an unintended additional advantage in terms of building up their linguistic repertoire in Arabic. Indeed, any such frequent exposure will eventually lead to absorption of the input, even if unintended (Chew, 2013).

- **Impact of imams' mother tongue on their language use**

This function was not addressed by imams as a reason for using Arabic in their sermons; however, it was raised by five of the seven audience participants. This may reflect the fact that the audience members are not aware of imams' intentions in using Arabic in their sermons and thus assume that imams' behaviour is due to linguistic reasons. This function was fifth in terms of prevalence in the audience members' data. For instance, AM7 stated that imams employ Arabic because:

> …the **khateeb** (imam) himself is fluent in Arabic.

This may or may not reflect the perception of imams being native Arabic speakers, although the imam they saw in the clip was a non-native Arabic speaker. Equally, AM3 stated:

> …I think part of it probably is familiarity for him as a lot of ***khateebs*** (imams) we have used to give ***khutbah*** (sermon) in Arabic and that English is their second language.

Again, this is another assumption on the part of a non-Arabic speaker that imams' first language is Arabic and this could have an impact on their linguistic practice in delivering Friday sermons. It would clearly be applicable to native speakers of Arabic, as has been found in some previous studies outside the religious context (e.g. Bissoonauth, 2011; Kecskes and Papp, 2000); however, there is no study, to my knowledge, that has explored this impact in religious discourse.

Also these comments might indicate that there is a perception that language use in Friday sermons is partly spontaneous behaviour, resulting either from the imams' first language being Arabic or their high volume of exposure to Arabic in these contexts. This is reflected in the fact that in some situations, Imam 9 would switch to Arabic without being aware of it, although he was the only one to report doing so. This behaviour is viewed by sociolinguists as code-switching because of its spontaneous nature in language production. This practice could be a result of imams' engagement with Arabic. Also, they may have a strong desire to attach themselves in their sermons to the language of the Quran and the prophet.

Another view, articulated by AM6, was that inclusion of Arabic was simply because:

> … maybe is their habit to do it.

Thus, the inclusion of Arabic could almost be a habitual practice that imams are used to engaging in regularly. This suggests the perception that imams are unaware of their linguistic practices, in contrast to the perspective of most imam participants.

- **Audience familiarity and knowledge of Arabic**

It was reported by the audience participants that imams would sometimes use Arabic in their sermons because of their assumption that the audience would be familiar with

certain Arabic terms and would grasp their meaning, with or without further explanation in English. This is in line with the imams' views (cf. 4.3.1). This function was sixth in terms of prevalence in the audience members' data. For example, AM7 said:

> …I think the majority of the audience are familiar with basic terms used and can get the meaning of the Arabic words.

This comment was made by a non-native speaker of Arabic; as a new convert to Islam, she may have been referring to the majority of the audience rather than herself. Similarly, AM2 rationalized the inclusion of Arabic thus:

> …because the word ***barakah*** (blessing) comes from the Quran, so that the majority can understand this word.

AM2 also assumed that religious Arabic words would already be known to most Muslims, regardless of their knowledge of Arabic, because these words are frequently mentioned in the Quran. He referred to the word *barakah* as it was one of the Arabic words he heard in short clips at the beginning of his interview. In addition, AM1, a native speaker of Arabic, commented:

> …there are times when the preacher does not provide any translations. This usually happens when the preacher sense that the meaning would be easily inferred or understood by the audience.

It may be that audience members are familiarized by the context and repetitive usage of some Arabic words and therefore the sermons are a helpful tool in understanding the meaning of such terms. It could also be the case that Friday sermons are not the main platform for Muslims' initial exposure to Arabic, which could be through reading the Quran in Arabic or attending Arabic classes, usually delivered in mosques. These may be the main ways in which Muslims become familiar with Islamic terms in Arabic.

- **Accommodation**

In addition to the former functions referenced by the audience members, they also considered imams' language use to be an attempt to include audience preferences as far as possible. This function was seventh in terms of prevalence in the data. This is loosely related to 'the convergence of two or more interactants' way of speaking within an interactional episode' (Llamas et al., 2006, p. 109). For instance, AM5 stated that:

> …I think it depends on the audience. If he got Arabs then he should uses Arabic but if he got English then he must uses English. So, the point is use the language that people know and understand in order to reach them.

This comment from a Pakistani British audience member reveals his awareness of imams' conscious practice. He considers that imams are willing to include the congregations' preferences and capabilities. Indeed, the imams in section 4.3.1 indicated their attempts to take account of such preferences and capabilities in their sermons. By the same token, AM7 reported:

> …[the] example in this video clip that I am familiar with the context, most the audience are from Middle East so they use and understand Arabic language…..it could be for the convenience and understanding of the audience so he frequently uses the Arabic terms.

AM7, also Pakistani British, refers to the background of the audience attending the Friday sermon observed, with which she was familiar, contending that they were mainly Arabs so it was obvious that the imam would employ Arabic to accommodate them. However, based on my observation, the Arab attendees would not even account for 40% of the whole congregation. It may not be that imams are accommodating particular audience members, or considering them a largely homogeneous group linguistically. As AM2 noted, Arabic and English might both be used:

> …because of the multicultural background in the mosque so in order to make sure everybody understand the *khutbah* (sermon), both languages are used.

It seems that imams and audience members agree that the diversity of audiences in terms of ethnicity and therefore linguistic background leads imams to deliver bilingual sermons (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1991). English (as the dominant language) and Arabic (as the liturgical language) are the most convenient languages to be employed in UK Friday sermons.

4.4 Attitudes towards imams' language use

From the data analysed here, it can be seen that the majority of the participants, both imams and audience members, welcome the inclusion of Arabic together with English in Friday sermons, which is not surprising. Arabic is a sacred language for Muslims and its incorporation in sermons is seen as positively triggering attachment to Islam. Language choice, according to Chew (2014, p. 50):

> …depends on perceived advantages; for example, a speaker, institution or country may choose a particular language because it believes that that language serves its goals best or would put them in an advantageous position either within a group or a wider social context.

Chew's point highlights a pragmatic attitude, evident in the data, which leads speakers to the choice of a particular language over or in addition to another. This pragmatism is reflected in the speakers' conscious desire to use the language that serves his/her goals best. It is expected that participants will welcome the use of Arabic in this context, regardless of their fluency, due to the reasons they revealed in this study. Arabic for them is the authoritative and authentic source linked to their religion. They are emotionally affected − to a greater (imams) or lesser (audience members) extent − when it is used. Arabic is the language they use when they pray and read the Quran.

The importance of Arabic to Muslims affects their perceptions. As noted by Cummings (2001, p. 581) 'the Makassarese perceived Islam as something embodied in the physical Arabic manuscripts that travelled from the heartland of Islam to their distant island'. This

is a reflection of why Arabic is used in conjunction with English in Friday sermons. If Islam is embedded in Arabic manuscripts, eventually it will be embedded in most Islamic sermons. Based on this perception, it is not surprising that the participants welcomed the use of Arabic, especially in the religious context. As Imam 4 noted:

> …I would highly encourage [the inclusion of Arabic in Friday sermons] especially with Muslims because we want to increase their knowledge of Arabic and the Quran.

This clearly indicates how closely Arabic language is linked to the Quran as a single unit; thus, according to Imam 4, enhancing knowledge in Arabic would eventually enhance understanding of the Quran. This connection between Arabic as 'the word of God' and Islam elicited positive attitudes in this study. Pandharipande (2006, p. 157) argues that 'Arabic is perceived as functionally transparent (i.e. it is the language of the ancient scripture of its corresponding religion and it has always been unique marker of its corresponding religion'.

Moreover, Imam 1 stated:

> …In my opinion, here in the UK I am 100% in support of using both English and Arabic together because delivering the sermon (*khutbah*) in one language has its own limitations especially here in the UK where people are from different home background.

Here, the argument is that bilingual Friday sermons in the UK cater to a mixture of ethnicities gathered together in one place and listening to a single speech. Although the background of the participants in this study was purposefully meant to be diverse due to the attempt to reflect the actual diversity of Muslim communities in the UK, ethnicity, first language and age did not indicate a significant association with attitudes towards the phenomenon of language choice and use. Only 2 of the 17 participants were hesitant about the inclusion of Arabic in Friday sermons. In detail, among the four White British participants (one imam, three audience members), only one audience member (AM3)

was somewhat reluctant to see Arabic used, based on her own difficulty in understanding, although she was learning Arabic:

> …but really it was difficult to understand these Arabic terms in my early days as a Muslim…...I think my preference is to stick to English as we have a very diverse background here in Edinburgh and the common ground among these people is English.

It seems that she was reflecting on her early days as a Muslim, knowing very little about Islam or Arabic. Later, she began to accept Arabic as she became familiar with it, but remained concerned about the amount of Arabic used in sermons compared to English for others like her. In contrast, AM6, also White British, stressed his agreement with the use of Arabic, in moderation:

> …but I prefer hearing the Arabic than English because I can learn more as well… Welcoming but to a limit like some words but not all of it so the majority should be in English because we are in England.

He supported the use of Arabic, but considered English should remain the dominant language in sermons. Similarly, among the six Pakistani British participants, only one (AM5) expressed reluctance concerning the extensive use of Arabic, while the other five participants (both imams and audience members) supported its use. AM5 reported:

> …but I prefer to go to a mosque where the *khateeb* (imam) uses the language I understand fluently.

It emerged that he did not understand Arabic, only English and Urdu, and therefore wished English to be used in Friday sermons. In contrast, AM4 declared his support for including Arabic, regardless of his lack of proficiency:

> …I still want it [Arabic] to be used as it gives the true feeling of Muslims… Maybe the only reason I can think of is never to discourage the use of Arabic that I can understand.

In contrast to the White British and Pakistani British participants, all African and Arab participants would encourage the inclusion of Arabic in Friday sermons. While it might

be obvious for Arabs to support the use of Arabic, this is not the case for Africans, who share a similar situation with White and Pakistani British audience members, potentially not knowing Arabic. Yet, they still welcomed it. The Indonesian English imam (Imam 10), for example, expressed his opinion thus:

> …I think they (the audience) are very keen to come forward and nobody objects to the way we use it.

Here he was reflecting on his own experience and comments received from the congregation. In a similar vein, Imam 8 commented:

> …up to now, nobody complain. But I can tell from their face expression that they are happy.

