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**Diglossic Code-Switching between Standard
Arabic and Najdi Arabic in Religious Discourse**

By

Majedah Abdullah Alaiyed

Thesis submitted to the University of Durham for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the School of Modern Languages and Cultures

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Abstract

This study investigates the linguistic structural constraints of diglossic intra-sentential code-switching between Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic in religious speeches by six Saudi preachers: three males and three females. To analyse the data, both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis are used. In accounting for the structural constraints found in the diglossic intra-sentential code-switching, diglossic variants of four linguistic variables are considered: negation, relative pronouns, demonstratives and future particles.

This study shows that both male and female preachers switched from one variety to the other across sentence boundaries and within the same sentence. This process does not proceed randomly but is instead governed by particular principles. In the case of Standard Arabic variants of the four variables investigated, where Standard Arabic is the non-dominant variety, diglossic code-switching is restricted as its variants are found to co-occur mostly only with Standard Arabic or neutral lexis. On the other hand, in the case of Najdi Arabic, which is considered the dominant variety, Najdi Arabic variants are found to co-exist with both Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic as well as neutral lexis. The study supports the validity of the ‘dominant language hypothesis’ proposed by Petersen (1988) and the word-internal mixing constraints. It also partially supports Eid’s (1982, 1988) constraints. The directionality and the contradictory effect constraints are shown to be relevant to the data. Moreover, the study demonstrates the validity of the triggering hypothesis (Clyne, 2003) and the neutralization site hypothesis (Clyne, 1987) for analysing diglossic code-switching.

The study makes a number of contributions to the field of sociolinguistics and code-switching in particular. Firstly, it adds to sociolinguistic knowledge on Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic spoken in Saudi Arabia. Secondly, to date there is only limited knowledge about the mixed speech of educated speakers in Saudi Arabia. The current study shows in detail how this mixed speech is derived, with the analysis of the four key variables; and it argues that the process is one of diglossic intra-sentential code-switching. Focusing on religious preachers’ extemporaneous monologues therefore helps to fill this research gap. Thirdly, previous studies of religious speeches have focused only on male preachers, and previous studies of Saudi Arabic have disproportionately investigated the speech of men. Given the gender segregation of this speech context, and the sociolinguistic studies of Arabic showing some gender variation (Walters, 1991; Daher, 1998, 1999; Al-Wer, 1999), there is a question over whether there may be gender variation in code-switching in religious speeches in segregated speech contexts. By analysing the code-switching of both male and female preachers, this study makes an original contribution by demonstrating that there is no obvious correlation between gender and any variation in code-switching in this religious speech context in this corpus of data. Fourthly, this study contains original data which has not been previously published or analysed.

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Abbreviations of terms

ACC	accusative
CA	Classical Arabic
DEM	demonstrative
DP	Determiner phrase
EA	Egyptian Arabic
ECA	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic
F	feminine grammatical gender
FUT	future/future particles
GEN	genitive
H	High
IMP	imperative form
IND	indicative mood
INDF	indefinite
IPF	imperfect form
JUSS	jussive mood
L	Low
M	masculine grammatical gender
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NA	Najdi Arabic
NEG	negative particle/negation
NOM	nominative
NP	nominal predicate
OA	Old Arabic

PASS	passive
PF	perfect (form of the verb)
PL	plural
Prep	preposition
REL	relative pronoun/relative
SA	Standard Arabic
SBJV	subjunctive mood
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject
1, 2, 3	first, second, third grammatical person
*	not grammatically acceptable
∅	zero affix

Glossing system

A gloss line is placed directly under the transliterated Arabic words which they correspond to. Morphemes are separated by hyphens, both in the example and in the gloss. In glossing the imperfect, perfect and imperative form of verbs, Holes' (2004) system is followed. In this sense, imperfect verbs are glossed with a present-tense English gloss preceded by the inflections for person, number and gender. For example, the verb *ya-qūl-u* is glossed as 3SG.M-say.IPF-IND. In the case of perfect verbs, the inflection is placed after the verb. They are glossed with past-tense English glosses of their meanings followed by the inflections for person, number and gender; for example, *qāl-a* will be glossed as: said.PF-3SG.M. Imperative verbs are glossed with an English imperative gloss to indicate their meanings followed by the specification of person, number and gender; for example, *qul-Ø* will be glossed as say.IMP-3SG.M.

Phoneme inventory and symbols for transcription

I- Consonants

b	ب	voiced bilabial plosive	
m	م	bilabial nasal	
w	و	bilabial semi-vowel/glide	
f	ف	voiceless labiodental fricative	
t	ت	voiceless dental plosive	
d	د	voiced dental plosive	
r	ر	dental vibrant	
z	ز	voiced dental sibilant	
s	س	voiceless dental sibilant	
l	ل	dental lateral	
n	ن	dental nasal	
θ	ث	voiceless interdental fricative	
ð	ذ	voiced interdental fricative	
ħ	ح	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	
ʂ	ص	pharyngealized voiceless alveolar fricative	
ɖ	ض	pharyngealized voiced dental plosive	SA
ɟ	ط	pharyngealized voiceless dental plosive	
ʐ	ظ	pharyngealized voiced interdental fricative	
y	ي	palatal semi-vowel/glide	
j	ج	palato-alveolar affricate	
ʃ	ش	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative	
g	ق	voiced velar plosive	NA
k	ك	voiceless velar plosive	
x	خ	voiceless uvular fricative	
ɣ	غ	voiced uvular fricative	
q	ق	voiced uvular plosive	
ʕ	ع	voiced pharyngeal continuant	
ʔ	ء	unvoiced glottal plosive (<i>hamza</i> : Arab grammarians' term for the glottal stop)	SA
h	هـ	voiceless glottal fricative	
ç	تسا	results from the fronting of /k/ in Najdi Arabic	NA

II- Vowels

SA		NA	
Short	Long	Short	Long
a	ā	a	ā
i	ī	i	ī
u	ū	u	ū
--	ay	--	ē/ay
--	aw	--	ō/aw

Declaration

This is to attest that no material from this thesis has been included in any work submitted for examination at this or any other university.

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“The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotations from it should be published without the author’s prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.”

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DEDICATION

To my sister Fatimah, may her soul rest in peace.

*To my three precious little ones Layan, Muhammad and
Mesh'al.*

To my dear parents.

Chapter One

Introduction

Arabic is a diglossic language involving the coexistence of a Low variety¹ (i.e. *‘āmmīyah*, dialect or vernacular, which is usually the mother tongue) and a High variety (i.e. Standard Arabic, the *fuṣḥā*, which is usually acquired and is not spoken as a mother tongue). The Low variety is associated with informal situations whereas the High variety is associated with more formal situations. However, High and Low varieties of the same language may be used by the same speaker within a single interaction, especially in situations of conflict, emotion or persuasion (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Saeed, 1997; Bassiouney, 2006).

This study investigates diglossic code-switching between Standard Arabic (the High variety) and Najdi Arabic (the Low variety) in the formal context of religious discourse in Saudi Arabia, with analysis of speeches by six well-known religious preachers.

1.1 Statement of the problem

In Saudi Arabia, Standard Arabic is traditionally used in formal discourse (e.g. religious and political speech) whereas the Low variety is used in daily life such as at home, at the market or with friends. Religious scholars or preachers are expected to be fluent speakers of Standard Arabic; however, the current study will show that the Saudi religious scholars tend to switch at certain points of their speeches from Standard Arabic to their Saudi dialect. In order to investigate this phenomenon, I will examine and analyse instances of diglossic code-switching between Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic in recordings of religious speeches delivered by well-known Saudi male and female preachers who are originally from Najd. I will focus on morpho-syntactic linguistic variables: negation, relative pronouns, demonstratives, and future particles, and will investigate whether the diglossic code-switching is random or systematic.

¹ Further discussion on the Low variety and High variety can be found in Chapter Three, Section 3.4.

According to Western sociolinguistic studies such as those conducted by Trudgill (1972) and Labov (1982), women tend to use more prestigious forms than men. However, this finding has been disputed by researchers studying linguistic variation in the Arab world (e.g. Daher, 1998; Haeri, 1996). The current study will contribute to this area of research, focusing on whether there are differences between the three male and three female preachers in their production of code-switching in Saudi religious discourse.

1.2 The purpose of the study

The aim of the current study is to form a picture of the code-switching constraints that are found in switching between Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic. In addition, the study will determine whether the findings parallel those from other studies on code-switching/code-mixing between different Arabic varieties.

The study of code-switching can be approached from three different fields: morpho-syntax, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics. The morpho-syntactic approach examines the structural aspects of code-switching by determining syntactic and morpho-syntactic constraints, and aims to ascertain whether code-switching conforms to certain universal principles of grammar. The psycholinguistic approach focuses on cognitive aspects of bilingual language production, and enables an explanation to be provided about the processes in the brain and the production mechanisms underlying code-switching. The sociolinguistic approach is concerned with the role of social and pragmatic factors, aiming to determine the social functions of code-switching within discourse.

The main focus of the current study is on the structural properties of speakers' language choices (i.e. taking a morpho-syntactic approach) in extemporaneous monologue on religious topics given to a public audience. Analysis of selected linguistic variables (negation, relative pronouns, demonstratives, and future particles) enables an assessment to be made of the preachers' linguistic choices, verbal strategies and the extent to which their linguistic choices are shared. If there is a high degree of consistency in the preachers' choices and they are shared on an interspeaker level, it could be inferred that common norms for language use in this type of setting

are emerging. Thus, the study focuses on the production and the morpho-syntactic structural constraints of diglossic code-switching.

Furthermore, the current study aims to ascertain whether the code-switching is systematic or whether it is random due to not being able to keep the two linguistic systems separate. Myers-Scotton (1986, 1993a) argued in favour of the latter, hypothesizing that code-switching between language varieties is an unmarked choice because it is the expected and preferred mode of speaking in a situation-dependent type of communicative interaction.

In describing how the male and female preachers code-switch and mix between Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic, the constraints proposed by Eid (1982, 1988) and those within imperfect verb phrases proposed by Holes (2004) will be examined to ascertain whether or not they are applicable to the data in the present study. Moreover, a sociolinguistic approach will be adopted in investigating any gender differences between the male and female preachers in their use of code-switching in religious discourse. Although not the main purpose of this study, the social functions of this language use will be briefly discussed in Chapter Ten.

The psycholinguistic approach to understanding code-switching will also be drawn on in Chapter Four, making reference to Petersen's (1988) 'dominant language hypothesis' and Clyne's (1987, 2003) 'triggering hypothesis' (for further details, see Chapter Four, Section 4.5).

1.3 Significance of the study

Although the syntactic constraints of code-switching have been explored extensively in the context of bilingualism, few studies have been conducted on diglossic intra-sentential code-switching, i.e. switching between Standard Arabic (the prestigious variety) and other Arabic varieties. Most researchers who have examined code-switching in Arabic have concentrated on switching between Standard Arabic and vernacular forms of the language in formal situations, particularly political and academic situations (e.g. Eid, 1982, 1988; Boussafara-Omar, 1999, 2003; Bassiouney; 2006; Mejdell, 2006b). Few studies have examined religious discourse and to my knowledge no study to date has focused on Saudi female preachers due to the gender

segregation of this speech context. Therefore, the study is expected to make a modest contribution to the available literature in the field of code-switching and code-mixing, not only in Arabic sociolinguistics, but also in sociolinguistics more broadly.

The religious speech context is considered to be a formal context. In fact, scholars who mainly use a non-standard variety in a presentation context used to not be taken seriously (Soliman, 2008). Speaking Standard Arabic is seen as a sign of religiosity. On the other hand, *'āmmīyah* (i.e., L variety or local dialect) is generally perceived as inferior (Zughoul, 1980). Despite this negative attitude towards *'āmmīyah* and the common belief that Standard Arabic is more prestigious and persuasive than vernaculars in religious discourse, many religious scholars and preachers in the Arab world switch to their regional dialects in religious discourse. Thus, identifying the kind of diglossic code-switching combinations and constraints in the speeches of the preachers will result, to some extent, in a clearer understanding of the nature of language duality in this highest form of formal discourse.

In addition, studying diglossic code-switching between Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic in religious discourse might offer a novel perspective on the analysis of 'intermediate varieties' in Arabic. This could be achieved by relating the study of intermediate varieties to broader issues found in the domain of language contact theories and deducing the premise of these arguments from a model based on morpho-syntactic and psycholinguistic models of language production.

1.4 Research questions

In light of the above discussion, the following core research questions will be addressed in this study:

Q1: Is switching between Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic unsystematic or rule-governed?

Q2: If it is rule-governed, what are the rules?

Q3: How can we methodically test the rules of code-switching in real language data?

Q4: In the preachers' diglossic code-switching, are there specific elements of mixed speech that tend to be in Najdi Arabic or Standard Arabic?

Q5: In religious discourse, considering the small sample size, do male and female preachers code-switch in a similar way? Is gender a variable in the choices made?

Q6: Does the evidence from the preachers' data suggest a process of code-switching or code-mixing, or both?

Q7: Does the analysis of diglossic intra-sentential code-switching between two varieties of Arabic support the models of diglossic code-switching proposed by Eid (1982, 1988) and the constraints within imperfect verb phrases suggested by Holes (2004)?

Q8: Does the analysis of diglossic code-switching between two varieties of Arabic support the dominant model proposed by Petersen (1988)?

Q9: Does the analysis of diglossic code-switching between two varieties of Arabic support the triggering hypothesis (Clyne, 2003) and neutralization site hypothesis (Clyne, 1987)?

1.5 Organization of the thesis

This thesis consists of ten chapters. Chapter One introduces the aim of the thesis and the research questions. Chapter Two presents background information on Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic. Chapter Three discusses the relevant sociolinguistic situation and provides a theoretical background on code-switching and code-mixing, diglossia, language and gender issues, and language and prestige. Chapter Four describes the methodology used in data collection and in the analysis. Chapter Five presents the quantitative analysis. Chapters Six to Nine present the qualitative analysis of the four linguistic variables included in the study (i.e. negation, relative pronouns, demonstratives, and future particles). Finally, Chapter Ten summarizes the results of the analysis, discusses the functions of inter-sentential code-switching, and suggests potential applications of the findings and areas of future research.

Chapter Two

An Overview of the (Socio-)Linguistic Situation

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief historical background of the sociolinguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula, followed by a linguistic description of Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which will both be regarded as Standard Arabic (SA) in the current study, and Najdi Arabic (NA). I will aim to highlight some of the differences between SA and NA in this chapter.

2.2 An overview of the sociolinguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family. These languages have a sufficient degree of structural similarity in terms of phonology, morphology and basic lexical stock for a common origin (proto-Semitic) to be supposed (Holes, 2004).

The dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula are the most archaic Arabic dialects (Watson, 2011:851). The Peninsula can be linguistically divided into four main areas: the north, including central and north-eastern areas, the Ḥijāz, the south-west, and the south (Watson, 2011). The northern and central regions of the Arabian Peninsula are the original homeland of Arabic speakers (Watson, 2002:6).

Textual evidence indicates that inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula spoke Arabic as long ago as the sixth century. This century saw the rise of the new religion of Islam promoted by the Prophet Muḥammad within the Arabian Peninsula, which is now known as Saudi Arabia (Watson, 2002; Holes, 2004). Nevertheless, this does not mean that the Arabic language was not spoken at an earlier historical stage than this relatively late period for which we have textual evidence.

Regarding the linguistic structure of spoken Arabic in the Arabian Peninsula before the emergence of Islam, the only available direct source is pre-Islamic poetry, in which Old Arabic is used. Old Arabic (OA) refers to all of the linguistic varieties known and used before the emergence of Islam. It represents a historical epoch dating

a century and a half before the revelation of the Qur'ān, i.e. the holy book of Islam (Macdonald, 2008). It should also be noted that ancient Arabic is the genetic ancestor of Old Arabic, and that ancient Arabic was not a single variety but had many distinct dialects (Rabin, 1951; Cadora, 1992; Knauf, 2009).

Before the revelation of Islam in the sixth century, it has been argued that there was dialectal variation among the different tribes of the Arabian Peninsula (Holes, 2004). This dialectal variation was referred to as reflecting different 'languages' in the Old Arabic grammatical treatises. Maktabi (1990:93) takes a different view, arguing that there were no separate spoken dialects, and contends that CA was used as a spoken form across the whole of the Arabian Peninsula. However, it is not realistic to assume that CA was the only form used across the whole of the Arabian Peninsula considering the width of the area, the number of tribes and the communication with other tribes. Thus, we may assume that different dialects were used by people of different tribes in different geographical locations in the Arabian Peninsula (Al-Azraqi, 1998).

Historically, Arabic dialects have developed as a partial result of two types of movement: a gradual and at times spontaneous sociological lifestyle change, resulting in a historical shift from a tribal/semi-nomadic society to a settled society with, in many areas, ethnic plurality (Eksell, 1995); and small- and large-scale population movements both within and outside the Peninsula, effectively since the beginning of time. People from different tribes and sub-tribes were, and continue to be, brought together by religious pilgrimages to Makkah, trade, the need for new pastures, weekly markets, alliances and until the present day, migratory work. This population movement has also brought Arabic speakers into linguistic contact with many other languages. With few, if any, exceptions, Arabic dialects have therefore never been in a state of total isolation (Watson, 2011).

Based on the geographical distribution of linguistic differences among the different tribes, the early grammarians identified two groups of dialects: the language of Ḥijāz in the western part of Arabia which was spoken by the Qurayš tribe in the city of Makkah and the language of the Tamim tribe in the eastern part of Arabia, in Najd in particular (Holes, 2004). The linguistic variation of the tribes is indicated in the Islamic tradition. Major dialectal differences were found between the tribes living in

East and West Arabia, mainly at the phonological and lexical level, whereas grammatical and morphological differences between the two dialects were to some extent minor.

Hilaal (1993) explores the differences found in Arabic before and after the emergence of Islam, and linguists such as Versteegh (2014) attribute the lexical variation to dialectal variation between tribes. Many stories have been narrated illustrating this point. One story from the early seventh century CE relates to the fact that a knife fell from Prophet Muḥammad's hand, so he told Abu Hurayra to hand him the knife, using the word */sikkīn/* for knife. Abu Hurayra did not understand, so he asked the Prophet to repeat what he had said three times. Finally, Abu Hurayra said "Is it the */mudya(t)/* 'knife' you want?" and the Prophet answered, "Yes". Then Abu Hurayra enquired, "Is it called */sikkīn/* among your tribe?" and he continued, "I have never heard it except that day" (Hilaal, 1993:116).

Until the time of Prophet Muḥammad, in the seventh century CE, the Arabic language was mainly spoken, and the literary culture was transmitted mostly orally (i.e. the pre-Islamic poetry).² Following the expansion of Islam to territories outside the Arabian Peninsula, the early Arab grammarians realized the need to preserve CA. Thus, they undertook the task of preserving the language of the Qur'ān by codifying Arabic grammar. In doing so, the grammarians relied on three main sources: the pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, the Qur'ān, and the speech of the Bedouins of the Arabian Peninsula (Fischer, 2006).

The following sections will discuss CA, MSA and NA, the latter of which is one of the dialects spoken in Saudi Arabia and is the main focus of this study.

2.3 From Classical Arabic to Modern Standard Arabic

In this section, I will discuss the two highest registers of Arabic: CA and MSA. The main aim is to show the clear differences between these two registers, first discussing CA and then MSA.

² The pre-Islamic poems include the Mu'allaqāt and the best-known pre-Islamic poet is Zuhayr ibn 'Abī Sulma.

2.3.1 Classical Arabic

CA can be defined as the explicit set of rules established by the medieval Arab grammarians in Iraq in the ninth and tenth centuries. These rules were to be followed by anyone who writes or delivers a speech in a formal context, and the grammarians labelled the language as *al-'arabīya* or *al-fuṣḥā* (Retsö, 2011). In doing so, the Arab grammarians considered it as the only correct Arabic language (Fischer, 2006).

In the process of describing CA, Arab grammarians standardized the language. CA became the educated language, the official language of Islamic civilization, and the written standard language of the Arabic-speaking world. From the time of standardization to the present day, CA has remained almost unchanged (Fischer, 2006). In describing CA or *al-'arabīya*, the aim of the Arab grammarians was to prevent the spread of *lahn*, which results from the mistakes in the use of case and mood resulting from interference with a colloquial form of Arabic (Fischer, 2006).

Some linguists argue that CA was the spoken dialect of one of the leading tribes settled in Makkah: Qurayš (Al-Azraqi, 1998). This belief results from the fact that Prophet Muḥammad was from the Qurayš tribe; therefore, the Qur'ān was revealed in this dialect and Arabic grammar was the codification of this dialect (Goldziher, 1994:10-18). Also, the people of Qurayš were known as those who spoke the best Arabic. It was said by Ibn Faris in 1004 CE that:

they had of all Arabs the best judgment in matters of accuracy in the choice of words, their speech flowed most easily, they had the finest feeling for the language and the greatest facility in expressing their thoughts. From their mouths, the classical language was recorded and their usage is the one to be followed ... (Rabin, 1951:22).

Nevertheless, many researchers today do not support the view that ancient literary and colloquial Arabic were a single, unified language (Watson, 2011). Over the years, there has been an argument about the nature of the relationship between ancient Arabic or CA and the modern dialects. This relationship has been viewed in four different ways: (1) the dialects of today are considered to be the descendants of the ancient Arabic described by the Arab grammarians; (2) the dialects are the descendants of a modern language which already existed in the cities of the western region, i.e. Makkah and Medina, before the emergence of Islam (Vollers, 1906, cited in Watson, 2011; Holes, 2004); (3) the dialects are the descendants of a post-Islamic

koineized language which already possessed many features of modern Arabic dialects (Ferguson, 1959c); (4) the dialects are separate descendants of many different dialects (Edzard, 1992).

Ferguson (1959c) identified a number of features and Cohen (1970) and Versteegh (1984) later added more features which are claimed to differentiate CA from modern Arabic dialects. These 34 phonological and morpho-syntactic features were listed and discussed by Watson (2011:860–861). However, these features are not universally shared by all modern Arabic dialects.

In pre-Islamic times, Old Arabic was the prestigious, poetic language; it was the language of the poetry of the Bedouin tribes, of pre-Islamic poetry, and, after the emergence of Islam, the language was codified in the revealed Book, the Qur'ān. Thus, the Qur'ān represents the linguistic situation of Arabic before it began to spread outside the Arabian Peninsula (Holes, 2004:14). Therefore, the pre-Islamic poems and the Qur'ān were the only two sources of literary Arabic available and they played a crucial role in the standardization and development of the Arabic language (Versteegh, 2004). Western linguists defined this codified form of language as CA (Abboud-Haggr, 2006). Early Islamic poetry are also written in CA.

CA is considered to be a prestigious language, resulting from it being the language of the Qur'ān and the language of pre-Islamic poetry. The belief in the superiority of CA results from the fact that the Qur'ān was revealed in Arabic, as the revelation of the Prophet's message from God was in the form of language only represented in the Holy Qur'ān:

“We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'ān so that you [people] may understand” (Q12:2).³

Hussein (1969) argues that the Qur'ān “protected the Arabic language from destruction and helped in the existence of an Arab unity”⁴ (p.139). Even in pre-Islamic poetry, the Arabic language united Arabs within one culture. With the spread of Islam, Arabic, as the language of the Qur'ān, came to be understood by all Arabs, thus “uniting them linguistically as Islam unites them doctrinally” (Eisele, 2002:6). Even in non-Arabic countries of this empire, Arabic remained the language of

³ Abdel Haleem (2005:107)

⁴ The translation is by Soliman (2008).

prestige that was used for religious, cultural and administrative purposes. Versteegh (2014) claims that non-Arabic speakers preferred to speak Arabic, and that this “explains the disappearance of all other cultural languages in the Islamic empire, such as Coptic, Greek, Syriac and even Persian” (p.71).

It should be mentioned that there is a lack of consensus that CA is suitable for usage in modern life. Dajani (1990:23) criticized CA on several grounds:

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

Nevertheless, CA is still in a more privileged position than local and regional Arab varieties (Soliman, 2008). Chambers (2003:159) notes that CA “may be thought of as an international standard in the Arabic-speaking world”. In general, being the language of the Qur’ān makes it a prestigious language, as noted earlier.

2.3.2 Modern Standard Arabic

MSA is the direct descendant and modern version of CA. It is the official written language of all Arab countries from North Africa to the Arabian Gulf, and is the formal spoken form used in official and professional meetings in these countries (McCarus, 2008).

The emergence of MSA as a development of CA is believed to have occurred alongside the *nahḍa* movement in Egypt and the Levant in the nineteenth century. This movement was initiated by contact with modern European culture brought about by Napoleon’s occupation of Egypt in 1798. The period saw conscious efforts to adapt Arabic to modern society, particularly with the development of journalism (Newman, 2013:475). The development of Arabic dialects had, of course, continued during this period but the dialects had no legitimacy and were not seen as having the potential to be adapted to a language of high culture and learning.

MSA contains many newly coined lexical items referring to modern abstract concepts and political matters (Mazraani, 1997). Thus, it could be said that CA is the language of the Qur’ān and Islamic inheritance whereas MSA reflects stylistic

influences from the European languages with which Arabic has long been in contact, and it includes the vocabulary necessary for talking about contemporary technology (Walters, 1996).

Parkinson (1993:48) points out three key factors concerning MSA:

1. MSA should be looked at as a prescriptive system inherited from CA.
2. MSA is part of a communicative continuum.
3. MSA is imperfectly known to its speakers, and associated with linguistic insecurity. Yet, it is highly respected and revered.

CA and MSA are sometimes treated as two different varieties. There are, in fact, only slight differences between the two. The main differences between CA and MSA are in vocabulary and phraseology rather than in essentials of syntax (Holes, 2004). Ryding (2005) contends that MSA has more flexibility in word order, coinage of neologisms and loan translations from Western languages. Both CA and MSA differ linguistically and functionally in their varieties (Fishman and García, 2011). For example, MSA differs from CA linguistically in that inflectional endings may be omitted in MSA speech. However, the difference between MSA and CA is vague and irrelevant to most Arabs. Bentahila (1983) supports this point of view, stating that “The term Classical Arabic has not always been well defined, and many other terms have been used to refer to more or less the same thing” (p.3). Many native speakers of Arabic who are not linguists or do not have broad knowledge of Arabic varieties do not recognize the difference between the two terms and perceive them as basically referring to the same thing. As Holes (2004) points out, ordinary Arabs themselves do not make a distinction between CA and MSA and use the terms *al-‘arabīyatu l-fuṣḥā*, *al-‘arabīya* or *al-fuṣḥā* to refer to both CA and MSA. It should be mentioned that in the current study, these two varieties will be perceived as a single entity, i.e. SA.

Generally, CA is rarely used except for reciting the Qur’ān and formal religious sermons whereas MSA, which is on a continuum with CA, is the normal medium for formal discourse in media, political speeches, official announcements and education in every Arab country. For instance, Egyptian intellectuals who studied abroad regarded CA as “too literary and flowery and as lacking in modern vocabulary needed for the sciences and for technology” (Haeri, 2003:11). Holes (2004:6) describes MSA as follows:

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

MSA can be used as a medium of communication between Arabs in all Arab countries. This is because MSA is syntactically homogeneous across all Arabic-speaking countries. Nevertheless, some systematic differences in vocabulary differentiate the Maghreb countries from the Mashriq or eastern Arab world (Holes, 2004).

In the Arab world, many Arab scholars and thinkers suppose that MSA, which they consider the intermediate language, and call *al-luġa al-mutawassiṭa* or *luġat al-muthaqqafīn*, plays a crucial role in filling “the gap between the artificial standard (CA) and the lower levels of the language continuum” (Versteegh, 2014:185).

However, it should be mentioned that the level of education is an important factor in enabling Arabic speakers to speak or perform well while using MSA. Parkinson (1993) found that without at least a high-school level of education, speakers cannot perform grammatically well in MSA when they choose to use it.

To sum up, in discussing the development of SA, it is worth noting that MSA is a continuation of CA (i.e. the highest variety on the Arabic continuum). These two varieties can be distinguished in terms of their functions: MSA is a linguistic phenomenon which emerged from the need to keep up to date with constant developments in society, while CA is used to read or recite the Qur’ān. Educated people tend to use MSA more frequently than CA; the latter is no longer used except for performing prayers, reading the Holy Qur’ān or quoting classical literature.

The following section will detail NA, which is one of the language varieties spoken in Saudi Arabia and is the main focus of the current study.

2.4 The linguistic situation in Saudi Arabia with special reference to Najdi dialects



Map 1: Saudi Arabia⁵

The majority of the dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula, including the dialects in Saudi Arabia, are classified as Bedouin. Saudi Arabia comprises about 80% of the Arabian Peninsula, as can be seen in Map 1 above.

Ingham (2009) explains that the dialects spoken in Saudi Arabia form a continuum with the dialects spoken in Yemen and Oman in the south, Qatar, Kuwait and the Emirates in the east, and Iraq and Jordan in the north. Attempts at a classification of the dialects spoken in Saudi Arabia in particular and the Arabian Peninsula in general

⁵ Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection (<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/>)

have been made by Johnstone (1967), Prochazka (1988) and Ingham (1986, 1994, 2008, 2009).

Prochazka (1988) divided the dialects in Saudi Arabia into two broad groups: (1) the dialects of southern Ḥijāz and the Tihama, which are spoken in the south-western region; and (2) the Najdi and eastern Arabian dialects, which appear on the whole to be uniform in morphological structure with phonological and lexical differences, and are spoken in the rest of Saudi Arabia. His categorization is based on a survey of a large number of dialects in the country. He also uses the term *Najdi* in a linguistic rather than a geographical sense since these Najdi dialects are spoken outside the Najd region.

Ingham (2009) and Palva (2008) provide more recent classifications of the dialects spoken in Saudi Arabia. In his classification of the dialects spoken in Saudi Arabia, Ingham (2009) identifies four groups with regard to the region in which the dialects are spoken:

1. Najd
2. Southwest
3. Eastern region
4. Ḥijāz

In addition to these four groups, Palva (2008) added the northwest Arabian group spoken by the Bedouin population in the northwestern corner of Saudi Arabia and also the Sinai Peninsula, the Negev and Southern Jordan. This dialect lies at the crossroads between the Ḥijāz, Egypt and greater Syria, and this area has traditionally been of vital importance for trade and pilgrim traffic. According to Palva (2008:401), the northwest Arabian group in Saudi Arabia is considered to be the eastern branch and “stretches on the Saudi Arabian side to the depression of al-Jaww”.

Regarding Ingham’s (2009) classification mentioned above, the eastern region referred to comprises the area of Ḥasa and the coastal region of Qaṭīf. As for Ḥijāz, the rural Ḥijāzi dialects form a dialect continuum with the dialect spoken in the Yemen, whereas little is known about northern Ḥijāz. On the other hand, urban Ḥijāz dialects have Arabian and non-Arabian characteristics together with a general levelling of the archaic features of Najd because urban Ḥijāz has been subject to

immigration. Moreover, Najd has very archaic features and a resemblance to CA, which will be explained in Section 2.4.1.

The present study is concerned with Najdi Arabic (NA), which is one of the main varieties spoken in Saudi Arabia and associated with the central and northern regions. As can be seen in Map 1, the region of Najd is a vast rocky plateau which is bordered by the mountains of Ḥijāz to the south-west, Jordan and Iraq in the north, the Saudi coast of the Arabian Gulf known as al-Ḥasa in the east, and the Empty Quarter, Rub‘ al-Xali, in the south. In modern Saudi Arabia, Najd is called the Central Region. Due to its inaccessible position within these boundaries, NA displays very little non-Arabic influence and, therefore, has a special status of preserving many features of Old Arabic (Ingham, 1994).

Ingham (1994:4–5) provides a list of different groups that speak varieties that can be labelled as NA:

1. The speech of the sedentary population of Central Najd (i.e. the district of al-‘Āriḍ, al-Wašim and Sudair), Qašim and Jabal Šammar to the north and Najrān and Biša to the south.
2. The speech of the main Bedouin tribes of those regions: ‘Anizah, ‘Utaibah, Subai‘, Suhūl, Bugūm, Dawāsir, Ḥarb, Muṭair, ‘Awazim and Rašaydah in ‘Ajman in the south and east.
3. The speech of the emigre Bedouin tribes of the Syrian desert and the Jazirah of Iraq of ‘Anizah and Šammar extraction.

According to Ingham (1994:5), NA can be further divided into dialect sub-groups according to geography and the shared linguistic features among the tribes:

1. Central Najdi. The dialects of central Najd, both sedentary population and Bedouin tribes and also the ‘Anizah of the Syrian desert.
2. Northern Najdi. The dialect of the Jabal Šammar and the Šammar tribes of Northern Najd and the Jazirah.
3. Mixed northern Central. The dialect of Qašim and of the Zafīr tribe.
4. Southern. The dialect of Najran and the Gaḥṭan tribe of the south and of the AlMurrah and ‘Ajman tribes of the east.

Ingham (1994) argues that the differences between the first three groups are at the phonological and morphological level whereas the southern group is similar in lexical and syntactic features to the dialect spoken in the Yemen.

2.4.1 Overview of the language system of NA

NA is used informally by all Najdi people from low, middle and upper social classes in Saudi Arabia. Despite the affinity between SA, which exhibits traces of Old Arabic, and NA, the differences between these two varieties are quite conspicuous. Ingham (1994) in his book *Najdi Arabic* provides an exhaustive description of the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of NA, focusing on the central type, and highlights some distinguishing features of the Najdi dialects.

I will first briefly present the NA inventory of vowels and consonants. SA has three short vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ and two diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/. The vowel inventory of NA has five long vowels and five short vowels. The long vowels are /ī/, /ē/, /ā/, /ō/ and /ū/. The close vowels /ē/ and /ō/ have a gliding pronunciation when preceding a plosive, as in *beit* ‘house’ and *zoud* ‘extra’, in contrast with *hēl* ‘cardamon’ and *zōl* ‘figure’ (Ingham, 1994).

Mixed northern central Najdi is a Najdi variety with certain features of a generally northern type found in the Syrian desert, presumably acquired by assimilation in the last century and a half (Ingham, 1994).

NA differs from many other Arabic dialects in a number of phonological and morphological features, as highlighted by Ingham (1994, 2008, 2009). Some of the features which distinguish NA from other Arabic varieties at the phonological level are:

1. The retention of OA interdentals: /θ/, /ð/, and /z/.
2. The affrication of /k/ and /q/.
3. The existence of the innovative gahawa syndrome, a guttural re-syllabication rule whereby an *a* is inserted after a guttural + consonant with subsequent shift in stress, e.g. <*ḥafar* ‘to dig’ > *yḥafir*, but *kitab*> *yaktib* (Ingham, 1994).

Moreover, Ingham (1994:13) points out that NA differs from CA in the following phonological features:

1. Merger of *ḍ* and *ẓ* to a pharyngealized voiced interdental fricative symbolized here as *ẓ*.
2. The absence of the glottal stop *hamzah* except in words borrowed from CA.
3. The fronting of *g* from the classical *q* and *k* into two new units, *ǧ* /dz/ and *č* /ts/.
4. The overlapping between *i* and *u*, as in *kill/kull* ‘all’.

Unlike some dialects, the distinction in the Standard feminine form between final *-a* and *-ah*, which both become *a* in some dialects, is retained in NA, i.e. in NA, final /h/ is realized, not elided.

At the morphological level, a linguistic feature that differentiates the central dialect type and the northern and mixed northern dialects of Hail and al-Qaṣim is the use of different variants for the suffix pronouns:

	Central	Northern/mixed central northern
3 rd sing. masc	-ih	-uh
3 rd sing. fem	-ha	-ah
1 st sing.	-ni	-an

Ingham (1994) classified the vowels into two types: vowels which have specific grammatical marking functions and vowels which do not. When the vowels have a grammatical function, they are more stable. On the other hand, when they do not have a grammatical function, they are unstable and subject to the effect of phonological processes associated with morpheme structure conditions. In the case of vowels that do not have a grammatical function, the vowels have a secondary nature and are subject to deletion in different forms of the word.

As explained by Ingham (1994:20), Najdi syllable structure is different from the Classical syllable structure in the following three points:

1. The possibility of having initial clusters, e.g. *ktibat* ‘she wrote’.
2. The presence of *ā* before a consonant cluster within the word, which is only when the sequence –CC– is composed of the two final radicals of the root, as in *kātbah* ‘having written F.’.
3. The possibility of having a sequence of three consonants in certain restricted environments, e.g. *ya-ktb-ūn* ‘they write’ and *ta-ktb-īn* ‘you F.S. write’.

NA is a very conservative dialect. As Holes (2006:27) describes, “In contrast to the peripheral regions, it has for much of its history been relatively impervious to outside influences”.

At the morpho-syntactic level, the following features distinguish NA in comparison with Old Arabic:

1. The retention of the gender distinction in the second and third person plural in pronominal and verbal forms.
2. The retention of the indefinite marker [–in] in nouns, which results from the emergence of OA *–un*, *–an* and *–in*.
3. The retention of /n/ in the verbal plural suffix [–ūn] and second person feminine suffix [–in].

In fact, *tanwīn*, or the retention of the definite marker explained above, is also one of the features of OA that still exists in NA and in some of the Modern Arabic dialects of eastern Arabic such as the Baḥārna dialects. These dialects are labelled as “conservative” dialects by Holes (2016). In OA, *tanwīn* occurs in three different forms (i.e. *–un* indefinite nominative, *–an* indefinite accusative and *–in* indefinite genitive). However, in the dialects, the distinction of case has been lost and only *–in* marks indefinite nouns (Ingham, 1994). The suffix occurs as a result of syntactic and semantic conditions. In the central Najd dialect type (the focus of the present study), Ingham (1994) argues that it is rare for the suffix to occur in a more utterance-final position and thus it somewhat has the nature of a juncture element as it occurs in a position where the noun is followed by some modifying elements in a non-pausal appositional relationship. He lists the following cases where the suffix *–in* occurs in NA:

1. It is not uncommon for a noun modified by an adjective to carry dialectal *tanwīn*. This is clear in the example given by Ingham (1994:48):
wild-in ḥarbiyy-in tuwīl
 boy-INDF Ḥarbi-INDF tall
 ‘a tall Ḥarbi lad’
2. In NA, *tanwīn* is commonly found with other types of noun modification, e.g. with prepositional phrases as in the following example adopted from Ingham (1994:49):
uxw-in l-i
 brother-INDF to me
 ‘one of my brothers’
3. *Tanwīn* also occurs in NA where a noun is followed by a modifying clause as in the following example adopted from Ingham (1994:49):
kalmit-in gāl-ō-hā-l-i
 word-INDF said-they-it-to-me
 ‘a word which they said to me’
4. It also occurs regularly where an active participle is used with verbal function and when it is not followed by an object suffix, and particularly when it is followed by a complex of *l-* and a personal pronoun suffix, as in the following example adopted from Ingham (1994:49):
ana gāyl-in l-ik
 I having said-INDF to-you
 ‘I have said to you’
5. It also occurs in certain adverbial usages where it regularly follows a noun, as in *ḥirwitin* ‘approximately’ and *labdin* (< *la abdin*) ‘not at all’ (Ingham, 1994:49).
6. *Tanwīn* also occurs with the word *killin* ‘each person, everyone’ and *ḥadin* ‘any one’.

The use of *tanwīn* in Najdi speech could also have the meaning of ‘a certain ...’. It is also used to indicate incompleteness in a statement. Hence, a noun ending with the suffix *-in* could imply some specification which has not been mentioned. On the contrary, a noun without the suffix *-in* is a complete expression.

These are some of the linguistic differences and similarities between NA and CA/MSA. However, since the study focuses on the morpho-syntactic structure of four linguistic variables (i.e. negation, relative pronouns, demonstratives and future tense), a more detailed discussion will be provided in Chapter Four to show the linguistic variables found in both SA and NA.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to provide a sociolinguistic overview by tracing the linguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula. It has also discussed the history and the distinct linguistic features of three Arabic varieties, namely CA, MSA and NA. The chapter also included an overview of some of the phonology and morphology of NA where it differs from SA. In the following chapter, the related linguistic phenomena, i.e. diglossia in Arabic, code-switching and code-mixing, will be covered.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Background

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will review the relevant literature in the areas of code-switching, code-mixing, diglossic code-switching, borrowing, and the concepts of diglossia and intermediate varieties. I will also demonstrate the differences between code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing. In addition, the relationship between standard and prestigious language and language and gender will be discussed. This information will together provide a theoretical context for the present study.

3.2 Code-switching

A low level of agreement has been reached in the literature in relation to defining code-switching. Generally speaking, code-switching is a widespread phenomenon which has generated much debate worldwide. The term *code-switching* is often used within the fields of bilingualism or multilingualism to refer to the alternate use of two or more languages in a single discourse, sentence or constituent (Poplack, 1980). Myers-Scotton defines the term *code* as “a cover term for different languages, dialects of the same language, or styles within a dialect” (1986:403).

The terms code-switching and code-mixing have been used interchangeably throughout the literature, or in some cases code-switching has been used as a general term to refer to both the code-switching and code-mixing of languages or varieties (Myers-Scotton 1993a). In addition, code-alternation has been used as a cover term for both code-switching and code-mixing (Auer, 1995).

The following subsections will focus in detail on code-alternation, code-switching and code-mixing and will illustrate the differences between them. First, I will discuss code-alternation as it is a more general term; this will be followed by a discussion of code-switching. I will also attempt to highlight the difference between code-switching and code-mixing. Following this, I will turn to explain diglossic code-switching.

3.2.1 Code-alternation

Auer (1995) and Gafaranga and Torras (2002) refer to the alternating use of two or more languages as *code-alternation*. Auer uses the term alternation to cover “all cases in which semiotic systems are put in a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such” (1995:116).

In his study of code-switching and code-mixing in Welsh bilinguals’ talk, Musk (2010) states that code-alternation is a term used to refer to both the switching and mixing of codes, i.e. linguistic systems or language varieties, within the same speech or conversational exchange. He refers to code-switching as a type of code-alternation rather than as equal to code-alternation. Thus, according to Musk (2010), code-alternation could be used occasionally as a very general cover term for different outcomes of language contact involving both code-mixing and code-switching.

Contrary to Musk's (2010) view, code-alternation has been used as a generic term for code-switching in the literature (Muysken, 2000; Abu-Melhim, 2014). In addition, the term *alternation* is more common to code-switching, where switching could occur between alternating utterances. In contrast, code-mixing may result from insertion in addition to alternating between sentences.

Generally speaking, theories of code-alternation can be divided into two broad categories: an *identity-oriented approach* and an *organizational approach* (Stroud, 1998; Musk, 2010). The identity-oriented approach is related to the social identities of speakers and the relationship between speakers. This approach suggests that speakers attach culturally shared identities, rights and obligations to these codes (Myers-Scotton, 1988). On the other hand, the organizational approach ascribes no fixed meaning to the switches; thus, code-alternation does not always function to signal identity. Therefore, if there is a meaning attached to the switch, it is something that is jointly achieved in the sequential organization of speech. Put differently, code-alternation can have many functions including quoting someone, emphasizing a point, or accommodating to a specific person’s language preference (Musk, 2010). This division between the two approaches could be useful in broadening the field of study to encompass studying the functions and motivations of code-alternation rather than

being limited to analysing the governing patterns and structural constraints on the form of switching and mixing.

It is also important to discuss the taxonomy of code-alternation. Musk draws a distinction between two primary types:

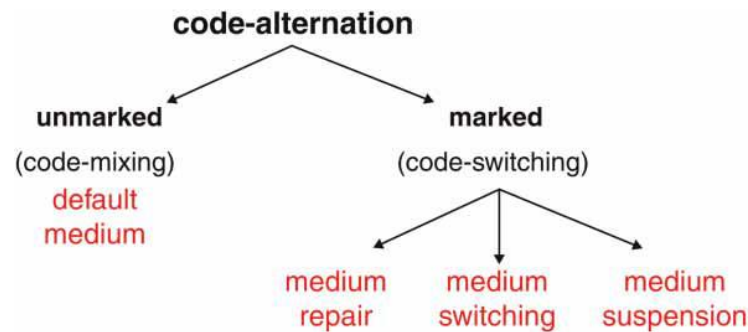


Figure 3.1: Taxonomy of code-alternation⁶

From the taxonomy provided by Musk (2010:186) and Gafaranga and Torras (2002), it can be noted that the first distinction to be drawn between the two types of code-alternation revolves around the concept of *markedness*. The markedness model was developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a). According to Myers-Scotton, each language in a multilingual community is associated with particular social roles, which she calls *rights-and-obligations (RO) sets*. A participant signals his/her understanding of a current situation and particularly his/her relevant role within the context by speaking a particular language. By using more than one language, speakers might initiate a negotiation of other relevant social roles. Nilep (2006) argues that Myers-Scotton assumes that speakers must share an understanding of the social meanings of each available code and that if such norms do not exist, interlocutors would have no basis for understanding the significance of particular code choices.

It should also be mentioned that Myers-Scotton's markedness model is stated in the form of a principle and three maxims. The principle is the *negotiation principle*, which is based on Grice's (1975) cooperative principle; Myers-Scotton presents the theory's central claim:

⁶ Adopted from Musk (2010:186), which is a revised version from that found in Gafaranga and Torras (2002).

Choose the *form* of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between the speaker and addressee for the current exchange (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:113, italics in original).

There are three maxims which follow from this principle. The *unmarked choice maxim* states: “Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:114). The *marked choice maxim* states: “Make a marked code choice ... when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:131). The *exploratory choice maxim* states: “When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS [code-switching] to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favor” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:142). Thus, the social meanings of language (code) choice, as well as the causes of alternation, are defined entirely in terms of participant rights and obligations.

In Figure 3.1, the linguistic feature is the neutral or default choice if it is unmarked. In relation to code-alternation, this means that the unmarked linguistic feature signals no special or additional meaning. On the contrary, if the linguistic feature is marked, it evokes an additional meaning. Myers-Scotton also contends that code-alternation might be an unmarked choice in a particular speech community. The term *medium* in Figure 3.1 is used by Musk (2010) to show the participants’ orientation. According to Musk (2010), in the informal Welsh speech of the young people involved in his study, their unmarked or *default medium* is characterized by code-mixing. When it comes to code-switching, the Welsh language supports a three-way division regarding the formal features of the medium. The first category is *medium repair*, which is rare in Musk’s study and entails either the speaker or one of the participants indicating that the medium needs repairing in some way. This indicates that the code used (either English or Welsh) is not suitable at a particular point. The second category is *medium switching*, in which there is a complete switch from one medium to another. The third category is *medium suspension*, in which the switch is a temporary one.

As can be seen from the taxonomy in Figure 3.1, the concept of markedness is used to differentiate between a speaker’s choice to switch or to mix.

Thus, to conclude this section, research on code-alternation tends to have a greater focus on the underlying factors and motivations for code-switching rather than the constraints and patterns of switching. Therefore, for this reason code-alternation best describes code-switching rather than code-mixing.

3.2.2 Code-switching

In the term *code-switching*, the word *code* is used instead of *language* for specific reasons. Abu-Melhim (2014) gives two reasons for this: first, *code* is a more neutral term than *language* given the lack of a distinct boundary between what constitutes a dialect and a language; second, some speech communities include a linguistic phenomenon known as diglossia, as in the case of Arab countries where there is more than one variety and each variety has its own function.

Switching between languages may occur “between the turns of different speakers in the same conversation, sometimes between utterances within a single turn, and sometimes even within a single utterance” (Milroy & Muysken, 1995:7). Gumperz (1982:59) defines code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. Myers-Scotton (1993a:4) describes code-switching as “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation”. This means that in bilingual or multilingual communities, speakers can use their languages or codes naturally and will switch between languages or codes to fill a lexical gap, such as when they do not know a specific word in one of the codes, or they might switch for another specific purpose (Bassiouney, 2009).

However, Gumperz (1982) refers to code-switching not as a phenomenon which results from the speaker’s language deficiency in one of his/her languages but as an additional resource through which a range of social and rhetorical meanings are expressed. He states that the alternation of languages has an expressive function and a pragmatic purpose. In his discussion of contextual clues (1982), he states that non-linguistic aspects of the speech situation can affect code-choice such as the social relationships of the speakers, their social roles, conversation type, type of

international exchange, audience design and occasion, and topic. In addition to these factors, Davies et al. (2013) also note that the languages involved in the switching should all be part of the normal oral communicative repertoire of the community engaged in the code-switching.

However, Myers-Scotton (1993a) contends that code-switching is not merely about switching between different languages but also between different *varieties* of the same language. McCormick (1994:581) defines code-switching as the “juxtaposition of elements of two (or more) languages or dialects”. This kind of switching could be called diglossic code-switching. Diglossic code-switching in Arabic will be discussed in Section 3.4.

In discussing code-switching, it is important to distinguish between two kinds of code-switching, i.e. *inter-sentential* code-switching and *intra-sentential* code-switching, the latter of which could be termed *code-mixing* or *intra-sentential code-mixing* (Muysken, 2000). Inter-sentential code-switching occurs at clause boundaries whereas intra-sentential code-switching (or mixing) takes place within the domain of a clause (Mejdell, 2006a). Some analysts prefer the term *alternational* code-switching for switching between stretches of speech belonging to one and another code/language/variety, while *insertional* code-switching or code-mixing (Muysken, 2000) denotes single items of one code occurring in stretches of the other code. Recently, some sociolinguists have proposed reserving code-switching as a term for socially meaningful changes of code in conversational interaction (Auer 1995, 1998).

Code-switching includes different phenomena (Myers-Scotton 1992; Lawson and Sachdev 2000). According to Milroy and Muysken (1995:12):

The field of CS (code-switching) research is replete with a confusing range of terms descriptive of various aspects of the phenomenon. Sometimes the referential scope of a set of these terms overlaps and sometimes particular terms are used in different ways by different writers.

This problem has also been outlined in Clyne (1987:740–741). Among the issues in question is whether code-switching and code-mixing are the same or different phenomena. This issue will be discussed in Section 3.2.3.

As well as differences regarding the location of switching, code-switching can be either situational or metaphorical (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). The former refers to a

shift that results from external changes, such as a change of participants or setting (i.e. speakers move from one domain into another and change their codes as a result), while the latter refers to a change in the emphasis of the topic, such as when the speakers change codes in the middle of a situation. However, Bassiouney (2009) criticizes Gumperz's division of code-switching into situational and metaphorical code-switching, arguing that this division is not always easy to identify in practice and that it assumes that there are different motivations for each type of code-switching. Further discussion will be provided on metaphorical code-switching in Chapter Ten, Section 10.3, focusing on the possible functions of code-switching.

Code-switching from Standard Arabic (SA) to the colloquial (*'āmmīyah*) tends to occur in different formal speech situations such as education, political speech, and even in religious discourse. In religious discourse, for instance, preachers are expected to use Classical Arabic (CA) in giving essential talks about fundamental issues in Islam because CA is the language of the Qur'ān. Yet, even in religious discourse, preachers vary in their use of CA, and many people would say that they are simply using pure colloquial Arabic (i.e. Najdi). However, observationally, I would argue that they are using both forms, but the extent to which CA and Najdi Arabic (NA) are used is not clear, and the exact nature of the mixing or code-switching will be revealed in the data analysis. Thus, this study aims to address intra-sentential code-switching between CA/Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the colloquial (*'āmmīyah*), i.e. Najdi Arabic (NA), in particular in religious discourse.

However, code-switching becomes even more problematic in cases of standard language and dialects (in the context of the current study, the standard language is CA/MSA and the colloquial *'āmmīyah* is NA). According to Tsiplakou (2009), one of the factors that makes it problematic is the historical relation between the two varieties and the concomitant similarities and overlaps in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis, which make it difficult to establish a linguistic metric to determine whether code-switching is taking place or not. This could be particularly true in the case of SA and NA, as mentioned in Chapter Two, Sections 2.3 and 2.4.

Myers-Scotton's (1993a) model is based on the notion that the languages or codes involved in code-switching have an equal status and play different roles in the mix: a *matrix language* (ML) and an *embedded language* (EL). The ML alone sets the

morpho-syntactic frame for the clause and provides the system morpheme and most of the content morphemes. On the other hand, the EL may provide the constituents and single content morphemes that are inserted into the ML base. Her model has inspired many studies such as those by Boussofara-Omar (1999, 2003) and Bassiouney (2006). It has also been met with “critique and counter evidence and is constantly developed, to the extent that it has lost its initial simplicity and thus for many scholars its attractiveness” (Mejdell, 2012:31). Both Bassiouney (2006, 2009) and Boussofara-Omar (1999, 2003) highlighted several problems when applying this model to their data. Bassiouney (2006:34) reports that although that MSA and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) are different codes, they share a lot of content and system morphemes, and sometimes it is impossible to say whether a certain morpheme belongs to MSA or ECA. For this reason, it is not easy to determine one ML.

Boussofara-Omar (2006) reports the same problem, pointing to “the co-occurrence of system morphemes from both varieties within a single CP (projection of the complementizer)” (p.77). Moreover, Bassiouney states: “I argue that the existence of two codes that are partially overlapping and partially distinct, as in Arabic, may cause problems for both the ML and the 4-M model” (2009:55).

I made the decision not to include Myers-Scotton’s model in my study due to the reasons mentioned above, as SA and NA share many system and content morphemes. In addition, the aim of my study is not to classify NA or MSA as the ML but to analyse the structure of the diglossic intra-sentential code-switching between the two varieties.

3.2.3 Code-mixing

Research on code-mixing began in the 1960s with the work of two scholars, Meri Lehtinen and Michael Clyne. In her study of the recorded Finnish-English bilingual corpus of one speaker, Meri Lehtinen wrote:

In order for any intra-sentence code-switching to be possible at all, there must exist in the two languages some constructions which are in some sense similar, so that certain syntactic items from each language are equivalent to each other in specific ways. Further reflection, supported by an examination of the corpus, shows that the similarities must exist in what is known as the ‘surface grammar’ of sentences (Lehtinen, 1966:153)

According to Lehtinen (1966), the three notions of syntactic equivalence, surface linear order, and closed class items are at the core of intra-sentential code-mixing.

Clyne has also helped to shape the view of code-mixing. He has written two well-known books in this area, *Transference and Triggering* (1967) and *Perspectives on Language Contact* (1972). According to him, the perceived similarities between the languages spoken by bilinguals facilitate code-mixing and the languages will tend to converge in such bilingual settings. Using a word from another language may also trigger other material to be used from that language. Clyne's work puts forward the notion of congruent lexicalization, as suggested by Muysken (2000).

Muysken (2000) labels intra-sentential code-switching as intra-sentential code-mixing. He views code-switching as a more appropriate term to describe alternating or switching codes between utterances or turns. Thus, in this sense the code-switching term is appropriate only for describing the alternational type of code-mixing. According to Muysken (2000:3), there are different patterns of intra-sentential code-mixing. These distinct processes, which cause confusion in the field, are:

1. Insertion of material (e.g. lexical items or entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language.
2. Alternation between structures from other languages. In this sense, code-mixing is similar to the switches of codes between turns or utterances. However, code-switching cannot be used to represent the general process of code-mixing as switching is an appropriate term for the alternational type of mixing only. Similarly, researchers such as Musk (2010) use the term *switching* for alternating the use of two codes, i.e. longer stretches of one code and then the other and mixing of intra-clausal phenomena.
3. Congruent lexicalization of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure.

These three processes are constrained and operated in different ways in specific bilingual settings. Thus, these processes produce variation in mixing patterns and can also be considered as three types of code-mixing.

Weinreich (1953:73, cited in Muysken, 2000:1) stated that intra-sentential code-mixing (incorporating the three processes mentioned above) could be considered as a sign of a lack of bilingual proficiency and as a sign of interference. However, according to Muysken (2000), mixed sentences are produced easily and with complete fluidity and speakers who tend to mix are not necessarily less proficient bilinguals.

To conclude the discussion of code-mixing, it can be noted that code-mixing is best used as a term for describing the mixing within a sentence, clause or phrase. In the following subsections, I will attempt to illustrate the differences between code-switching and code-mixing.

3.2.4 Code-switching and code-mixing

Code-switching and code-mixing constitute the most controversial area of debate in the analysis of language contact phenomena. Linguists and researchers have overlapping views and hold different opinions on code-switching and code-mixing (Muysken, 2000).

Clyne (1991) argues that both code-switching and code-mixing refer to the same phenomena in which “the speaker stops using language ‘A’ and employs language ‘B’” (p.161). Romaine (1995), furthermore, views code-switching as a phenomenon that occurs in a continuum where both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-alternation take place.

Other researchers differentiate between code-switching and code-mixing depending on the place where the alternation occurs. For instance, Wei (1998) states that if code-alternation occurs at or above the clause level, it is considered code-switching, but if it occurs below the clause level then it is considered code-mixing. Similarly, in differentiating between code-switching and code-mixing, Bokamba (1989) associates code-switching with inter-sentential code-switching, and code-mixing with intra-sentential code-switching.

Mazraani (1997:8–9) argues that there is a difference between code-switching and code-mixing. In her perspective, code-switching usually has a discourse function and is defined as a phenomenon where “sections in one code are followed by sections in

another one in the same conversation”. She points out that code-switching can affect most of the linguistic levels, i.e. syntactic, morphological, phonological and lexical. On the other hand, she defines code-mixing as “the mixing of different varieties within a single utterance or even within a single word”. In contrast to code-switching, she contends that code-mixing does not have to affect all linguistic levels. However, Bassiouney (2009) contends that Mazraani’s definitions of code-switching are still vague, arguing that Mazraani does not provide a clear definition of the terms *sections* and *utterance*.

Primarily, two types of switches have been proposed: intra-sentential and inter-sentential. Some linguists prefer the term *code-mixing* to be used only for intra-sentential and intra-clausal switches and have used *code-switching* as a cover term for all types of switches (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, 2006; Poplack, 1993; Grosjean, 1996). Some others, for instance, Clyne (2011), use the term *transference* to cover mixing at all linguistic levels: phonological, morphological and syntactic. According to Muysken (2000:1), intra-sentential code-mixing “refers to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence” and this takes place through three different processes: insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. Muysken claims that code-switching is suitable for only the alternational type of mixing in a single speech event between turns or utterances. Muysken (2000) argues that the term code-switching suggests the meaning of alternation and it separates code-mixing from borrowing and interference. For these two reasons, Muysken (2000) avoids describing the general process of mixing as code-switching.

Unlike Muysken (2000), Poplack (1993) used *code-switching* as a cover term for both the intra-sentential and inter-sentential mixing of two languages when she suggested that code-switching should contain switches at all levels of linguistic structure: “Code-switching may occur at various levels of linguistic structure (e.g. sentential, intra-sentential, tag) and it may be flagged or smooth” (p.255). In Grosjean’s (1996) definition, the cover term is code-switching, which involves switching at the word, phrase and sentence level. Myers-Scotton (2006) includes both inter-sentential and intra-sentential switches as instances of code-switching. She defines inter-sentential switching as “containing complete sentences in the clause boundaries”. She prefers the term *intra-clause switching* to *intra-sentential switching*

due to the fact that intra-clause switching involves switching within one clause rather than switching between two clauses.

On the other hand, Auer (1995) referred to the alternating use of two or more languages as *code-alternation* or *language alternation*. He used the term *alternation* to cover “all cases in which semiotic systems are put in a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such” (1995:116). Auer (1998) proposed a continuum of *language alternation* or *code-alternation* phenomena, “which spans out between three well-documented cases (conceived as prototypes) which will be labelled code-switching, language mixing (LM) and fused lects (FLs), with code-switching and FLs representing the polar extremes of the continuum and LM a point in between” (p.1). In his study of code-switching and code-mixing in Welsh bilinguals’ talk, Musk (2010) refers to both code-switching and code-mixing as *code-alternation*, indicating that code-alternation acts as a general cover term for different outcomes to language contact, as explained in Section 3.2.1 above.

The current study is based on Poplack (1993), Grosjean (1996), and Myers-Scotton’s (1993b, 2006) definitions and classifications of code-switching, with a focus on intra-sentential code-switching. However, intra-sentential code-switching parallels Muysken’s approach of intra-sentential code-mixing as he focuses on switching within the same sentence. Therefore, both intra-sentential code-switching and intra-sentential code-mixing describe the same linguistic phenomena.

3.2.5 Code-switching and borrowing

In discussing code-switching, it is worth highlighting the differences between code-switching and borrowing as they are both considered as linguistic phenomena which result from language contact. Whether or not code-switching and borrowing are two distinct language contact phenomena has been subject to lengthy debate. Some researchers do not consider code-switching and borrowing to be two distinct phenomena (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Romaine, 1995). Other researchers (Haugen, 1956; Poplack 1980,1988, 1993; Grosjean, 1982; Muysken, 1987; Sankoff et al.,

1990) disagree, arguing that these two types of language contact are separate and should be distinguished from each other.

In attempting to answer the question of the place in a sentence where an embedded language might appear, the focus has mainly been on phrases and larger constituents, leaving single lexeme items aside. Therefore, the prevailing view was that only such larger constituents are regarded as being involved in code-switching. However, some early researchers attempted to consider single lexemes as possibly being involved in code-switching, depending on whether or not they are integrated into the borrowing language. For example, Haugen (1973) used the term *integration* to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing. He contends that borrowing occurs in the regular use of material from one language in another language and thus no switching or overlapping is present. On the other hand, code-switching occurs when the bilingual speaker introduces a completely unassimilated word into his/her speech from another language.

In distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing, we also have to take into account the morphological, phonological and syntactic features of the words. Poplack (1980) claims that borrowing involves full integration of utterances at the phonological, morphological and syntactic level into the base language, whereas code-switching involves only those utterances that are integrated syntactically or morphologically. However, some researchers such as Pfaff (1976), Sankoff and Maineville (1986), Poplack (1988), and Heath (1989) find it difficult to determine what level of integration or assimilation can be accounted for in differentiating between code-switching and borrowing. Moreover, they express doubt over whether phonology is a reliable factor for distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing because phonology may not reveal whether a bilingual speaker is code-switching or borrowing. In addition, Boussafara-Omar (1999) considers these criteria of distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing to work only with non-ambiguous forms which are borrowed to fill in lexical gaps; this will be explained later in the chapter.

Sankoff and Maineville (1986) explain that borrowing from one language should satisfy the morphological and syntactic rules of the other language, whereas code-switching involves sentence fragments which morphologically, syntactically and

lexically belong to one language, and each is connected to a fragment of the other language. Similarly, Gumperz (1982) states that the borrowed word, or short idiomatic frozen phrases, are “fully integrated” into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. The borrowed words are treated as part of the lexicon of the borrowing language and share the morphological and phonological systems of that language.

Both Pfaff (1979) and Heath (1989) contend that code-switching and borrowing differ in that when a single word is adapted into the borrowing language, this is considered borrowing, whereas the alternation between a continuous utterance of segments in one language and another language with abrupt and clear-cut switching points, often at phrasal or clausal boundaries, is considered code-switching. According to Bentahila and Davies (1983), differentiating between code-switching and borrowing at the quantitative level could be problematic. This is because a whole phrase could be borrowed and adapted into the recipient language. Grosjean (1982:8) maintains that code-switching can be of any length (e.g. word, phrase or sentence length). He makes a distinction between code-switching and borrowing. In his view, code-switching involves a complete shift in the direction of the other language. In contrast, in borrowing, phonological and morphological adaptation occurs in the direction of the language being spoken.

Another distinct feature that distinguishes code-switching from borrowing is that usually when code-switching takes place, it is not preceded by hesitation or pauses (Poplack, 1980; Sankoff and Poplack, 1981). Filling a lexical gap is one of the motivations for borrowing.

Muysken (1995:189) defines borrowing as “the incorporation of lexical elements from one language in the lexicon of another language”. He identifies three levels through which borrowings should go. In Level 1, the bilingual speaker, in an unprompted context, incorporates a lexical element from Language A into the discourse of Language B, and this is called code-switching. In Level 2, the occurrence of the incorporated lexical element or elements in Language B becomes frequent among the speech community members, and this is called *conventionalized code-switching*. Level 3 includes the adoption of these lexical elements into the phonological, morphological and syntactic systems of Language B, and therefore they

become part of the lexicon of Language B. Through this means, they become fully recognized by monolinguals as part of their language, i.e. Language B.

The position I adopt follows Muysken. To summarise, code-switching could result in the adoption of borrowings. In order for a word to become a part of a given language, it must go through the three levels described by Muysken.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) considers the reliance on integration to distinguish code-switching from borrowing as a traditional criterion in drawing a clear boundary between these language contact phenomena. She adds that adopting *absolute frequency* and *relative frequency of occurrence* as criteria for distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing could make the process more reliable and practical. In her view, code-switching forms represent “lower-frequency forms” whereas borrowed forms are “higher-frequency forms” and have the same freedom of occurrence as any matrix language lexeme because they become part of the matrix language lexicon.

There is a distinction between *cultural* and *core* borrowed forms. Cultural borrowed forms are lexemes standing for objects or concepts that are new to the matrix language culture. Therefore, they are borrowed to fill a lexical gap. For example, in a study by Abd-el Jawwad and Suleiman (1990), they examined the issue of the lexicon although not in terms of borrowings or diglossic code-switching, and found that words such as *mathaf* ‘museum’ and *ta’līm* ‘education’ are cultural borrowings from *fushā* into the dialect. Abd-el Jawwad and Suleiman (1990:298) state that these words are instances of *fushā*, “technical, educated and cultivated items” that do not have equivalents in the colloquial varieties. Myers-Scotton (1993a) rejects culturally borrowed forms being classified as code-switching forms.

On the other hand, core borrowed forms are defined as “items for which the ML always has viable equivalents” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:169). Therefore, in this definition, four features of core borrowings are considered. First, core borrowings are unlike cultural borrowing in the sense that core borrowings are less frequent because they have equivalent referents in the matrix or borrowing language. Second, they are exclusively used by fluent speakers in both languages. Third, they are not used for the purpose of filling a lexical gap. Fourth, core borrowings do not enter the matrix language as quickly as cultural borrowing, where there is an urgent need to use them. Myers-Scotton argues that the speaker might choose to use borrowed words when

they have equivalents in their native language if the speaker wishes to identify with the embedded language culture in cases where the embedded language is a highly prestigious language in socio-economic terms. Furthermore, Myers-Scotton (1990) argues that educated bilinguals distinguish their speech from that of the masses by practising what she calls *elite closure*. In the case of diglossic code-switching, as in the current study, this could be true as educated diglossic speakers may use partially integrated words and code-switching as a form of “elite closure”. This was also found to be possible by Boussafara-Omar (1999).

In the current study, contrary to Bentahila and Davies (1983), I hold the view that code-switching can be differentiated from borrowing based on the frequency of occurrence in combination with integration. That is, if a borrowed word or phrase is integrated into any aspect of the other language (or in the case of the current study, other variety) and becomes a permanent part of it, it will be considered as an instance of borrowing and not code-switching.

3.3 Code-switching and diglossic switching

In most of the literature, code-switching refers to switching between two distinctly different languages; Myers-Scotton (2010) suggests that this could be described as *classic code-switching*. She notes that switching in Arabic-speaking countries may be another type of code-switching, which she has defined as *composite code-switching* (cf. Myers-Scotton, 2002). In such a case, where the switching is between two closely related varieties, this switching is rarely analysed systematically. However, Myers-Scotton (2002) argues that the asymmetries that hold in classic code-switching will also structure composite code-switching, even with some modifications of the analysis.

Switching between two or more linguistic codes is said to be constrained structurally (Poplack, 1980; Eid, 1982, 1988; Bentahila and Davies, 1992; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Boussafara-Omar, 1999, 2003) and is socially motivated (Gumperz, 1982; Bentahila and Davies, 1992; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Walters, 1996). The possible patterns in code-switching are determined by structural constraints whereas speakers’ preferred patterns are influenced by socially based motivations. Both of

these factors play a significant role in shaping code-switching utterances (Myers-Scotton, 1996).

The current study will consider only structural constraints when explaining the configurations found in Arabic diglossic switching. However, I will also briefly highlight the possible social factors involved in motivating speakers' linguistic choices in Chapter Ten.

