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Attitudes Towards Code-Switching Involving Arabic in a Multilingual Situation – The Case of Accra

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Abstract

This thesis investigated Ghanaians' attitudes towards code-switching involving Arabic and Ghanaian languages in a highly formal religious setting like the Friday sermon. It aimed to offer the perception and beliefs of Ghanaian Islamic scholars and Ghanaian Muslims towards code-switching from Arabic to the local Ghanaian languages and vice versa. Data from 69 Ghanaian Muslims and 5 Islamic scholars from two different mosques in Accra, Ghana, were examined to achieve this purpose. The data was collected through web-based questionnaires, interviews, a Matched-guise test. The study's findings showed that Ghanaians had favorable attitudes towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic. Code-switches from Arabic to GLs, were seen as appropriate and approved in this highly formal setting. In general, the participants viewed it as a medium by which Islamic scholars get to the level of their congregation, create solidarity among members, and make the speech easier for the audience to understand. On the other hand, alternating from GLs to Arabic was viewed as demonstrating one's Islamic knowledge, giving credibility to the message and thus, showing its importance. These findings indicate that switching from Arabic to GLs was Ghanaians' efforts to maintain their indigenous languages in this extremely formal context. Switching from GLs to Arabic served the purpose of referencing and symbolic to the Islamic religious faith.

Keywords: Code-switching, language attitudes, Arabic, Ghanaian languages, markedness model, multilingual setting, religious domain, matched-guise.

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My Dear Mom

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People hold different attitudes towards languages, consciously and unconsciously. While language attitudes may not have a one-on-one association with language practices or use, these distinctive beliefs of individuals towards varieties of languages could help us understand language use (Wardhaugh, 2011, p. 74). In multilingual communities where groups of people who speak different languages or varieties of similar languages live close to each other, it is prevalent for speakers to develop different views and perceptions towards each. Wardhaugh (2011, p. 420) defined *variety* as " *a particular way of speaking, usually associated with a particular region or group of speakers and a code as a variety of a language*" There are over 60 spoken languages and language varieties in Ghana, which is an excellent illustration of a highly multilingual environment whereby different languages come into contact with one another, and each having its own societal functions that is guided by its user's attitudes and needs. One of these languages is the Arabic language, which is used mainly in the Islamic religious context and taught as a foreign language in schools.

In multilingual countries like Ghana, bilinguals are particularly prone to employ more than one code in a single communication event. This language situation is a global phenomenon referred to as code-switching. The most widely agreed-upon definition of **code-switching** is that of Gumperz (1982), who defines it as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." However, Poplack (1980) extends this definition to involving more than two languages, which chronicles what happens in a multilingual setting like the one displayed in Ghana. He defines it as "*the mixing by bilinguals or multilingual of two or more languages in (the) discourse, often with no change of speakers or topic, such mixing may*

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take place at any place at any level of linguistic structure, but its occurrence within the confines of a single sentence or even word has attracted most linguistic attention." This study employs Poplack's (1980) definition of code-switching as its operational definition of the term. The goals of sociolinguistic studies done on code-switching as a universal phenomenon involving Arabic mainly investigated its functions (Saeed, 1998; Albirini, 2011; Alnafisah, 2019). Some concentrated on the motivations for code-switching (Bassiouney, 2013; Alnafisah, 2019), and others examined the attitudes towards code-switching (Saeed, 1998; Soliman, 2008; Susanto 2006)