The positive attitude of the majority of the participants in this study is in line with Osman (2013, p. 76) point that with the spread of Islam, 'the attitude towards the importance of knowing good Arabic in order to be considered a pious Muslim was strengthened even further'. Indeed, the findings of this study reveal that in the Muslim community, the language attached to peoples' religion is accorded higher status than languages attached to their ethnicity. Equally, a study found that Christian Arab Jordanians were more attached to English, compared to Arabic, than their Muslim peers (Zughoul and Taminian, 1984). This may indicate the strong feelings and attitudes Muslims hold towards their liturgical language.

4.5 General discussion

In this section, an additional discussion of the findings is offered as closing remarks. It begins by discussing the functions and reasons behind the inclusion of Arabic together with English in Friday sermons. Then, the differences between imams' and audience members' perceptions regarding imams' language use in Friday sermons are discussed. Following this, participants' attitudes towards imams' language use are highlighted. Last but not least, language use in religious contexts across different religions is addressed.

4.5.1 Functions and reasons for using Arabic

As can be seen from the findings of this study, the use of particular languages in UK Friday sermons is not just impulsive behaviour. Imams deliver bilingual sermons purposefully. This consciousness indicates the eagerness of imams to secure a place for Arabic in a Muslim context. They do not want Arabic to be entirely replaced by any other language. The functions mentioned earlier revealed some of the reasons for maintaining the use of Arabic and preventing it being diminished in the religious context. The association between Arabic and Islam remains in the heart of Muslims, regardless of their ethnicity or mother tongue. The functions imams revealed in this study triggered them to employ Arabic in Friday sermons. Indeed, the strong desire to retain the 'word of God' in the authentic version is convincing to Muslims (Chew, 2014). This desire is also prompted by the prestigious position of Arabic among Muslims, to the extent that they will claim its superiority (at least in religious contexts) over other languages (see Mukherjee, 2013; Webb, 1997), explaining why Muslims' attachment to their religion affects their linguistic practices. In addition, the emotional impact prompted imams to preserve Arabic in their religious activities and the impact of Islam on peoples' hearts is sufficiently strong to lead to the acceptance and appreciation of Arabic as the liturgical language. It is not necessarily the articulation of Arabic words in itself that exerts an effect, but rather the connotations of Arabic terms in addition to their literal meaning (Errihani, 2011).

In addition, the ritualistic aspect of certain utterances (*salla allahu alayhi wa sallam, subhanahu w ta'ala*) also maintains the use of Arabic as a liturgical language in the religious context (Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011). Rituals are known for their fixed nature and do not change over time. However, rituals alone are not able to preserve liturgical languages, as evidenced by Latin and Sanskrit. This is where Arabic differs from other liturgical languages. The functions revealed in this study (particularly

authority and authenticity) could indicate the reasons for Muslims' success in preserving Arabic in religious contexts. Needless to say, the strong connection between a person and his/her religion is another factor that helps in maintaining the liturgical language. This attachment can be measured, for example, through the volume of worshippers attending annual prayers or services. Generally speaking, Muslims are viewed as being strongly attached to Islam and frequently attending prayers in mosques.

The familiarity of Muslims with Arabic religious words and terms due to their frequent exposure to Arabic is actually enhancing the position of Arabic among Muslims. The involvement of non-Arab Muslims in reading the Quran and Islamic literature in the original language potentially depends on the extent of exposure. Attendance at Friday sermons, Islamic lectures and Quran circles, usually delivered in mosques, exerts a great impact on Muslims' linguistic repertoire. This study, together with previous related studies, shows that involvement in such religious activities could result in gaining linguistic knowledge about the liturgical language. Moreover, also in terms of linguistic features, the imams evince a desire to be accurate in delivering their sermons and will employ certain Arabic terms due to their culture-specific nature and connotations. It is worth noting though that the functions revealed in this study are subjective in the sense that subjectivity in interpretivism can enhance the rigour of the research.

4.5.2 Imams' perspectives vs audience members' perspectives

The results of this study show that imams' opinions are not entirely different from those of their audience members. Indeed, interestingly, audience members' opinions regarding imams' language use are almost the same and tend not to be in opposition to imams' behaviour. The reasons revealed by imams for their language use were approved and justified by their audiences. Moreover, the assumptions made by imams regarding their audiences' preferences, backgrounds and needs were predominantly endorsed by the

audience members. This clearly indicates imams' engagement with their audiences, to the extent that they know what their audiences need and their preferences. By virtue of this strong relationship, imams are predominantly doing what their audiences want and need. Responding to complaints, suggestions and even corrections is a valuable merit that was acknowledged by imams and the audience members in their interviews.

On the other hand, this study reveals that imams have different priorities and some of their assumptions are erroneous. Examples of differences between imams and audiences can be found, for instance in the imams' assumption that audiences are emotionally influenced when Arabic is used. They were of the opinion that the sound of Arabic would strongly touch their audiences' hearts and feelings. Imams went even further to claim that the more Arabic they use, the better it is for audiences. Although this could be true, the audiences did not raise this as a consequence when hearing Arabic. I would personally tend to agree that the use of Arabic influences emotions. The potential reason for audience members not addressing may be lack of reflection. Being emotionally affected is an implicit behaviour that people may not be aware of. They may consider this feeling a normal reaction, not linked to the language imams use. They might also refer the emotions they feel to other explicit functions/reasons.

Another difference concerned consideration of background: while the audience members referred to both their own and their imams' background with regard to language use, the imams did not address their own linguistic background as playing part in their practice of using Arabic in Friday sermons. Therefore, it can be claimed that neither imams nor their audiences are able to reflect fully on their own practices on the same level as reflecting on those of others.

4.5.3 Attitudes

The functions and reasons for use of Arabic revealed in this study clearly indicate a positive attitude among Muslims towards the inclusion of Arabic together with English in Friday sermons. Muslims are viewed as being very attached to their liturgical language, potentially more so than other religious groups (Haeri, 2003). Their level of attachment to the religion could lead to diversification in linguistic behaviour in religious activities. Although the participants in this study welcomed the use of Arabic together with English, they articulated that the amount and use of Arabic should not be allowed to give rise to misunderstandings. In particular, this was raised by two audience members, who were hesitant about the use − especially overuse − of Arabic in Friday sermons, which might hinder comprehension.

4.5.4 Islam and other religions in relation to language use

Religious contexts are very revealing for linguistics studies as they involve people engaging in particular practices with regard to language. Islam is not alone in having a specific liturgical language: Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism also have their own liturgical languages, Latin, Hebrew and Sanskrit respectively. In all these cases, the religions can be seen interacting with their liturgical languages and they have their own sacred texts delivered in a particular language. These languages were (are) considered sacred by their followers.

In the early times of these religions, believers were strict about not allowing their sacred texts to be translated into any other language. The reason for this was the believers' view that these manuscripts were sanctified and therefore could not be translated. They were also trying to maintain the original language of these sacred texts (Kouega and Baimada, 2012). However, as time went by, they became less strict as they saw translation helped in conveying their sacred texts to other parts of the world (particularly in the case of

Christianity). These religions became 'more persistent in their positions, beliefs and attitudes' (Rahimi, 2012, p. 3). Similar to Arabic, Hebrew is frequently used in religious teachings and activities (Spolsky, 2003). According to Rosowsky (2006), Arabic is the predominant in religious contexts among Muslim communities alongside vernacular languages in the UK. In contrast to Arabic and Hebrew, Errihani (2011) claims that Sanskrit was replaced by other local languages in India. This can also be observed in Christianity, with Latin giving way to the use of European languages in churches.

4.5.5 Arabic utterances used in Friday sermons

In each Friday sermon of the 10 observed, Arabic represented 2−20% of language use. The Arabic words/phrases employed (see Appendix K) are considered the most common religious terms in Arabic among Muslims. It can be noted that the majority of these come in the form of nouns (*ummah*, *bidah*, *jahannam*, *jannah*), representing the main concepts and ideas that are thought to be of great importance to Muslims. Therefore, they are used in Arabic instead of English due to their symbolic status for Muslims. In addition, fixed phrases, which mostly indicate religious meanings, tend to be given in Arabic rather than English (*salla llahu alayhi wa sallam*, *subhanahu w ta'ala*, *subhan Allah*). These phrases are not meant to change over time due to their ritualistic status, according to which believers tend to stick to the original form. Other forms of speech are also noted as occurring in Arabic, such as adjectives (*alamin*, *rahmah*, *akhlaq*), performative verbs (*yaAbudoon*, *youwahhidun*) and collocations (*birru alwalidayn*, *ummatu alislam*).

4.6 Chapter summary

To conclude, this chapter has discussed the functions and reasons behind the inclusion of Arabic together with English in Friday sermons. The functions of imams' use of Arabic were discussed first from their perspective. These were accompanied by extracts from imams' sermons and interviews. Following this, the functions of imams' language use

were discussed from the audience perspective. The discussion included extracts from interviews with the audience members. Both imams' and audience members' attitudes towards this phenomenon were also discussed. Before concluding this chapter, a general discussion regarding the outcomes of the study was provided.

It seems that imams' use of Arabic together with English serves cultural, emotional and social functions, based on the data. Imams and audience members share similar opinions and attitudes towards the use of Arabic with English in Friday sermons in the UK. The Muslim participants' awareness of events to which they were spiritually attached and regularly involved in indicated that they pay attention to anything interacting with their religion, such as the language. Indeed, I was surprised that not only imams but also audience members were able to discuss the use and functions of Arabic and that many of these were similar to each other. Chapter 5 presents a summary of the key findings of this study, followed by its implications, limitations and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter presents a brief summary of the study and its key findings. The contributions and implications are then highlighted, followed by a brief outline of the limitations and some suggestions for further research. Finally, I conclude with some general remarks.

5.2 Summary of the study

This section presents a brief overview of the entire study to give the reader a general understanding of what has been accomplished. The study aimed to explore a phenomenon that results from the interaction between language and religion, namely the use of more than one language (Arabic and English) and switching in a religious context (Friday sermons) in UK mosques. The purpose was to explore the functions underlying this linguistic behaviour from the perspectives of both imams and their audiences. In addition, the attitudes of Muslims attending these sermons concerning imams' language use were explored. Three research questions were addressed: (1) What languages do imams use when giving *khutbah*? (2) What are the functions of imams' language use in their sermons? (3) How do listeners respond to imams' language use in their sermons?