In her study on diglossic switching between MSA and Tunisian Arabic (TA), Boussofara-Omar (1999) provides supporting evidence for the viewpoint that structural and social factors play a significant role in shaping diglossic code-switching. She argues that grammatical processes determine possible forms of diglossic switching while social processes influence the linguistic choices made between the range of possible forms. Thus, both linguistic constraints and social motivations are perceived to be in a dialectal relationship.

Due to the diglossic nature of the Arabic language context in Saudi Arabia, I have chosen to focus on diglossic code-switching in my study. Eid (1988:52) notes that in diglossic speech communities, speakers tend to alternate in their use of the two varieties, which results in a "mixed variety". In this variety, switching between varieties occurs across sentence boundaries and also within the same sentence.

Diglossia consists of switching and register variation, where speakers use a certain code/register depending on the context they are in. In other words, diglossia and code-switching could be studied within the same framework, and, according to Bassiouney (2006), the term code-switching also covers diglossia. In diglossic code-switching, linguistic choice does not involve a binary choice by the speaker between discrete codes or registers. Rather, the speaker exploits a mixture of codes to construct and convey his or her message (cf. Versteegh, 2004). My focus on diglossic code-switching stems from the failure of studies to relate the issue of variation in Arabic to a theoretical framework or to present a model to account for the "mix" between the two varieties in a structured manner. I hold the view that mixed Arabic (mixing between SA and the dialect, i.e. High (H) and Low (L) varieties, and which gives rise to *intermediate varieties*) is, as Gumperz (1982, cited in Milroy, 1995:9) argued, "conceptualized not as a deficit ... but as an additional [linguistic] resource through which a range of social and rhetorical meanings are expressed".

When discussing *mixed Arabic*, I am assuming that there is complete mixing between the two varieties (i.e. H and L), where each of these two varieties represents approximately 50% of the speech and there is a lack of a base language which could act as a matrix language. Following Walters (1996) and Boussafara-Omar (1999, 2003), I believe that what are often called the “third” or “intermediate varieties” in Arabic (*al-luġa al-wuṣṭa*) are in fact instances of Arabic diglossic code-switching or could result from the process of diglossic code-switching in addition to other language contact phenomena on the levels of phonetics and lexis such as phonetic interference or calques which will not be included in the current study. As will be discussed in Section 3.4, there have been several attempts by sociolinguists to designate the unclear and indistinct “intermediate” varieties (cf. Blanc, 1960; Badawi, 1973; El-Hassan, 1978; Mitchell, 1986).

More recently, studies on the description of the nature of the so-called middle varieties have failed to provide a coherent framework to understand the nature of the mix between the two varieties. For example, Mejdell (2006b) conducted a study on the mixed styles of spoken Arabic in Egypt, where she investigated the mixing between SA and Egyptian Arabic (EA) in the controlled formal context of a panel presentation. She found that there is a wide scope of individual variation in the choice of linguistic style and that the highly variable discourse in her data means that it cannot be considered a base for standardization of the separate “oral standard” variety. In addition, Walters (1996:181) argued that the switching between H and L varieties that occurs in the Arab world “falls within the scope of what Myers-Scotton terms code-switching”. Thus, I focus in my study on diglossic code-switching, which is said to vary from one person to another.

Other studies on diglossic code-switching between SA and another Arabic variety have been conducted to find out the structural patterns and constraints on code-switching and to attempt to ascertain the possible functions and motivations behind the code-switching. Eid (1982, 1988) was the first to apply syntactic code-switching models to diglossic switching. She conducted two studies on the principles of code-switching between SA and EA. She examined the occurrence of four syntactic constructions: relative clauses, subordinate clauses, tense and verb constructions, and negative and verb constructions. In her data analysis, the relative clause markers, subordinating conjunctions, tense markers, and negatives were called “focal points”

(1988:54). She examined which combinations of SA and EA elements actually occurred in the slots immediately following and preceding the SA and EA variants of these focal points. She found that the variant (SA or EA) of the word preceding the focal points was “free”. This means that the variant was not bound to the variant (SA or EA) of the focal point. She also found that “if the focal point [was] from SA, the element immediately following that focal point must also be from SA” (1988:61). On the contrary, if the focal point was from EA, “switching was found to be permitted after all focal points except after the negative” (ibid.). She attributed the exception in the negative case to the incongruity of the tense + negative markings between the two grammatical systems. I have applied the same patterns and constraints suggested by Eid (1982, 1988) to my study and will compare her findings with those from my study as my data also includes negation, relatives and future time reference.

Eid (1988) explains that the general pattern of asymmetric conditioning, which she called the *directionality constraint*, could be “related to the manner of acquisition of each variety: which variety was natively, and which was non-natively learned” (p.75). She suggests that similar principles are applicable in bilingual (Arabic–English) code-switching (1988:75). Mejdell (2006b:67) argues that this is linked to “the dominant-language hypothesis”.

Bassiouney (2006) also conducted a study on code-switching, focusing on code-switching in political speeches, mosque sermons and university lectures in Egypt. In her study, she focused on switching between Egyptian colloquial Arabic (ECA) and MSA, paying special attention to three linguistic variables: negation, demonstratives, and the EA aspectual prefix “b-”. She also tried to investigate how applicable Myers-Scotton’s ML hypothesis was to the variables. After analysing the negation used by the speaker in her data, Bassiouney reached the conclusion that there is a steady use of one negation system (i.e. either ECA or MSA) at a time instead of switching between the two systems in a single speech utterance. In addition, she also found that contrary to other parts of the linguistic system, aspects of the negation system from both codes never occur together at a similar level of frequency. In her study, it was possible for the ECA negator to negate a verb in MSA, but the MSA negative particles were never found to be followed by an ECA verb.

In political speech, there is a mixture of ECA and MSA as there is constant switching between MSA syntactic features and vocabulary and ECA syntactic features and vocabulary. However, this is not true of negation, as the speakers tend to use ECA structures more frequently. Bassiouney also found that MSA demonstratives and ECA demonstratives occur at nearly the same frequency whereas speakers tend to use ECA negation more frequently than MSA negation. Even in those parts of speeches where there is a mixture of MSA and ECA elements, ECA negative particles tend to be used more frequently. However, in analysing one of the religious sermons included in her study, she found that the speaker uses MSA negative particles 26 times whereas ECA is used only once. She attributes this to the fact that “he was trained to be a religious man and must have had a lot of exposure to MSA” (Bassiouney, 2006:81). Bassiouney also found that certain forms of MSA negators or ECA negators are preferred over others. For example, the most frequently used MSA particle is in fact *lā* with verbs as well as with nouns and adjectives. *laysa*, which does not have an ECA counterpart, is also used frequently. As for preferred forms in ECA, negation of possession and existence is likely to be performed in ECA because of the basic and semantic nature of these concepts. Bassiouney (2006) determined that the basic and dominant language is ECA whereas the embedded language is MSA. She concluded her data analysis by stating that the basis of code-switching is an ECA syntactic structure into which MSA lexical elements are inserted.

Bassiouney conducted another study in 2013. The aim of her study was to determine the social motivations of code-switching in mosque sermons in Egypt with regard to Myers-Scotton’s markedness theory (1998, 2005) and the concept of indexicality (Woolard, 2004). Ferguson (1959a) observed that in the context of mosque sermons, only SA is used. Bassiouney’s data consisted of 10 hours of the speech of two speakers, Sheikh Sharawy, who is well known for his diglossic code-switching, and Sheikh Abd al-Zahir, who uses SA (i.e. CA/MSA) only.

In analysing the speech of Sharawy, she discovered the following general pattern (Bassiouney, 2013:57):

CA > ECA > MSA

Qur’ānic verse > explanation > conclusion

In quoting verses from the Qur'ān, the words must be as they are in the Qur'ān in CA whereas the explanation is in ECA and the conclusion is in MSA. Abd al-Zahir chooses to speak in SA throughout his religious sermon. Bassiouney comes to the conclusion that in not using CA/MSA all the time, Sharawy is trying to create an informal relationship with his audience whereas the opposite is the case with Abd al-Zahir in his third sermon. Sharawy is trying to deliberately get involved in what he says. In his sermons, there is usually a voyage of discovery, where he starts with a story and ends up with a great discovery about humanity. He uses switching between SA and ECA as a tool to reach the point of discovery at the end of the sermon and to create a sense of involvement. She also adds that code-switching is related to the speaker's attitude towards his topic. In addition, code-switching could be attributed to the speaker's preferred style. Sharawy developed his own style of code-switching that his audience are aware of and admire. The motivations for practising code-switching presented in Bassiouney (2013) will be discussed in Chapter Ten.

To conclude this section, the present study will follow Walters (1996) and Boussoufara-Omar's (1999, 2003) views on diglossic code-switching. The difference between my study and Boussoufara-Omar's (1999) is that she investigated the extent of the applicability of the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) model (Myers-Scotton, 1993a) to diglossic code-switching, whereas this is not considered in the current study. The following section will focus on Arabic diglossia because of the need to describe the linguistic levels found in Arabic in talking about code-switching.

3.4 Diglossia in Arabic

The diglossic situation of Arabic is hypothesized by some scholars to date back to the pre-Islamic period (i.e. the period preceding the seventh century CE), as discussed in Section 2.2 above. This view is held by Altoma (1969:77–78), who also notes that it has been the subject of many philological and literary studies from the ninth century to the present day. Walters (1996) also notes that diglossia has resulted from the independent development of, on the one hand, a High (H) variety of Arabic associated with Islam and a tradition of restricted literacy and, on the other hand, a Low (L) variety. Thus, it could be argued that the historical existence of an H variety for

certain functions and the existence of the various Arabic dialects means that Arabic-speaking countries are of interest to many studies (Ibrahim, 2009).

Language use varies according to the social context in which it occurs. Trudgill (1995:84) observes that “the same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations and for different purposes”. Speakers tend to accommodate their speech in accordance with the settings they may find themselves in. The most familiar example is the standard and regional dialect situations (Ferguson, 1964:429). Each of the varieties has its own roles and functions in the speech of the community. This situation of two (or more) varieties is regarded as *diglossia*, from the French word *diglossie*.

Although Arabic speech communities have been long aware of the duality of their language, or the diglossic situation, the term *diglossia* was first used by the French linguist and Arabist William Marçais in 1930 to specifically describe the linguistic situation in the Arabic-speaking world (Boussafara-Omar, 1999). All the countries where Arabic is the official language are considered diglossic-speaking communities (Bassiouney, 2009:10), i.e. two varieties of Arabic exist side by side. The official language is SA but in addition there is a prestigious vernacular in each country alongside non-prestige vernaculars (the dialects). The modernist view of Arabic diglossia considers it as the “bilingualism of the monolingual” (i.e. that *fuṣḥā* and the colloquial are on a continuum conceived of as one system) (Eisele, 2002:19).

In 1959, Charles Ferguson published an article that would motivate a great deal of research into the Arabic language by different scholars. This article was titled “Diglossia”, which he defines as:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, 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 conversations (Ferguson, 1959a:336).

Ferguson drew the attention of linguists to the existence of two main varieties of the same language in the Arab world: an H variety (i.e. CA and MSA) and an L variety

(i.e. colloquial varieties or *al-‘āmmīyah*). In the Arab world, the H variety is what unifies the Arabic communities while the L variety varies from one community to another depending on phonological, morphological and syntactic rules. Ferguson also drew linguists’ attention to the fact that people have different attitudes towards these two varieties (Bassiouny, 2006:5). Moreover, unlike variationist accounts of region-based or class-based dialects, Ferguson pointed to another dimension of variation, one which was dependent upon the interaction between a literary culture and a spoken linguistic culture within a single cultural tradition (Eisele, 2002:12).

Ferguson (1959a:338) postulates that three conditions develop to create a diglossic speech community. First, there must exist a language that is closely related to the natural language of the community, and that has a large body of literature that embodies the values of the community. Second, access to literacy among members of the community is confined to a small elite group, and, third, centuries must pass from the establishment of the first two conditions. It can be said that the Arabic language fits these three conditions and it can be characterized as diglossic.

According to Ferguson, in diglossic communities, there is a highly valued H variety, which is usually learned and not used for ordinary conversations, and a L variety, which is used in everyday conversations. He stresses that both H and L have to be functionally in complementary distribution. H and L are both specialized and are unique to specific situations, i.e. they each have their own functional distribution and their own role to play. In fact, diglossia in the Najd area is an example of Ferguson’s definition of a diglossic situation as a quite stable language situation.

Ferguson (1959a:329) gives a list of situations in which only H is appropriate and others where only L is appropriate (see Table 3.1). For example, according to Ferguson, formal situations are associated with H, whereas L is associated with informal, day-to-day events.

Situation	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	√	
Instruction to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		√
University lecture	√	
Speech in parliament, political speech	√	
Personal letter	√	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		√
News broadcast	√	
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	√	
Poetry	√	
Folk literature		√

Table 3.1: List of situations and the variety used in them (from Ferguson 1959a:329)

Ferguson's original definition of diglossia generated strong reactions from some researchers regarding his characterization of the linguistic situation in Arabic-speaking communities. It has been criticized even by Ferguson himself (Ferguson, 1996). Myers-Scotton notes that "diglossic communities, in Ferguson's original sense, are really very rare" (1989:408). Myers-Scotton (1989) also argues that under Ferguson's narrow diglossia, two conditions must exist:

- 1 The Low variety must be spoken as a mother tongue by nearly everyone or at least the majority.
- 2 The High variety is never used in informal situations.

However, these two conditions are not possible as the communities to which Fishman (1972) extended diglossia do not meet these two conditions as two or more varieties exist as mother tongues (Myers-Scotton, 1989:409). For example, Tanzania is one of the examples that Fishman cites where various local languages correspond to the L variety and Swahili is the main H variety, but English is also considered an additional H variety.

Researchers such as Blanc (1960) and Mitchell (1962) took issue regarding his division of Arabic into two varieties only, i.e. H and L. They argue that his

description does not represent the reality of the Arabic linguistic continuum, which according to them ranges from three to five varieties. I agree that the linguistic situation in the Arab world is not merely characterized by CA/MSA on the one side and colloquial Arabic on the other because, as Walters (1996) makes clear, the linguistic situation in Arab communities is permeated by a state of linguistic flux as a result of the prolonged and constant contact between these two varieties.

A confusing range of variation is present in the Arabic continuum, with SA (i.e. CA/MSA) at one end of the pole and different colloquial spoken varieties across the whole Arab world at the other pole, with “an uncharted sea of intermediate shades, whose overall picture is one of a state of flux” (Meiseless, 1980:120) lying between these two poles.

These scholars might be correct in their arguments with regard to the characterization of the domains of use of the two varieties put forward by Ferguson; however, according to Boussafara-Omar (1999), they have failed in two ways. The first is that their alternative “suffers from the same sins as Ferguson’s original description of the phenomenon allegedly did”, as Walters (1989:53) explains. Almost all of the studies conducted on Arabic diglossia aim solely to determine the number of varieties and to delimit their boundaries while failing to offer “a theoretical framework for the analysis of the simultaneous use of the two varieties” (Boussafara-Omar, 1999:26). Second, they do not sufficiently recognize Ferguson’s insightful predictions regarding the kind of sociolinguistic variation that occurs in the Arab world.

Despite all the criticism that Ferguson’s theory (i.e. his proposal that there are two poles, an H and an L) received, it is still a valid theory, although H and L formally and functionally overlap to a greater extent than Ferguson suspected (Bassiouney, 2009). Many researchers have demonstrated renewed interest in diglossia (e.g. Walters, 1991; Ferguson, 1996). In their studies, they have attempted to re-define Ferguson’s (1959a) notion of diglossia, taking into consideration the two major factors put forward by Boussafara-Omar (1999): (1) the stability of diglossia which for centuries have existed in Arabic-speaking countries and resulted in prolonged contact between two related varieties of the same language; and (2) the social and economic changes that the Arab countries have gone through. These two major

factors give rise to the emergence of intermediate forms of Arabic, as was first described by Ferguson (1959a).

Since Ferguson wrote his article about diglossia in 1959a, various arguments have been extended by linguists and Arabists to subdivide the continuum between the two extremes of SA and dialect into intermediate varieties. Ferguson himself (1959a) used the Arabic term *luġa wuṣṭā* to refer to the “intermediate forms of the language” that emerge in diglossic language communities to solve tensions concerning code-choice which arise in situations where there is confusion in the functional distribution of H and L varieties. He defines it as:

...a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semi-formal or cross-dialectal situations [which] has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflection endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary (Ferguson, 1959a:332).

Later, in his 1996 article “Diglossia revisited”, Ferguson places stronger emphasis on register variation within and across H and L, which are to be seen as the two poles of a continuum that also includes “mixed” or “in-between” varieties; this is also reflected in the metalinguistic labels of native language users: *al-fuṣḥā* vs. *al-‘ammīyah* and *al-luġa al-wuṣṭā*, or the medium/intermediate/middle language (Mejdell, 2006b). Mejdell (2006b) strongly agrees with the view expressed by Ferguson (1996) that diglossia is the appropriate label since “the analyst finds two poles in terms of which the intermediate varieties can be described; there is no third pole” (p.59).

A continuum of varieties has been recognized between the two polar varieties of Arabic: SA and colloquial Arabic (Abdel-Jawad & Abu Radwan, 2013). This approach can be referred to as the *variety approach* (Abdel-Jawad & Abu Radwan, 2013). Several studies have been conducted by Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973), Meiseles (1980), and Hussein (1980), and they all have proposed the existence of a number of varieties and have used different criteria to categorize them. On the other hand, other studies such as El-Hassan (1978) and Mitchell (1980) assume the existence of a single variety called *Educated Spoken Arabic* (ESA), which, as described by Mitchell (1980:13), is “created and maintained by the constant interplay of written and vernacular Arabic”.

Blanc (1960), in his study of interdialectal conversational Arabic, used a small sample of Arabic speakers from different countries living in the United States and described the dialect levels in terms of their proximity to either the classical or the colloquial. He assigns particular features of dialect or standard to different parts of a continuum and distinguishes five discrete levels:

1. *Plain colloquial* refers to any local dialect, within which the speaker may select ‘informal’ or ‘mildly formal’ features.
2. *Koineized colloquial* is any plain colloquial into which leveling devices have been more or less liberally introduced.
3. *Semi-literary* or *elevated* colloquial is any plain or koineized colloquial that is classicized beyond the ‘mildly formal’ range.
4. *Modified classical* is Classical Arabic with dialectal admixtures.
5. *Standard classical* is any of a variety of Classical Arabic styles essentially without dialectal admixtures (Blanc, 1960:85).

The stylistic modification in Blanc’s model is attributed to the two major devices of *levelling* and *classicizing*, which give rise to Level 3 and Level 4. He also refers to the linguistic situation found in his study as *multi-glossia*.

Badawi (1973) and Meiseles (1980) took the view that proposing intermediate levels between H and L would help to provide a more accurate description of the situation in the Arab world. Badawi (1973) distinguishes between five different levels in the linguistic continuum of Egypt:

1. *fushā at-turāθ* “heritage classical”: (Classical Arabic), which corresponds to Ferguson’s H, and is not affected by any progression of civilization, i.e. “pure”. According to Badawi, this level is a written language but is heard in its spoken form in *Qur’ānic* recitation.
2. *fushā al-‘aṣr* “contemporary classical”: (Modern Standard Arabic), the modern literary language which is basically a written form but is sometimes read aloud. It is used in the media and political commentary.
3. *‘ammīyat al-muṠaqqafīn* “colloquial of the cultured”: (Educated colloquial), the everyday formal spoken language of educated people in dealing with

serious matters such as politics, science, arts, and social conflicts. It is the language used in teaching in the classroom.

4. *'āmmīyat al-mutanawwirīn* “colloquial of the basically cultured”: the everyday informal spoken language of educated people used in situations such as TV discussions about sports or fashion or other non-intellectual topics, buying, selling, family and friend conversations, discussing food, fashion etc. CA is still in a more privileged position than local and regional Arab varieties. One of the functions of CA is “to separate the sacred from the profane, writing from speaking and prescribed religious rituals from the personal communication with God” in Egyptian society (Haeri, 2003:1). In general, those who use CA in their speech are considered to be more religious than those who speak the local dialect.
5. *'āmmīyat al-'ummiyīn* “colloquial of the illiterates”: this is characterized by the absence of the influence of CA/MSA. This has no place in the media, but can be found in comedy plays and theatre, as it is considered to be *luġat awlād il-balad*, lit. ‘The language of the children (people) of the country’ (Badawi, 1973:91).

In analysing his data, Badawi identifies the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features of each level. In the five levels he identifies, switching could be seen as either an upward or downward movement. As Badawi claims, in summarizing a point or drawing a conclusion the speaker switches upward, i.e. from Level 2 to Level 3 or from Level 3 to Level 4. On the other hand, if the speaker wishes to explain a point or accommodate to the interlocutor’s speech, the switching is descending, i.e. from Level 5 to Level 4 and from Level 4 to Level 3 or Level 2.

Mazraani (1997) states that Badawi’s levels, which are influenced by Blanc’s five-fold classification, are considered a major improvement on Ferguson’s narrow diglossia of H and L levels.

According to Badawi (1973), speakers have more than one of these levels in their speech as people tend to shift from one level to another in their conversations. Yet, it may be difficult for illiterate people to shift as much between these levels because they cannot control one or two levels with confidence. It is worth mentioning here

that Badawi includes sociolinguistic factors such as education in his description and this could be problematic. This is because it is not clear whether the colloquial levels are built on socio-economic variables such as education or whether they are just stylistic registers. Badawi (1973:95) states that there are no permanent boundaries between these five levels but they fade into one another. Therefore, one could theoretically propose an infinite number of levels rather than only five. Walters (1989:99) also characterizes Badawi's claims of having the speaker move from one level to the other as unclear. He states:

I have great difficulty with the number and characterization of Badawi's levels—I can never decide if the scheme in fact applies to style of language use within a speaker (cf. Joos 1967), levels of class-related style (cf. Labov 1966b), or a possible taxonomy for spoken utterances and written language.

It could be said that Badawi's Levels 1 and 2 reflect Ferguson's H and Levels 4 and 5 represent Ferguson's L, whereas Level 3 represents a bridge between the levels and corresponds with Ferguson's "semi-formal" level (Holes, 2004). For Badawi, Level 2 is still *fushā* and Level 3 is *'ammīya*. In his description of Level 3, Badawi (1973) explains that *'āmmīyat al-muṭaqqafīn* may show quite heavy use of *fushā* vocabulary and phraseology and concomitant phonological and morphological influences; however, its syntactic system, in particular word order, expression of mood and aspect, negation and concord remain non-standard.

Badawi goes on to describe *'āmmīyat al-muṭaqqafīn* by noting that "it represents the limit where *'āmmīyah*, in moving upwards towards *fushā*, reaches a degree where it becomes capable of expressing orally, contemporary culture" (1973:149). Mejdell (2006b) describes this as a sociocultural and functional definition. Badawi adds that *'āmmīyat al-muṭaqqafīn* carries the same cultural function as *fushā al-'aṣr* but that *fushā al-'aṣr* is basically a written variety and those who have the ability to speak *fushā* extemporaneously and with great ease represent a small minority. Thus, according to Badawi, the cultural functions carried by *fushā al-'aṣr* in writing are carried by *'āmmīyat al-muṭaqqafīn* in speech. Mejdell comments on this by noting that according to Badawi's description of *'āmmīyat al-muṭaqqafīn*, "*'āmmīyat al-muṭaqqafīn* performs the oral functions which are performed by the standard language in 'standard-with-dialects' types of comments" (2006b:54).

I agree with Boussafara-Omar (1999) that Badawi's hierarchical horizontal stratification does not present a better framework for the linguistic description of the so-called middle variety and it also does not explain the social motivations for its use even though he adopted a sociolinguistic perspective. Badawi himself states that there are no clear boundaries between his proposed levels or registers.

Echoing Blanc's and Badawi's Arabic continuum, Meiseles (1980) differentiates between four varieties in Arabic: literary Arabic or Standard Arabic, oral literary Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, and plain vernacular. Even in his research, no clear distinction between these varieties can be seen.

Similar to Badawi's Arabic continuum, Hary (1996) regards the term *diglossia* as no longer fitting the description of the Arabic speech situation because the term entails a mere dichotomy. He prefers the term *multiglossia* in describing the linguistic situation in the Arab world as it is one of a continuum rather than discrete levels independent of each other. A continuum is needed since a clear-cut line between the standard and the colloquial is rather tricky and complicated to draw. This continuum will have the standard at one end, and the colloquial at the other.

Hary tries to emphasize that there is no such thing as "pure" speech (cf. Owens, 2006 among others), whether colloquial or standard. Each will have traces of the other; hence, the two opposite poles seen above are idealizations of the speech situation. On the far left, SA is the "acrolect" end of the continuum, whereas colloquial Arabic at the far right is the "basilect" end. Between the two ends of the continuum one finds the "mesolect". This constitutes the middle part of the continuum and includes not just one variety, or, as Blanc (1960) and Badawi (1973) suggest, three varieties, but rather "there can be an almost infinite number of lectal varieties on the continuum between the two ideal types" (Hary, 1996:72). Hary proposes naming this mid-variety "Variety B_n", where "n" represents the almost countless possibilities available to the speakers along the continuum. When "...dealing with the notion of a continuum, there are no boundaries and no commitments to discrete categories" (ibid.), thus allowing more flexibility in analysing different (socio)-linguistic phenomena. He identifies seven possible variables that could account for the status of the speaker on the continuum, i.e. how s/he talks, what variety is used, choice of lexical items etc. These can either be optional or obligatory:

1. Setting (formal v. informal)
2. Topic
3. Speakers' skills in MSA
4. Emotional state of the speakers
5. Participants in the discussion
6. Function of the discourse
7. Personal relationship with the audience

To solve the problems associated with the variety approach, the researchers of the Leeds project (i.e. El-Hassan, 1977; Sallam, 1979, 1980; Mitchell, 1980) introduced the notion of *Educated Spoken Arabic*, ESA, to refer to an intermediate variety covering a wide continuum between SA and colloquial Arabic (El-Hassan, 1977; Meiseles, 1980; Mitchell, 1980; Mejdell, 2006b). Nevertheless, Ibrahim (1985) contends that even this intermediate variety, which he refers to as a *supra-koine*, cannot be described precisely and adequately as the speakers often shift unpredictably within the same context and sometimes within the same lexical items. Thus, there is an intertwining present in the intermediate varieties and they cannot actually be characterized as pure SA or vernacular (Abdel-Jawad & Abu Radwan, 2013). According to Mitchell (1986), ESA is not a separate level of the language but is created by the interaction between SA and the colloquial. Mitchell explains the reasons behind the existence of ESA. He states that in the modern world, educated men and women tend to converse on topics beyond the scope of a given regional vernacular. Moreover, educated people want to “share and commune” with other Arabs of a similar background. However, Nielsen (1996:225) criticizes the notion of ESA, noting that:

ESA is a mixed variety which is very badly codified [...] apart from very few studies (for example Eid 1982), no research has established what kind of rules actually govern this mixing, nor do we know whether or not such rules are subject to generalizations. This is not to say that native speakers do not know how to mix; but we have no reliable information establishing that the mixing is not a phenomenon heavily influenced, say, by personal or regional factors.

It should be mentioned that the variety approach has been criticized for the arbitrariness, fuzziness and impracticality of the proposed stratification of discrete and dichotomous varieties (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Ibrahim, 1985; Holes, 2004; Mazraani, 1997).

El-Hassan (1977) defines language as a “fuzzy phenomenon which defies rigidity” (1977:113) and stresses that not recognizing what he identifies as *Educated Spoken Arabic* (ESA) (cf. El-Hassan, 1978; Sallam, 1980; Meiseles, 1980; Mitchell, 1986) as a separate mid-level between H and L leads to an ineffective and insufficient “description of the reality of the Arabic language” (ibid.). On the other hand, Owens (2000:427) defines ESA as a stylistically controlled variety spoken almost exclusively by “...educated Arabs consisting of elements from both SA [i.e. CA] and the dialect, and possessing hybrid forms unique to the ESA level”.

El-Hassan also accuses Ferguson’s conclusions presented in his “Diglossia” article of being weak and that they “...cannot be validated by empirical language data”. A pertinent question is whether what Ferguson presented *is not yet* validated by data, or whether it simply *cannot be* validated. Thus, whereas for Ferguson a sermon in the mosque is carried out in H, for El-Hassan it is either in ESA, or in pure colloquial. However, a preacher using only pure colloquial must be a rare phenomenon. This is because in preaching the preacher has to quote verses of the Qur’ān and the Prophet’s speeches, which must be in CA. In addition, preachers must be educated speakers with a good knowledge of SA to be able to gain the respect of their audience. Also, the use of SA is unavoidable given the fact that there is shared lexis between the different levels of Arabic.

Giving Ferguson the benefit of the doubt is to presume that what he intended to mean was a read-aloud sermon with the imam reading from a prepared, fully declined speech, which is the only sense in which H can be rendered. El-Hassan (1978) eliminates such a possibility, however, as he states that most preachers now avoid writing out their *xuṭbah* in full, “thus allowing for style shifting” (p.131).

To sum up our discussion of diglossia and a middle or intermediate variety or educated spoken language, it could be said that there are two main poles of Arabic, as explained by Ferguson (1959a): H and L. However, there is a need for the emergence of an intermediate variety to meet communicative needs. Nevertheless, there is no clear pattern or structure to describe this level of language. In addition, each country in the Arab world has tended to develop its own middle variety in addition to developing its own MSA, and this may indicate that the “intermediate variety” will vary from one Arab country to another.

While many studies have been conducted on middle varieties and on code-switching and code-mixing in Arab countries such as Egypt, Tunisia and Kuwait in formal contexts such as political or religious contexts, and in particular, Friday sermons, no study to my knowledge has been conducted on switching and mixing or intermediate varieties in Saudi Arabia in general and between SA and NA in particular. Thus, I hope that my study will contribute to the field of diglossic code-switching and code-mixing and in framing syntactic structures and patterns of the “intermediate variety” or intermediate level. In this study, CA and MSA will be treated as occupying the high-level position of the continuum, while NA will occupy the low-level position.

In addition, from the above-mentioned studies on intermediate varieties it is possible to reach several conclusions. The first is that these intermediate varieties could result from “elevating” the dialect in the direction of the prestigious dialect, i.e. SA, simplifying SA in the direction of the dialect, or in the homogenization of the dialect by either modifying or eliminating features that are considered to be distinctive of a particular regional dialect. The second conclusion is that the aim of the above-mentioned studies was to divide Arabic into distinct middle varieties. Finally, the studies failed to provide a coherent framework to understand the mixing between the two main varieties, i.e. H and L.

3.5 Standard and prestige language

Since H and L varieties are sometimes related to the concept of prestige, I will attempt to briefly shed light on some of the important studies and findings with respect to this concept. There is a general assumption in the sociolinguistics literature that the standard language is the prestigious language. This assumption may result from the fact that in most languages, the terms *prestigious* and *standard varieties* not only can be used interchangeably but also can be compounded into one label, thus allowing reference to a certain language variety as the prestige standard (Ibrahim, 1986). However, according to Ibrahim (1986:115), “the identification of H as both the standard and the prestigious variety at one and the same time has led to problems of interpreting data and findings from Arabic sociolinguistic research”. This sort of

prestige may correspond to William Labov's concept of *covert prestige* noted in Trudgill (1995:74).

Studies carried out on this issue have shown that in most speech communities there is a prestige L, dependent on many geographical, political and social factors relevant to each community, which in certain circumstances affect speech (Bassiouney, 2006). For example, in Egypt, for non-Cairenes, Cairene Arabic is the prestigious language; for Jordanian women from Bedouin or rural backgrounds, on the other hand, it may be the urban Arabic dialects of the big cities of Jordan (Abdel-Jawwad, 1986:58).

In Saudi Arabia, the spoken dialects of some groups occupy a prestigious position due to the prestige of their speakers. This is particularly true of the dialects of central Najd and the associated Bedouin dialects as they are the spoken dialects of the ruling family in Saudi Arabia. Ingham (2009) explains that there are two factors which seem responsible for making the Najdi dialect the prestigious variety of Saudi Arabia. The first factor is the presence of a strong tradition of oral literature in the dialect, both prose and poetry. The second factor is the archaic nature of the dialects, which means that they differ from CA in fewer features than other more phonologically progressive dialects.

Regarding whether or not the prestigious variety is influenced by the standard variety, Holes (1983) discusses the influence of MSA on Bahraini dialects (Sunni and Shi'ite dialects) from a phonological and lexical viewpoint. He found that the socially prestigious Sunni speakers are not influenced much by the standard while the speech of the low-status Shi'ite speakers is relatively more influenced by the standard.

Abu-Haidar (1992), based on her studies of the Muslim and Christian dialects of Baghdad, takes the view that:

Apart from MSA (the H variety for all Baghdadis), CB speakers [Christian Baghdadis] use their own dialect as a L variety in informal situations at home and with in-group members, while they use MB [Muslim Baghdadi] as another H variety in more formal situations with non-Christians (1992:92).

Thus, it can be said that MSA is not the only source of linguistic prestige, as in every Arab speech community that has been examined by linguists there is a dominant L

which influences other lower-status Ls in that country or in the surrounding region. The reasons behind this could be the socio-economic dominance of the city, as in the case of Cairo, or the influence of a ruling political group, as in the case of the royal families of the Gulf (Bassiouney, 2006).

3.6 Language and gender

Since the sample of the present study consists of male and female preachers, I will discuss the available literature on differences between the genders in the use of H and L varieties. Gender was selected as one of the major aspects of the current research because of the growing reputations and the increasing number of female preachers in Saudi Arabia in particular. Moreover, previous studies of religious discourse have focused only on male preachers (e.g. Saeed, 1997; Bassiouney, 2006, 2013; Soliman, 2008). Given the gender segregation of this speech context, and the sociolinguistic studies of Arabic showing some gender variation which will be discussed in this section, there is a question over whether there may be gender variation in code-switching in religious speeches in segregated speech contexts. Therefore, by addressing the factor of gender I aimed to contribute to the available literature on whether or not variation exists between males and females in diglossic code-switching in religious discourse, which to my knowledge has not been addressed before.

In summarizing the findings of the sociolinguistic studies conducted on sex-differentiated patterns of variation in the speech communities of highly industrialized Western countries, Trudgill (1983) states that these studies “are all agreed that women, allowing for other variables such as age, education and social class, produce on average linguistic forms which more closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men” (p.161). This could be as a result of economic and social factors. Nichols (1983) found in his study conducted in two small villages in South Carolina where three groups were examined that the patterns of linguistic variation are linked to the economic positions of men and women in the community. The poorer/working women were interacting with speakers of standard English more frequently than their husbands were. Thus, the women used more prestigious language than the men. According to James and Drakich (1993), the use of prestigious linguistic forms by women is related to the

economic opportunities available to them. Thus, those exposed more to the prestigious forms of language because of their jobs or their social and economic circumstances will eventually use more prestigious norms.

However, economic and social factors are not always considered as essential factors that might affect language choice. For example, Holmquist (1985) found that although young men in a Spanish village were exposed to standard Spanish more frequently than young women were, as young men were used to working outside the community and spending more time in military service, young women still used more prestigious forms than young men. On the other hand, Cheshire (1982) found that although they had the strongest social networks, older women in a Welsh community used more non-standard forms of speech than men. A study by Gal (1978) in a Hungarian village showed that both men and women were similar in their social networks but the women still used the prestigious variety, i.e. standard German, more frequently. Gal attributed this to a supposition that women feel less loyal to the community than men do.

According to Bassiouney (2009:156) and Trudgill (1972), in the Western world, feeling less secure in their social positioning is what makes women use more prestigious forms, and language is a means of securing social status. However, this interpretation has been criticized by a great number of studies (cf. Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003). A study conducted by Romaine (2003) in Sweden found that although Sweden is a country which is famous for gender equality, the women there still use more prestigious forms than men.

Another factor that might affect women's use of language is using language as a means of gaining respect and power (Bassiouney, 2009). This means trying to assert one's membership in the social group to which one belongs. For example, if someone belongs to a group that uses a prestigious-standard variety, gaining respect in that group demands using this variety. Salami (1991) found that Nigerian women do not need to use more prestigious language than men because they already have a high level of participation in society.

However, according to Labov (1982), the situation in the Arab world is different from that in Western countries. While women are more conservative in their use of language in the West, the situation is the reverse in Arab countries. Labov based his

findings on Abdel-Jawad (1981), who found that in Amman men use the standard /q/ more frequently than women. In coming up with this finding based on Abdel-Jawad (1981), Labov might not have considered the differences between a prestige variety and a standard one in Arab world. Bassiouney (2006) states that many linguistic studies in the Arab world show that there is a prestigious vernacular which depends on many geographical, political and social factors within each community. The prestigious variety could be both the urban dialect of the big city and the standard variety, CA/MSA.

Daher (1999) provides evidence that women of a specific background may not use standard forms. He examined /θ/ and /ð/ and measured the way in which both phonological variables are realized by men and women in Damascene Arabic, in which these two variables are pronounced as /s/ and /z/, respectively. He came to the conclusion that men tend to realize them more frequently in the standard form (which is different from the prestige form) than women do. Daher claims that “men are more likely than women to approach the standard variant as speech norm” (1999:180) as men have greater access to education and professions which demand the use of MSA.

Daher (1998) also conducted another study to examine another phonological variable that is realized differently in Damascene Arabic and SA: the uvular variable /q/. The variable /q/ is pronounced as a glottal stop in Damascene Arabic. Again, he found that men tended to favour the usage of /q/, while women avoided its usage and connotation as /q/ is associated with rural speakers and the lack of the superior social status of city life. The /q/ variable was introduced into the dialect through formal education. As a result, since education was “traditionally the domain of a small male elite” (1998:203), men use /q/ more frequently than women do. However, even educated professional women tended to use the glottal stop and not /q/ because the glottal stop is associated more with urbanization and modernization, while /q/ is more masculine and associated with rural speakers.

Another study which also shows the attachment of women to urban variables and modernization was conducted by Al-Wer (1999). Al-Wer conducted a study on Palestinian and Jordanian dialects spoken by men and women in Jordan. She reached the conclusion that indigenous Jordanian women adapted to the urban prestige norms more than men did. According to Al-Wer, the reason behind this is that the indigenous

Jordanians believe that urban Palestinian women represent finesse (1999:41). Moreover, Palestinian women seemed to be more liberated, more modern, and better educated than Jordanian ones.

In a different vein, Haeri (1996) also found that women take the lead in using prestigious variants. She was interested in variation in Cairene Arabic between men and women, and studied the processes of fronting and backing in Cairene Arabic. She concentrated in her study on two variables: the degree of pharyngealization, which is a backing process, and apical palatalization, which is a fronting as well as a raising process. Haeri came to the conclusion that men have heavier pharyngealization than women and this might be because they want to sound tough and manly (1996:107), while weak or no pharyngealization is characteristic of women in particular. Pharyngealization is a process found in CA; however, it tends to be avoided by women. Haeri found that in Cairo, those who initiate change in the language are women. Usually, variables associated with upper-middle-class women tend to be prestigious, and thus become models for lower-class women who have social ambition.

Finally, to conclude this section it is worth stressing that most of the studies mentioned above indicate that women sometimes have less access to education and professional life than men do and thus their use of SA is less frequent than that of men. However, in recent years, this has become a rare phenomenon in Saudi Arabia and other countries in the Middle East where education is broadly equal. Another reason which leads women to use SA less frequently is that when women have to choose between using a prestigious urban variety and SA, they are most likely to choose the prestigious urban variety as a symbolic means of asserting their identity even when they have equal levels of education to men (Haeri, 1996). Abu-Haidar (1989) also claims that young women in the Arab world are more sensitive to and innovative at taking part in linguistic changes than old and young men. However, Mejdell (2006b) found that this generalization did not apply to some of her female informants.

The current study will consider the issue of gender and how it affects the preachers' use and choice of SA and NA or the code-switching between these two varieties. Although the context of the above-mentioned studies differs from the

context of the present study, i.e. formal extemporaneous monologue on religious topics, they provide a background context to show the differences between the male and females in their use of the two varieties of Arabic. In addition, although the sample of the present study is relatively small (i.e. three males and three females), my intention is for the study to contribute to the literature by investigating whether there is evidence of any difference between males and females in their use of the two varieties of Arabic.

3.7 Conclusion

As has been explained in the literature discussed in this chapter, code-switching is a term which is commonly used when discussing bilingual or multilingual speech communities in the Arab world, which are characterized by a diglossic nature. Therefore, diglossic code-switching would best describe the switching taking place between the two varieties of Arabic which are the focus of the current study: SA and NA. More precisely, the current study is concerned with switching between SA and NA in religious discourse, which represents the most formal context of speech. As explained above, the term *diglossic intra-sentential code-switching* will be used to describe the switching taking place in the current study.

Moreover, the early studies on bilingual code-switching discussed above have shown that code-switching can take place as a result of the speaker's lack of competence in any of the languages. Similarly, diglossic code-switching could also result from the speaker's lack of competence in SA or the failure of the dialect to penetrate into certain domains.

This chapter has provided a detailed analysis of the linguistic phenomena and social variables that will be addressed in the current study. The next chapter will focus on the methodology used, the nature of the participants and the collected corpus.

Chapter Four

Methodology and Data Collection

4.1 Introduction

As explained in Chapter Three, diglossia in Saudi Arabia, as in all other Arab countries, has resulted from the development of two historically related varieties of Arabic. These varieties are the High (H) variety, which comprises CA (i.e. the language of the Qur'ān and pre-Islamic and early Islamic literary production) and MSA (i.e. the modern version of CA), and the Low (L) variety, which comprises the various regional dialects. Interestingly, it has been noted that both H and L varieties are perceived by speakers as one single entity (the Arabic language). This is not only true in Saudi Arabia but is the case in all Arab countries (Boussafara-Omar, 1999).

As predicted by Ferguson (1959a) and by both Arab and non-Arab scholars such as Blanc (1960), El-Hassan (1978), and Mitchell (1978), one or more varieties of Arabic has developed geographically. However, there has not been a principled method of linguistic treatment in descriptive and theoretical terms. As Walters (1996:157) notes, this “left the researchers ill-equipped to investigate or understand speech communities of [this nature]”.

Although some research has been conducted on intermediate varieties found in Egypt, Tunisia and Kuwait (e.g. Badawi, 1973; Eid, 1982, 1988; Holes, 1993; Boussafara-Omar 1999; Al-Qenaie, 2011), there has been almost no research on intermediate varieties or on understanding what actually goes on between H and L varieties of Arabic in the Saudi context. Instead, most studies conducted in Saudi Arabia focus on regional variation. Furthermore, there has been no linguistic investigation on the varieties used in religious discourse, including both male and female preachers in Saudi Arabia and in Najd in particular.

The research objective of the current study is to analyse the language practice of several Najdi male and female preachers in formal situations (i.e. religious speeches given to the public) and to identify how they use the linguistic resources of Standard Arabic (SA) and Najdi Arabic (NA) in their speeches given to the public. Addressing

this research objective requires the analyst to be able to identify the relevant codes (language varieties) and to ascertain whether language boundaries are present between different codes.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the methodology used in collecting the relevant data required for the research. The study adopts a mixed methods approach, where both quantitative and qualitative methods are applied. The chapter will provide a description of the participant sample, the linguistic variables selected for analysis, and the linguistic constraints noted in previous studies which will be applied to the current study. Following this, the data analysis and transcription process will be discussed.

4.2 The sample

Since the rise of Islam, both males and females have participated in preaching Islam (Az-Zayyan, 2005). However, mosque sermons such as Friday and Eid sermons are exclusive to male sheikhs or scholars. The Prophets' wives Khadijah, Aishah and Hafsa, and his daughter Fatimah all participated in preaching by addressing only females and explaining feminine issues to them in the light of Islam; females are not expected to address males for social and Islamic reasons (Az-Zayyan, 2005). Currently, both female and male preachers must obtain a licence to preach from the Ministry of Islamic Affairs in Saudi Arabia but women are authorized to preach only to females. Women have also been given roles in mosques where they can lecture the female audience on several issues including Islamic and social affairs. Usually this takes place after *Magrib* (i.e. sunset) prayers.

Today's advancement of technology and the increased access of male and female preachers to homes, summer schools, mosques and TV programmes⁷ has made it easier for preachers or Islamic scholars to spread their religious and social messages. The audience can choose either to go to mosques or summer schools to attend a religious/social speech given by a well-known sheikh or they can stay at home and watch or listen to speeches through their laptops and smartphones at work or during their car journeys. Moreover, preachers now have individual websites. This means

⁷ Only male preachers are allowed to have TV programmes in Saudi Arabia.

that they can address all levels of society, whether educated or uneducated, young or old, male or female, and rich or poor. This situation has helped to create more non-traditionally Islamic ways of spreading their message.

The aim of the speaker and the effect he/she aims to make on his/her audience plays an important role in his/her code choice (Bassiouney, 2006). Thus, in religious sermons, whether they are given in mosques or in public places, preachers are aiming to persuade their audience of the truth of their sermon message, even if they have to switch between the different Arabic varieties. Preachers' success in persuading their audience of their viewpoint has an impact on their success and popularity.

Selecting the sample for my study was not an easy task. The first decision to be taken was in relation to the sample size. The number of participants that a particular study should have to render it fruitful, effective and with representative results depends on the nature of the study. Creating a situation where results are representative of the whole region concerned would require an exhaustive survey of that region "and that kind of survey is seldom – and in dialectology, perhaps never – done" (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:91). The current study has quantitative elements but the main focus is on qualitative methodology because of the need to investigate the nature of the data and the concept of diglossic intra-sentential code-switching in the preachers' speeches in detail. Conducting qualitative analysis demands more time and effort. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, six preachers were selected consisting of three male preachers and three female preachers.

The second decision concerned the selection of the preachers. I based my choice on the male and female preachers' popularity as they are well known not only in Najd and the whole of Saudi Arabia but also in nearly all Arab countries. Moreover, the subjects had to fulfill two criteria: (1) they must have been born in Najd and (2) they must have lived in Najd or are currently living in Najd. I also accessed several websites, such as Wikipedia, to check the popularity of preachers in the Najd region in particular. The preachers chosen are all highly educated, and five of them are PhD holders and university staff members at Saudi universities. Therefore, the individuals studied are of a high level of education and professionalism in handling both Standard Arabic (SA) and Najdi Arabic (NA).

I will introduce the speakers in the following sub-section.

4.2.1 The speakers

Regarding the female preachers included in the study, the senior female preacher is Dr. Ruqayah Al-Mūhārib (henceforth RM), who was born in Riyadh in 1964. She studied Islamic Studies at the Faculty of Education in Riyadh, which is currently known as Princess Nora bint Abdulrahman University. She pursued her postgraduate education at the same university. She currently works as an associate professor in the Department of Islamic Studies at the same university.

The second female preacher is Dr. Nawal Al-ʿīd (henceforth NE). She was born in Shaqra, a small city near Riyadh. She graduated in Islamic Studies from the Faculty of Education in Riyadh, which is currently known as Princess Nora bint Abdulrahman University. She continued her postgraduate studies at the same university. She is currently an associate professor at the same university. She is also a member of many Islamic committees inside and outside Saudi Arabia and has won a prize for a paper written about women's rights in Islam. She also has a programme on the Saudi Radio channel in which she talks about women's rights and family affairs.

The third female preacher included in this study is Dr. Rīm Al-Bānī (henceforth RB), who was born in Riyadh. She graduated from the Department of Islamic Studies at Imam Mohammad bin Saud University in Riyadh. She continued her studies at the same university but in the College of Education from where she has received a Master and PhD degree in Principles of Education. She is currently an assistant professor at the same university.

The first male preacher is Professor ʿAbdullah Al-Muṭṭlaq (henceforth AM). He was born in 1953 in Al-Aflaj, a small city near Riyadh, and he is considered the most senior of all of the male and female preachers. He graduated from Imam Mohammad bin Saud University in Riyadh from the Department of Comparative Jurisprudence and then pursued his postgraduate studies at the same university, where he held several positions until he became head of the Department of Comparative Jurisprudence. Currently he is a member of the Council of Senior Scholars and the Permanent Committee for Islamic Research and Issuing Fatwas in Saudi Arabia. In addition, he works as a counsellor at the Royal Court (i.e. Royal Diwan).

The second male preacher is Dr. Muḥammad al-‘Arifi (henceforth MA), who was born in 1970 in Riyadh. He graduated from Imam Mohammad bin Saud University in Riyadh from the Department of Islamic Theology. He pursued his postgraduate studies at the same university and received a PhD degree in the same field. He is currently working as an assistant professor at King Saud University in Riyadh, in addition to being a member of many Islamic committees inside and outside Saudi Arabia.

The third male preacher is Sulaymān Al-Jubaylan (henceforth SJ), who was born in 1956 in ‘Unizah, a city in Al-Qaṣim Region which is 300 km from Riyadh. He is also a religious scholar and is well known for his sense of humour. He is considered the first youth casual preacher in Saudi Arabia. Unlike the first two male preachers mentioned above, he did not pursue his higher education but he was one of Ibn ‘Uḥaymīn’s students⁸. He currently works as an Imam in a mosque in ‘Unizah and also preaches.

The male preachers usually give speeches to both male and female audiences although the female audience is usually sitting in a separate place from the male audience; they listen to the preachers through loudspeakers. On the other hand, female preachers usually give speeches to female-only audiences in Saudi Arabia. This is because it is forbidden for females to talk to male strangers according to the Islamic teaching practised in Saudi Arabia; this is also not acceptable for social reasons, because Saudi society is considered to be conservative. All the preachers in this study are considered to be middle class on the basis of income. This reflects the majority social class in Saudi Arabia, as nearly 67% of people in Saudi Arabia are middle class and this percentage is based on governmental data on the Saudi workforce in both the public and private sectors (Alnuaim, 2013).

In these speeches, all of the preachers aim to to be clearly understood by the highly educated, the educated, the uneducated and illiterate. Therefore, they switch to speaking the local dialect for this reason; they are not switching because their abilities to speak SA extemporaneously have failed them. Therefore, each of the male and female preachers has created for himself or herself a wide range of patterns of linguistic behaviour that the audience will identify with him or her.

⁸ A very well-known religious scholar in Saudi Arabia.

The dataset for the current study is relatively small because it enables the study to focus in detail on a well-defined set of high-frequency grammatical features.

4.3 The recordings

The data for this study consists of published audio recordings of religious sermons which were obtained from websites such as *al-wāḥāt aṣ-ṣawtīyah* and *Islamweb.net*. The quality of the recordings is generally good. Obtaining the published audio recordings means that the data consist of entirely natural, unelicited speech (Bower, 2008). The preachers were not being recorded for language analysis purposes. They usually record their religious speeches and upload them onto YouTube, Islamic websites or their own websites to be made easily accessible to the audience, who can listen to them at a time and place of their convenience. Moreover, the recordings were made in formal settings. Thus, it was felt that only in these circumstances could the recordings be considered to illustrate spontaneous, unselfconscious speech.

The method adopted differed in this respect from that used by some other researchers, such as Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975) and Redlinger (1976) in their collection of samples of Spanish–English code-switching. In their investigations, the speakers involved were aware that they were being recorded, and had even been told that the investigator was interested in hearing some examples of code-switching. This approach is undesirable and may encourage artificiality because, as Bower (2008:112) comments, this might lead people to feel that “it should be the formal standard language that is recorded and described rather than the colloquial speech”.

The duration of the preachers’ speeches varies from one hour to an hour and a half. They also vary in the topic, setting or circumstances under which they were delivered and in the audiences to which they addressed. The total duration of the whole data corpus of recordings is nearly 13 hours and 48 minutes. This is considered sufficient for the purpose of the study because it yields a large amount of data for analysis and many tokens of the variables to be analysed in this study have been identified. Moreover, given the amount of time and work needed to process (transcribing and transliterating) the speeches, this amount of data is considered to be sufficient. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the duration of the recordings of each preacher, the source and the date of last access.

Gender	Preacher	Duration in minutes	The website	Date of last access
Females	RM	66:40	http://www.alwa7at.net/articles-action-listarticles-id-18.htm	16/2/2016
		90:00	http://www.alwa7at.net/articles-action-listarticles-id-18.htm	16/2/2016
	NE	65:45	http://www.alwa7at.net/voices-action-listvoices-id-6.htm	16/2/2016
		57:46	http://www.alwa7at.net/voices-action-listvoices-id-6.htm	16/2/2016
	RB	79:7	http://www.alwa7at.net/voices-action-listvoices-id-15.htm	16/2/2016
		70:34	http://www.alwa7at.net/voices-action-listvoices-id-15.htm	16/2/2016
Males	AM	89:53	http://audio.islamweb.net	16/2/2016
		60:07	http://audio.islamweb.net	16/2/2016
	MA	54:03	http://audio.islamweb.net	16/2/2016
		59:28	http://audio.islamweb.net	16/2/2016
	SJ	60:00	http://audio.islamweb.net	16/2/2016
		57:00	http://audio.islamweb.net	16/2/2016
		Total=809 minutes 26 seconds (13 hours and 48 minutes approx.)		

Table 4.1: The duration of the recordings of both female and male speakers

4.4 Transcriptions

An important aspect of the method is the use of transcriptions of the speeches. The rationale for this is twofold: the accuracy of the transcriptions aids the analyst in identifying linguistic features, and the transcriptions can then be used to interpret the data and allow others to scrutinize the interpretation offered.

The data was transcribed phonetically. In transcribing the data, I tried to use the observation method (Bowern, 2008). I tried to observe how speakers exploit the two varieties included in the study to different degrees. I transcribed the speeches given by the female and male preachers using the transliteration symbols on pages xvii-xviii, which are based on Ingham's (1994) phonological analyses of NA.

The linguistic analysis of diglossic code-switching in the current study focuses on intra-sentential code-switching (i.e. code-switching within the sentence) and the overall patterns of switching; a morpheme-by-morpheme transcription is generally provided. However, a word-by-word transcription is sometimes provided, depending

on whether the focus is on the linguistic or functional analysis of the switching in an utterance. As for the translation, I tried to make it as literal as possible in order to be as close as possible to the original data.

Determining whether the lexical items belong to SA or NA is a complex issue. Mejdell (2012:36) puts forward two reasons for this:

First, much vocabulary is shared between the MSA and the vernacular, and second, a cultural loan from the MSA may receive phonological adaptation, reflecting a gradual process of integration into the common spoken language.

To make this clear in the transcription of my data, I used italic emphasis to indicate NA, and used underlining to indicate SA. Neutral lexemes were indicated by both italic emphasis and underlining to show that they existed in both varieties. Anything which is neither NA nor SA is in plain text (for example, any foreign loanwords) if applicable. Regarding the four linguistic variables included in the study, they were marked using bold emphasis.

As in Mejdell's study (2006b), the problem of whether a vowel is an instance of anaptyxis, a case marker, or part of the article emerged. Deciding whether a vowel is part of the article or an anaptyctic vowel was to some extent problematic, particularly in the case of analysing mixed styles involving both codes. This issue has wider implications. Mejdell (2006b:86) gives the following examples to elaborate the situation:

daras al-kimya 'he studies chemistry'

or

darasa l-kimya 'he studied chemistry'

In the first example, *daras* 'study' is considered a shared verb in both Egyptian Arabic (EA) and the pausal form of SA, whereas the second verb *darasa* 'study' is a full SA form.

I made every effort to make the transcription as accurate as possible although there may be inconsistency in terms of whether the vowels /a/ and /i/ were treated as belonging to the article or the end of a verb or noun.

4.5 Linguistic variables

In investigating diglossic code-switching in the present study, the aim is to focus on the structural properties of the switching produced by the speakers. The grammatical items selected for the purpose of this investigation are of high frequency and have distinct contrastive variants in the two varieties. Moreover, a list of a number of features was first compiled by Ferguson (1959a) and added to by Cohen (1970) and Versteegh (1984), which they claim differentiates all modern dialects from CA. Watson (2011:859–860) presents all of these features which are thought to distinguish many dialects of Arabic from CA; the list consists of 34 variables. Some of these features have been selected in this study, although negation is not included in this list, which will be explained in Section 4.5.1. As discussed by Watson (2011:860–861), these features are not universally present in all Arabic dialects and there is ever-increasing counterevidence of dialects which do not have any of these features. Nevertheless, this list is still useful, as in contrast to CA many dialects share most of these features, which are generally seen as typical (Bellem & Smith, 2014).

Some of these grammatical items are function words and some are grammatical bound morphemes. Meiseles (1977) argues that case or mood endings (*'rāb*) are considered by Arab speakers as the most distinctive features of CA; their presence or absence is not considered in the current study. As indicated by Mejdell (2006b), absence of these endings in speech is accepted as less formal SA. Furthermore, case and mood endings are not used “in pause”, which is when the word is not in close juncture with the word following it.

The selected features are negation (NEG), relative pronouns (REL), demonstratives (DEM), and future particles (FUT). For each linguistic feature, I will discuss the linguistic form and function in the two basic codes by referring to studies and textbooks on SA and NA. By discussing SA variants which have received extensive description and analysis, I will bring together perspectives from various sources with different critical approaches. I will also collect and discuss information from various sources on NA variants, although the literature is to some extent less informative and comprehensive. This information will provide the reader with an understanding of the properties of the linguistic features under investigation. A

description of each linguistic feature is provided in each of the following subsections, beginning with negation.

4.5.1 Negation

Negation is one of the features of dialectal Arabic that differs from SA. Although it is not included in the list compiled by Ferguson (1959a) and later modified by Cohen (1970) and Versteegh (1984) to distinguish all modern dialects from CA, it is important to show how the negators in NA differ from those in SA. Despite the fact that SA and NA share some negative particles, the negation system of these two linguistic varieties differs. In this section, the most common and relevant negative particles and function words will be presented for both SA and NA.

4.5.1.1 Negation in SA

In SA, negation is mainly expressed by the negative particles *lā*, *lam*, *lan*, and *mā*, and the negative verb *laysa*. Cantarino (1974, I:111) considered *lam*, *lan*, and the negative verb *laysa* ‘to not be’ to be compounds of a “primary” negator *lā*, whereas *mā* is derived from its function as an interrogative (cf. Ouhalla, 2008).

The three SA particles *lā*, *lam*, and *lan* are used to negate sentences with verbal predicates and are followed by an imperfect form of the verb which is inflected for three moods: jussive, indicative, and subjunctive. The differences between them relate to the time reference information they index in addition to their function as sentence negation particles. The negative particle *lam* expresses past temporal reference and requires the following verb to be in the jussive mood, whereas *lan* represents future temporal reference and requires the following verb to be in the subjunctive mood (Badawi, Carter & Gully, 2004). When the negative particle *lā* is used to negate a verbal sentence, it is most often used to express present temporal reference and requires the following verb to be in indicative form (cf. Badawi, Carter & Gully 2004; Ryding, 2005 among others).

Consider the following examples for further elaboration:

- (1) **lam** *ya-ktub-Ø* (Past)
 NEG 3SG.M-write.IPF-JUSS
 ‘he did not write’
- (2) **lan** *ya-ktub-a* (Future)
 NEG 3SG.M-write.IPF-SBJV
 ‘he will not write’
- (3) **lā** *ya-ktub-u* (Present)
 NEG 3SG.M-write.IPF-IND
 ‘he does not write’

The SA negative *mā* seems to overlap in function with *lā*; however, it differs from *lā* in having a wider and less restricted distribution. The negative particle *mā* can occur in a sentence with a verbal predicate. The verbal predicate can be in either the perfect or the imperfect form, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (4) **mā** *katab-a*
 NEG wrote.PF-3SG.M
 ‘he did not write’
- (5) **mā** *ya-ktub-u*
 NEG 3SG.M-write.IPF-IND
 ‘he does not write’

For negating sentences with non-verbal or nominal predicates, *laysa* is widely used as it is described as a negative copula (Ouhalla, 2008). *mā* can also occur in a sentence with a nominal predicate. Consider the following examples of nominal negation adapted from Ouhalla (2008:356):

- (6) **laysat** *al-bint-u* *ḥazīnat-an*
 NEG the-girl-NOM sad-ACC
 ‘the girl is not sad’
- (7) **mā** *zayd fī l-bayt*
 NEG Zayd in the-house
 ‘Zayd was not in the house’

The following subsections will present a brief description of each negative particle (which could also be called a marker) and the various SA verb forms with which they occur.

4.5.1.1.1 *lā*

This negative particle is the most general with regard to its frequency and variety of functions. It is also possible that *lā* is historically the original and oldest negative particle and that it played a role in the development of the compound negative particles *lan*, *lam*, and *laysa* (Cantarino, 1974). According to Holes (2004:242), *lā* is the most widely used particle. It is used:

- a) To negate the indicative or subjunctive imperfect verb, as in the case of negating imperfect verbs with present and future time reference. The following examples illustrate this:

(8) *lā ya-ktub-u l-walad-u* (Indicative)
 NEG 3SG.M-write.IPF-IND the-boy-NOM
 ‘the boy does not write’

(9) *ya-jūz-u ‘an lā ya-ktub-a* (Subjunctive)
 3SG.M-allow.IPF-IND that NEG 3SG.M-write.IPF-SBJV
l-walad-u l-wājib-a
 the-boy-NOM the-homework-ACC
 ‘it is possible for the boy not to write the homework’

(10) *lā ‘a-nsā d-dars-a* (Future)
 NEG 1SG-forget.IPF the-lesson-ACC
 ‘I shall not forget the lesson’

- b) To negate the jussive imperfect form of negative imperatives and with perfect verbs in negative exhortation. The following example illustrates this:

(11) *lā ta-ftaḥ-Ø al-bāb-a* (Jussive)
 NEG 2SG.M-open.IPF-JUSS the-door-ACC
 ‘Do not open the door’

The following example of negative exhortation is adopted from Rammuny (1978:247):

- (12) *lā qaddar-a llāh-u*
 NEG permitted.PF-3SG.M Allāh-NOM
 ‘Allāh forbid’

- c) To negate nouns. In this case, the noun is required to be in the accusative case and without a definite article and nunation. Only subject nouns can be negated in such a way (Moutaouakil, 1991:270–271). The negative particle *lā* in this case is often termed in the grammar as *lā* of “absolute negation” or “general denial”, which in Arabic is called *lā al-nāfiya lil-jins*. This includes the “two Arabic clichés”, or frozen expressions, such as *lā budda* and *lā jarama*, ‘inevitably’, and other Arabic clichés such as *lā shakka* ‘undoubtedly’ (Rammuny, 1978). This can be seen in the following examples:

- (13) *lā rajul-a fī l-manzil-i*
 NEG man-ACC in the-house-GEN
 ‘there is no man in the house’

- (14) *lā shakk-a fī ḍālika l-mawḍū‘-i*
 NEG doubt-ACC in DEM the-issue-GEN
 ‘there is no doubt in that issue’

- d) As equivalent to English *no*, i.e. as the particle of general denial of preposition (Holes, 2004). For example:

- (15) *hal tu-rīd-u ṭa‘ām-an? lā*
 do 2SG.M-want.IPF-IND food-ACC No
 ‘Do you want food? No’

- e) As the negative particle in a sequence of negated constituents as a correlative negative sentence, in which the first negative could be any negative. This is shown in the following example adopted from Gully, Carter and Badawi (2004:465):

- (16) *lā 'aṣl-a wa-lā faṣl-a wa-lā juḏūr-a*
 NEG basis-ACC and-NEG origin-ACC and-NEG roots-ACC
li-miṪl-i hāḏihi l-'azmat-i
 for-such-GEN DEM the-crisis-GEN
 'there is no basis whatsoever and no roots for such a crisis'

f) In a contrastive pair in which it negates the second member of a contrastive pair. For example:

- (17) *zayd-un fariḥ-un lā ḥazīn-un*
 Zayd-NOM happy-NOM NEG sad-NOM
 'Zayd is happy, not sad'

4.5.1.1.2 *lam*

The negative particle *lam* occurs only before the imperfect verb form. However, it forms the negative analogue of the perfect verb and thus *lam* is used to refer to events with a past time reference. It also requires the following verb to be in the jussive mood, as can be seen in the following example:

- (18) *lam ya-ktub-Ø*
 NEG 3SG.M-write.IPF-JUSS
 'he did not write'

This negative particle is never used in spoken dialects except in situations where the context demands a formal style of speaking (Holes, 2004).

4.5.1.1.3 *lan*

The negative particle *lan* is used for the negation of verbs with an explicit future time reference. The verb following *lan* is required to be in the subjunctive mood. For example:

- (19) *lan ya-ktub-a*
 NEG 3SG.M-write.IPF-SBJV
 'he will never write'

Negation with this particle has an emphatic function, which is often translated using the English equivalent ‘will never’. On the other hand, future negation can also be expressed by using the particle *lā* with the future particle *sawfa*, and the verb following *lā* would be an indicative verb. This can be seen in the following example produced by Fassi Fehri (1993:173):

(20) *sawfa lā ya-ḥṣul-u hāḏā*
 FUT NEG 3SG.M-happen.IPF-IND DEM
 ‘this will not happen’

4.5.1.1.4 *mā*

The negative particle *mā* used to be more commonly found in CA than it is in MSA with the following uses:

- a) In CA, *mā* was used in two cases. First, it was used to negate imperfect indicative verbs; this was especially found in direct speech and in the reporting of actions contemporaneous with the utterance. As Fischer (2002) explains, it denies the action and possibility in this sense. Second, it was used to negate completed actions expressed by perfect verbs. This was common in first person direct speech where the speaker was certain of the truth of what he/she was saying; as Fischer (2002) argues, it denies the whole fact when used with a perfect verb. Thus, it can be said that *mā* is a flexible negative particle which can be used with past time reference verbs (perfect forms) and imperfect verbs but never to express future reference. However, over time MSA has tended to replace the negative particle *mā* followed by an imperfect indicative verb with *lā* and has tended to replace the second case of *mā* followed by a perfect verb as a past negative with *lam* followed by the imperfect form. This could result from the fact that over time *mā* seems to have developed in the different vernaculars and has acquired undesirable stylistic connotations due to changing issues of prestige and widespread exposure to prestige (Cantarino 1974, I:127). Negation with *mā* can be seen in the following examples:

(21) *mā ya-ḍrib-u l-walad-a*
 NEG 3SG.M-hit.IPF-IND the-boy-ACC
 ‘he is not hitting the boy’

- (22) *mā* *ḍarab-tu* *l-walad-a*
 NEG hit.PF-1SG the-boy-ACC
 ‘I did not hit the boy’

As mentioned earlier, nowadays *lam* is more commonly used to refer to the past instead of *mā*.

- b) *mā* is also used to negate nominal predicates. Nevertheless, Cantarino (1974) observes that in MSA *mā* “is used much less frequently today than previously” (I:108), *mā* “is rarely used to negate a nominal sentence”; and is “more frequently used in sentences with the nominal predicate [...] introduced by the preposition *bi-*”, as in the following example:

- (23) *mā* *'anā bi-ḥālim-in*
 NEG I Prep-dreaming-GEN
 ‘I am not dreaming’

Example (23) shows that *mā* can be used to negate verbless sentences. However, this is a relatively very rare use of *mā* as the negative verb *laysa* is normally used in this sense.

- c) Moutaouakil (1991) adds that the negative particle *mā* can only combine with imperfect form verbs when it “constitutes a discontinuous negative morpheme with the restrictive particle *'illā*” (p.267). Thus, *mā* as a verbal negator has a limiting or exceptive meaning when followed by *'illā* or *siwā* (Bellem & Smith, 2014). This can be seen in the following example:

- (24) *mā* *yu-ḥibb-u* *zayd-un* *'illā* *hind-an*
 NEG 3SG.M-love.IPF-IND zayd-NOM except hind-ACC
 ‘Zayd does not love anyone except Hind’

- d) The negative particle *mā* occurs in MSA with imperfect verb forms before stative verbs, particularly with cognitive verbs such as *believe*, *know*, and *think*. In this sense, these verbs are more commonly found in the first person form than the third person form (Badawi, Carter & Gully, 2004). For example:

(25) *mā* 'a-šukk-u *fī* *ḍālika*
 NEG 1SG-doubt.IPF-IND in that
 'I do not doubt that'

e) The negative particle *mā* is also used with the preposition *min* ('of', 'from') for the absolute denial of prepositions. This can be seen in the following example:

(26) *mā min šakk-in fī 'an*
 NEG from doubt-GEN in that
 'there is no doubt that...'

