

Analysis of Diglossia in Preachers Speech

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Received: 1/11/2010 ; Accepted: 26/12/2010

Abstract:

Diglossia phenomenon has attracted the attention of many linguists since long ago. This study is interested in investigating this phenomenon in religious discourse, viz .a number of Friday preachers speeches in the city of Mosul .The study provides evidence indicating the existence of the transition from Classical Arabic to the vernacular (colloquial) in several aspects of the language by analyzing a sample of preaches at various levels of language such as : lexical ,grammar, and phonology.

The preachers speeches have been characterized by switching from Classical Arabic to colloquial dialect . This can be attributed to some reasons including : the transition for clarification , confirmation , telling a story or to deliver a message to a large number of audience in a simplified form of language .

It has been found that preachers have transferred to colloquial Arabic for purposes of accuracy to avoid any ambiguity , explain difficult vocabulary , and provide some advice by telling proverbs.

تحليل الانتقال اللغوي من الفصحى إلى اللهجة العامية لخطب الجمعة

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ملخص البحث :

جذبت ظاهرة الانتقال اللغوي على مستوى اللغة الواحدة اهتمام الكثير من اللغويين منذ زمن طويل. وقد تم دراسة هذه الظاهرة في الخطاب الديني فيما يتعلق بخطب الجمعة لعدد من الخطباء في مدينة الموصل. إن هذه الدراسة قدمت أدلة على وجود ظاهرة الانتقال من اللغة العربية الفصحى إلى اللهجة العامية في عدة جوانب من اللغة وذلك من خلال تحليل مجموعته من خطب الجمعة ضمن مستويات لغوية مختلفة منها : مفردات لغوية و نحوية وصوتية .

اتسم حديث الخطباء بالانتقال اللغوي من الفصحى إلى العامية ويمكن أن نعزو ذلك لأسباب عديدة أهمها : الانتقال لأجل التوضيح و التأكيد أو سرد قصة معينة أو لإيصال الرسالة لأكبر عدد ممكن من الحضور بطريقة سهلة ومبسطة .

وتبين الدراسة بان انتقال الخطاب إلى اللهجة العامية كان لإغراض عدة منها : ألقه و تجنب الغموض في نقل الرسالة وبيان المفردات اللغوية الصعبة وتقديم النصائح وضرب الأمثال .

1- Introduction:

Language is a part of culture . It is an aspect of human behavior, and an acquired habit of systematic vocal activity with meaning derived from human experiences. As a system ,language operates in set of patterns which function on three closed levels, viz. vocabulary, grammar and phonology (Nasr,1963:1-2).

Accordingly , language has different kinds of varieties used by people in a society to perform various functions on the one hand. On the other hand a variety of language is a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution. Every language has its own rules and systems which differ particularly or completely from one language to another(Hudson , 1980 :24).

AS for Blau (1977, cited in kaye , 2001 : 123), asserts that Qurān is the most instrumental factor leading to the preservation of the classical language in a frozen state , while its contemporary spoken dialects continue to change, as all living languages do.The most Classical Arabic (hence forth, CLA) today is, as has always been the case, the language of the Qurān . It is considered to be the modal of SA. Therefore , Myhill (2009 : 3) argues that Classical language and the spoken vernacular are understood to be versions of the same language.

Moreover , CLA is distinguished by its vitality ,special letters and rhetoric. The kind of link between CLA and religion is not available in such relations (the relation between Qurān and Arabic letters). All the languages of the world have a classical version in addition to dialects that arise according to specific patterns determined by some geographical factors , history, and the contact with neighboring languages.

As regards colloquial language with its historical , practical context, it doesn't form a destruction, because it has its own contexts and uses.

Colloquial Arabic (hence forth, CA) will never replace CLA . The former only formulates the popular version of the latter. Using colloquial language ,in general, is effective as using the classical one , since all prophets used the language of their own people in order to clarify things.

2- Aims of the study:

In order to provide a clear picture of diglossia in Arabic and how it occurs, this study aims at answering the following questions:

- 1-What is diglossia ?
- 2-When ,where and why do preachers use colloquial language in their speeches? (religious discourse)
- 3-What are the linguistic features of CLA and CA in Fridays preaches ?
- 4-What is the influence of diglossia on religious speeches?

3- Hypotheses:

The present study hypothesized that:

- 1- CLA phonology is different from CA phonology.
- 2-CA is used to avoid ambiguity and to help the dialogue to be more direct.
- 3-CA lacks written grammar.
- 4-The subject of the preaching has a vital role in diglossia.