After reviewing the related literature (Chapter 2) and describing the study's philosophical and methodological stance (Chapter 3), Chapter 4 began by exploring the phenomenon of language use in Friday sermons delivered in UK mosques. Using video recordings of a sample of 10 Friday sermons and conducting stimulated recall interviews with the 10 imams who delivered the sermons and seven audience members (two females and five males), it was found that employing Arabic in these sermons serves different functions (cf. 4.3.1 and 4.3.2). Some of these functions were articulated by both the imams and audience members, illustrating their significance and salience.

The inclusion of Arabic in Friday sermons is seen as a reflection of the authoritativeness of the language among Muslims. Indeed, Arabic has a unique position among all Muslims worldwide because it is the language of the holy scripture, namely the Quran: God has chosen to convey his words to his people via Gabriel to the Prophet Mohammed in Arabic.

Another function for imams' use of Arabic in Friday sermons is its authenticity among Muslims. Being the historical language of the Prophet Mohammed, who died 1,400 years ago, and the 'word of God', Muslims feel that they should preserve their liturgical language, to be employed especially in religious contexts. They have the desire to keep this tradition going as it adds greater authenticity and legitimacy to the context.

In addition, Arabic was seen by imams as eliciting emotions. Certainly, choosing to use Arabic in some situations in Friday sermons will elicit feelings on the part of the audience (although more so for the imams), not necessarily by virtue of the terms being articulated in Arabic but because of their connotations. This function has been addressed by other researchers in previous studies (e.g. Almansour, 2010; Kouega and Baimada, 2012).

Another function that encourages imams to use Arabic together with English is to accommodate the audience's language preferences and capabilities. Audience members attending these sermons have their own preferences. Some would prefer to hear Arabic together with English, despite not being fluent in Arabic. It seems that imams are aware of these preferences and try to respond to by incorporating the two languages. Being exposed to and familiar with Arabic could affect the imams' behaviour and therefore their use of Arabic together with English, particularly to enhance such familiarity and exposure among their audiences.

Moreover, sometimes, according to the participants, switching between Arabic and English can be a ritualistic behaviour. In other words, imams use Arabic instead of English in some situations due to the ritualistic nature of certain Arabic terms.

Furthermore, some participants, both imams and audience members, considered that a focus on accuracy and precision in delivering the intended meaning in sermons led to the use of some Arabic terms, especially those with specific connotations.

Last but not least, one imam indicated that switching between Arabic and English could sometimes be a spontaneous behaviour. Although he was conscious of including both Arabic and English, he was not aware of the amount of Arabic he used until he observed his own sermons.

Furthermore, the participants' attitudes towards this phenomenon were mostly positive. All the imams and five audience members were in favour of the use of Arabic together with English in Friday sermons. Only two audience participants (one female and one male) were hesitant about the amount of Arabic employed in the sermons, concerned that overusing Arabic could affect audiences' understanding of the whole sermon (cf. 4.5.3).

5.3 Contribution and significance of the study

This study contributes to the argument that whenever language and religion interact, certain language varieties may well be expected (Mukherjee, 2013). Among Muslims, the study clearly showed that the liturgical language (Arabic) is employed in religious activities together with the vernacular language (English). Arabic has an authoritative position, encouraging Muslims to preserve its usage in religious activities as a 'marker of Islam' (Hary and Wein, 2013). No other study, as far as I am aware, has explored this phenomenon in the same way as this study. Thus, this thesis helps fill a gap to provide a better understanding of this phenomenon.

Arabic and Islam are strongly linked to one other, especially in religious contexts such as the context of this study. This research has shed light on some of the functions related to the delivery of bilingual Friday sermons. Evidently, it is possible to argue that delivering a monolingual Friday sermon is most likely to be exclusive to Arabic Muslim countries; in contrast, bilingual Friday sermons are likely to predominate in Islamic communities worldwide. Thus, although this research comprised a small-scale qualitative study, the findings might well be transferable to other Islamic communities in similar situations. Indeed, based on my experience, the delivery of bilingual Friday sermons can be observed in the US, France, Sweden, South Korea, Singapore and Australia.

5.4 Implications of the study

The findings give rise to several implications. This study aimed to contribute to the study of the interaction between language and religion in the field of sociolinguistics and as such, it is hoped that the findings will be beneficial to Muslim communities living in the UK. First, it indicates the importance for imams to be aware of the diversity in their congregations and paying attention to the needs and preferences of their constituents. The perceptions of functions represented by the use of Arabic in Friday sermons are of considerable importance, particularly to the audience members attending these sermons, as they concern the reasons and justifications for imams delivering a bilingual sermon. Indeed, the findings of this study could open up an open two-way interaction between imams and audience members in terms of how they see the linguistic situation and what they prefer and seek to hear and why. However, it may not always be possible for audience members to interact with imams and vice versa for different reasons. The findings of this study can potentially fill this gap and address the lack of networking, raising the awareness of both parties in understanding linguistic practice in this context and the reasons behind it.

Moreover, there are implications for researchers. Some assume that secularism is spreading and indeed is so widespread that they underestimate the importance and impact of religion on linguistic behaviour and practice. The findings of this study demonstrate the importance of religion in Muslims' lives, even in secular communities. This is in line with other researchers who argue that 'in the case of Muslim languages, Arabic vocabulary is evident throughout, usually in the religious sphere, but also in secular areas' (Hary and Wein, 2013, p. 102). It might therefore be beneficial to explore whether increased secularism concerns and affects some religions (e.g. Christianity) and their liturgical languages (e.g. Latin) more than others.

5.5 Limitations of the study

All research has its own limitations and shortcomings. This was a small-scale study and could benefit from a larger sample and wider context, conferring greater breadth and depth in understanding this phenomenon. Time constraints, linked to issues of access, as well as my limited ability to undertake a large-scale study, prevented me doing so.

Moreover, improvements could be made to the methodology. In particular, the video-recorded observations as a tool for stimulated recall could be exploited more fully, for example exploring the repetition of particular words in Arabic and nonverbal behaviour (e.g. pauses before some Arabic words and facial expressions). Another aspect that could be of benefit would be to observe the audience during the sermons, which might reveal how they are affected and the ability to link their reactions to the imams' speech. Although this study did not find that participants' backgrounds significantly affected their attitudes or imams' practice, a detailed focus on participants' backgrounds could reveal other perceptions concerning how imams deliver their sermons.

In addition, Muslim communities in the UK are very diverse and different ethnicities, cultures and languages can be seen interacting with each other in single contexts (i.e.

mosques). Studying this diversity and linking it to linguistic practice could reveal other aspects regarding language use that this study could not explore. For instance, aspects such as participants' native language, ethnicity and age might uncover new insights regarding their perceptions of language use in Friday sermons. In this research, some of the imams and audience members were not available to engage in further sessions and informal interviews after initial observation of the sermons, which became apparent as the research progressed.

5.6 Suggestions for future research

The topic of this research is considered to be relatively new and more research is needed in this area. The interaction between language and religion is an ongoing field that requires more exploration and examination, both theoretically and empirically. Whenever there is an interface between language and religion, different linguistic practices occur, as reflected in the language use explored in this study.[11]

Further research regarding language use in religious contexts might examine the grammatical functions of language use, rather than the social and cultural functions. Moreover, Friday sermons might be analysed from a conversation analysis (CA) perspective. This could focus on various aspects, including content, intonation and pauses. In addition, a similar study could be conducted but on a larger scale, thus potentially conferring greater robustness and rigour, particularly with regard to the ability to generalize the findings.

5.7 Concluding remarks

This is the largest piece of work I have ever carried out. Undertaking such a challenging task over the last few years was not straightforward. There were ups and downs, but it was certainly worth doing. During this long journey, I learned very many skills, both

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[11] This study is currently under review by Cambridge University Press to be published as a single chapter in a new edited book on 'language and religion'.

personal and academic. I developed research skills, such as neutrality and criticality, not accepting things as taken for granted (cf. 2.3). I also gained a sound understanding of linguistic behaviour among Muslim communities in the UK. This has enhanced my ability to undertake further research regarding the interaction between language and religion and how to approach such phenomena.

In sum, researching the interface between language and religion in its natural context is time consuming and needs considerable effort on the part of the researcher; however, the valuable findings make it worth dedicating time and effort in undertaking such studies. Thus, I hope to continue the exploration I have embarked on as I consider it of great potential benefit to academia in terms of contributions to theory and methodology in the sociolinguistics field and to practice, i.e. religious communities, specifically Muslim.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview consent form

The purpose of this interview is to provide data for the use of more than one language in the same context (hereafter code-switching) in mosque sermons in the UK. The interview is confidential, your real name and personal details are not to be displayed in the study. Instead, pseudonyms (a made up name) will be used. It would be helpful if you could start the interview by providing some background information about yourself to the student who is interviewing you once you have both signed and dated this form below.

What is the project about?

The project is about using more than one language in a single context. This is referred to as 'Code-Switching'. I would like to understand the functions of code-switching in this particular context and the attitudes of both imams and audience regarding code-switching.

What does participating involve?

It involves participating in an interview with the researcher to discuss your use of more than one language in a sermon you delivered. The video-recorded sermon will be used in the interview to show you examples of your code-switching. The interview will be audio-recorded. In total, participation will take about two hours.

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated _____.	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	☐
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	☐
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	☐
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐

9.	Select only **one** of the following: • I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised. • I do not want my name used in this project.	☐ ☐
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Signature   Date

Researcher:

Ali Abdulkarim Alsaawi   _____   _____
Name of Researcher   Signature   Date

Appendix B: Observation consent form

The purpose of this observation is to provide data for the use of more than one language in the same context (hereafter code-switching) in mosque sermons in the UK. The observation is confidential, your real name and personal details are not to be displayed in the study. Instead, pseudonyms (a made up name) will be used.

What is the project about?

The project is about using more than one language in a single context. This is referred to as 'Code-Switching'. I would like to understand the functions of code-switching in this particular context and the attitudes of both imams and audience regarding code-switching.

What does participating involve?

It involves participating in an observation with the researcher to discuss your use of more than one language in a sermon you delivered. The video-recorded sermon will be used to show you examples of your code-switching. The video-recorded sermons will be downloaded from YouTube. In total, participation will take about two hours.