Mejdell (2006b) states that the negative particle *mā*, in contrast to the negative particles *lā* and *lam*, in discourse analysis terms appears to carry a connotation of involvement and the context of its use tends to be reported speech. It also could involve first- and second person reference. Moreover, Mejdell adds that the occurrence of *mā* is more common in narratives than in expository, information-oriented texts.

To conclude this part of the discussion, it is worth mentioning that in his study on negation in modern literary Arabic, Rammuny (1978) counted the occurrence of negative particles in his corpus⁹ and confirmed that *lā*, *lan*, and *lam* are the most commonly found particles, and even *laysa* is used more frequently than *mā* in SA. In his study, *lā* with the imperfective indicative occurred 3414 times in addition to other occurrences of *lā* with the jussive, subjunctive and other cases, *lan* occurred 2801 times, *lam* occurred 293 times, and *laysa* occurred 82 times, whereas only 72 examples of negative *mā* were found.

4.5.1.1.5 *laysa*

laysa is a negative marker but it is morphologically and syntactically a verb and thus is commonly called a negative verb. It is inflected as a perfect verb but does not carry past time reference. However, it is an anomalous verb as it only has s-stem (i.e.

⁹ Rammuny (1978) analysed the features of negation in Modern Literary Arabic (hereafter MLA) prose, and focused on areas of substantial change in function and meaning which the negative particles have manifested in the period since World War II.

perfective) forms but it does not refer to completed actions and it does not have any of the semantic functions of a “content” verb (Holes, 2004).

Considering the function of *laysa* as a negative verb, it could be said that this negative particle has two main uses and one minor use: (a) *laysa* is principally used to negate an adjectival or nominal attribute. (b) It is also used to negate the existence of something. (c) Regarding the minor use, *laysa* is used as an alternative to *mā*. The following text provides an illustration of the uses of *laysa* with examples:

- a) In the first main use, the negated adjectival or nominal attribute may be governed by either the preposition *bi* and the genitive case, as can be seen in example (27), or be in the accusative case without the preposition (Holes, 2004), as shown in example (28):

(27) *lastu bi faqīr-in*
 NEG Prep poor-GEN
 ‘I am not poor’

(28) *lastu faqīr-an*
 NEG poor-ACC
 ‘I am not poor’

- b) In the second use of *laysa*, *laysa* is the predicate and it implies that something does not exist; thus, the thing whose existence is denied is in the nominative case. For example:

(29) *laysa hunāka šakk-un*
 NEG there doubt-NOM
 ‘there is no doubt’

- c) As in the case of the negative particle *mā* (d) explained above, *laysa* can also be used to negate verbs, as in the following example:

(30) *lastu 'a-drī*
 NEG 1SG-know.IPF
 ‘I do not know’

In addition, *laysa* can never refer to a past time event, although it is in the perfect form. If someone wants to change a proposition which contains the negative verb *laysa* to a proposition in the past, he or she needs to use the negative of *kāna* ‘to be’, as in the following example:

(31) *lastu jundīy-an*
 NEG soldier-ACC
 ‘I am not a soldier’

(32) *lam ’a-kun jundīy-an*
 NEG 1SG-be.IPF soldier-ACC
 ‘I was not a soldier’

According to Wright (1967:II:302), *laysa* followed by an imperfect verb “expresses a strongly denied present or future”, as in *lasta tanālu* ‘you will never attain’. He combines the syntactic and semantic aspects, in that *laysa* is “also employed as an indeclinable negative particle, stronger than *lā*, to deny some part of the sentence to which it is prefixed” (II:302). Similarly, Cantarino (1974) claims that *laysa* followed by an imperfect verb indicates “a strong negation” (I:224) and he adds that *laysa* is a “simple negative particle” which may “negate any part of a sentence” (I:122–3).

In CA, *laysa* also negates perfect verbs, as in the following example:

(33) *laysa li-hāḏā xuliq-t*
 NEG for-DEM created.PF-2SG
 ‘you were not created for this’

d) The negative particle *laysa* may also be used to negate the whole of a proposition or an adverb that stands in its stead. In this sense, it is equivalent to *it is not the case that ...* and it appears in (rhetorical) negative questions.

This can be seen in the following example:

(34) *’a-laysa ka-ḏālika*
 is-NEG like-that
 ‘is that not so?’

Just like the negative particles *lan* and *lam*, *laysa* is generally not used in dialects except in a few archaic dialects of Arabia (Holes, 2004).

4.5.1.2 Negation in NA

This section describes the forms of negation found in NA. In NA, the two particles *mā* and *lā* are used to negate verbal sentences, pseudo-verbs and non-verbal constituents, including the negation of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. In the case of negating verbs, the particles *mā* and *lā* come directly before the verb. Neither of these two particles is sensitive to gender, number or person. According to Holes (2004), the dialectal negative system is simpler than the CA and MSA systems.

In the following subsections, I will first explain negation with *lā* and *mā* when followed by verbal sentences and pseudo-verbs. Then, in the second subsection, non-verbal negation will be discussed.

4.5.1.2.1 Negation with *lā* and *mā*

lā

In NA, the negative particle *lā* occurs with imperatives, as in the following example:

- (35) *lā ti-jī-na* (Imperative)
NEG 2SG.M-come.IPF-us
'do not come (to) us!'

- (36) *lā yi-jī-na*
NEG 3SG.M-come.IPF-us
'let him not come (to) us!'

As Ingham (1994) states, *lā* may also occur in statements with *wa* 'and', either as an emphatic negative or in 'neither ... nor' constructions. This can be seen in the following examples:

(37) *wa-lā jā-na aḥad* (Emphatic verbal statement)
 and-NEG came.PF-1PL one
 ‘nobody came to us’

(38) *lā nim-na wa-lā taḡaddē-na* (Neither ...nor)
 NEG slept.PF-1PL and-NEG lunched.PF-1PL
 ‘we neither slept nor ate lunch’

mā

The negative particle *mā* occurs in plain sentences (Ingham, 1994). The usages of *mā* can be listed as follows:

- a) It is used to negate perfect and imperfect verbs, and it appears at the beginning of negative questions (Binturki, 2015). As mentioned at the beginning of this section, NA negative particles are not inflected for gender, number or person because this is carried by the verb (Binturki, 2015). This can be seen in the following examples:

(39) *mā šarab-t šāhi* (Perfect verb)
 NEG drank.PF-1SG tea
 ‘I did not drink tea’

(40) *mā ya-šrubūn šāhi* (Imperfect verb)
 NEG 3PL.M-drink.IPF tea
 ‘they do not drink tea’

In example (40), the verb is in the masculine plural form.

- b) The negative particle *mā* can also be used with verb-like expressions, namely pseudo-verbs. Brustad (2000) states that pseudo-verbs do not belong to one category or another. Only the semantics of the sentence can determine if these lexical items belong to a verbal or non-verbal category, although Brustad (2000) claims that negation places these items in the verbal category (these pseudo-verbs have an ability to be suffixed by pronouns, similar to regular verbs). This can be observed in the following example adopted from Brustad

(2000:288) from Kuwaiti Arabic in which *mā* is used to negate the prepositional phrase ‘*alē-k*’:

- (41) *mā* ‘*alē-k*
 NEG on-you.2SG.M
 ‘not upon you’

The following is another example, which is adapted from Binturki (2015) for NA:

- (42) *mā* ‘*ind-i* *sayyārah*
 NEG with-me car
 ‘not with me a car’

In fact, pseudo-verbs in NA are only negated by *mā*.

- c) The negative particle *mā* in NA is used with the existential preposition *fīh* to negate the existence of something or someone, as in the following example:

- (43) *mā* *fī-h* *aḥad* ‘*ind* *al-bab*
 NEG in-it one with the-door
 ‘there is no one at the door’

4.5.1.2.2 Similarities and differences between NA *lā* and *mā*

Both these negative particles occupy a preverbal position in NA but they result in different interpretations (Binturki, 2015). The negative particle *lā* implies the meaning of prohibition whereas *mā* indicates a habitual action. This can be observed in the following examples:

- (44) *lā* *ya-šrab* *gahwah*
 NEG 3SG.M-drink.IPF coffee
 ‘do not let him drink coffee!’

- (45) *mā* *ya-šrab* *gahwah*
 NEG 3SG.M-drink.IPF coffee
 ‘he does not drink coffee’

Example (44) indicates prohibition and example (45) indicates that it is a habit of his not to drink coffee.

To sum up, contrary to SA negation, *mā* is used more frequently in NA negation. In the following subsection, non-verbal negation in NA will be discussed.

4.5.1.2.3 Shared negative particles between SA and NA

As explained above, both *lā* and *mā* exist in both varieties under investigation in this study. In addition, they share nearly the same functions. For example, *lā* in both varieties is followed by an imperfect verb to express the imperative mood. It is also used to negate both verbal and nominal predicates. In addition, *mā* in both varieties is followed by perfect verbs to deny the whole fact and by imperfect verbs to deny the action. In some cases, the verb mood is absent, thus making it very difficult to decide whether the variety used is NA or SA. This similarity could be a result of the conservative nature of NA and the existence of CA features in it. For the reasons mentioned above, *lā* and *mā* are considered as ambiguous forms and will not be included in the analysis as they will not yield any significant findings as will be discussed in Section 4.7 later in this chapter.

4.5.1.2.4 Non-verbal negation in NA

The construction *mā...b-* occurs in nominal sentences. It is considered as an instance of non-verbal predicate negation in NA and is used with nouns, prepositions, adjectives and adverbs. Ingham (1994) explains that this construction is limited to Central Najdi in Saudi Arabia; however, it is also available in Gulf countries such as Bahrain, as explained by Holes (2016). For example:

- (46) *mā anā b-rāyih*
NEG I b-going
'I am not going'

- (47) *‘Alī mā hū b-jāy*
 ‘Ali NEG he b-coming
 ‘Ali is not coming’

Considering the *mā...b-* construction, the relevant personal pronoun is also introduced, producing a topicalized structure and often pronounced *mā ana b-*, *māna b-*, or *mānī b-*. In NA, the resulting complexes *mā hū b-* ‘he is not’ or *mā hi b-* ‘she is not’ are reduced to *mū hu b-* or *mū b-* and *mī hib* or *mī b-*. Also, from *muhub*, NA native speakers tend to use a short form as younger speakers and females in particular tend to use *mū* instead of *muhub*. As Holes (2016) argues, the distinction of gender in singular forms does not seem to be in operation as *mū* has been generalized to both genders.

Binturki (2015) uses the third person singular masculine morpheme *muhub* to represent all forms of the morpheme inflected for person and number. He explains that this construction of negation has eight forms for person and number to mark agreement with the subject. From analysing the data of the present study on the speeches given by male and female preachers in different situations, it can be confirmed that there are in fact more than eight forms in use in NA. The following table summarizes the multiple forms that Binturki (2015) mentioned in his study and the forms I also found in my data and am aware of as a native speaker of NA. These forms are used by NA speakers in natural speech. Although the forms are divided into feminine and masculine forms, the masculine forms such as *mub* and *muhub* are widely used by both genders and this is consistent with Holes (2016).

	Long form	Short form (connected speech)	Examples
1SG	mū (b-) mā anī (b-) mā anā (b-)	mū/ mub manī/ manib manab	mū rāyih/ mub rāyih manī rāyih/ manib rāyih manab rāyih
2SG.M	mū (b-) mā anta (b-)	mū/ mub mant/ mantab/ mantib	mū rāyih/ mub rāyih mant rāyih/ mantab rāyih mantib rāyih
2SG.F	mū (b-) mā antī (b-)	mū/ mub mantī/ manteb	mū rāyḥah/ mub rāyḥah mantī rāyḥah/ manteb rāyḥah
3SG.M	mū (b-) mā hū (b-) mū hū (b-)	mū/ mub mahu/ mahub muhu/ muhub	mū rāyih/ mub rāyih mahu rāyih/ mahub rāyih muhu rāyih/ muhub rāyih
3SG.F	mū (b-) mā hī (b-)	mū/ mub mahī/ mahib	mū rāyḥah/ mub rāyḥah mahī rāyḥah/ mahib rāyḥah
1PL	mū (b-) mā ḥinna (b-)	mū/ mub maḥinna/ maḥinnab	mū rāyḥīn/ mub rāyḥīn maḥinna rāyḥīn/ maḥinnab rāyḥīn
2PL.M	mū (b-) mā antum (b-)	mū/ mub mantum/ mantumb	mū rāyḥīn/ mub rāyḥīn mantum rāyḥīn/ mantumb rāyḥīn
2PL.F	mū (b-) mā antin (b-)	mū/ mub mantin/ mantimb	mū rāyḥāt/ mub rāyḥāt mantin rāyḥāt/ mantimb rāyḥāt ¹⁰
3PL.M	mū (b-) mā hum (b-) mū hum (b-)	mū/mub mahum/ mahumb muhum/muhumb	mū rāyḥīn/ mub rāyḥīn mahum rāyḥīn/ mahumb rāyḥīn muhum rāyḥīn/ muhumb rāyḥīn
3PL.F	mū (b-) mā hin (b-)	mū/mub mahin/mahimb	mū rāyḥāt/ mub rāyḥāt mahin rāyḥāt/ mahimb rāyḥāt ¹¹

Table 4.2: Non-verbal negative forms in NA¹²

Considering the internal construction of non-verbal negation, as in the case of *muhub*, Matar (1976) argues that all variants of non-verbal predicate negation (*mub*, *ma-hu-b*, *muhub*, and *hub*) are basically composed of the negation particle *mā*, pronominal *hu* and an emphatic *-b*. This position is considered one of six positions in which NA

¹⁰ It is also possible to use the NA form *mantum rāyḥīn* /*mantumb rāyḥīn* (2PL.M) to address females (i.e. 2PL.F).

¹¹ It is also possible to use the form *mahum rāyḥīn* /*mahumb rāyḥīn* and *muhum rāyḥīn* /*muhumb rāyḥīn* as common gender to denote 3PL.F.

¹² See also Table 4 in Binturki (2015: 10).

exhibits the addition of emphatic /b/. In addition, Matar points out that vowel harmony played a role in creating the vowel [u] in the negative particle *muhub*.

The following are some examples adapted from Binturki (2015) to show non-verbal negation and agreement with person and gender:

(48) *manib* *ṭayyār*
NEG.1SG pilot
'I am not a pilot'

(49) 'Alī *muhub* *fī* *l-bēt*
'Alī NEG.3SG.M in the-house
'‘Ali is not at home’

(50) *al-bint* *mahib* *zēn-ah*
the-girl NEG.3SG.F beautiful-fem
'the girl (is) not beautiful'

(51) *al-ijtimā'* *muhub* *bukrah*
the-meeting NEG.3SG.M tomorrow
'the meeting (is) not tomorrow'

In example (48) the negative particle is followed by a noun *ṭayyār* (pilot). In example (49), the negative particle is followed by the preposition *fī* (in). In example (50) the negator is followed by the adjective *zēnah* (beautiful) and in example (51) the negative negator is followed by the adverb *bukrah* (tomorrow).

In Chapters 5 and 6, negation in both SA and NA will be analysed quantitatively and qualitatively in the data collected to ascertain the diglossic code-switching between the two varieties with regard to this linguistic variable.

4.5.2 Relative clauses

4.5.2.1 Relative pronouns and relative clauses in SA

In CA/MSA, relative clauses are embedded adjunct constructions that modify noun phrases regardless of their syntactic position, as the relative clauses can modify subjects, direct and indirect objects, complements of prepositions and other noun phrases (Mughazy, 2008). The relative pronouns or *al-asmā' al-mawṣūla* introduce the relative clauses and they refer to animate and inanimate nouns, and they have plural and dual forms (cf. Ferguson, 1959b). Typically, a relative pronoun, such as *allaḏī* 'that', immediately follows the modified head noun phrase if it is definite. However, the relative pronouns are ruled out if the head noun is indefinite (Galal, 2004). Wright (1967) argues that *allaḏī*-type relativizers consist of the definite article *al-*, the demonstrative *l*, and *ḏa*, which is the masculine demonstrative, or *tī*, which is its feminine counterpart – both are case-marking suffixes. There are 12 relative pronouns with morphological agreement features in SA (Wright, 1967:1, 271). They are listed in Table 4.3:

Number	Gender	Gloss	Standard Arabic	Najdi Arabic	
Singular	Masculine	M.SG	allaḏī الَّذِي	alli اللي (illi)	
	Feminine	F.SG	allatī الَّتِي		
Dual	Masculine	F.dual	allaḏāni الَّذَانِ allaḏayni الَّذَيْنِ		
	Feminine	F.dual	allatāni الَّتَانِ allatayni الَّتَيْنِ		
Plural	Masculine	M.PL	allaḏna الَّذِينَ		
	Feminine	F.PL	allātī اللاتِي allawātī اللواتِي allā'ī اللائِي		
Plural	Neutral	neutral.PL	al'ūlā الأُولَى al'ūlā'i الأُولَى		

Table 4.3: Relative pronouns in NA compared to those in SA

As can be seen in Table 4.3, there is full agreement between the relativized position and the relative pronoun (*alla-*). For example:

- (52) *al-’awlād-u* *llaḏīna* *saraq-ū* *t-tuffāḥ*
the-boys-NOM REL-3PL.M stole.PF-3PL.M the apples
‘the boys who stole the apples’

In example (52), agreement is between the head noun of the relative clause *al-’awlād* (the boys), the subject and the relative pronoun *llaḏīna*. The relative pronoun shows full agreement in gender, and in number with the relativized noun *al-’awlād* (the boys). Some forms of the relative pronoun also show agreement in case, i.e. nominative, accusative and genitive.

Unlike SA, many contemporary spoken dialects have a single invariant relative pronoun which is used in all relativized contexts and does not have morphological agreement features (Mughazy, 2008). The most common form used in the majority of Arabic dialects is (*i*)*lli* (Retsö, 2004:264–265). NA, which is a spoken dialect, does not have this kind of agreement between the head noun of the relative clause and the relative pronoun. The only relative pronoun in NA is the word *alli* or sometimes *illi*. In fact, *alli* is the relative pronoun used in NA whereas *illi* is the most common form used in the majority of Arabic dialects and is more common in the Egyptian dialects, the Levantine dialects, the *gilit* dialects from Iraq, most of the Arabian Peninsula, and the majority of the Maghrebi dialects (Vicente, 2008). However, the relative pronoun *illi* tends to be used in Najd by NA speakers in addition to *alli*. Ingham (1994) in his book on NA, which is relevant to my study, transcribes both *alli* and *illi* without making an obvious distinction between them. The use of the relative pronoun *illi* could be considered as a linguistic borrowing, or the use of *alli* and *illi* could be considered as two variants or allomorphs of the same word depending on the context in which they are used. However, this is not relevant to my thesis as my thesis does not focus on phonological analysis.

Table 4.3 shows the relative pronouns in SA and NA with respect to their agreement with the head noun. As can be seen, the relative pronoun *alli* or sometimes *illi* does not show any type of agreement in NA, unlike in SA where the relative pronoun agrees with the head noun in gender and number.

It is worth mentioning that Galal (2004) argues that *allaḏī* and its congeners are best considered relative complementizers rather than relative pronouns. A relative pronoun follows the same agreement features associated with the relativized noun phrase in the embedded clause, but the case marking of *allaḏī* depends on the head noun instead (Mughazy, 2008). SA *allaḏī* and its colloquial form *illi* are relative complementizers because they have complementizer functions and cannot be used as complements of prepositions in embedded contexts. However, I will refer to them as relative pronouns since my focus is on relative clauses and I also want to distinguish them from other complementizers.

Another type of relative clause are those introduced by *mā* ‘that which’ and *man* ‘he who’, which are exclusively nominal (Badawi, Carter & Gully, 2004). *man* can refer only to animate (i.e. human) objects. It can function as a predicand or object. *mā* can refer only to inanimate objects. Similar to *man*, it can function as a predicand and object. These two words are invariable; however, number and gender agreement will emerge depending on the reference: either ‘he/she who’ or ‘they who’. The relative clause with *mā* and *man* has the same internal structure as all relative clauses although there is a tendency to omit the referential pronoun when it is obvious (Badawi, Carter & Gully, 2004). The following examples which are adopted from Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004:506–510) will show the structure, the agreement and the omission of the referential pronoun:

- (53) a. *laysa man yu-waqqi’-u l-ī šahādat-ī*
 NEG REL 3SG.M-sign.IPF-IND for-me certificate-my
 ‘there is no one who will sign [sing.] for me my certificate’
- b. *kullu man fī s-sūq-i ša’ar-ū bi-hi*
 all REL in the-market-GEN awared.PF-3PL.M with-it
 ‘all of those in the market have become aware of it’
- c. *lam ya-qul-Ø l-ī mā huwa sm-u*
 NEG 3SG.M-say.IPF-JUSS to-me REL it name-NOM
l-jarīdat-i
 the-newspaper-GEN
 ‘he did not tell me what the name of the newspaper was’

d. *hāḏā mā 'a- 'taqid-u*
 this REL 1SG-believe.IPF-IND
 'this is what I believe'

In example (53a), *man* shows singular agreement. In example (53b), there is plural agreement and the verb is masculine plural. In example (53c), the sentence shows masculine singular agreement. Example (53d) shows the omission of a referential pronoun, which is true with both *mā* and *man*. The verb used in the sentence is *'a 'taqidu* 'believe' instead of *'a 'taqiduhu* 'believe it', as the referential pronoun should be omitted in this case.

4.5.2.2 Description of the relative clauses in NA

As stated in the previous section, the only relative pronoun in NA is *alli* (sometimes pronounced as *illi*), which does not show any type of agreement with the head noun of the relative clause.

Interestingly, the NA relative clauses can be categorized into different types. Aldwayan (2008) discusses these different types in his study and he puts more emphasis on NA restrictive relative clauses; he gives a comprehensive, descriptive analysis of the properties of this type in particular.

The following section will discuss the different types of NA relative clauses and the properties of each type.

4.5.2.2.1 Types of relative clauses in NA

The most common types of NA relative clauses are restrictive relative clauses (or what could be called defining relative clauses), non-restrictive relative clauses (or non-defining relative clauses), and generic relative clauses (Aldwayan, 2008).

Consider first a restrictive relative clause, as shown in example (54):

(54) *al-walad alli ḥafaz-∅ ad-dars*
 the-boy REL memorized.PF-3SG.M the-lesson
 'the boy who memorized the lesson'

By looking at example (54), it can be noted that *al-walad* (the boy) is a definite noun and it refers to a specific boy in the speaker's mind. This indicates that restrictive clauses restrict the set to a particular person if there are multiple persons in the situation. Moreover, the head noun before the relative pronoun, *alli*, should appear in the definite form because if the head noun appears as an indefinite noun then the relative pronoun *alli* will be ungrammatical. For example:

- (55) *walad-in* (*alli*) *ḥafaz-Ø* *ad-dars*
 boy-INDF REL memorized.PF-3SG.M the-lesson
 'a boy who memorized the lesson'

The second type of relative clause in NA is the non-restrictive relative clause. As with the restrictive relative clauses, the relativized head noun in the non-restrictive relative clauses should also be definite. However, although restrictive relative clauses restrict the set to the head noun they modify, non-restrictive relative clauses provide a description or facts about the head noun, as in example (56) where the non-restrictive relative clauses are enclosed by square brackets:

- (56) a. *'Abdallah ṣāf-Ø* *al-walad* [*alli ḥakē-t* *mu'-uh*]
 Abdullah saw.PF-3SG.M the-boy [REL talked.PF-1SG with-him]
 'Abdullah saw the boy, who I had talked with'
- b. *ḡarab-t* *'Aḥmad* [*alli kisar-Ø* *pro* *ad-dirišah*]
 hit.PF-1SG 'Aḥmad [REL broke.PF-3SG.M pro the-
 window]
 'I hit Ahmad, who had broken the window'

In example (56a), the relativized head noun *al-walad* is in the (indirect) object position in the subordinate clause, whereas in (56b) the relativized head noun is in the subject position in the subordinate clause. The difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is that non-restrictive relative clauses do not identify their references, but provide extra information. Furthermore, the main clauses in (56) could stand by themselves and still have meaning.

Another difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses depends on the reference in the speaker's mind. For example, if the speaker and

hearer know the person they are talking about, as in example (56a), the relative clause is non-restrictive, because the head noun of the relative clause is known to both of them. On the contrary, if there are multiple persons or places in the speaker's mind and the speaker wants to restrict the set to a specific person or place, then the speaker will use a restrictive relative clause. Moreover, omitting restrictive relative clauses from the sentences will make the speech ambiguous and non-meaningful. This is shown in example (54), as it is not all *the boys* but only *the boy who memorized the lesson*.

Another type of relative clause in NA is the headless relative clause. For example:

- (57) a. *'Abdallah šāf-∅* [*alli sarag-∅ as-syarah*]
 ‘Abdallah saw.PF-3SG.M [REL stole.PF-3SG.M the-car]
 ‘Abdallah saw (the person) who had stolen the car’
- b. *zarab-t* [*alli kisar-∅ ad-dirišah*]
 hit.PF-1SG [REL broke.PF-3SG.M the-window]
 ‘I hit (the person) who broke the window’

In examples (57a) and (57b), the head nouns which are modified by the relative clauses are silent. In addition, headless relative clauses can be a question in the affirmative or negative forms, as in example (58):

- (58) a. *min alli šif-t fi s-sūg* (question)
 who REL saw.PF-1SG in the-market
 ‘who did I see in the market?’
- b. *min alli mā šif-t fi s-sūg* (negative question)
 who REL NEG saw.PF-1SG in the-market
 ‘who did I not see in the market?’

In example (58a), which is adopted from Aldwayan (2008), the type of relative clause is headless and the form is an affirmative question, whereas (58b) is a negative question.

The last type of NA relative clause to discuss is the generic type. Aldwayan (2008) highlights the difference between the restrictive relative clause and the generic relative clause. He notes that if the verb in the relative clause is imperfective, the sentence has a generic meaning. On the other hand, if the verb used is perfective, the sentence will not have a generic meaning. Instead, the sentence has a restrictive meaning. This will be made clear by examining the examples in (59):

- (59) a. *al-walad, alli mā yi-ḍākir mā y-rūḥ*
 the-boy REL NEG 3SG.M-study.IPF NEG 3SG.M-go.IPF
li-l-midrisih
 to-the-school
 ‘boys who do not study will not go to school’
- b. *al-walad alli mā ḍākar-Ø mā y-rūḥ*
 the-boy REL NEG studied.PF-3SG.M NEG 3SG.M-go.IPF
li-l-midrisih
 to-the-school
 ‘the boy who has not studied will not go to school’

In example (59a), *al-walad* (the boy) does not refer to a specific boy but to any boy who does not study. The verb *yiḍākir* is imperfective and thus the sentence in (59a) has a generic meaning. On the contrary, in example (59b), the verb *ḍākar* is perfective and *al-walad* (the boy) refers to a specific boy in the context. Therefore, the sentence in (59b) is in the restrictive form.

4.5.2.2.2 The relativized position in NA relative clauses

Most of the determiner phrases in NA can be relativized. Consider example (60a), which represents the basic form of example (60b) before the subject is relativized.

- (60) a. *al-walad rāḥ-Ø* **basic form**
 the-boy went.PF-3SG.M
 ‘the boy went’

- b. *al-walad alli rāḥ-Ø* **relativized subject**
 the-boy REL went.PF-3SG.M
 ‘the boy who went’

When the object is relativized, a resumptive pronoun appears in the relative clause and refers to the relativized object. For example:

- (61) a. *šāf-ū r-rajjāl ams* **basic sentence**
 saw.PF-3PL.M the-man yesterday
 ‘they saw the man yesterday’
 b. *ar-rajjāl alli šāf-ū-h ams* **relativized object**
 the-man REL saw.PF-3PL.M-him yesterday
 ‘the man who they saw yesterday’

Example (61a) shows the structure of the sentence before the object is relativized whereas example (61b) shows that when the object is relativized, a resumptive pronoun *-h* (3SG.M) appears and refers to the relativized object.

Not only can the direct object be relativized but it is also possible to relativize indirect objects in NA. However, in relativizing indirect objects, it is obligatory to have a resumptive pronoun. The examples in (62) show this:

- (62) a. *ḥinna sawwē-na l-‘aša li-ḏ-ḏiyūf*
 we prepared.PF-1PL.M the-dinner for-the-guests
 ‘We prepared the dinner for the guests’
 b. *aḏ-ḏiyūf alli sawwē-na l-‘aša li-hum*
 the-guests REL prepared.PF-1PL the-dinner for-them.3PL.M
 ‘The guests that we prepared the dinner for’
 c. *‘aḏē-na l-bint aθ-θōb*
 gave.PF-1PL the-girl the-dress
 ‘We gave the girl the dress’
 d. *al-bint alli ‘aḏē-nā-ha θ-θōb*
 the-girl REL gave.PF-1PL-her the-dress
 ‘The girl that we gave a letter’

In example (62a) the indirect object in the original position is preceded by a preposition *li* ('for'), while in example (62c), the indirect object is preceded by the verb *'aṭē-na* ('we gave'). However, when the indirect objects have been relativized, a resumptive pronoun appears in the original position of the indirect object in both examples.

It is also possible to relativize the object of a preposition in NA. For example:

(63) a. *ḥinna jalas-na janb aš-šēx*
 we sat.PF-1PL next to the-sheikh
 'we sat next to the sheikh'

b. *aš-šēx alli jalas-na janb-uh*
 the-sheikh REL sat.PF-1PL next to-him
 'the sheikh that we sat next to'

NA also allows the relativization of the possessor noun phrase position, as can be seen in example (64):

(64) a. *ingīṭa '∅ zrār aθ-θōb*
 cut off.PF-3SG.M button the-dress
 'the dress's button was cut off'

b. *aθ-θōb alli zrār-uh ingīṭa '∅*
 the-dress REL button-its cut off.PF-3SG.M
 'the dress whose button was cut off'

c. *aθ-θōb alli ingīṭa '∅ zrār-uh*
 the-dress REL cut off.PF-3SG.M button-its
 'the dress whose button was cut off'

Example (64a) shows the possessed NP *aθ-θōb* ('the dress') before being relativized. In examples (64b) and (64c) an obligatory resumptive pronoun appears after the possessed NP and it is optional to change the order of the verb and the possessed noun and still carry the same meaning.

There is another way to indicate possession in NA, i.e. by using the word *ḥagg*, which means ‘belonging’. In this case, when a sentence with the word *ḥagg* is relativized, an obligatory resumptive pronoun follows the word *ḥagg* in the relative clause. This can be seen in the following examples:

- (65) a. *kūrat al-walad*
 ball the-boy
 ‘the boy’s ball’
- b. *al-kūrah ḥaggat al-walad*
 the-ball belonging the-boy
 ‘the boy’s ball’
- c. *al-walad alli l-kūrah ḥaggit-uh*
 the-boy REL the-ball belonging-his
 ‘the boy whose ball it is’

Example (65a) shows possession and that the first noun *kūrat* has no definite article *al-* (‘the’), as it is prohibited to use the definite article with the first noun whereas it is obligatory with the second noun, i.e. *al-walad*. In example (65b) the word *ḥagg* (‘belonging’), which indicates possession in NA, is used, and the example represents the basic sentence before being relativized in example (65c). Example (65c) shows the relative clause with an obligatory resumptive pronoun following the word *ḥagg*.

Furthermore, in NA, the object of comparison can be relativized. For example:

- (66) a. *al-‘iyāl aḏkā min al-banāt*
 the-boys smarter than the-girls
 ‘the boys are smarter than the girls’
- b. *al-banāt alli al-‘iyāl aḏkā min-hin*
 the-girls REL the-boys more than-them.3PL.F
 ‘the girls that the boys are smarter than’

In example (66a), we have the original sentence with the object of comparison before being relativized. On the other hand, example (66b) shows the relativized object of comparison and how its position in the original sentence is occupied by a resumptive pronoun.

Finally, before ending this section, it is worth discussing relativizing wh-questions in NA. Like to the relative clause structure, wh-questions exhibit resumptive pronouns except for when the relativized noun is in subject position (Aldwayan, 2008). This can be seen in the following examples:

- (67) a. *min alli rāḥ-∅* **subject position**
 who REL went.PF-3SG.M
 ‘who went?’
- b. *min alli šāf-ū-ha l-‘iyāl* **object position**
 who REL saw.PF-3PL.M-her the-boys
 ‘who did the boys see?’
- c. *min alli ‘aṭit-∅-ha l-‘aša* **double object**
 who REL gave.PF-2SG.M-her the-dinner
 ‘who did you give the dinner?’
- d. *min alli arsal-t ar-risālah la-h* **object of preposition**
 who REL sent.PF-2SG.M the-letter to-him
 ‘who did you send the letter to?’

Example (67a) shows that the subject position does not allow a resumptive pronoun, as in relative clauses. On the other hand, other positions including (67b) object, (67c) indirect object, and (67d) object of preposition do require resumptive pronouns.

The following section will discuss in detail the resumptive pronouns in NA.

4.5.2.2.3 Resumptive pronouns in NA relative clauses

A resumptive pronoun is a pronoun which appears in a relativized noun position that is bound by a *wh*-phrase or a preceding determiner phrase (DP). Resumptive pronouns are clitics, which cannot stand by themselves but must be attached to a word. They could be obligatory in relative clauses or prohibited in other cases. This can be seen from the following examples:

- (68) a. *šif-t* *al-bint*
 saw.PF-1SG the-girl
 ‘I saw the girl’
- b. *al-bint* *alli* *šif-t-ha*
 the-girl REL saw.PF-1SG-her
 ‘the girl who I saw’
- c. *šif-t-ha* *l-bint**
 saw.PF-1SG-her the-girl
 ‘I saw her the girl’

Example (68a) represents the original form of the sentence before relativization. In example (68b), the direct object is relativized and in this case the resumptive pronoun *-ha* (‘her’) becomes obligatory to refer to the direct object *al-bint* (‘the girl’). Example (68c) shows prohibited use of the resumptive pronoun when the object *al-bint* (‘the girl’) is in situ.

As can be seen from the examples, resumptive pronouns in NA are affixed to the end of a verb to refer to the relativized noun. Table 4.4 presents the resumptive pronouns found in NA.

Person	Gender	SG	PL
1	M	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-na</i>
	F		
2	M	<i>-ik</i>	<i>-kum</i>
	F	<i>-iĉ/-ik</i>	<i>-ĉin/kin</i>
3	M	<i>-ih/-uh</i>	<i>-hum</i>
	F	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-hin</i>

Table 4.4: Suffix pronouns in NA

Resumptive pronouns in NA can occupy different positions: object of comparison, topicalized DP, object of preposition, possessive DP, after certain adverbs, and as a reference to an indefinite noun.

This section can be briefly summarized by noting that there are six positions which can be relativized in NA restrictive clauses: subject, object, indirect object, object of a preposition, possessive of a NP, and object of comparison. All of these positions exhibit obligatory resumptive pronouns, except for the subject position, which does not allow the appearance of weak resumptive pronouns.

4.5.3 Demonstratives

4.5.3.1 Demonstratives in SA

Demonstratives are independent words that precede definite noun phrases. They are inflected in gender, number and case to agree with their corresponding nouns (Choueiri, 2008). There are two basic sets of demonstratives in SA which are associated with distance and refer in time and space to something present or at a distance. The first is associated with near-deixis, *hāḏā* ('this') and its variants, whereas the second is associated with far-deixis, *ḏālika* ('that') and its variants. Both sets consist of the core deictic element *ḏā* (Badawi, Carter & Gully, 2004). Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004) also add that the core deictic element *ḏā* is still used as a presentative to point out to near persons or things. Similarly, the form *ḏāka* ('that') is occasionally used for far-deixis.

These two sets of near-deixis, *hāḍā* and its variants, and far-deixis, *ḍālika* and its variants, can be seen in the following two tables adapted from Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004:47):

Gender	Singular	Dual	Plural
M	<i>hāḍā</i>	<i>hāḍāni</i>	<i>hā'ulā'i</i>
F	<i>hāḍihi</i> ¹³	<i>hātāni</i>	<i>hā'ulā'i</i>

Table 4.5: Demonstratives associated with near-deixis

Gender	Singular	Dual	Plural
M	<i>ḍālika, ḍāka</i>	<i>ḍānika</i>	<i>'ulā'ika</i>
F	<i>tilka</i>	<i>tānika</i>	<i>'ulā'ika</i>

Table 4.6: Demonstratives associated with far-deixis

Table 4.5 shows that the near-deixis forms are also characterized by the prefix *hā-* whereas Table 4.6 shows that the far-deixis forms are characterized by the suffix *-ka*.

In addition to indicating distance, Cantarino (1974, II:30) states that demonstratives in MSA appear to be “frequently used with psychological approach rather than merely with a local [or temporal] meaning [...] *hāḍā* is used for things that are considered more important or more closely related to the person speaking, while *ḍālika* and *ḍāka* expresses a more remote attitude”. In addition, it has been claimed by Killian (1980:178) that “[i]n the Arabic use of deixis, the approximate demonstratives cover a much larger semantic field than do the distal demonstratives”.

Both types of demonstratives share the anaphoric value; however, the near-deixis demonstratives are much more frequently used, as the data in the current study will also prove.

SA demonstratives have both pronominal and attributive syntactic functions. When having an attributive function, an SA demonstrative usually precedes its noun, which is marked as definite by the definite article (Fischer, 1959:49 cited in Mejdell, 2006b:176). This can be made clear by looking at the following examples adapted from Mejdell (2006b):

¹³ As indicated in Fischer (2002:145), the singular fem demonstrative *hāḍihi* has almost completely replaced the original form *hāḍi* in the orthography.

(69) *hāḏā kitāb-un*
DEM book-NOM
'this is a book'

(70) *hāḏā l-kitāb-u*
DEM the-book-NOM
'this (the-) book'

(71) *ḏālika kitāb-u-hu*
DEM book-NOM-his
'that is his book'

(72) *ḏālika l-kitāb-u*
DEM the-book-NOM
'that (the-) book'

Although the SA demonstratives as attributive modifiers precede the noun they modify, they also follow the head noun when they are defined by a genitive noun or pronoun or if the noun is defined naturally as a proper noun, as in the following examples:

(73) *kitāb-u-ki hāḏā*
book-NOM-your.2SG.F DEM
'your book'

(74) *kitāb-u t-ta 'līmat-i hāḏā*
book-NOM the-instructions-GEN DEM
'this instructions book'

The demonstratives in SA may also follow their head nouns for contextual reasons such as for the purpose of emphasis or contrast (Holes, 2004) but this occurs rarely, as in the following example:

- (75) *al-kitab hāḏā*
 the-book DEM
 ‘this book’

The demonstratives also follow proper names (Badawi, Carter & Gully, 2004), as in the following example:

- (76) *’aḥmad hāḏā*
 ’Aḥmad DEM
 ‘this Aḥmad’

It is also possible for the pronominal demonstrative to be used to ask questions and in this case it will agree in gender with its referent, as in the following example:

- (77) *man hāḏā*
 who DEM
 ‘who is this?’

It is worth mentioning that Holes (2004) notes that *hā* seems to have had a presentative function in CA, and it is also used in different dialects in the same way but with modification. The following example in which it is used in MSA as an independent morpheme is adapted from Bassiouney (2006:96):

- (78) *hā huwa r-rajul-u ’at-ā*
 DEM he the-man-NOM came.PF-3SG.M
 ‘here comes the man’

It can also come before a nominal or verbal sentence with a similar presentative function to emphasize the time of an action, as in the following example adapted from Cantarino (1974, II:31):

- (79) *wa hā qad maḏ-a z-zaman*
 and DEM had passed.PF-3SG.M the-time
 ‘and now the time had passed’

Similarly, Fischer (2002) explains that *hā-*, which is also found to be used by itself in CA, only precedes personal pronouns, as in the following examples quoted from Fischer (2002:147):

hā- 'anā ḏā ‘Here am I’ (M) or *hā- 'anā ḏī* (F)

or it could instead substitute the personal pronoun *hā- 'inna ḏā* ‘there is’

Moreover, it is possible to use the morpheme *ḏā* for masculine and *ḏī* for feminine independently with a presentative function after singular third person pronouns, as in the following example adapted from Cantarino (1974, II:32):

- (80) *huwa ḏā l-ḥubb-u ya-stahzi'-u b-ī*
he DEM the-love-NOM 3SG.M-laugh.IPF-IND of-me
‘there is love laughing at me’

Demonstratives also have an anaphoric value and this is more frequent with near-deixis forms. In this sense, they usually refer to a preceding sentence or section of an argument, or it could be claimed that they refer to an idea which has been posed and they could be used attributively or pronominally (Holes, 2004). This can be seen in the following example adapted from Holes (2004:189):

- (81) *hāḏā wa-'a lan-a mas'ūl-un miṣrīy-un*
DEM and-announced.PF-3SG.M official-NOM Egyptians-NOM
‘this and Egyptian officials announced’

In addition, according to Cantarino (1974), *hāḏā* refers to something that has just been mentioned whereas *ḏālika* refers to something not present or with a past time reference, as in the following examples adapted from Cantarino (1974, II:33):

- (82) *hāḏā ya-'nī 'anna*
DEM 3SG.M-mean.IPF that
‘this means that’

- (83) *kullu ḏālika li-'anna*
all DEM for-that
‘all that (happened) because’

In SA, demonstratives are also used for the purpose of correlation, contrast, or construction, as Cantarino (1974–75, II:41) noted: “when two demonstrative pronouns are used, the same form of the pronoun may be used in both parts [...] usually, however, different forms will be used; in this case, *hāḏā* precedes the other forms, and

[in cases where there are more than two referents] *ḍāka* precedes *ḍālika*”; this can be seen in the following examples:

- (84) *hāḍā ḥalāl-un wa-hāḍā harām-un*¹⁴
 DEM permitted-NOM and-DEM forbidden-NOM
 ‘this (is) permitted and this/that (is) forbidden’

- (85) *lā hāḍā wa-lā ḍāka*
 NEG DEM and-NEG DEM
 ‘neither one’

To sum up, it can be noted that SA demonstratives have spatial, temporal and psychological deictic functions, as well as being used for anaphoric/discourse functions.

4.5.3.2 Demonstratives in NA

In NA, when a demonstrative occurs with the head noun, the noun should be marked as definite, as in the following example adapted from Ingham (1994:55):

- (86) *hāḍā r-rajjāl*
 DEM the-man
 ‘this man’

NA demonstratives basically consist of *ḍā*, which is a neutral demonstrative and equivalent to the third person. In addition, *hā* stands for nearness whereas *-k* represents the farness of an object which is nearer to the hearer than the speaker; it is related to “the 2nd person pronoun element *-k*” (Ingham, 1994:55).

The demonstratives in NA can also be inflected by number and gender whereas *ha*, *ḍā*, and *hāk* occur with all nouns of any number or gender. The short form *ḍā* is common among the dialects of central and southern Najd. It usually occurs either before or after the noun. In addition, the long forms *hāḍā* and *ḍāk* are also used before and after the noun in the central and southern dialects of Najd. By contrast, *ha-*, *hā* and *hāk* only precede the noun.

¹⁴ The example is from Cantarino (1974–75, II:41) and the translation is by Mejdell (2006b:179).

Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 show possible demonstratives in NA (adapted from Ingham, 1994:55):

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	<i>hāḏā, ḏā, ha-, hā</i>	<i>hāḏi, ḏi</i>
Plural	<i>ḏōl, haḏōl</i>	<i>ḏōlin, haḏōlin</i>

Table 4.7: Near-deixis in NA

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	<i>ḏāk, haḏāk, hāk</i>	<i>ḏīk, haḏīk</i>
Plural	<i>ḏōlāk, haḏōlāk</i>	<i>ḏōlīk, haḏōlīk, haḏōlink</i>

Table 4.8: Far-deixis in NA

hāk is a masculine singular form, as can be seen in Table 4.8, and is often used in narratives. As Ingham (1994) observes, it “can have the added meaning of ‘that ... in the past’ or ‘that ... unknown to you’ as in *hāk addīrah* ‘that land’” (p.55).

As in the case of SA, some demonstratives in NA can occur independently by themselves to constitute a NP, as in the case of *hāḏā*, which is used to mean ‘this person’ or ‘this thing’ and can also be used to serve as a third person pronoun. In fact, as Ingham (1994) argues, they are more common in this sense than the independent personal pronouns, i.e. *hu* ‘he’, *hi* ‘she’, *hum* ‘they’ (M.), and *hin* ‘they’ (F), and are more emphatic in this meaning and can be translated as ‘himself’, etc. They also can occur as a final element in a construct, as in the example adapted from Ingham (1994), *ḏōb hāḏā* ‘this man’s thobe’, which differs in meaning from *aḥ-ḏōb hāḏā* ‘this thobe’.

To sum up, NA demonstratives either precede or follow the noun they modify or stand on their own. Further illustration of this will be provided in Chapter Six in the analysis of the data from the current study.

4.5.3.3 Neutral demonstratives

In the two subsections above, SA and NA demonstratives have been discussed. However, as can be seen, NA demonstratives share some functions with SA demonstratives and some forms of demonstratives. The shared demonstratives are the

singular masculine demonstratives associated with near-deixis, *hāḍā* and *ḍā*, and the singular feminine *hāḍi*. Moreover, the masculine demonstratives associated with far-deixis, *ḍāk* and *haḍāk*, are also found in NA and SA. They all have nearly the same structure in SA and NA as they all precede and follow the head noun.

In addition, the demonstrative *hā-* also exists in both CA and NA but to some extent there is a clear difference in its use in each variety. As with CA, *hā-* usually precedes personal pronouns (Fischer, 2002), as in the example adapted from Fischer (2002:147), *hā- 'anā ḍā* 'here am I'. Also, it could precede *'inna*, which might be used instead of a personal pronoun. On the other hand, in NA *hā-* precedes a head noun as in the example found in my data, *hā-l-walad* 'this boy'. Therefore, it can be noted here that a clear distinction exists between NA and CA with regard to the use of the demonstrative *hā-*.

With regard to the shared demonstratives associated with near-deixis, *hāḍā*, *ḍā* and *hāḍi*, and those associated with far-deixis, *ḍāk* and *haḍāk*, which are considered to be neutral forms (more discussion will be given in Section 4.7) and have no clear differences in their use in NA and SA, they will not be included in the qualitative analysis of the current study except in discussing the *triggering hypothesis* as will be explained later in this chapter. The focus in the analysis of switching in relation to demonstratives will mainly be on instances where there are clear differences between them.

4.5.4 Future particles

4.5.4.1 Future particles in SA

To express future time in SA, the imperfect verb could be used in either marked or unmarked form where the meaning of future is clear from the context. The marked future in SA is achieved by adding the prefix *sa-* or the particle *sawfa* to an imperfective indicative verb. According to Holes (2004), the imperfect form of verbs has no time value out of context. Therefore, to express the future in a given context, the aspectual value and time marking appears by adding any of the optional future particles *sa-* or *sawfa*. The prefix *sa-* is identified as the short form of *sawfa* by some grammarians (Ryding, 2005). As Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004) argue, the choice

between *sa-* and *sawfa* is entirely free, and they could occur in the same sentence as in the following example adapted from Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004:366):

- (87) *'anna-hu sawfa ya-rḥal-u* *ba'd-a* *sā'āt-in*
 that-he FUT 3SG.M-pass away.IPF-IND after-ACC hour-ACC
wa-'anna hāḏā n-nahār-a 'axir-u mā
 and-that DEM the-day-ACC last-NOM what
sa-ya-rā-hu
 FUT-3SG.M-see.IPF-it
 'that he would pass away in a few hours and that this day would be the
 last he would see'

Example (87) shows both future particles *sa-* and *sawfa* used in the same sentence. They are both followed by imperfect verbs.

In addition, the habitual future and future progressive can be expressed in SA. The habitual future can be expressed by *sa-* and *sawfa* followed by a dynamic verb, as in the following example:

- (88) a. *'ali sa-ya-ḏhab* *'ilā l-madrasat-i* *kulla yawm-in*
 'ali FUT-3SG.M-go.IPF to the-school-GEN every day-GEN
 'Ali will go to school every day'
 b. *'ali sawfa ya-ḏhab* *'ilā l-madrasat-i* *kulla yawm-in*
 'ali FUT 3SG.M-go.IPF to the-school-GEN every day-GEN
 'Ali will go to school every day'

The future progressive, labelled by Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004) as the compound future continuous, is expressed by *sa-yakūnu* or *sawfa yakūnu* followed by a dynamic verb in the imperfective form to indicate that the action is not completed. The following example is adapted from Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004:370):

- (89) *wa-ma'a ḥulūl-i* *ṣ-ṣayf-i* *sa-ya-kūn-u*
 and-by arrival-GEN the-summer-GEN FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF-IND
yu-'addī *wājib-a-hu* *bi-ntizam*
 3SG.M-perform.IPF duty-ACC-his with-regularly
 'and by summer he will be performing his duty regularly'

In example (89), the future prefix *sa-* is prefixed to the imperfect verb *yakūnu*, which is also followed by the imperfect verb *yu'addī* 'perform'; this structure indicates the future continuous.

Similarly, the present continuous could be expressed by prefixing *sa-* with any of the modals, such as *zalla* as in the example adapted from Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004:370):

- (90) *'andamā tu-ftaḥ-u s-sudūd-u*
 when 3SG.F-open.IPF-IND the-dams-NOM
sa-ya-zall-u l-mā'-u
 FUT-3SG.M-continue.IPF-IND the-water-NOM
ya-tadaffaq-u
 3SG.M-flow.IPF-IND
 'when the dams are opened the water will continue to flow'

Moreover, to indicate an action to be completed in the future, the imperfect verb *yakūn* followed by a perfect verb is used (Ryding, 2005). This is clear in the following example adapted from Ryding (2005:449):

- (91) *wa-'illā fa-sa-ta-kūn-u fašil-at*
 and-or then-FUT-3SG.F-be.IPF-IND failed-PF.3SG.F
fī dawr-i-hā
 in role-GEN-her
 'and if not, **it will have failed** in its role'

It is worth mentioning that, as explained in Section 4.5.1.3, the negative particle *lan* is used to indicate future time without using the SA future particles (i.e. *sa-* and *sawfa*). However, although it is regarded as ungrammatical, *sawfa* is found to occur with *lā*, as reported in Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004) where *lā* follows *sawfa*.

4.5.4.2 Future particles in NA

As is the case in SA, in NA there are also future particles that can be prefixed to imperfect verbs to express future time. In fact, Ingham (1994) argues that:

The Najdi dialects still preserve the original Aspect-centred system of Classical Arabic, although it can be shown that structures showing a new tense-based system can occasionally be found within the macrostructure (p.87).

In NA, as explained by Ingham (1994), the modal verbs *baġa* or *yabi*, which mean ‘to want, request’, occurring either in their full forms or reduced to various forms and seen in both the perfective and imperfective, are used to express the future. These modal verbs are followed by main verbs in the imperfective form. In the imperfective case, the middle radical –ġ- in the verb *yabġa* is omitted, giving the verb *yabi* from the root *bġy*. Table 4.9 shows how the verbs *baġa* and *yabi* are conjugated in NA:

	baġa	yabi
1SG	abġa	abi
1PL	nabġa	nabi
2SG.M	tabġa	tabi
2SG.F	tabġin	tabin
2PL	tabġūn	tabūn
3SG.M	yabġa	yabi
3SG.F	tabġa	tabi
3PL.M	yabġūn	yabūn
3PL.F	—	yabīn

Table 4.9: Conjugation of NA future modal verbs

Ingham (1994) shows that further reduction can take place in the future verb *yabi*. First, regarding concord, “its number and concord suffixes may be omitted” (Ingham, 1994:120). Example (92) below illustrates this:

- (92) a. *ya-būn* *ya-mšūn*¹⁵
 3PL.M-FUT 3PL.M-go.IPF
 ‘they will go’
- b. *ya-bi* *yi-jūn-kum*
 3SG.M-FUT 3PL.M-come.IPF-you.2PL.M
 ‘they will come to you’

¹⁵ This example is taken from one of the female speakers in my data (RB2).

Example (92a) is taken from one of the female speakers' speeches. This example shows full agreement in number between the modal *yabūn* 'they want' or 'they will' and the main verb *yamšūn* 'they go' as the suffix *-ūn* used to indicate the masculine plural occurs in both verbs. On the other hand, this agreement is not found in example (92b), where the suffix *-ūn* representing the masculine plural occurs only with the main verb *yijūnkum* 'come to you' and is omitted from the preceding modal verb *yabi*, which includes the third person prefix *ya-* only. The case presented in example (92b) is the most common in NA as the agreement found in example (92a) occurs only once in all of the recordings of the current study, in one of the female speakers' speeches.

The future modal verbs can also be reduced to become a prefix: *bi-*, *b-*, *ib-*, or *aba-/ab-*. The prefix *bi-* is used when followed by consonants whereas *b-* is used with verbs with an initial vowel or semi-vowel. Regarding *aba-* or *ab-*, they have the same function as *bi-* in indicating the future but they are restrictive to the first person singular form of the verb (Holes, 2016). It is worth mentioning that the *b*-prefix exists also in the Levantine and Egyptian dialects and they are inserted before an imperfect verb. However, they are inserted before a verb to form "the indicative mood and/or cursive, progressive or habitual aspect" (Persson, 2008:26) and not to refer to the future.

As explained by Holes (2016) in his study on Bahraini dialects, the future *b*-prefixes are common in all Gulf dialects. Persson (2008) also adds that in Gulf Arabic the *b*-prefix is used to form the future time reference or intensive mood or a combination of both. She also points that *b*-prefix is used extensively in the main clause and subordinate clause and it is widely used in conditional clauses, not only in the result clause but also in the *if*-clause.

The future *b*- prefixes, as they will be called in the current study, are found attached to imperfect verbs to express the immediate future. The following are examples taken from the recordings of the current study:

- (93) a. *ib-ya-nām*
 FUT-3SG.M-sleep.IPF
 'he will sleep'

b. *ab-a-dxil*
 FUT-1SG-enter.IPF
 ‘I will enter’

c. *bi-yi-‘ṭi-hā*
 FUT-3SG.M-give.IPF-her
 ‘he will give her’

Ingham (1994) explains that future particles in NA can have several functions. They can be used to express the plain future, future intent, and imminent future. They can also occur with the perfective and imperfective to express these meanings. However, in the perfective, future particles can have the meaning of ‘almost’ or ‘nearly’. The following examples from the data of the current study illustrate these functions:

(94) a. *akād ya-bi y-rūḥ il ḥurmah θanīyah*¹⁶
 Sure 3SG.M-FUT 3SG.M-go.IPF to woman another
 ‘definitely he will go to another woman’

b. *bi-ya-nām ‘ind ḥurmit-ah*
 FUT-3SG.M-sleep.IPF with wife-his
 ‘he intends to sleep with his wife’

c. *al-walad ya-bi y-ṭīḥ*
 the-boy 3SG.M-FUT 3SG.M-fall.IPF
 ‘the boy is about to fall’

The examples in (94) show the three different functions of the NA future particles which are all followed by imperfect verbs. In example (94a) the sentence expresses the plain future. Future intent can be seen in example (94b), whereas example (94c) expresses the imminent future.

In addition, as in the case of SA, the future can be expressed in NA by using perfect verbs with a future time reference. As explained by Ingham (1994), the verb ‘to be’ *ykūn* could be used with a *bi-* prefix followed by a perfect verb, or the form *rāḥ ykūn* where the perfect verb precedes the verb ‘to be’ is also used to indicate the

¹⁶ Examples (94a) and (b) are taken from one of the male speakers’ speeches (MA2).

future. Ingham (1994) regards these two forms to be a foreign type of form to NA. As explained by Holes (2016), the use of the verbal prefix *rāḥ* is common in the dialects of Baghdad, Kuwait and Bahrain. This verbal prefix is used to denote the future. However, the verbal prefix *rāḥ* is not so common in NA though it could be used. In my data, no instance of this verbal prefix expressing the future is found.

Ingham (1994) notes that only four of five examples are found in his data with *bi-ykūn* and *rāḥ ykūn*. In my data the future prefix *b-* is found attached to the SA verb *yakūn*, and similar to Ingham's finding this also rarely occurs in my data. This represents diglossic code-switching, as can be seen in the following example taken from one of the female speakers (i.e. NE1):

- (95) li-'anna-h bi-ya-kūn 'alā raqabat-i-k
 for-that-it FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF on neck-GEN-your.2SG.M
yawm-a l-qiyāmah
 day-ACC the-Judgement
 'because (the sin) will be fastened to your neck on Day of Judgement'

Furthermore, the imperfect verb might have a future time reference even when not marked by the future prefix *bi-*. Even the active participle also has a future reference in this type of context and expresses the future perfect if it is of the Action verb class and the future continuous if it is of the State/Motion class. Nevertheless, the focus in the current study will be on expressing the marked future with SA and NA future particles, as the focus will be on the structure of diglossic code-switching with regard to the preachers' use of these particles. This will be considered as the focal point of the study, as was also the case in Eid (1988).

The following section will discuss the constraints on intra-sentential code-switching to be considered in the present study.

4.6 Constraints on code-switching

In attempting to discover systematicity in the way in which features and items from the two basic varieties are switched or mixed, some linguistic constraints will be taken into consideration. I consider this to be a contribution to the study of code-switching

between SA and NA in the context of religious speeches, which has not been studied before. The focus will be on constraints and restrictions such as word-internal mixing, focusing on constraints within the p-stem (i.e. imperfect forms) verb phrase as suggested by Holes (2004) and Eid's (1982, 1988) constraints, together with considering whether certain hypotheses on code-switching in bilingual situations are applicable to the present study.

4.6.1 Word-internal mixing

Previous studies conducted by Holes (2004) and Mejdell (2006b) among others have focused on the interaction between SA and dialectal linguistic elements and the constraints on mixing between lexical items and grammatical morphemes.

Holes (2004:366) discusses the constraints within the verb phrase (VP). He explains that p-stem (i.e. imperfect) main verbs in both SA and the dialects have the following morphological elements (he shows optional elements in parentheses):

(NEG) + (Mood/aspect) + prefix + stem + suffix + (Object) + (NEG)¹⁷

In Holes' (2004:366) case, Cairene Arabic fills all these slots, as shown by the following example:

mā	+	b		+	yi			+	ḥibb		+	u	+	hā			+	š
NEG		aspect		prefix	(3M)		stem		PL		object	(3SG.F)		NEG				

'they do not like her'

The equivalent in SA is:

lā		+	yū			+	ḥibb		+	ūna		+	hā
NEG		prefix	(3M)		stem		M.PL		object	(3SG.F)			

'they do not like her'

¹⁷ Second NEG at the end in the case of the Cairene dialect, which is different from SA and NA in which NEG is a single element.

The second position, which is aspect in this list of elements in the VP, could be filled by future particles, i.e. *sa-* and *sawfa* and by NA future particles.

In analysing the linguistic elements found in the VP that he calls *complex*, Holes (2004) has questioned where and how the selection of SA or a dialect restricts the selection of elements in the rest of the VP. In answering this question, he has suggested a hierarchy of features where the selection of elements at certain points implies the selection of others. He provides four possibilities in the interaction between SA and Cairene Arabic, ranging from most formal to least formal. The most formal represents SA, as can be seen in the following examples adapted from Holes (2004:367):

- a. *sa-'aqūlu*
- b. *sa-'aqūl*
- c. *ħa-'aqūl*
- d. *ħa-'ūl*

All the above examples have a future particle and mean 'I will say'. Example (a) represents the most formal form in which the selection of final *-u* as a mood ending (indicative) demands the selection of the SA future particle *sa-* and /q/ in the phonological realization. In example (b), despite the absence of the mood ending *-u*, the use of the restrictive element *sa-* requires /q/ in the stem. In example (d), which represents the least formal form, the omission of the restrictive dialectal feature 'a requires the selection of the dialectal future particle *ħa-* and the realization of the initial consonant of the stem as /ʔ/ not /q/. However, if as in example (c) 'a is not deleted then both *sa-* or *ħa-* can occur with *ħa-'aqūl* representing a less formal choice. In this sense, forms such as **ħa-'aqūlu* and **sa-'ūl* are not possible. Therefore, it could be said that there are restrictions on the type of elements co-occurring in the VP when SA particles selected as SA elements are obligatory elsewhere in the VP. By contrast, weak restrictions are found when dialectal particles are selected, as both dialect and SA elements are possible in all slots. In this respect, Holes (2004) introduced three groups regarding the type of elements occurring in the VP: SA particle + SA verb, dialectal particle + SA verb and dialectal particle + dialectal verb.

Linguistic interaction between SA dialectal elements results in forms which are neither SA nor plain dialectal. This phenomenon is referred to by Haeri (1996) and Holes (2004) as hybridization.

In her study on the mixed styles in spoken Arabic between SA and Egyptian Arabic, Mejdell (2006b) also examined word-internal mixing. In trying to understand the reasons behind the restrictions found in internal-word mixing, Mejdell (2006b) relates the restrictions to the *dominant language hypothesis* proposed by Petersen (1988). Based on her study of dominance in a Danish–English bilingual child, Petersen (1988:486) explains the notion of the dominant language hypothesis as:

The dominant language hypothesis states that in word-internal code-switching, grammatical morphemes of the DOMINANT language may co-occur with lexical morphemes of either the dominant or the nondominant language. However, grammatical morphemes of the NONDOMINANT language may co-occur only with lexical morphemes of the nondominant language.

This hypothesis, as suggested by Mejdell (2006b:63), could best describe the situation observed in “Arabic code interaction”, where the Arabic dialects must be considered the dominant variety as these are usually the first language or variety acquired naturally.

As Grosjean (1982) indicates, the dominant language is the one that a person is more exposed to and needs to use more. It is worth mentioning that the dominant language and matrix language are different. According to Mejdell, the dominant language is “a stable psycholinguistic entity” (p.390) which might change as a result of certain factors such as immigration. In contrast, the matrix language is the basic language form which is thought to underlie a certain stretch of text or discourse, and can change from one situation to another.

Similarly, Schmidt (1974) proposed constraints on mixing between stems and suffixes, where the stem (the lexical item) could not be colloquialized except after the suffix (the grammatical item) had been colloquialized. This constraint falls under the *dominant language hypothesis*. The hypothesis assumes that when switching to a non-native target language or variety, the native variety could strongly affect the phonology and morphosyntax of the non-native variety (Weinreich, 1953, cited in Mejdell, 2006b). Moreover, in a similar way, with regard to the different

psycholinguistic processes involved in the interaction between a standard variety and the dialect, Coetsem (1992:27–36) states that when the standard language and the dialect are genetically closely related, the dialect speaker might apply “correspondence rules” between the varieties to convert to the standard. However, in the process of acquisition, the speaker will be:

imposing parts of elements of his dialect, the *sl* [source language] upon the standard, the *rl* [receiving language]. Such parts include primarily the most stable domains or subdomains of the dialect, for example, the phonology, specifically articulatory habits. [. . .] Also, the morphology is a very stable domain, and is not transferred in its entirety to the *rl* or target language. [. . .] more stable elements of the vocabulary, such as functors, especially prepositions, which indicate grammatical relations, are also often maintained and imposed upon the standard language.

Similarly, Gibson (1999) reflects the same principle in his interpretation of Auer’s (1997) co-occurrence restrictions between standard and dialect features at the word level. He formulated the following constraint: “an intermediate variety will have dialectal bound morphemes alongside standard lexical forms. Standard morphology alongside non-standard lexical forms is what we do not expect to find in such cases”. (Gibson, 1999:69).

To sum up, both structural linguistic (i.e. morpho-syntactic and phonological) constraints proposed by Holes (2004) and Petersen’s dominant language hypothesis will be examined in this thesis, especially when analysing future particles in relation to the two Arabic varieties included in the study (see Chapter Nine). Moreover, the dominant language hypothesis will also be considered in analysing the switching with regard to the other linguistic variables included in the study.

4.6.2 Syntactic constraints

In syntax, it seems that the switching and mixing of sentence constituents from two basic varieties or codes is also subject to certain restrictions. Palva (1969) describes one feature of the incongruity between SA and the Palestinian dialectal system: the modal system in the imperfect. He notes:

Since this difference is substantially structural, it is natural that the departure from the dialectal system is extremely difficult; it implies a transition into the classical modal system which

cannot be attained through easy lexical borrowings or slight phonemic modifications. To be sure, the non-dialectal imperfect forms are very rare in the present texts (p.34).

Eid (1982, 1988) contributes to information on the asymmetrical status of the varieties in her two studies on the principles of code-switching between Standard and Egyptian Arabic (EA). Eid investigated in her data the occurrence of code-switching by focusing on four syntactic constructions: relative clause markers, subordinating conjunctions, tense and verb constructions, and negatives and verb construction. She called the constituents which mark each of these structures *focal points*. Eid tried to ascertain which possible combinations of SA and EA elements occurred by examining the slots immediately preceding and following the SA and EA focal points. She reached the conclusion that the word preceding the focal point was not bound to the SA or EA variant of the focal point but was free. On the other hand, “if the focal point [was] from SA, the element immediately following that focal point must also be from SA” (1988:61). However, if the focal point was from EA, switching was permitted after all focal points except in the case of the negatives, which was because of the incongruity between the two systems with regard to the tense + negative markings. In the current study, the case of the negation would be different due to the fact that NA negation differs from EA and there is a similarity between the structure of some forms of negation in NA and SA. Eid considered the case of negation in her study to fall under “contradictory effect constraints” in which “switching at some point, P, between two elements A and B is not permitted if the grammars of the two language varieties involved include contradictory conditions applicable to A and B—conditions that cannot be satisfied simultaneously” (1988:74). On the other hand, Eid (1988:74) also introduced another principle: “the directionality constraint”. In this principle if the focal point is in SA, switching to EA is not allowed at the position immediately following the focal point.

Eid (1982, 1988) suggested eight possible combinations for each linguistic variable examined in her study and introduced the directionality constraint to describe the general pattern of asymmetric conditioning, which “may be related to the manner of acquisition of each variety: which variety was natively, and which was non-natively learned” (1988:75). Mejdell (2006b) held the view that this could be linked to the dominant language hypothesis in the sense that if the linguistic variable is in SA, then switching to the dialect immediately after this focal point is not permitted whereas

switching to both elements from SA and the dialect are possible if the focal point is in the spoken dialect. This indicates that the dialect is the dominant language because it is natively acquired. Both the asymmetry of word-internal context discussed in Section 4.6.1 and sentence context are similar in the sense that both allow switching after the dialect's linguistic elements to both SA and the dialect, whereas SA linguistic variables are not followed by linguistic elements from the dialect. Both word-internal mixing and syntactic structure constraints will be applied in the current study. Eid (1982, 1988) studied negation, relative pronouns and future particles, which will also be examined in the current study and will be analysed in the context of Eid's (1982, 1988) syntactic constraints. Demonstratives were not addressed in Eid's two studies, but will be examined by applying the principles developed by Eid for the other three linguistic variables. They will also be analysed in the context of the other constraints, as will be explained below.

4.6.3 Triggering hypothesis and neutralization site

In his study of trigger words and code-switching in the language use of German-, Croatian-, Dutch-, Vietnamese-, Italian-, and Spanish-English bilinguals, and Hungarian-German-English and Dutch-German-English trilinguals in Australia, Clyne (2003) developed the *triggering hypothesis*, which proposes that words which have a similar form and meaning in two languages can cause, or at least facilitate, a code-switch from one language to the other. According to Clyne (2003), trigger words can be lexical transfers (i.e. items belonging to one standard language and which have also become part of the lexicon of the speaker's other language), bilingual homophones (false friends), or proper nouns.

Clyne (2003:163) gives the following example from Dutch-English code-switching which shows the noun *human being* as a lexical transfer in the switch from Dutch to English:

Wat er gebeurt met de gewone werkers, die er eigenlijk uitgeschopt worden, die niet meer nodig zijn. also what *wat* wij er aan kunnen doen als *human being* or in my case as christian

‘What is happening to ordinary workers who are actually kicked out, who are not needed any more. Also what what we can do about it as human being or in my case as Christian’

Clyne distinguishes between three forms of code-switching with regard to trigger words: sequential facilitation in which the switching follows the trigger word, anticipational facilitation in which the switching precedes the trigger word, and a third form which is a combination of these two forms. The hypothesis does not necessary predict that any word adjacent to a trigger word will always be code-switched but that trigger words may facilitate the switching of surrounding words and act as bridges between languages, or may be varieties of the same language and thus trigger a switch to the other language or variety.