In the case of Arabic in the religious domain, which is the main focus of this study specifically, the scholarship on code-switching focused on the form of and contexts in which this phenomenon takes place in light of the "**diglossic**" nature of the Arabic language as used in the Middle East. Thus, these studies concentrated on code-switching involving the Classical Arabic variety and the different regional varieties of the same language in the Arab world (Albirini, 2011, 2014; Saeed, 1998; Soliman, 2008). The concept of "**diglossia**" was first coined by Ferguson (1959), refined by Gumperz (1961) and then later by Fishman (1980). Ferguson (1959) original concept of diglossia described this phenomenon as a form of language standardization where two codes of the **same language** existed side-by-side (like Arabic), with each code having distinct functions in the same speech community. Ferguson referred to the superposed code as the high variety and the regional code as the low variety **and** suggested that these varieties functioned differently in different domains. Generally, the **high varieties** were used in the **formal** domains for **formal** purposes such as in religious sermons, poetry, in print, and new broadcast. On the other hand, **low varieties** were used for **informal** purposes like everyday conversations with friends, family, personal letters, etc. Ferguson stated that speakers accord high status to the high varieties in these diglossic communities and view it as prestigious over the informal codes. Later, Gumperz (1961) argued that the phenomenon of diglossia, as noted by Ferguson (1959), existed in multilingual environments with **different languages** assuming the high and low attributes of diglossia as described by Ferguson.

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Fishman (1967), inspired by Gumperz (1961) work, redefined and expanded diglossia to include situations where **different codes of different languages** exist side-by-side yet serve separate distinctive functions in more and less formal contexts. Thus, in such multilingual speech communities such as Ghana, one language can be considered a high code while another language is regarded as a low code.

Earlier studies about code-switching between the formal and informal codes were mostly affected by Ferguson's (1959) views. Therefore, studies that concentrated on the phenomenon of diglossia in religious discourse, suggested that the formal code of a language was considered the appropriate code and was preferred and used for religious speeches (Kaye, 1972; Soliman, 2008; Zughoul, 1980). However, although the formal code was favored in formal discourse just like Ferguson's (1959) postulated, evidence from the literature shows that Islamic religious scholars employed both the formal and informal codes of the Arabic language in delivering their formal religious speeches (Albirini, 2011, 2014; Saeed, 1998; Soliman, 2008). Saeed (1998), for instance, found that in Islamic religious discourse, the attitudes of speakers towards the formal code was that it was employed when a message was perceived as positive and therefore was viewed as an upgrade of a particular speech. In contrast, the informal code was believed to downgrade a message (see also Albirini 2011). Saeed (1998) arrived at these findings after analyzing audio and videotapes of 13 different scholars from different Arab countries. Saeed's results also suggested that religious scholars' attitudes towards code-switching were influenced by the topic they were presenting.

A later study by Soliman (2008), which also examined attitudes towards code-switching between formal and informal codes of Arabic and its functions in the religious context, analyzed ten audio recordings of Amr Khaled, a renowned Egyptian religious scholar. Soliman's work concentrated on linguistic features like phonology, morphology, and syntax. The study demonstrated that the informal code frequently emerged in religious discourse. Also, while the subject of the lecture influenced the

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frequency of alternations between the formal and informal codes, the kind of audience had no relationship with the shifts. Soliman then found no link regarding switches and whether the speech was a lecture or a discussion. For speakers' attitudes, Soliman (2008) found favorable views of Egyptians towards using the informal codes in the religious domain. The researchers' observations disclosed that Egyptians' impressions on the use of informal code in a formal setting like the religious domain were very favorable, supportive, and the participants approved its use in even formal contexts like the religious discourse "that is supposed to disfavor it most" (Soliman, 2008 p.148) according to early research.

A more recent study by Bassiouney (2013) also investigated the use of the formal and informal codes of Arabic in formal Egyptian religious sermons. Bassiouney's research focused on the patterns of code-switching by Egyptian Islamic scholars in their religious sermons. Ten hours of recorded data was analyzed with the concept of indexicality by Woolard (2004) and the "Markendness" theory of Myers-Scotton (1998). **Indexicality** is a connection of a code or a linguistic form with a particular social meaning. While the concept of the **Markedness** model is that, for any given communication event, there is a code that is **expected** to be used, this code, Myers-Scotton, referred to as an **"unmarked code."** And there is the **"marked code"** or choice which is when a speaker uses codes that are **unexpected** in a particular setting. After analyzing data using the mentioned Model, Bassioney (2013) discovered that Egyptian Islamic scholars manipulated the diglossic nature of Arabic to facilitate the delivery of their sermons. In general, they switched to local Egyptian codes to express informal and intimacy with their audience, and they code-switched to the formal code to emphasize a point and quote the Islamic scriptures.