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated _____.	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	☐
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for observations, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	☐
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	☐
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐
9.	Select only **one** of the following: • I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and	☐

	other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised. • I do not want my name used in this project.	☐
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

_____ _____ _____
Name of Participant   Signature   Date

Researcher:

Ali Abdulkarim Alsaawi   _____ _____
Name of Researcher   Signature   Date

Appendix C: Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet (Audience)

Project: Language use in religious settings?

What is the project about?

The project is about using more than one language in a single context. I would like to understand the functions of language use in this particular context and the attitudes of both imams and audience regarding this phenomenon.

What does participating involve?

It involves conducting interviews about your attitudes regarding language use in mosque sermons delivered by imams. In total, participation will take about one hour.

Note: Only those aged over 18 years should participate in this study.

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant [printed]   Signature   Date

Ali Abdulkarim Alsaawi   _____   _____

Researcher [printed]   Signature   Date

Project contact details for further information:

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Appendix D: Personal information form

Personal information Form

Project: Language use in religious settings?

Contact details	Phone: Email:
Gender	Female ☐ Male ☐
Age	10-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61-70 ☐
Ethnic group	White English ☐ Arab ☐ Indian ☐ Pakistani ☐ Bangladeshi ☐ African ☐ Other, please specify ……………………………
First language	English ☐ Arabic ☐ Other, please specify ……………………………
Second language	English ☐ Arabic ☐ Other, please specify ……………………………
Proficiency in your second language?	Fundamental awareness ☐ Novice ☐ Intermediate ☐ Advanced ☐ Expert ☐
As a Khateeb, how long have you been giving sermons (Khutbah)? As an audience, how long have you been attending sermons (Khutbah)?	Less than a year ☐ 1-5 years ☐ 5-10 years ☐ More than 10 years ☐

Appendix E: Interview questions (imams)

<u>**Interview questions for imams**</u>

1. Are you aware of using another language, besides English, in your sermons?

2. Do you deliberately use another language besides English in your sermons?

3. Do you think you move from English to Arabic a lot?

4. For what reasons do you use Arabic, as well as English?

5. What do you think about using Arabic together with English in sermons?

6. Does Arabic have a special role in religious sermons? If so, what kinds?

7. What kinds of effects are you trying to achieve by using Arabic, as well as English, in your sermons?

8. What advantages, for the audience, can be achieved by using Arabic in your sermons?

9. Do you think that there are particular reasons, which may encourage or discourage the use of Arabic with English in sermons?

10. How might a sermon in Arabic be culturally different from one in English, do you think?

11. Has anyone asked you the meanings of Arabic terms?

12. Do people comment on your use of more than one language, e.g. other imams, or the audience?

Appendix F: Interview questions (audience)

Interview questions for audiences

1. Are you aware of the imam using another language, besides English, in his sermons?

2. Does the imam deliberately use Arabic, as well as English in his sermons?

3. For what reasons do you think he uses Arabic, as well as English?

4. Do you understand Arabic terms used in sermons?

5. What do you think about using Arabic together with English in sermons?

6. What effect do you think the imam is trying to achieve?

7. Do you think that there are particular reasons, which may encourage or discourage the use of Arabic with English in sermons?

8. How might a sermon in Arabic be culturally different from one in English, do you think?

Appendix G: Sample from an interview with an imam

Interview with imam (7)

Ali: (tayeb Besmi lah rahmani Rahim) first of all, thank you very much for agreeing to be part of this study. I do appreciate it (jazak Allah kheer).

[[[…………………..…..showing short clips to the interviewee………..……………...]]]

Ali: Now, after seeing short clips of one of your (khutbahs) that you delivered recently, I'm wondering are you aware of using another language, besides English, in the (khutbah)?

P7:   A little bit.

Ali: A little bit?

P7:   Because I know very little Arabic as far as the language is concerned, I am not, I couldn't converse with you other than telling you maybe that I don't speak Arabic, that's about it. So, I am aware when I use those words but I use them as specific key words. So like (Rahmah) from the name of Allah Rahman so may be this is already in the knowledge of the audience especially from an English speaking audience. So they will know (Rahmah) and (Al-Ameen), so this is the name of the Prophet (Salla Allah Aalyhi Wa sallam). So, these key words are what you would generally expect either for people to understand but also I use them because the meaning of the depth of the word.

Ali: So you are aware about these?

P7:   Yes.

Ali: So can we say that you are deliberately use Arabic besides English in the (khutbah)?

P7:   Yes.

Ali: Is it deliberate?

A7:   Yes.

Ali: (tayeb) and do you think you move from English to Arabic a lot?

P7:   I don't know much Arabic so...

Ali: In your (khutbah) what do you estimate it? is it a lot, the way you are including Arabic?

A7:   No, not a lot.

Ali: Not a lot. (tayeb) now you can elaborate on the reasons behind using Arabic, besides English; If you can elaborate on this and why you are doing this.

P7:   So as I was talking about the word (Rahmah), to say it means Mercy is not sufficient. I say that not as a non-Arabic speaker but as an Urdu speaker. When we say (Rahmah) in Urdu, the Ta you say it as Rahmat but when somebody say this is a Rahmat, I know the depth that this goes to. But Mercy is not just like something in the rocks or something that is small and shallow. So, the word

Rahmah has more depth in the meaning and it goes wider than that. So, when we think about those words like Al-Ameen (the trustworthy), but the idea of (AL) the definite article been stated it is lost in the English translation. Somebody is trustworthy, you know it doesn't have the same depth of saying somebody is (Ameen) and then saying (Al-Ameen).

Ali: Ok can we say then that sometimes there is no accurate equivalent in English for some Arabic words?

P7: Yes.

Ali: We can say this?

A7: Definitely, yeah.

Ali: (tayeb) and are you aware that some of the audience are non-Arabic speakers and especially they only know English, so are you considering these people when you say (rahmah) or because as you mentioned, you are assuming that the already know these terms? How about for example the new converts?

P7: I think what I try to do is that I do say like, I don't know if I did in this particular instance but let's say I said it…

Ali: Let's talk about in general.

Ali: In general, if I say the prophet (salla lahu alayhi wa salam) (The trustworthy one), (Al-Ameen). So, I will say the two things, yeah, and I will try to ensure to do them that way, so if you miss the Arabic, you will get the English anyway; If that makes sense.

Ali: (tayeb) and what do you think about using Arabic together with English in the (khutbah), in general?

A7: In general?

Ali: Yes, are you like supporting this behaviour or maybe you are a bit reluctant, not to include Arabic?

P7: The only reluctance I have with including Arabic is elements of (Tajweed), pronunciation properly. I have elements of mis-interpretation which takes me a lot of concentration to read Arabic. If I was to read every Hadith in Arabic and Quranic (Ayas) in Arabic then I need effort and concentration to do that. I would be adding a huge amount to be delivering the (khutbah).

Ali: So, the time limit?

P7: Yeah, and the flow. My natural flow because English is my natural language, it's easier for me to read the translation and mean   ing of and go with that because if I spend all that time going through that, yes it a time restriction and also does a flow because my tongue doesn't naturally flow so it becomes difficult.

Ali: I see. (tayeb) I noticed that, unlike most of the (khateebs), you are not quoting the verses from the Quran and Prophet's sayings in Arabic first then in English, you say them only straight away in English, is there a reason behind this?

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P7:   Yes, as I sort of mentioned…

Ali: Is it the time limits?

A7:   Time limits and also it might be my reading of the Hadith, I may not read it properly because of (Tajweed) issue and all of the other things. So, for example, the Quranic verses that I read for Salah, I have really rehearsed those and practiced them and (Allhamdullilah) some brothers would come and said you need to change what you saying this….etc. So, the (Tajweed) have been what I really focused on and I will go through them once a week to make sure I am ready for a Friday (at least once a week) so the (Tajweed) element is really important for two reasons, one is…

Ali: I think (tajweed) only for the Quran, not for the (hadith).

A7:   The same thing, in my opinion, they are both as important and as valuable. So even if I'm reading a (hadith of the prophet (salla lahu alayhi wa sallam), (tajweed) should be absolutely like I said for two reasons, one is there Arabic speaking people in the audience, they are going to get upset that I miss quoted or miss read something and that would destroy their (Jumuah) and that going to lose my (Ajer). And I really don't want that in my sermons. The other thing is that I may lose the people who don't speak Arabic but at least their flow of thought is being linked by the context of what I am trying to say. So even the translation of the meaning, there's various ones, so you read one verse in Arabic then you may read slight different translations of that verse in English.

Ali: You mean that translation copies are all different?

P7:   Yes, because of the way they are translated. Then, it comes to my responsibility as a (khateeb) to ensure that I try and find the essence of that meaning and to make sure that comes across because this is something that I feel in my heart.

Ali: (tayeb) does that mean that you are supportive in quoting the Quran and Hadith first in Arabic then in English; however, because of, if I can say it the deficiency of your Arabic to some extent, that's what's stop you to maybe quote it in Arabic?

P7:   yeah, that's right

Ali: Is that the only reason? Can we say that if you are fluent in Arabic?

A7:   If I was fluent in Arabic, I probably I wouldn't quote the full Hadith in, I would probably use similar system to maybe say the direct quotations in Arabic to show people how the Prophet and companions spoke.

Ali: Ok, Let's suppose you are a fluent, why you are going to say it in Arabic, why not just keep it in English?

P7:   Because Arabic language is beautiful, so poetic and it's so delicious, this is the best word. (Subhan Allah) When you hear it in its purest form, it strikes your heart. There is a reason why the Quran makes people cry, even if they are not Muslims. So, for me like one of the most powerful (surahs) is (Surah Al-Najim); the story of when the Prophet (salla lahu alayhi wa sallam) read it to the people who were not willing to and they were so compelled to follow him. Now when I think

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about that, it puts acid on the back of my neck. I think (subhan Allah) such strong words. It doesn't move me now because I don't speak Arabic but to think that it did for those people who were directly against the prophet (salla lahu alayhi wa sallam). So, if I was fluent in Arabic, I would add and use more of these Arabic words such as Rahmah and so on to emphasise a point. Also, sometimes and culturally speaking, in some situations it is very odd to say some phrases in English; however, it will be very beautiful to say it in Arabic.

Ali: Even (Deen) sometimes you would say (Deen) sometimes you would say religion, sometimes you would say (Jannah) sometimes you would say paradise; Emm so (shahadah), you didn't give translation to it.

A7:   No, probably I didn't.

Ali: Why? Is there a reason? Is there a purpose behind it?