The findings of corpus studies have supported this hypothesis. For example, Broersma and de Bot (2006) counted the occurrence of trigger words and code-switches in utterances spoken by Dutch-Moroccan Arabic bilinguals and found that code-switching is more common in sentences with trigger words than in sentences without a trigger word.

In the current study, some of the SA and NA negative particles and demonstratives have a similar form and meaning. These are the negative particles *lā* and *mā* and the demonstratives *hāḍā* (M.SG), *hāḍi* (F.SG), *ḍā* (M.SG) and the far-deixis demonstratives *ḍāk* (M.SG) and *haḍāk* (M.SG). These are all considered to be *neutral* between the two varieties involved in the study. Therefore, the triggering hypothesis will be analysed in the context of these neutral negators and demonstratives.

In discussing triggering in code-switching, it is worth considering another concept: the *neutralization site*. Clyne (1987) defines a *neutral site* for code-switching as a site where the structures between the two languages are equivalent and where there is no “tight” syntactic relation between the elements. For instance, a government relation is a “tight” syntactic relation, under which case-assignment happens. Thus, a site between a case-assigning verb (e.g. a transitive verb) and its complement NP (i.e. the direct object) is not a good site for code-switching, at least in languages where an overt objective case needs to be assigned to the NP. It is thus not a “neutral” site, as the language of the case inflection should match the language of the case-assigning

verb. A site between a verb and an adjunct would, however, be a neutral site, and code-switching often occurs in this context.

This hypothesis parallels the *equivalence constraint* proposed by Poplack (1980) and Sankoff and Poplack (1981). Poplack (1980) states that “a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other” (p.586). The equivalence constraint indicates that switching would be permitted as long as the resulting linear order of the elements in the sentence does not violate the word order requirements of either language at the switch point. This is to some extent similar to Eid’s (1982, 1988) contradictory effect constraint as it also suggests that switching is not possible if the two language varieties include contradictory conditions. This means that if the grammar of the two varieties is similar, switching will be possible. The only difference between the equivalence constraint and Eid's constraint is as Eid (1988:77) has pointed out "that the Equivalence constraint is explicitly defined on violations of linear order of sentence elements".

Triggering and neutralization are thus connected, but in principle they are separate concepts. Triggering means that a language-neutral word triggers a switch to the other language, but a language-neutral word/site does not necessarily lead to code-switching, instead merely facilitating it.

In the case of Arabic, triggering and neutralization, though more common in bilingual code-switching, may be applicable, because in Saudi Arabia for example there is one *mother tongue* (natively spoken, i.e. NA), and one prestige variety that is not really a ‘mother tongue’ but is acquired through education and is seen as one end of a continuum rather than a separate language (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4). Therefore, it could be the case that the “neutral” sites are very frequently occurring, and occur in the middle of many sentences, because of the overlap between SA and spoken varieties of Arabic (e.g. NA). I will shed light in my qualitative analysis chapters on these two concepts to find out if they are applicable to or could facilitate the switching between Arabic varieties.

4.7 Neutral forms

Since the study focuses on switching between SA and NA, which are varieties of the same language, one important issue that has been faced is how to deal with neutral/shared/ambiguous forms, i.e. forms identical in the two varieties. This issue was also faced by Eid (1982,1988), Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b) in their studies on mixing and switching between SA and EA. Bassiouney (2006:36) labelled shared words as “neutral”. The following figure schematizes the linguistic situation between SA and NA and where the focus of the switching will be:

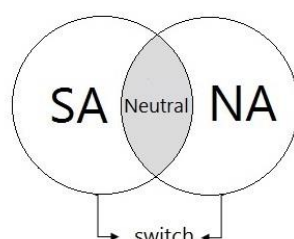


Figure 4.1: The linguistic situation between SA and NA

In the current study, some of the neutral forms can be seen in the analysis of two syntactic structures: negation and demonstratives, as explained in Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.3 above. In negation, the negative particles *lā* and *mā* are neutral between the two varieties under investigation. The demonstratives *hāḏā*, *hāḏi*, *ḏā*, *ḏāk* and *haḏāk* are also neutral between the two varieties. The following example taken from my data shows neutral forms:

<i>gāl-∅</i>	<i>šūf-ī</i>	<u>kalimat</u>	<u>al-xarj</u>	<u>mā</u>
say.PF-3SG.M	see.IMP-2SG.F	word	the-Xarj	NEG
<i>na-b-ih</i>	mub	<u>ṣahīh</u>		
IPF.1PL-want-him	NEG	true		

‘He said: See! Saying that(because) he is from Al-Xarj we do not want him is not right’

In this example, neutral forms are in italic emphasis and underlined as they represent both SA and NA. Only the word *kalimat* ‘word’ is underlined and not in italic emphasis because it is in SA; its NA equivalent would be *kilmat* or *čilmat*. Thus, the first negation found is with *mā*, which is a shared negative particle and it is followed

by NA, whereas the NA negative form *mub* is followed by the word *ṣaḥīḥ*, which is also shared between SA and NA. Therefore, no switching can be seen in this example.

Hence, in deciding whether or not switching occurs, as in Eid (1982, 1988), Boussofara-Omar (1999), Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b), neutral forms were simply disregarded and all conclusions had to be based on cases that are clearly identifiable as belonging to one variety or the other because they do not provide any clear evidence for or against switching. However, not every single item has been discarded, as in trying to find out whether neutral forms as in the case of negative particles and demonstratives could trigger code-switching to occur were considered.

4.8 Data analysis

The main aim of the current study is to investigate the linguistic and structural features of diglossic code-switching. Therefore, in analysing the data gathered in this study, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were used. The purpose of the quantitative analysis was to compare the number of occurrences of each SA and NA linguistic variable included in the study. In addition, a quantitative comparison was conducted of the data from the male and female preachers to ascertain the preferred variety by each group, and to indicate the overall style of speaking of each preacher. However, to examine the style and structure of diglossic code-switching found in the data, a qualitative analysis was conducted to obtain an in-depth analysis of the constraints and patterns of switching. This is consistent with the research of Mejdell (2006b), Bassiouney (2006), and Al-Qenaie (2011), who employed the two types of analysis in their studies of code-switching and mixing.

The qualitative analysis focused on diglossic intra-sentential code-switching between SA and NA, examining possible patterns and constraints on mixing between the two varieties with regard to the linguistic variables considered in this study. In analysing intra-sentential code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1993a) first viewed the sentence as the unit of analysis. However, she argued later that the projection of Complementizer (CP) is the appropriate unit of analysis as it is the highest unit projected by lexical items. In her view, CP is more appropriate than the sentence because the sentence is a main clause that encompasses many embedded clauses, which may not all show switching nor tell us much about the constraints on code-

switching intra-sententially (Myers-Scotton, 2002:55). Following Boussafara-Omar (1999), I however still used the sentence as the unit of analysis even though I consider diglossic code-switching as taking place inside the CP. This was because, as argued by Boussafara-Omar (1999), the grammars of the two linguistic varieties come into contact with each other within the sentence.

The qualitative analysis aimed to assess whether the alternating use of the two varieties, which is referred to as diglossic intra-sentential code-switching, was systematic or unsystematic and to ascertain whether the mixing was random or if there were rules. Inter-sentential code-switching is not included in the analysis because the switching in this case mainly results from extra-linguistic purposes, such as for a sociolinguistic function, and is not dependent on linguistic structure (see e.g. Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993b), as discussed in Chapter Three, Section 3.2.

The same constraints discussed in Chapter Four, Section 4.6, will be considered in analysing the data from the present study. These constraints are word-internal mixing constraints as those by Holes (2004) and the syntactic structure constraints suggested by Eid (1982, 1988) including the directionality constraint and the contradictory effect constraint. This will be done in order to discover whether the code-switching found in the data with regard to the linguistic variables under study (considered as “focal points” [Eid 1988:54]) is consistent in the speeches of all speakers analysed for the purpose of this study, and whether or not this supports Eid’s findings. Moreover, I will examine whether my data supports or violates the *dominant language hypothesis* suggested by Petersen (1988), the *triggering hypothesis* suggested by Clyne (2003) and the *neutralization site hypothesis* suggested by Clyne (1987).

The social variable that this study is concerned with is gender. Chapters Five, Six, Seven, Eight and Nine consist of a descriptive analysis of different linguistic variables in the speeches of male and female preachers and a comparison between the two genders.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has explained that audio recordings from two websites are the main sources of data for the current research. The grammatical linguistic variables that will be examined are negative particles, relative pronouns, demonstratives, and future particles. Male and female preachers are included in the study, which aims to ascertain whether there are any significant differences with regard to gender in the diglossic code-switching found in monologues on religious issues presented to a public audience. Furthermore, the constraints that will be examined in studying code-switching have also been discussed. These are word-internal mixing, sentence syntactic-structure, the dominant language hypothesis, and triggering and neutralization site hypotheses.

I will now turn to the quantitative analysis chapter, where the data obtained by the means outlined above will be analysed and interpreted statistically.

Chapter Five

Quantitative Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the quantitative analysis of the data collected according to the methodology described in the previous chapter. The data on the religious discourse of Najdi male and female preachers in Saudi Arabia were quantitatively analysed to provide an in-depth insight into the frequency of use of Standard Arabic (SA) and Najdi Arabic (NA) linguistic features. In addition, the data were analysed to compare the two gender groups in their use of SA and NA linguistic variables to find out whether there are gender differences. The analysis will thus reveal whether there is a relationship between gender and preference for either SA (i.e. High variety) or NA (i.e. Low variety). Although the main focus of this thesis is on diglossic code-switching in religious discourse and the sample included is relatively small in size, consisting of three male and three female speakers, such a comparison could help in ascertaining whether gender plays a role in speakers' choice between SA or NA.

The quantitative analysis was conducted using the software program Microsoft Excel. The number of SA or NA forms was totalled for each linguistic feature included in the study in the speech of each male or female speaker, and percentage use totals were then calculated.

The main emphasis at this stage of the analysis is on the linguistic variables themselves rather than the structure or style of switching. It will assist in obtaining an understanding of whether SA or NA linguistic features are used more frequently. This will help in obtaining an understanding of which variety is more preferable to the speakers.

The analysis is divided into sections presenting the results for each linguistic feature examined. Each section is divided into three subsections, detailing the findings for male speakers, female speakers, and a comparison of the gender groups, respectively.

5.2 Negation

In their diglossic switching between SA and NA negative forms, both the male and female speakers show considerable use of some of the SA and NA negative particles and forms. However, the most frequently used negative particles, *mā* and *lā*, are those which are common in both the Arabic varieties under investigation in the study.

Regarding the SA negative verb *laysa* ('not'), all of the male and female speakers show considerable use of this form. The following subsections will provide a quantitative analysis of the number and percentage occurrence of SA and NA negators in the data corpus.

5.2.1 Male speakers' use of negation

	Particles	Male speakers						Total
		AM1	AM2	MA1	MA2	SJ1	SJ2	
SA	lam	21	12	7	9	8	4	61
	lan	1	0	4	0	0	1	6
	laysa	14	3	6	9	5	4	41
Neutral NEG	lā	154	80	81	78	27	107	527
	mā	59	56	93	120	74	98	500
NA	manib	2	3	2	0	0	0	7
	manī	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
	manab	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	maḥinab	0	2	2	0	0	1	5
	mant	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
	mantib	4	1	3	0	0	1	9
	manteb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	mantumb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	mū	0	0	0	0	21	2	23
	muhub	1	2	0	0	0	1	4
	mahub	1	1	0	1	0	1	4
	mub	3	0	0	0	14	4	21
	mahu	0	0	1	3	0	0	4
	muhu	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	mahī	0	0	1	2	1	0	4
	mahib	1	0	2	0	0	1	4
	muhumb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
mahimb	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	

(Table continued on the next page)

	Particles	Male speakers						Total
		AM1	AM2	MA1	MA2	SJ1	SJ2	
SA Total		36	15	17	18	13	9	108
Neutral NEG Total		213	136	174	198	101	205	1027
NA Total		21	11	11	6	37	11	97
Total		270	162	202	222	151	225	1232
SA %		13.3%	9.2%	8.4%	8.1%	8.6%	4%	8.8%
Neutral NEG%		78.9%	84%	86.2%	89.2%	66.9%	91.1%	83.4%
NA %		7.8%	6.8%	5.4%	2.7%	24.5%	4.9%	7.8%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.1: Male speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral variants of NEG

In quantitative terms, Table 5.1 shows that there are marked individual differences among the male speakers in their use of SA and NA negative particles. The negative particles *mā* and *lā* are neutral between SA and NA and are used by all of the male speakers. These two negative particles have the highest percentage use in all of the male speakers' speeches. In addition, by examining the number of occurrences of *lā* and *mā*, it can be noted that *lā* is used more frequently than *mā*. This finding supports the findings of Rammuny (1978), who found that *lā* is the most widely used negative particle in SA.

In the senior preacher AM's two speeches, it is evident that he uses SA negative particles more frequently in his first speech than in his second speech. Similarly, MA tends to use SA negative particles in his two speeches rather than their NA equivalents. Moreover, it is clear from Table 5.1 that all of the speakers show considerable use of all of the SA negative particles and the negative verb *laysa*; the exception is *lan*, which occurs only in AM1, MA1 and SJ2. The neutral negative article *lā* is the most used particle in AM1, AM2 and SJ2, whereas the neutral negative particle *mā* occurs more frequently than *lā* in MA1, MA2 and SJ1. By contrast, the SA negative particle *lan* is the least frequently used among the SA negators. NA non-verbal negative forms are also found in the speeches but the speakers use them differently; some forms might be used by one speaker but not by the others. In addition, some forms of the non-verbal negations are not used by all of the male speakers.

In AM's first and second speech, SA accounts for 13.3% and 9.2% of the total number of negations, respectively. On the other hand, his use of NA negative particles is nearly the same in his two speeches (7.8% and 6.8% in his first and second

speeches, respectively). Neutral negative particles account for 78.9% and 84% of the total number of negations in his first and second speech, respectively.

There are slight differences in the percentage use of negative particles in the two speeches of the second speaker MA, with SA negative particles having a higher percentage use than NA negative particles. In his first speech, SA accounts for 8.4% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 5.4% of this total. In his second speech, SA accounts for 8.1% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 2.7% of this total. Regarding the neutral negative particles between SA and NA, as in the case of the first speaker, they are the most widely used in MA's two speeches. In his first and second speech, *lā* and *mā* account for 86.2% and 89.2% of the total number of negations, respectively. By examining his use of SA negative particles and his switches to NA negative forms, it can be noted that he tends to use SA more frequently and switches less frequently to non-verbal negative particles. Moreover, a slight difference is found in his use of SA, NA and the neutral negative particles in his two speeches.

The third male speaker tends to use the neutral negative particles more frequently than SA and NA negative particles in his two speeches. Table 5.1 shows that in his first speech, SA accounts for 8.6% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 24.5% of this total. In his second speech, SA accounts for 4% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 4.9% of this total. Regarding the two neutral negators, they account for 66.9% and 91.1% of the total number of negative particles used in his first and second speech, respectively. If we compare his switches to NA negators and his use of SA in his two speeches, it can be noted that NA has a higher percentage use than SA, especially in his first speech, whereas in his second speech NA negative particles have a slightly higher percentage use.

To conclude this section, it is worth noting that there is variation in the use of SA and NA negators among the male speakers despite the fact that the neutral negative particles are predominant in all of their speeches. This is consistent with the findings of Mejdell (2006b), who also found great diversity among her speakers in their use of SA and EA negation. However, by examining the total percentage use of SA and NA negators by all of the male speakers, it is evident that SA negators still have a higher

percentage use than NA negators. SA accounts for 8.8% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 7.8% of this total.

Figure 5.1 presents a comparison of the male speakers' frequency of switching between SA, NA and neutral negative particles.

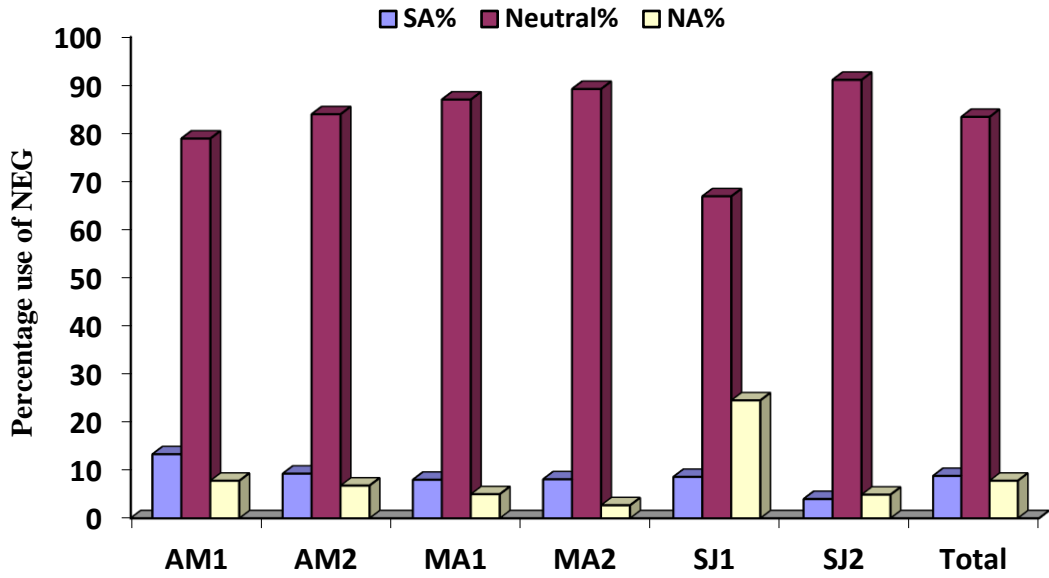


Figure 5.1: Male speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral variants of NEG

5.2.2 Female speakers' use of negation

	Particles	Female Speakers						Total
		RM1	RM2	NE1	NE2	RB1	RB2	
SA NEG	<i>lam</i>	26	12	15	9	10	24	96
	<i>lan</i>	2	0	3	6	1	4	16
	<i>laysa</i>	15	13	7	4	10	11	60
Neutral NEG	<i>lā</i>	96	58	71	71	152	140	588
	<i>mā</i>	53	21	48	61	134	74	391
NA NEG	<i>manib</i>	0	0	1	0	1	1	3
	<i>manī</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>manab</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>maḥinnab</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>mantib</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>manteb</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>mantumb</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>mū</i>	0	0	0	2	2	3	7
	<i>muhub</i>	0	0	0	3	3	1	7
	<i>mahub</i>	0	0	4	7	1	2	14
	<i>mub</i>	0	0	0	6	6	7	19
	<i>mahu</i>	0	1	5	0	0	0	6
	<i>muhu</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>mahī</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	<i>mahib</i>	0	0	1	1	3	0	5
<i>muhumb</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
<i>mahimb</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SA Total		43	25	25	19	21	39	172
Neutral NEG Total		149	79	119	132	286	214	979
NA Total		0	1	11	20	16	14	45
Total		192	105	155	171	323	267	1196
SA%		22.4%	23.8%	16.1%	11.11%	6.5%	14.61%	14.3%
Neutral NEG%		77.6%	75.2%	76.8%	77.19%	88.5%	80.15%	81.9%
NA%		0.0%	1%	7.1%	11.70%	5%	5.24%	3.8%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.2: Female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral variants of NEG

Table 5.2 presents the female speakers' use of SA and NA negative particles, in addition to the use of the neutral negative particles between SA and NA. It is evident

that despite the variation between the female speakers, SA negators nevertheless have a higher percentage use than NA non-verbal negative forms. As in the case of the male speakers, Table 5.2 shows that there are occurrences of all the SA negative particles and the negative verb *laysa* in nearly all of the female speakers' speeches except for RM2, in which *lan* does not occur. Furthermore, the neutral negative particle *lā* has the most frequent occurrence. This again supports Rammuny's (1978) finding that *lā* is the most common negative particle. On the other hand, *lan* is the least used SA negative particle, occurring only 16 times in all of the female speakers' speeches. This supports the findings of Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b), who also found *lā* to be the most frequently used and *lan* to be the least frequently used particle in their studies. In the current study, NA non-verbal negative forms are rarely used by the female speakers, and the females differ in the forms used.

The first female speaker, who is considered to be the most senior among the female preachers included in the study, uses SA more frequently in both of her speeches. In her first and second speech, SA accounts for 22.4% and 23.8% of the total number of negations, respectively. By comparing Table 5.1 and Table 5.2, it is clear that these two percentages are the highest among all the male and female speakers in terms of the use of SA negative particles. By contrast, there is no occurrence of the NA non-verbal negative forms in her first speech, whereas such forms represent 1% of the total number of negations in her second speech. This speaker shows no use of any of the variants of the NA non-verbal negative form *muhub*. Only the NA non-verbal negative form *mahu* is found in her second speech. Regarding the common negative particles *mā* and *lā*, they account for 77.6% and 75.2% of the total number of negations in her first and second speech, respectively.

In the second female speaker's two speeches, she again uses SA negative particles more frequently than NA. In her first speech, SA accounts for 16.1% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 7.1% of this total. In her second speech, SA accounts for 11.11% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 11.70% of this total. Therefore, a difference can be seen in her use of SA between her two speeches, with SA being used more frequently in her first speech. This is also evident in the number of occurrences in each speech, as SA negative particles occur 25 times in her first speech and 19 times in her second speech. It is worth mentioning that there is considerable variation in her use of SA and NA negative particles. The

neutral negative particles *mā* and *lā* have the highest percentage use in her two speeches. In her first and second speech, these forms account for 76.8% and 77.19% of the total number of negations, respectively.

The third female speaker in the study also tends to use SA negative particles more frequently than NA negators, although the percentage use differs between her first and second speech. Nevertheless, in her two speeches she displays the highest use of the neutral negative particles of all the female speakers. In her first speech, SA accounts for 6.5% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 5% of this total. In her second speech, SA accounts for 14.6% of the total number of negations while NA accounts for 5.2% of this total. Considerable variation in her use of SA and NA can be seen in Table 5.2. The neutral negative particles *mā* and *lā* are widely used in her two speeches and are the most frequently occurring negative particles among all of the female speakers. In her first and second speech, the neutral negators account for 88.5% and 80.1% of the total number of negations, respectively. Thus, due to her high use of neutral negative particles, her use of SA and NA negative particles is the lowest of the three female speakers.

To conclude this section, it is important to indicate that in general SA is used more frequently among female speakers than NA; SA accounts for 14.3% of the total number of negations whereas NA accounts for 3.8% of this total. Figure 5.2 illustrates the results and shows the individual differences among the female speakers in their use of SA, NA and neutral negation. It also shows the female speakers' level of diglossic switching between the two varieties included in this study and the differences between the female speakers in their frequency of switching.

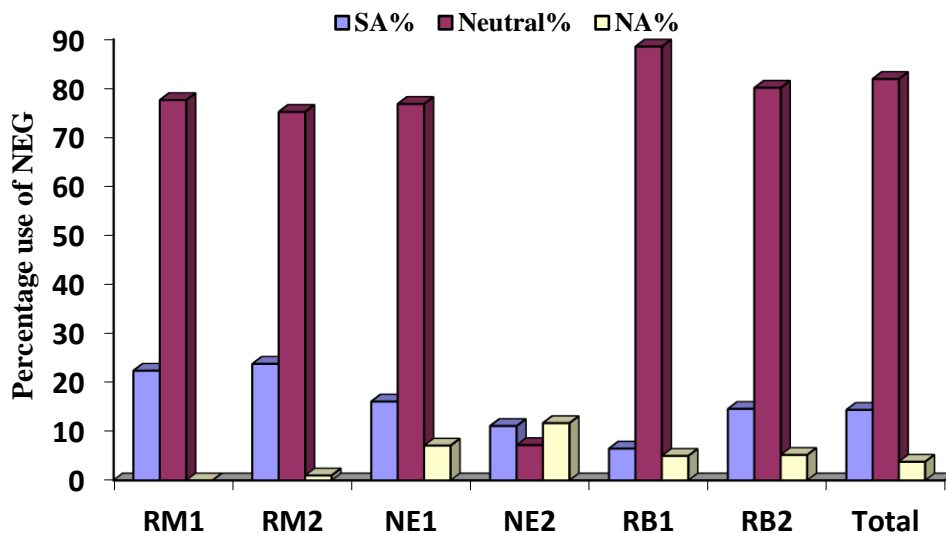


Figure 5.2: Female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral variants of NEG

5.2.3 Differences between the male and female speakers in their use of SA, NA and neutral negative particles in their speeches

NEG	Number of Occurrences		Percentage of Occurrences	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
SA	108	172	8.8%	14.3%
Neutral NEG	1027	979	83.4%	81.9%
NA	97	45	7.8%	3.8%
Total	1232	1196	100%	100%

Table 5.3: Male and female speakers' use of NEG

The data in Table 5.3 show that the female speakers use SA negative particles more frequently than is the case with the male speakers. The female speakers' use of SA negative particles accounts for 14.3% of the total number of negations whereas the males' use accounts for 9% of this total. In contrast, the male speakers tend to use NA negators slightly more frequently than is the case with female speakers. This is clear in Table 5.3, which shows that for males NA negators account for 7.8% of the total number of negations while the corresponding figure for females is 3.8%. This is contrary to the findings of Bassiouney (2006) in her study of code-switching in political speeches, mosque sermons and university lectures in Egypt. She found that Egyptians tend to favour EA negators over SA negators. In addition, my findings also contrast with those of Soliman (2008) in his study of diglossic switching in the

religious speeches of a well-known preacher in Egypt. He found that the preacher in his study tended to use more EA negative particles than SA ones.

Moreover, by comparing Tables 5.1 and 5.2, it is evident that there is a general preference to use the neutral negative particles *lā* and *mā* by both the male and female speakers. On the other hand, future negation with *lan* is the least frequently practised by the two groups; this finding is consistent with Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b). However, this finding contradicts Soliman (2008), who found his speaker to use SA negative particles at almost the same degree of frequency.

5.3 Relative pronouns

In the analysis of the six speeches given by the three male speakers and the six speeches given by the three female speakers, only the SA relative pronouns *allaḏī*, *allatī*, *allaḏīna* and *allawātī* have been found in the data. The SA relative pronouns *allaḏī*, *allatī* and *allaḏīna* occur in all the speeches whereas *allawātī* (plural feminine) is used only once in the second speech of the first male speaker (i.e. AM). The masculine and feminine dual relative pronouns and some of the plural relative pronouns mentioned in Chapter Four do not occur in the data. This finding partially contradicts Mejdell (2006b), in which no plural relative pronoun form was found. On the other hand, my finding with regard to the dual form supports Mejdell's finding, as no dual relative pronoun form was found in her study either. Regarding the NA relative pronouns *alli* and *illi*, there is considerable use of these forms by all of the male and female speakers, as will be shown in the following subsections.

5.3.1 Male speakers' use of relative pronouns

REL	Male Speakers						Total	
	AM1	AM2	MA1	MA2	SJ1	SJ2		
SA	<i>allaḍī</i>	15	22	31	13	7	19	107
	<i>allatī</i>	18	12	5	6	5	6	52
	<i>allaḍīna</i>	9	8	6	5	3	6	37
	<i>allawātī</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
NA	<i>alli</i>	15	12	7	12	51	38	135
	<i>illi</i>	1	8	4	3	3	5	24
SA Total		42	43	42	24	15	31	197
NA Total		16	20	11	15	54	43	159
Total		58	63	53	39	69	74	356
SA%		72.4%	68.3%	79.2%	61.5%	21.7%	41.9%	55.3%
NA%		27.6%	31.7%	20.8%	38.5%	78.3%	58.1%	44.7%
Total%		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.4: Male speakers' use of SA and NA relative pronouns

Analysis of the data regarding the frequency of occurrence of SA and NA relative pronouns shows that the first two male speakers, AM and MA, use SA relative pronouns more frequently than the NA equivalents in their speeches (two speeches by each speaker were analysed). By examining the data in Table 5.4, it can be noted that in the first speech of the first speaker, AM, SA relative pronouns account for 72.4% of the total number of relatives while NA relative pronouns account for 27.6% of this total. On the other hand, in his second speech, SA accounts for 68.3% of the total number of relative pronouns while NA accounts for 31.7% of this total. Although he tends to use NA relative pronouns more frequently in his second speech, SA relative pronouns nevertheless have the highest percentage totals in both of his two speeches. There is a slight difference in the occurrence of SA and NA relative pronouns in the two speeches of this male speaker, as he tends to use SA relative pronouns more frequently in his first speech than in his second speech. Similarly, he tends to use NA relative pronouns more frequently in his second speech than in his first speech. This difference could be attributed to the fact that the number of occurrences of both SA and NA relative pronouns is higher in his second speech than in his first speech.

Regarding the second male speaker, MA, in his first speech, SA relative pronouns account for 79.2% of the total number of relatives while NA relative pronouns account for 20.8% of this total. On the other hand, in his second speech SA accounts for 61.5% of the total number of relative pronouns while NA accounts for 38.5% of

this total. Thus in both speeches, this speaker shows a strong preference for the use of SA relative pronouns. Again, there is a difference in the use of SA and NA relative pronouns in his two speeches, which could be attributed to the total number of occurrences of SA and NA variants in his second speech compared to his first.

In contrast to the two male speakers discussed above, the third speaker, SJ, uses NA relative pronouns more frequently than the SA equivalents. NA relative pronouns account for 78.3% and 58.1% of the total number of relative pronouns in his first and second religious speech, respectively. On the other hand, SA accounts for 21.7% and 41.9% of the total number of relative pronouns in his first and second speech, respectively.

Figure 5.3 illustrates the frequency of occurrence of SA and NA relative pronouns and the degree of switching between SA and NA with regard to this linguistic feature in the speeches of the three male speakers.

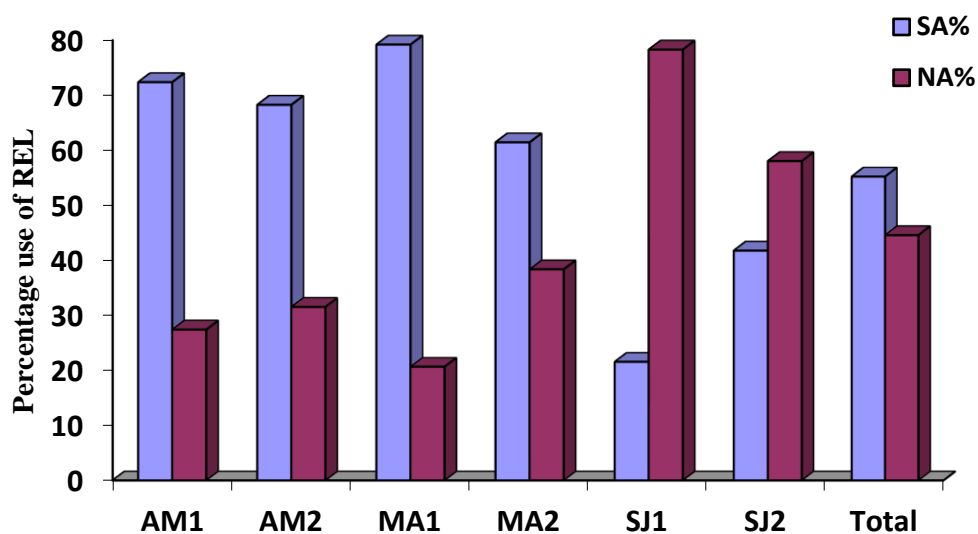


Figure 5.3: Male speakers' use of SA and NA relative pronouns

The results presented in Table 5.4 and Figure 5.2 also show that despite the differences between the three speakers in their use of SA and NA relative pronouns, SA relative pronouns still have the highest percentage use. By examining the totals in Table 5.4, it can be noted that SA accounts for 55.3% of the total number of relative pronouns while NA accounts for 44.7% of this total.

5.3.2 Female speakers' use of relative pronouns

REL	Female Speakers						Total	
	RM1	RM2	NE1	NE2	RB1	RB2		
SA	<i>allaḍī</i>	13	10	26	30	8	11	98
	<i>allatī</i>	7	12	17	10	13	15	74
	<i>allaḍīna</i>	3	2	11	1	5	12	34
	<i>allawātī</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NA	<i>alli</i>	7	4	8	28	38	20	105
	<i>illi</i>	1	1	38	7	3	8	58
SA Total		23	24	54	41	26	38	206
NA Total		8	5	46	35	41	28	163
Total		31	29	100	76	67	66	369
SA%		74.2%	82.8%	54%	53.9%	38.8%	57.6%	55.8%
NA%		25.8%	17.2%	46%	46.1%	61.2%	42.4%	44.2%
Total%		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.5: Female speakers' use of SA and NA relative pronouns

The results presented in Table 5.5 show the female speakers' use of SA and NA relative pronouns in their speeches. The data presented show that on average the female speakers use SA relative pronouns more than the NA equivalents. However, although NA relative pronouns are to some extent less frequently used than SA, these forms still account for a high percentage of the total.

The first female speaker's use of SA relative pronouns accounts for 74.2% of the total number of relatives while NA accounts for 25.8% of this total. On the other hand, in her second speech, SA relative pronouns account for 82.8 % of the total number of relatives while NA accounts for 17.2% of this total.

For the second female speaker, SA relative pronouns account for 54% of the total number of relative pronouns while NA accounts for 46% of this total. Similarly, in her second speech, SA relative pronouns account for 53.9% of the total number of relatives while NA accounts for 46.1% of the total. Thus, it could be noted that the second speaker, NE, is to some extent consistent in her way of switching between SA and NA relative pronouns as their respective percentages are nearly the same in her two speeches.

In the third female speaker's use of SA and NA relative pronouns, in her first speech SA relative pronouns account for 38.8% of the total number of relatives while NA accounts for 61.2% of this total. In her second speech, the percentage occurrence

of NA relative pronouns decreases, accounting for 42.4% of the total number of relatives while SA accounts for 57.6% of this total.

To sum up, by examining Figure 4.5 it is evident that the first female speaker, RM, has the highest use of SA relative pronouns among the group of female speakers and she tends to switch less frequently to NA. In contrast, the third female speaker tends to switch more frequently to NA relative pronouns and displays the lowest percentage of SA relative pronouns among the female speakers.

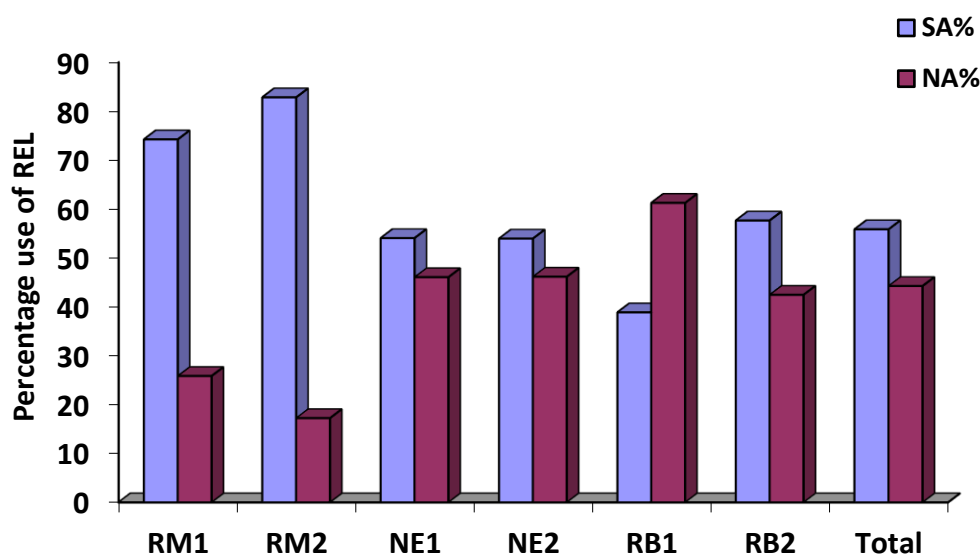


Figure 5.4: Female speakers' use of SA and NA relative pronouns

There are in fact differences among the female group in their choice of SA and NA relative pronouns. Nevertheless, by examining Table 5.5, it can be said that despite the differences, in general there is a higher percentage of SA than NA relative pronouns. SA accounts for 55.8% of the total number of relative pronouns while NA accounts for 44.2% of this total.

5.3.3 Differences between the male and female speakers in their use of SA and NA relative pronouns

	Number of Occurrences		Percentage of Occurrences	
	SA	NA	SA%	NA%
Male	197	159	55.3%	44.7%
Female	206	163	55.8%	44.2%

Table 5.6: Male and female speakers' use of SA and NA relative pronouns

The data in Table 5.6 show that the female speakers' use of SA relative pronouns is slightly higher than that of male speakers, as the percentage total of SA relative pronouns (out of the total number of relative pronouns) for females is 55.8% while the corresponding total for males is 55.3%. This means that the males use NA relatives more frequently, with this form accounting for 44.7% of the total number of relatives. Regarding the fact that there is a slight difference between the male and female speakers in their use of SA and NA relative pronouns, a t-test could be used on a larger sample to determine the statistical significance; however, with such a small sample size such a test would be meaningless. However, it is very clear from the actual figures that the difference is negligible. In addition, by examining the number of occurrences of the relatives in each variety it could be said that the three males tend to use both SA and NA less frequently than the three females, and this might be the cause for the difference in percentages between them.

It is worth mentioning that both female and male respondents in the current study were all educated, as discussed earlier in Chapter Four.

5.4 Demonstratives

Before commencing the discussion of the qualitative analysis, it is worthwhile discussing the frequency of occurrence of the demonstratives in both the male and female speakers' religious speeches. In the following sections, the percentage totals of the demonstratives associated with near- and far-deixis in SA and NA will be explained in detail. As above, the male data will be discussed first followed by the female data. For each group, the discussion will begin with near-deixis demonstratives followed by far-deixis demonstratives. The discussion of the demonstratives will conclude with a comparison of the two groups.

5.4.1 Male speakers' use of demonstratives

In this section, the male speakers' use of both near- and far-deixis demonstratives will be discussed.

5.4.1.1 Male speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with near-deixis

Demonstratives		Male preachers						Total
		AM1	AM2	MA1	MA2	SJ1	SJ2	
SA DEM	<i>hāḍihi</i>	44	20	33	9	15	10	131
	<i>hāḍāni</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	<i>hāḍāyni</i>	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	<i>hātāni</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>hā'ulā'i</i>	7	3	6	4	3	0	23
Neutral DEM	<i>hāḍā</i>	141	67	105	58	72	67	510
	<i>ḍā</i>	6	1	0	1	6	14	28
	<i>hāḍi</i>	10	3	9	6	25	3	56
NA DEM	<i>ha-</i>	11	0	9	5	16	17	58
	<i>hā</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>ḍi</i>	1	0	0	0	14	6	21
	<i>ḍōl</i>	2	0	0	0	2	2	6
	<i>haḍōl</i>	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
	<i>ḍōlin</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍōlin</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SA Total		51	23	42	13	18	10	157
Neutral DEM		157	71	114	65	103	84	594
NA Total		14	0	9	5	34	26	88
Total		222	94	165	83	155	120	839
SA%		23.0%	24.5%	25.5%	15.7%	11.6%	8.3%	19%
Neutral DEM%		70.7%	75.5%	69%	78.3%	66.5%	70%	71%
NA%		6.3%	0.0%	5.5%	6%	21.9%	21.7%	10%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.7: Male speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with near-deixis

From examining Table 5.7, it is clear that there are marked individual differences among the male speakers in their use of SA and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis. However, they all tend to use neutral demonstratives more frequently than SA or NA ones. Nevertheless, despite the individual differences among the male speakers in their use of SA and NA demonstratives, their total percentage use of SA demonstratives is higher than their use of NA demonstratives (SA demonstratives account for 19% of the total number of demonstratives while NA demonstratives account for 10% of this total).

The most common SA demonstratives used are the feminine singular and there are few occurrences of plural forms. Moreover, the dual demonstratives are almost

never used by the male speakers. This is consistent with the findings of Mejdell (2006b), who also found the singular forms to be the most common with few occurrences of the plural forms and she found no dual forms in her data. In the current study, an exception for the occurrence of dual demonstratives in the male data is the second male, MA, who in his first speech uses the dual masculine demonstratives associated with near-deixis, *hāḏāni* (which occurs one time) and *hāḏāyni* (which occurs two times). Moreover, Table 5.7 shows that the neutral singular masculine *hāḏā* ('this') and the SA singular feminine *hāḏihi* ('this') are the most widely used forms by all the male speakers. On the other hand, in NA the singular demonstratives are used more frequently. Few occurrences of the NA plural demonstratives are found in the analysis of the speakers' speeches. Only the demonstrative noun, *ḏōl* ('these') and *haḏōl* ('these'), which are the plural masculine forms, are found in the data. The first form occurs six times in total (i.e. two times in the first speaker's speech, two times in the first speech of the third male speaker and two times in his second speech). As for *haḏōl*, it occurs three times (i.e. two times in SJ's first speech and one time in his second speech).

By examining the speakers' use of SA and NA demonstratives, we can note that the first speaker, AM, displays the highest use of the neutral demonstratives. However, in comparing the use of the SA and NA demonstratives, it is evident that SA demonstratives are more frequently used than NA demonstratives in both of his two speeches. In the first speech, SA accounts for 23% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 6.3% of this total. In his second speech, SA accounts for 24.5% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 0% of this total. Neutral demonstratives account for 70.7% of the total number of demonstratives in AM1 and 75.5% of this total in AM2. This result indicates that this speaker switches rarely to NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis.

In the two religious speeches given by the second speaker, MA, SA demonstratives are again used more frequently than NA demonstratives. In his first speech, SA accounts for 25.5% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 5.5% of this total. In his second speech, SA accounts for 15.7% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 6% of this total. Neutral demonstratives are the majority form used by this speaker too, with *hāḏā* occurring 105 times.

For the third speaker, SJ, who tends to use this type of NA demonstrative more frequently than the first two speakers, the neutral demonstratives are again the majority form in the data. There is also a difference in his use of SA demonstratives in his two speeches. In both speeches, he uses NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis more frequently than those associated with SA. In his first speech, SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis account for 11.6% of the total number of demonstratives while NA demonstratives account for 21.9% of this total. In his second speech, SA accounts for 8.3% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 21.7% of this total. Table 5.7 shows how SJ displays variation in his use of NA demonstratives (e.g. use of the plural NA demonstrative *ḍōl* and *haḍōl*), which is evident in AM's first speech but not evident in AM's second speech and the data for the second male speaker discussed above.

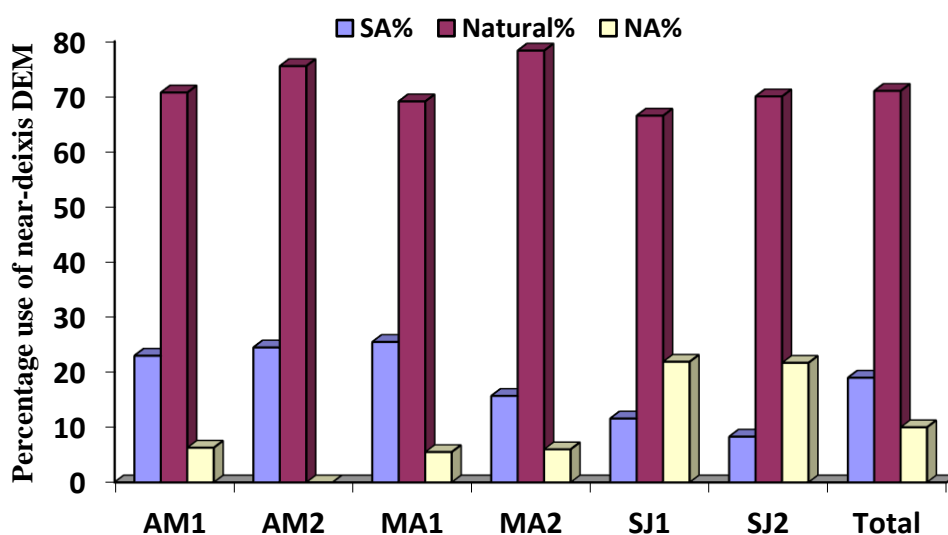


Figure 5.5: Male speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with near-deixis

To conclude this section, it can be noted that there are individual differences between the three speakers in their use of near-deixis SA and NA demonstratives.

Nevertheless, the first two speakers use SA more frequently than NA, whereas the third speaker switches more frequently to NA in his first and second speech. In addition, there is not a large difference in the percentage use of both SA and NA while there is a difference in the percentage of use of SA and NA in the second speaker's two speeches. The third speaker tends to use SA demonstratives less frequently in his two speeches while NA demonstratives are used more than SA.

5.4.1.2 Male speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis

Demonstratives		Male Speakers						Total
		AM1	AM2	MA1	MA2	SJ1	SJ2	
SA DEM	<i>ḍālika</i>	25	30	78	48	7	11	199
	<i>tilka</i>	0	2	4	3	1	0	10
	<i>ḍānika</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>tānika</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>'ulā'ika</i>	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
Neutral DEM	<i>ḍāk(a)</i>	5	1	3	3	0	0	12
	<i>haḍāk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
NA DEM	<i>hāk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>ḍik</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍīk</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	<i>ḍōlāk</i>	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
	<i>haḍōlāk</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	<i>ḍōlīk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍōlīk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍōlink</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SA Total		25	32	83	53	8	11	212
Neutral DEM		5	1	3	3	0	1	13
NA Total		0	2	0	2	0	0	4
Total		30	35	86	58	8	12	229
SA%		83.3%	91.4%	96.5%	91.4%	100%	91.7%	92.6%
Neutral DEM%		16.7%	2.9%	3.5%	5.2%	0.0%	8.3%	5.7%
NA%		0.0%	5.7%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.8: Male speakers' use of demonstratives associated with far-deixis

Table 5.8 shows that in quantitative terms SA, neutral and NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are used less frequently than those associated with near-deixis. The most common SA demonstrative used in this sense, as shown in Table 5.8, is the singular masculine *ḍālika* ('that'). The rest of the far-deixis demonstratives are either never used by any of the male speakers, such as *ḍānika* (M) and *tānika* (F), or occur at a low frequency, such as the neutral demonstratives *ḍāka* (M.SG), the SA *tilka* (F.SG), and *'ulā'ika*, which is used in both the masculine and feminine plural. This finding is consistent with Mejdell (2006b).

As in the case of SA near-deixis demonstratives, SA far-deixis demonstratives are used more frequently than NA far-deixis demonstratives. As shown in Table 5.8, SA

far-deixis demonstratives account for 92.6% of the total number of demonstratives while NA demonstratives account for 1.7% of this total. Neutral demonstratives account for 5.7% of the total number of demonstratives.

The first speaker, AM, the senior male preacher, uses fewer SA far-deixis demonstratives in his first speech than in his second speech. This is clear from Table 5.8, where SA far-deixis demonstratives account for 83.3% of the total number of demonstratives in his first speech while SA forms account for 91.4% of this total in his second speech. On the other hand, he uses NA far-deixis more frequently in his second speech and there are no occurrences of NA far-deixis demonstratives in his first speech. NA accounts for 5.7% of the total number of demonstratives in his second speech. Neutral demonstratives occur in both speeches given by AM and are more common in his first speech than in his second speech. As can be seen in Table 5.8, they account for 16.7% of the total number of demonstratives in his first speech and 2.9% in his second speech. Thus, it can be noted that there is a considerable difference in the use of SA and NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis between the two speeches given by the same male speaker.

In the second speaker's two speeches, SA far-deixis again seems to be used more frequently than the NA forms. In his first speech, SA accounts for 96.5% of the total number of demonstratives, neutral demonstratives account for 3.5% of the total number of demonstratives and there are no occurrences of NA far-deixis demonstratives. On the other hand, in his second speech SA accounts for 91.4% of the total number of demonstratives, neutral demonstratives account for 5.2% of the total number of demonstratives, while NA accounts for 3.4% of the total number of demonstratives. Again, there is a difference in the use of SA and NA in MA's two speeches, which could be attributed to the difference in the number of occurrences in each of his two speeches; however, SA is nevertheless used more frequently.

The third male speaker included in this study (who tends to use NA more frequently than the first two male speakers) seems to use SA demonstratives associated with far-deixis rather than the NA forms. This could be a result of the male speakers' low use or no use of NA far-deixis. In his first speech, SA demonstratives account for 100% of the total number of demonstratives as there is no obvious occurrence of either neutral or NA demonstratives at all. In his second speech, NA

far-deixis demonstratives are never used. As a result, as can be seen from Table 5.8, SA accounts for 91.7% and neutral demonstratives account for 8.3% of the total number of demonstratives.

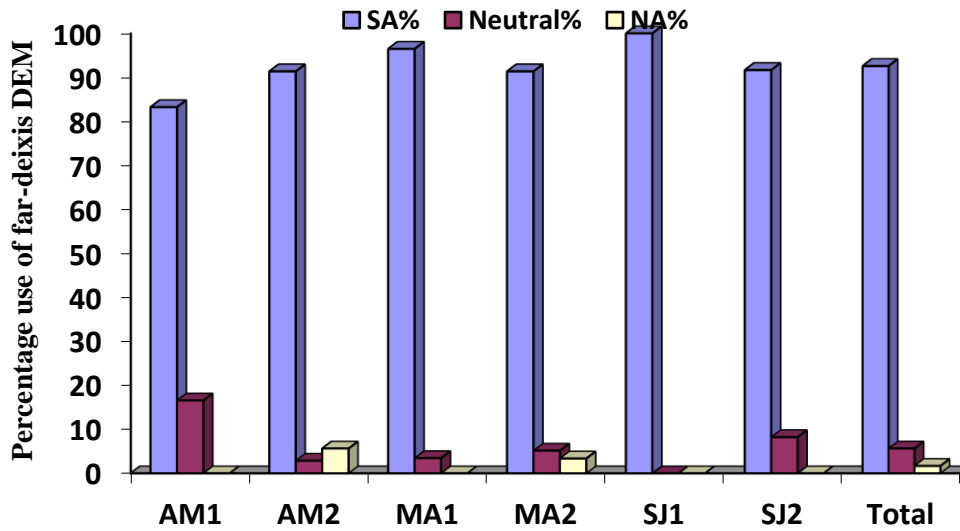


Figure 5.6: Male speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis

To conclude this section, it can be noted that despite the individual differences between the three male speakers included in this study with regard to the linguistic variables under study, all of them show low use or no use of some or all of the NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis.

5.4.2 Female speakers' use of demonstratives

5.4.2.1 Female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with near-deixis

Demonstratives		Female Speakers						Total
		RM1	RM2	NE1	NE2	RB1	RB2	
SA DEM	<i>hāḍihi</i>	24	42	6	3	23	17	115
	<i>hāḍāni</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>hāḍāyni</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>hātāni</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>hā'ulā'i</i>	2	4	3	1	1	0	11
Neutral DEM	<i>hāḍā</i>	52	52	30	38	69	88	329
	<i>ḍā</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	<i>hāḍi</i>	1	2	7	12	34	18	74
NA DEM	<i>ha-</i>	1	0	20	14	8	14	57
	<i>hā</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	<i>ḍi</i>	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	<i>ḍōl</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍōl</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>ḍōlin</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍōlin</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SA Total		26	46	9	4	24	17	126
Neutral DEM Total		54	54	37	50	103	106	404
NA Total		1	0	20	15	9	14	59
Total		81	100	66	69	136	137	589
SA%		32.1%	46%	13.6%	5.8%	17.7%	12.4%	21.4%
Neutral DEM%		66.7%	54%	56.1%	72.5%	75.7%	77.4%	68.6%
NA%		1.2%	0.0%	30.3%	21.7%	6.6%	10.2%	10%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.9: Female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with near-deixis

The female speakers show considerable use of both SA and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis. However, as in the case of the male speakers discussed above, neutral demonstratives are the majority forms. All of the three females tend to use SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis more frequently than the NA variants. Again, individual differences can be seen in the percentage use of SA and NA demonstratives by each female speaker. As in the case of the male speakers, only the neutral singular masculine demonstratives *hāḍā* and *ḍā* and the SA singular feminine *hāḍihi* are used, while the plural demonstrative *hā'ulā'i* is used to refer to

both masculine and feminine. The SA dual masculine demonstratives *hāḍāni* and *hāḍāyni* and the SA dual feminine demonstrative *hātāni* are not used by the female speakers, whereas they are used occasionally by one of the male speakers.

The first female speaker, RM, seems to use SA near-deixis demonstratives more frequently than the other two females included in the study, as can be seen from Table 5.9. In her first speech, SA demonstratives account for 32.1%, neutral demonstratives account for 66.7% and NA demonstratives account for 1.2% of the total number of demonstratives. Similarly, in her second speech, SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis account for 46% of the total number of demonstratives while neutral demonstratives account for 54% of the total number of demonstratives. No occurrences of NA near-deixis demonstratives are found. The percentage use of SA demonstratives is the highest among all the males and females included in the study.

The second female speaker, NE, shows the highest use of NA demonstratives and the lowest use of SA demonstratives in both of her two speeches in comparison with the other two female speakers. However, like the other female speakers, this female speaker tends to use neutral demonstratives more frequently than SA and NA demonstratives; they account for 56.1% of the total number of demonstratives in NE1 and 72.5% of the total number of demonstratives in NE2. In her first speech, SA accounts for 13.6% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 30.3% of this total. In her second speech, SA accounts for 5.8% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 21.7% of this total. Thus, NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis are used more frequently in her first speech and this indicates a difference in the use of both SA and NA demonstratives by the same speaker. This could be attributed to the total number of occurrences varying between the two speeches given by NE, as can be seen in Table 5.9.

The third female speaker, RB, tends to use SA demonstratives more frequently than NA demonstratives in her speeches although the neutral demonstratives are the majority form, as is also the case with RM and NE as explained above. In her first speech, SA accounts for 17.7% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 6.6% of this total. On the other hand, in RB2 SA accounts for 12.4% of the total number of demonstratives while NA accounts for 10.2% of this total.

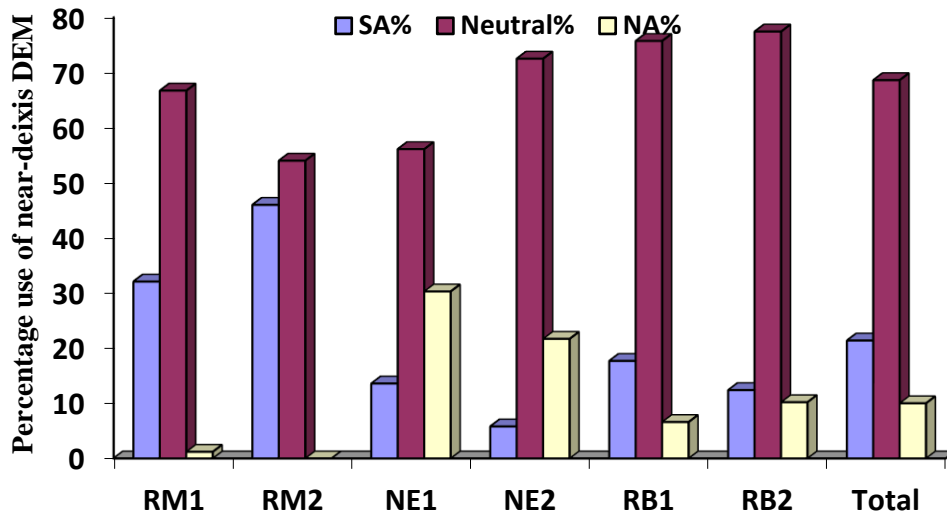


Figure 5.7: Female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with near-deixis

To sum up, as can be seen in Table 5.9 and illustrated in Figure 5.7, despite the differences between the female speakers in their choice of demonstratives, SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis are used more frequently than NA. SA accounts for 21.4% of the total number of demonstratives whereas NA forms account for 10% of this total.

5.4.2.2 Female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis

Demonstratives		Female Speakers						Total
		RM1	RM2	NE1	NE2	RB1	RB2	
SA DEM	<i>ḍālika</i>	57	43	37	19	49	32	237
	<i>tilka</i>	1	1	1	0	1	1	5
	<i>ḍānika</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>tānika</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>'ulā'ika</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neutral DEM	<i>ḍāka</i>	3	2	6	0	0	0	11
	<i>haḍāk</i>	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
	<i>hāk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>ḍik</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍīk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>ḍōlāk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍōlāk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>ḍōlīk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍōlīk</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>haḍōlink</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SA Total		58	44	38	19	50	33	242
Neutral DEM		3	3	6	0	0	2	14
NA Total		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		61	47	44	19	50	35	256
SA%		95.1%	93.6%	86.4%	100%	100%	94.3%	94.5%
Neutral DEM%		4.9%	6.4%	13.6%	0.0%	0.0%	5.7%	5.5%
NA%		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.10: Female speakers' use of demonstratives associated with far-deixis

Table 5.10 shows the low use of both SA and NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis by all of the three female speakers in the study. The only SA far-deixis demonstratives found in the data are as follows: *ḍālika* ('that') is found in the singular masculine form, occurring in all the speeches of the three female speakers; the neutral demonstrative *ḍāka* ('that') in the singular masculine is found in the speeches of RM1, RM2, and NE1 but not in the second speech given by NE and the two speeches given by RB; *tilka* ('that') in the singular feminine is found in the two speeches of RM, the first speech of NE and the two speeches given by RB. As for *'ulā'ika* (plural), *ḍānika* (dual M.) and *tānika* (dual F.), they are not used by any of the female speakers either. Also, the neutral demonstratives *ḍāk* and *haḍāk*, which are both used to indicate the singular masculine, occur few times in the data. *ḍāk* appears three

times in RM1 and two times in RM2, as can be seen from Table 5.10, and appears six times in the first speech of the second speaker (NE1), whereas *haḍāk* appears once in RM2, and twice in RB2. On the other hand, NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are never used by the female speakers.

The discussion will turn now to the percentages of SA, neutral and NA demonstratives in the speech of each female speaker. In RM1, SA demonstratives account for 95.1% of the total number of demonstratives and neutral demonstratives account for 4.9% of this total. There are no occurrences of the NA far-deixis demonstratives in RM1. Similarly, in RM2, SA far-deixis demonstratives account for 93.6% of the total number of demonstratives while neutral far-deixis demonstratives account for 6.4% of this total. Again, there are no occurrences of NA far-deixis demonstratives in RM2. A slight difference can be seen between RM1 and RM2 in the occurrence of SA and neutral demonstratives, which could be attributed to the variation in the number of occurrences of demonstratives in each speech.

The second speaker also shows a high use of SA and neutral far-deixis demonstratives and no use at all of NA demonstratives. In NE1, SA accounts for 86.4% of the total number of demonstratives while neutral demonstratives account for 13.6% of this total. On the contrary, in her second speech, SA accounts for 100% of the total number of demonstratives and no use of NA or neutral demonstratives is evident. Only the demonstrative *ḍālika* is found, occurring 19 times in NE2.

As in the case of the second female speaker noted above, the third female speaker uses some of the SA and neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis and there are no occurrences of the NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis in her speech. In RB1, SA far-deixis demonstratives account for 100% of the total number of demonstratives. In RB2, SA accounts for 94.3% of the total number of demonstratives while neutral demonstratives account for 5.7% of this total. NA demonstratives are not found in her two speeches.

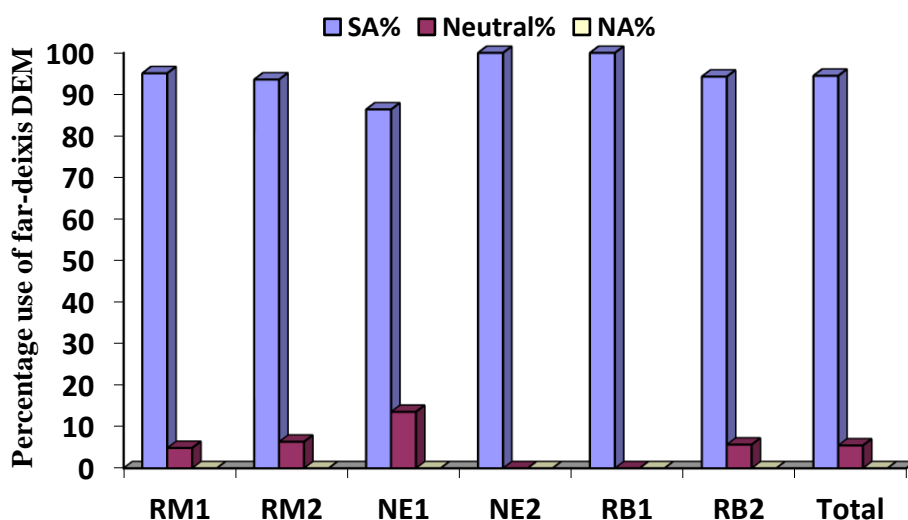


Figure 5.8: Female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis

To sum up, as can be seen from Table 5.10 and Figure 5.8, all of the three female speakers included in the study show some use of both SA and neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis but there are no occurrences of NA demonstratives. However, SA has the highest percentage use, accounting for 94.5% of the total number of demonstratives while the neutral far-deixis demonstratives account for 5.5% of this total.

5.4.3 The differences between the male and female speakers in their use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives

In the present data, speakers tend to alternate between SA and NA demonstratives in their speeches, with use of both codes. However, despite the individual differences found between some of the male and female speakers in their use of near-deixis demonstratives, the overall percentage totals show a preference for SA demonstratives over NA demonstratives. Both the males and females display a high use of the neutral near-deixis demonstratives, in particular the singular masculine form *hāḍā*. On the other hand, in the case of the far-deixis demonstratives, there is consistency in the results as all the male and female speakers show low use of NA far-deixis demonstratives, or no use in the case of the females. They all show a preference for SA far-deixis demonstratives. This is illustrated in Table 5.11 and Table 5.12. Table 5.11 demonstrates the frequency of occurrence and the percentage totals of SA,

neutral and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis in the religious speeches of the six male and female speakers included in the study.

	Number of Occurrences		Percentage of Occurrences	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
SA %	157	126	19%	21.4%
Neutral %	594	404	71%	68.6%
NA %	88	59	10%	10%
Total	839	589	100%	100%

Table 5.11: Male and female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with near-deixis

As can be seen in Table 5.11, SA, neutral and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis are used by both the male and female speakers. They all seem to switch to NA rarely and use SA more frequently. However, in the speeches given by the female speakers, SA near-deixis demonstratives represent a higher percentage than in the speeches given by the three male speakers. On the other hand, both male and female speakers tend to switch less frequently to NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis. As shown in Table 5.11, the three male speakers' use of SA near-demonstratives accounts for 19% of the total number of demonstratives compared to 21.4% in the speeches of the female speakers. NA demonstratives occur rarely in the speeches of both the male and female speakers, accounting for 10% of the total. Nevertheless, by examining the number of occurrences of near-deixis demonstratives in Table 5.11 it is evident that both SA and NA demonstratives occur less frequently in the female data than in the male data. This might lead the females to have a slightly higher percentage use of SA near-deixis demonstratives, which might be considered negligible. Both groups show high occurrences of the neutral near-deixis demonstratives.

Regarding demonstratives associated with far-deixis, as stated above in the previous sections both groups show low or no use of them. Therefore, this is considered an agreement in findings between both groups. Table 5.12 illustrates this finding in quantitative terms:

	Number of Occurrences		Percentage of Occurrences	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
SA %	212	242	92.6%	94.5%
Neutral %	13	14	5.7%	5.5%
NA %	4	0	1.7%	0%
Total	229	256	100%	100%

Table 5.12: Male and female speakers' use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis

Table 5.12 presents a comparison of the occurrence of SA, neutral and NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis in the diglossic switching of the male and female speakers in their speeches. As can be seen, SA demonstratives are used more frequently by both male and female speakers in their speeches whereas NA is rarely used by both genders. There is a slight difference between the males and females in their use of this type of demonstrative in that there are four occurrences of NA far-deixis demonstratives in the male data while no NA far-deixis is found in the female data. In addition, although the neutral linguistic features between SA and NA have been found to be the most widely used (e.g. in the case of negation discussed in Section 5.2 and the near-deixis demonstratives explained above), neutral far-deixis demonstratives also have a low level of occurrence, accounting for 5.7% of the total number of demonstratives in the male data and for 5.5% of this total in the female data. As can be seen from Table 5.12, SA accounts for 92.6% of the total number of demonstratives in the male data and for 94.5% of this total in the female data. Although the percentage use of the females is slightly higher, the difference is negligible. Regarding NA, it accounts for 1.7% of the total number of demonstratives in the male data whereas they did not show any occurrence in the female data.

To sum up, it can be noted that male and female speakers switch to SA and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis and far-deixis nearly at the same level and tend to use SA forms more frequently.

5.5 Future particles

In this section, SA and NA future particles will be analysed. These particles act as aspectual particles that can be prefixed to imperfect verbs to indicate a time reference.

Their occurrence will be totalled to ascertain the speakers' preference for either SA or NA future particles. In addition, the analysis will identify the most widely used future particle in each variety. It will also compare the male and female speakers' data to ascertain each gender's preference for either variety.

I will first discuss the male speakers' data, followed by that of the females, and finally will compare the two gender groups with regard to their preference for either SA or NA future particles.

5.5.1 Male speakers' use of future particles

The data collected from the male speakers were analysed with regard to whether their future time reference cohered with SA or NA future forms. The results of the quantitative analysis are given in Table 5.13.

FUT		Male Speakers						Total
		AM1	AM2	MA1	MA2	SJ1	SJ2	
SA	<i>sa-</i>	5	12	9	4	1	2	33
	<i>sawfa</i>	0	0	1	1	0	2	4
NA	<i>yabi</i>	3	3	0	0	3	2	11
	<i>yabga</i>	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
	<i>yabūn</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>tabi</i>	3	0	0	0	2	1	6
	<i>tabin</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	<i>tabga</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>ab-</i>	5	2	1	5	9	4	26
	<i>ba-</i>	2	1	0	0	7	1	11
	<i>b-</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>bi-</i>	8	13	9	6	4	4	44
<i>ib-</i>	2	1	3	3	3	0	12	
SA Total		5	12	10	5	1	4	37
NA Total		23	20	13	14	28	18	116
Total		28	32	23	19	29	22	153
SA%		17.9%	37.5%	43.5%	26.3%	3.4%	18.2%	24.2%
NA%		82.1%	62.5%	56.5%	73.7%	96.6%	81.8%	75.8%
Total %		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.13: Male speakers' use of SA and NA future particles

The data presented in Table 5.13 show that all male speakers without exception use more NA than SA future particles to express the future in their speeches. By examining the totals shown at the bottom of the table, it can be noted that the SA

future particles account for 24.2% of the total number of future particles in the male speakers' speeches while the NA future particles account for 75.8% of this total. The lowest level of SA future occurrences can be seen in SJ1, in which SA future particles account for only 3.4% of the total number of future particles. On the other hand, the highest use among the male speakers is represented by MA1, in which SA future particles account for 43.5% of this total.

Table 5.13 shows that AM displays no use of the SA modal verb *sawfa*. Only the prefix *sa-* occurs in AM1 and AM2. In AM1, the highest number of occurrences of *sa-* is found in comparison with the other speeches given by the two speakers. He also shows use of the NA modal verb *yabi* in both speeches. A considerable number of occurrences of b-prefixes is also observed. Thus, as shown in the table, SA future particles account for 17.9% of the total number of future particles while NA accounts for 82.1% of this total. In AM2, SA has a higher percentage use than in AM1, as SA accounts for 37.5% of the total number of future particles while NA accounts for 62.5% of this total.

The second speaker, MA, who also tends to use SA more frequently than NA with respect to the other linguistic variables discussed above, tends to switch to NA future particles more frequently, as illustrated in Table 5.13. In MA1, SA future particles account for 43.5% of the total number of future particles while NA accounts for 56.5% of this total. As pointed out earlier, these percentages are the highest among the male speakers. In MA2, SA accounts for 26.3% of the total number of future particles while NA accounts for 73.7% of this total.

Regarding the third speaker, SJ, he shows the highest amount of switching to NA future particles out of the three male speakers. NA future particles account for 96.6% of the total number of future particles in SJ1 and for 81.8% of this total in SJ2.

Looking at the overall percentages of NA future particles in the six speeches of the male speakers, it is clear that, as illustrated in Table 5.13, NA future particles account for 75.8% of the total number of future particles. Figure 5.9 illustrates the differences between the males and shows that the highest percentages are accounted for by the switches to NA future particles.