4-Limits of the study:

This study is limited to analyzing diglossia in ten recorded preaches , investigating the linguistic features(lexical, grammatical and

phonological features) of CLA and CA. Since, Iraq has different dialects based on regional variation, this study focuses on CA. The present study also sheds light on the different states of language change and observes where , when and why do preachers use CA .

5- Data Collection:

This study deals with diglossia in some selected, recorded Friday preaches from different local Mosques in Mosul city examining the shift from CLA to CA and focusing on the linguistic features. The length of each tape – recording is approximately 20 to 35 minutes . The data were collected by using a small tape –recorder and a mobile phone.

6-Value of the study:

The significance of this study lies in that:

- 1- it presents a clear picture of diglossia in religious discourse ,
- 2- it enables us to specify the linguistic features of CLA and CA in religious discourse,
- 3-the study is of interest to researchers, linguists, and sociolinguists in general, because it can help them to understand how CA is used and works in religious speeches.

7-The concept of diglossia:

The term" dialossia" is first used by Ferguson (1959, cited in Hudson,1980:54), as a relatively stable language situation in which , in addition to the primary dialect of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent , highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature , either of an earlier period or in another speech community , which is learned largely by formal

education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Gumperz (1976, cited in Hudson ,1980 : 57),distinguishes between conversational code-switching and situational code-switching(which he calls diglossia). In the latter type , each point of switching corresponds to a change in the situation ; such change in the situation is not there in the former type of code-switching , nor is there any change in the topic which might lead to metaphorical code-switching. The aim simply is to produce instances of the two varieties in some given say roughly equal proportion. This balance may be achieved by expressing one sentence in one variety and the next one in the other and so on , but it is equally possible for the two varieties to be used in different parts of a single sentence.

Furthermore, Ferguson , (1964,cited in kaye,2001: 123) , argues that high (Classical)language is a propose for all sorts of letters, speech ,university lectures , news broadcast , and poetry , whereas low (dialect , colloquial) is appropriate when talking to servants, waiters, clerks and workmen conversing with family colleagues and friends , and in soap operas and folk literature. Farwaneh (2007 :1) has the same idea of high and low varieties of the same language , but with complementary and sometimes competing functions and domains (see also Gramely, 2008: 315).

Such diglossia is a special case of sharp functional differentiation of registers in which the high variety or sets of varieties, is nobody's mother tongue(Hudson,2002:7).This goes in line with the way Ure (1982, cited in Hudson ,2002:7), treats diglossia. He says that diglossia is a special case of separate sets of registers " in which the market set ... is not the mother tongue of any community" .

In this realm of thinking , Mearthur (2009:2) adds that diglossia is a term in sociolinguistics for the use of two varieties of a language for different purposes in the same community.

The varieties are called (high) and (low) , the first being generally a standard variety used for high purposes and the second often a low spoken vernacular. Then, the most important hallmark of diglossia is specializations ,(high) being appropriate in one set of situations, (low) in another . Reading a newspaper a loud is (high), but discussing its contents in (low) functions generally reserved for (high) include sermons , political speeches...etc. The varieties differ not only in vocabulary ,grammar and phonology but also with respect to function , prestige, acquisition, standardization and stability. (low) is typically acquired at home as a mother tongue and continues to be used through life .(high) on the other hand, is learned through school and never at home (ibid.)

8- Definition of related terms:

Code-switching: is defined as the practice of selecting or altering linguistic elements so as to contextualize talk in interaction . This contextualization may relate to local discourse practices , such as turn selection or various forms of bracketing or it may make relevant information beyond the current exchange, including knowledge of society and diverse identities (Nilep, 2006:1).

Dialect: refers to a variety of language which is different from others not just in pronunciation but also in such matters as vocabulary , grammar, and order (Roach, 1991: 4).

Accent : is a language pronounced differently by people from different social classes of different ages and different education backgrounds (ibid.).

Vernacular: is commonly bears in everyday usage to refer , not only to non –standard dialects of the same language , but also to genetically unrelated dialects which stand in the same functional relationship to the standard in certain countries as genetically related non - standard dialects do in others (Lyons , 1981:276).

9- Previous studies:

Most of the previous studies conducted on code switching focus on the switch from Arabic to another language or vice versa. This study , however, focuses on diglossia and language variation from CLA to CA in preaches. In this section, the researcher tries to present an account of some studies that have dealt with diglossia.