P7:   There's no purpose behind it, but when I say (Deen) there is a purpose behind it, because Deen is not the same as religion. Religion is something you have faith in; (Deen) is your religion, your life, when you are awake and when you are a sleep. Right now, what we are doing now is a worship if our intentions are sincere. So, this is not religion, it is a (Deen) as the depth of the word Deen not the same as shallowness of the word religion.

Ali: And have you think about an equivalent, rather than religion? To maybe explain (Deen)?

A7:   I do sometimes say "a way of life" but even then that's quite vague. So if I say this is you religion, your way of life, you can say them both together, but the word (Deen) has a depth of language, when you understand what the word (deen) means, then you.

Ali: Ok, maybe I can come up with the idea that maybe English is not always equivalent to give for Arabic language, is this situation specific only for religious words or phrases or do you think it's for the whole language of Arabic? Do you that some of these terms that you use has been mentioned in the Quran which is the word of God, the word of Allah (subhanah wa taala) do you think this is part of it or do you think that it's because of the merit of Arabic language in general?

A7:   I am sorry I did not understand the question.

Ali: Sorry, you would say that there is no equivalent of Arabic language in English, is this exclusive for only the religious words? Or is it open to the whole language, even for nonreligious words?

A7:   I think so, as an Urdu speaker, there are many words that don't translate into English well. And there's many English words that don't translate into the Urdu ones and I think it's the same thing. The only thing that's important is the cultural element and understanding how to speak. Because let's say like for example in a (hadith) Abu bakr (radeya Allah anho) says:" may my parents be sacrificed for you", this is a strange thing to say in English, it really is. But from an Arabic thing, it's beautiful to say it. You know from the bottom of your heart that is really where it comes from. It's such a wonderful thing to say, but it's lost and it's lost because of the cultural differences and simply just the translation. So you know, and the way that the grammar and the way things are put together. Make a joke in Arabic you might sound not so funny in English and vice versa. So I

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know like I laugh at things in Urdu but I try and translate them and I'm like forget it it's too lame you know.

Ali: That's good, (tayeb) do you think that Arabic has a special role in religious sermons, if we can say it or (khutbah)?

A7:   Has a special role?

Ali: Role,

P7:   Yes,

Ali: What kind of roles?

A7:   I think it is a fundamental for understanding Islam. There is no other way to understand Islam until you really know Arabic. I know that sounds a bit Hippocratic for me to say so after giving khutbah for so many years but if you don't love the language and you don't fall in love with it, you can't. Like for example, the (Shahadah) (la elaha ella lah) in English takes a discussion and that discussion requires digging and understanding while when you say it in Arabic you will know what it means and what doesn't mean. It gets that balance of power and poetic beauty that comes from the Quran and even the Hadith from Prophet Mohammed (Salla lahu Alayhi wa salam). The linguistic mastery in the Prophet of been able to say something in such a beautiful small way; as a poet who constantly editing works, you can't and when you read what the prophet said you feel like you throwing your pen away. So, the role of Arabic is essential not in the sense of understanding the Arabic culture but understanding that this is language of Allah and it is revealed for the whole mankind and all of time.

Ali: Ok, (tayeb) and what advantages, for the audience, can be achieved by using Arabic in your (khutbah)? Let's speak for the audience now

P7:   Emphasis, power. What do I mean by power is to really understand it. Like in our Pakistani traditions, you will hear the (khateeb) in the sermon, when they are speaking, they will speak in Urdu and then they will read some Quran but they will recite the Quran, you know like Al affassy will read the Quran, with like (tarteel) and (tajweed) and Ooh and then they grab the audience. And yes it gets emotional, of course it does because it's such a powerful taste, and that's the rhythm that they use. An they employ that in the Urdu language to really engage people in fact sometimes when they read the Hadith of the prophet (sallah lahu alayhi wa sallam) thay still say it in Urdu but they still use (trateel) to sing it to emphasize it.

Ali: Do you think this advantage would apply to non-Arabic speakers as well?

P7:   Yes, if it is done properly. A brother told me one day how he loves the way I read a particular Surah although he is not an Arab. So, it moved me. The linguistic elements of Arabic are lost in me and people like me because I don't speak Arabic because we don't really know. I saw a programme few years ago and a guy was talking about the Quran. He said I am not a Muslim but I only studies it and I love this verse and he started to read (Al-Qader Surah). He just said listen to

this rhythm and he read it. He is a British guy who doesn't know Arabic. So, Khateebs like me should know Arabic language which shamefully I don't but it's something that it is a must to learn.

Ali: Do you think that there are particular reasons, which may encourage or discourage the use of Arabic with English in sermons?

P7: The only thing I can think of is what would discourage it especially these days with this idea that relate Islam to terrorism. So, you have to be careful when reciting the Quran verses or what you say in Arabic because somebody else can go and translate that but if I done the translation myself and said it myself without giving the vague points of Arabic, it will gives me full power, authority and control of what I say. So, if anybody would doubt what I said, I have said in English which is very clear but if somebody said the verse you quoted it means in English this and this, that brings a whole different opinionated subjective discussion moving away from my objective declaration of what I said. So, I am very conscious of these things and I do work in sort of public field and engagement with schools which is not related to my faith but with my profession but I am very aware that things can catch up with you and you should always be looking after yourself and it's not because you are doing something wrong but to keep yourself clear of what you said. This is the only discouragement I can see of using Arabic in the khutbah.

Ali: How about the encouragement then?

P7: Like I said, the beauty of Arabic language and the impact that it can make and if you know how deliver the khutbah properly, it will add to it.

Ali: Do you think there is an encouragement for non-Arabic speakers to listen to Arabic language in the khutbah?

P7: Yes, they can memorise and read the Quran or even listen to it. They will start picking up these words and may be it will raise their interest to learn more.

Ali: Don't you think that using Arabic will distract the concentration of non-Arabic   speakers?

P7: I think it depends on the length of Arabic really because if so much I can't focus in any language that I don't know.

Ali: How might a sermon in Arabic be culturally different from one in English, do you think?

P7: Massively different. Translation would lose the essence of the original language. In Arabic translation of Quran verses you will read (Oh who you believe), it sounds like a very old English compared to the modern English language. Also, culture reference is important as well. If I make a cultural reference in English society and like if you translate idioms into Arabic, it will be very difficult and will lose the concept.

Ali: Has anyone asked you the meanings of Arabic terms?

P7: No, the only thing I ever had kindly is a brother who corrected my Tajweed. But other than that no. I have had people asked me for the verses I recited and asking for the references.

Ali: Do people comment on your use of more than one language, e.g. other preachers, or the audience?

P7:   I have been encouraged to use more Arabic. So, people usually say, it would be better if you read that Hadith in Arabic first and then in English as it would have more impact which could also reach a wider part of audience who do understand Arabic because it would impact them better and deeper than just simply knowing the English version.

Appendix H: Sample from an interview with an audience

Interview with audience (6)

Ali: Interview with audience (6)

Ali: (Tayeb, bismi lah rahmani rahim) first of all, thank you very much for agreeing to be part of this study. I do appreciate it. What I'm going to do now, I will show you some situations of one of the (khutbah) that you are familiar with the (khateebs) and with the (khutbah) after that (incha'lah taala) we can start the interview, (incha'lah).

[[[…………………….…..showing short clips to the interviewee………..….………..…]]]

Ali: (Tayeb), I think that's enough. Now first of all are you aware, brother, that the (khateeb) is using another language, besides English, in the (khutbah)?

A6:   Am I aware that they do?

Ali: Yeah, which is?

A6:   Ah, Arabic.

Ali: Arabic, (tayeb) and in your opinion, does the (khateeb) deliberately use Arabic, as well as English in the (khutbah)?

A6:   Yeah, they do.

Ali: Yeah, (tayeb), and, in your opinion, for what reasons do you think he uses Arabic, as well as English in the (khutbah)?

A6:   I think the first reason is because, like, because the Quran in Arabic so they should read it in Arabic first, then translate it whatever language the people understand. Another reason may be habit, maybe their habit to do it. A third reason may be that there is people who only speak Arabic in the audience to understand what is been said. To me these are the main reasons why they use Arabic.

Ali: And speaking for yourself, do you understand Arabic terms that have been used in the (khutbah) I showed you?

A6:   Yeah, the majority of them. Yes

Ali: (Tayeb) is there any Arabic words that you didn't understand?

A6:   Emm If they read like a Quranic verse I may not understand some words in the verse. But like (salla lahu alyhi wa sallam) I'll understand. (Allah) I'll understand, (Rabb), (Ummah) …etc.

Ali: (Tayeb) I'll give you an example, like (Ummah, Rahma, alaalamin)

A6:   Yeah, I understand those.

Ali: And how did you come up and understand these? When did you understand these Arabic words?

A6:   I think just from hearing them a lot from people saying them. Like the first time when I came to (khutbah), I didn't understand any of the terms. But, I learned them from hearing them a lot like in the context. Like he says it in Arabic first then he says it in English afterwards. When they say (Rahma) then mercy, I understand that that what it means.

Ali: Can we say, maybe, that the (khutbah) was one of these platforms that you have been exposed to some Arabic vocabulary and then you learned them through the (khutbah)?

A6:   Yeah, definitely.

Ali: What effect do you think that the (khateeb) is trying to achieve by using Arabic in the (khutbah)?

A6:   I think to make people aware of the Arabic terms that he used and their English equivalent so that they can learn them and understand them.

Ali: You are speaking now for the non-Arabic speakers, yeah?

A6:   Yeah, Yeah for non-Arabic speakers. And then for the Arabic speakers, they can understand what is been said because they may not understand in English but if they hear Rahmah, Al-Alameen they know what's been said.

Ali: (tayeb) and do you think it would make any difference for you if, for example, he would say (rahma) and then would translate it to mercy or maybe he would just stick to one, either Arabic or English? Does it make any difference for you?

A6:   Personally no, but I prefer hearing the Arabic then English because then I learn more as well.

Ali: (Tyaeb) and, maybe you did mention something about it. Maybe you can elaborate on this. Do you think that there are particular reasons, which may encourage or sometimes even discourage the use of Arabic or the inclusion of Arabic in the (khutbah)?

A6:   I think some good reasons would be so people, like, learn what the Quran saying or what prophet said in the actual Arabic terms because sometimes the English equivalent isn't the same. A good thing may be Arab audience can understand. A bad thing is that the native speaker may get confused with speaking some Arabic and some English so they may miss what's been said. And if someone is new and when hearing the (khutbah) they may get confused or worried about what's been said. Well I mean he's English and he says something in Arabic, I don't know what it means.