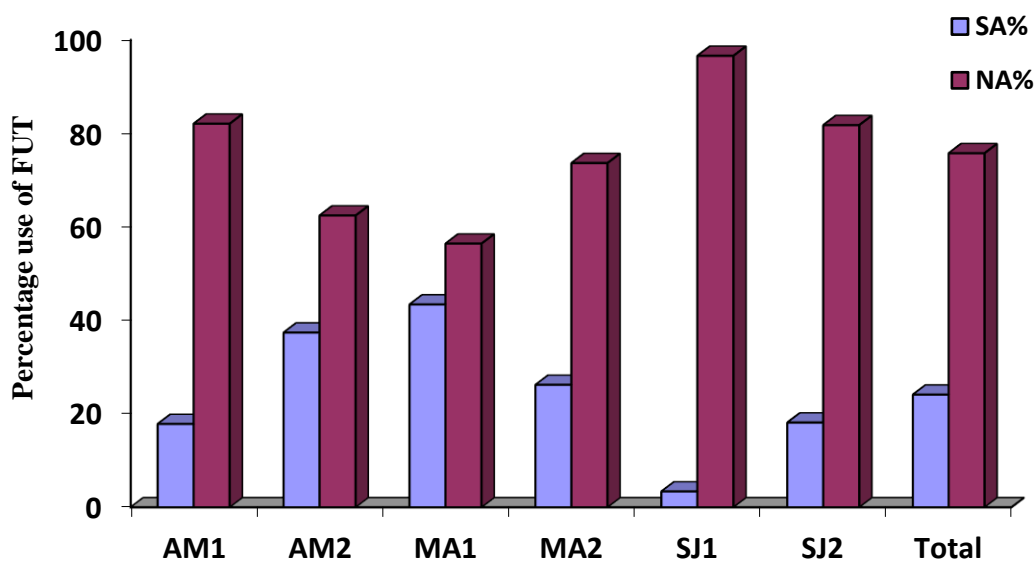


Figure 5.9: Male speakers' use of SA and NA future particles

5.5.2 Female speakers' use of future particles

The female speakers' data were also analysed to compare their choices of SA future and NA future particles. Table 5.14 below shows the differences:

FUT		Female Speakers						Total
		RM1	RM2	NE1	NE2	RB1	RB2	
SA	<i>sa-</i>	17	13	8	14	19	12	83
	<i>sawfa</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NA	<i>yabi</i>	0	0	0	1	3	0	4
	<i>yabga</i>	0	0	4	0	0	1	5
	<i>tabi</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	<i>tabin</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>tabga</i>	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
	<i>tabgi</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>tabgin</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	<i>ab-</i>	1	1	9	27	9	1	48
	<i>ba-</i>	0	0	5	14	1	0	20
	<i>b-</i>	0	0	2	8	1	0	11
	<i>bi-</i>	5	1	11	23	2	1	43
	<i>ib-</i>	2	0	5	11	2	2	22

(Table continued on the next page)

FUT	Female Speakers						
	RM1	RM2	NE1	NE2	RB1	RB2	Total
SA Total	17	13	8	14	19	12	83
NA Total	8	2	36	88	18	8	160
Total	25	15	44	102	37	20	243
SA%	68%	86.7%	18.2%	13.7%	51.4%	60%	34.2%
NA%	32%	13.3%	81.8%	86.3%	48.6%	40%	65.8%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.14: Female speakers' use of SA and NA future particles

The data in Table 5.14 show that the female speakers use the NA future particles. It also shows that only the SA future particle *sa-* is used by all of the females and there is no occurrence of *sawfa*. This could indicate that *sa-* is more frequently used than *sawfa*. However, it is evident that RM (one of the female speakers) uses the SA future tense more than NA in her two speeches. In her first religious speech, SA accounts for 68% of the total use of the future particles while NA accounts for 32% of this total. In her second speech, SA accounts for 86.7% of the total number of future particles while NA accounts for only 13.3% of this total.

Moreover, RB, another female speaker, tends to use SA future particles more frequently than NA in one of her speeches. In her first speech, SA accounts for 51.4% of the total number of future particles while NA accounts for 48.6% of this total. On the other hand, in RB2, SA accounts for 60% of the total number of future particles while NA future particles account for 40% of this total.

As for NE, in contrast to the two female speakers mentioned above, she tends to switch to NA future particles more frequently than SA. This can be seen clearly from Table 5.14, as the percentage of NA in her first speech accounts for 81.8% of the total number of future particles, while in her second speech NA accounts for 86.3% of this total.

Figure 5.10 clearly demonstrates the differences in the three females' use of the future particles.

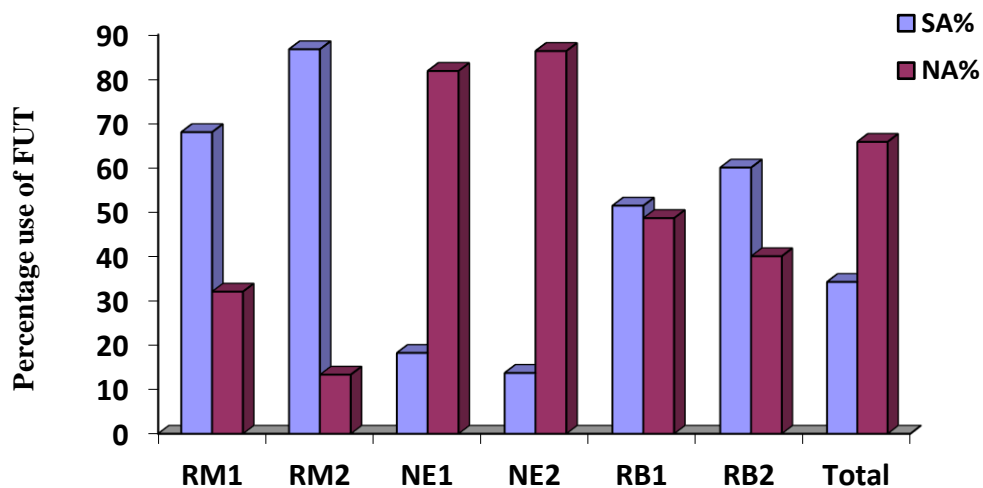


Figure 5.10: Female speakers' use of SA and NA future particles

Despite the differences between the female speakers in their choices of SA and NA future particles, generally speaking the percentage of NA future particles among the females is relatively high, accounting for 68.5% of the total number of future particles. Again, this can be seen from the totals at the bottom of Table 5.14.

5.5.3 The difference between male and female speakers in their use of SA and NA future time reference

In this section, the difference between the male and female speakers in their choice of either SA or NA future time reference will be discussed. This is illustrated in Table 5.15 below.

	Number of Occurrences		Percentage of Occurrences	
	SA	NA	SA%	NA%
Male	37	116	24.2%	75.8%
Female	83	160	34.2%	65.8%

Table 5.15: Males and female speakers' use of SA and NA future particles

A brief examination of Table 5.15 quickly ascertains that although both the male and female speakers use the NA future particles more frequently than SA future particles, SA future particles tend to occur more frequently in the speeches given by the female speakers. SA future particles account for 34.2% of the total number of future particles in the female data while they account for 24.2% of this total in the male data. In Table

5.15 it is clear that both SA and NA future particles are used more frequently by the females than the males.

5.6 Intraspeaker and interspeaker differences

Before concluding the discussion of the quantitative data, I would like to discuss the intraspeaker and interspeaker differences found among the male and female speakers in their use of SA and NA variants. Although the main focus of this thesis is on how code-switching works in the context of religious speeches, it will also set out to investigate whether there is evidence to suggest that there are gender differences.

In order to be able to rank the linguistic features and identify preferences for SA or NA features on an intraspeaker or interspeaker basis, in the following tables I will summarize the number of occurrences of the four linguistic features in each speaker's two speeches, starting with the male speeches and followed by the female speeches:

	NEG		REL		DEM				FUT	
	SA	NA	SA	NA	SA		NA		SA	NA
					Near	Far	Near	Far		
AM1	36	21	42	16	51	25	14	0	5	23
AM2	15	11	43	20	23	32	0	2	12	20

Table 5.16: Number of occurrences of the features in AM's two speeches

	NEG		REL		DEM				FUT	
	SA	NA	SA	NA	SA		NA		SA	NA
					Near	Far	Near	Far		
MA1	17	11	42	11	42	83	9	0	10	13
MA2	18	6	24	15	13	53	5	2	5	14

Table 5.17: Number of occurrences of the features in MA's two speeches

	NEG		REL		DEM				FUT	
	SA	NA	SA	NA	SA		NA		SA	NA
					Near	Far	Near	Far		
SJ1	13	37	15	54	18	8	34	0	1	28
SJ2	9	11	31	43	10	11	26	0	4	18

Table 5.18: Number of occurrences of the features in SJ's two speeches

	NEG		REL		DEM				FUT	
	SA	NA	SA	NA	SA		NA		SA	NA
					Near	Far	Near	Far		
RM1	43	0	23	8	26	58	1	0	17	8
RM2	25	1	24	5	46	44	0	0	13	2

Table 5.19: Number of occurrences of the features in RM's two speeches

	NEG		REL		DEM				FUT	
	SA	NA	SA	NA	SA		NA		SA	NA
					Near	Far	Near	Far		
NE1	25	11	54	46	9	38	20	0	8	36
NE2	19	20	41	35	4	19	15	0	14	88

Table 5.20: Number of occurrences of the features in NE's two speeches

	NEG		REL		DEM				FUT	
	SA	NA	SA	NA	SA		NA		SA	NA
					Near	Far	Near	Far		
RB1	21	16	26	41	24	50	9	0	19	18
RB2	39	14	38	28	17	33	14	0	12	8

Table 5.21: Number of occurrences of the features in RB's two speeches

As summarized in the tables above, an uneven distribution of variants can be seen across speakers. This supports Mejdell's (2006b:376) finding that speakers do not respond to "a similar setting with similar styles". All speakers make use of both SA and NA linguistic variants, except for the female RM who shows no use or low use of the NA variants, as can be seen in Table 5.19. All of the male and female speakers except for RM switch between SA and NA, producing a mixed variety.

The tables also appear to suggest a ranking of the various features with regard to the use of SA and NA variants at both the intraspeaker and interspeaker level. In fact, SA demonstratives associated with both near- and far-deixis account for the highest proportion of SA variants across all speakers except for NE, where relatives account for the highest proportion of SA variants. Also, SJ uses SA relative pronouns in his second speech more than SA demonstratives. The high use of SA demonstratives by most of the speakers in the study supports Mejdell (2006b), who found the demonstratives and negatives to account for the highest proportion of SA variants. However, this finding contradicts Bassiouney (2006), who found SA and NA demonstratives to occur at nearly the same level of frequency. On the other hand, the NA future particles have the highest usage out of the NA variants for the two male speakers (i.e. AM and MA) and in the second speech of the female speaker NE. As for SJ, RM and RB, they seem to use NA relative pronouns more frequently. NE also shows a high use of NA relative pronouns in her second speech.

It is also worth mentioning that, as reflected in the tables above, there is a kind of “intraspeaker consistency” in most of the speakers’ usage levels of SA and NA linguistic variants except for RB. RM is the speaker with the highest usage level of SA variants in all styles. Her style of discourse could be characterized as “SA-oriented” as she avoids wide use of NA variants in the four linguistic variables analysed. On the other hand, SJ shows the lowest usage of SA variants and the highest usage of NA variants.

In Table 5.22, the number of occurrences of each of the four linguistic variables in both codes is listed to draw a comparison between the male and female speakers:

	NEG		REL		DEM				FUT	
	SA	NA	SA	NA	SA		NA		SA	NA
					Near	Far	Near	Far		
Males	108	97	197	159	157	212	87	4	37	116
Females	172	45	206	163	126	242	59	0	83	160

Table 5.22: A comparison between the male and female speakers

The results presented in Table 5.22 illustrate the following patterns:

Highest value SA ←————→ *Highest value NA*

Males: DEM > REL > NEG > FUT

Females: DEM > REL > NEG > FUT

Therefore, if we examine the linguistic variables on an intraspeaker level we find differences between the speakers themselves. However, by examining the overall occurrences of these linguistic variables in both varieties, there is an agreement in the pattern ranking between the two gender groups included despite the differences between the two groups in the occurrence of each linguistic variable. These findings suggest that there is no real correlation between variation in code-switching and gender and that variation at the interspeaker level is not related to speaker gender but is more likely to be related to personal style. Further discussion will be provided in Chapter Ten.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the quantitative results of the data collected and interpreted the results, presenting the main findings. The analysis shows that there is variation between the male and female speakers in the occurrence of each linguistic variable. Generally speaking, the results show that in the case of negation, there is a general preference by female speakers to use more SA negative particles while males tend to switch to NA negative particles more frequently. As for the relative pronouns, both groups show a preference for SA relative pronouns and the difference between them is negligible. Regarding the demonstratives, despite the general preference of both groups for the neutral demonstratives, they tend to use SA demonstratives more frequently, although the percentage occurrence in the case of the females is higher than that of the males. Finally, in the case of the future particles, both groups show a strong preference for switching to NA future particles. Nevertheless, female speakers show a high use of SA future particles in comparison with that displayed by the males included in the study.

Comparing the speakers at intraspeaker and interspeaker levels shows variation in some of the male and female speakers' use of SA and NA variants of features between his/her two speeches analysed. It also shows some variation between the speakers. However, in general the demonstratives are found to be the most common SA variant used and the future particles are found to be the common NA variants used.

In the next and main chapters, I will attempt to ascertain the patterns and constraints on diglossic code-switching for each linguistic variables by both the males and females. This will provide an understanding of the nature of admixture involved in switching between SA and NA, which to my knowledge has not been addressed before.

Chapter Six

Qualitative Analysis of Negation

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the use of SA and NA negative systems will be examined to discuss the intra-sentential code-switching found between both systems in a single speech performance. The frequency of occurrence of SA and NA negation was discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.2. The results showed considerable use of both SA and NA systems but the more formal SA system seemed to be used more frequently in both male and female speeches.

In the following is a qualitative analysis of negation in the speeches given by the male and female speakers, with a focus on the cases of intra-sentential code-switching in the data. To examine whether the switching is systematic or unsystematic, the combinations of intra-sentential code-switching found will be compared with the eight combinations proposed by Eid (1982, 1988). The switching observed will be re-analysed in the current data in the context of the following and preceding environment. In addition, the directionality and contradictory effects constraints suggested by Eid (1982, 1988) will be discussed. Following is a list of the eight logical combinations by Eid in which X means the position before the focal point, NEG refers to the focal point, which is the negation, (+) indicates that this combination is attested in Eid's (1982, 1988) data, (*) means it is rejected by speakers in Eid's data, (?) means that the combination is marginally acceptable in her study, E stands for Egyptian Arabic, which will be replaced by NA later to mean Najdi Arabic, and S stands for Standard Arabic:

X NEG VERB

1. + E + E NEG + E IPF verb
2. * E + E NEG + S IPF verb
3. + E + S NEG + S IPF verb
4. * E + S NEG + E IPF verb
5. + S + S NEG + S IPF verb
6. * S + S NEG + E IPF verb

7. + S + E NEG + E IPF verb
8. * S + E NEG + S IPF verb

Moreover, the dominant language hypothesis and the triggering and neutralization hypotheses will also be tested in the case of negation. In order to test these constraints and hypotheses, examples with grammatical annotation and translation will be given.

6.2 Male speakers

In this section, excerpts from the two speeches given by each of the three male speakers will be analysed to study their use of SA and NA NEG. I will start by listing some examples of the speakers' use of SA where there is no switching followed by examples of diglossic intra-sentential code-switching with respect to negation, together with discussion.

6.2.1 AM

There is a difference in this speaker's use of SA and NA negation as there are more instances of negation in his first speech than in his second speech. This is perhaps related to how much SA versus NA he uses in general in these two speeches. Table 6.1 summarizes the occurrence of negation in the two speeches of this male speaker here for convenience, detailed discussion is available in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.1:

Negation	AM1		AM2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	36	13.3%	15	9.26%
NA	21	7.8%	11	6.79%
Neutral	213	78.9%	136	83.95%
Total	270	100%	162	100%

Table 6.1: AM's use of SA, NA and Neutral NEG

As can be seen from Table 6.1, AM uses SA and NA negation less frequently in the second speech. Nevertheless, despite the low occurrence of negation in AM2, it can

be concluded that SA negation has a higher percentage use than NA negation in both speeches.

6.2.1.1 AM1

In this speaker's first speech, all of the SA negative particles and the negative verb are found, and they occur 36 times as indicated in Table 6.1 above. In addition, as shown in Chapter Five, Section 5.2, the neutral negative particle *lā* is the most frequently used. The neutral negative particle *mā* comes in second place, with 59 occurrences in the speech. The SA *lam* occurs 21 times, *lan* once and *laysa* 14 times. Thus, the frequently occurring negative particles are the neutral negative particles *lā* and *mā*. Thus, it could be the case that more frequent use of the neutral negative particles may trigger a switch, as per Clyne's (2003) data. The triggering hypothesis was discussed in Chapter Four, Section 4.6. AM also showed some use of some of the NA non-verbal NEG forms, with *manib* occurring two times, *manī* occurring six times, *mantib* occurring four times, *mub* occurring three times and *mahub*, *muhu*, *muhub*, *mahimb*, and *mahib* each occurring one time.

The following data examples show the speakers's use of SA negation with no switching; however, neutral words might be seen:

- (1) fa-'iḏā ixtalaf-Ø ma'a-hā li-'adnā l-'asbāb **lam**
 and-if disagreed.PF-3SG.M with-her for-proximate the-causes NEG
ya-tahammal-Ø hāḏā l-'ixtilāf
 3SG.M-tolerate.IPF-JUSS DEM the-disagreement
 'and if he disagreed with her for any simple reasons, (he) would **not** tolerate
 this disagreement'
- (2) 'iḏā istamrr-at 'alā hāḏā l-'amr fa-'inna-hu **lan**
 if continued.PF-3SG.F on DEM the-situation for-that-it NEG
ya-taqaddam la-hā 'ahad
 3SG.M-propose.IPF to-her anybody
 'if (she) continues with this situation, **nobody** will propose to her'

(3) wa-qāl-at 'arad-tu 'an 'u-'lim-a n-nisā'
 and-said.PF-3SG.F wanted.PF-1SG to 1SG-notify.IPF-SBJV the-women
'anna-hu **laysa** li-r-rijāl-i 'alay-hinna kalām
 that-it NEG to-the-men-GEN on-them.3PL.F speech
 'and she said I wanted to inform women that men do **not** have control over
 them'

(4) 'in ya-kūnū-Ø fuqarā' **fa-laysa** hāḏā 'illah
 if 3PL.M-be.IPF-JUSS poor then-NEG DEM defect
laysa hāḏā sabab li-man'-i z-zawāj
 NEG DEM reason to-prevent-GEN the-marriage
 'if they are poor, this is **not** a defect **nor** a reason to prevent marriage'

(5) lākin allaḏī **laysa** 'ind-a-hu zawjah ta-jid-u-hu
 but REL NEG with-ACC-him wife 2SG.M-find.IPF-IND-him
ya-bhaθ 'an man yu-sallī-h
 3SG.M-search.IPF about who 3SG.M-amuse.IPF-him
 'but who does **not** have a wife, you find him looking for who amuse him'

In examples (1–5), SA NEG was used by AM1. They are entirely in SA with the existence of neutral forms and no switching is evident.

The following examples show intra-sentential code-switching. As mentioned above, in this study intra-sentential code-switching refers to switches that occur within the same sentence or part of a sentence, as in the following:

(6) al-'awlād al-'āxarīn allaḏīna **lam** yi-mraḏū-Ø
 the-sons the-other REL NEG 3PL.M-get sick.IPF-JUSS
 'the other sons who did not get sick'

In example (6), the SA NEG *lam* negates the imperfect verb *yimraḏū* 'get sick', which has the NA prefix *yi-* and the merger of /d/ into /z/, which is considered a phonological feature of NA. The verb is in the jussive form, which NA does not have. The NA invariant is the 3-imperfect-M.PL form, i.e. in NA the form would be *yimraḏūn* with a final /n/. The speaker's omission of it indicates that the suffix is actually SA. Thus, the verb form is phonologically NA and morphologically NA and

SA. This mixed form of the verb occurs once in the data and seems to be unconscious and results from speech error.

- (7) ya-sma' kalimah min az-zawjah **mahib** zēnah
 3SG.M-hear.IPF word from the-wife NEG good
 w-yi-xallī-hā ta-mšī
 and-3SG.M-leave.IPF-it 3SG.F-pass.IPF
 ‘(he) hears a word from the wife (which is) **not** good and (he) lets it pass’

The switching in example (7) occurs after the noun *az-zawjah* (‘the wife’), which is in SA. In NA, expressing the word wife could be in different forms. For example, *ḥurmah*, *zujah* or more commonly *imrutuh* or *ḥurmutuh*. The NA non-verbal negative form *mahib* (3SG.F) which in CA would be *mā hiya b-* negates the SA noun and it is used instead of the SA *laysat* which is more common in this sense in MSA in negating verbless sentences. It negates the SA noun *kalimah* (‘word’) as this word is pronounced as *kilmah* or *čilmah* in NA. It is noticeable that the switching to NA extends to the following clause which is connected to the first clause with the conjunction *w-* ‘and’.

- (8) ammā l-xādimāt yā 'ixwān-ī l-mawjūdāt fī l-buyūt
 as for the-maids O brothers-my the-found in the-houses
fa-hunna harā'ir **mahimb** 'imā'
 as-they.3PL.F free NEG slaves
 ‘on the other hand, O brothers! The maids (who work in the houses) are free women and **not** slaves’

In example (8), the code-switching within the sentence is clear in the use of the NA non-verbal NEG form *mahimb* (3PL.F) instead of the SA NEG verb *lasna* which is more commonly used in MSA than the CA form *mā hunna b-*. In this excerpt, the speaker mainly uses SA and he switches to the NA non-verbal negative form, and the negative form is followed by the SA noun *'imā* ‘female slaves’. It is worth mentioning that *laysa* negates nouns and so does the NA non-verbal negative form in

this example. The switching is at the lexical level. In NA, the equivalence to 'imā' is 'abdāt, which means 'female slaves'.

Examples (7) and (8) represent the cases of intra-sentential code-switching with respect to negation in AM1. Following is a discussion of negation in AM2 to show the structure and switching found.

6.2.1.2 AM2

In his second speech, this speaker also shows considerable use of SA negation and switching to NA negation. However, as can be seen in Table 6.1 above, SA and NA negators are used less frequently in his second speech and this explains the percentage difference in the use of SA and NA negation between this speaker's two speeches. In this religious speech, the SA negative particle *lam* occurs 12 times, and *laysa* 3 times, as shown in Table 5.1 in Chapter Five. The speaker also uses some NA non-verbal negative forms such as *manib*, *maḥinnab*, *mant*, *mantib*, *muhub*, and *mahub*, which all occurred 11 times. Moreover, the neutral negative particles *lā* and *mā* are the most widely used negative particles (see Table 5.1 in Chapter Five).

Few examples of intra-sentential code-switching are evident as inter-sentential code-switching is more common. The following are excerpts from his second speech showing SA and NA negation, and illustrate the structure of the code-switching found. Examples from SA with SA negation will be illustrated first, followed by examples showing intra-sentential code-switching between the two varieties.

- (9) fa-`iḏā ntaf-at al-`uxūwat-u ft̄ llāh wa-lam
 and-if disappeared.PF-3SG.F the-brotherhood-NOM in Allāh and-NEG
ya-bqa-Ø 'illā ribāt al-qarābat-i
 3SG.M-remain.IPF-JUSS except connection the-relationship-GEN
wahdah-u
 only-NOM
 'and if the brotherhood for the sake of Allāh was no longer found and **nothing**
 was left except the kinship bond'

- (10) 'insān kaθūr al-`ilm laysa la-hu mansib
 human many the-knowledge NEG for-him position

‘a knowledgeable man (but) he does **not** hold a position’

In the following, negation with NA will be discussed in relation to switching. As explained in Chapter Four, the focus will be on forms of negation which differ between the two varieties.

- (11) mā gāl-aw **maḥinnab** rāj ‘īn hatta na-taxarraġ
NEG said.PF-3PL.M NEG returning till 1PL-graduate.IPF
min kulliyat aš-šarī‘ah
from faculty the-Jurisprudence
‘They did **not** say they will not return till we graduate from the Faculty of
Islamic Jurisprudence’

In example (11), the NA non-verbal NEG form *maḥinnab* (1PL) is used to negate the NA active participle *rāj ‘īn* ‘returning’. It is used instead of the SA NEG particle *lan* to refer to a future incident, although the structure differs in SA as it would be *lan narġi ‘a*. It is preceded and followed by NA. Moreover, the neutral negative particle *mā* is followed by the verb *gāl* ‘said’, which is phonologically in NA as the SA form would be *qālū*. Thus, the neutral negative particle *mā* triggers the switching to NA. As for *hatta na-taxarraġ* ‘till we graduate’, despite the absence of case ending it is in SA as in NA it would be *lēn nitxarraġ*.

To sum up, this speaker shows considerable use of both SA and NA negation. The SA negative particles are followed by SA forms. Similarly, NA non-verbal negative forms are followed by NA forms. However, a case of switching occurs when the speaker uses a non-verbal negative form followed and preceded by SA. He inserts the non-verbal negative form into an SA context, as seen in example (8).

6.2.2 MA

This speaker shows considerable use of negation in his speech. This was shown in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.1 and is summarized in Table 6.2 below for convenience:

Negation	MA1		MA2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	17	8.4%	18	8.1%
NA	11	5.4%	6	2.7%
Neutral	174	86.2%	198	89.2%
Total	202	100%	222	100%

Table 6.2: MA's use of SA, NA and Neutral NEG

In the following subsections, excerpts from each of the two speeches examined were analysed to show the use of SA negation and the cases of diglossic code-switching to NA negation.

6.2.2.1 MA1

In this speaker's first speech, SA NEG occurs 17 times whereas *lam* occurs 7 times, *lan* 4 times and *laysa* 6 times, as can be seen in Table 5.4 in Chapter Five.

The structure of SA NEG is shown in the following excerpts taken from MA's first speech:

- (12) li-'anna-ka **lam** tu-hsin-Ø mu'āmalat-a
to-that-you.2SG.M NEG 2SG.M-make good.IPF-JUSS treatment-ACC
walad-i-ka munðu 'an kān-a ṣaḡūr-an
son-GEN-your.2SG.M since that was.PF-3SG.M young-ACC
'because you have **not** treated your son well since he was a child'

- (13) li-miθl-i ðālika wa-llāh-i **lan** ta-jid-a
for-like-GEN DEM and-Allah-GEN NEG 2SG.M-find.IPF-SBJV
'ahad-an 'āsīy-an min hā'ulā'ī š-šabāb
anyone-ACC disobedient-ACC from DEM the-young people
'for that you will **not** find anyone who is disobedient from these young people'

(14) laysa qarīb-an la-hum lākin wāqif-an qarīb-an
 NEG relative-ACC for-them.3PL.M but standing-ACC near-ACC
min-hum
 from-them.3PL.M
 ‘he is **not** one of their relatives but he is standing near them’

(15) wa-kān-a ʾabū-hu min al-ʿulamāʾ lākin
 and-was.PF-3SG.M father-his from the-scholars but
laysa fī miṭl-i šuhraṭ-i-h
 NEG in same-GEN famous-GEN-his
 ‘and his father was a scholar but he was **not** as famous as he is’

In examples (12–15), all forms of SA negation are followed or preceded by SA or neutral lexis. No NA lexis precedes or follows SA negative particles in MA1.

Regarding intra-sentential code-switching in MA1, only one example was found because inter-sentential code-switching is more common due to neutral lexis. The following exemplifies inter-sentential switching with neutral lexis occurring in the SA sentence and in the NA sentence:

(16) fa-ʾinnā na-sbir-u ʾalā l-jūʾ / ***mahī*** ***muškilah***
 as-that 1PL-endure.IPF-IND on the-hunger NEG problem
al-yōm ***mā*** ni-tgaddā
 the-today NEG 1PL-have lunch.IPF
 ‘as we endure the hunger. It is **not** a problem **not** to have lunch today’

The next example represents the only possible case of intra-sentential code-switching where the NA negator is followed and preceded by neutral lexis but the sentence also contains SA:

(17) ya-qūl al-xataʾa l-ʾawwal ʾasl-an ***mahu***
 3SG.M-say.IPF the-mistake the-first primarily-ACC NEG
min hāḏā l-walad allaḏī nahnu na-lūm-u-hu l-ʾān
 from DEM the-son REL we 1PL-blame.IPF-IND-him now
 ‘he says the first mistake is **not** primarily from this son whom we are blaming now’

Examples (17) illustrates diglossic intra-sentential code-switching. The sentence begins with the SA verb *yaqūl* ‘say’, as the NA equivalent is *yigūl*. The verb is followed by *al-xaṭa’ al-’awwal* ‘the first mistake’, which is in SA as in NA it would be *al-xaṭa al-’awwal* with no glottal stop. Moreover, in NA *al-ḡalaṭ* ‘the mistake’ is more common in this sense. The NA NEG form *mahu* is used instead of the SA NEG *laysa*. It is preceded by the neutral noun *’aşlan* ‘primarily’ and followed by the neutral prepositional phrase *min hāḏā l-walad* ‘from this boy’. Then the relative clause is in SA *allaḏī naḥnu nalūmuḥu l-’ān* ‘whom we are blaming now’.

6.2.2.2 MA2

As can be seen in Table 6.2 above, in this speaker’s second speech, he tends to use SA negation more frequently than in his first speech. He shows considerable use of the SA negative particles *lam* and the negative verb *laysa* in this speech. On the other hand, he also shows considerable use of the non-verbal NA forms *muhub*, *mahu*, *mahī*, and *mahib*. In the following examples, his use of SA negation and his intra-sentential code-switching between SA and NA negation will be illustrated.

As in MA1, in MA2 the speaker shows use of SA negative particles which are preceded and followed by SA or neutral lexis, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (18) ’anna llāh ’azza wa-jall lam ya-xluq-Ø
 that Allāh the Exalted and-the Majestic NEG 3SG.M-create.IPF-JUSS
al-xalq ’abaḥā
 the-creation no use
 ‘that Allāh the Almighty did **not** create the creation with no use’

- (19) ’iḏān laysa min xiyār al-mu’minīn ar-rajul allaḏī
 thus NEG from best the-faithful the-man DEM
ya-zurr zawjat-a-hu
 3SG.M-harm.IPF wife-ACC-his
 ‘thus the man who harms his wife is **not** from the most Faithful’

Negation	SJ1		SJ2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	13	8.6%	9	4%
NA	37	24.5	11	4.9%
Neutral	101	66.9%	205	91.1%
Total	151	100%	225	100%

Table 6.3: SJ's use of SA, NA and Neutral NEG

In the following two sections, a detailed discussion of SJ1 and SJ2 with examples will be presented.

6.2.3.1 SJ1

NA negators have the highest occurrence in this male speakers's religious speech among all the religious speeches included in the current study. In this speech, he uses the NA non-verbal negative forms *manab*, *mū*, *mub*, *muhub*, and *mahī*. As for SA NEG, there are occurrences of *lam*, which occurs eight times and the SA negative verb *laysa*, which occurs five times. However, despite the high occurrence of NA negative forms, only one example shows intra-sentential code-switching, inter-sentential code-switching being more common.

The following examples show his use of SA negation having SA and neutral lexis with no diglossic switching between SA and NA:

- (22) *fa-t-talab minn-ī laysa min-hum*
as-the-request from-me NEG from-them.3PL.M
‘it was my desire, **not** theirs’
- (23) *wa-lam 'a-'mal-Ø ḏanb-an*
and-NEG 1SG-do.IPF-JUSS sin-ACC
fa-'a-xāf-a-k
then-1SG-scare.IPF-SBJV-you.2SG.M
‘and I did **not** make a mistake to be afraid of you.’

In the following example, negative forms from both varieties are used but with neutral lexis, which means it is not possible to analyse it as switching:

- (24) a. *hāḏā mū radd*
 DEM NEG answer
 ‘this is **not** an answer’
- b. *hāḏā laysa r-radd*
 DEM NEG the-answer
 ‘this is **not** the answer’

The next example shows the only case of intra-sentential code-switching:

- (25) *li-'anna l-'islām samāḥah willā mub samāḥah*
 because the-Islam tolerance or NEG tolerance
yā šabāb rudd-ū al-'islām yusr willā mū yusr
 O young men reply.IMP-2PL the-Islam easiness or NEG easiness
 ‘because (there is) tolerance in Islam or **not**. O young men! (Is there) an
 easiness in Islam or **not**?’

Example (25) shows this male speaker’s use of the NA non-verbal NEG form *mub* instead of the SA negative verb *laysa*. It is used to negate the noun *samāḥah* ‘tolerance’, which is in SA. In NA, the adjective *samḥ* is used to mean *samāḥah*. In addition, other NA adjectives are more commonly used to describe *'islām*. For example, a possible NA expression is *al-'islām mub kūd* ‘Islam is not conservative’. *Kūd* in this sense means ‘conservative or not flexible’. Again in the same example, the NA non-verbal negative form *mū* is used to negate the SA noun *yusr* ‘easiness’. In NA it is pronounced as *yisir*. Thus, they are phonologically different. In both cases, the NA non-verbal negators are preceded by NA.

6.2.3.2 SJ2

In this male speaker’s second speech, he tends to use NA negation less frequently than in his first speech. In addition, he shows use of the SA negative particles *lam*, which occurs four times, *lan*, occurring once, and the SA negative verb *laysa*, occurring four times. However, despite his single use of the SA negative particle *lan*, it is used in an incomplete clause as he starts with *hāḏā lan u-yallah* ‘this is not and

let's go' and then moves on to discuss another point. Thus, the structure of negation here is incomplete. He also shows use of the NA non-verbal forms *maḥinnab*, *muhub*, *mū*, *mub*, and *mahib*. Each occur only once except for *mū*, which occurs twice while *mub* occurs four times.

Despite his use of negation in the two varieties, there are no clear examples of intra-sentential code-switching where either form of negation from the two varieties is followed or preceded by lexis from the other variety. All the cases of negation found are either followed and preceded by lexis of the same variety or neutral lexis that belongs to both SA and NA.

The following are some excerpts from this speaker's second speech, to illustrate his use of negation:

- (26) wa-man **lam** ya-ḏkur-Ø illāh sawfa
 and-who NEG 3SG.M-remember.IPF-JUSS Allāh FUT
ya-ḡraq **laysa** fī l-bahr-i l-'ahmar
 3SG.M-sink.IPF NEG in the-sea-GEN the-red
 'and (he) who has **not** remembered Allah will sink not in the Red Sea'

- (27) ya-qūl aš-šēx 'abū 'ahmad al-jazā'irī **laysa** ma'na hāḏā
 3SG.M-say.IPF the-scholar father 'ahmad al-jazā'irī NEG mean DEM
 'the (Islamic) scholar 'abū 'ahmad al-jazā'irī says that this does **not** mean...'

Example (26) shows the speaker's use of SA negative forms in SA and neutral context. Example (27) shows the speaker's use of the SA negative verb *laysa* to negate the neutral noun *ma'na* 'meaning' and this is an SA structure. The only NA lexis found in this example is *aš-šēx* 'the scholar', which occurs after the SA imperfect verb *yaqūl* 'say', as the NA form is *yigūl*. This intra-sentential code-switching between the verb and its subject is not included in the present study.

The next example shows NA negation but the switching is not indicated because of neutral lexis.

- (28) min 'ahl ru'ūs al-'amwāl / milyūwdīr **mub** milyūnīr
 from people Capitals the-money billionaire NEG millionaire
 'from those who own capitals. (He is) a billionaire **not** a millionaire'

In example (28), the NA NEG form *mub* is used instead of the SA NEG *laysa* or the SA NEG form *mā huwa b-*, which is more common in CA. It negates the noun *milyūnīr* ‘millionaire’, which is a shared word between the two varieties but is preceded by the NA noun *milyūwdīr*, which in SA would be *milyārdīr*.

6.3 Female speakers

As in the case of male speakers, the female speakers in this study tend to use SA negative particles and switch to NA negators. Some tokens from each of the two speeches given by the three females included in the study were analysed and are presented in this section. As explained in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2, the three females tend to switch less frequently to NA negation in comparison to the three males.

6.3.1 RM

Compared to the other male and female speakers included in the study, this female speaker shows the highest use of SA negative particles and the lowest use of NA negative forms and thus less diglossic code-switching between the two varieties under investigation. More details can be found in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2. A summary is presented in Table 6.4 below for convenience:

Negation	RM1		RM2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	43	22.4%	25	23.8%
NA	0	0.0%	1	1%
Neutral	149	77.6%	79	75.2%
Total	192	100%	105	100%

Table 6.4: RM’s use of SA, NA and Neutral NEG

The following sections present a discussion of SA and NA NEG in her two speeches, with examples from each speech.

6.3.1.1 RM1

In her first speech, RM shows considerable use of all the SA negative particles and the SA negative verb *laysa*. The NA non-verbal negative forms are not used in her first speech. For example:

- (29) li-šu'ūr-i-hi bi-l-xata' hayθ-u **lam** ya-ðhab-Ø
 for-feeling-GEN-his of-the-mistake as-NOM NEG 3SG.M-go.IPF-JUSS
li-mā 'amar-a-hu n-nabī
 for-what ordered.PF-3SG.M-him the-prophet
 'for his guilty feeling as he did **not** go where the Prophet asked him...'

- (30) tilka š-šahādah **laysat** šahādat wālid wa-lā wālidah
 DEM the-testimony NEG testimony father and-NEG mother
 'that testimony is not the testimony of a father **nor** a mother...'

- (31) bi-l-laḏī ya-tahaddaθ-u fī š-šarī'at-i wa-laysa
 with-REL 3SG.M-talk.IPF-IND in the-legislation-GEN and-NEG
min 'ahl-i-hā
 of people-GEN-its
 'with (he) who talks about the Sharia and (he is) **not** of its people'

All of the examples introduced above have SA negators followed and preceded by either SA or neutral lexis so no switching is indicated.

In the following example, again the SA negative particle *lan* is followed by an imperfect verb which is morphologically in SA but has an NA phonological feature, which is the pronunciation of *ḏ* in the verb *yaqbizahu* as *z*, as explained in Chapter Two, Section 2.4.1. The NA form would be *yagbuz*.

- (32) wa-ya-ḡfir wa-lan ya-qbiz-a-hu allāh
 and-3SG.M-forgive.IPF and-NEG 3SG.M-seize.IPF-SBJV-him Allāh
 'and forgive and Allāh will **not** seize his soul...'

This merger of *ḏ* into *z* is an influence from this female speaker's L1 as the mother tongue of all the speakers is NA, as explained in Chapter Four. This supports the dominance hypothesis suggested by Petersen (1988). It also supports Holes (2004),

wa-huwa hayy/ wa-laysa ya-qra'-u l-Qur'ān
 and-it alive and-NEG 3SG.M-read.IPF-IND the-Qur'ān
wa-qalb-u-hu šārid
 and-heart-NOM-his not fully held attention
 'and if the mind read the Qur'ān while it is present and **not** with its attention
 fully held'

In example (36), RM uses *laysa* to negate a verb. All speakers use it at least once in their speeches but only this female speaker uses it to negate a verb. The following example of NA negation will be followed by a discussion of the switching found:

(37) at-tikrār li-l-'āyāt **mahu** li-l-'āyah fī nafs al-hīn
 the-repetition to-the-verse NEG the-verse in same time
 'the repetition of the verses (is) **not** (to repeat) the verse at the same time'

Example (37) shows the only occurrence of the NA non-verbal NEG form *mahu*, which is used in place of *laysa*. It is preceded by the SA prepositional phrase *li-l-'āyāt* 'verses of the Qur'ān' as in NA it would be *la-l-āyāt* with no glottal stop. The negated prepositional phrase *li-l-'āyah* 'the verse' is in SA, as in NA it is phonologically different and pronounced as *la-l-āyah* or *la-l-āyih* with no glottal stop.

6.3.2 NE

Despite her considerable use of SA and NA negators in her two speeches, this female speaker shows the lowest use of SA negative particles and the highest use of NA non-verbal negative forms in comparison to the other two female speakers. This was discussed in detail in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2, and is summarized below in Table 6.5 below for convenience:

Negation	NE1		NE2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	25	16.1%	19	11.11%
NA	11	7.1%	20	11.7%
Neutral	119	76.8%	132	77.19%
Total	155	100%	171	100%

Table 6.5: NE's use of SA, NA and Neutral NEG

The following sections provide excerpts from each speech, which will be analysed to illustrate this speaker's diglossic code-switching between the two varieties with respect to negation.

6.3.2.1 NE1

In her first speech, this female speaker tends to use SA negation more frequently. She shows considerable use of SA negative particles. By contrast, in her use of NA negation, some NA non-verbal negative forms are found: *manib*, *mahub*, *mahu*, and *mahib*. The following are some examples to illustrate her use of SA and NA negators and her code-switching between the two varieties with regard to negation.

(38) limāḏā lam ya-qul-Ø as-sadaqah junnah
 why NEG 3SG.M-say.IPF-JUSS the-charity protective shield
 'why did **not** (he) say that the charity was a protective shield (from the Hellfire)?'

(39) aθ-θānī qīyām al-layl li-'anna-h manhāt 'an al-'iθm
 the-second praying the-night for-that-it prevention from the-sin
lan ta-'sī rabb-a-k
 NEG 2SG.F-disobey.IPF God-ACC-your.2SG.M
 'the night prayers because it is (a means of) prevention from sin. You will **not** disobey your Lord...'

(40) 'iḏān aṣ-ṣīyām junnah lākin **laysa** li-kull-i n-nās
 thus the-fasting protective shield but NEG to-all-GEN the-people
 ‘thus fasting is a protective shield (from the Hellfire) but **not** to all people’

(41) li-ḏālik yā 'axawāt-ī 'ū-sī-k waṣīyah
 for-that O sisters-my 1SG-advice.IPF-you.2SG.M commandment
ṣadīdah 'in ya-kūn li-k wird-ik
 strong to 3SG.M-be.IPF for-you.2SG.M daily part-your.2SG.M
min al-qur'ān lākin **laysat** al-qirā 'ah aṣ-sathīyah
 from the- Qur'ān but NEG the-reading the-shallow
 ‘Thus, my sisters I strongly advise you to have a daily part of the Qur'ān (to read) but **not** the superficial reading’

Examples (38–41) show SA negators followed and preceded by SA or neutral lexis.

Following is a discussion of excerpts from NE1 to show NA negation and the intra-sentential code-switching found:

(42) li-'anna-h ya-'rif 'anna l-māl **mahub** māl-a-h
 for-that-he 3SG.M-know.IPF that the-money NEG money-ACC-his
 ‘because he knows that the money (is) **not** his’

Example (42) also shows this female speaker’s code-switching, which is clear in her insertion of the NA non-verbal negative form *mahub* (3SG.M.). The NA negative form is used instead of the SA negative particle *laysa*. It is preceded by the SA definite noun *al-māl* ‘the money’ and negates the SA noun phrase *mālah* ‘his money’. In NA, *al-flūs* or *al-grūš* ‘the money’ and *flūsuḥ* or *grūsuḥ* ‘his money’ are used in this sense.

(43) al-mahrūm al-ḥaqīqī **mahu** illi xasar-Ø bi-l-'ashum
 the-deprived the-true NEG REL lost.PF-3SG.M in-the-stock
 ‘the true deprived (is) **not** (he) who lost in the stocks’

In example (43), the NA non-verbal NEG form *mahu* (3SG.M) is used to negate the relative clause that follows it. It means the same as *laysa* in this sense. It is preceded

by the SA noun phrase *al-maḥrūm al-ḥaqīqī*, which in NA is phonologically different and is pronounced as *al-mḥarūm al-ḥagīgī*. The NA negation *mahu* is followed by the NA relative pronoun *illi*.

6.3.2.2 NE2

In her second speech, this female speaker tends to switch more frequently to NA negators than in her first speech. However, all of the SA negative particles and the SA negative verb *laysa* are found in her second speech. Regarding NA negators, the following NA non-verbal NEG forms are found: *mū*, *mahub*, *muhub*, *mub*, *mahī* and *mahib*. Some excerpts of NE2 have been chosen for discussion.

In the following examples, SA negators are followed and preceded by SA or neutral lexis:

- (44) wa-lan ta-statī'i 'an tu-'aθθirī fī man
 and-NEG 2SG.F-be able.IPF to 2SG.F-affect.IPF in who
hawl-a-ki
 around-ACC-you.2SG.F
 'and you will **not** be able to affect (the people) around you'

- (45) 'anti bi-ḏātik **lan** ta-statī'i 'an
 you.2SG.F by-yourself NEG 2SG.F-be able.IPF to
ta-taqadmī
 2SG.F-go forward.IPF
 'you yourself were **not** able to go forward'

- (46) 'awlād-u-k ya-ltahīqū-n bi-d-dār
 sons-NOM-your.2SG.M 3PL.M-join.IPF-IND with-the-centre
laysa muhimm-an 'an ya-hfaz al-muhimm 'an
 NEG important-ACC to 3SG.M-memorize.IPF the-important to
yu-ḥibb al-makān
 3SG.M-love.IPF the-place
 'your sons join the (Qur'ān teaching) centre. It is **not** important to memorize (the Qur'ān). It is important to love the place...'

In the following, excerpts showing NA negation and intra-sentential code-switching will be discussed:

- (47) min al-'arhām *illi* **lam** 'a-tamakkan-Ø *min*
 from the-relatives REL NEG 1SG-manage.IPF-JUSS from
silāt-i-hum
 kinships-GEN-them.3PL.M
 ‘from the relatives whom I did **not** manage to visit’

Example (47) shows intra-sentential code-switching in the relative clause. The SA negator *lam* is preceded by the NA relative pronoun *illi* instead of the SA *allaḏīna*. It is followed by an imperfect verb ‘*atamakkan* ‘manage’, which is in SA because in NA it would be *agdar*.

- (48) ta-nsajim *ma'* zurūf-i-k /
 3SG.F-agree.IPF with circumstances-GEN-your.2SG.M
mahib mutanāfīyah *ma'* zurūf-i-k
 NEG contradicting with circumstances-GEN-your.2SG.M
 ‘agree with your (surrounding) circumstances. **Not** contradicting them...’

In example (48), the speaker’s switching occurs in her insertion of the NA non-verbal NEG form *mahib* (3SG.F) instead of the SA NEG verb *laysat*. It is followed by the SA noun *mutanāfīyah*. In NA, the words *mit'arzah* or *mitnāfīyah* are more common in this sense. It is also preceded by the prepositional phrase *ma' zurūf-ik* ‘with your condition’, which is neutral. Nearly all of this example is in SA despite the lack of a word-final inflectional vowel.

- (49) sār-Ø *'ind-ī* 'awlawīyah 'uxra **muhub**
 became.PF-3SG.M with-me priority another NEG
'u-njiz *bahθ*
 1SG-complete.IPF research
 ‘I have another priority **not** (only) completing research’

In example (49), an NA non-verbal negative form is used instead of the SA negative verb *laysa* to negate the SA imperfect verb *'unjiz* 'complete or make'. However, in SA it would *laysa 'injāz* or *laysa 'an 'unjiz baḥθ*. In NA, the equivalent to the SA imperfect verb *'unjiz* is *asawwi* or *axalliṣ*.

To conclude the discussion on this female speaker's code-switching with respect to SA and NA negation, it is found that SA negative particles are preceded by NA. Also, NA non-verbal negative forms are used to negate SA nouns and verbs.

6.3.3 RB

This female speaker shows variable use of SA and NA negators in her two speeches. However, the difference between her speeches with regard to her use of negation is negligible, as has been shown in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2. Table 6.6 below summarizes the occurrence of negation in this female speaker's two speeches for convenience:

Negation	RB1		RB2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	21	6.5%	39	14.61%
NA	16	5%	14	5.24%
Neutral	286	88.5%	214	80.15%
Total	323	100%	267	100%

Table 6.6: RB's use of SA, NA and Neutral NEG

The following are some tokens from her two speeches, which will be analysed to illustrate her intra-sentential code-switching.

6.3.3.1 RB1

In her first speech, this female speaker shows considerable use of the SA negative particles and the SA negative verb *laysa*. She also uses NA non-verbal negators: *manib*, *mū*, *muhub*, *mahub*, *mub*, and *mahib*. Her use of SA negation is shown in the following examples:

(50) fa-lammā qūl-a la-hā ḏālik **lam**
 then-when said.PF.PASS-3SG.M to-her DEM NEG
ta-ltafit-Ø 'ila r-ru'yā
 3SG.F-look arund.IPF-JUSS to the-vision
 'then when she was told about that, she did **not** care about the vision...'

(51) fī d-darak-i l-'asfal-i min an-nār wa-lan
 in the-depths-GEN the-lowest-GEN of the-Fire and-NEG
ta-jid la-hum naṣīr-a
 2SG.M-find.IPF for-them.3PL.M helper-ACC
 'in the lowest depth of the Fire and you will **not** find them a helper'

(52) wa-ya-hmad-u-hu n-nās wa-huwa **laysa**
 and-3SG.M-praise.IPF-IND-him the-people and-he NEG
rāḡib bi-ḥamd-i-him
 wanting with-praising-GEN-them
 'and the people praise him but he does **not** want their praising'

(53) yā 'axwāt-ī ya-'nī 'alā sabīl al-'ijāz
 O sisters-my 3SG.M-mean.IPF on way the-conciseness
wa-laysa 'alā sabīl at-tafṣīl
 and-NEG on way the-details
 'O my sisters! Concisely saying without details'

(54) a-ḏkur-u-ha sarī'-an wa-'in kān-at
 1SG-mention.IPF-IND-it quickly-ACC and-that was.PF-3SG.F
laysat maqāl-a-na l-yawm
 NEG topic-ACC-our the-day
 'I mention it briefly even though it is **not** our focus for today'

(55) š-šaxs allaḏī ya-jib 'alay-hi wujūb-an 'an
 the-person REL 3SG.M-must.IPF on-him compulsory-ACC to
yu-zhir 'a'māl-a-h wa-laysa kull-a-ha
 3SG.M-show.IPF deeds-ACC-his and-NEG all-ACC-it
 'the person who must show (some) of his deeds but **not** all of them...'

Having presented the structures of SA negation found in RB's first speech, an example of NA NEG including intra-sentential code-switching will be discussed next:

- (56) ya-hfaz min al-'aqwāl **mub** *'ašān*
 3SG.M-memorize.IPF from the-sayings NEG because
yu-hiqq al-haqq wa-lā yu-btīl
 3SG.M-triumph.IPF the-truth and-NEG 3SG.M-make invalid.IPF
al-bātil
 the-guilty
 '(he) memorizes (some) of (the prophet's) sayings **not** for the reason of
 justifying truth nor proving falsehood false'

In example (56), code-switching with regard to negation can be seen. There are two negators in this example. The first is *mub 'ašān*, which is in NA as the NA non-verbal NEG form *mub* is used to negate the word *'ašān* 'because'; this is a prepositional phrase in NA as it means *'alā šān* 'for that reason' but it has been shortened historically as a result of elision by omitting a consonant and a vowel into *'ašān*. The second negation is *wa-lā yubtīl* in which the shared negative particle *lā* is used to negate the verb *yubtīl*, which is in the imperfect form and morphologically is in SA despite the absence of the verb mood. The NA negative form *mub* is used instead of the SA negative verb *laysa*. It is preceded by the SA definite noun *al-'aqwāl* 'sayings', which in NA would be pronounced as *al-agwāl*.

6.3.3.2 RB2

In her second speech, just as in her first speech, SA negators are used. Regarding NA negators, some NA non-verbal negative forms are found. The following are some excerpts from her second speech, which will be analysed to illustrate the structure of SA and NA negation found in this speech and her code-switching between SA and NA with regard to negation.

- (57) 'iḏā 'inqat'-at fī-h al-'asbāb wa-'uḡliq-at fī
 if ceased.PF-3SG.F in-him the-causes and-closed.PF-3SG.F in
wajh-i-h al-'abwāb wa-lam ya-jid-Ø man
 face-GEN-his the-doors and-NEG 3SG.M-find.IPF-JUSS who

ya-rfa' 'an-hu mazlamt-a-hu
 3SG.M-remove.IPF on-him injustice-ACC-his

'if he was at an impasse and there was nothing he could do; neither were there any hopes he could cling to and he did **not** find anyone who could remove this injustice...'

- (58) wa-lan yu-xayyib-a llāh 'azza wa-jall man
 and-NEG 3SG.M-disappoint.IPF-SBJV Allāh Exalted and-Majestic who
da'-ā-h
 supplicated.PF-3SG.M-him
 'and Allāh, the Almighty, will not disappoint anyone who supplicated to Him...'

- (59) allāh subhānah-u wa-ta'ālā bayyan-a 'an laysa
 Allāh Glorified-NOM and-Exalted made clear.PF-3SG.M that NEG
li-l-'insān hawl-un wa-lā qūwah 'illā 'idā
 to-the-human power-NOM and-NEG strength except if
ista'ān-a bi-rabb-i-hi
 seek the help.PF-3SG.M with-Lord-GEN-his
 'Allāh, the Glorified, and the Exalted made it clear that the human has **no** power or strength except if he seeks the help of his Lord...'

Examples (57–59) show SA negators followed and preceded by SA. The next examples will be followed by a discussion of NA and the intra-sentential code-switching found in RB2:

- (60) lā t-gūlīn da'aw-t fa-lam
 NEG 2SG.F-say.IPF prayed.PF-1SG but-NEG
yu-stajab-Ø l-ī
 3SG.M-respond.IPF-JUSS to-me

'be careful **not** to say I prayed but I have not been responded to...'

Example (60) shows this female speaker's switching between SA and NA. The speaker starts the first part of the sentence with NA and the second part is in SA. Two cases of negation are evident. The first case of negation in this example is her use of the neutral negative particle *lā* followed by the NA verb *tgūlīn* 'say', which is in the

imperfect form. The second negation is the occurrence of the SA NEG particle *lam*, which negates the SA verb *yustajab* ‘respond’, and is in the imperfect and jussive form. *lam* is followed and preceded by SA and the negative form is not affected by the switching.

- (61) lā ba’as-a bi-hi warad-Ø lākin *mub*
 NEG harm-ACC with-it mentioned.PF-3SG.M but NEG
bi-jamī‘ al-’ahwāl
 with-all the-conditions
 ‘**no** harm with that (as it is) mentioned (in the Holy *Qur’ān*) but **not** in all cases’

In example (61), the neutral NEG *lā* is followed by *ba’asa bihi*, which is a frozen expression. The second negation is the NA negator *mub*, which means *laysa* in SA. It negates the SA prepositional phrase *bi-jamī‘ al-’ahwāl* ‘in all conditions’. In NA this prepositional phrase would be *bi-kill al-’ahwāl*. Also, *mub* is preceded by the neutral conjunction *lākin*.

- (62) qādir ’alā fī’l hādā l-fī’il *wu-hu* hayy *muhub* mayyit
 able on doing DEM the-deed and-he alive NEG dead
 ‘able to do this deed (*while*) *he* is alive **not** dead’

In example (62), the intra-sentential code-switching takes place in the coordinated clause. The NA NEG form *muhub* (3SG.M) which is used in place of *laysa* is preceded by the neutral word *hayy* and followed by the SA noun *mayyit* ‘dead’. In NA, the pronunciation of the word ‘dead’ is different as it is pronounced as *mēt*. Therefore, the difference is at the phonological level.

6.4 Constraints, triggering and neutralization

All of the examples discussed above show a clear tendency for the speakers to use certain parts of the SA negation system and NA negation system rather than others. For instance, there is a strong tendency on the part of all male and female speakers to use the SA NEG particles *lam* and *laysa* rather than *lan*. There are few instances of future negation with *lan*. Even in NA, few occurrences of NA NEG with future time

reference can be found. One of the few examples of future NEG in NA occurs in AM2, when the male speaker says *manib mi 'ītk* 'I will not give you'; this occurs twice in this speech. The structure in expressing the future with NA non-verbal forms is different as they are followed by active or passive participles which is different from SA in which *lan* is used followed by IPF verb.

Also, there is a steady use of one negation system at a time rather than using two in a sentence, which makes inter-sentential code-switching more common than intra-sentential code-switching. In addition, speakers of the two genders vary in their method of switching between the two varieties. For example, female speaker RM uses SA negators or neutral negative particles most of the time and NA negation occurs only once in her second speech. By contrast, male speaker SJ and female speaker NE tend to use NA negators more frequently.

Regarding switching between the two varieties included in the study, the fact that SA and NA are two varieties of the same language and have much neutral lexis that belongs to both varieties means that there are few cases of diglossic intra-sentential code-switching, as explained before.

Following is a discussion of the structure of switching found in the context of the syntactic constraints, dominant language hypothesis and triggering and neutralization hypotheses. This is to contextualise the results of the current study with other studies of Arabic diglossic code-switching such as those by Eid (1982, 1988), Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b).

6.4.1 Syntactic constraints

Negation and switching have been the subject of discussion on variation in Arabic in many studies. In her study of diglossic code-switching, Eid (1982, 1988) found that switches which involve negator + verb are more restricted than switches after other focal points of the linguistic variables in her studies, i.e. relative clause, subordinate clause and tense and verb, and that the combination of SA NEG + EA IPF verb is not permitted. According to her, this results from the incongruence between the two systems with regard to negation and tense marking. The following example is quoted from Eid (1988:60):

*NAḤNU LAN ḥa-ni'ra kitāb-ak
 we NEG FUT-we-read book-your
 'we will not read your book'

The reason this structure is not acceptable, as explained by Eid, is that there are two markers for tense: the SA negative particle *lan* and the EA prefix *ḥa-*. Although Eid is correct that this sentence is grammatically incorrect, her extrapolation that there can be no possibility of switching between negative participles and verbs is not generally supported, as Bassiouney (2006:90) shows the possibility of combining ECA negative particles with an MSA verb form, as in the following example adapted from Bassiouney (2006:90):

ma ya-takallam-šī
 NEG IPF.3SG.M-speak-NEG
 'he does not speak'

Mejdell (2006b:243) rephrases the combination of negations with SA structure and EA structure suggested by Eid as follows:

SA NEG [+tense] + VERB [-tense]
 EA NEG [-tense] + VERB [+tense]

In her analysis of switching between EA and SA, Eid reports eight logical combinations for switching in negation in her studies conducted in 1982 and 1988, where only four configurations occurred. Those eight configurations, which were listed at the beginning of this chapter, are stated in the following paragraphs for re-analysis with examples from the current data. However, it is worth mentioning that the dialect under investigation in this study, NA, differs from EA and that NA non-verbal negative forms mostly negate nouns or noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and most of the time, active and passive participles (Ingham, 1994).

Eid judged the four asterisked configurations in (2), (4), (6) and (8) as unacceptable in switching. The current data show partial agreement with the patterns reported by Eid to be possible. For example, combination (8), which is not acceptable in Eid's data, is found to be acceptable in the current study. Below, a re-analysis of

Eid's patterns in the context of the current data will be conducted in order to show the similarities and differences between the findings of the current study and Eid's (1982, 1988) findings.

Eid's combinations (3) and (5) occur in the current data and this confirms the directionality constraint, which will be illustrated in the following examples:

Eid's configuration (3): NA + SA NEG + SA IPF verb

This combination is found in the following example taken from the speech of NE2 in example (47) discussed above:

min al-'arhām illi **lam** 'a-tamakkan-Ø min
 from the-relatives REL NEG 1SG-manage.IPF-JUSS from
silāt-i-hum
 kinships-GEN-them.3PL.M
 'from the relatives whom I did **not** manage to visit'

Eid's configuration (5): SA + SA NEG + SA IPF verb

This combination is observed in MA1 (example 12):

li-'anna-ka **lam** tu-hsin-Ø
 to-that-you.2SG.M NEG 2SG.M-treat well.IPF-JUSS
mu'āmalat-a walad-i-ka munðu 'an kān-a
 treatment-ACC son-GEN-your.2SG.M since that be.PF-3SG.M
sagīr-an
 young-ACC
 'because you have **not** treated your son well since he was a child'

Regarding Eid's configuration (1) (i.e. NA + NA NEG + NA IPF verb) and (7) (i.e. SA + NA NEG + NA IPF verb), contrary to Eid the current data does not provide evidence of this configuration. Most of the time NA non-verbal negative forms negate nominals and are preceded by SA nouns, as explained in the examples listed in Section 6.2.1 and Section 6.2.2 above. On very few occasions they negate imperfect verbs as in *mhub yijī* 'does not come', which is found in AM1; there is no overt subject preceding the negative particle as *mhub* occurred at the beginning of a new

sentence. As for combinations (2) and (4), similar to Eid no examples are found and the structures are not acceptable in the current data either.

As for configuration (6) (i.e. SA + SA NEG + NA IPF verb), it does not occur in the current data. There is only one example from AM1 (example 6) which shows an SA negative particle negating a mixed form of the imperfect verb with linguistic features from both NA and SA, as in the following:

al-'awlād al-'āxarīn allaḏīna **lam** yi-mraḏū-Ø
 the-sons the-other REL NEG 3PL.M-get sick.IPF-JUSS
 'the other sons who did **not** get sick' (AM1)

In this example, the SA NEG *lam* negates the verb *yimraḏū* 'get sick'. The verb has the NA prefix *yi-* instead of the SA *ya-*. In addition, the SA phoneme /d/ is realized as /z/, and this is a characteristic of the dialect as /d/ does not exist in NA. However, it is worth mentioning that the verb is perfectly integrated with the SA negative particle *lam* as it is in the jussive mood. In SA, *lam* negates verbs in the jussive mood but in NA the verb would be *yimraḏūn* with a final /n/. Thus, as explained in Section 6.2.1.1, the verb form is phonologically NA and morphologically NA and SA. This case occurs only once in AM1 but is not found in AM2 or in the speeches of the other two males. In the female data, no SA negative particles are found to negate NA verbs. Thus, one counter-example in which the verb is not completely in NA is found in the entire data of the current study in the case of negation. Therefore, it could not be said that configuration (6) is not supported in this sense as the verb is a mixed form of both SA and NA and might result from speech error or unconscious mixing.

With respect to Eid's combination (8), which was reported by Eid as not acceptable and which does not occur in her data, it does occur once in my data as illustrated in example (49) in NE2:

Configuration 8: SA + NA NEG + SA verb

sār-Ø *'ind-ī* *'awlawīyah* *'uxra* *muhub*
 became.PF-3SG.M have-I priority another NEG

'u-njiz bahθ
1SG-finish.IPF research

'I have another priority *not* (only) finishing a research study'

This supports the findings of Bassiouney (2006), who found examples of the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) negative particle combined with an MSA verb form. It also agrees with the findings of Mejdell (2006b), who also found evidence of an EA negative particle negating an imperfect verb in SA, and which has also been integrated into EA. Similarly, in this study the imperfect verb *'unjiz* occurs with no inflectional ending.

However, there is no evidence of the NA non-verbal negative forms replacing the SA negators *lam* and *lan* as the structure is different. However, they are commonly used in place of *laysa*, which is similar to the NA negators in that it mostly negates nominal predicates or verbless sentences. Therefore, there is no contradiction with Eid's (1982, 1988) contradictory effect constraint.

To sum up, the findings of the present study largely parallel those of Eid in some ways but contradict them in others, as explained above. Regarding the similarities and differences between the male and female speakers in the patterns and constraints found in their data, it can be said that configuration (5) is produced by all of the males and females included in the study. NA non-verbal negative forms often negate SA or shared nominal predicates in the data for all of the speakers. Therefore, as explained above, both groups show restrictions on switching between the varieties under study despite the fact that there are individual differences among the respondents in the quantity of switching, as discussed in this section and in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.

6.4.2 Dominant language hypothesis

In examining the dominant language hypothesis, it could be said that this hypothesis has proved to be valid in the current data. The only exception is in the occurrence of SA negative particle, i.e. the non-dominant variety, with a mixed form of the verb having features from both SA and NA in AM1 (example 6). However, this could not be taken as a serious violation to the dominant language hypothesis because, as

explained earlier, the verb is not completely NA and this instance occurs only once; therefore, it could be considered a speech error.

However, Mejdell (2006b) found an SA negative particle negating a nominal predicate in EA. By contrast, Bassiouny's (2006) findings prove that it is possible to find ECA negative particles followed by SA-like verbs, i.e. with no inflectional endings. However, no cases of SA negative particles have been found in her data followed by ECA verbs. In the case of NA, which is the dominant variety, the NA non-verbal negative forms are found to be followed by an SA noun as in AM1 or an SA verb with no inflectional ending as in NE2 but there are no cases of an SA negative particle negating an NA nominal or verbal predicate; this finding is similar to Bassiouney (2006).

6.4.3 Triggering hypothesis and neutralization site

Although the triggering hypothesis and neutralization hypothesis are more common in studies of bilingual code-switching, which is not the main focus of the current study, I will briefly provide some examples to prove that the linguistic reflexes of these hypotheses are still possible between varieties of the same language. This is because of the existence of neutral negative particles, i.e. *lā* and *mā* and structures between the two varieties.

The following examples taken from RB1 show the neutral negative particle *mā* triggering the switch from SA to NA:

- a) 'iðan 'ahyānan ya-kūn zāhir al-'amal tayyīb li-n-nās
 thus sometimes 3SG.M-be.IPF apparent the-dead good to-the-people
lākin haqīqat-u-h mā had yi-drī 'an-ah
 but truth-NOM-its NEG body 3SG.M-know.IPF about-it
 'thus sometimes the deed appears good to the people but its truth **nobody**
 knows about it'

The following example shows switching taking place twice, either side of the NA negative particle where negation from both varieties can occur in the same position to show the possibility of the *neutralization site*:

- b) ammā l-xādimāt yā 'ixwān-ī l-mawjūdāt fī l-buyūt
 as for the-maids O brothers-my the-found in the-houses
fa-hunna harā'ir ***mahimb*** 'imā'
 as-they free NEG slaves
 'on the other hand, O brothers! The maids (who work in the houses) are free women and ***not*** slaves'

In this example the NA non-verbal negative form *mahimb* is used instead of the SA negative verb *lasna*. In fact, NA has the same structure as it would be *hin ḥurrāt mahimb 'abdāt*. Therefore, the switching takes place at a point where items from each variety could occur. NA variants of NEG could fill similar syntactic slots in SA verbless clauses instead of the SA NEG *laysa*. This is because NA non-verbal negatives more commonly negate nouns, prepositional phrases, adjectives, adverbs, and active and passive participles. This finding supports the findings of Mejdell (2006b), who also found that EA NEG takes the place of *laysa* in verbless clauses because in the two varieties in her study NEG formation differs in terms of how verbal constructions are negated.

6.5 Conclusion

In analysing the current data with relation to negation, inter-sentential code-switching is more common than intra-sentential code-switching and this may be related to the amount of neutral lexis shared between SA and NA. A few examples of intra-sentential code-switching were found in analysing the speeches apart from in RM1 which did not contain any such examples. In the cases of intra-sentential code-switching, the switching mainly occurred with respect to NA negators rather than SA negators. It was possible to find NA negators preceded by SA and followed by NA and this is the most common pattern among the speakers from both genders. Also, NA negators could be followed and preceded by SA. There is only one case of an SA negator followed by a mixed form of the verb with phonological and morphological

features from both varieties. This case could be a speech error which would indicate unconscious mixing rather than diglossic code-switching because diglossic code-switching is constrained differently and, as A. Bellem (p.c.) points out, takes place at a different level from code-mixing and may be subject to less conscious control; it is inevitably subject to different constraints. However, Mejdell (2006b) found that the SA negator *laysa* could be followed by a nominal predicate in EA. On the other hand, Bassiouney's (2006) findings show that it is possible for ECA negative particles to be followed by SA-like verbs but no cases of SA negators have been found to be followed by EA verbs.

Since NA and EA are two different Arabic varieties, some of the findings in this chapter support Eid's (1982, 1988) constraints while some other findings contradict these constraints. Moreover, NA negators are more common when negating nouns, adjectives, active participles and passive participles than verbs.