Saiegh's study (2003) offered a conceptual framework of diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, and discusses the defining features of a diglossia context. It then describes Arabic as a typical diglossia context with emphasis on two features : linguistic gab between spoken Arabic and SA in all domains of language sociofunctional complementarily between the two linguistic codes , with spoken Arabic being the language that all children who are native speakers of Arabic acquire as a mother tongue and SA being the language of literacy. It is argued that these features have a direct impact on the acquisition of basic reading processes in Arabic . It is concluded that diaglossia does not support the natural acquisition of basic reading processes in Arabic.

Likewise , Palmer's study (2007) found that the results from a recent survey show that student learning Arabic in the United States want to learn spoken varieties, despite a lack of support from their teachers. Spoken Arabic is often stigmatized as a less prestigious variety of Arabic, even though it is the language of choice for day – to day communication

for Arabic native speakers. Knowledge of a spoken variety of Arabic is essential for students who hope to integrate into the general paper argues that Arabic programs throughout the United States should integrate the teaching of spoken Arabic into their curricula to accommodate student wants and needs.

In a similar vein , Sabir and Sabah (2008) state that diglossia switching in the speech of adult Arabic speakers has been noted before. The phenomenon has not been observed before in the speech of preschoolers who have not been exposed to the high variety of Arabic through formal education .The study provides evidence of diglossia code switching from the speech of a (5- 6) month old child who seems to code-switching freely between the high variety or modern SA and the variety or Hejazi dialect of Arabic . The child code - switching appears to be rule – governed and show complete adherence to the equivalence constraint reflecting an underlying competence of the syntactic structures of both varieties at a very young age . Additionally, the analysis reveals that verbs are the most frequently mixed linguistic items despite the fact that they are most semantically and syntactically complex in the sentence .

10- Text Analysis and Procedure:

Diglossia is an everyday phenomenon which people all over the world participate in with enormous frequency . It is the way people talk to each other (Gramley , 2008:313).

As mentioned earlier , focus will be placed upon the description of diglossia in Friday preaches depending on the analysis of the data and emphasizing the linguistic features , viz. the lexical, grammatical , and phonological features . The main purpose behind choosing preaches is to explore when , where and why preachers use diglossia in their speeches.

For this reason , ten preaches have been tape - recorded , translated , transcribed , and analyzed within the frame of analysis.

The analysis of the data will be divided into three axes. The first one tackles the grammatical features of the data . The second is centered around the phonological features , while the third handles the lexical features . It should be noted that the excerpts taken from the preaches will be marked by inverted commas since they represent the direct speech of the preacher . Moreover , the instance of diglossia will be highlighted by typing them in bold font , and are followed , then , by a transliteration of the segment of speech in which diglossia occurs together with an explanation of it .For the sake of clarification, the researcher will include, in what follows, a list of the transliteration symbols that have been used in the analysis of the data.

Transliteration symbols

The following are the Transliteration symbols that have been used in the present study :

Consonants :

?	الهمزة	?ana:	I
B	ب	be:t	house
t	ت	tama:m	right
<u>t</u>	ث	<u>to:b</u>	rob
j	ج	jamal	camel
tS	ض	tSbir	big
h	ح	hali:b	milk
<u>h</u>	خ	<u>he:t</u>	thread
d	د	dakto:r	doctor
<u>d</u>	ذ	<u>dahab</u>	gold
r	ر	rabb	god
z	ز	ze:t	oil
s	س	sin	tooth
š	ش	šams	sun
ş	ص	şahn	dish
d	ض	dami:r	conscience
t	ط	tabi:b	doctor
z	ظ	mhzu:z	lucky
?	ع	?i:d	feast
g	غ	ga:?ib	absent
f	ف	fii	In
q	ق	quran	quran
k	ك	kita:b	book
g	ك	go:l	goal
l	ل	?alla:h	god
m	م	?umm	mother
n	ن	na:s	People
h	هـ	huwa	he
w	و	walad	boy
y	ي	yo:m	day

Vowels:

Short			
A	الفتحة	dahab	gold
I	الكسرة	kita:b	book
U	الضمة	?umm	mother
Long			
a:	أ	na:r	fire
i:	ي	fi:l	elephant
u:	بوق	bu:q	trumpet
o:	يوم	yo:m	day
e:	عين	?e:n	eye

Table of Arabic alphabet phonetic transliteration standard.

Encyclopedia of the Middle East Arabic (2007:2).