However, all these studies in the literature concerning the use of **Arabic in religious discourse** were carried in Arabic countries focusing on **the same language**, and **less concentration has been given to the use of Arabic in contexts outside the Arab world and in multilingual settings.** Few studies

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such as Susanto's (2006) and Alnafisah's (2019) works were carried in settings other than the conventional Arabic contexts and concentrated on **multiple languages**, including Arabic. For instance, Susanto (2006) examined the code-switch from Indonesian languages to the Arabic term "Insha'Allah" in Islamic religious discourse. The researcher solely investigated the occurrence of the Arabic phrase "Insha'Allah" and the reasons for its usage in a religious-oriented speech. Susanto (2006) discovered that switching was primarily influenced by metaphorical factors based on situational and metaphorical measures of Blom & Gumperz (1972). Additionally, the findings revealed that participants employed the phrase to increase their religious advantages among the audience. On the other hand, in the United States, Alnafisah (2019) investigated the functions of code-switching between English and Arabic in the spiritual domain. Alnafisah (2019), after employing the functional analysis and optimality-theoretic approaches to analyze their data, discovered that American Muslim scholars switched from English to Arabic for eight functions, for; (1) formulaic expressions, (2) indicating emphasis, (3) direct quotations, (4) stressing the importance of the message (5) introducing rhyming stretches, (6) inducing Muslimness and Islamic affiliation (7) showing level of education in the Arabic language and (8) in Islamic studies.

Although studies like that of Susanto (2006) and Alnafisah (2019) examined Arabic in contexts outside the Arab world, **they did not focus on the attitudes and perceptions of non-natives speakers of Arabic towards code-switching that involved Arabic in a religious-oriented discourse**. Al-Qaysi (2019) indicated that to get a well-informed comprehension of a particular concept, there is a need to get the knowledge of users' views and attitudes towards the said concept (see also Al-Emran et al., 2019). Also, situating such a study in a complex multilingual context would contribute to understanding language use and, at the same time, render us a more fruitful and accurate knowledge of code-switching (Alhamdan, 2018).

ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES (1.1)

What are Attitudes?

Attitude is one of the most significant latent social psychological constructs that form the core of various studies done in the social sciences (see Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). These include psychology and sociology and have gained solid foundations in sociolinguistics for its significance in studying multilingual communities and their language choices. **Attitudes**, as defined by Fishbein & Ajzen, (1977), refers to the predisposition to react favorably or unfavorably towards a given object. A more mentalist definition of attitudes is by Allport, (1935), who defines it as "mental and neural state of readiness." Traditionally attitude is viewed as a three-component structure consisting of affective, behavioral, and cognitive elements (see Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). The **affective** component, as defined by Steven J. Breckler (1984), is "an emotional response, a gut reaction or a sympathetic nervous activity." In general, the affective element contains all a person's feelings towards an object. The *behavior* component is an individual's overt actions. Behavior also incorporates behavioral intentions and verbal statements regarding behavior. The *cognitive*, on the other hand, is the knowledge an individual has of an attitude object. The behavioral aspect captures their thoughts and beliefs (Steven J. Breckler, 1984). The three-multidimensional components of attitude are widely acknowledged in textbooks; however, its influence in attitudinal studies has been minimal. A primary notion principal to this multidimensional attitude concept is that the three attitudinal components are organized and linked together. In direct contrast, other scholars such as Fishbein, (1965, p. 108) maintained a unitary approach to attitudes opposing the traditional view of a multidimensional components of attitudes. Fishbein argued that the tripartite model view was very problematic considering the shallow link between the elements of attitude and actual behavior, which has been demonstrated in recent literature (see Breckler, 1983; LaPiere, 1934; Wicker, 1969). Fishbein adds that the three multi-components structure of attitude was challenging when the theoretical concepts were translated into practical studies. Thus, when it came to measuring attitudes, although the multidimensional researchers claimed that they measured all three components of

attitude, in reality, their instruments only captured the affective component (see Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970).