The current data also support the validity of the triggering hypothesis in the case of negation since the two negative particles *lā* and *mā* are neutral. The data show that neutral negators facilitate switching between varieties, in particular switching to NA, as discussed in Section 6.4.2 above. Moreover, the data support the validity of the neutralization hypothesis in negating verbless clauses. An example was given in Section 6.4.2 to show that having the same structure could make switching take place at points where negation from each variety could occur.

Chapter Seven

Qualitative Analysis of the Relatives

7.1 Introduction

Relative pronouns have grammatical features that differentiate Standard Arabic (SA) from Najdi Arabic (NA). In SA, relative pronouns are inflected for gender and number agreement with the head noun (the antecedent), whereas in NA they have one invariant form, *alli*, which in some cases is pronounced as *illi*, as explained in Chapter Four, Section 4.5.2.

All speakers in this study use both SA and NA variants of relative pronouns. Both male and female speakers use SA singular and plural relative pronouns but none of them use the SA dual forms. In fact, one occurrence of dual nouns is found in AM1, which is in NA followed by an NA uninflected relative pronoun. The occurring variants, as can be seen in Table 5.4 and Table 5.5 presented in Chapter Five, are *allaḏī* (M.SG reference), *allatī* (F.SG reference), *allaḏīna* (M.PL reference), and *allawātī* (F.PL reference), which is used only once by one of the male speakers.

My focus in the analysis will be on syndetic relative clauses and the speakers' choice of SA vs. NA variants will be analysed to show the extent of code-switching between the two Arabic varieties. Unlike negation discussed in the previous chapter, despite the preference of some of the speakers for inter-sentential code-switching and the fact of having neutral lexis, examples of intra-sentential code-switching occur in nearly all the speeches given by all of the male and female speakers. Thus, excerpts from each speaker's speech in which relative pronouns have been used will be analysed. This is done by examining the switching before and after the relative pronoun. The data obtained will be analysed in the context of Eid's (1982, 1988) suggested constraints to ascertain whether or not the findings from my data are consistent with her findings. The configurations of switching suggested by Eid (1982, 1988) in the light of the directionality constraints and the contradictory effect constraint proposed by her are:

1. + EA head noun + EA REL + EA

2. + EA head noun + EA REL + SA
3. + EA head noun + SA REL + SA
4. + SA head noun + SA REL + SA
5. + SA head noun + EA REL + EA

Eid's data show evidence of configuration (1) to (5). The three configurations that do not occur in her data are (6) to (8) listed below:

6. * EA head noun + SA REL+ EA
7. *SA head noun + SA REL+ EA
8. ?SA head noun + EA REL + SA

In addition, the dominant language hypothesis and the issue of neutralization sites will be highlighted. The triggering hypothesis will not be included as no neutral relative pronouns are found between SA and NA. The relative pronouns in both SA and NA are shown in bold script.

7.2 Male speakers

In this section, some excerpts from the speeches of the male speakers will be analysed to study their use of SA and NA relative pronouns and clauses. Regarding the frequency of occurrence of SA and NA relative pronouns in the male and female speakers' speeches, as shown in Chapter Five, Section 5.3, the difference is negligible.

7.2.1 AM

In both his first and second speeches, a high percentage of SA relative pronouns are used, as can be seen in Chapter Five, Section 5.3, Table 5.4. However, despite AM's high use of SA, NA relative pronouns can be observed in his two speeches, as can be seen in the following sub-sections where code-switching will be analysed. Table 7.1 summarizes the occurrence of relative pronouns here for convenience:

Relative pronouns	AM1		AM2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	42	72.4%	43	68.3%
NA	16	27.6%	20	31.7%
Total	58	100%	63	100%

Table 7.1: Relative pronouns in AM's two speeches

7.2.1.1 AM1

In his first speech, the SA relative pronouns found are *allaḏī*, which occurs 15 times, *allaḏīna*, which occurs 9 times, and *allatī*, which occurs 18 times. Regarding NA, *alli* occurs 15 times and *illi* occurs once. When analysing the speech of this speaker, it was found that he is able to use SA with verb moods and case endings. Nevertheless, switching between SA and NA also occurs.

Following is a list of examples from his first religious speech, showing his use of SA variants:

- (63) *lā* *ya-staṭī'ū* *'an* *ya-'īšū-Ø* *ma'a* *l-mudarā'a*
 NEG 3PL.M-be able.IPF to 3PL.M-live.IPF-SBJV with the-managers
l-hāzimīn ***allaḏīna*** *ya-bhaṭū-na* *'an* *al-'intājīyah*
 the-strict REL 3PL.M-look.IPF-IND for the-productivity
wa-yu-'akkidū-na *'alay-him* *al-huzūr*¹⁸
 and-3PL.M-emphasize.IPF-IND on-them.3PL.M the-presence
fī *'awqāt-i* *d-dawām*
 in times-GEN the-working
 'they cannot live with the strict managers **who** are seeking productivity and emphasize their presence during working time'

- (64) *wa-fī* *l-ḥadīṭ-i* *s-ṣahīh* ***allaḏī*** *raw-ā-hu*
 and-in the-ḥadīṭ-GEN the-authentic REL narrated.PF-3SG.M-it
l-buxārī *wa-ġayruh*

¹⁸ There is a near-complete merger between SA /d/ and NA /z/ in the data of this study.

the-*buxārī* and-others

‘in the authentic Hadith **which** was narrated by al-Buxārī and others’

(65) an-nikāh al-mu’aqqat **allaḏī** huwa an-nīyah
the-marriage the-temporary REL it the-intention
‘the temporary marriage **which** is the intention’

(66) fāris al-’ahlām **allaḏī** fī muxayyilat-i-hā
knight the-dreams REL in imagination-GEN-her
‘the man of her dreams **who** is in her imagination’

Examples (63) to (66) show SA relative pronouns in bold emphasis, which are followed and preceded by SA or neutral lexis. However, it is noticed in (63) that the speaker said *lā yastaṭī’ū* which should be *lā yastaṭī’ūn* in SA.

The following examples of intra-sentential code-switching will be discussed to find out whether or not the switching is systematic and follows the constraints suggested by Eid (1982, 1988):

(67) nahnu al-’ān na-’rif ’abnā’-a-nā **alli** fī
we now 1PL-know.IPF sons-ACC-our REL in
θ-θānawīy
the-secondary school
‘We now know our sons **who** are in the secondary school’

Example (67) is in SA except for the use of the relative pronoun *alli*, which is in NA and is used instead of the SA *allaḏīna* (M.PL). Another difference is the absence of a word-final inflectional vowel at the end of *na’rif*, as in SA it would be *na’rifu*. The head noun is in SA *’abnā’anā* ‘our sons’. In NA, *i’yālna* is used to mean ‘our sons’ or ‘our children’. The prepositional phrase following the NA relative pronoun is neutral. Thus, it can be observed that the relative pronoun *alli* is preceded by SA and followed by a neutral prepositional phrase.

(68) az-zūj **allaḏī** ta-jid fī-hi l-mara’ah
the-husband REL 3SG.F-find.IPF in-him the-woman
al-mūwāsafāt **allatī** tu-hibb-u-hā

the-characteristics REL 3SG.F-love.IPF-IND-it

wa-ta-qbal-u-hā

and-3SG.F-accept.IPF-IND-it

‘the husband **who** the woman finds in him the characteristics **which** she loves and accepts’

In example (68), the SA relative pronoun is used; however, the head noun *az-zūj* ‘the husband’ is in NA. This example proves the possibility of having an NA head noun followed by an SA relative pronoun. The difference between the NA noun *zūj* and the SA *zawj* is only at the phonological level. Having the SA relative pronoun preceded by an NA head noun and followed by an SA imperfect verb agrees with the pattern suggested by Eid (1982, 1988) for relative clauses. According to her, the combination of NA head noun + SA REL + SA IPF verb found in this example is acceptable in switching between SA and EA.

(69) wa-’a-quss la-kum ba’za l-qisas *alli*
and-1SG-narrate.IPF to-you.2PL.M some the-stories REL
ti-jī-nā fī t-tilifūn
3SG.F-come.IPF-us in the-phone

‘and I narrate to you some of the stories **which** we have heard over the phone’

In example (69), the NA relative pronoun is preceded by a head noun in SA *al-qisaṣ* ‘the stories’. In NA, ‘the stories’ could be *al-gṣaṣ*, and *as-suwālīf* and *al-’ilūm* are also possible. On the other hand, it is followed by the NA imperfect verb *tijīnā* ‘come to us’ which would be *taji’una* in SA. This pattern of switching supports Eid’s configuration (7) (i.e. SA head noun + EA REL + EA), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

(70) wa-’asbah-at ta-tahakkam fī l-xātib
and-became.PF-3SG.F 3SG.F-control.IPF in the-fiance
alli *bi-yi-jī* *la-h*
REL FUT-3SG.M-come.IPF to-her

‘and now she is controlling the man **who** will propose to her’

In example (70), the switching takes place in the relative clause. The relative pronoun used is the NA *alli* which is used instead of the SA *allaḏī*. It is followed by the

imperfect verb *bi-yi-jī* ‘will come’, which has the NA future prefix *bi-*. The head noun *l-xāṭib* is in SA as its NA equivalent is *l-xiṭṭib*. This combination of the two varieties found with regard to the relative pronoun supports Eid’s (1982, 1988) configuration (5).

- (71) *'aw imam al-masjid al-'āqil alli ya-hfaz al-'asrār*
 Or Imam the-mosque the-wise REL 3SG.M-keep.IPF the-secrets
 ‘or the wise Imam of the mosque *who* keeps the secrets’

In example (71), the general environment is in SA despite the absence of case endings and the verb’s mood inflection. However, the NA relative pronoun *alli* is used instead of the SA relative pronoun *allaḏī* and it refers to the neutral head noun *imam*. It is followed by the imperfect verb *yahfaz* ‘keep’, which is in SA and is preceded by the adjective *al-'āqil* ‘the wise’. In NA, *al-'āqil* would be pronounced as *al-'āgil* and the SA verb *yahfaz* is pronounced as *yḥafuz*.

7.2.1.2 AM2

As explained in Chapter Five, Section 5.3.1, the only SA relative pronouns found in AM2 are *allaḏī* (M.SG. reference), which occurs 22 times, *allatī* (F.SG. reference), which occurs 12 times, and *allaḏīna* (M.PL. reference), which occurs 8 times. However, *allawātī* (F.PL. reference) appears in the second speech of this speaker once, as shown in example (72). Regarding NA relative pronouns, *alli* occurs 12 times and *illi* 8 times.

The following are examples showing the SA relative pronouns and the type of SA structures of relative clauses found in AM2:

- (72) *yā 'ixwān fa-huwa s-salām 'alā r-rijāl wa-'alā n-nisā'*
 O brothers then-it the-greeting on the-men and-on the-women
allawātī *ya-rdudna s-salām*
 REL 3PL.F-respond.IPF the-greeting
 ‘O brothers! It is a greeting to men, and to women **who** (can) reply to the greeting’
- (73) *as-sinf aθ-θālith min allaḏīna yu-hibbū-n at-ta'āruf*
 the-type the-third from REL 3PL.M-love.IPF-IND the-getting to know

aš-šābb *aṭ-tayyib* *al-mu‘tadil* **allaḏī** *ya-ta‘arraf* *‘alā*
the-youth the-kind the-moderate REL 3SG.M-get to know.IPF on
n-nās *li-ya-d‘-ū-hum* *‘ila llāh*
the-people to-3SG.M-invite.IPF-IND-them.3PL.M to Allāh
‘The third type of those **who** love making friendship is the kind and moderate young men who get to know the people to invite them to Allāh’

(74) *bi-miqdār* *mā wariṯ-a* *min al-‘ilm* **allaḏī**
with-amount what inherited.PF-3SG.M from the-knowledge REL
tarak-a-hu *sallā llāh-u* *‘alay-hi* *wa-sallam*
left.PF-3SG.M-it pray Allāh-NOM on-him and-peace
‘on the amount of the knowledge **which** the Prophet prayers and peace of Allāh be upon him left (and) he inherited...’

(75) *as-ṣadīq* *aṣ-ṣālih* *huwa* **llaḏī** *ya-d‘ū* *la-ka*
the-friend the-good he REL 3SG.M-pray.IPF for-you.2SG.M
ba‘ad-a *mawt-i-k*
after-ACC death-GEN-your.SG.M
‘the good friend is the one **who** prays for you after your death’

(76) *fī d-durūs* **allatī** *ya-qra’-u-hā* *fī l-kullīyah*
in the-lessons REL 3SG.M-read.IPF-IND-it in the-college
‘in the lessons **which** he reads in the college’

Examples (72) to (76) show SA relative pronouns preceded by SA or neutral lexis. All the SA relative pronouns in these examples are followed by SA imperfect verbs (i.e. SA verbal relative clause). Therefore, no switching between SA and NA is evident.

In the following, some examples which represent the patterns of code-switching found in the second speech of AM are discussed. Moreover, they will be compared with the patterns suggested by Eid at the end of this chapter.

(77) *ar-rajul* *alli* *yi-‘āyin-nā* *huwa* *yi-mkin*
the-man REL 3SG.M-watch.IPF-us he 3SG.M-may be.IPF

yi-šūf-nā *yi-gūl* *wišš* *ōōlāk* *ōōlāk* *'ašāfīr*
 3SG.M-see.IPF-us 3SG.M-say.IPF what DEM DEM birds
 'the man **who** watches us maybe he is seeing us and saying what are those?
 (Are) those birds?'

In example (77), switching to NA is evident. The head of the clause is in SA, *ar-rajul* 'the man', whereas in NA it would be *ar-rajjāl*. The relative pronoun used is the NA *alli*, which is followed by the NA verb *yi'āyinā* 'watch us'. The SA equivalent to this verb is *yu'āyinuna*. The combination found in this example, i.e. SA head noun + NA REL + NA, supports Eid's (1982, 1988) configuration (5), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

(78) *'abnā'* *al-mayyit* *hum* *alli* *ya-jtahidū-n*
 sons the-dead they REL 3PL.M-work hard.IPF-IND
wi-yi-dizzūn *at-trāb* *'alā* *ubū-hum*
 and-3PL.M-throw.IPF the-soil on father-their.3PL.M
 'the sons of the dead are the ones **who** work hard to throw the soil on their
 dead father's (grave)'

Example (78) shows the use of the NA relative pronoun *alli*. It is used instead of the SA plural masculine relative *allađīna*. The head noun is *'abnā'* *al-mayyit*, which is in SA. Again, the head noun is followed by the pronoun *hum* 'they', which is neutral between SA and NA to add more emphasis. The relative pronoun is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yajtahidūn* 'work hard', whereas the NA would be *yijtahdūn*.

7.2.2 MA

This male speaker uses SA relative pronouns most of the time; however, NA can be seen in his speech as discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.3.1 and summarized in Table 7.2 for convenience:

Relative pronouns	MA1		MA2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	42	79.2%	24	61.5%
NA	11	20.8%	15	38.5%
Total	53	100%	39	100%

Table 7.2: Relative pronouns in MA's two speeches

His use of SA and NA relatives will be discussed in detail in the following sub-sections.

7.2.2.1 MA1

As shown in the quantitative analysis in Table 5.4 in Chapter Five, Section 5.3.1, MA uses SA relative pronouns 42 times (i.e. *allaḏī*, which occurs 31 times, *allaḏīna*, which occurs 6 times, and *allatī*, which occurs 5 times) while switching to NA relative pronouns take place 11 times (i.e. *alli* occurs 7 times and *illi* 4 times) in his first speech.

The following examples include tokens of relative clauses from his first speech, which will be analysed to show the structure of the SA relative clauses found. No cases of intra-sentential code-switching have been observed in MA1. The following examples show SA relative pronouns being followed and preceded by only SA and neutral lexis:

- (79) unzur-Ø 'ilā hāḏihi l-bint **allatī** tarabb-at
look.IMP-2SG.M to DEM the-girl REL raised.PF-3SG.F
tarbīyat-an ḥasanat-an ṣaḥīḥat-an 'isalāmīyah
nurture-ACC well-ACC proper-ACC Islamic
‘look at this girl who has received a proper Islamic education’

(80) ta-ḏkur-u tilka l-'albisah wa-ḏālika t-ta'ām
 2SG.M-remember.IPF-IND DEM the-clothes and-DEM the-food
wa-ḏāka š-šarāb **allaḏī** kān-a 'arsal-a-hu 'ilāy-nā
 and-DEM the-drink REL was.PF-3SG.M sent.PF-3SG.M-it to-us
l-xalīfah
 the-Caliph
 '(do) you remember those clothes, that food and that drink **which** were sent to us by the Caliph?'

(81) hā'ulā' al-'aytām **allaḏīna** ya-nzurū-n 'ilāy-nā
 DEM the-orphans REL 3PL.M-look.IPF-IND to-us
 'these orphans **who** are looking at us'

(82) wa-l-'ab huwa **allaḏī** ya-srif al-'amwāl
 and-the-father he REL 3SG.M-spend.IPF the-money
 'and the father is the one **who** spends money'

7.2.2.2 MA2

In this male speaker's second speech given to a male and female audience¹⁹ at a summer camp, switching to NA relative pronouns occurs more frequently than in his first speech. In his second speech, the SA relative pronoun *allaḏī* occurs 13 times, *allatī* occurs 6 times and *allaḏīna* occurs 5 times. On the other hand, NA relative pronouns occur 15 times (*alli* occurs 12 times and *illi* 3 times).

The following examples include tokens of SA relative clauses in the data from MA2:

(83) ayyuhā l-'ixwah wa-l-'axawāt a-ḥmad allāh
 O the-brothers and-the-sisters 1SG-praise.IPF Allāh
jalla wa-'alā **allaḏī** yassar-Ø hāḏā l-liqā'
 Exalted and-Almighty REL facilitated.PF-3SG.M DEM the-meeting

¹⁹ The male and female audience are not mixed in the same place but are separated in two different places. The male audience are sitting in front of the preacher and the females are sitting in an isolated place where there are loudspeakers to connect the male preacher with his female audience.

bi-kum jamī‘-an

with-you.2PL.M all-ACC

‘O brothers and sisters! Praise be to Allāh the Exalted and the Almighty **who** facilitated this meeting with you all’

(84) wa-ta-‘lamū-na l-ġīrah allatī ta-qa‘
and-2PL.M-know.IPF-IND the-jealousy REL 3SG.F-fall.IPF

bayna n-nisā‘

between the-women

‘and you know the jealousy **which** happens among women’

(85) ‘iḏān rabb-u l-‘ālamīn huwa llaḏī haddad-Ø ‘anna hāḏā

thus Lord-NOM the-creation he REL decided.PF-3SG.M that DEM

ya-mlik alf wa-hāḏā ya-mlik alfayn

3SG.M-own.IPF a thousand and-DEM 3SG.M-own.IPF two thousands

‘thus the Lord is the one **who** decided that this has a thousand and this has two thousands’

In the following examples, intra-sentential code-switching in MA2 will be discussed to ascertain the structure of the relative clauses used and the patterns of switching found:

(86) fa-qul-tu fī nafsī jā‘-a l-ġasāsīnah
and-said.PF-1SG in myself came.PF-3SG.M the-ġasāsīnah

(i) dxal-ū²⁰ l-madīnah al-mušrikīn al-‘ān alli nahnu

entered.PF-3PL.M al-madīnah the-polytheists now REL we

xāyfin ‘an ya-‘tū-Ø yu-hāribū-Ø-nā

worried to 3PL.M-come.IPF-SBJV 3PL.M-fight.IPF-SBJV-us

jā‘-ū

came.PF-3PL.M

‘and I said to myself the Ghassands have come and the polytheists *have entered* Madīnah now. Now, (The group) **whom** we worried about fighting have come to us’

²⁰ The short vowel epenthesis (*i*) is used to break up a consonant cluster. It is added before the second consonant.

In example (86), the speaker uses the NA relative pronoun *alli* instead of the plural masculine *allaḏīna*. The head noun *al-mušrikīn* is in SA as in NA it would be *al-mišrikīn*. Also, *al-'ān* would be *al-ḥīn* in NA. The the relative clause is nominal as it begins with the SA pronoun *naḥnu* ‘we’ which would be *ḥinna* in NA. The switching in example (86) is at the lexical and phonological levels. According to Eid (1982, 1988), this combination of switching, i.e. having an NA relative pronoun followed and preceded by SA, is acceptable although it is not found in her data.

- (87) *u-nazar* *fī* *l-'awāqib* *u-kaḏā* *lā* *'akḏar* *hā'ulā'*
 and-looking in the-consequences and-so NEG most DEM
allaḏīn *yu-talliḡū-n* *'in* *lam* *'a-qul-Ø*
 REL 3PL.M-divorce.IPF-IND if NEG 1SG-say.IPF-JUSS
kull-u-hum *binā '-an* *'alā* *ḡazab* *šadīd*
 all-NOM-them.3PL.M depending-ACC on anger sever
 ‘and looking at the consequences and so. No, most of those **who** divorce
 (their wives), if I am not saying all get divorced as a result of severe anger’

In example (87) the speaker’s pronunciation of the relative pronoun *allaḏīna* (M.PL) is intriguing. There is an absence of the vowel /a/ at the end of the pronoun and the speaker pronounces it as *allaḏīn* although there is no pause. This is only found once in all of the data gathered for the study. This could be an example of diglossic code-switching, where the speaker mixes the NA feature, which is the lack of a word-final short vowel, with the pronunciation of the SA relative pronoun.

7.2.3 SJ

This male speaker shows the highest percentage use of NA relative pronouns among all the male and female speakers included in this study. This was discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.3.1. A summary of the occurrences of the relative pronouns in his two speeches is presented in Table 7.3 for convenience:

Relative pronouns	SJ1		SJ2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	15	21.7%	31	55.3%
NA	54	78.3%	43	44.7%
Total	69	100%	74	100%

Table 7.3: Relative pronouns in SJ's two speeches

However, despite the speaker's high rate of NA use, there is a certain amount of SA use in his speech. In addition, he tends to display a higher rate of inter-sentential code-switching; this is not relevant to the current study as intra-sentential code-switching is the focus of the study. A list of some examples with SA relative pronouns and a detailed analysis of his intra-sentential code-switching between SA and NA relatives will be presented in the following sub-sections.

7.2.3.1 SJ1

From this male speaker's religious speech given to the public (including a male and female audience) at one of the summer camp activities, some items have been selected to analyse his use of the Arabic varieties under investigation in this study. I will first list some tokens with SA relative pronouns to show the structure used, followed by a discussion of the intra-sentential code-switching found. The SA examples include only SA and neutral lexis:

- (88) sābi'-an wa-llāh yā 'ixwān wa-li-llāh al-hamd
 seventh-ACC by-Allāh O brothers and-to-Allāh the-praise
na-frah 'anna-nā na-jlis hāḏā
 1PL-become happy.IPF that-we 1PL-sit.IPF DEM
l-majlis **allaḏī** ta-huf-u-hu l-malā'ikah
 the-meeting REL 3SG.F-surround.IPF-IND-it the-angels
 'Seven: O brothers! Praise be to Allāh as we are happy to be in a such a gathering **which** is surrounded by Angels'

- (89) hāḏīhi l-muxayyamāt wa-l-’anšīṭah **allatī** na-’lam-u
 DEM the-camps and-the-activities REL 1PL-know.IPF-IND
’ilm-a l-yaqīn
 knowledge-ACC the-certainty
 ‘these camps and activities **which** we certainly know...’

In the following example, code-switching will be discussed:

- (90) ta’ajjab-Ø ’amīr al-mu’minīn ’umar **alli**
 surprised.PF-3SG.M Emire the-believers ‘umar REL
aš-šīṭān ya-fīr min zill-uh
 the-devil 3SG.M-run away.IPF of shadow-his
 ‘Umar, Emir of the Believers, **who** the devil runs away from his shadow
 was surprised’

Example (90) shows the speaker’s use of the NA relative pronoun *alli* instead of the SA relative pronoun *allaḏī* (M.SG). It is preceded by *amīr al-mu’minīn ‘umar*, as the head noun which would be *amīr* or *imīr al-muminīn* in NA while I consider the proper name ‘umar to be neutral though some people in NA might say *i’mar*. The NA relative pronoun is followed by the NA definite noun *aš-šīṭān* ‘the devil’ as in SA it would be *aš-šayṭān*. The verb *yafīr* is in SA as in NA it would be *yihijj* or *yašrid*. The prepositional phrase *min zilluh* ‘from his shadow’ is as an example of *lahn* by this speaker, who commits a grammatical error. In SA, this term should be *min zillihi*, in the genitive case rather than the nominative case. This grammatical mistake could also result from interference from NA as *-uh* is an object pronoun suffix that is used in NA. In NA, it is more common to hear this prepositional phrase pronounced as *min (i)zālāluh* and it is more common to say *yixāf min (i)zālāluh*.

- (91) al-qā’il **alli** ya-qūl ġarīb ad-dār
 the-sayer REL 3SG.M-say.IPF stranger the-country
 ‘the one **who** says (O) stranger to this country’

In example (91), the NA *alli* is used instead of the SA *allaḏī*. It is preceded by the SA head noun *al-qā’il* ‘the one who said’, which would be *al-gāyil* in NA and is followed by the SA verb *yaqūl* ‘say’, which would be *yigūl* in NA. The general environment of this example is SA. Despite the lack of case endings and mood inflections, it will be

considered as SA as the lexis found has SA features. The switching here is at the lexical level. The combination of code-switching observed in this example (i.e. SA head noun + NA REL + SA verb) was found to be acceptable by Eid (1982, 1988).

As can be seen from the excerpts taken from the speaker's first speech, SA relative pronouns are found to be followed and preceded by SA. This supports the findings of Eid (1982, 1988) and Mejdell (2006b), who found that SA relative pronouns occur only in an SA context. In the case of NA, NA relatives are followed by NA, or they could be followed and preceded by SA.

7.2.3.2 SJ2

This speaker showed his ability to use SA. In his second speech, the SA relative pronoun *allaḏī* occurs 19 times, *allatī* occurs 6 times, and *allaḏīna* occurs 6 times. Regarding the NA relative pronouns, *alli* occurred 38 times and *illi* 5 times.

Following is a list of some representative examples of SA relatives that include SA and neutral lexis:

- (92) al-hamdu li-llāh wa-kafā wa-salām-un 'alā 'ibād-i-h
 praise to-Allāh and-sufficient and-peace-NOM on slaves-GEN-His
allaḏīna 'istaf-a wa-sallam-a
 REL chose.PF-3SG.M and-submit-PF.3SG.M-SBJV
taslīm-an kaḏīr-ā
 submission-ACC many-SBJV
 'Praise be to Allāh and sufficient and peace be on His slaves **whom** He has
 chosen and salute with full respect'

- (93) fa-hīya 'anj-at aḏ-ḏalāḏah allaḏīna
 as-it saved.PF-3SG.F the-three REL
'aw-ā-hum 'aw-ā-hum
 sheltered.PF-3SG.M-them.PL.M sheltered.PF-3SG.M-them.3PL.M
al-mabīt 'ilā l-gār
 stay at night to the-cave

‘it saved the three **who** sat out until the night came and they reached a cave to spend the night there’

(94) as-sā‘āt **allatī** ta-‘sī llāh-a fī-hā
 the-hours REL 2SG.M-disobey.IPF Allāh-ACC in-it
 ‘the hours in **which** you disobey Allāh’

(95) aḏ-ḏakī huwa **llaḏī** ya-staḡill al-furas
 the-smart he REL 3SG.M-take advantage.IPF the-chances
 ‘the smart is the one **who** takes advantage of chances’

No cases of intra-sentential code-switching are observed with regard to the relative pronouns in SJ2, because as explained earlier in this section this speaker tends to use inter-sentential code-switching and neutral lexis more frequently. The only example found is the following though it has much neutral lexis in it:

(96) 'anā b-nafsī waqaf-t fī š-šām al-isbū' **alli**
 I by-myself stand.PF-1SG in the-Levant the-week REL
gabul hāḏā
 before this

‘I myself stood on an issue in the Levant the week **which** is before this...’

In example (96), the speaker uses the NA relative pronoun *alli* instead of the SA *allaḏī* (M.SG). The relative pronoun is followed by the NA adverb *gabul*, which in SA would be *qabl*, and is preceded by the NA head noun *al-isbū'*, which would be *al-'usbū'* in SA. The only SA lexis found in this example is *waqaft*.

Section 7.2 presented a discussion of the male speakers' uses of intra-sentential switching. In the next section, the discussion will turn to the female speakers' use of SA and cases of intra-sentential switching between SA and NA.

7.3 Female speakers

In this section, the selected two religious speeches by each of the three female speakers will be analysed with regard to the relative pronouns. As explained earlier in

Chapter Five, Section 5.3, the females tend to switch less frequently than the three males included in the study to NA relative pronouns.

7.3.1 RM

This female speaker shows frequent use of SA. Nevertheless, contrary to the findings for negation discussed in Chapter Six, Section 6.3.1, where there are no cases of intra-code-switching in RM1 and only once of case of switching in RM2, there are some cases where there are clear instances of intra-sentential code-switching with respect to the relatives.

In both of her religious speeches given to a female audience, RM uses SA relative pronouns more frequently than NA relative pronouns. This was discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.3.2 and is summarized in the following table for convenience:

Relative pronouns	RM1		RM2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	23	74.2%	24	82.8%
NA	8	25.8%	5	17.2%
Total	31	100%	29	100%

Table 7.4: Relative pronouns in RM's two speeches

The following sub-sections will explain in detail with examples her use of relative pronouns in each of her two speeches analysed for the purpose of this study.

7.3.1.1 RM1

In this female speaker's first speech, the percentage of NA use is higher than in her second speech. Here, the NA relative pronouns *alli* and *illi* occur 8 times. Regarding SA, *allaḏī* occurs 13 times, *allatī* 7 times, and *allaḏīna* 3 times.

Following are some examples taken from her first speech to show her use of SA relative pronouns:

- (97) fa-huwa **llađī** šana'-a-hu llaḥ-u
 as-he REL created.PF-3SG.M-him Allāh-NOM
subhān-a-hu wa-ta'ālā wa-rabb-ā-hu
 highly praised-ACC-him and-glorified and-raised.PF-3SG.M-him
wa- 'addab-a-h
 and-disciplined.PF-3SG.M-him
 'It is Allāh, the glorified and exalted, **who** has created, raised and disciplined him'
- (98) taxayyal-ī š-šābb hūnamā ya-rā mawqif
 imagine.IMP-2SG.F the-young man when 3SG.M-see.IPF position
al-murabbī **llađī** yu-hibb-u-hu
 the-educator REL 3SG.M-love.IPF-IND-him
 'imagine the young man when he sees the position of the educator **whom** he loves'
- (99) hatta bi-l-kā'ināt **allatī** lā yu-rā la-hā rūh
 even with-the-creatures REL NEG 3SG.M-see.IPF to-it soul
 'even with the creatures **which** (have no) soul'
- (100) wa-'inna **llađīna** lā ya-fqahū-na as-sīrat-a
 and-that REL NEG 3PL.M-understand.IPF-IND the-bibliography-ACC
wa-lā ya-'lamū-na aš-šarī'at-a
 or-NEG 3PL.M-know.IPF-IND the-Jurisprudence-ACC
'alā wajh-i-hā
 on face-GEN-its
 'and these **who** are not edified with the Prophet's bibliography and do not know the Jurisprudence (Shariah) in its true form'

The following examples show intra-sentential code-switching with regard to the relative pronouns found in RM1:

- (101) aš-šibyān **alli** ya-l'abūn mā đahab-a hayθu
 the-boys REL 3PL.M-play.IPF NEG went.PF-3SG.M where

'amar-a-hu sallā llāh-u 'alay-hi wa-sallam
 ordered.PF-3SG.M-him prayers Allāh-NOM upon-him and peace
 '...the boys **who** play and he did not go to where the Prophet prayers and
 peace of Allāh be upon him ordered him'

In this example, the speaker uses the NA relative pronoun *alli* 'that' instead of the SA relative pronoun *allaḏīna* (M.PL). The head noun is *aṣ-ṣibyān* 'the boys', which is in SA as in NA it would be *al-'iyāl*. The relative pronoun is followed by the imperfect verb *yal'abūn* 'play', which could be considered as a shared IPF verb between SA and NA.

(102) hatta 'annī ya-'nī alli ya-rā-nī wa-nā
 even that 3SG.M-mean.IPF REL 3SG.M-see.IPF-me and-I
'a-zhak ya-zunn-u-nī 'u-kallim
 1SG.IPF-laugh 3SG.M-think.IPF-IND-me 1SG-speak.IPF
bi-tilifūn
 with-telephone
 'even that **who** sees me while I laugh thinks (that) I am speaking in the
 telephone'

In example (102), this female speaker switches to NA in her use of the NA relative pronoun *alli*. It is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yarānī* 'see me', as in NA it would be *yiṣūfni*. There is no head noun in this example. The NA relative pronoun is preceded by the neutral verb *ya'nī*, which is considered by Saeed (1997) and Bassiouney (2006) as a filler to trigger switching to the other variety.

As mentioned earlier in this section, RM shows a low use of NA relative pronouns in both her first and second speeches. The pattern of the NA relative pronoun being followed and preceded by NA is not found. The only patterns which occur are SA followed and preceded by SA; NA relative pronouns either followed or preceded by SA, or NA relative pronouns followed and preceded by neutral SA/NA lexis.

7.3.1.2 RM2

In this speech, SA relative pronouns appear 24 times whereas NA relative pronouns appear just five times, as shown in Table 7.4 above. She uses three of the SA relative pronouns, *allaḏī*, *allatī*, and *allaḏīna*, accurately.

Some tokens are taken from her speech to show this female speaker's use of SA pronouns and represent the common SA structures used.

- (103) alhamd-u li-llāh-i **allaḏī** ja'al-a l-qur'ān la-nā
praise-NOM to-Allāh-GEN REL made.PF-3SG.M the-Qur'ān for-us
naḏūr-an wa-bašūr-ā
warner-ACC and-a bearer of glad news-ACC
'Praise be to Allāh the Lord of the worlds. Praise be to Allāh **who** has made
the Qur'ān a warner and a bearer of good news.'

- (104) wa-qara'-a l-'āyāt **allatī** ta-dull-u
and-read.PF-3SG.M the-verses REL 3SG.F-indicate.IPF-IND
'alā 'azamit-i llāh
on glory-GEN Allāh
'he knows that who creates it (is) greater than it and he read the verses
which indicate the greatness of Allāh'

In the following example, the switching found in RM2 will be discussed:

- (105) ja'al-a hāḏā l-'amr **alli** hu 'axḏ al-'asra
made.PF-3SG.M DEM the-matter REL it taking the-prisoners
'(He) has made this matter *which* is taking prisoners...'

In example (105), the female speaker uses SA but switches to NA. The relative pronoun she uses here is the NA *alli* instead of the SA *allaḏī* (M.SG). The head noun is in SA, *l-'amr* 'the matter' as in NA it would be *l-amr* with no glottal stop, and it is followed by the NA pronoun, *hu* 'he'.

To sum up, it is evident that SA relative pronouns mainly have an attributive function and are followed by a verbal predicate. As for the cases of switching found in this female speaker's second speech, the NA relative pronouns have been found followed by a nominal relative clause.

7.3.2 NE

In the quantitative analysis, this female speaker shows almost the same degree of use of NA relative pronouns in both of her speeches given to a female audience. This has

been discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.3.2 and is summarized in the following table for convenience:

Relative pronouns	NE1		NE2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	54	54%	41	53.9%
NA	46	46%	35	46.1%
Total	100	100%	76	100%

Table 7.5: Relative pronouns in NE's two speeches

In the following sub-sections, some tokens from this female speaker's two speeches will be analysed to show her use of SA relatives, and the form of intra-sentential code-switching found.

7.3.2.1 NE1

As mentioned in Table 5.5 presented in Chapter Five, Section 5.3, there are 54 occurrences of SA relative pronouns whereas switching to NA relative pronouns occurs 46 times. However, due to a more frequent use of inter-sentential code-switching and the existence of neutral lexis, only a few examples of intra-sentential code-switching are found in NE1.

Following is a list of some representative tokens from the female speaker's first speech showing her use of SA relatives:

- (106) fī riwāyah ya-qūl sufid-at maradat
in narration 3SG.M-say.IPF chained down.PF-3SG-F masters
al-jinn / allaḏī yu-saffad laysa l-quranā'
the-jinn REL 3SG.M-chain down.IPF NEG the-companions
huwa ma' kull wāhid min-na māḏā qarīn /
he with every one from-us what companion
allaḏī yu-saffad maradat al-jinn
REL 3SG.M-chain down.IPF masters the-jinn

‘In a narration he said: the masters of jinn are chained down. **Who** are chained down, not the companions. With every one of us, is what? A companion. The masters of jinn are the ones **who** are chained down.’

(107) wa-kull malak yu-nādī al-malak **allaḏī** ya-rā-h
 and-every angel 3SG.M-call.IPF the-angel REL 3SG.M-see.IPF-him
 ‘and every Angel calls the Angel **which** he sees’

(108) lākin ta-bqā ’umūr aš-šarr-i **allatī** ta-j’al
 but 3SG.F-remain.IPF affairs the-devil-GEN REL 3SG.F-make.IPF
al-’insān ya-qa’ fī š-šarr kaḏīrah
 the-human 3SG.M-fall.IPF in the-evil many
 ‘but the evil affairs which make the human fall in evil are many’

(109) lākin mā **llaḏī** ya-mna’-u-nī min šurb al-mā’
 but what REL 3SG.M-prevent.IPF-IND-me from drinking the-water
 ‘but **what** prevents me from drinking water?’

(110) min ’ahl-i l-qur’ān **allaḏīna** hum ’ahl allāh
 from people-GEN the-Qur’ān REL they.3PL.M people Allāh
 ‘from the people of Qur’ān who are the people of Allāh?’

In the following examples, cases of intra-sentential code-switching will be discussed:

(111) sa-’a-ḏkur ba’za l-masā’il al-fiqhīyah **allatī**
 FUT-1SG-mention.IPF some the-issues the-Juristic REL
na-ḥtāj-hā naḥnu ma’āšir an-nisā’
 1PL-need.IPF-her we group the-women
 ‘I will mention some of the Juristic issues **which** we women need’

In the example above, the SA relative pronoun *allatī* is preceded by an SA definite head noun. However, the verb following it could indicate mixing between the two varieties or a speech error committed by the speaker. The verb used here is *naḥtāj-hā* ‘need it’. The prefix used in this verb is the SA imperfect form *na-*, whereas its NA

equivalent is *ni-*. As for the mood inflection, there is an absence of a word-final inflectional vowel; this is a feature of NA as the verb should be *naḥtājuhā*. Thus, this form of the verb makes the speech less formal, as suggested by Holes (2004).

- (112) *al-barnāmaj aθ-θānī l-muhimm illi ta-hriṣīn 'alay-h*
 the-programme the-second the-important REL 2SG.F-care.IPF on-it
 ‘the second important programme *which* you (should) care about’

In example (112), the relative pronoun *illi* is used in place of the SA *allaḏī*. It is preceded by the neutral head noun *al-barnāmaj* ‘the programme’ and is followed by the SA imperfect verb *taḥriṣīn* ‘care about’. The NA form of the verb is *ṭarṣīn*.

- (113) *aθ-θalāṭah ḏōlī illi yu-hibb-u-hum allāh*
 the-three DEM REL 3SG.M-love.IPF-IND-them.3PL.M Allāh
 ‘the three, *those who* Allāh loves’

In example (113), the NA relative pronoun *illi* is used instead of the SA *allaḏīna*. This example has an emphatic structure in which the neutral definite noun *aθ-θalāṭah* ‘the three’ is followed by an NA demonstrative. On the other hand, *illi* is followed by an imperfect verb in SA, which is *yuhibbuhum* ‘love them’; in NA it would be *yihibbuhum*.

7.3.2.2 NE2

As in her first religious speech, NE shows considerable use of both SA and NA relatives. The SA *allaḏī* occurs 30 times, *allatī* 10 times, and *allaḏīna* 1 time. NA relatives occur 35 times.

Following are examples of SA relatives from NE2:

- (114) *as-sa‘y ’ilā t-tamayyuz wa-hāḏā llaḏī ’arād-a-hu*
 the-seeking to the-distinction and-DEM REL wanted.PF-3SG.M-it
llāh min-na
 Allāh from-us
 ‘Seeking for distinction and this **which** Allāh wanted from us.’

- (115) al-'insān allađī lā ya-stāti' 'an
 the-human REL NEG 3SG.M-be able.IPF to
yu-haddid niqāt-a l-qūwah
 3SG.M-determine.IPF points-ACC the-strength
 'a person **who** cannot determine the strength points...'
- (116) wa-l-mar'ah al-'āqil allatī tu-'min bi-s-sabab
 and-the-woman the-wise REL 3SG.F-believe.IPF with-the-cause
wa-n-natījah
 and-the-result
 'The wise woman **who** believes in the cause and the result'

As shown in examples (114) to (116), SA relative pronouns occur only with SA and neutral lexis. In the following examples, cases of switching with NA relative pronouns in NE2 are discussed:

- (117) al-marākiz as-sayfīyah al-'ān alli tu-šrif 'alay-hā
 the-centres the-summer now REL 3SG.F-supervise.IPF on-it
wizārat at-tarbīyah wa-t-ta'līm
 ministry the-education and-the-teaching
 'The summer centres now **which** are monitored by the Ministry of
 Education'

In example (117), the relative pronoun used is the NA *alli* instead of *allatī* (F.SG). The head noun is *al-marākiz as-şayfīyah* 'the summer centres' in which *al-marākiz* is shared between SA and NA; *as-şayfīyah* is in SA as in NA it would be *as-şēfīyah*. The relative pronoun is followed by a verb in SA, *tuşrif* 'supervises', which would be *tişrif* in NA.

- (118) kull wāḥdih ta-ktib alli ya-tanāsab ma'-a-hā
 every one 3SG.F-write.IPF REL 3SG.M-suit.IPF with-ACC-her
 'each one writes **what** is suitable for her'

In example (118), switching can be seen in the female speaker's use of the NA relative pronoun *alli*. It is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yatanāsab* 'suits', which would be *yināsib* or *yitnāsab* in NA. The relative pronoun is preceded by NA except the word *kull*, which would be *kill* in NA. There is no head noun preceding the NA relative pronoun.

- (119) mā hīyā šurūt al-'ahdāf ***alli*** bi-ta-šīgīn-ha
 what it conditions the-goals REL FUT-2SG.F-form.IPF-it
 'what are the conditions (for) the goals **which** you will form'

In example (119), the head noun *al-'ahdāf* 'the goals' is in SA as there is no glottal stop in NA and it would be *al-ahdāf* in this variety. The switching takes place in using the NA relative pronoun *alli* which occurs instead of *allatī*. The verb following the relative pronoun is mixed as it has features from both SA and NA, i.e. the NA future prefix *bi-* occurs instead of the SA *sa-* or *sawfa* followed by an imperfect verb in SA, *tašīgīn* 'form' occurs with no verb mood as in NA it would be *bi-tšigīn*.

- (120) sāfar-t li-silat majmū'ah min al-'arhām ***illi***
 travelled.PF-1SG to-contact group from the-kin REL
lam 'a-tamakkan-Ø min silāt-i-him
 NEG 1SG-can.IPF-JUSS from contact-GEN-them.3PL.M
 'I travelled to visit some of my relatives whom I could not contact'

In example (120) the NA relative pronoun *illi* is used. It is preceded by the SA plural definite noun *al-'arhām* 'the kin' which is the head noun, as in NA the definite noun would be *al-arhām* without a glottal stop. However, the relative pronoun is followed by a negator and an imperfect verb in SA. It is evident in this example that *illi* is used in the place of the SA plural masculine pronoun *allaḏīna*.

To conclude the discussion of NE2, it can be noted that SA relative pronouns are mainly followed by SA verbal predicates whereas NA relative pronouns can be followed by SA verbs or verbs with linguistic features from both varieties, as in example (119).

7.3.3 RB

In this female speaker's two speeches, switching to NA relative pronouns accounts for a high percentage use in comparison with the other two female speakers. The occurrence of SA and NA relative pronouns has been discussed in detail in Chapter Five, Section 5.3.2 and is summarized in Table 7.6 for convenience:

Relative pronouns	MA1		MA2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	26	38.8%	38	57.6%
NA	41	61.2%	28	42.4%
Total	67	100%	66	100%

Table 7.6: Relative pronouns in RB's two speeches

The following is an analysis of some tokens of SA and NA relatives found in the two speeches given by the female speaker RB.

7.3.3.1 RB1

As shown in the quantitative analysis in Table 5.5 presented in Chapter Five, Section 5.3.2, RB uses NA relative pronouns more frequently in her first religious speech than in her second speech. SA relative pronouns occur 26 times including *allaḏī*, *allatī*, and *allaḏīna*. NA relative pronouns including *alli* and *illi* occur 41 times. In this section, the relative clauses in my data will be analysed to show the intra-sentential code-switching between the two varieties in RB1.

Following is a list of some examples with SA relative pronouns which are preceded and followed by SA or neutral lexis; no switching to NA could be observed:

- (121) *wa-li-ḏālik* 'ux̄t-ī l-habībah al-hadīḥ **allaḏī**
and-DEM sister-my the-beloved the- Ḥadīḥ REL
na-hfaz-u-hu munḏu 'an kunn-ā sigār-a
1PL-memorize.IPF-IND-it since that were.PF-1PL young-ACC

‘and so my beloved sisters the Ḥadīṯ **which** we (all) memorized since we were young (or children)’

- (122) lākin hāḍā mašgūl bi-ni‘am-i n-nās **allatī**
 but DEM busy with-blessings-GEN the-people REL
‘an‘am-a-hā allāh ‘alay-him
 blessed.PF-3SG.M-it Allāh on-them.3PL.M
 ‘but this one is busy with the blessings **which** Allāh gave the others’

- (123) al-hasad min al-‘amrāz al-‘azīmah **allatī** tu-sīb
 enviousness from the-diseases the-great REL 3SG.F-affect.IPF
al-qulūb
 the-hearts
 ‘enviousness is one of the serious diseases **that** affects the heart’

In the following examples, NA relatives with cases of code-switching will be discussed:

- (124) wa-li-ḍālik ‘axawāt-ī ‘anā sa-‘a-ḍkur la-kum²¹
 and-DEM sisters-my I FUT-1SG-mention.IPF for-you.2PL.M
barnāmaj ‘amalī ta-stafīdū-n bi-‘iḍn illāh
 programme practical 2PL.M-benefit.IPF-IND with-willing Allāh
ta‘ālā min-h / **alli** **hu** ‘afwan tirdād al-‘āḍān
 the Mighty from-it REL it sorry repeating the-prayers
 ‘and so my sisters I will tell you a practical programme that you will benefit from with Allāh the Mighty willing **which** is, sorry, repeating adhan’²²

Despite the loss of case endings in some of the nouns and mood inflections in the case of verbs in this example (see Chapter Two for more details on case endings), the example is mostly in SA and has neutral lexis. However, the relative pronoun used is

²¹ In her speech, the female speaker uses masculine plural forms in *lakum* and *tastafīdūn* to address her female audience. This cannot be considered a mistake in CA and MSA because the dominance of male forms over those of the females is found in the Holy Qur’ān. In addition, Sibawayh (180) in his book explained the reasons behind this dominance. Among the reasons, he said that it is easier to use the masculine form than the feminine form and that the masculine forms are the main forms from which the feminine forms come.

²² The Islamic call to prayers.

alli, which is an NA relative pronoun and is used instead of the SA relative pronoun *allaḏī* (M.SG). In this example, the relative pronoun is preceded by a neutral prepositional phrase *minh* which could also be pronounced in NA as *mnuh*. It is followed by the pronoun *hu*, which is in NA. The clause here with *alli hu* means ‘namely’ or ‘that is’. This is similar to the structure found by Mejdell (2006b) in her study of mixed styles between SA and EA. She found cases where some of the speakers in her study use *'illi huwwa*. Mejdell considered the pronoun *huwwa* as a subject pronoun. The relative pronoun in the sentence taken from the female speaker’s speech is preceded by a coreferent subject pronoun *min-h*. The head noun is *barnāmaj* which is neutral. In this sentence, code-switching can be seen in the use of the NA relative pronoun in an excerpt which seems to be in SA.

- (125) 'antī 'umm al-wājib 'alē-k 'izhār 'amal-ik
 you mother the-necessary on-you.2SG revealing deed-your.2SG
alli ta-rayn fī-h 'iqtidā' 'abnā'-ik fī-h
 REL 2SG.F-see.IPF in-it imitation sons-your.2SG.F in-it
 ‘you are a mother. It is necessary for you to show your deed **which** you feel (that) it is good for your sons to imitate’

Again, in this example, the NA relative pronoun *alli* is used instead of the SA *allaḏī* (M.SG). The head noun is *'amalik* ‘your deed’, which is in SA although there is an absence of a word-final short vowel. In NA, it would be *'amalk* or *'amalč*. The verb following the NA relative pronoun is *tarayn* ‘you see’, which is in SA as in NA *tušūfin* is more common. Neutral lexis is also found in this example. The pattern of switching found in this example is SA head noun + NA REL + SA.

To conclude this section, it is worth mentioning that despite her high use of NA relative pronouns, a few cases of intra-sentential code-switching were found because of inter-sentential code-switching and the presence of a large quantity of neutral lexis, which meant that it was not possible to analyse the switching to find out the constraints on switching. Following is a discussion of the switching found in RB2.

7.3.3.2 RB2

In her second speech, the speaker's use of SA relative pronouns is higher than in her first speech, as shown in Table 7.6 above.

In the following examples, some tokens with SA relative pronoun occurring with SA or neutral lexis are listed:

- (126) na-s'al al-hayy al-qayūm **allaḏī** lā
 1PL-ask.IPF the-Living the-Subsisting REL NEG
ta-'xuḏ-u-hu sinat-un wa-lā nawm
 3SG.M-take.IPF-IND-him slumber-NOM and-NEG sleep
allaḏī ya-qūl 'an nafsih xazā'in-ī mala'
 REL 3SG.M-say.IPF about himself treasures-my full
lā ta-ḡlib-u-hā n-nafqah
 NEG 3SG.F-overcome.IPF-IND-it the-expenditure
 'We ask the ever Living, the Self-subsisting, Eternal. No slumber can
 seize Him nor sleep **who** says about Himself 'my depositories²³ are full'
- (127) al-'a'rābi **allaḏī** jā'-a li-n-nabī 'alay-hi
 the-Bedouin REL came.PF-3SG.M to-the-prophet on-him
s-salāt wa-s-salām
 the-prayer and-the-peace
 'the Bedouin **who** came to the Prophet prayers and peace (of Allāh) be
 upon him'
- (128) al-'insān **allaḏī** ya-d'ū maḏal-an
 the-human REL 3SG.M-supplicate.IPF for example-ACC
bi-da'awāt
 with-supplications
 'the person **who** supplicates, for example, with supplications'
- (129) jamī' ad-da'wāt **allatī** na-d'ū bi-hā
 all the-supplications REL 1PL-supplicate.IPF with-it

²³ Which are containing the provision of Allāh.

7.4 Discussion of the relatives and the linguistic constraints on code-switching

As can be seen from the data discussed above, there is a marked difference among the male and female speakers with regard to the total distribution of the variants of relative pronouns in their religious speeches analysed. The female speaker RM in her two speeches shows a much lower usage level of NA variants than the other speakers, while the speeches given by SJ, a male speaker, and NE and RB, female speakers, are the most NA-oriented.

One important finding is that in some cases where the NA REL *alli* or *illi* are used in an SA environment, they appear to stand for SA relative pronouns with plural preference. Five cases are found in the data where the NA relative pronoun stands for the plural masculine relative pronoun. These cases have been presented in the discussion above in the speeches of two of the male speakers and two of the females. These cases can be seen in example (67) in AM1 and example (78) in MA2 in the male data. As for the female speakers, this can be seen in example (101) in RM1, example (113) in NE1, and example (120) in NE2. This is consistent with Mejdell (2006b), who explains that it is expected for uninflected and native forms, i.e. the NA relative pronoun in the case of this study, to easily substitute SA relative pronouns and this is especially a preferred method with less frequently used forms (i.e. duals and plurals).

It is also noticeable that in general SA relatives are not followed by NA verbs but by SA verbs; this is consistent with the findings of Eid (1982, 1988) and Mejdell (2006). However, one example is found in NE1 (example 111), where an SA relative pronoun followed by a verb has linguistic features from both SA and NA:

l-masā'il al-fiqhīyyah **allatī** na-htāj-hā
the-issues the-Juristic REL 1PL-need.IPF-it
'the Juristic issues **which** we need'

As can be seen from the analysis above, there are differences and similarities between the speakers with regard to their use of both SA and NA relatives and the structures they use in their discourse. In addition, inter-sentential code-switching is more common than intra-sentential code-switching.

Following is a discussion of the syntactic constraints, the dominant hypothesis and the neutralization hypothesis in relation to the relatives.

7.4.1 Syntactic constraints

Regarding the constraints on code-switching, Eid's proposed configurations on relative clauses listed at the beginning of this chapter will be examined. One of the difficulties found in studying the constraints is the occurrence of neutral lexis between the two varieties, as in the following example where the the IPF verb is shared between SA and NA despite the lack of SA verb mood:

al-'insān *alli* ya-zra' 'arz
 the-human REL 3SG.M-plant.IPF land
 'the person *who* plants (a) land'

Moreover, as found by Mejdell (2006b), definite head nouns preceding the relative pronouns could be shared nouns between the two varieties.

The constraints on relatives found in the current study are to some extent consistent with the constraints found by Eid (1982, 1988) listed at the beginning of this chapter. I will now re-analyse her constraints in accordance with the findings of the current data. This will be done by using some representative examples from this data, some of which have been discussed earlier in the sections on the male and female speakers.

Eid's configuration 1: NA head noun + NA REL + NA

This configuration occurs in nearly all the male and female speakers' speeches, e.g. in NE2 this combination is found:

hu illi ya-xið min 'awqāt-i-nā š-šay`a l-kaθīr
 it REL 3SG.M-take.IPF from times-GEN-our the-thing the-many
 'it (is) **what** takes a lot of our time'

Eid's configuration 2: NA head noun + NA REL + SA

It was not easy to find proof of this configuration because of neutral lexis. Therefore, this combination with an NA head noun followed by NA REL + SA relative clause is not found in my data, and this contradicts Eid's (1982, 1988) finding.

Eid configuration 3: NA head noun + SA REL + SA

az-zūj **allađī** ta-jid fī-hi l-mar'ah
 The-husband REL 3SG.F-find.IPF in-him the-woman
al-mūwāsafāt **allatī** tu-hibb-u-hā
 the-characteristics REL 3SG.F-love.IPF-IND-it
wa-ta-qbal-u-hā
 and-3SG.F-accept.IPF-IND-it
 ‘the husband **who** the woman finds in him the characteristics that she loves
 and accepts’

This constraint of Eid allows EA elements (i.e. NA in the case of my study) to occur in the position preceding SA REL. In fact, in my data the great majority of constituents preceding SA REL are SA or neutral definite nouns. This combination occurs only one time in this data, and is produced by one of the male speakers, i.e. AM1 in example (68).

Eid’s configuration 4: SA head noun + SA REL + SA

hā’ulā’ al-’aytām **allađīna** ya-nzurū-n ’ilāy-nā
 DEM the-orphans REL 3PL.M-look.IPF-IND to-us
 ‘these orphans **who** are looking at us’

Combination (4) occurs in all the males and females’ speeches without exception, as in example (81) in MA1.

Eid’s configuration 5: SA head noun + NA REL + NA

wa-’a-quss la-kum ba’za l-qisas ***alli***
 and-1SG-narrate.IPF to-you.2PL.M some the-stories REL
ti-jī-nā fī t-tilifūn
 3SG.F-come.IPF-us in the-phone
 ‘and I narrate to you some of the stories that we have heard over the phone’
 (AM1 example 69)

Combination (5) frequently occurs in the speeches of some of the male and female speakers included in the study. It is found in AM1, AM2 and NE2, as discussed above.

With regard to configuration (6), i.e. * NA head noun + SA REL + NA, similarly to Eid (1982, 1988), this combination does not occur at all in the current data. This pattern is also predicted to be unacceptable by Boussofara-Omar (1999) in her study of diglossic code-switching between SA and Tunisian Arabic, which she examined in the context of the MLF. This finding is also consistent with Mejdell (2006b), who found SA REL to be surrounded by the SA context only and followed by an SA IPF verb even if the verb lacks mood inflection.

Regarding Eid's configuration (7), i.e. * SA head noun + SA REL + NA, which is not found in Eid's data, this is also not found in the current data. However, there is an example in which SA REL is followed by an SA verb with no mood inflection but which has an SA prefix. This could be considered as an influence of NA. This example occurs in NE1 (the example is shown below where the incorrect form of IPF following the SA REL is highlighted in bold):

l-masā'il al-fiqhīyah **allatī** **na-htāj-hā**
 the-issues the-Juristic REL 1PL-need.IPF-it
 'the Juristic issues **which** we need'

In NA, the verb would be *nihtājha* or *nihtājah*, while in SA it should be *nahtājuhā*. Therefore, it cannot be said that this example contradicts Eid's (1982, 1988) constraints as it only occurs once and could be considered a speech error as it is not completely in NA.

With respect to Eid's configuration (8), i.e. SA head noun + NA REL + SA, which Eid (1988) considered to be marginally acceptable, this structure occurs in the current data several times and is used by all the speakers although it did not occur in Eid's data. It seems to be a preferable combination for nearly all the speakers included. This finding is also consistent with the findings of Boussofara-Omar (1999) in her study of diglossic switching. It is also consistent with Mejdell (2006b), who also found in her data that EA REL is frequently preceded by SA head nouns but is less frequently followed by an SA verb without being adapted into EA grammatical or syntactic

structures through use of the prefix *bi-* or a lack of inflectional mood, e.g. *illi bi-tursam* ‘which is being drawn up’ (p.335).

In the current data, NA REL is found to be preceded by SA and followed by SA verbs (i.e. in verbal relative clauses). SA verbs are also adapted to NA structure in which no mood inflections for verbs are found; this could be an influence of NA, as can be seen in the following examples taken from SJ1, and NE2:

a) al-qā'il *alli* ya-qūl ġarīb ad-dār
 the-sayer REL 3SG.M-say.IPF stranger the-country
 ‘the one **who** says (O) stranger to this country’
 (SJ1 example 91)

b) sāfar-t li-silāt majmū'ah min al-'arhām *illi*
 travelled.PF-1SG to-contact group from the-kinship REL
lam 'a-tamakkan-Ø min silāt-i-him
 NEG 1SG-can.IPF-JUSS from contact-GEN-them
 ‘I travelled to visit some of my relatives **whom** I could not reach’
 (NE2 example 120)

To conclude the section on relatives, it can be noted that the findings confirm some of Eid’s proposed constraints (i.e. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8). The findings do not support configuration (2) as no evidence has been found due to having much neutral lexis between SA and NA. In addition, it is worth pointing out that the NA relative pronouns could be used independently of the environment, i.e. followed and preceded by SA, whereas this is not the case for the SA relative pronouns. Thus, this indicates that there are restrictions against combining SA relative pronouns with other verbs that are not in SA. In the case of NA, although it is possible for NA relative pronouns to be followed by SA verbal forms, the verbs have adapted to be consistent with the structure of NA. The result in this case is the emergence of certain patterns to avoid this conflict, resulting from, as suggested by Mejdell (2006b:366), “the mixing of incongruent model systems in the imperfect”. This feature was also singled out by Palva (1969) as representing an incongruity between SA and the Palestinian dialectal system.

7.4.2 Dominant language hypothesis

As explained above when discussing configuration (8), it was possible to find an NA relative pronoun followed and preceded by SA. However, the opposite is not present in the data, i.e. an SA relative pronoun followed and preceded by NA. This could be attributed to the fact that NA is the dominant variety as explained in Chapter Four, Section 4.6.1. Mejdell (2006b:291) has the same finding and attributes this to the fact that EA (in my case, NA) is the dominant variety and Eid's constraints confirm the *dominant language principle* in which items from the dominant code, i.e. NA REL in this study, "will combine with lexical items of either code, whereas the grammatical feature of the non-dominant code—SA REL—will only combine with a lexical item of the non-dominant code".

7.4.3 Neutralization site hypothesis

As explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.3 when discussing the triggering hypothesis, the neutralization site occurs at points where items from each language can equally occur. In the case of the relative clause, the structure is the same in both SA and NA. Therefore, switching is possible between these varieties, as explained in this chapter. For instance, the following example is taken from NE2, where she uses an NA relative pronoun in the place of the SA relative pronoun:

al-marākiz aš-šayfīyah al-'ān *alli* tu-šrif 'alay-hā
the-centres the-summer now REL 3SG.F-supervise.IPF on-it
'The summer centres now **which** are monitored by'

In SA it would be:

al-marākiz aš-šayfīyah al-'ān allatī tu-šrif 'alay-hā
the-centres the-summer now REL 3SG.F-supervise.IPF on-it
'The summer centres now **which** are monitored by'

Therefore the switching takes place at the same point where the relative pronouns from both varieties could occur, because the structure is exactly the same for both SA and NA. This finding agrees with Mejdell (2006b). This could justify most of the

switching found in the examples discussed above in the previous sections in this chapter.

7.5 Conclusion

As was the case with the negation discussed in Chapter Six, the neutral lexis facilitates inter-sentential code-switching more than intra-sentential code-switching. However, in comparison with negation, more examples have been found in nearly all the speeches of the male and female speakers.

In analysing the syntactic constraints on diglossic code-switching suggested by Eid (1982, 1988), the data of the current study provide further evidence in support of these constraints. The exception is configuration (2), where an NA relative pronoun should be preceded by an NA head noun and followed by an SA imperfect verb; however, no NA noun was found and only neutral lexis. In addition, configuration (8), which Eid found to be acceptable but did not find any evidence of in her data, is also acceptable in the current study and examples have been found in the data. This also supports the findings of Boussafara-Omar (1999) and Mejdell (2006b).

In the case of the relatives, the dominant language hypothesis proved to be valid as switching after a relative pronoun from NA (i.e. the dominant variety) is possible whereas switching after relative pronouns from SA (i.e. the non-dominant variety) is not possible. Having nearly the same structure between both varieties provided more evidence in support of the neutralization hypothesis.

Chapter Eight

Qualitative Analysis of the Demonstratives

8.1 Introduction

In the following subsections, examples of intra-sentential code-switching between the two varieties with respect to Standard Arabic (SA) and Najdi Arabic (NA) demonstratives will be analysed. These examples are taken from each of the two speeches given by each male or female speaker included in the study.

As shown in Chapter Five, Section 5.4, all of the male and female speakers tend to use neutral demonstratives as the majority feature. However, if we compare the SA and NA demonstratives, it could be said that both male and female speakers tend to use SA demonstratives more frequently than NA demonstratives, especially the demonstratives associated with far-deixis. In addition, all of the male and female speakers show considerable use of SA and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis, using these features more frequently than demonstratives associated with far-deixis. The NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are rarely used by both groups. Therefore, only a few examples of intra-sentential code-switching are found in the speeches of both male and female speakers.

Below an attempt will be made to ascertain the structures that the male and female speakers prefer to use or switch to in their speeches. An analysis will also be conducted of the intra-sentential code-switching between the two varieties included with respect to the triggering and neutralization hypotheses. In addition, the dominant language theory will be tested to test the hypothesis that NA demonstratives can occur with both NA and SA heads but SA demonstratives can only occur with SA and not NA heads. Also, I will attempt to apply to the demonstratives the same syntactic principles proposed by Eid (1982, 1988) and considered in relation to analysing the switching associated with the other three linguistic variables included in the current study. To do this, I will identify the switch positions: one position immediately before and one immediately after the demonstratives (i.e. focal points).

8.2 Male speakers

In this section, as with the analysis for the relative pronouns and negations, excerpts taken from the male speakers' speeches will be analysed to study their use of SA and NA demonstratives associated with both near-deixis and far-deixis. Excerpts will be presented from the two speeches given by each of the three male speakers. In the analysis, I will focus on the switching with regard to the structure and patterns used by each speaker.

8.2.1 AM

By examining the frequency of occurrence of SA and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis in the two religious speeches given by the first speaker, AM, it can be noted that there are no clear differences in usage between his two speeches. On the other hand, there is a percentage difference in his use of SA and NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis in his two speeches. Regarding the neutral demonstratives associated with near deixis, they have a higher percentage usage compared with the SA and NA demonstratives used in the same sense in both his first and second speeches. On the contrary, neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis are used less frequently than SA demonstratives associated with far-deixis. This was discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.4.1.1 and is summarized in the following tables here for convenience:

Demonstratives (Near-deixis)	AM1		AM2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	51	23%	23	24.5%
NA	14	6.3%	0	0%
Neutral	157	70.7%	71	75.5%
Total	222	100%	94	100%

Table 8.1: Demonstratives associated with near-deixis in AM's two speeches

Demonstratives (Far-dexis)	AM1		AM2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	25	83.3%	32	91.4%
NA	0	0%	2	5.7%
Neutral	5	16.7%	1	2.9%
Total	30	100%	35	100%

Table 8.2: Demonstratives associated with far-deixis in AM's two speeches

In the following subsections, some tokens of demonstratives taken from his two speeches will be discussed. I will start by discussing SA and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis followed by a discussion of the SA and NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis.

8.2.1.1 AM1

The SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis found in this male speaker's first speech are *hāḏihi* 'this' in the singular feminine and *hā'ulā'i* 'these' in both the masculine and feminine plural. The NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis in his first speech were *ha-* 'this' and *ḏōl* 'these' for both the masculine and feminine plural. The neutral demonstratives used are *hāḏā* 'this' in the singular masculine, *ḏā* 'this' in the singular masculine, and *hāḏi* 'this' in the singular feminine.

The following are some representative examples to show the SA demonstrative structures:

- (131) *ba'z al-'ulamā' ya-qūl hīya fī hāḏihi*
some the-scholars 3SG.M-say.IPF it in DEM
l-'āyah al-buxul
the-verse the-miserliness
'some scholars say that it (means) the miserliness in **this** verse'
- (132) *ja'al-Ø hāḏihi sabab li-z-ziyādah*
made.PF-3SG.M DEM reason for-the-increase
'(he) made **this** a reason for the increase'

(133) kull hā'ulā'i l-mawjūdūn fī l-hayāh
 all DEM the-existents in the-life
 'all **these** exist in life'

(134) law 'an hā'ulā'i wuẓi'-ū fī yōm wāhid
 if that DEM put.PF-3PL.M in day one
 'if **these** (were) put in one day'

Examples (131) to (134) show SA near-deixis demonstratives followed and preceded by SA or neutral lexis. In example (134), the plural demonstrative *hā'ulā'i* is followed by the perfect verb *wuẓi'ū* 'put', which is in SA except for /z/ which should be /d/ in SA. As explained in Chapter Two, Section 2.4.1, the merger of /d/ to /z/ is a feature of NA, i.e. the dominant variety. Also, switching to NA occurred in the prepositional phrase *fī yōm* in which *yōm* 'day' is in NA, as in SA it would be *yawm*.

The only demonstrative associated with far-deixis in AM1 is *ḏālika*. It occurs 25 times, and has a pronominal, anaphoric function 24 times. Only one occurrence of *ḏālika* is found with an attributive function.

(135) wa-mā 'a-'rif fī ḏālika l-waqt 'ahad min
 and-NEG 1SG-know.IPF in DEM the-time one of
zumalā'-i-nā
 colleagues-GEN-our
 'and I did not know anyone of our colleagues at **that** time...'

(136) wa-taqarab-Ø bi-jamī' 'a'māl-i-k 'ila allāh
 and-be devout.IMP-2SG.M with-all deeds-GEN-your.2SG.M to Allāh
fa-'inna-k 'iḏā fa'al-ta ḏālik / jama'-a
 then-that-you.2SG.M if did.PF-2SG.M DEM collected.PF-3SG.M
llāh li-k xayrāt ad-dunyā wa-l-'āxirah
 Allāh for-you.2SG.M blessings the-present life and-the-hereafter
 'and to be devout to Allāh with all your deeds. Then if you did **that**, Allāh
 would reward you with all the blessings of this present life and the
 hereafter'

Examples (135) and (136) also show SA far-deixis demonstratives followed and preceded by SA or neutral lexis. However, switching can be seen in example (136) in the prepositional phrase *li-k* ‘for you’, which would be *la-ka* in SA.