10-1 Grammar :

1- *Preacher*: "We are looking forward to your help as much as you could; the prophe Muhammad (peace be upon him) said: protect yourself from the fire (of hell) even **by** a half of a date ".

CLA: [Itaqu alnara walw **bi** šiқи tamrah]

CA: [Itaqu alnara walw **fii** šiқи tamrah]

This example presents the use of one preposition instead of another . The preacher used **fii** (by) in one context and he has reported it in another context differently from the aforementioned one **bi** (by). The preacher changed **bi** into **fii**, while the use of **bi** is more formal than **fii**.

2- *Preacher* : " Everyone has the ability to pay a thousand or two thousand dinars... what if you have a guest and you **offer** him food ".

CLA: [Qaddammta lahu]

CA: [Qaddmtlu]

In this example , the CA integrated the verb with the pronoun (lahu) (to him) and it has lost the final (a) from the verb (qaddamta)(offered) ,replacing the pronoun (hu) by (u).

3- Preacher : *"Giving something is for yourself as the prophet*

Muhammad (peace be upon him) said:No money is decreased because of charity".

CLA: [ʔalladii yuqadim]

CA: [Alyqadim]

We note, in this example that in CLA the grammatical marker, viz. the relative- pronoun (ʔalladii) , is separated from the verb ,while in CA this pronoun is integrated with the verb and the letters (dii) are dropped, and(ʔalladii) is changed into (Aly).

Negation in CLA is achieved by using the Arabic markers [lam], [laisa],[ma],[sawfa la](Al-Ghalyani,2005:390-396). While in CA the negation markers used are [ma], [la], [wala],[maku].From the data , it is clear that preachers use [ma + verb] more frequently in their speeches .The following are examples of this case :

4- Preacher - *"The money you are collecting, for example, two hundred and fifty dinars do not worth anything".*

CLA: [La tusawi šay]

CA: [Ma swi ši]

The above example shows that negation in CLA is different from CA. In CLA the negation is realized by [la], while in CA the verb is negated by the marker [ma] and the verb is pronounced without zamma (u) and fatha (a).

5- Preacher : "If someone doesnot have the ability he is free to pay or not".

CLA: [ʔalladii ma ʔ ndahu:]

CA: [Illi ma ʔndu:]

In these examples,the preacher sometimes mixes negation in both varieties and sometimes negates a sentence using both CLA and CA negation marker at the same time . The relative pronoun (ʔalladii) is changed into (Illi)and (a), (h) are dropped from the CLA verb (ʔ ndahu:).

CLA: [Ma ʔalyhi haraj]

CA: [Maʔalyy haraj]

In this example , we note that the preacher used the same negation marker [ma] in CLA and CA ,but in CA the marker [ma] is integrated with (ʔalyhi) and pronounced as one word in CA (Maʔalyy).

6- Preacher: "Each one has the ability to pay a thousand, two thousand dinars or five thousand dinars ... **this does not have an affect on your budget "**.

CLA: [Ma tadurruka]

CA : [Ma tdurrak] **11**

We could see from this example that the same negative marker [ma] used in both CLA and CA , but the verb changed . The CLA verb (tadurruka) as an accusative case (nasb) has lost Al-fatha (a) in the CA pronunciation (tdurrak).

7- Preacher: "The prophet Muhammad(peace be upon him) said: money is not decreased by charity . The preacher : I mean that money **is not decreased** by alms , on the contrary it is increased".

CLA: [Ma tanqisu]

CA: [Ma tinqis]

This example shows that the verb in CLA(tanqisu) has lost Al-zamma(u) as a nominative case (rafʿ) at the end of the word and is replaced by Al-sku:n in CA(tinqis).

In the above examples (4-7), the preachers used the CLA negative marker (ma+v) and followed it by an CLA negation in another situation . They gave the negation in CLA and then gave it in CA to enhance the interaction with the audience. The diglossic switch is rule- governed. The negative particle [ma] is usually followed by a verb in the CA . In these examples, a basic difference between CLA and CA is the declension(?iʿraab) which exists in the former . (?iʿraab) is the case endings of the words in the sentence , which indicate the syntactic functions of particular words . CLA has three grammatical cases. These cases are: nominative (rafʿ) vowelled with zamma , accusative(nasb) vowelled with fatha, and genitive (d3arr) vowelled with kasrah. In CA, preachers always show the dropping of these cases and replacing them with Al-sku:n.

8- Preacher: *"Now in the western world, if a Person becomes fifteen years old S/he will leave his parents .Preacher , I mean : S/he does not know his father and mother"*.