Ali: Regarding to the quotations from the Quran and the verses from the (Hadith), do you agree that they should be said in Arabic and then in English or maybe it doesn't matter whether to say it in Arabic or in English?

A6:   I think it's ok to just say it in English but I think it is better to say it in Arabic if you can. But it's ok; it's fine if you say it in English because the majority of people who are listening only speak English.

Ali: Don't you think that sometimes it doesn't make any sense and maybe it would be time consuming for using Arabic?

A6:   Yeah, it may take extra time. It may confuse people; so yeah.

Ali: So in your opinion and personally, are you reluctant of using and including Arabic in the (khutbah) or are you welcoming the use of Arabic in the (khutbah)?

A6:   Welcoming but to a limit like some words but not all of it so the majority should be in English because we are in England.

Ali: Absolutely, and how might, in your opinion, how might the (khutbah) that would be delivered in Arabic be culturally different than the one which would be delivered in English, in your opinion?

A6:   Like how would be different?

Ali: Yeah.

A6:   I guess may be some of the phrases used may be different like maybe something in Arabic that doesn't make sense in English but I can say the general message or the general content would be the same.

Ali: (Tayeb) and you did mention something about the translation. That sometimes the translation wouldn't convey maybe the accurate meaning or the deep meaning of some Arabic words. Like for example for the verses or the (Ayah) can we say that maybe sometimes there are no accurate equivalent for some Arabic terms in English so that's why some (khateebs) would use Arabic words?

A6:   Yeah, because like there might not be an equivalent in English. So you say it in Arabic so people may understand the Arabic. Then you try and say it in English, but obviously you may not match the Arabic meaning, so yeah I agree.

Ali: (Tayeb) and you get the (salla lahu alyhi wa sallam), for you personally, does it make a difference if the (khateeb) say "may blessing and peace be upon him" or whatever and say it in English rather than Arabic, does make any difference for you although you are aware of it?

A6:   Yeah, I understand it so not really. So I'm fine either ways because I know what it means.

Ali: So it doesn't make any difference whether it's being said in Arabic or in English?

A6:   Emmm, no.

Ali: (Tayeb), so you did mention that you prefer that the Arabic terms should be translated, not just said without being translated yeah?

A6:   Yeah.

Ali: Have you come up in situations where the (khateeb) said terms in Arabic without translating them, and you didn't understand it?

A6:   Yeah, many times.

Ali: What was your, I don't know, what was your feeling about it?

A6:   I feel like I missing out, like I was missing something or I was confused at what's going on. Because he said some Arabic and then I don't know what it means so he could've said anything but…

Ali: (tayeb) after the (khutbah) did you ask anyone or maybe the (khateeb) himself? Did you go to him and ask him for the meaning of these

A6:   No.

Ali: Did you find out by yourself, or just forgot about it?

A6:   Forget about it.

Ali: I see. I think we come to the end of the interview. I think that's it. Do you have any other comments or something?

A6:   No.

Ali: Ok (jazaka lah khir bro) I do appreciate it. (Baraka lah fik).

Appendix I: Sample from a Friday sermon

The first khutbah:

Bismillah.

In al-hamda Lillaahi nahmaduhu wa nasta'eenahu wa nastaghfiruhu, wa na'oodhu billaahi min shuroori anfusinaa wa min sayi'aati a'maalinaa. Man yahdih Illaahu falaa mudilla lahu wa man yudlil falaa haadiya lahu. Wa ashhadu an laa ilaaha ill-Allaah wahdahu la sharika lahu wa ashhadu anna Muhammadan 'abduhu wa rasooluhu.

{Yaa ayyuha'lladheena aamanu-ttaqu'Llaaha haqqa tuqaatihi wa laa tamootunna illaa wa antum muslimoon} [3:102]

{Yaa ayyuha'n-naas uttaqu rabbakum alladhi khalaqakum min nafsin waahidatin wa khalaqa minhaa zawjahaa wa baththa minhumaa rijaalan katheeran wa nisaa'an wa'ttaqu-Llaah alladhi tasaa'aloona bihi wa'l-arhaama inna Allaaha kaana 'alaykum raqeeban} [4:1]

{Yaa ayyahu'lladheena aamanu-ttaqu'Llaaha wa qooloo qawlan sadeedan. Yuslih Lakum 'A'maalakum Wa Yaghfir Lakum Dhunoobakum Wa Man Yuti'i Allaaha Wa Rasoolahu Faqad Faaza Fawzaan 'Azeemaan} [33:70-71]

Amma Baad:

Indeed all praises is due to Allah, we praise him, we seek his help, and we ask for his forgiveness. We seek refuge in Allah from the evils of ourselves, and the evils of our actions.

Whoever Allah guides there is no one can misguide, and whoever is letting astray there is no man can guide.

And I bear witness that there is none that has the wright to be worshiped except Allah, he is alone and he has no partners, and that Muhammed ibn Abdullah –salla allahu alayhi w sallam- is his slave and final messenger.

As to what follows:

To my respected brothers, and beloved elders, may Allah –subhanahu w ta'ala- reward you for attending the khutbah, for listening and attending early enough to listen to the khutbah.

I want to start this khutbah by asking you all to imagine, imagine this situation where you have a ship, and the ship is sailing and it is made of two decks, we have the lower deck and you have the upper deck, and there are people on the both decks; the upper deck and the lower deck, and so the people on the upper deck they had everything it had, they have the kitchen facilities, the storage facilities, food and drink everything they need is on the upper deck.

And you have a lower deck, and they don't have those things, so they are constantly asking those in the upper deck, whenever they want food or drink, they have to go to the upper deck, and ask those from the upper deck, whenever they want something, food, drink, water, whatever it is, they have to ask those from

the upper deck. And it comes to a point where sooner or later those from the lower deck they decide, you know what if we want water what's the point of us asking the upper deck when we have got water all around us, all we have to do is make a hole and we will have water, why don't we just leave them to what they are doing, and we will just do what will we do, we will just make a hole in the boat or in the ship.

Brothers what happens if they continue to that, and they make the hole in the ship? Everyone drowns, we all know everyone will drown. Now I don't tell you this example or this situation just for the fun of it, because it's an example that our beloved messenger –salla allahu alayhi w sallam- he told us, when he – salla allahu alayhi w sallam- said: "the lightness of a man who observes the limits prescribed by Allah, and the one who does not observe those limits is like the people who get on board of a ship, some of them on the lower deck, and some of them on the upper deck, and those are on the lower deck when they require water they go to the occupants of the upper deck and say to them: if we make a hole in the bottom of the ship we will not harm you, we will not come and bother you all the time, and if those on the upper deck leave them to carry on with that design, then they will all be drowned, but if they do not let them go ahead with their plan, all of them will remain safe"

You know, when the prophet –salla allahu alayhi w sallam- give certain analogies like this, he didn't do it just for the fun of it, but there is lessons that we learn from things like this, the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam- what is he teaching us in this hadith is the consequences of our actions, when we commit an act that is forbidden in Islam, it doesn't just affect you; the individual that committed that sin, but it also has a knock on effect on those around you. Meaning when you commit a sin, it's no longer your sin that harms you, but it is the sin that potentially can harm all of the Muslims, you may be the individual on the lower deck; committing your sins, committing some wrong, and because of it; because of your actions, we all suffer, and that is the line that is drawn when we draw what is obligatory or what is permitted and allowed in Islam, and that which is not permitted.

The prophet –salla allahu w alayhi w sallam- he taught us that this is one ummah, that we are here to help one another, and that we are here to enjoin good in each other, as Allah –subhanahu w ta'ala- says in the Quran:

{Kuntum khayra ommatin okhrijat lilnnasi tamuroona bialmaAAroofi watanhawna AAani almunkari watuminoona biAllahi}[3: 110]

Allah says in the Quran: you are the best nation, you are the best nation produced as an example for the mankind, you enjoin what is good, and you forbid what is evil and wrong, and you believe in Allah.

Brothers, you may not think it's a time where you think that you are the best nation, but Allah –subhanahu w ta'ala- has honored us with Islam, Allah is telling us in this aya that we are the best nation, Allah has made the best nation as an example of all mankind, why? Because we are people who enjoin good, we are people who want good, we are people who show good, we are people and individuals who bring good wherever we go, wherever community where in, wherever society where in, we are people who should be contributing and showing goodness to that society, and making that society better, and that community better, this is what Islam teaches us. Now we are the people who want goodness and show goodness, and we are people who forbid evil, when we saw something that is wrong; we are people who stop that evil or stop that wrong, this is the manifestation of Islam. When we say we are Muslims what is that means? It

means that we are people who show goodness and contribute to the society to make it better and safer place, that's what happen when the Muslims went whenever they went, wherever the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam- and his companions went, they went and made a better society, a fairer society, a just society, a safer society.

Islam came; brothers, to contribute to society and make it a better place, not to harm it, and from that, what is that mean for us, that means brothers that we are all ambassadors of our religion, we are all representatives of our faith, we are all responsible for our actions, and our actions may have a knock on effect to the wider society in the community around us, you know; you may not think it, but when you do good in society, especially society where we are living in now, or the community we are living in now, non-Muslims look at us, and if we make good they say: you know what the Muslims are not all that bad, yet there is a flip side to that coin, because if we do something wrong in society, or you do something bad in society, even know you are not doing it under Islam, you still representative of Islam, cause they know that you are a Muslim, but what is the effect that it has? These Muslims are like this, these Muslims are all like that, we are representatives of Islam whether you like it or you don't like it, you are a representative of your religion.

And so what is the teachings, what are we taught to do; enjoin good and forbid evil, this brothers is the teaching of our prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam-, Allah says about this individual, this man:

{Wama arsalnaka illa rahmatan lilAAalameena} [21:107]

Allah said about the prophet –salla allahu alayhi w sallam- : and we have sent you but a mercy to the 'alamin, the prophet –salla allahu alayhi w sallam- was sent a Rahma, a mercy to mankind, not just mankind; 'alamin: to everything, whether it is to animals, whether it is to the earth itself and the environment, the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam- was sent as a Rahma, and we are the people who are supposed to follow on those footsteps, we are the people who supposed to follow that.