I will now discuss the NA demonstratives found, with examples of intra-sentential code-switching.

- (137) *ēh bass ha-l-mamlūkah 'a-xša 'anna-h al-'ān*
 yes but DEM-the-female slave 1SG-fear.IPF that-he now
ya-zunn in-hā l-xādimah
 3SG.M-think.IPF that-she the-maid
 ‘yes but I am afraid that he thinks that **this** female slave is the maid’

Example (137) shows the use of NA DEM with an SA noun. The uninflected demonstrative *ha-* is followed by the SA noun *l-mamlūkah* ‘the female slave’ which would be *l-mamlūkih* in NA. The demonstrative *ha-* always occurs in a pre-nominal position.

With respect to NA DEM associated with far-deixis, no demonstrative in this sense is found in AM1. The only far-deixis demonstratives found are the SA *ḏālika* and the neutral DEM *ḏāk(a)*. It is also worth mentioning that no switching between SA DEM and NA nouns occurs in the data.

8.2.1.2 AM2

In this male speaker’s second speech, the same SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis *hāḏihi* and *hā’ulā’i* which occurred in AM1 are found but they occur less frequently than in his first speech. The first demonstrative occurs 20 times and the second occurs 3 times. Regarding NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis, no occurrence is found. In addition, neutral demonstratives are also found in his second speech, whereas in his first speech the neutral demonstrative *hāḏā* occurs the most frequently. The neutral demonstratives *hāḏi* (which occurs 3 times) and *ḏā* (2 times) are also found.

As for the demonstratives associated with far-deixis, the two SA demonstratives *ḏālika* (which occurs 30 times) and *tilka* (2 times) are found. The neutral

demonstrative *ḍāk(a)* occurs once. Only the NA demonstrative *ḍōlāk* is found two times in AM2.

As was the case in his first religious speech, most of the SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis have an attributive function. In the following a list of examples with SA demonstratives occurring with SA and neutral lexis are presented:

- (138) ta-zīd-u mawaddat-u-ka fī qalb-i-h
 3SG.F-increase.IPF-IND love-NOM-your.2SG.M in heart-GEN-his
ba‘d **hāḍihi** z-zīyārah
 after DEM the-visit
 ‘your love increases in his heart after **this** visit...’

- (139) ya-dxul **bi-hāḍihi** ‘ila qalb-i-h
 3SG.M-enter.IPF with-DEM to heart-GEN-his
li-ya-d‘ū-h ‘ila llāh
 to-3SG.M-invite.IPF-him to Allāh
 ‘He gets into his heart by **this** (way) to invite him to Allāh’

- (140) hal kull **hā’ulā’i** l-waraḥah sa-ya-kūn
 do all DEM the-inheritors FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF
naṣīb-u-hum wāhid
 share-NOM-their.3PL.M one
 ‘will all of **these** inheritors have the same share?’

There are no cases of intra-sentential code-switching with regard to NA demonstratives as there are no occurrences of NA demonstratives. The only switching found is in the following example:

- (141) yi-gūl yā ‘ummī / illi t-šūfīn **ḍā** /
 3SG.M-say.IPF O mother REL 2SG.F-see.IPF DEM
hā’ulā’ mā ya-rza muhammad sallā llāh-u
 DEM NEG 3SG.M-is satisfied.IPF Muḥammad prayers Allāh-NOM
‘alay-hi wa-sallam ‘an ‘amal-i-him

on-him and-peace on deed-GEN-their.3PL.M
 ‘he says: O mother! What are you watching **this, these** Prophet
 Muḥammad prayers and peace of Allāh be upon him is not satisfied with
 their deeds’

Example (141) shows an instance of inter-sentential code-switching in which SA and NA are used. The SA demonstrative *hā’ulā* ‘has a pronominal, anaphoric function but what it refers to is explained in the preceding utterance in NA. It is interesting that the speaker produces a neutral demonstrative following the NA noun phrase (i.e. the relative pronominal phrase), and then produces a second demonstrative in SA, which I think shows an intention to switch back to SA in which he uses SA demonstrative followed by two words which are neutral and then SA.

Only two SA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are found in AM’s second speech: *ḍālika* and *tilka*. As was the case in AM1, SA demonstratives more frequently have pronominal, anaphoric functions than an attributive function. *ḍālika* occurs 30 times, with a pronominal function 25 times and *tilka* just two times of which one case is pronominal. Regarding NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis, only the plural masculine form *ḍōlāk* is found in the data; this form occurs twice with a pronominal, anaphoric function. Following are examples with SA demonstratives for illustration:

(142) ’aršad-a ’ummat-a-hu ’ila mā ya-dull-u
 guided.PF-3SG.M nation-ACC-his to what 3SG.M-lead.IPF-IND
’alā **ḍālika** l-’amal
 on DEM the-deed
 ‘he guided his nation into what leads to **that** deed’

(143) wa-law nazar-nā ’ila ’alfāz al-qur’ān al-karīm
 and-if looked.PF-1PL at words the-Qur’ān the-Holy
wajad-nā ’an fī-hā ’akbar ad-dalālah ’alā **ḍālik**
 found.PF-1PL that in-it greater the-evidence on DEM
 ‘and if we look at the words of the Holy Qur’ān, we will find a greater
 evidence on **that**’

- (144) fa-hīyna'ið-in yu-bgiz-u-h mā dām 'alā **tilka**
 as-then-ACC 3SG.M-hate.IPF-IND-him as long as on DEM
l-hāl
 the-situation
 'then he will hate him as long as (he is) in **that** situation'
- (145) wa-n-nabī sallā llāhu 'alay-hi wa-sallam
 and-the-Prophet prayers Allāh-NOM upon-him and-peace
'axbar-Ø bi-l-'ašyā' allatī tu-zīl al-hazāzah
 told.PF-3SG.M with-the-things REL 3SG.F-remove.IPF the-hatred
wa-tu-nazzif al-qulūb wa-ta-huθθ-u 'alā
 and-3SG.F-clean.IPF the-hearts and-3SG.F-urge.IPF-IND on
baqā' al-'uxūwah bi-θawb-i-hā an-nāsi' al-jamīl
 existence the-brotherhood with-dress-GEN-its the-bright the-beautiful
wa-min **tilk** 'ifšā' as-salām
 and-from DEM offering the-greetings
 'and the Prophet peace be upon him told (us) of the things which remove
 the hatred, clean the heart and urge the existence of the brotherhood in its
 bright beautiful (way) and among **that** is the greeting'

As for intra-sentential code-switching with regard to the far-deixis demonstratives, no examples occur in the data. This is because no SA demonstrative follows or precedes an NA noun in the attributive case, and similarly no NA demonstrative follows or is preceded by SA. In the two occurrences of the NA plural masculine form *ðōlāk*, they occur with NA or followed by neutral lexis as *ðōlāk 'ašāfir* 'these are birds'.

Thus, to conclude this discussion, it could be noted that in AM's two speeches, SA demonstratives are used the most frequently. In addition, the attributive function is the most frequently found in the case of SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis whereas the pronominal function is the most frequently found in the case of SA demonstratives associated with far-deixis. NA demonstratives occur less frequently and some occurrences of NA demonstratives in post-nominal position are found in AM1.

8.2.2 MA

In the two speeches by the second male speaker, there is a difference in percentage occurrence of demonstratives between his two speeches and in his use of demonstratives associated with near-deixis and far-deixis. This has been discussed previously in Chapter Five, Section 5.4 and is summarized in Table 8.3 and Table 8.4 here for convenience

Demonstratives (Near-deixis)	MA1		MA2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	42	25.5%	13	15.7%
NA	9	5.5%	5	6%
Neutral	114	69%	65	78.3%
Total	165	100%	83	100%

Table 8.3: Demonstratives associated with near-deixis in MA's two speeches

Demonstratives (Far-deixis)	MA1		MA2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	83	96.5%	53	91.4%
NA	0	0%	2	3.4%
Neutral	3	3.5%	3	5.2%
Total	86	100%	58	100%

Table 8.4: Demonstratives associated with far-deixis in MA's two speeches

In the following subsections, a discussion will be presented of the demonstratives in the two speeches given by MA.

8.2.2.1 MA1

In his first speech, MA shows use of nearly all the SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis except for the dual feminine form. Despite the fact that none of the other male and female speakers use the demonstrative in the dual form, this speaker uses the masculine dual demonstratives *hāḍāni* and *hāḍāyni* in his first speech: *hāḍāni*

occurs once and *hāḏāyni* occurs twice. The SA *hāḏihi* ‘this’ in the singular feminine occurs 33 times and *hā’ulā’i* in the plural occurs 6 times. As for the neutral demonstrative *hāḏā* ‘this’ in the singular masculine, it is the most frequently used demonstrative by this speaker, occurring 105 times in his first speech, and *hāḏi*, which occurs 9 times. Regarding the NA demonstratives, only *ha-* is found, occurring 9 times.

In MA1, most of the SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis are used in pre-nominal position with an attributive function. For instance, the SA DEM *hāḏihi* occurs 26 times in pre-nominal position and has an attributive function and twice in post-nominal position with an attributive function. On the other hand, 5 occurrences of *hāḏihi* are found with a pronominal, anaphoric function. All of the occurrences of *hā’ulā’i* and *hāḏāni* in *hāḏāni n-nabīyān* ‘these two Prophets’ are in pre-nominal position and both forms have an attributive function. As for *hāḏāyni*, this form has a pronominal function as in *ḏakara hāḏāyin fī kitābih* ‘(Allāh) mentioned these two in His book’. The following are some examples of SA near demonstratives with no switching for illustration:

- (146) θumma sabb-a nisf-u-hā fī **hāḏihi** l-’ayn
 then poured.PF-3SG.M half-NOM-it in DEM the-eye
wa-n-nisf aθ-θānī fī l-’uxra
 and-the-half the-second in the-other
 ‘then he poured half of it in **this** eye and the second half in the other’
- (147) lan ta-jid-a ’ahad-ān ’āsīy-an
 NEG 2SG.M-find.IPF-SBJV anyone-ACC disobedient-ACC
min **hā’ulā’i** š-šabāb
 from DEM the-young people
 ‘you will not find anyone who is disobedient from **these** young people’
- (148) wa-’istami’-Ø ’ilā mā qāl-a
 and-listen.IMP-2SG.M to what said.PF-3SG.M
bi-’istiš’ār-i-hi li-nafaqat-i-hi **hāḏihi**
 with-taking the sense-GEN-his to-spending-GEN-his DEM
li-’awlād-i-hi
 to-sons-GEN-his

‘and listen to what he said on his feelings toward **this** spending on his children’

- (149) fa-kān-a kullamā ’uġliq-a ’alay-hi
 as-was.PF-3SG.M whenever closed.PF-3SG.M on-him
qāl-a ’ī hāḍihi min tilka r-raz’at-i
 said.PF-3SG.M yes DEM from DEM the-nursing-GEN
l-maš’ūmah
 the-unfortunate
 ‘and whenever he had hesitation in his talk, he said O yes! **This** is because of **that** unfortunate nursing’

In example (149), the SA demonstrative *tilka* is followed by the SA definite head noun *r-raz’ati*. However, the definite head has an NA phonological feature which is the pronunciation of the SA /d/ as /z/.

Concerning SA demonstratives associated with far-deixis, the singular masculine *ḍālika* occurs 78 times (75 times with a pronominal function and 3 times with an attributive function). There are few occurrences of the singular feminine *tilka*; it occurs 4 times and has an attributive function in each case. Similarly, the plural demonstrative *’ulā’ika* occurs only once and has a pronominal function. The following examples illustrate these points:

- (150) yā bunayya ta-ḍkur-u tilka l-’albisah
 O my son 2SG.M-remember.IPF-IND DEM the-clothes
wa-ḍālika t-ta’ām wa-ḍāka š-šarāb
 and-DEM the-food and-DEM the-drink
 ‘O my son! Do you remember those clothes and **that** food and **that** drink...’
- (151) hattā yu-šraf-a ḍālika fī manāfi’-i l-muslimīn
 to 3SG.M-spend.IPF-SBJV DEM in utilities-GEN the-Muslims
 ‘to spend **this** in Muslims’ utilities’
- (152) fa-ta-’mal-ū ’ayyuhā l-’ixwah al-kirām
 and then-contemplate.IPF-2PL.M O the-brothers the-honourable
kayfa kān-a ’ulā’ika ya-ḥriṣū-na
 how was-PF.3SG.M DEM 3PL.M-care for.IPF-IND

'alā *miθl-i* ***hāḏā***
 on like-GEN this
 'and O honourable brothers contemplate on how was **those** (people) care
 for such **this** (deed)'

Regarding the NA demonstratives found in MA, few examples of intra-sentential code-switching where the demonstrative has an attributive function could be found. In fact, only NA DEM *ha-* occurs (9 times), of which one example shows intra-sentential code-switching. As for the remaining instances, *ha-* is followed by NA or neutral definite head nouns.

(153) *fa-qāl-a* *isma'-∅* *minn-ī* ***ha-l-hikāyah***
 and-said.PF-3SG.M listen.IMP-2SG.M from-me DEM-the-story
 'and he said listen to **this** story'

In example (153), the whole utterance is in SA except for the verb *isma'* 'listen' which is neutral and the uninflected demonstrative *ha-*, which is in NA. The NA demonstrative is followed by the SA definite noun *l-hikāyah* 'the story', as in NA it would be *as-sālfah* or *al-giṣṣah*. The switching here agrees with the word order of both varieties. The NA demonstrative is in pre-nominal position followed by a definite head noun, which is an accepted structure in both varieties.

8.2.2.2 MA2

In this religious speech, MA uses SA and NA demonstratives less frequently than in his first speech. This is clear from the frequency of occurrence result presented in Table 8.3 above. The SA demonstrative associated with near-deixis, *hāḏihi*, occurs 9 times and *hā'ulā'i* 4 times. Regarding neutral demonstratives, *hāḏā* occurs 58 times, *ḏā* 1 time, and *hāḏi* 6 times. Again, as was the case in MA1, only the NA demonstrative *ha-* is found, occurring 5 times.

The SA demonstrative *hāḏihi* has an attributive function 8 times and occurs in pre-nominal position whereas it has a pronominal function only one time. By contrast, *hā'ulā'i*, which occurs 4 times, has a pronominal function in all of its occurrences. Following is a list with SA demonstratives for illustration:

- (154) fa-kān-at **hāḍihi** n-ni‘am sabab-an fi
 and-was.PF-3SG.F DEM the-blessings reason-ACC in
‘islām-i-h
 becoming a Muslim-GEN-his
 ‘and these blessings were a reason for him to become a Muslim’
- (155) qāl-a **hāḍihi** bi-tilk
 said.PF-3SG.M DEM with-DEM
 ‘he said this for that’
- (156) ‘indmā ya-‘tš al-fatā ‘aw al-fatāt ma‘-a
 when 3SG.M-live.IPF the-young boy or the-young girl with-ACC
hā’ulā’ ta-jid ‘ahyānān ‘anna-hu
 DEM 2SG.M-find.IPF sometimes that-he
 ‘when the young boy or girl lives with **these**, you will find that...’

Regarding intra-sentential code-switching, the only example found is the following:

- (157) lammā ṣahik-Ø an-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alay-hi wa-sallām
 when laughed.PF-3SG.M the-prophet prayers Allāh on-him and-peace
ša‘ar-Ø ‘an ya-‘ni ha-ṣ-ṣīq **hāḍā**
 felt.PF-3SG.M that 3SG.M-mean.IPF DEM-the-distress DEM
ḍahab-a ‘an-h
 went.PF-3SG.M from-him
 ‘when the Prophet prayers and peace of Allāh be upon him laughed, he
 (‘Umar) felt that **this** distress went away from him’

Example (157) is generally in SA and has little neutral lexis. As for the demonstratives found in this example, the NA uninflected *ha-* and the neutral demonstrative *hāḍā* are used. The NA demonstratives *ha-* modifies the definite noun *ṣ-ṣīq* ‘the distress’, which has features from both SA and NA. In SA, this noun is pronounced as *ḍīq* whereas in NA it would be *ṣīg*. This example features a mixture of both varieties as /q/ belongs to SA pronunciation whereas using /z/ instead of /d/ is a characteristic of NA phonology in which there is a merger between /d/ and /z/. Having

In example (161), the NA DEM *haððlāk* is used to refer to people who are far away in place from the speaker. It is used in an SA environment with little neutral lexis and has a pronominal, anaphoric function. The rest of the utterance is in SA.

- (162) ‘*adad halāt az-zawāj ’awwal-ān balag-at xams*
 number cases the-marriage first-ACC reached.PF-3SG.M five
u-sttīn alf halat zawāj xilāla s-sanah haðḥk
 and-sixty thousand case marriage during the-year DEM
 ‘first, (the) number of marriages reached sixty-five thousand during **that** year’

Example (162) has SA, NA and neutral lexis. The NA DEM *haðḥk* is used in an SA environment. It occurs in post-nominal position following the head noun it refers to, which is the neutral definite noun *as-sanah*. In SA, it would be *tilka s-sanah*.

To conclude the discussion of MA, it is worth noting that the attributive function is the most dominant function in SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis in the data. As for those associated with far-deixis, they are mainly used with a pronominal function without head nouns. A few cases of NA demonstratives can be observed in both of his speeches. In fact, no NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are found in MA1 and only two are used in MA2. Regarding the switching, in MA1 only an NA demonstrative occurs with an SA head noun but no SA demonstratives occur with NA heads. In MA2, it was not easy to analyse the switching due to the fact that in the first example NA has a pronominal function and in the second example the NA demonstrative modifies a neutral noun. Both SA and NA demonstratives occur in pre-nominal and post nominal positions.

8.2.3 SJ

In the third male speaker’s two speeches, there is evidence of switching between SA and NA demonstratives. However, most of the switching is of the inter-sentential type. Thus, only a few examples of intra-sentential code-switching have been recognized, as will be explained below.

Contrary to the two male speakers mentioned above, SJ tends to switch more frequently to NA demonstratives at the inter-sentential level than was the case for AM

and MA, as was explained above. Nevertheless, as was the case in AM and MA's two speeches, SJ tends to use NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis more frequently than those demonstratives associated with far-deixis. As illustrated in Table 5.7 and 5.8 presented in Chapter Five, Section 5.4.1 and summarized in Tables 8.5 and 8.6 here for convenience, no NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are found in either of SJ's two speeches.

Demonstratives (Near-deixis)	SJ1		SJ2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	18	11.6%	10	8.3%
NA	34	21.9%	26	21.7%
Neutral	103	66.5%	84	70%
Total	155	100%	120	100%

Table 8.5: Demonstratives associated with near-deixis in SJ's two speeches

Demonstratives (Far-deixis)	SJ1		SJ2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	8	100%	11	91.7%
NA	0	0%	0	8.3%
Neutral	0	0%	1	0%
Total	8	100%	12	100%

Table 8.6: Demonstratives associated with far-deixis in SJ's two speeches

In the next two subsections, analysis of SA and NA demonstratives will be provided, with a focus on the intra-sentential code-switching found.

8.2.3.1 SJ1

The only SA demonstratives in SJ1 are *hāōihi*, which occurs 15 times, and *hā'ulā'i*, which occurs 3 times. More NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis are found in this speech, as he uses *ha-* 16 times, *ōi* 14 times, *ōōl* 2 times, and *hāōōl* 2 times.

Like AM and MA, SJ uses the SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis in pre-nominal position and with attributive function. For instance, *hāðihī* occurs 14 times with an attributive function and one time with a pronominal function, while *hā'ulā'i* occurs 3 times with an attributive function. This is illustrated in the following list of examples of SA demonstratives:

- (163) na-hmad allāh subhānah-u wa-ta'ālā 'an
 1PL-praise.IPF Allāh Exalted-NOM and-Almighty that
yassar-a miθl-a **hāðihī** l-liqā'āt
 facilitated.PF-3SG.M such-ACC DEM the-gatherings
 'Praise be to Allāh, the Exalted and the Almighty for facilitating such **these** gatherings...'
- (164) al-multaqā r-rasmī llaðī huwa mad'ūm min al-masū'līn
 the-gathering the-official DEM it supported from the-officials
fa-hāðihī ni'mah min allāh
 as-DEM blessing from Allāh
 'these official gatherings are supported by the officials and **this** is a blessing from Allāh'
- (165) munðu 'an kān-∅ sağūr miθl **hā'ulā'ī** š-šabāb
 since that was.PF-3SG.M young like DEM the-young men
 'since he was young, he is like **these** young men'

Regarding the NA demonstratives associated with near-diexis, *ha-* occurs 16 times, *ði* 4 times, *ðol* 2 times, and *haðōlā* also 2 times. The uninflected NA demonstrative *ha-* occurs in pre-nominal position and is attached to an SA noun only one time. In fact, other NA demonstratives of this type occur in both pre-nominal and post-nominal positions, as will be illustrated in the following examples:

- (166) ya-ttahimū-n **ha-d-dawlah** fī l-qazīyah *ði*
 3PL.M-blame.IPF-IND DEM-the-country in the-case DEM
 'they accuse **this** country with **this** issue'

Example (166) illustrates the only case of intra-sentential code-switching. The NA demonstrative *ha-* is followed by a head noun in SA, which is *ad-dawlah* 'the country'; in NA it would be phonologically different and pronounced as *ad-dōlih* or

sometimes *al-balad* or *ad-dīrah* could be used in this context. Also, in this example the NA demonstrative *ði* is used in post-nominal position. The head noun *l-qaṣīyah* ‘the case’ is in SA except for the replacement of the SA phoneme /d/ with /z/ as the *d* is not used in NA and it would be pronounced as *al-giṣīyah*; this is consistent with the dominant hypothesis theory, i.e. since NA is the dominant language, the sound /z/ is used instead of /d/ in SA lexis.

The following example shows NA demonstratives modifying a neutral noun:

- (167) *ha-l-bint* *ði* *jamīlah*
 DEM-the-girl DEM beautiful
 ‘**this** girl (is) beautiful’

In example (167), two NA demonstratives can be seen, i.e. *ha-* and *ði*. They are both used with the neutral head noun *l-bint* ‘the girl’. The purpose of this structure is to show emphasis. However, the adjective *jamīlah* ‘beautiful’ is in SA as it would be *zēnih* or *ḥilwah* in NA.

In the following example, no switching can be seen due to the use of NA and neutral lexis:

- (168) *yā ṣabāb* *lā* *yi-himmun-kum* *al-harīm* *ḏōlā*
 O young men NEG 3PL.M-care.IPF-you.3PL.M the-women DEM
ta-rā *haḏḏōlā* *fī-h* *’ajmal* *min-hum*
 see-you DEM in-it more beautiful from-them.3PL.M
fī l-jannah
 in the-heaven
 ‘Oh young men! Do not care about **these** women as there are more beautiful women in the Heaven’

Example (168) shows the NA demonstrative *ḏōlā*, which appears in post-nominal position following the head noun it refers to: the neutral noun *al-ḥarīm*. The second NA demonstrative found in this example is *haḏḏōlā*, which has a pronominal, anaphoric function as it refers to what is said earlier in the preceding clause. As mentioned above, most of the lexis is neutral or NA; only one word is in SA which is *’ajmal* as in NA *azyēn* and *aḥla* are more commonly used for talking about how beautiful a woman is.

The SA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are *ḍālika*, which occurs seven times (six times with a pronominal function and one time with attributive function), and *tilka*, which occurs once with an attributive function. None of these two SA demonstratives occur with an NA head noun. In the following are some representative examples to illustrate the structures:

(169) kullunā ḍālika r-rajul
 All DEM the-man
 ‘we (are) all **that** man’

(170) ‘indamā kunn-ā fī tilka d-dawlah
 when was.PF-1PL.M in DEM the-country
 ‘when we were in that country’

(171) ‘anna-hum lā ya-xuḍū-n ‘alā ḍālik rawātib
 that-they.3PL.M NEG 3PL.M-take.IPF-IND on DEM salaries
 ‘that they are not paid for **that**’

Regarding NA, no demonstratives in this sense are used by this speaker in his first speech. Furthermore, no neutral demonstratives are found.

8.2.3.2 SJ2

In this male speaker’s second religious speech, he uses SA demonstratives associated with near-deixis less frequently than in his first speech. In fact, the total number of demonstratives (including SA, NA and neutral) is lower than in his first speech. The SA demonstrative *hāḍihi* occurs 10 times and is the only SA demonstrative used in SJ2. The same NA demonstratives found in SJ1 are also found in SJ2. These are *ha-*, which occurs 17 times, *ḍi*, which occurs 6 times, *ḍōl*, which occurs 2 times, and *haḍōl*, which occurs 1 time. The neutral demonstratives are also the same ones found in SJ1 (i.e. *hāḍā*, *ḍā*, and *hāḍi*), with *hāḍā* occurring the most frequently (67 times) in comparison with other demonstratives associated with near-deixis.

As stated above, the only instance of SA DEM is *hāḍihi*, which has an attributive function in all its occurrences. In addition, the head nouns following it are in SA. For example:

- (172) nu-rīd hāḏiḥi r-rahmah
 1PL-want.IPF DEM the-mercy
 ‘we want **this** mercy’

In this male speaker’s speech, there are a few cases of intra-sentential code-switching and no SA head nouns are modified by NA demonstratives. This is because, as has been explained earlier, the amount of shared neutral lexis between SA and NA makes inter-sentential code-switching more common. Following are some examples of NA demonstratives which are followed by neutral nouns:

- (173) wa-lā ta-talaḏḏaḏ bi-l-‘ayš ‘illā
 and-NEG 2SG.M-enjoy.IPF with-the-living except
bi-š-šihḥih wa-š-šihḥih ḏi iḥḏar-Ø
 with-the- good health and-the-good health DEM watch out.IMP-2SG.M
‘inna-ha tu-slab min-k bi-‘ayy lahzah
 that-it 3SG.F-steal.IPF from-you.2SG.M with-any moment
 ‘and you will not enjoy the life unless (you have) a good health and
 beware of losing **this** good health at any moment’

In example (173), the NA DEM *ḏi* occurs in post-nominal position. It also shows intra-sentential code-switching where the NA noun + NA DEM (i.e. *š-šihḥih ḏi* ‘this good health’) occurs in an SA environment as it is followed by the SA imperative verb *iḥḏar* ‘beware’, which would be *intibih* in NA.

In the following example, the NA demonstrative *ha-* is found in pre-nominal position modifying a neutral noun. However, in the same sentence little SA lexis can be seen, such as *bayti* ‘house’ as in NA it would be *bēti* and *la‘alla* which would be in NA *aḡadi* or *kūd in*, as indicated by Ingham (1994). Also, *allāh* would be *allah* in NA and the prepositional phrase *bi-rahmatih* ‘with his mercy’ is in SA as in NA it would be *ib-rahmituh*.

- (174) gāl-ū ni-jī bi-ha-l-ijtimā‘
 said.PF-3PL.M 1PL-come.IPF with-DEM-the-meeting
ḥī bayt-i llāh-i l-harām
 in house-GEN Allāh-GEN the-sanctified

la‘alla llāh yi-‘immi-nā bi-rahmat-i-h
 perhaps Allāh 3SG.M-include.IPF-us with-mercy-GEN-his
 ‘they said: we come to **this** gathering in the holy mosque (so) perhaps
 Allāh might have mercy upon us’

Regarding the SA and NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis, SJ tends to use these forms less frequently, as is the case with the other male speakers. In fact, despite his high use of NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis, no NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are found in SJ2. The only demonstratives found in this sense are the SA *ḍālika*, which occurs 11 times with a pronominal function and the neutral demonstrative *haḍāka*, which occurs only once. Following is an example for SA DEM:

(175) wa-li-ḍālik ya-qūl ‘ahad al-‘ixwān al-‘ān
 and-for-DEM 3SG.M-say.IPF one the-brothers now
 ‘and for **that** one of the brothers (in Islam) says now...’

To sum up the discussion of SJ’s two speeches, it can be noted that both SA and NA demonstratives associated with near-deixis are mostly used with an attributive function whereas those associated with far-deixis are used with a pronominal function. The most widely used SA near-deixis demonstrative in SJ1 and SJ2 is *hāḍihi*. SA demonstratives occur only with SA head nouns. In NA the near-deixis uninflected demonstrative *ha-* occurs with an SA head noun in SJ1. On the contrary, in SJ2 inter-sentential switching is more dominant. Therefore, NA demonstratives occur with NA and neutral nouns only. In addition, the structure of emphasis (i.e. NA DEM + noun + NA DEM) occurs in both SJ1 and SJ2.

Concerning NA far-deixis demonstratives, no examples of intra-sentential code-switching are found in either SJ1 and SJ2.

8.3 Female speakers

As explained in Chapter Five, the female speakers (with the exception of NE) display more frequent use of SA demonstratives associated with both near- and far-deixis than their NA equivalents. Although this finding is similar to that for the male speakers,

the percentage use of SA demonstratives associated with both near- and far-deixis is higher in some of the females' speeches than is the case for those of the males.

As was the case with the male speakers above, I will analyse the two chosen religious speeches by each female speaker by focusing on the switching between the two varieties.

8.3.1 RM

In this female speaker's two speeches, SA demonstratives are used more frequently than NA demonstratives. This is indicated in Chapter Five, Section 5.4.2, and is summarized in the following two tables for convenience:

Demonstratives (Near-deixis)	RM1		RM2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	26	32.1%	46	46%
NA	1	1.2%	0	0%
Neutral	54	66.7%	54	54%
Total	81	100%	100	100%

Table 8.7: Demonstratives associated with near-deixis in RM's two speeches

Demonstratives (Far-deixis)	RM1		RM2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	58	95.1%	44	93.6%
NA	0	0%	0	0%
Neutral	3	4.9%	3	6.4%
Total	61	100%	47	100%

Table 8.8: Demonstratives associated with far-deixis in RM's two speeches

Following are some tokens from RM1 and RM2 to show the structures and the switching found in the demonstratives.

8.3.1.1 RM1

The SA near-deixis DEM *hāḏihi* occurs 24 times, of which 18 instances have an attributive function and 6 have an anaphoric, pronominal function. *hā'ulā ī* occurs twice (i.e. once with an attributive function and the other time with an anaphoric, pronominal function). The following are some representative examples:

- (176) fa-hadīθ-ī fī **hāḏihi** s-sā'ah bi-'unwān min 'axlāq-i
 as-talk-my in DEM the-hour with-title from morals-GEN
n-nubūwah
 the-prophethood
 'as my talk at **this** hour (is) called From the Prophethood Morals'
- (177) fa-qāl-a sallā llāh-u 'alay-hi wa-sallam
 and then-said.PF-3SG.M prayers Allāh-NOM on-him and-peace
wa-hāḏihi ya-'nī 'ā'īšah
 and-DEM 3SG.M-means.IPF 'Ā'īšah
 'and then the Prophet prayers and peace of Allāh be upon him said and **this** i.e. 'Ā'īšah'
- (178) 'ajab-an li-hā'ulā ī r-rijāl 'ayna hum min
 wonderous-ACC to-DEM the-men where they.3PL.M from
rasūl-i llāh
 Prophet-GEN Allāh
 'wonderously, where are **these** men from the Prophet of Allah!'
- (179) fa-ra'-a fī s-sikkah fī t-tarīq xāmis-an zīyādah
 and then-saw.PF-3SG.M in the-way in the-road fifth-ACC addition
'alā **hā'ulā'** fa-qāl-∅
 on DEM and then-said.PF-3SG.M
 'and then he saw on (his) way a fifth man in addition to **these** (men) and he said'

Examples (176) and (178) show the attributive function whereas examples (177) and (179) show the pronominal, anaphoric function. In all of these examples, the SA near-deixis demonstratives are used in an SA environment and are followed by SA head nouns.

In the attributive cases, the SA *hāḏihi* and *hā'ulā ī* mostly occur in pre-nominal position except for one example where the SA *hāḏihi* appears in post-nominal position. This can be seen in example (180) where *hāḏihi* occurs after the noun it refers to, which is *xātimati* ‘my conclusion’ and the whole environment is in SA:

- (180) fa-li-ḏā sa-'a-xtim-u bi-xātimat-i
 and then-for-DEM FUT-1SG-conclude.IPF-IND with-conclusion-GEN
hāḏihi
 DEM
 ‘and then for **this**, I will conclude (my talk) with **this** conclusion’

Since this female speaker rarely uses NA near-deixis demonstratives, code-switching is rare. In the following example, intra-sentential switching can be seen between the two varieties:

- (181) u-ta-dxul 'alē-k **ha-l-'awānī**
 and-3SG.F-enter.IPF on-you.2SG.M DEM-the-utensils
 ‘and **these** utensils (full of food) are brought to you’

In example (181), RM switches between SA and NA. The clause starts with the conjunction *u-* ‘and’, which is in NA as this is a coordinating clause. The NA conjunction is followed by the SA IPF verb *tadxul*; the NA form of the verb would be *tadxil*. Regarding the demonstrative used, the NA uninflected near-deixis form *ha-* is used followed by a head noun in SA, i.e. *l-'awānī* ‘the utensils’, which would be *mawā'īn* in NA.

Regarding SA and NA far-deixis demonstratives, RM shows use of only the SA singular masculine and feminine forms *ḏālika* (which occur 57 times) and *tilka* (which occurs once) and neutral demonstratives. By contrast, no NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are found.

As in the case of the male speakers, in RM1 SA far-deixis demonstratives are used mostly with pronominal, anaphoric function, especially *ḏālika*, whereas *tilka* occurs once with attributive function. These two demonstratives are only found in the SA environment. This is illustrated in the following example:

- (182) fa-li-ḏālika ta-'jabīn-a 'anna-hu ya-kūn

and then-for-DEM 2SG.F-wonder.IPF-SBJV that-he 3SG.M.be.IPF
fī mihnat-i 'ahl-i-h / mā tilka l-mihnah
 in job-GEN family-GEN-his what DEM the-job
 ‘for **that** you wonder that he is in his family business. What is **that**
 business?’

8.3.1.2 RM2

In this female speaker’s second speech, no NA demonstratives associated with both near- and far-demonstratives are found. Therefore, there is no evidence of intra-sentential code-switching between NA demonstratives and SA head nouns. In fact, only the SA near-deixis feminine singular *hāḍihi* (which occurs 42 times) and the plural *hā’ulā’i* (4 times) in addition to neutral demonstratives are found.

The SA near-deixis demonstrative *hāḍihi* occurs 38 times with attributive function and 4 times with pronominal, anaphoric function whereas *hā’ulā’i* occurs 4 times with only pronominal, anaphoric function, as can be seen in some of the representative examples listed below:

(183) wa-hīnamā nu-qallib 'absār-a-nā fī hāḍihi l-hayāt
 and-when 1PL-turn.IPF eyes-ACC-our.1PL in DEM the-life
ad-dunyā na-jid-u
 the-world 1PL-find.IPF-IND
 ‘when we contemplate at **this** present life, we find...’

(184) hal 'antī min hā’ulā’
 are you.2SG.F from DEM
 ‘are you from **those**?’

(185) li-māḍā jā’-at hāḍihi kaḍā
 for-what came.PF-3SG.F DEM such
 ‘why did **this** come as such?’

In the attributive case, all SA demonstratives appear in pre-nominal position except in the following example in which *hāḍihi* appears in post-nominal position:

- (186) 'a-škur-u-kum šukr-ān jamīl-ān 'alā husn-i
 1SG-thank.IPF-IND-you.2PL.M gratitude-ACC good-ACC on well-GEN
'istimā'-i-kum wa- 'alā xutūwāt-i-kum **hāḍihi**
 listening-GEN-your.2PL.M and-on steps-GEN-your.2PL.M DEM
allatī 'atayt-um bi-hā
 REL came.PF-2PL.M with-it
 'thank you for your well-listening and for your steps **these** which you
 come with'

SA singular far-deixis demonstratives (both feminine and masculine) occur in RM2 but no dual or plural forms are found. The forms used are *ḍālika*, which occurs 43 times and is only used with pronominal, anaphoric function, and *tilka*, which occurs only once with attributive function. Both demonstratives are found in the SA environment and hence switching never occurs with this type of demonstrative. Examples of these demonstratives are the following:

- (187) wa-min 'ajli **ḍālika** kān-a n-nabīy-u
 and-from reason DEM was.PF-3SG.M the-Prophet-NOM
 'and for **that** (reason) the Prophet was...'
- (188) **tilka** l-mawāqif lā šakk
 DEM the-attitudes NEG doubt
 '**these** attitudes (are) no doubt...'

To conclude the discussion of RM, it can be noted that only SA demonstratives associated with both near- and far-deixis are found. Thus, intra-sentential code-switching is rare in both RM1 and RM2. The only example of switching is in example (181) in RM1 in which NA *ha-* is followed by an SA head noun. In addition, SA near-deixis demonstratives mostly have attributive functions whereas those associated with far-deixis are commonly found with a pronominal, anaphoric function.

8.3.2 NE

In the second female speaker's speech, both SA and NA demonstratives associated with near- and far-deixis occur, as was indicated in Chapter Five, Section 5.4.2 and is summarized in the following two tables for convenience:

Demonstratives (Near-deixis)	NE1		NE2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	9	13.6%	4	5.8%
NA	20	30.3%	15	21.7%
Neutral	37	56.1%	50	72.5%
Total	66	100%	69	100%

Table 8.9: Demonstratives associated with near-deixis in NE's two speeches

Demonstratives (Far-deixis)	NE1		NE2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	38	86.4%	19	100%
NA	0	0%	0	0%
Neutral	6	13.6%	0	0%
Total	44	100%	19	100%

Table 8.10: Demonstratives associated with far-deixis in NE's two speeches

In her two speeches, the most frequently used demonstratives are those shared between SA and NA. These demonstratives are *hāḍā* and *hāḍi* for near-deixis. Regarding the neutral demonstratives associated with far-deixis, only *ḍāka* is found in her first speech.

In addition, NE uses a variety of SA and NA structures in her use of demonstratives. This will be shown in the following sections in which examples taken from each of her two speeches will be analysed.

8.3.2.1 NE1

NE's first speech includes a considerable number of occurrences of demonstratives associated with near deixis. The SA demonstrative *hāḍihi* occurs 6 times, and *hā'ulā'i* 3 times. On the other hand, the NA demonstrative *ha-* occurs 20 times. Regarding the neutral demonstratives between SA and NA, the demonstrative *hāḍā* occurs 30 times and *hāḍi* 7 times.

The SA demonstrative *hāḍihi* appears in her speech only with attributive function and in an SA environment as all the head nouns following it are in SA. As for *hā'ulā'i*, it appears two times with an attributive function and is followed by an SA head noun and it appears one time with a pronominal, anaphoric function. This can be seen in the following examples:

- (189) 'iḍān **hāḍihi** l-wasīyah al-'ulā qirā'at al-qur'ān
 thus DEM the-advice the-first reading the-Qur'ān
 'thus, **this** is the first advice: read the Qur'ān'
- (190) **hā'ulā'ī** θ-θalāḥah da'wat-u-hum mujābah
 DEM the-three prayer-NOM-their.3PL.M answered
 '**these** three have answered prayers'
- (191) mā 'ahsan rifqat **hā'ulā'** fī maqām-in karīm
 what beautiful company DEM in position-GEN honourable
 'what a beautiful company **these** in an honourable position...'

Regarding NA, only the uninflected pre-nominal demonstrative *ha-* is used followed by a neutral or an SA head noun. Thus, code-switching is seen in the following examples:

- (192) ta-bhaḥ 'an aš-šay' illi ta-xuḍ-u-h
 3SG.F-search.IPF about the-things REL 3SG.F-take.IPF-IND-it
tu-rūd-u-h min ha-ṣ-ṣadaqāt
 3SG.F-want.IPF-IND-it from DEM-the-charities
 'she searches about the thing which she takes (or) wants from **these** charities'

- (193) law istaš‘ar-tī ha-l-qazīyah
 if felt.PF-2SG.F DEM-the-case
 ‘if you felt **this** case...’
- (194) ihris-ī ft ‘an ya-kūn li-k ft
 make sure.IMP-2SG.F in to 3SG.M-be.IPF for-you.2SG.M in
ha-l-‘ayyām al-mubārakah
 DEM-the-days the-sacred
 ‘Make sure to have in **these** blessed days...’

Examples (192), (193) and (194) include the NA form *ha-*. In example (192), it is followed by the SA head noun *ṣ-ṣadaqāt* ‘the charities’, which in NA would be *ṣ-sadagāt*. In example (193), it is also followed by an SA head noun, *l-qazīyah*, although the sound /z/ is used instead of /d/. This is considered an influence of the dominant variety, NA, as in NA it would be *l-gizīyah*. In example (193), it is again followed by an SA head noun, *l-‘ayyām* ‘the days’; in NA there would be no glottal stop and it would be pronounced as *l-ayyām*.

Turning to the demonstratives associated with far-deixis, only SA masculine and feminine singular demonstratives are found (i.e. *ḍālika* occurs 37 times and *tilka* once). Moreover, there is considerable use of neutral demonstratives. No instances of NA far-deixis are found in NE1. Furthermore, no NA head nouns are found to occur with SA demonstratives as they occur with SA and neutral nouns. Therefore, there is no intra-sentential code-switching associated with far-deixis.

The SA demonstrative *ḍālika* occurs only with pronominal anaphoric function. On the other hand, *tilka*, which occurs once, has an attributive function. The following are some examples of both of these demonstratives for illustration:

- (195) wa-li-ḍālika ‘aws-ā rasūl-u llāh-i
 and-for-DEM recommend.PF-3SG.M Prophet-NOM Allāh-GEN
sallā llāh ‘alay-hi wa-sallām
 Prayers Allāh on-him and-peace
 ‘and for **that** the Prophet peace be upon him recommended...’

- (196) fa-qāl-a tilka l-malā'ikah 'ijtima'-at
 then-say.PF-3SG.M DEM the-Angels gathered-PF.3PL.F
 'then he said **those** are the Angels gathered...'

8.3.2.2 NE2

In NE2, the same SA near-deixis demonstratives used in NE1 are used here again. These are *hāḏihi*, which occurs 3 times and *hā'ulā'i*, which occurs 1 time. Moreover, the NA uninflected demonstrative *ha-* is the most frequently used, occurring 14 times in addition to one occurrence of the NA *hā* in an NA environment. As with all the male and female speakers discussed above, the most frequently used demonstrative is the neutral *hāḏā*.

In all the occurrences of *hāḏihi*, it has an attributive function and occurs in an SA environment. It is followed by SA and neutral nouns and there is no intra-sentential code-switching in this sense. Also, it is only found in pre-nominal position. Regarding *hā'ulā'i*, it occurs only with pronominal, anaphoric function. Some tokens can be seen below:

- (197) lā budd min taqyīm hāḏihi r-risālah
 NEG must from assessing DEM the-message
 'this message must be assessed'

- (198) wa-hā'ulā' hal sa-ya-kūnū-n mu'aḥḥirīn
 and-DEM are FUT-3PL.M-be.IPF-IND effective
 'and **these**? Are they going to be effective?'

The code-switching found is in the use of the uninflected NA DEM *ha-* followed by an SA head noun. In fact, most of the time it is followed by a neutral noun and used in inter-sentential code-switching, but SA head nouns follow it in an SA environment in the examples listed below:

- (199) mā llaḏī 'u-rīd-u-h min 'awlād-ī fī
 what REL 1SG-want.IPF-IND-it from sons-my in
ha-l-'ijāzah
 DEM-the-holiday

‘What do I want from my sons in **this** holiday?’

- (200) iḏan at-tafkīr as-salīm fī ha-l-qazīyah 'anna-nī
 Thus the-thinking the-right in DEM-the-case that-I
'a-xdim al-'āxarīn
 1SG-serve.IPF the-other
 ‘thus the correct viewing of **this** case (is) that I am serving others’

In example (199), the NA DEM *ha-* is used in an SA environment and is followed by the SA definite head noun *l-'ijāzah* ‘the vacation’ which would be *l-ijāzah* in NA with no glottal stop. Regarding example (200), the whole environment is SA; however, the NA DEM *ha-* is used followed by an SA noun, which is *l-qazīyah* ‘the case’. As explained above, in the noun *l-qazīyah* the phoneme /d/ is subconsciously replaced by /z/, which is more common in the dominant variety of NA. In all of these examples, this intra-sentential code-switching is consistent with the neutralization hypothesis as the elements are ordered in the same way in both varieties, as *ha-* occurs in pre-nominal position.

In terms of the far-deixis demonstratives, as was the case in her first speech (see NE1), there are no occurrences of NA demonstratives in this sense. Only the SA DEM *ḏālika* appears, occurring 19 times. In all its occurrences, *ḏālika* has a pronominal, anaphoric function. The following is an example for illustration:

- (201) li-ḏālika n-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alay-hi wa-sallam
 for-DEM the-Prophet prayers Allāh on-him and-peace
kān-Ø 'ind-ah min al-qudrah 'an ya-qūl lā
 was.PF-3SG.M with-him from the-ability to 3SG.M-say.IPF NEG
 ‘for **that** the Prophet prayers and peace of Allāh be upon him had the ability to say no’

To conclude the discussion of NE, it can be noted that this female speaker is like all of the male and female speakers discussed above, in that she switches and mixes less frequently in the case of the demonstratives. The only NA demonstrative found to occur with SA nouns is the NA uninflected *ha-*. No switching or mixing are found to occur with either near- or far-deixis SA demonstratives (i.e. NA head nouns in pre-nominal or post-nominal position with SA demonstratives).

Regarding SA near-deixis demonstratives in both NE1 and NE2, they are commonly found with attributive functions whereas the SA far-deixis demonstratives are commonly found with a pronominal function. The most widely used demonstrative by NE in both speeches is the neutral demonstrative *hāḍā*.

Furthermore, NA and neutral far-deixis are not used by NE in either speech. The only widely used demonstrative is the SA *ḍālika* with pronominal function. *Tilka* (F.SG) occurs once with an attributive function in NE1.

8.3.3 RB

Comparing her use of SA demonstratives and her switching to NA demonstratives, it can be noted that, as was illustrated in Table 5.9 in Chapter Five, Section 5.4.2, SA near-deixis demonstratives to some extent account for a higher percentage use than NA. Furthermore, as is the case in all the male and female speakers' speeches, neutral demonstratives are the most dominant. On the other hand, there is no evidence of switching to NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis. Only some of the SA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are found and there is one occurrence of neutral demonstratives in RB1. The occurrence of the demonstratives is summarized in the following two tables for convenience:

Demonstratives (Near-deixis)	RB1		RB2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	24	17.6%	17	12.4%
NA	9	6.6%	14	10.2%
Neutral	103	75.7%	106	77.4%
Total	136	100%	137	100%

Table 8:11: Demonstratives associated with near-deixis in RB's two speeches

Demonstratives (Far-dexis)	RB1		RB2	
	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
SA	50	100%	33	94.3%
NA	0	0%	0	0%
Neutral	0	0%	2	5.7%
Total	50	100%	35	100%

Table 8.12: Demonstratives associated with far-deixis in RB's two speeches

In the following are some tokens to illustrate the structure and switching found in both speeches delivered by RB.

8.3.3.1 RB1

In this female speaker's first speech, the SA near-deixis demonstratives are the singular feminine *hāḏihi*, which occurs 23 times, and the plural form *hā'ulā'i*. No dual forms are used. Both forms are in pre-nominal position preceding the head noun they refer to and have an attributive function. No NA head nouns occur with SA demonstratives.

- (202) hāḏihi l-fā'idah al-'azīmah wa-l-'amr al-muhimm
 DEM the-benefit the-great and-the-thing the-important
fī tirdād al-'āḏān
 in repetition the-call for prayers
 'this great benefit and significant thing (resulting from) the repetition of calls for prayers'

- (203) tab'-an hā'ulā'ī l-qism 'ashāb al-qism al-'awwal
 of course-ACC DEM the-part owners the-part the-first
 'of course, **these** are the owners of the first part'

By examining the code-switching to NA, it can be noted that the uninflected *ha-* is used eight times and *ḏi* occurs one time in post-nominal position following an SA head noun. The following are two examples for illustration:

- (204) 'iḏān yā 'uxt-ī l-ḥabībah allāh 'azza wa-jall
 thus O sister-my the-beloved Allāh Exalted and-Majestic
'iḏā 'a't-ā-k ha-n-ni'am
 if gave.PF-3SG.M-you.2SG.M DEM-the-blessings
 'thus, O my beloved sisters Allāh, the Almighty, if he gave you **these**
 blessings'

Example (204) shows the use of the uninflected NA demonstrative *ha-* followed by the SA head noun *n-ni'am* 'the blessings'; in NA this would be *an'am* or *xēr*.

- (205) šūf-ū ha-š-šubhah al-kabīrah ḏi
 see.IMP-3PL.M DEM-the-suspicion the-big DEM
 'see **this** big suspicion'

In example (205), the neutral definite noun *š-šubhah* 'the suspicion' is preceded by the NA uninflected DEM *ha-* and is followed by the NA DEM *ḏi*. The only word in SA in this example is the adjective *al-kabīrah* 'the big'; in NA this would be *al-kibīrah* or *al-čibīrah*. The structure DEM + head noun + DEM is used for the purpose of emphasis.

As shown in Table 5.10 in Chapter Five, Section 5.4.2, only the SA far-deixis demonstrative *ḏālika* (occurring 49 times) and *tilka* (occurring 1 time) occur. The nouns they modify are either SA or neutral nouns. Following are some examples:

- (206) wa-li-ḏālik 'axwāt-ī 'anā sa-'a-ḏkur la-kum
 and-for-DEM sisters-my I FUT-1SG-mention.IPF to-you.3PL.M
 'for **that** my sisters, I will mention to you'

- (207) 'an ta-krah tilka n-ni'mah 'alā
 to 2SG.M-hate.IPF DEM the-blessing on
ṣāhib-i-k
 friend-GEN-your.2SG.M
 'to hate (that) your friend (has) **that** blessing'

NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis are not used in RB1.

8.3.3.2 RB2

In RB2, only the SA near-deixis demonstrative *hāḍihi* is used, occurring 17 times as was illustrated in Table 5.9 in Chapter Five, Section 5.4.2. It appears with an attributive function 16 times and one time with a pronominal, anaphoric function. In the attributive case, *hāḍihi* is only found in pre-nominal position and is followed by an SA or neutral head noun. This can be seen in the following examples:

- (208) min fazā'il-i d-du'ā' husūl al-mawaddah bayna
 from excellence-GEN the-supplication obtaining the-love between
l-muslimīn wa-hāḍihi l-mawaddah
 the-Muslims and-DEM the-love
 'one of the excellences of the supplication is obtaining the love between
 the Muslims and **this** love'

As in RB1, only the NA uninflected demonstrative *ha-* is used while switching to this variety in her speech. It occurs 14 times. *ha-* is followed by a neutral or an SA head noun, as can be seen in the examples listed below:

- (209) yu-hram min fazl ad-du'ā' bi-'idixār-i-h
 3SG.M-deprive.IPF from grace supplication with-saving-GEN-it
bi-l-'axirah 'iḍā nataq-Ø lisān-u-hu
 in-the-Hereafter if pronounced.PF-3SG.M tongue-NOM-his
bi-ha-l-kalimatayn
 with-DEM-the-two words
 'if his tongue said **these** two words, he would be deprived from the grace
 of supplication by saving it (for him) in the Hereafter'

In example (209), the NA demonstrative is followed by the SA head noun in the dual form *l-kalimatayn* 'two words'; in NA it would be *kilmatēn*. The NA demonstratives is used instead of the SA dual form *hātayni*.

With respect to far-deixis demonstratives, the SA *ḍālika* (occurring 32 times) and *tilka* (occurring only once) are followed and preceded by SA and neutral lexis. NA demonstratives of this type are not evident. There is one neutral demonstrative (i.e. *haḍāk* occurring twice). The SA *ḍālika* has a pronominal, anaphoric function in all of

its occurrences whereas *tilka* has an attributive function, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (210) wa-li-**ḍālik** ʾuxt-ī l-ḥabībah **hāḍā** min al-manāhī
 and-for-DEM sister-my the-beloved DEM from the-prohibited
l-lafzīyah
 the-words
 ‘and for that my beloved sister **this** (is) from the prohibited words’

- (211) wa-ta-dūm l-ī **tilka** l-ḥāl
 and-3SG.F-remain.IPF for-me DEM the-case
 ‘and this moment continues for me’

To sum up the discussion of RB, in both of her two speeches RB shows use of the SA singular and plural forms associated with near-deixis and singular demonstratives associated with far-deixis but no dual forms are found in either speech. In addition, the forms associated with near-deixis more commonly have an attributive function whereas forms associated with far-deixis more commonly have a pronominal function. She also shows a low level of intra-sentential code-switching in relation to the demonstratives. Only the NA uninflected *ha-* and *ḍi* are used. As has been explained in RB1 (example 205), *ha-* is used with *ḍi* for the purpose of emphasis.

8.4 Constraints on code-switching, and triggering and neutralization hypotheses

All of the male and female speakers have the following demonstrative variants in their discourse: SA *hāḍihi*; *ḍālika*; *tilka*; neutral *hāḍā*; *hāḍi*; and NA *ha-*. SA dual forms do not occur except in MA1 where the masculine dual forms are used. On the other hand, SA plurals (i.e. *hāʾulāʾi*, *ʾulāʾika*) occur a few times in the discourse of both the males and females. These findings are consistent with Mejdell (2006b) who also found *hāḍā*, *hāḍihi*, *ḍālika*, *tilka* to be more common. As for the NA plural *ḍōlāk*, it only occurs twice in AM2.

The SA form *hāḍihi* with an attributive function is preferred by all the male and female speakers. Similarly, the NA uninflected DEM *ha-* is also commonly used by all the male and female speakers with an attributive function. Regarding SA far-deixis

demonstratives, they are more common with a pronominal function. NA far-deixis demonstratives are only found in AM2 and MA2.

The following sections present a discussion of the constraints and hypotheses examined in analysing the switching between SA and NA variants of the two types of demonstratives.

8.4.1 Syntactic constraints

In this section, the cases of switching found will be analysed in the context of Eid's principles. As explained in Section 4.6.2 in Chapter Four, although Eid did not include the demonstratives in her analysis, I have chosen to test her principles on the demonstratives to find out whether the constraints parallel those found in relation to negation, relative pronouns and future particles. Eid tested the same combinations on all the linguistic variables included in her study. I will now list these principles and discuss them in relation to the current data and the two Arabic varieties under study:

1. NA + NA DEM + NA head noun
2. NA + NA DEM + SA head noun
3. NA + SA DEM + SA head noun
4. *NA + SA DEM + NA head noun²⁴
5. SA + SA DEM + SA head noun
6. *SA + SA DEM + NA head noun
7. SA + NA DEM + NA head noun
8. SA + NA DEM + SA head noun

I will start with Configuration (1): NA + NA DEM + NA head noun, which Eid (1982, 1998) considered to be possible in all of the four linguistic variables she investigated. This combination is found in one of the female speakers' speeches (i.e. NE), as can be seen in the following example:

u-xall-ī *ha-l-waragah*
and-leave.IMP-3SG.F DEM-the-paper
'and leave *this* paper with you'

²⁴ Combinations (4) and (6) are indicated with asterisk mark because they are rejected by speakers in all the four linguistic variables discussed in Eid (1982, 1988).

Configuration (2): NA + NA DEM + SA head noun

This combination was found to be possible in Eid's analysis, and is also evident in the current data in AM1 and RM1, as can be seen in the following example taken from RM (1) example (181):

u-ta-dxul 'alē-k **ha-l-'awānī**
and-3SG.F-enter.IPF on-you.2SG.M DEM-the-utensils
'and **these** utensils (full of food) are brought to you'

Configuration (3) (NA + SA DEM + SA head noun) and configuration (7) (SA + NA DEM + NA head noun) did not occur in the current data although they were possible with respect to the other linguistic variables included in this study and also occurred in Eid's study. Their absence from the demonstratives data in the current study could be attributed to the low use of NA in this linguistic variable in comparison with the other linguistic variables included in this study.

Regarding configurations (4) and (6), as in Eid's findings there is no evidence of these configurations as there are no occurrences of SA DEM followed by an NA head noun. This confirms the directionality constraint proposed by Eid.

Configuration (5): SA + SA DEM + SA head noun

This combination is found in all the twelve speeches of all the speakers, as in the following example taken from MA2 (example 158):

fa-qāl-a la-hu **ḍālika** r-rajul
and then-said.PF-3SG.M to-him DEM the-man
'then **that** man said to him'

Finally, configuration (8) (SA + NA DEM + SA head noun) is possible in the demonstratives data and the NA DEM precedes the SA head noun which is a structure common between the two varieties; it is also found in the data on negative particles and relative pronouns (see Chapter Six and Seven, respectively) and in the future particles data, which will be discussed in the following chapter. This combination is found in MA1 (example 153) and NE2 (example 204), as can be seen in the following example taken from MA1:

fa-qāl-a isma'-∅ minn-ī **ha-l-hikāyah**

and-said.PF-3SG.M listen.IMP-2SG.M from-me DEM-the-story
 ‘and he said listen to *this* story’

To conclude the discussion, it is evident that in testing Eid’s principles on the demonstratives (which she did not include in her study), some of the findings are consistent with Eid’s analysis; combinations (4) and (6), which she argued not to be possible, are not evident in the case of demonstratives in the current study either. However, as with other variables in the data, configuration (8) is found to be possible in the demonstratives data in the current study. Eid suggested that this configuration was possible but not evident in her data in the case of the relative pronouns or not acceptable to the speakers in the case of tense and verb constructions and the negatives. These findings could confirm the dominant language theory, as will be discussed in Section 8.4.4. The findings also support the directionality and the contradictory effect constraints proposed by Eid.

8.4.2 Neutralization site

In analysing intra-sentential code-switching with respect to near-deixis demonstratives, it was observed that there is a high degree of code consistency between demonstratives and nouns. This supports the neutralization hypothesis and one of the formulated constraints on bilingual code-switching by Poplack (1980) and Sankoff and Poplack (1981), which is the *equivalence constraint*. As suggested by this constraint, “a language switch can take place at boundaries common to both languages, and switching cannot occur between any two sentence elements unless they are normally ordered in the same way” (Romaine, 1995:126). Thus, in the cases of switching found in the speeches of the three male and the three female speakers, *ha-* precedes an SA head noun and this is congruent with SA structure as *hāḍihi* can occur in pre-nominal and post-nominal positions. In the following examples from AM1 (example 137) and RB2 (example 209):

a) *bass ha-l-mamlūkah* *’a-xša*
 but DEM-the-female slave 1SG-fear.IPF
 ‘but I am afraid *this* female slave’

b) *bi-ha-l-kalimatayn*

with-DEM-the-two words

‘with **these** two words’

These would be in SA:

- a) *lākin* **hāḏīhi** *l-mamlūkah* 'a-xša
but DEM the-female slave 1SG-fear.IPF
‘but I am afraid **this** female slave’
- b) *bi-**hātayni*** *l-kalimatayn*
with-DEM the-two words
‘with **these** two words’

This finding is contrary to Mejdell (2006), who found that the word order is not congruent between SA and EA in the case of demonstratives.

8.4.3 Triggering hypothesis

Regarding the triggering hypothesis, as was the case with negation, this hypothesis was proved valid between SA and NA due to the presence of neutral demonstratives which are common to both varieties and frequently used by both male and female speakers, especially the demonstrative associated with near-deixis *hāḏā*. Following are some examples to show the triggering:

- a) *qāl-∅* *man* **hāḏā** *lli* *yi-rāqib-nī* (MA1)
said.PF-3SG.M who DEM REL 3SG.M-watch.IPF-me
‘he said who is **this** who is watching me?’
- b) *'anā* *bi-wijhat* *nazarī* **hāḏā** *mahub* *nijāḥ* (NE2)
I with-point view DEM NEG success
‘from my point of view, **this** is not success’

8.4.4 The dominant language hypothesis

The dominant language hypothesis would predict that NA demonstratives can occur with both SA and NA head nouns whereas no SA demonstrative is found to occur with an NA head noun. This is consistent with the findings of Boussofara-Omar (1999), who found that “no fuṣḥaa demonstratives occur with TA [Tunisian Arabic] nouns” (p.183). On the other hand, she also found that only Tunisian Arabic demonstratives occur in ML + EL constituents when Tunisian Arabic is the matrix variety but reverse patterns never occur. Similarly, this finding is consistent with the findings of Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b).

8.5 Conclusion

To conclude this discussion, it is worth mentioning that there is inter-speaker variation in the usage level of SA and NA variants of near-deixis demonstratives among the male and female speakers. For instance, the male speaker SJ and the female speaker NE tend to use NA demonstratives more frequently. On the other hand, RM demonstrates an almost exclusive use of SA variants which could be due to personal preference. However, both groups tend to use neutral demonstratives the most frequently. As for far-deixis demonstratives, no clear difference could be found between the male and female speakers included in the study as they all show a preference for using SA variants and no or rare usage of NA and neutral variants. These findings contradict El-Hassan (1978), who found that EA variants are used at a considerably higher rate of usage; however, his study focused on a different context, i.e. conversations. Mejdell’s (2006b) participants showed a high use of SA variants, which she attributed to the academic sphere they are engaged in talking about. By contrast, Bassiouney’s (2006) findings showed that MSA and ECA demonstratives occur with almost the same degree of frequency.

Regarding the structure of switching in the examples found, no distinct findings are evident between the two groups; the cases of switching found involved having the NA near-deixis demonstrative *ha-* preceding an SA noun in both the male and female speakers. Both groups also show use of the attributive and pronominal functions but both females and males show a preference for the attributive syntactic function in their use of SA, NA and neutral demonstratives. On the other hand, pronominal functions are more common with demonstratives associated with far-deixis.

As for the constraints and hypotheses examined in the case of the demonstratives, the neutralization site hypothesis proved to be valid because the two varieties have the same structure. This finding contradicts Mejdell (2006b). The dominant language hypothesis also proved to be valid as only NA demonstratives occur with SA nouns but not vice versa. This parallels the findings of Boussofara-Omar (1999), Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b). Regarding the triggering hypothesis, examples from the data have provided evidence of its possibility, as explained above. Also, I tried to test Eid's (1982, 1988) principles by considering the positions immediately before and after the demonstratives; the results show partial agreement with her principles. However, as in Eid, SA DEM are not followed by, or followed and preceded by, NA. This is consistent with the constraints found in relation to negation and relative pronouns discussed in Chapter Six and Seven.

Chapter Nine

Qualitative Analysis of Future Particles

9.1 Introduction

Since tense particles are followed by an imperfect verb, I will examine in this section whether or not Standard Arabic (SA) and Najdi Arabic (NA) future time reference particles are flexible and can occur with either SA or NA verbs. I will also try to find out whether or not the switching between the two varieties with regard to the future particles and the verb following them is random. This will be accomplished by applying Eid's (1982, 1988) constraints to the current data to find out whether or not her findings align with the findings of this study. The proposed configurations suggested by Eid and that will be examined in the data of the present study are presented in the following list:

1. + EA+ EA tense prefix + EA IPF verb
2. + EA + EA tense prefix + SA IPF verb
3. + EA + SA tense prefix + SA IPF verb
4. * EA + SA tense prefix + EA IPF verb
5. + SA + SA tense prefix + SA IPF verb
6. * SA + SA tense prefix + EA IPF verb
7. @ SA + EA tense prefix + EA IPF verb
8. * SA + EA tense prefix + SA IPF verb

Combinations (1), (2), (3) and (5), which are marked with (+) are found in Eid's (1982, 1988) data. Regarding combinations (4), (6) and (8), which Eid marked with an asterisk mark (*), she states that these combinations are rejected by speakers and are not found in her data. Looking at combination (7), which she marked with (@), Eid states that it is accepted by speakers but is not attested in her data.

In addition, word-internal mixing constraints and the dominant and neutralization hypotheses will be tested. This will be achieved by analysing some tokens from each speech of the corpus. First a discussion of the switching in the male speakers'

speeches and the structural constituents of the examples will be presented, followed by a discussion of the switching found in the female speakers' speeches. At the end of this chapter, a discussion of the constraints will be presented, which will compare the patterns of switching in the current study to those found in previous studies.

9.2 Male speakers

All of the three male speakers included in the study show considerable use of SA and NA future articles in addition to the NA modal verbs *baġi/yabi*, as was illustrated in Table 5.13 in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.1. As shown in Table 5.13, the overall use of SA future particles in the three male speakers accounts for 24.2% of the total number of future particles while NA accounts for 75.8% of this total. However, purely counting occurrences as an index of style says little about the internal structuring of the variant. Thus, in this section, an analysis of this variant will be conducted by analysing some representative tokens from each of the two speeches of each male speaker included in the study to show the structural constituents and the switching combinations.

9.2.1 AM

In both of this male speaker's speeches, he tends to use the NA future particles more frequently than SA, as shown in Table 5.13 in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.1 and summarized in Table 9.1 for convenience:

FUT	AM1		AM2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	5	17.9%	12	37.5%
NA	23	82.1%	20	62.5%
Total	28	100%	32	100%

Table 9.1: Future particles in AM's two speeches

In the following some tokens taken from the two speeches delivered by this male speaker will be analysed.

9.2.1.1 AM1

As indicated above, AM1 tends to use the NA future particles more frequently than the SA future particles. The SA FUT prefix *sa-* occurs 5 times whereas the NA modal verb *yabi* occurs 3 times and the NA prefix *b-* and its other variant occurs 20 times. In the analysis here, the focus is on intra-sentential code-switching. Thus, only representative cases of intra-sentential code-switching will be discussed to show the syntactic constituents and the switching found between the two varieties in AM's first speech. Following are some examples for discussion:

- (212) li-'anna-nī sa-'u-ḥaddiθ-u-hum 'an
 for-that-I FUT-1SG-talk.IPF-IND-them.3PL.M to
yu-zawwiju-Ø aš-šabāb
 3PL.M-marry.IPF-SBJV the-young men
 'because I **will** talk to them about having (their daughters) marry young men'

In example (212), the SA FUT prefix *sa-* is preceded by SA and is followed by an imperfect verb in SA, which is *'uḥaddiθuhum* 'talk to them'. The purpose of this example is to show an instance of an SA structure with a future particle.

- (213) ta-tahakkam fī l-xatīb *alli* *bi-yi-jī*
 3SG.F-control.IPF in the-fiance REL FUT-3SG.M-come.IPF
 'She has control over the man who **will** propose (to her)'

In example (213), the switching takes place in the relative clause. The noun that the relative clause refers to is in SA, i.e. *l-xatīb* 'the fiancé' as in NA it would be *l-xiṭṭīb*. Regarding the future particle, the NA FUT prefix *bi-* is used followed by an NA imperfect verb *yi-ji* 'come'; in SA the verb would be *yaji* or *yataqaddam* as the example is about making a marriage proposal. It is also preceded by the NA relative pronoun *alli* instead of the SA *allaḏī*. Thus, the combination found here is NA + NA FUT + NA IPF verb.

- (214) 'an ta-'tū bi-imra'ah ta-'lam 'anna-hā
to 2SG.M-bring.IPF with-woman 3SG.F-know.IPF that-she
bi-ta-'īš ma' wāld-īk
FUT-3SG.F-live.IPF with parents-your.2SG.M
'you bring a wife you know that she **will** live with your parents'

In example (214), the switching takes place in the complementizer. The NA FUT prefix *bi-* is used followed by the SA imperfect verb *ta'īš* 'live' as in NA the verb would be pronounced as *ti'īš*. The NA future prefix is preceded by SA.

9.2.1.2 AM2

As is the case in AM1, this male speaker tends to use both SA and NA FUT. The SA FUT prefix *sa-* occurs 12 times. On the other hand, the NA modal verb *yabi* occurs 3 times and the NA FUT prefix *b-* and its variants occur 17 times. However, in the case of NA most of the instances of switching are at the inter-sentential level. Hence, only a few examples could be found to show intra-sentential code-switching.

In the following are examples to show the structure and combination of switching found in AM2:

- (215) hal kull hā'ulā'i l-waraθah sa-ya-kūn
are all DEM the-inheritors FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF
našīb-u-hum wāhid
share-NOM-their.3PL.M one
'**Are** all these inheritors **going to** have the same share?'