CLA: [Ma ya ʿrifu aba:hu wala ? u:mmahu]

CA: [la ya ʿrf abu: wala ya ʿrf u:mu:]

It is clear from the above example that the preacher used the negative marker in CLA, (ma+v) and (wala+n) , but he reported it in CA (la+v) and (wala+v).

9-Preacher: "None of us is perfect, isn't it ?".

CLA: [La yu:jad ? insan kamil ma]

CA: [Maku ?insan kamil mu:]

In this example ,the CLA negative marker [la] replaced in CA by the negative marker [maku] (there is no) . This does not change the meaning of the sentence and the sentence ends by the negator [mu:] ,(isn't it). This negator is a variation of [ma], it's function in the sentence is the negator (mu: kamil).

10-2 Phonology :

Segmental features in CLA and CA include consonants and vowels . The purpose of this section is to show a phonological analysis of CLA and CA in order to spot the areas in which diglossia occurs.

10- Preacher : *"We are looking forward to your help as much as you can and the prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said : beware hell .. we need **a big** generator in the mosque".*

[kabirah→ tSbirah]

This example shows that CA has lost the Alveo- palatal fricative phoneme/ k / which is known as the letter [kaaf] .The / k / is realized in CA as the / tS/

11-preacher : *"If someone is not **able** to pay , there will be no harm "*.

[Yaqdar→ yigdar]

The pharyngeal stop /q / in CLA is replaced by the / g / in CA.

12- Preacher : *"... **Suppose you have** a guest "* .

[d3a? aka → d3aka → comes to you]

The glottal stop / ʔ / and a short vowel / a / in CLA are omitted in CA which leads to a change in the pronunciation of the word.

CLA has three short vowels / a / , / i / , and / u / and three long ones / a : / , / i : / , / u : / , in addition, CA has two more vowels / o : / and / e : / . All these vowels exist in CA also. Preachers, however, switch in their speeches from / u : / → / i : / and / i / → / i : / . Let's consider the following examples:

13-Preacher : " *Only **twenty** days are left for Ramadan to begin*".

[ʔ šru:n → ʔ šri:n → twenty]

This example shows that long vowel / u : / in CLA is replaced by long / i : / in CA.

14-Preacher: " *The money you are collecting ,viz. **two hundred and fifty dinars** worth nothing*" .

[Miʔtan wa ḥamsu:n dina:r] → [mitinuḥamsi:n dina:r]

In this example , we found that in CA the number(250) is read and pronounced as one word; it is integrated in one word and omitting the glottal stop / ʔ /

(hamza) from the classical word miʔtan and changing the conjunction (wa) (and) into colloquial conjunction (u), replacing the long vowel / u : / in ḥamsu:n by long / i : / .

15-Preacher : " *Everybody pays **fifty hundred dinars***" .

[Ḥamsa miʔt dina:r] → [ḥams mi:t dina:r] → [fifty hundred dinars] .

In this example , the final short vowel / a / is omitted from (ḥamsa) and the glottal stop / ʔ / is omitted from (miʔt dinar) (hundred) and the short vowel / i / is changed into long vowel / i : / to get [ḥamsa mi:t dina:r]

16-Preacher :" Osama bin Zaid said : I swear to God I wish I were Muslim in that day (reference to the day in which he became Muslim), because Islam is the religion of forgiveness ... I wish I became Muslim only **today**

[Al yawma] → [(colloquial) Alyo:m] →[today]

A given word might pronounced differently at various levels. The same lexeme may be pronounced in two different forms ,one is in the CLA and the other is in a CA . It can be said that CA has informal renderings of the CLA vocabulary .See the following example:

17-Preacher:"*He does not know **his father and mother***".

[?aba:hu]→ [abu:] →[his father]

[?u:mmahu] →[?u:mu:] → [his mother]

The example analyzed so far reveals that in the phonemic system of CA, there is dropping of /h/ in the pronunciation of vowels.

10-3 Lexical features:

Preachers sometimes use colloquial words (lexemes) instead of Classical Arabic words , it is the different vocabulary items in particular that instantaneously mark a speaker as using Classical or Colloquial Arabic .The following are examples of this phenomenon :

18-Preacher: "*A western doctor said: that old women and men , in the west, sit for long hours at home alone and crying . The doctor said : I pitied one of those women when she was dying and the doctor was looking for her son and after long time he found him and he told him that his mother is waiting for him...so **go** and see your mother...*".