So we follow his teachings, and not only, brothers they are taking as point as side note, Subhan Allah in the last few days what we have seen in the media today is that our beloved messenger –salla allahu alayhi w sallam- has been ridiculed, yet –Subhan Allah- you know what comes from that; and the response that from that, is that it is giving us an opportunity to reshow who the prophet –salla allahu alayhi w sallam- is, you know people who are ofay with it; you know they are custom to using social media, you well know that "who is Muhammed"–salla allahu alayhi wa sallam-, the hashtag it was the worldwide…it was number one in the worldwide trading list on twitter, because Muslims came together to actually show who the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam- is, and the side point brothers, learn who the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam-, and learn and you will realize and you will have a stronger and a closer relationship with the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam-.

Wa salla llahu ala nabiyyina Muhammad.

The second khutbah:

Bismillah.

In al-hamda Lillaahi wassalatu wassalamu ala rasulillah.

The call of the Muslims, or the slogan the banner of the Muslims, the strop line for the Muslims is that we enjoin good and we forbid evil, we enjoin good and we forbid evil, we show goodness, we bring goodness wherever we are, yet, brothers I know a serious serious note, if we don't do that what is the effect or the knock on affect that it comes from it? If we are people who are not showing goodness or bringing good to our society, rather we are doing the opposite, and we are bringing harm to the society, what is the knock on effect of it, it is something called Islamophobia, Islamophobia where people…, we get a hard time, we get ridiculed, we have hatred inside towards us, or even attacked simply because we are Muslims.

And don't bury your head in the sand and thinking that it doesn't exist, just because it may not exist here in Newcastle or is prominent, it exists, and it's on the rides , and it's getting worse, and I am not here to give you examples of how sisters in street have their Hijab ripped off, or how brothers had been attacked in the street for having a beard, I am not here to give you examples of those, but I am here to say to you: if you think that this is not a problem; then seriously there is something wrong, if you are ignoring that there is a problem, then actually what you are ignoring is one of the Sunnas of the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam-, because when the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam- said: " the believer in his mutual mercy; love and compassion are like a single body, if one part of it feels pain, the rest of the body will join it in staying awake and suffering fever" don't think that this is not happening, don't bury our heads in the sand. And this is just a reminder for us all, if we just sit back and stay unconcerned, and think you know what…you know…it will pass, it will, it will go by itself, then we have necessity the wrong attitude, rather our attitude should be what? To be active and proactive, to know … you know if something happen and we look down upon, people have hatred toward us, what do we do? Do we just sit back and do nothing? No, we turn it around, and sure you know what? There is nothing to fear, there is nothing to hate, and we Muslims are contributing towards the society and making it a better place, we are enjoining in good, and we forbidding evil.

Abu Sa'id al-Khudri he reported that the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam- he said: "be aware of sitting on the road ways –don't sit on the roads-"and the people said: "but we have no else to sit, we have just them as a setting places" so the messenger of Allah –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam- said: "if you must sit in those places, then observe it wrights" and so they asked: "what are the wrights?"-what are the wrights of the way here- and so the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam-:" to lower you gaze –and not looking things you shouldn't be looking at-, to remove harmful objects from the road, and also return the greetings an enjoin the good and forbid the evil, and give the directions to the people when they ask for it"; meaning at least if you're going to sit there when you shouldn't be sitting there, at least do some good when you're doing it, the least you can do is do good even in those situations, so that when people see you, they say : you know what these people are good, they're helpful.

We came to benefit society not to harm it, and how is it possible brothers that Islam has now become synonymous with enjoining wrong and evil, and forbidding the good, cause that what's we are right now, we people look at us and say: these are the ones who enjoin evil and wrong, they are doing evil and wrong, and they forbid good, we have to take that back and turn it back around, and this is an action for all of us to do as ambassadors of the religion, as representatives of the religion, whether you have a beard or you don't, whether the women wear the hijab or not, as a Muslim we have responsibility.

In fact, we have responsibility even more so now, we have responsibility to show the beauty of Islam, and just as a point; we don't do this to appeased peoples, we don't do this to make people say: oh the Muslims are all good, we do it first and for most because that's what Allah tells us to do, that's what Islam teaches us to do, and this is what Islam is, that compassion and that humility, and that…the people who bring goodness to wherever we are, that's what Islam teaches us.

I will leave you with an example of that, where the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam-, there was a funeral procession that passed, and they all stood up for the funeral procession –the funeral procession is going passed, and they all stood up-, and they were told that the funeral procession was from one of the people who were the inhabitants of the land –meaning they were non-Muslim who are under the protection of the Muslims- and they said: the funeral procession passed in front of the prophet –salla allahu alayhi wa sallam- and he stood up, and when he was told that it was a coffin from the coffin of the Jews; he said: "is it not a living soul?" meaning even at that point, that person was still a human being, Islam came to benefit humanity, and benefit the society, so we are individuals who should also do the same.

May Allah –subhanahu w ta'ala- give us the Tawefeeq and the ability to do so, may Allah –subhanahu w ta'ala- continue to make us people who enjoin good and forbid evil, and make us true representatives and ambassadors of this religion.

Subhanaka Allahumma Wa bihamdika, ash-hadu an la ilaha illa Anta, astaghfiruka wa atubu ilaika

Wa sallallahu ala nabiyyina Muhammad wa alihi wa sahbihi ajmaeen

Wa akimu Assalat.

Appendix J: Emergent themes and codes (functions) from interview data

Authority of Arabic	word of God	power	status	emphasis
Authenticity & tradition	tradition	prophet practice	keep going	history
Emotions	attract attention	tingling skin	assumption of knowledge	touching
Accommodation	provide alternatives	Include the audience preference	language proficiency	accommodate
Exposure to Arabic language	create interest	encourage learning Arabic	level of exposure	
Ritualistic behavior	praise God	gaining reward from God	supplication	
Equivalence & precision	accuracy	translation problems	lack of equivalent	
Impact of imams' mother tongue	first language	fluency		
Audience familiarity and knowledge	familiarity of Arabic words	repetitive practice		
Spontaneous switch to Arabic	habit	frequently used words		

Appendix K: Arabic words/phrases most used in sermons

Participant	Arabic words/terms/phrases used in sermons	Frequency
Imam 1	Ummah	30.14%
	salla allahu alayhi wa sallam	27.40%
	subhanahu w ta'ala	9.59%
	Hadith	6.85%
	Sahaba	4.11%
	Kabah	2.74%
	Jannah	2.74%
	Kalimah	1.37%
	radia allahu anha	1.37%
	fi hayat aljaheleya	1.37%
	Iman	1.37%
	Idaa	1.37%
	Minbar	1.37%
	yashuddu baedahu baedan	1.37%
	Qiblah	1.37%
	Duaa	1.37%
	Takwa	1.37%
	Alim	1.37%
	Saff	1.37%
	khutbatu alwadaa	1.37%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**9.09%**
Imam 2	salla llahu alayhi wa sallam	17.14%
	Hadiths	17.14%
	Djall	8.57%
	Shaitan	8.57%
	Ummah	5.71%
	Bid'ah	5.71%
	Iman	5.71%
	Jeziah	2.86%
	radia allahu anhu	2.86%
	Subhan Allah	2.86%
	Jannah	2.86%
	yaoum alqyama	2.86%
	wa aliyadhu billah	2.86%
	Yakeen	2.86%
	Saber	2.86%
	Hikmah	2.86%
	husna dan bi Allah	2.86%
	Ikhlass	2.86%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**4.36%**
Imam 3	Shaitan	49.21%
	Subhanahu Wata-Alaa	22.22%
	Bidah	6.35%
	Alhadith	4.76%
	Kufr	4.76%
	Aya/Ayaat	3.17%
	Insha Allah	1.59%
	Alaihi Assalam	1.59%
	salla allahu alayhi wassallam	1.59%
	Tafsir	1.59%
	Nafla	1.59%
	Halaqa	1.59%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**7.85%**
Imam 4	azza wa jal	38.89%
	salla allahu alayhi wa salam	7.94%
	Haq	7.14%
	Jannah	5.56%
	Sunna	4.76%
	Shaitan	4.76%
	Dawah	3.17%

	Ulamah	3.17%
	Ebada	2.38%
	Iman	2.38%
	Tawheed	2.38%
	Hadith	1.59%
	Ummah	1.59%
	Youwahhidun	1.59%
	Barakah	1.59%
	Mufassireen	1.59%
	Aya	1.59%
	yaAbudoon	0.79%
	Jinn	0.79%
	Jahannam	0.79%
	Salat	0.79%
	Shabab	0.79%
	alihi assalm	0.79%
	a'mal	0.79%
	Deen	0.79%
	Eqraa	0.79%
	Naseeha	0.79%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**15.69%**
Imam 5	subhanahu w ta'ala	15.00%
	Mansak	10.00%
	Eid	10.00%
	Habasha	5.00%
	Hadith	5.00%
	salla allahu alayhi wa sallam	5.00%
	Wallahi	10.00%
	Suratu	5.00%
	Ummah	5.00%
	Rahimahullah	5.00%
	Fiqh	5.00%
	Madhabs	5.00%
	Tafsir	5.00%
	Makki	5.00%
	imams	5.00%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**2.49%**
Imam 6	subhanahu wa ta'ala	29.17%
	Wudu	17.26%
	salla llahu alayhi wa sallam	13.10%
	Ghusl	5.95%
	Najasa	3.57%
	Ashaitan	2.98%
	Hadath	2.98%
	Subhan Allah	1.79%
	Zakat	1.79%
	Najees	1.79%
	Iman	1.19%
	Alkhamr	1.19%
	Rizq	1.19%
	Aya	1.19%
	Dhikr	1.19%
	Attuhur	1.19%
	Asnam	0.60%
	Shirk	0.60%
	Taher	0.60%
	Kufr	0.60%
	Tajassus	0.60%
	Gheeba	0.60%
	Awathan	0.60%
	Haram	0.60%
	Almaita	0.60%
	Alkhenzeer	0.60%
	Addam	0.60%