Example (215) shows the SA combination where the SA FUT prefix *sa-* is preceded by a noun in SA and is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yakūn* 'to be'.

- (216) wa-li-ḏālik 'anā ab-a- 'allim-k māḏā qāl- a
and-for-DEM I FUT-1SG-tell.IPF-you.2SG.M what said.PF-3SG.M
ḥabīb-u-nā sallā . llāh-u 'alay-hi wa-sallam
beloved-NOM-our prayers Allāh-NOM on-him and-peace
'and for that I **will** tell you what did the Prophet peace and prayers of Allāh be upon him say?'

In example (216), the NA FUT prefix *ab-* is used in an SA environment. It is preceded by the neutral pronoun *'anā* 'I' and is followed by the NA imperfect verb *a'allim-k* 'tell you' as in SA it would be expressed *sa-'u'limuk* or *sa-'uxbiruk*.

- (217) kull mā 'ahass-∅ *inn-ih* bi-ya-hsid *ṣāḥb-ah*
 every when felt.PF-3SG.M that-he FUT-3SG.M-envy.IPF friend-his
ya-d'ū la-h
 3SG.M-pray.IPF for-him
 'whenever he felt that he **will** be jealous of his friend, (he) should pray for him'

In example (217), it is evident that the NA FUT prefix *bi-* is used followed by the SA verb *yaḥsid* 'be jealous' as in NA it would be *yiḥsid*. The NA FUT prefix is preceded by *innih* which is in NA because in SA it would be *'annahu*. The combination found here is an NA FUT particle preceded by NA and followed by an SA verb.

To conclude the discussion of AM, it can be said that in both AM1 and AM2, this male speaker tends to use both SA and NA future particles. Nevertheless, the SA future particle is never followed by NA verbs. By contrast, the NA *b-* prefix is followed by both NA and SA verbs. This combination is consistent with Eid's findings and this will be discussed in detail at the end of this chapter.

9.2.2 MA

As with AM explained above, MA tends to use the NA future particles more than SA ones. The percentage and number of occurrences are shown in detail in Table 5.13 in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.1, and are summarized in Table 9.2 for convenience:

FUT	MA1		MA2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	10	43.5%	5	26.3%
NA	13	56.5%	14	73.7%
Total	23	100%	19	100%

Table 9.2: Future particles in MA's two speeches

The following are some examples of intra-sentential code-switching with a detailed explanation of the syntactic constituents and the combinations of the two varieties found in his two speeches.

9.2.2.1 MA1

This male speaker shows use of the SA and NA FUT in his first speech. The SA FUT prefix *sa-* occurs 9 times and the SA modal verb *sawfa* once. The NA FUT *b-* prefix occurs 13 times. The following are some representative examples:

(218) fa-`inna l-walad sa-ya-kūn-u walad-u-hā
 as then-that the-boy FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF-IND son-NOM-her
 ‘as the boy **will** be her son’

(219) qāl-a `inna-hu sawfa yu-njī-hi
 said.PF-3SG.M that-he FUT 3SG.M-save.IPF-him
wa-yu-njī `ahl-ah-u
 and-3SG.M-save.IPF family-his-NOM
 ‘He said he **will** save him and save his family’

In both examples (218) and (219), SA FUT particles are used. In example (218), the prefix *sa-* is used whereas in example (219) *sawfa* is used. In both examples, the FUT particles are preceded by SA. In addition, they are followed by SA imperfect verbs. In fact, in his first speech, no SA FUT is followed by an NA verb or preceded by NA.

The following are examples of intra-sentential code-switching where switching between SA and NA occurs:

(220) ha-l-walad wa-llah illi fī l-mihād 'iḏā
 DEM-the-boy by-Allāh REL in the-cradle if
kabur-Ø bi-yi-štirī l-ī sayyārah
 grew up.PF-3SG.M FUT-3SG.M-buy.IPF for-me car
 ‘I swear that *this boy who* is in the crib when he grows up, (he) **will** buy *me a car*’

In example (220), the NA FUT prefix *bi-* is used. It is preceded by the SA verb *kabur* ‘grow up’ as in NA it would be *kubar* and is followed by a verb in NA, which is *yi-štirī* ‘buy’ as in SA it would be *yaštārī*.

- (221) 'inna-h 'alā xēr u-'alā ajr w-ib-ya-dxul
 that-he on a better and-on reward and-FUT-3SG.M-enter.IPF
al-jannah /
 the-Heaven
mayyit min al-jū' mā wajad-Ø 'ahad
 dead from the-hunger NEG found.PF-3SG.M someone
yu-t'im-u-h ib-ya-dxul al-jannah
 3SG.M-feed.IPF-IND-him FUT-3SG.M-enter.IPF the-Heaven
 ‘that he is good and **will** be rewarded (by Allāh) to be in the Heaven. He
 was dead from hunger (as he) did not find anyone to feed him.
 (Therefore), he **will** enter the Heaven’

In example (221), again the NA future prefix *ib-* occurs twice. In both occurrences, the prefix *bi-* is followed by the SA verb *yadxul* ‘enter’. This verb would be *yadxil* in NA. Furthermore, the prefix *bi-* is preceded by NA in the first utterance. In its second occurrence, it is preceded by the SA verb *yuṭ'imuh* ‘feed him’ as in NA the verb would be *yiwakluh*.

9.2.2.2 MA2

In his second speech MA shows a low level of use of SA future particles: the prefix *sa-* occurs only 4 times and the modal verb *sawfa* only once. The NA *b-*prefix occurs 14 times. The following are some tokens for discussion:

- (222) lākin-na-nā mā na-drī matā sa-ya-'tū-n
 but-IND-we NEG 1PL-know.IPF when FUT-3PL.M-come.IPF-IND
 ‘but we do not know when **will** they come?’

- (223) 'anna r-rūm al-ġasāsinah kān-ū **sawfa**
 that the-Romans the-ġasāsinah were.PF-3PL.M FUT
ya-ġzū-na-nā
 3PL.M-invade.IPF-IND-us
 'that the Romans, the Ghassanids were about to invade us'

Examples (222) and (223) show the SA future particles in an SA environment. In example (222), the SA FUT prefix *sa-* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *ya'tūn* 'come'. In example (223), the FUT modal verb *sawfa* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yaġzūnanā* 'invade us'. In both examples, the SA future particle is preceded by SA and they represent the SA combination suggested by Eid (1982, 1988), i.e. SA + SA FUT + SA IPF verb.

The following are examples of intra-sentential code-switching where mixing of the two varieties is evident:

- (224) ba'za n-nās law maḥal-an yawm min al-'ayyām
 some the-people if for example-ACC day from the-days
ya-'tū walad-a-h **bi-ya-ḏhab**
 3SG.M-come.IPF son-ACC-his FUT-3SG.M-go.IPF
'ilā l-madrasah fī s-sabāh
 to the-school in the-morning
 'some people, for example, if one day his son **will** go to school in the morning'

In example (224), the NA FUT prefix *bi-* is used. It is followed by the SA verb *yaḏhab* 'go' as in NA the verb would be *yrūh*. The noun preceding the NA prefix is *waladah*; although it has a grammatical mistake in its case ending it will be considered SA because in NA it would be *(i)wliduh*. The speaker here, instead of saying *waladuh*, says *waladah*. Thus, this is a mistake in the case ending produced by this male speaker, which could be attributed, for example, to *lahn* or speech error as in other cases he shows an accurate use of case endings in his speech. It is also possible that he switches to NA for the suffix of *walad-ah*, perhaps inadvertently, and that this causes him to produce the NA FUT prefix before then switching back to SA to complete his utterance, using an SA lexeme for the verb *yaḏhab*.

- (225) wa- ‘ā’išah ‘atāl-at al-wuqūf wa-l-’intizār
 and-‘ā’išah continued.PF-3SG.F the-stopping and-the-waiting
ba’d al-maqbarah wēn bi-ya-ḏhab
 after the-Cemetery where FUT-3SG.M-go.IPF
 ‘and ‘Ā’išah continued stopping and waiting (to see) where (he) **would** go
 after (going to) the Cemetery?’

Again, in example (225), the NA FUT prefix *bi-* is used. It is followed by the SA verb *yaḏhab* ‘go’ as in NA the verb ‘go’ will be expressed as *yrūḥ*. The future particle is preceded by the NA interrogative *wēn* ‘where’. Thus, the combination found here is NA FUT preceded by NA and followed by an SA imperfect verb; this is consistent with the combination found by Eid (1982, 1988).

To conclude the discussion of MA’s use of the future particles in both MA1 and MA2, it can be noted that in all occurrences of either SA FUT or NA FUT, the particle is followed by an imperfect verb. In the case of his use of the SA FUT prefix and the modal verb *sawfa*, they are only followed and preceded by SA. No SA future particle is followed by an NA verb. By contrast, NA future particles are preceded by either SA or NA. Similarly, they could be followed by either an SA or NA imperfect verb.

9.2.3 SJ

As explained earlier in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.1, and shown in Table 5.13, SJ shows the highest occurrence of NA future particles among the males. This is summarized in Table 9.3 for convenience:

FUT	SJ1		SJ2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	1	3.4%	4	18.2%
NA	28	96.6%	18	81.8%
Total	29	100%	22	100%

Table 9.3: Future particles in SJ’s two speeches

combination found here is consistent with Eid’s combination (2) listed at the beginning of this chapter (1980, 1988); the NA future particle is preceded by NA and followed by a verb in SA.

9.2.3.2 SJ2

As is the case in SJ1, SJ2 shows switching between the two varieties with regard to his use of the future particles. Furthermore, there is a preference for using NA future particles rather than SA ones. The SA future particles *sa-* and *sawfa* occur 4 times while the NA modal verbs and *b-*prefix occur 18 times. However, as in SJ1, because of neutral lexis and the common occurrence of inter-sentential code-switching, only one example of intra-sentential code-switching is evident. The following are examples of utterances with SA and NA future particles:

- (228) qul-nā sa-na-qūl la-kum qasīdah
 said.PF-1PL FUT-1PL-say.IPF to-you.2PL.M poem
 ‘we said: we **will** tell you a story’

Example (228) shows the SA combination in which the SA future particle *sa-* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *naqūl* ‘say’ as in NA it would be *nigūl*. The prefix *sa-* is preceded by an SA perfect verb.

- (229) man lam ya-ḏkur-Ø illāh sawfa ya-ḡraq
 who NEG 3SG.M-mention.IPF-JUSS Allāh FUT 3SG.M-sink.IPF
 ‘who does not praise Allāh **will** sink ...’

Example (229) also represents an SA structure in which the SA modal verb *sawfa* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yaḡraq* ‘sink’. Moreover, it is preceded by a noun in SA, which is *illāh* ‘Allāh’ as in NA it would be *allah*.

- (230) lākin wa-’ant jālis fī d-dinyā bi-ta-ḡris
 but and-you setting in the-life FUT-2SG.M-plant.IPF
li-k naxlah wiš ti-ḡūl
 for-you.2SG.M a palm tree what 2SG.M-say.IPF
 ‘but while you are sitting in this life, you **will** plant a palm tree for you (in the life after)’

In example (230), the NA FUT prefix *bi-* is followed by the SA verb *tagris* ‘plant’, which in NA would be *tgaris*. It is preceded by the NA prepositional phrase *fī d-dinyā* ‘in this life’, which would be *d-dunyā* in SA. The same combination (i.e. NA + NA FUT + SA IPF verb) is found in Eid (1982, 1988).

To conclude the discussion of future structural constituents and the switching found in SJ1 and SJ2, the following points can be made. First, SJ shows a preference for using NA future particles rather than SA ones. Second, in both SA and NA, the future particles are only followed by imperfect verbs. Nevertheless, despite his preference for using NA, in the few occurrences of SA particles, neither *sa-* nor *sawfa* are followed by NA imperfect verbs. A few cases of intra-sentential code-switching are observed in both speeches because of the common use of inter-sentential code-switching and the existence of neutral lexis between the two varieties.

9.3 Female speakers

As was the case with the male speakers above, the female speakers tend to use both SA and NA future particles. In fact, there are inter-speaker differences between the female speakers in their use of the SA and NA variants as the percentage use varies from one female speaker to the next, as explained in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.2. However, the overall percentage use of the SA variants shows that it accounts for 34.2% of the total number of future particles while NA accounts for 65.8% of this total. Since the current study is interested in the switching found in the speeches of the female speakers, some representative examples taken from each of the two speeches of the three females will be discussed to show the structural constituents and the intra-sentential code-switching combinations found.

9.3.1 RM

Although this female speaker prefers to use SA, she shows a few instances of use of the NA future particles. However, the number of occurrences of both SA and NA future particles is low in both speeches, as shown in Table 5.14 in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.2 and summarized in Table 9.4 for convenience:

FUT	RM1		RM2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	17	68%	13	86.7%
NA	8	32%	2	13.3%
Total	25	100%	15	100%

Table 9.4: Future particles in RM's two speeches

As the percentages listed above show, only a few examples of switching between the two varieties involved in the study could be found. This is because, as is the case with other linguistic variables investigated for the purpose of this study, this female speaker tends to use the SA future particles more frequently than NA ones. More discussion on RM will be given in the following subsections.

9.3.1.1 RM1

In RM, only the SA FUT prefix *sa-* is found to occur (17 times). Regarding NA, only future particles with the *b-*prefix occur (8 times). The following are some representative examples showing the switching and structures found in her first religious speech:

- (231) wa-ġayr-u hāđā min mā sa-na-'tī 'alay-hi
and-other-NOM DEM from what FUT-1PL-come.IPF on-it
'and other than this from what we **will** come to'

In example (231), the SA future prefix *sa-* is used followed by the SA imperfect verb *na'tī* and preceded by SA. Thus, there is no switching here.

- (232) 'anna-hum 'iđā 'aslam-ū
that-they.3PL.M if believed.PF-3PL.M
sa-ya-'tī-him *il-xēr*
FUT-3SG.M-come.IPF-them.3PL.M the-blessings
'that if they converted to Islam good things **will** come to them'

Example (232) again shows the SA FUT prefix *sa-* followed by the SA imperfect verb *ya'tīhim* 'come to them'. It is preceded by a neutral verb, which is *'aslamū*. The only switching to NA found is the definite noun *il-xēr* as in SA it would be *al-xayr*.

The following examples show intra-sentential code-switching:

- (233) *kēf sa-ya-kūn al-'ujab bi-hi*
 how FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF the-swagger with-it
 'how **will** the swagger with it be?'

In example (233), the SA FUT prefix *sa-* is used. It is followed by the SA verb *yakūn* 'be' as in NA the verb would be *yikūn*. On the other hand, it is preceded by the interrogative word *kēf* 'how', which is phonologically in NA as in SA it would be *kayfa*. Thus, the combination found here is NA + SA FUT prefix + SA IPF verb, which is consistent with Eid's (1982, 1988) findings in her study of tense prefixes in switching between SA and EA.

- (234) *hāđi 'axir šay' li-'ann iš-šēx ib-ya-'tī*
 DEM last thing for-that the-Sheikh FUT-3SG.M-come.IPF
 'this is the last thing because the Sheikh **will** come'

In example (234), despite the existence of neutral lexis the NA FUT prefix *ib-* is used followed by an imperfect verb in SA, which is *ya'tī* 'come'; the verb 'come' in NA would be *yijī*. The noun *iš-šēx* 'the Sheikh', which precedes the NA FUT prefix, is also in NA because in SA it would be *aš-šayx*. Thus, the combination found in this example is NA noun + NA FUT prefix + SA verb.

9.3.1.2 RM2

In RM2, only two occurrences of NA FUT prefixes are found. On the other hand, the SA FUT prefix *sa-* occurs 13 times and only in the SA context. The following are some examples from RM2, including a discussion of the two occurrences of NA found in this female speaker's second speech:

- (235) wa-nahnu fī hāḏīhi s-sā'ah sa-na-tanāwal 'asbāb-a
 and-we in DEM the-hour FUT-1PL-deal with.IPF reasons-ACC
tadabbur-i l-qur'ān
 contemplation-GEN the-Qur'ān
 'and at this hour we will deal with (the) reasons for contemplating the
 Qur'ān'

In example (235), the FUT prefix *sa-* is followed by the imperfect verb *natanāwal* 'deal with'. It is preceded by the neutral noun *as-sā'ah*.

Of the two cases where the NA future prefix is used, in one case it is used in intra-sentential code-switching and in the other the prefix is attached to a neutral verb, as in the following example:

- (236) kaḥīr min an-nās ta-qūl 'a-gra'
 many from the-people 3SG.F-say.IPF 1SG-read.IPF
ab-'axtim
 FUT-1SG-conclude.IPF
 'many people say that I read (the Holy Qur'ān) because I want to finish (it
 all)'

In example (236), the NA FUT prefix *ab-* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *'axtim* 'conclude' which would be *axatim* in NA. On the other hand, the NA FUT prefix *ab-* is preceded by the SA verb *'a-gra* 'read' as in NA it would be *agrā*.

To sum up the discussion of RM's use of SA and NA FUT particles in her two speeches, it can be noted that in general there is a low use of both SA and NA FUT particles. In the case of SA FUT particles, they are always followed by an SA or a neutral imperfect verb, whereas they can be preceded by NA, as in the case represented in example (233) found in RM1. Regarding NA FUT particles, they are followed by SA, NA or neutral imperfect verbs. They can also be preceded by SA, NA and neutral nouns or verbs.

- (238) 'iðan lā budd wa-'anā qā'imah 'a-'rif al-fazl
 thus NEG must and-I standing 1SG-know.IPF the-virtue
al-'azīm illi sa-ya-hsul l-ī
 the-great REL FUT-3SG.M-happen.IPF to-me
 'thus, while I perform optional night prayers, I must know the great virtue
 which **will** happen to me'

In example (238), the SA future prefix *sa-* is also used. It is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yaḥṣul* 'happen' and is preceded by the NA relative pronoun *illi* 'which' instead of its SA variant *allaḏī*. Hence, the combination of switching found is NA + SA FUT particle + SA IPF verb, which is consistent with Eid (1982, 1988).

- (239) li-'anna-h bi-ya-kūn 'alā raqabat-i-k yawm
 for-that-it FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF on neck-GEN-your.2SG.M day
al-qīyāmah
 the-judgement
 'because it **will** be on your neck on Judgement Day'

In example (239), switching can be seen in NE's use of the NA FUT prefix *bi-*, which is followed by an imperfect verb in SA, *yakūn* 'be' as in NA it would be *yikūn*. The NA FUT prefix is preceded by the SA conjunction *li-'annah* 'because'; in NA it would be *lannuh* or *'alašānuh*. Thus, the combination of switching found is SA + NA FUT prefix + SA IPF verb, which is not found in Eid's (1982, 1988) data.

- (240) w-hu ib-yu-'ī-nī θimār al-jannah /
 and-he FUT-3SG.M-give.IPF-me fruits the-Paradise
aba-'u-sqī-h mā'
 FUT-1SG-give (someone) to drink.IPF-him water
u-bi-ya-ḏhab ḏāka l-mā'
 and-FUT-3SG.M-go.IPF DEM the-water
 'and he **will** give me Paradise fruits. I **will** give him water to drink and that
 water **will** vanish'

In example (240), there are three occurrences of NA future particles followed by SA imperfect verbs in all these occurrences. First, the NA prefix *ib-* is followed by the SA verb *yu'īnī* 'give me' instead of the NA *yi'īnī*, and is preceded by the NA subject

pronoun *hu*. Second, the NA FUT prefix *aba-* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *'usqīh* ‘give him a drink’, which would be *asgīh* in NA, and is preceded by the SA noun phrase *θimār al-jannah* ‘paradise fruits’ as *θimār* would be *iθmār* in NA. Finally, the NA FUT prefix *bi-* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yaḏhab* ‘go’, which would be *yirūh* in NA and is preceded by the NA conjunction *u-* ‘and’.

- (241) 'arba‘at 'umūr ***ib-na-qif*** ma‘a-hā
 four matters FUT-1PL-stop.IPF with-it
 ‘we **will** focus on four things’

Example (241) shows switching between the two varieties with regard to the FUT prefix used. In this example, the NA FUT prefix *ib-* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *naqif* ‘stand’; this verb would be *nāgaf* in NA. It is preceded by the SA noun *'umūr*, which in NA would be *umūr* with no glottal stop (Ingham, 1994:162). Thus, the combination of switching found here is SA + NA FUT + SA IPF verb.

- (242) illi 'akal-ū-h 'aw tasaddāq-ū bi-h /
 REL ate.PF-3PL.M-it or gave for charity.PF-3PL.M with-it
'akal-ū-h ***bi-yu-hāsabū-n*** 'alē-h
 ate.PF-3PL.M-it FUT-3PL.M-be accounted-IND on-it
'aw tasaddaq-ū bi-h ***ib-ya-bqa***
 or gave for charity.PF-3PL.M with-it FUT-3SG.M-remain.IPF
la-hum
 for-them.3PL.M
 ‘what they ate or gave for charity. (The food) they ate, (Allāh) **will** bring them to account for it (and) what they gave for charity, it **will** remain for them (in the afterlife)’

The code-switching combination found in example (242) is similar to the structure and combination of switching found in example (241). In this example, two occurrences of NA FUT prefix are evident (*bi-* and *ib-*), which are followed by the SA imperfect verb *yuhāsabūn* ‘be accountable for’, which would be *yihāsabūn* in NA and *yabqa* ‘remain’, which would be *yibga* in NA. In addition, they are both preceded by SA as the first prefix is preceded by the SA perfective verb *'akalūh* ‘ate’ which would be *akaluh* in NA and the second prefix is preceded by the SA prepositional phrase *bih*, which in NA would be *bah* or *buh*.

9.3.2.2 NE2

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the percentage of SA future particles is lower in this female speaker's second speech than in her first speech. However, the future particles occur more frequently in her second religious speech than in her first speech analysed, with SA FUT occurring 14 times. On the other hand, NA FUT also have a high level of occurrence, occurring 88 times. This speaker tends to use inter-sentential code-switching more frequently than intra-sentential code-switching; thus, some representative examples of intra-sentential code-switching will be discussed.

- (243) al-'ān sa- 'u-'tī-kum turuq al-'iqnā'
 now FUT-1SG-give.IPF-you.2PL.M methods the-convincing
 'Now I will give you convincing methods'

In example (243), no switching can be seen. The purpose of presenting this example is to show the SA FUT structure. The SA FUT prefix used is *sa-*, which is followed by the SA imperfect verb *'u 'tīkum* 'give you', which in NA would be *ab-a 'tīkum*. It is preceded by the SA adverb *al-'ān* 'now' which would be *al-ḥīn* in NA.

In the following examples, switching between the two varieties will be discussed:

- (244) *al-yōm* *yā* 'axawāt-ī *yabi* ya-xtalif al-mawzū'
 today O sisters-my FUT 3SG.M-differ.IPF the-topic
 'O my sisters! Today the topic *will* differ...'

In example (244), the NA modal verb *yabi* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yaxtalif* 'differ', which in NA would be *yixtilif*. It is also preceded by the SA noun *'axawātī* 'my sisters'. Therefore, the intra-sentential code-switching combination in this example is SA + NA FUT + SA IPF verb.

- (245) lāhiz-ī / l-'awlawīyāt *ab-a-gsim-hā* *li-k*
 notice.IMP-2SG.F the-priorities FUT-1SG-divide.IPF-it to-you.2SG.M
'iddat 'aqsām
 several sections
 'Notice, I *will* divide the priorities to you into several sections'

In example (245), the NA prefix *ab-* is followed by the NA verb *agsimhā* 'divide it' whereas in SA it would be *sa-'uqassimuhā*. The NA future particle is preceded by the

SA definite noun *l- 'awlawīyāt* ‘the priorities’, which would be pronounced with no glottal stop in NA. Thus, the combination found here is SA + NA FUT prefix + NA IPF verb. This combination is classified as acceptable by Eid (1982, 1988) although it is not found in her data.

- (246) 'iḏan *bi-ya-shil* *'alē-k* 'ikmāl
 thus FUT-3SG.M-become easy.IPF on-you.2SG.M continuing
hifz sūrat al-baqarah
 memorizing Sūrat the-Cow
 ‘thus, it *will* be easy for you (to) continue memorizing Sūrat the Cow’

In example (246), the NA FUT prefix *bi-* is followed by the NA imperfect verb *yashil* ‘become easy’. The same verb is pronounced in SA as *yashul* but in this utterance, the vowel *u* is changed into *i*, which is a feature of NA phonology. On the other hand, the NA FUT prefix is preceded by the SA particle *'iḏan* ‘thus’, which in NA would be expressed as *bi-kiḏa* or *kiḏa*, which means ‘therefore’ or ‘in this way’. Therefore, the switching combination found here is SA + NA FUT + NA IPF verb.

To conclude the discussion of the structure and combination of switching between SA and NA found in this female speaker’s two speeches, it can be noted that both SA and NA future particles are followed by imperfect verbs. In the case of the SA future particles, only the prefix *sa-* is used and it is only followed by an SA imperfect verb. There are no occurrences of an NA imperfect verb following the SA prefix *sa-*. In the case of code-switching, neutral lexis has been found following or preceding both SA and NA future particles. The NA future particles appear to be flexible as they can be followed or preceded by either SA or NA. This can be attributed to the *dominant language principle*, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

9.3.3 RB

In this female speaker’s two speeches, SA future particles account for a high percentage usage in comparison with her use of NA future particles. This has been shown in Table 5.16 in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.2 and will be summarized in Table 9.6 for convenience:

FUT	RB1		RB2	
	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage	Occurrence in Numbers	Occurrence in Percentage
SA	19	51.4%	12	60%
NA	18	48.6%	8	40%
Total	37	100%	20	100%

Table 9.6: Future particles in RB's two speeches

The only SA future particle found in her two speeches is the SA prefix *sa-*. As with the other male and female speakers discussed above, the structural constituents and the switching observed in her two speeches will be highlighted in the next two subsections.

9.3.3.1 RB1

In RB1, the SA FUT prefix *sa-* occurs 19 times whereas NA modal verbs and the *b-* prefix occur 18 times. In fact, switching can also be seen with regard to her use of the future time reference. Hence, some representative examples will be discussed to identify the combinations of intra-sentential code-switching in order to compare them with those of Eid (1982, 1988) later in the section on future constraints, and to examine the dominant language and neutralization hypotheses.

The following example shows the SA future prefix *sa-* followed and preceded by SA or neutral lexis:

- (247) *law* 'axf-a 'abū bakr māl-a-h man
 if hided.PF-3SG.M 'abū bakr money-ACC-his who
sa-ya-tasaddaq
 FUT-3SG.M-give charity.IPF
 'if 'Abū bakr hid his money, who would give charity?'

Cases of intra-sentential code-switching found will be discussed in the following examples:

- (248) *wa-lākin hāḏā alli yabi ya-'tī*
 and-but DEM REL FUT 3SG.M-come.IPF
 'but this (is) what **will** come'

Example (248) shows intra-sentential code-switching in which the NA modal verb *yabi* is used as a future particle followed by the SA *ya-'tī* 'come', which would be *yijī* in NA. On the other hand, the NA FUT particle is preceded by the NA relative pronoun *alli* instead of the SA *allaḏī*. Thus, the code-switching combination found in this example is NA + NA FUT + SA IPF verb.

In fact, this is the only example of intra-sentential code-switching as the other occurrences of NA FUT occur in inter-sentential code-switching, which is not included in the current study, or occur with neutral lexis and thus cannot be taken to support or oppose any of the combinations proposed by Eid in her study. This can be seen in the following example where the NA FUT prefix *ib-* is followed by the shared verb *tafhamūn* 'understand':

- (249) *ab-a- 'tī-kum miθāl ib-ta-fhamūn*
 FUT-1SG-give.IPF-you.2PL example FUT-2PL.M-understand.IPF
fī-h al-maqāl
 in-it the-speech
 'I **will** give you an example (that) you **will** understand (what is meant by)
 the speech with it'

In example (249), only the definite noun *al-maqāl* 'the speech' is in SA; in NA *al-kalām* would be used in this sense.

9.3.3.2 RB2

As in RB1, only the SA FUT prefix *sa-* is found in her second speech, occurring 12 times. As for NA future particles, both the NA future modal verb and *b-* prefix are observed and occur 8 times. However, most of the occurrences of the NA future particles are in inter-sentential code-switching. Thus, only a few examples of intra-sentential code-switching can be observed in her second speech. In the following are some tokens for discussion:

- (250) fa-`inna-hu sa-ya-ḥṣul ‘alā al-xayr
 then-that-he FUT-3SG.M-get.IPF on the-welfare
wa-sa-ya-nāl nasīb-an wāfir-an min ṭamarāt
 and-FUT-3SG.M-gain.IPF share-ACC plenty-ACC from fruits
ad-du‘ā
 the-supplication
 ‘as he **will** obtain the welfare and he **will** gain a large share from the
 supplication’s benefits’

In example (250), no switching or mixing can be seen; the whole example is SA. RB here uses the SA FUT prefix *sa-* twice and in both cases this prefix is followed by SA imperfect verbs: *yaḥṣul* ‘obtain’ and *yanāl* ‘gain’. In both occurrences, the SA FUT prefix *sa-* is preceded by SA.

In the following example, intra-sentential code-switching between the two varieties is evident:

- (251) *w-hu* *d-dajjāl* *alli* *ib-ya-xruj* ‘in šā’ *allah*
 and-he the-Antichrist REL FUT-3SG.M-come out.IPF if willing Allāh
u-ya-tba‘ū-na-hu *ilā jahannam*
 and-3PL.M-follow.IPF-IND-him to hell
 ‘and he (is) the Antichrist who **will** come out and (with) Allāh willing they
 (will) follow him to Hell’

In example (251), the NA FUT prefix *ib-* is followed by the SA imperfect verb *yaxruj* ‘come out’ and is preceded by the NA relative pronoun *alli*. The SA verb *yaxruj* would be *yaṭla* ‘in NA.

To sum up the discussion of RB’s use of the SA and NA FUT particles, it can be noted that she has shown use of both SA and NA FUT prefixes, with a greater preference for the SA FUT prefix *sa-*. Furthermore, all the occurrences of the SA FUT prefix *sa-* are in the SA or neutral context, i.e. followed and preceded by SA or neutral lexis, and no switching is found with respect to the SA prefix *sa-*. Regarding the NA future particles, most of the time they occur in inter-sentential code-switching and only a few examples of intra-sentential code-switching are evident. In addition, in all the occurrences of NA future particles, they are followed by imperfect verbs. In

fact, they can be followed by SA, and neutral and NA imperfect verbs. On the other hand, the NA FUT can be preceded by neutral, NA and even SA nouns.

9.4 Constraints, neutralization and dominant language hypotheses

The NA FUT *b*-prefix is very flexible as it can occur with SA verbs and in SA structures in addition to occurring with NA imperfect verbs in both the SA and NA context. In this section, a comparison will be drawn between the combinations of switching and mixing observed and Eid's (1982, 1988) combinations to find out if the same code-switching constraints between SA and EA in her study could be applied to the switching between the two varieties, i.e. SA and NA, included in this study. A discussion of word-internal mixing constraints or hybrid forms (Holes, 2004) will also be presented in addition to the neutralization and dominant language hypotheses. Furthermore, in this section it will be ascertained whether or not there are any differences between the three male speakers and the three female speakers in the switching combinations and the code-switching constraints observed in their religious speeches.

9.4.1 Syntactic constraints

In her analysis of tense and verb constructions, Eid (1982, 1988) suggests eight logically possible combinations (listed at the beginning of this chapter) for switching, but reports that only four configurations occur in her study. A list of all the possible combinations will be presented followed by a re-analysis of them in the context of the findings from the current study. Moreover, a comparison will be drawn between the configurations found in this study and those reported by Eid.

I will now list Eid's combinations and relate them to some of the representative examples discussed above in this chapter.

Eid's configuration (1): NA + NA FUT + NA IPF verb

Eid's configuration (1) is found in all speakers' speeches. The following is an example taken from AM1 (example 213):

ta-taḥakkam ft̄ l-xatīb *alli* *bi-yi-jī*
 3SG.F-control.IPF in the-fiance REL FUT-3SG.M-come.IPF
 ‘She has control over the man who will propose (to her)’

Eid’s configuration (5): SA + SA FUT + SA IPF verb

Eid’s configuration (5) also occurs in all of the speeches, as explained above. The following example is taken from MA2 (example 222):

matā sa-ya-’tū-n
 when FUT-3PL.M-come.IPF-IND
 ‘when **will** they come?’

In addition to these two combinations, other code-switching combinations proposed by Eid are also found:

Eid’s configuration (2): NA + NA FUT + SA IPF verb

As in Eid, this combination is found in both or either of the two speeches analysed for all the male and female speakers included in the study. The following are two examples from MA2 (example 225) and RM1 (example 234) presented earlier in the male and female speakers’ sub-sections:

- a) wa-’ā’išah ’atāl-at al-wuqūf wa-l-’intizār
 and-’ā’išah continued.PF-3SG.F the-stopping and-the-waiting
ba’d al-maqbarah *wēn* *bi-ya-ḏhab*
 after the-Cemetery where FUT-3SG.M-go.IPF
 ‘and ‘Ā’išah continued stopping and waiting (to see) where **will** (he) go after (going to) the Cemetery?’
- b) *iš-šēx* ib-ya-’tī
 the-Sheikh FUT-3SG.M-come.IPF
 ‘the Sheikh **will** come’

Eid’s configuration (3): NA + SA FUT + SA IPF verb

This combination is attested in Eid’s (1982, 1988) performance data. Similarly, in my data this combination occurs only in two of the female speakers’ speeches (RM and NE), as can be seen in the following example from RM1 (example 233):

kēf sa-ya-kūn al-‘ujab bi-hi
 how FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF the-swagger with-it
 ‘how **will** the swagger with it be?’

Eid’s configuration (7): SA + NA FUT + NA IPF verb

This combination is classified by Eid to be accepted by the speakers but is not attested in her data. It has been observed in the current data of one of the female speakers, NE2, in example (245):

lāhiz-ī / l-‘awlawīyāt ***ab-a-gsim-hā*** *li-k*
 notice.IMP-2SG.F the-priorities FUT-1SG-divide.IPF to-you.2SG.M
‘iddat ‘aqsām
 several sections
 ‘Notice, I **will** divide the priorities to you into several sections’

Eid’s configuration (8): SA + NA FUT + SA verb

With respect to Eid’s configuration (8), which she has reported to be unaccepted by speakers and which is not found in her data, this combination does occur in the current data although it is not very common as it occurs only in NE’s speeches and in MA’s second speech. The following examples are taken from NE1 (example 239 and 241):

- a) li-‘anna-h ***bi-ya-kūn*** ‘alā raqabat-i-k yawm
 for-that-it FUT-3SG.M-be.IPF on neck-GEN-your.2SG.M day
al-qīyāmah
 the-judgement
 ‘because it **will** be on your neck on Judgement Day’
- b) ‘arba‘at ‘umūr ***ib-na-qif*** ma‘a-hā
 four matters FUT.1PL-stop.IPF with-it
 ‘we **will** focus on four things’

Thus, this finding does not support Eid’s constraint on this combination occurring during diglossic code-switching.

On the other hand, the current findings support those of Bassiouney (2006), who found that the *b*-prefix, which is an intrinsic feature of EA with the meaning of habitual/continuous action in ECA, occurs with salient MSA imperfect verbs and in MSA structure. She also observed that a salient MSA verb with a *b*-prefix is often still considered an MSA verb by native speakers. This is similar to the situation found in the current study because it could be the case that the speaker in this study is subconsciously thinking that s/he is still speaking in SA. In addition, in the current data the *b*-prefix more commonly occurs with certain verbs such as *yaḏhab* ‘go’, as many occurrences of this SA imperfect verb are found with the *b*-prefix in most of the male and female speakers’ speeches. Thus, my finding is consistent with Bassiouney (2006:134), who argues that the *b*-prefix is “very mobile and flexible” as there seems to be no restrictions on its use with SA imperfect verbs and in SA structure. However, as Mejdell (2006) indicates, the SA verb can be integrated into the system of another variety, i.e. NA in the case of this study. For example, this combination can be seen in example (224) mentioned earlier in the section on MA2:

<u>ba’z</u>	<u>an-nās</u>	<u>law</u>	<u>maḡal-an</u>	<u>yawm</u>	<u>min</u>	<u>al-’ayyām</u>
some	the-people	if	for example-ACC	day	from	the-days
<u>ya-’tī</u>	<u>walad-a-h</u>	<u>bi-ya-ḏhab</u>				
3SG.M-come.IPF	son-ACC-his	FUT-3SG.M-go.IPF				
<u>’ilā</u>	<u>l-madrasah</u>	<u>fi</u>	<u>s-ṣabāh</u>			
to	the-school	in	the-morning			

‘some people, for example, if one day his son *will* go to school in the morning’

It is also important to note that combinations (4) and (6) do not occur at all in the current data. Thus, these two patterns, i.e. NA + SA FUT + NA and SA+ SA FUT + NA, are rejected in Eid’s data and in the current data. This finding supports the directionality constraints suggested by Eid because in combinations (4) and (6) the focal point is from SA; thus, switching to NA would not be permitted in the position immediately after the focal point. Thus, the current findings appear to parallel Eid’s except for the fact that evidence has been found for two configurations that do not occur in Eid’s (1982, 1988) data.

9.4.2 Word-internal mixing

Holes (2004) also discusses constraints within imperfect verb phrases and gives the future tense prefix as an example. According to him, the most formal form of the verb phrase would be an SA future tense prefix followed by a verb, i.e. SA prefix + stem and final *-u* as a mood marker. The second most restrictive element is the *sa-* prefix but with no final mood marker. The third most restrictive element is a dialect future tense prefix followed by an SA verb but with no mood marker, and the final most restrictive element would be a dialect future tense prefix followed by the dialect form of the verb. Holes (2004) regards these combinations as *hybrids* such as *bi-ya-ḏhab* (dialectal *bi-* + SA stem), which occurs in the current data. For Holes, having the SA future tense prefix with a dialect form of the verb is not accepted. In addition, the dialect future tense prefix with the most formal SA imperfect verb, i.e. with a mood marker, is not accepted either. In fact, these constraints on switching and mixing suggested by Holes (2004) are applicable to my study as no SA future particle occurs with an NA verb. Furthermore, no NA FUT prefix occurs with the most formal SA verb form with a mood marker.

9.4.3 Dominant language hypothesis

As has been discussed in this chapter, in analysing the cases of switching between future prefixes and imperfect verbs it has been found that it is possible for an NA future prefix to precede an SA or NA imperfect verb but not the reverse. This could confirm the *dominant language principle* as the grammatical item of the dominant code, i.e. NA, will combine with lexical items of either code, whereas the grammatical features of the non-dominant code, i.e. SA, will only combine with lexical items from the non-dominant code.

9.4.4 Neutralization hypothesis

Again, the neutralization site for switching is possible in the case of future particles because the structure of the two varieties is exactly the same. As explained by Poplack (1980) and Sankoff and Poplack (1981), the equivalence constraint predicts that code-switching would be permitted so long as the resulting linear order of

sentence elements does not violate the word order requirements of either language at the switch point. Hence, this could possibly justify the high use of the NA future prefix *b-* in place of the SA prefix *sa-*, as in for example *ib-yadxul* ‘will enter’ instead of *sa-yadxulu* in MA1 and *bi-yaḏhab* ‘will go’ instead of *sa-yaḏhab* in NE1.

9.5 Conclusion

To conclude the discussion of the constraints on diglossic intra-sentential code-switching between SA and NA with regard to the future particles, it is important to point out the differences between the males and females in their code-switching with respect to this linguistic feature. All of the three males and the three females included in this study tend to switch but the differences between them are in the frequency of switching, in addition to the preference for switching using a certain combination rather than another. In fact, there are differences among the males themselves and the females themselves in switching as some of them tend to have variation in the combinations of switching and others tend to use only two or three of the combinations of switching suggested by Eid. For instance, configuration (3), i.e. NA + SA FUT + SA verb, is found in the speeches of two of the female speakers as indicated above, but this combination does not exist in the speeches of the three male speakers. This indicates that there is no gender difference between the speakers but the differences found could be attributed to variation in personal style.

It is also important to note that the existing switching is not random. In examining the syntactic constraints proposed by Eid (1982, 1988), it has been found that the current data partially support Eid’s findings and provide evidence for a combination which is accepted by Eid (1982, 1988) although her data did not provide evidence of this combination which is combination (7). However, the data of the current study provide evidence for combination (8) (i.e. SA + NA future particle + SA IPF), which Eid has considered to be rejected by her speakers. This combination is accepted in the current data and is also supported by Bassiouney’s (2006) findings. Also, the findings from the current data support the contradictory effect constraint suggested by Eid as switching will not take place if the grammars of the two language varieties involved include contradictory conditions. The grammar of the future structure is similar in

both varieties. Furthermore, the directionality constraint is supported because if the focal point is from SA, no switching to NA after it is permitted.

In addition, the findings of this study support the constraints on word mixing proposed by Holes (2004), the dominant language hypothesis, and the neutralization hypothesis, as explained above.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to highlight the main findings of the thesis in the light of the research questions stated in Chapter One. Furthermore, it presents the specific contributions of this research to the field of study, and the possible motivations for and functions of code-switching, and then details the limitations of the current study and provides recommendations for future research.

10.2 Findings of the study

This thesis constitutes a preliminary step towards understanding diglossic intra-sentential code-switching between Standard Arabic (SA) and Najdi Arabic (NA) in religious discourse by male and female preachers; to my knowledge, there are no previous studies on diglossic code-switching between a Saudi Arabian variety of Arabic and SA.

In the current study, extracts were analysed from a total of twelve religious sermons given by six speakers (i.e. two sermons each) – three males and three females – all of whom are originally native speakers of NA.

Ferguson (1959a) argues that religious discourse is a formal context of speech that demands the use of SA. However, in the religious discourse in the data corpus, the six speakers – both male and female – switch between different language levels when delivering speeches in order to achieve their rhetorical and other indirect purposes, as will be explained in Section 10.3 below. Therefore, this study rejects Ferguson's (1959a) assumption that only SA, as the highest level of Arabic, is used in religious discourse. This is similar to the findings of other studies conducted on the functions and attitudes of code-switching between SA and other Arabic varieties (Saeed, 1997; Bassiouney, 2006, 2013; Soliman, 2008), which have provided evidence of switching to dialect speech in religious discourse.

The most common locus of switching is at (what could informally be called) sentence boundaries; however, this study shows that there are also many interesting instances of clearly intra-sentential switching and also that there is perhaps a functional trigger for the switch.

To investigate intra-sentential code-switching between SA and NA, four linguistic variables were selected for analysis from the speeches of the six subjects: negation, relative pronouns, demonstratives and future particles. As discussed in Chapter Four, different variants of these variables are found in the two varieties. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis were used to analyse the data.

Chapter Five presented the quantitative analysis of the SA and NA linguistic variants. Generally speaking, the results show individual differences among the speakers in the male and female groups in their use of the SA and NA variants of the four linguistic variables, e.g. SJ, a male speaker, generally uses NA variants more frequently than the SA equivalents. An exception is in the case of the demonstratives, where all speakers show a preference for using neutral and SA demonstratives. Two of the female speakers, NE and RB, show a preference for using some NA variants (with the exception of the demonstratives). In contrast with the other male and female speakers, one of the female speakers, RM, shows a strong preference for using SA variants of all the four linguistic variables investigated. Therefore, considering the small size of the sample, the findings suggest that gender is not a strong motivational factor that could affect code-switching at least in the group and the data studied.

Some general findings that have emerged from the quantitative analysis will now be highlighted. In the case of negation, the neutral negative particle *lā* is frequently used by speakers from both groups, which supports the findings of Rammuny (1978). By contrast, the SA negative particle *lan* is the least frequently used feature by all of the speakers, which is consistent with the findings of Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b). Regarding the relatives, the NA relative pronouns are commonly used with dual and plural nouns; this is consistent with Mejdell's (2006b) findings. Analysis of the demonstratives has shown that the neutral demonstrative *hāḏā* is widely used by all of the male and female speakers. In addition, both male and female speakers show a high use of SA demonstratives associated with near- and far-deixis, whereas males rarely use NA demonstratives associated with far-deixis and females do not use this

type of demonstrative at all. As for the future particles, there is low use of the SA *sawfa*, the prefix *sa-* being more common. Also, all of the male speakers show more frequent use of the NA future prefix *b-* than the SA *sa-*. Within the female sample, the female speaker RM shows high use of the SA prefix *sa-* and low use of the NA prefix *b-*, whereas the other females (as was the case with the males) use the NA prefix *b-* more frequently than its SA equivalent, especially the female speaker NE. Interspeaker differences in the use of SA and NA variants were observed. Nevertheless, it was concluded that the SA demonstratives are the most frequently used feature by nearly the entire sample of males and females, whereas NA future particles are the NA variants used most frequently by most of the male and female speakers.

Although the usage differences in quantitative terms between the males and females are small, it can be noted that, in general, the female speakers show a greater tendency to use SA variants than do the males. Intraspeaker differences could also be observed.

Moreover, in analysing the extent to which the switching can be considered to be systematic, the following theories and hypotheses were tested on the data qualitatively: Eid's (1982, 1988) syntactic constraints, Holes' (2004) word-internal mixing constraints (i.e. hybrid), Petersen's (1988) dominant language hypothesis, Clyne's (2003) triggering hypothesis, and the neutralization site hypothesis (Clyne, 1987; Poplack, 1980; Sankoff and Poplack, 1981).

One of the issues faced during the analysis was the presence of shared, or 'neutral', lexical items (Bassiouney, 2006) between the two varieties, which could facilitate switching. As suggested by Clyne (2003), neutral items could trigger switching to the dominant variety. The qualitative analysis also examined the claims of the 'dominant language hypothesis': that grammatical morphemes of the dominant language could occur with lexical morphemes of either the dominant or the non-dominant language, whereas grammatical morphemes of the non-dominant language occur only with non-dominant lexical morphemes. This study provides further evidence in support of the validity of this hypothesis, not only for internal word combinations but also for units larger than a single word. In the current study, SA variants are followed by either SA words or neutral words but not NA ones. On the

other hand, although NA variants are mostly followed by NA words, they were found to occur with SA and neutral words. This hypothesis applies to all of the linguistic features included in the study, i.e. negation, relative pronouns, demonstratives in the attributive case and future particles. It could also justify the contradictions found in the data to some of Eid's (1982, 1988) code-switching constraints.

Chapter Six examined the nature of the diglossic intra-sentential code-switching with respect to SA and NA negation. In examining Eid's code-switching constraints, the current study provides further general evidence in support of the validity of these constraints despite the fact that the data do not support some of Eid's (1982, 1988) constraints. In examining negation, Eid's (1982, 1988) configuration 8 (i.e. SA + NA NEG + SA IPF verb) was found to occur in NE2, a speech by a female speaker. This configuration was not acceptable in Eid (1982, 1988). She explained that the grammar of SA requires the tense element to be part of the negative particle and the grammar of EA requires it to be part of the verb. But because tense cannot be part of both constituents, i.e. the negator and verb, switching is not permitted. Finding this combination in the current data could be attributed to the differences between the varieties under investigation, as in Eid's (1982, 1988) studies the code-switching was between SA and EA and the current study focuses on NA. The difference could also be attributed to the dominant language hypothesis. Another difference with Eid's findings is that the data contain no NA structure, i.e. NA + NA NEG + NA IPF verb. This could be attributed to the fact that NA non-verbal negative forms more commonly negate active and passive participles in NA than they do verbs. Nevertheless, there is a single occurrence of an NA imperfect verb but the NA NEG non-verbal form is preceded by SA. In examining the triggering hypothesis, it was found that neutral negators could facilitate switching to NA. Similarly, the data provide evidence in support of the validity of the neutralization hypothesis in diglossic code-switching because negators from both varieties could occur in the same syntactic position in verbless clauses. This is similar to Mejdell's (2006b) finding.

Chapter Seven presented the qualitative analysis of the data on the relative pronouns. In relatives clauses, an important finding is that the NA relative pronoun *alli/illi* stands for SA plural relative pronouns; this is consistent with Mejdell's (2006b) findings. The findings of the current study demonstrate the existence of the combination SA noun + NA REL + SA IPF, which Eid (1982, 1988) found to be

marginally acceptable by speakers but which did not occur in her data. However, the data show that the SA verb is being integrated into NA in the absence of inflectional mood, which is consistent with the findings of Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006b). The data on the relatives also provide evidence in support of the dominant language hypothesis and the neutralization site.

Chapter Eight presented the qualitative analysis of the data on the demonstratives. The data show that SA near-deixis demonstratives are commonly used with an attributive function and the far-deixis demonstratives are commonly used with a pronominal function. In addition, the data show that both male and female speakers use SA far-deixis, whereas NA far-deixis demonstratives are used very rarely, if at all. When analysing the switching with regard to demonstratives in the attributive case, no restriction could be seen with the NA variants whereas a restriction is seen with regard to the SA variants of this linguistic feature as the SA modify only SA or neutral lexis but no NA nouns have been found occurring with SA demonstratives .

In the case of NA variants, the NA DEM *ha-* is found to occur with NA, neutral and SA head nouns. The structure of the demonstrative preceding the head noun is common in both varieties. This finding provides evidence in support of the validity of the dominant language hypothesis, as NA DEM forms are found to occur with both SA and NA head nouns. This also supports the findings of Boussafara-Omar (1999) and Mejdell (2006b). Moreover, since SA and NA demonstratives are similar in their syntactic structure, the neutralization hypothesis has been proved to be valid. In addition, the triggering hypothesis in the case of neutral demonstratives has also been proved to be valid in diglossic code-switching. In addition, testing the principles suggested by Eid (1982, 1988) has shown that the data partially support these principles. However, there is agreement with Eid and with the other linguistic variables included in the study that SA DEM are not followed or followed and preceded by NA. This confirms the directionality constraint.

Regarding SA and NA variants of the future particles analysed in Chapter Nine, the current study provides partial support for the validity of Eid's constraints. The data provide evidence for a combination which Eid found to be rejected and for which her data did not provide any evidence, namely the NA future prefix being followed and preceded by SA. Furthermore, the findings of the current study provide evidence

in support of the validity of the word-internal constraints proposed by Holes (2004), as the NA future prefix is followed by SA imperfect verbs with no final marker but no NA future prefix is followed by the most formal form of verb with a mood marker. Similarly, no SA future particle is followed by an NA imperfect verb. This also provides evidence in support of the validity of the dominant language hypothesis. Regarding the neutralization hypothesis, again the SA and NA future structure is the same and this hypothesis has been proved to be valid.

To sum up all the analysis (Chapters Six-Nine), it can be argued that SA variants restrict switching whereas NA variants occur with both NA and SA lexis. In the light of Eid's (1982, 1988) configurations this supports Eid's directionality hypothesis which states that “if the focal point is from SA, switching to EA would not be permitted at the position immediately after that focal point”. Moreover, the contradictory effect constraint has also proved to be valid as no switching has taken place between different grammatical structures of the two language varieties involved. Thus, the findings indicate that the diglossic code-switching found in the analysis of religious discourse is not random but is grammatically constrained. Evidence of individual variation in the choice of linguistic variants and in the combinations of switching found between the two groups of males and females, and even among the males and the females themselves has been found in this study. Having individual variation in the choice of linguistic style is consistent with Mejdell's (2006b) findings. Finally, examining the data in the light of syntactic constraints on diglossic code-switching provides further evidence in favour of treating the ‘mix’ found between two varieties as diglossic code-switching. It also contributes to the general field of code-switching by providing further evidence of the constraints proposed by Poplack (1980), Sankoff and Poplack (1981), and Clyne (2003)

To conclude the discussion, it is worth mentioning that while at the level of the four linguistic variables analysed the situation was qualified as diglossic code-switching, it may be that when other deeper linguistic levels are analysed such as phonetics or lexis other configurations of the interaction between SA and NA might be identified, e.g. phonetic interference or calques (loan words). For instance, in this study the phonetic interference is from NA (i.e. the L variety) where the SA /d/ is replaced by the NA /z/ by all the speakers. This results from the fact that the sound /d/ does not exist in NA. This finding parallels the finding of Mejdell (2006b) where she

also finds phonetic interference from Egyptian Arabic i.e. the Low variety into SA which represents the High variety.

10.3 Possible functions of diglossic inter-sentential code-switching in the study

The current study mainly focuses on the structural constraints of intra-sentential code-switching. There are other studies which have focused on the pragmatics and the function of inter-sentential code-switching e.g. Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz (1982), Giles and Coupland (1991), Myers-Scotton (1993a), Saeed (1997) and Bassiouney (2006). Based on my observations from the data analysis, this study could also fit with inter-sentential analysis because the inter-sentential type of switching is common among all six speakers of my study, which could result from having a lot of neutral lexis. Here is a brief overview of the findings of other studies in relation to what has been observed in the current study.

Chapter Three, Section 3.2 briefly introduced Blom and Gumperz's (1972) discussion of social motivations for bilingual code-switching, where they divided code-switching into situational and metaphorical categories. Following the criticism this classification received, Gumperz (1982) focused more on metaphorical code-switching. Gumperz (1982) suggested that the *we-code* and the *they-code* are a direct consequence of diglossia. According to Gumperz, the *we-code* is associated with in-group and informal activities whereas the *they-code* is related to more formal, outgroup relations. Gumperz (1982:75-84) also suggested a list of functions such as switching for the purpose of clarifying, quoting, repeating, clarifying or qualifying a message. Considering the code-switching in relation to NA found in the current data in the light of Gumperz's (1982) principles, it could be said that NA represents the *we-code*, where the speakers are attempting to create an intimate atmosphere with their audience. However, this is not the case with all the speakers. Thus, RM, a female speaker whose speeches are SA-oriented, best represents the *they-code*. The *we-code* occurs very rarely in her religious speeches given to a female audience.

It is also interesting to attribute the switching to the 'communication accommodation theory' (CAT) proposed by Giles and Coupland (1991). This theory introduces possible motivations for code-switching. Giles and Coupland (1991)

attribute the switching to two patterns, *divergence* and *convergence*. Convergence refers to the way in which individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviour. By contrast, divergence is a strategy whereby speakers accentuate the speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and others. In fact, CAT is similar to Gumperz's (1982) *we-code* and *they-code*. The pattern of convergence is consistent with Gumperz's (1982) *we-code* as this pattern also indicates the idea of having the speaker getting involved with the listener or the audience in monologues. By contrast, the divergence could be related to Gumperz's *they-code* as the speaker uses formal language to sound different. Convergence represents the unmarked choice of the speaker and often happens subconsciously, while the opposite is the case for divergence. Giles and Coupland apply this theory to describing conversations rather than monologues. I believe that CAT could contribute to understanding the social motivations behind the preachers' code-switching in the current study. In the male and female preachers' attempts to involve the audience in their message, they subconsciously converge to NA to relate their message to real life. By contrast, as religious speakers who must be competent in SA, divergence consciously takes place in their use of SA.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) introduced the concept of *markedness* and classified code-switching in bilingual situations into 'marked' (when the code is not expected) and 'unmarked' categories (when the code used is expected). However, Bassiouney (2006) criticizes Myers-Scotton's (1993a) classification due to the implication that both the speakers and the addressees have the same linguistic competence so that the choice of one code is more expected than another. In addition, Bassiouney argues that sometimes the expectations of the audience are not clear and it is the speaker who decides which code to choose. Bassiouney (2006) also adds that Myers-Scotton's (1993a) classification best describes the switching in conversational mood rather than in monologues. For Bassiouney (2006), markedness could better be defined as the speaker's deliberate use of a code for a particular discourse function. In the case of the current study, the use of NA when giving a religious speech is the marked code since SA rather than the *'āmmīyah* is expected in the context of a public speech. However, in contrast to Gumperz (1980) and Giles and Coupland (1991), Myers-Scotton's model emphasizes the relationship between the participants in that the speaker

switches to the marked code to change the balance of the already-set rights and obligations.

The findings of Saeed (1997) resemble and confirm the findings and the list of functions presented first by Gumperz (1982). Saeed (1997), in his study of the pragmatics of code-switching between SA and *'āmmīyah* in religious discourse, best describes the pragmatic motivation behind code-switching. He found that switching for iconic/rhetorical motivations accounts for 80% of the total number of code-switching motivations found in his study. Similarly, Halmari and Regetz (2011) also found that there is no religious or devotional text in Middle English prose without code-switching to Latin through the use of some Latin words, phrases or sentences. They attribute the switching to a variety of rhetorical purposes. According to Saeed (1997), the term *iconic* refers to the process through which the content is reflected by the form of the language, whereas the term *rhetorical* indicates the different stylistic strategies used by speakers to make their points clear. In the following paragraphs possible functions listed by Gumperz (1982) and Saeed (1997) and found in the current study will be discussed.

One of the rhetorical motivations found in the current study is switching for reiteration. Reiteration implies repetition for emphasis. Saeed considers this as one of the principal reasons behind code-switching (cf. Gumperz, 1982; Bentahila & Davies, 1983). My data support Saeed's finding that reiteration is widely used in religious discourse due to the preachers' or religious scholars' need to quote verses of the holy Qur'ān and the Prophet's sayings. It is also used by the male and female preachers in the current study when they talk about Islamic opinion on certain life issues. Gumperz's (1982) description of reiteration in code-switching best describes the linguistic situation found in my study. Gumperz (1982:78) states that "Frequently a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasise a message". In the current study, as in the case of Saeed (1997), reiteration entails the repetition of an utterance through paraphrase or a repetition of its meaning. For example, MA, a male speaker, quotes speeches from the Prophet and his Companions, and then paraphrases their speeches. The two female speakers NE and RB do likewise, i.e. quote and reiterate through paraphrasing the speech of the Prophet and other key Muslim authorities.

Exemplifying is another iconic/rhetorical motivation for switching suggested by Saeed (1997) and is found in the current data. In order for both the male and female speakers to reinforce their point of view, they switch to NA to give hypothetical examples. When giving real examples, two of the male speakers, i.e. MA and SJ, and a female speaker, i.e. NE, use both SA and NA. This contrasts with Saeed's (1997) study, where he found that real examples were usually in SA. He attributes this to the fact that the preacher has thought about real examples before presenting his speech whereas hypothetical examples are tailored extemporaneously. However, I do not concur with Saeed's assumption as I would argue that this may vary from one preacher to another. For example, MA and SJ, male speakers, give real examples but switch between the two Arabic varieties when narrating them.

Quoting is another rhetorical motivation for switching listed by both Gumperz (1982) and Saeed (1997). In my data, both the male and female speakers switch to NA when the quotation is hypothetical, i.e. if they imagine a situation and how a person might respond to it. They use hypothetical quotations when they want to present an example or provide supporting evidence in a narrative-like style to persuade the audience with their message. Also, when reporting speech or authentic quotations, as in the case of AM and MA, the reported speech is in NA; this is especially the case when a female is addressed or a female's speech is quoted. The preachers mimic the way in which the real speakers say the quotes.

AM and SJ, two male speakers, tend to switch to NA for purposes of sarcasm and mockery. However, this finding does not apply to the female speakers. This use of NA is clear when the two male speakers want to ridicule an act committed by a country, a person or non-Muslim behaviour. This was also the case in Saeed (1997).

Among the motivations found in switching to NA is trying to create a friendly atmosphere. SJ is well known for his style, characterized by jokes to attract an audience from different age groups and to "achieve a relaxed atmosphere", as described by Saeed (1997:155). Having a unique style achieved by addressing the audience using *'āmmīyah* in such a formal context is consistent with Bassiouney (2006), who also found that one of the religious scholars in her study developed his own style by switching to EA; thus, his switching is expected by his audience and is considered as his trademark. In the current study, SJ wants to convey his message

while keeping his audience entertained. As Saeed (1997) indicates, this motivation depends on the personality of the preacher or speaker and the nature of the topic. He also adds that it is used differently by the religious scholar included in his study. In this study, SJ cultivates a friendly personality and makes good use of joking. MA also uses joking but tends to be serious. AM is well known for his sarcastic style of humour, which I noticed in the two speeches analysed. As for the females, RM is well known for her seriousness; therefore, it was a very rare occurrence to find her joking. Regarding NE and RB, although the analysis shows a considerable amount of switching, it was also very rare to find them joking. Hence, it might be argued that male speakers switch to NA for the purpose of joking fairly frequently whereas the female speakers do not do this, since they do not use humour as a rhetorical device.

Switching for the purpose of simplifying is the most common motivation among nearly all of the male and female speakers in this study. Saeed (1997) found this purpose to be common among his religious scholars in addressing an external audience and in question/answer sessions. In the current study, simplifying is commonly used, especially when talking about complex issues to make sure that the audience understand the point.

Gumperz (1982) and Saeed (1997) also mention switching for the purpose of qualifying, which means a quick explanation to avoid ambiguity. Nearly all of the male and female speakers included in the current study sometimes used switching for this purpose.

Switching for the purpose of summarizing before moving on to another point is claimed by Saeed (1997) to be one of the rhetorical motivations behind switching to *'āmmīyah*. This is clearly evident in the current data, especially in the case of NE, a female speaker. However, summarizing a point does not always mean switching to NA as the speakers summarize the topic sentence again in SA after explaining it and give examples before introducing a new idea.

Regarding the other motivations for code-switching mentioned by Saeed (1997), such as signalling a closing segment to their speech, most of the time the male and female speakers in the current study end their speeches with SA. This parallels Bassiouney's (2006) finding. This contrasts with Saeed's (1997) findings where an Egyptian scholar ends his presentation in EA. Similarly, switching as a result of a lack

of evidence, and reluctance in addressing a point, is not found in my data of religious speeches. This could be because Saeed (1997) found this to be common in a question/answer context rather than in a presentation where the presenter might not expect the questions asked by the audience.

Talking about oneself, which is considered by Saeed (1997) as an iconic motivation for code-switching to *'āmmīyah*, is also clearly evident in my data for both male and female speakers. The switching in this context takes place when the speaker narrates an incident that happened to him/her, or what he/she accomplished or what he/she did in a certain situation; he/she tends to convey this information in NA. This motivation could be linked to the *we-code* and the convergence theories discussed above. This is because in talking about themselves, the male and female speakers are aiming to create an informal, friendly atmosphere and to get involved with their audience to convey their message.

Finally, Saeed (1997) also discusses other switches which cannot be attributed to iconic/rhetorical purposes such as side talks, when the preacher talks to one person in particular in the audience. Examples from the data from the current study include when NE asks a member of the audience for a pen and paper and when RB thanks a member of the audience for adjusting the temperature of the air conditioning. Moreover, I found other switches in my study, which Saeed (1997) would consider to be 'miscellaneous'. These kinds of switches cannot be attributed to a particular motivation because they are often in the form of single words, such as when the speaker in my study use an NA REL pronoun or an NA FUT prefix in an SA context. Saeed describes these kinds of switches as not real switching. In his view, they can be better described as "slips of the tongue, fossilization, tiredness (especially at the end of the presentation)" (p.198). However, I would disagree with Saeed (1977) in attributing these switches as slips of tongues or fossilization. I argue that using the NA relative pronouns and the NA future prefix can be attributed to the influence of the dominant language rather than having a pragmatic motivation, as explained in the qualitative analysis.

To sum up this discussion, in analysing the current data on religious discourse, it has been shown that most of the inter-sentential code-switching found in the data takes place due to the iconic/rhetorical motivations explained above. These functions

resemble those found in Gumperz (1982), Saeed (1997) and Bassiouney (2006), both in monologues and conversational data. More specifically, SA is found when discussing serious, formal and logical issues and when quoting verses of the Qur'ān, speeches of the Prophet or poetry, whereas NA is more common in simplifying, giving examples, quoting reported speech and the other rhetorical functions explained above.

10.4 Contributions of the study

The study makes a number of contributions to the field of sociolinguistics and code-switching in particular. First, it adds to sociolinguistic knowledge on SA and NA spoken in Saudi Arabia.

Second, to date there is only limited knowledge about the mixed speech of educated speakers in Saudi Arabia. Unlike previous studies on Arabic code-switching which focused on switching between SA and other languages or SA and Egyptian Arabic or Tunisian Arabic, this study has investigated diglossic intra-sentential code-switching between SA and NA, which has not been addressed before in the literature. In fact, to my knowledge no studies have been carried out on code-switching between two varieties of Arabic in Saudi Arabia, as most of the studies conducted are descriptions and analyses of dialect variation in Saudi Arabian dialects. The current study shows in detail how this mixed speech is derived, with the analysis of the four key variables; and it argues that the process is one of diglossic intra-sentential code-switching. Focusing on religious preachers' extemporaneous monologues therefore helps to fill this research gap. In addition, most of the previous studies have focused on Friday sermons, which are not included in the current study, and focus on inter-sentential code-switching to ascertain possible motivations and functions behind the switching (cf. Saeed, 1997; Bassiouney, 2006, 2013) or to ascertain the audience's attitudes towards the preacher's diglossic code-switching, as in the case of Soliman (2008).

Thirdly, previous studies of religious speeches have focused only on male preachers, and previous studies of Saudi Arabic in general have disproportionately investigated the speech of men. Given the gender segregation of this speech context

and the sociolinguistic studies of Arabic showing some gender variation (Walters, 1991; Daher, 1998, 1999; Al-Wer, 1999), there is a question over whether there may be gender variation in switching in religious speeches in segregated speech contexts. By analysing the code-switching of both male and female preachers, this study makes an original contribution by demonstrating that there is no obvious correlation between gender and any variation in switching in this religious speech context.

Fourthly, this study contains original data which have not been previously published or analysed. Lastly, it contributes to the field by providing further evidence in support of the validity or lack of validity of the constraints proposed by previous studies in analysing switching and mixing between SA and other dialects. Furthermore, it provides further evidence in support of the validity of certain constraints proposed for code-switching in bilingual contexts.

10.5 Limitations and further research

This research has revealed some interesting findings regarding diglossic intra-sentential code-switching involving NA, an under-investigated variety in studies of diglossic code-switching carried out on Arabic diglossic code-switching. The study is necessarily limited in terms of the sample size and linguistic variables included. Further research is needed on diglossic code-switching between NA and SA to investigate other syntactic and phonological features, including those first identified by Ferguson (1959a) and added to by Cohen (1970) and Versteegh (1984), to provide further evidence on the constraints that restrict switching in religious discourse and other formal situations. It is also worth mentioning that the speakers included in the current study are of a high level of education and professionalism in handling both Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic. Thus, further research would be needed into how the two varieties interact in the speech of representatives of other social and professional groups. This will build an understanding of the *intermediate styles* and *Educated Spoken Arabic*, which to my knowledge have not hitherto been studied in Saudi Arabia. Although intermediate varieties of Arabian Arabic in the Yemeni context have been studied, which have relevance to this study, the studies are of so-called “Middle Arabic” (written), and have not focused on modern, spoken contexts, which is stylistically very different Arabic.

Moreover, conducting a study with a larger sample size is important to obtain clear and representative findings on whether there are differences between the two genders in diglossic switching. Other social factors could be considered in studying code-switching between Arabic varieties. For example, with an increasing number of preachers and with new young preachers being admired by the audience, a comparison could be conducted between the old generation of religious scholars and the new young scholars in their switching between SA and NA or other varieties spoken in Saudi Arabia.

In addition, since it is common for Saudi preachers to give religious speeches outside Saudi Arabia and to address audiences from other Arab countries, in which the dialects spoken differ from NA, it would be interesting to investigate the relationship between code-switching and the kind of audience being addressed and the medium of delivery (e.g. television – speeches designed for international TV broadcast).

Furthermore, since studying diglossic code-switching involves the existence of two codes that are partially overlapping and partially distinct, it is necessary for a future study of code-switching to be studied in relation to the triggering hypothesis and neutralization site and in relation to Muysken's (2000) 'congruent lexicalization theory', which applies "when the languages in contact share basic sentence structure, such as alignment of the major constituents fully or in part" (Muysken, 2000:122), an expected consequence of language contact. He also adds that when following this category of analysis, the vocabulary "may come from two or more different languages, but may also be shared" (Muysken, 2000:127).

In addition to studying the constraints on switching, it is also recommended that further in-depth case studies should be conducted on diglossic code-switching in specific genres, using qualitative methods and techniques such as interviewing and interpreting speakers' observed practices.

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