[ʔidhab] → [ru:h] → [go]

(ru:h) is the very widespread vernacular of (ʔidhab) (go). It is the utilization of the former that would be interpreted by a speaker as symbol of CA, whereas the use of the latter would be indicative of the CLA.

19-Preacher : *"Ali bin Abi Talib(may Allah be pleased with him) said: people are divided into three categories ... and you must not be among the last type, because if you are one of them, then you will blame no one but yourself, because let's say it informally : **anarchic people**".*

[Na:s Fawda] → [Na:s Hosa tarbagah] → [people who are anarchic].

This example shows that the preacher switched into CA for the purpose of explaining vocabulary [Fawda] (anarchy), and to address a wider audience by means of using easier language.

20-Preacher : *"Since his mother gave birth to him and until he is **old**".*

[ʔ aju:z] → [šayib] → [old]

The preacher in this example changed the CLA word (ʔ aju:z) into a CA word (šayib), very often the same lexeme may be pronounced in two ways one is the CLA and another is a given dialect CA.

21- Preacher : *" A person, in our society, told me that he has a single son. This son was given everything he wants from his father. This father was wondering **what else his son was in need ? !**".*

[Maadaa yuri:d] → [ʔeeš yri:d] → [what he wants]

We see in this example the use of the expression (?eešyri:d) (what he wants) is not only limited to the unreal interrogative , but that it is also used to convey the impression of an exclamation .

10-3-1 Lexical Borrowing:

CA is characterized by simplification as opposed to CLA which is regarded as more conservative. CA has been influenced by other languages. This characteristic makes it more flexible towards adding more words to its vocabulary . This means that CA leads to code-switching , speaking in one language or dialect but using words from another and borrowing words from one language into the lexicon of another language . The following are some words mentioned by preachers through their speeches , the origin of these words is neither CLA nor CA , but are used in CA instead of classical words. What follows are some illustrative examples:

22-Preachers : " let me remind you of several things , the first thing is about the issue of selling oil and it's prohibition . This seller may cooperate with the owner of the **station** or with someone else... one of the people takes a **tank** then sits down in the street and sells" .

[Maht̪h] → [panzinh̪anah] → [station] .

[Haza:n] → [tanker] → [tanker] .

23-Preacher : "...The other issue is people who make fun of Muslims , those who are sitting in the markets and in **coffee shops** ... they should fear God in themselves those who make fun of the **Islamic robe** or beard ...".

[To:b] → [dišdašah]→[Islamic garment (robe)]

[Maqha→[tSeihanah] → [café]

24- Preacher : *"... The doctor said : I pitied one of those women when she was dying and the doctor was looking for her son and after long time he found him and he told him that his mother is waiting for him...so go and see your mother, he approved and then changed his mind and **phoned** her telling her : I cannot come" .*

[Hatif] →[talifo:n] →[telephone]

25-Preacher : *" what is the role of the father at home with his children. **Mobiles** are the great disaster , seven years old boy carries a **cell phone** with a digital **Camera**".*

[Jawwa:l] → [mobile →[mobile]

[Altaswi:r] → [kamira]→ [camera]

11- Conclusions:

The following are the main conclusions of the present study:

1. It has been observed that preachers switch from CLA into CA to convey their preaches in a more simplified language and to address a wider audience by means of a simpler and easier language variety . We also conclude that a change in the language may serve to clarify or emphasize some part of a message.
2. Preachers use CA when they tell proverbs , and stories . These two elements are the effective means of attracting the audience attention to the religious discourse and keeping them awake; in addition to being closely linked to our culture .

3. It has been concluded that diglossia is used to provide continuity in speech rather than presenting an interference in language .
4. The majority of switches occurred at the lexical level.
5. People can acquire knowledge through their dialect, i.e. acquiring knowledge through CA is easier , because the audience is from different classes and people have more control and less constraints on their use of CA .
6. It has been found that CA is influenced by other languages . This characteristic makes CA flexible towards adding more words to its vocabulary.
7. The analysis shows that preachers shifted to CA for purposes of accuracy to avoid any ambiguity ,provide emphasis , explain difficult vocabulary, and provide advices .
8. It has been found that preachers sometimes used situational shifting between CLA and CA. The latter is considered a complement of the former . Using CA together with CLA has a great effect on the audience and this reflects the ability of it's user, in this study preachers, to stir particular emotional reaction in the audience .
9. Some preachers switch from Classical language to colloquial because they are inefficient in Arabic to communicate fluently .

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