This current study is more inclined towards the unitary approach to perception and considers attitudes as a unidimensional disposition rather than the tripartite componential concept. This is to say that the current work does not distinguish between the three components but rather considers all the elements as expressions of an individual's attitudes. And this is because in multilingual communities, the language that a speaker may have a favorable attitude towards may not be the same code that speakers may choose to include in their everyday linguistic repertoire. Likewise, Edwards, (1999) adds that a speaker may have unfavorable perceptions regarding a specific code, yet still hold the belief that using that code is significant.

Language Attitudes

Language attitudes refer to the attitudes that individuals have towards linguistic varieties and their speakers. According to social constructionist concepts, these attitudes and beliefs are generally formed from experience and shaped by social knowledge (see Wardhaugh, 2011, p. 108). Speakers form social perceptions and ideas about language varieties and the speakers of those varieties and sometimes even hold stereotypical views about members of these groups. Wardhaugh (2011, p. 151) explains **stereotype** as common and volitional categorization of the speech of a specific group. While it may not correspond to reality, these categorizations offer people a generalized description of members of targeted speech groups and the assumptions that all members of these speech groups exhibit certain shared linguistic features. These linguistic features are the results of variations in the way people speak and use language, which in general mark the social differences among speakers and thus, characterizes the groups and social systems they belong to. A code a speaker uses usually triggers attitudes and perceptions about the relevant speech community. Matched-Guise Tests (MGT)

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and other studies on speech evaluations have been employed in the literature to examine such perspectives, and findings from these studies reflect an overview of how people perceive a particular code. More details about the MGT are discussed in chapter 3.

The current study, therefore, aims to complement the scholarship on **code-switching (CS)** involving Arabic done outside the Arab world by **investigating Ghanaians' attitudes** towards the **alternation between Arabic** (or what is commonly known as standard Arabic) **and Ghanaian languages (GL) in a highly formal Islamic religious discourse** (since the study examines only the formal code of Arabic the study will only use the term Arabic instead of standard Arabic). Such a study will represent an addition to the literature of CS in general since it will bring new insights from a less industrialized multilingual community where Owens (2000) attests that relatively less research has been carried out. Participants' attitudes are vital as it reveals their beliefs, opinions, knowledge, perspectives, and attitudes towards a particular concept. Therefore, understanding the "participants' perspective will contribute greatly to the understanding of the phenomenon of codeswitching in religious discourse" (Soliman, 2008).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS (1.2)

The researcher hopes to achieve the purpose of this study by addressing the following research questions:

1. What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?

2. What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Islamic scholars towards code-switching from Arabic to GLs and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?

HYPOTHESES (1.3)

With the above research questions in mind, the researcher postulated the following hypothesis;

1. Ghanaians will display more positive attitudes towards code-switching from GLs to Arabic in a religious-oriented discourse compared to CS from Arabic to GLs. This hypothesis is based on Ferguson's (1959), Gumperz (1961), Fishman, (1967) views, which postulated that formal codes are more likely to be regarded as appropriate in religious contexts.

2. Ghanaians will hold that Islamic scholars who switch from GLs to Arabic are more religious and trustworthy. The hypothesis is based on Saeed (1998), Susanto (2006), Albirini (2011), whose research indicated that code-switching to Arabic is used to indicate trustworthiness and religiosity.

3. Ghanaians will perceive code-switching to Arabic as an indication of the importance of the message. This is based on Saeed's (1998) study, whose results indicated that the formal Arabic variety upgrades a speech, as well as Albirini (2011), whose study revealed that formal Arabic is used to express issues of importance and seriousness.

4. Ghanaian Islamic scholars will favor CS from GLs to Arabic compared to CS from Arabic to GLs. This hypothesis is based on Ferguson (1959); Gumperz, (1961); Fishman (1967), whose work suggested that formal codes are more preferable in religious discourse.