	Halal	0.60%
	Attahara	0.60%
	Ummah	0.60%
	jazahuna llahu ana khairaa	0.60%
	radia llahu anha	0.60%
	Haq	0.60%
	Attayammum	0.60%
	Inshallah	0.60%
	Deen	0.60%
	Assalat	0.60%
	Al-Hadathu al-asghar	0.60%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**20.92%**
Imam 7	salla llahu alayhi wa sallam	34.69%
	Hadith	12.24%
	subhanahu wa ta'ala	12.24%
	Deen	6.12%
	Iman	6.12%
	Rahma	4.08%
	Radhiallahu 'anhu	2.04%
	Subhan Allah	2.04%
	Jannah	2.04%
	Astaghfiru Allah wa atubu ilaih	2.04%
	Jahiliyyah	2.04%
	Shahadas	2.04%
	Alamin	2.04%
	Alhamdulillah	2.04%
	Haq	2.04%
	Ummah	2.04%
	Shifaa	2.04%
	Sukun	2.04%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**6.10%**
Imam 8	Khamer	14.77%
	subhanahu wa ta'ala	8.72%
	Haram	8.05%
	Ilm	6.71%
	Rasul	6.04%
	Jannah	4.03%
	Deen	3.36%
	Mosiba	3.36%
	Ebada	3.36%
	Inshallah	3.36%
	Kabah	3.36%
	Aya	2.68%
	Fitan	2.68%
	Hasbia Allah wa ni3ma alwakeel	2.68%
	Ahad	2.01%
	uloom ud deen	2.01%
	Dunya	1.34%
	kaba'ir	1.34%
	Almaysir	1.34%
	Waheed	1.34%
	Khalas	1.34%
	Hadith	1.34%
	intahayna ya rabb	1.34%
	Wallahi	2.01%
	Ulama	1.34%
	Qamra	1.34%
	Sunna	1.34%
	birru al walidayn	1.34%
	Imam	1.34%
	Duaa	1.34%
	Alacher	0.67%
	the rasul salla llahu alayhi wa sallam	5.37%
	ashirku billah	0.67%

	Taqwa	1.34%
	Zina	0.67%
	wal iyadhu billah	0.67%
	Ansab	0.67%
	Azlam	0.67%
	alinssan ibn adam	0.67%
	Riba	0.67%
	Karama	0.67%
	Takreem	0.67%
	Tahreem	0.67%
	radia allahu anhu	0.67%
	Akhlaq	0.67%
	shahwat nafs	0.67%
	Naseeha	0.67%
	Rabi al alamin	0.67%
	Jahal	0.67%
	ummatu alislam	0.67%
	uloom ud dunya	0.67%
	Fiqh	0.67%
	Seerah	0.67%
	Aqeedah	0.67%
	Bismillahi mashallah	0.67%
	ulama of the dawla Al-Abassia	0.67%
	Ummah	0.67%
	Iman	0.67%
	Astaghfiru Allah	0.67%
	Umrah	0.67%
	Alhamdulillah	0.67%
	baytu Allah al haram	0.67%
	Tawaf	0.67%
	sa'I	0.67%
	Adhan	0.67%
	Ikhtilaf	0.67%
	Kareem	0.67%
	Halal	0.67%
	rawdah sharifa	0.67%
	Maghfirah	0.67%
	Rahma	0.67%
	asirat al mustaqeem	0.67%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**18.56%**
Imam 9	salla allahu alayhi w sallam	28.57%
	subhanahu w ta'ala	17.86%
	Khutbah	10.71%
	Alamin	10.71%
	Rahma	10.71%
	Subhan Allah	10.71%
	Hijab	10.71%
	Aya	3.57%
	Hadith	3.57%
	Sunnas	3.57%
	Tawefeeq	3.57%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**3.49%**
Imam 10	Nafs	21.28%
	Hadith	12.77%
	salla llahu alayhi wa sallam	12.77%
	Arrouh	6.38%
	Nabi	6.38%
	Jannah	4.26%
	Khutbah	4.26%
	Alammarah bialsawe	2.13%
	Allawamah	2.13%
	Almotmaennah	2.13%
	Taala	2.13%

	Sunna	2.13%
	Ayats	2.13%
	Sahabah	2.13%
	Nur	2.13%
	Ayatul Birr	2.13%
	Muttaqeen	2.13%
	Inshallah	2.13%
	Tawakkul	2.13%
	Iman	2.13%
	Firdaws	2.13%
	Barakah	2.13%
	Total	**100%**
	Percent among all sermons	**5.85%**

	Most frequent Arabic words used among all data set	Percentage
1	salla llahu alayhi wa sallam	12.33%
2	subhanahu w ta'ala	12.08%
3	Shaitan	5.60%
4	Ummah	3.74%
5	Hadith	3.61%
6	Jannah	2.37%
7	Iman	1.62%
8	Deen	1.37%

	Most frequent Arabic words used among the sermons	Percentage
1	Hadith	100%
2	salla llahu alayhi wa sallam	100%
3	Aya	90%
4	Iman	80%
5	Ummah	80%
6	Jannah	70%
7	Shaitan	50%
8	Deen	50%
9	subhanahu w ta'ala	40%
10	Sunna	40%
11	Subhan Allah	40%

Appendix L: Analysis of imam's interview

[handwritten annotations: "equivalence", "awareness", "authority + authenticity", "same", "clarify"]

Rahmah has more depth in the meaning and it goes wider than that. So, when we think about those words like Al-Ameen (the trustworthy), but the idea of (AL) the definite article been stated it is lost in the English translation. Somebody is trustworthy, you know it doesn't have the same depth of saying somebody is (Ameen) and then saying (Al-Ameen).

Ali: Ok can we say then that sometimes there is no accurate equivalent in English for some Arabic words?

P7: Yes.

Ali: We can say this?

A7: Definitely, yeah. *[handwritten: "agreement"]*

Ali: (tayeb) and are you aware that some of the audience are non-Arabic speakers and especially they only know English, so are you considering these people when you say (rahmah) or because as you mentioned, you are assuming that the already know these terms? How about for example the new converts? *[handwritten: "accommodating", "multi backgro", "familiarity"]*

[handwritten: "Imans awareness"]

P7: I think what I try to do is that I do say like, I don't know if I did in this particular instance but let's say I said it...

Ali: Let's talk about in general.

Ali: In general, if I say the prophet (salla lahu alayhi wa salam) (The trustworthy one), (Al-Ameen). So, I will say the two things, yeah, and I will try to ensure to do them that way so if you miss the Arabic, you will get the English anyway. If that makes sense. *[handwritten: "accommodation", "default"]*

[handwritten: "delivering Bilingual Sermon"]

Ali: (tayeb) and what do you think about using Arabic together with English in the (khutbah), in general? *[handwritten: "equivalence"]*

A7: In general?

Ali: Yes, are you like supporting this behaviour or maybe you are a bit reluctant, not to include Arabic?

[handwritten: "Positive attitude"]

P7: The only reluctance I have with including Arabic is elements of (Tajweed), pronunciation properly. I have elements of this interpretation which takes me a lot of concentration to read Arabic. If I was to read every Hadith in Arabic and Quranic (Ayas) in Arabic then I need effort and concentration to do that. I would be adding a huge amount to be delivering the (khutbah). *[handwritten: "time stress", "same"]*

[handwritten: "agreement"]

Ali: So, the time limit? *[handwritten: "same"]*

P7: Yeah, and the flow. My natural flow because English is my natural language, it's easier for me to read the translation and meaning of and go with that because if I spend all that time going through that, yes it a time restriction and also does a flow because my tongue doesn't naturally flow so it becomes difficult. *[handwritten: "subt"]*

Ali: I see. (tayeb) I noticed that, unlike most of the (khateebs), you are not quoting the verses from the Quran and Prophet's sayings in Arabic first then in English, you say them only straight away in English, is there a reason behind this?

Appendix M: Analysis of audience's interview

[handwritten top: exposure to arabic]

[handwritten left: other factors]

A6: I think just from hearing them a lot from people saying them. Like the first time when I came to (khutbah), I didn't understand any of the terms. But I learned them from hearing them a lot like in the context. Like he says it in Arabic first then he says it in English afterwards. When they say (Rahma) then mercy, I understand that that what it means. *[handwritten: — familiarity]*

Ali: Can we say, maybe, that the (khutbah) was one of these platforms that you have been exposed to some Arabic vocabulary and then you learned them through the (khutbah)?

A6: Yeah, definitely. *[handwritten: learning platform]*

[handwritten left: exposing the audience]

Ali: What effect do you think that the (khateeb) is trying to achieve by using Arabic in the (khutbah)?

A6: I think to make people aware of the Arabic terms that he used and their English equivalent so that they can learn them and understand them. *[handwritten: support exposure]* *[handwritten: learning outcome]*

[handwritten left: Imans awareness to their audience]

Ali: You are speaking now for the non-Arabic speakers, yeah?

A6: Yeah. Yeah for non-Arabic speakers. And then for the Arabic speakers, they can understand what is been said because they may not understand in English but if they hear Rahmah, Al-Alameen they know what's been said. *[handwritten: → accommodation]*

Ali: (tayeb) and do you think it would make any difference for you if, for example, he would say (rahma) and then would translate it to mercy or maybe he would just stick to one, either Arabic or English? Does it make any difference for you?

[handwritten left: Positive attitude]

A6: Personally no, but I prefer hearing the Arabic then English because then I learn more as well. *[handwritten: learning outcome]*

Ali: (Tyaeb) and, maybe you did mention something about it. Maybe you can elaborate on this. Do you think that there are particular reasons, which may encourage or sometimes even discourage the use of Arabic or the inclusion of Arabic in the (khutbah)? *[handwritten: learning]*

[handwritten left: authority + authenticity; reluctant audience; awareness]

A6: I think some good reasons would be so people, like, learn what the Quran saying or what prophet said in the actual Arabic terms because sometimes the English equivalent isn't the same. A good thing may be Arab audience can understand. A bad thing is that the native speaker may get confused with speaking some Arabic and some English so they may miss what's been said. And if someone is new and when hearing the (khutbah) they may get confused or worried about what's been said. Well I mean he's English and he says something in Arabic, I don't know what it means. *[handwritten: excusable]*

Ali: Regarding to the quotations from the Quran and the verses from the (Hadith), do you agree that they should be said in Arabic and then in English or maybe it doesn't matter whether to say it in Arabic or in English? *[handwritten: Priority; Positive attitude; sanctity of Arabic]*

[handwritten left: acceptance]

A6: I think it's ok to just say it in English but I think it is better to say it in Arabic if you can. But it's ok; it's fine if you say it in English because the majority of people who are listening only speak English. *[handwritten: awareness]*

Ali: Don't you think that sometimes it doesn't make any sense and maybe it would be time consuming for using Arabic?