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LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ACCRA, GHANA (1.4)

Ghana, which is officially known as the Republic of Ghana, is a country located in the Western part of Africa, with a total population of about 30 million people. The capital city of Ghana is Accra. Ghana's linguistic landscape is unique, with English as the official language, spoken alongside Akan and Hausa as lingual fracas and other indigenous languages that many scholars estimate between 50 and 80 (Owusu-Ansah & Torto, 2013). There are controversies about the total number of languages spoken since scholars have difficulties when it comes to differentiating between the varieties, that is, what to consider a language and what to consider a dialect (Bodomo et al., 2009; Owusu-Ansah & Torto, 2013). The English language, which is not native to the country, is one of the most significant varieties due to its official use in the formal domain, such as in the educational sector, religious discourse, and mass media. English is spoken in two varieties in Ghana, ranging from the high standard used officially in formal contexts to a low standard, Ghanaian Pidgin English, which is used in informal conversational. In the formal domain of language use, English enjoys a remarkable status in Ghanaian communities among the multiplicities of languages and superpose the other varieties in almost all administrative and official sectors, including education at the expense of the native languages.

In Accra, code-switching is a norm as almost every Ghanaian speaks more than one language on a daily basis. This reason, in addition to Accra being the capital city of Ghana and an urban city with different speakers of distinctive Ghanaian languages migrating to the metropolitan city, thereby creating an immense linguistic diversity, was the other reason for choosing Accra for this study. Another reason being the fact that the focus of this study is on multilingual speakers who are widespread in Accra. For instance, although I live in Accra, I am a Dagomba (native speaker of the Dagbani language) originally from the northern part of Ghana. Albeit my family is all Dagombas, we code-switch many times in our normal daily conversation between Dagbani, Twi, and some English. Additionally, I speak the Ga language at the "Kantamanto" market, a majority Ga speech community.

However, outside the family house, I converse with my friends mostly in Pidgin English and the Twi language. Pidgin English and Twi are considered the lingua franca of Ghana and are usually used for informal communication in this environment. At school and for most formal interactions, I speak English. I hardly speak but understand Hausa, which is used side by side with Arabic and English in my madrasa (Islamic School). Each of these languages I speak is triggered purposefully yet sometimes unconsciously and contextually to carry out specific social functions without the need to have full native commands in all of them. This type of competence is widespread in the Ghanaian multilingual environment where the community's social language norms compel a speaker to master a certain level of a language for regular day-to-day communication and survival purposes like asking for direction or buying something.

Additionally, when it comes to the religious domain, which is also a highly formal discourse, the story is the same, English dominates the native languages in carrying out spiritual activities. For instance, in Christian missionary activities, the English language has been found to supersede the use of indigenous languages, especially at Wesleyan, Catholic and Anglican places of worship in urban speech communities (Owusu-Ansah & Torto, 2013). **Arabic** has been reported to dominate the Islamic spiritual realm (M. Mohammad, 2019). In a typical Islamic Friday sermon in Accra, which is the study's focus, Muslim scholars commonly utilize not less than two languages, which is conventionally Arabic and other Ghanaian languages like Twi, Hausa, Dagbani, English, etc. Traditionally the Imam or Islamic scholar alternates between languages that the Muslim congregation speaks and understands. Outside the formal religious setting, Arabic is also employed in informal communication between the Muslim faithful. The most common casual usage of Arabic can be observed in everyday greetings among the majority Muslim faithful, using the revered Arabic phrase "Assalamu Alaikum," which means "peace be upon you." Upon hearing this Arabic expression, any Ghanaian's conventional presupposition towards the speaker is that the interlocutor is adherent to the Islamic faith. Arabic is predominantly found in large towns such as Accra, Kumasi, in the Northern

part of the Republic, and in some urban areas popularly known as "zongos" (highly populated settlements) since these speech communities harbor large members of the Islamic faith.

This current study, however, aims to examine the attitudes of Ghanaians towards Arabic in the religious domain in Accra.

OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH (1.6)

This study investigates users' attitudes towards the universal linguistic phenomenon, code-switching involving Arabic in the religious-oriented discourse of a multilingual setting, Ghana. Relevant research works in multilingualism, language choice, and code-switching is presented in the literature review. The study examines previous works on multilingualism and their language choices in general and in the religious realm. Then researches that focused on factors that influence language choices of multilinguals are mentioned. The study addresses what motivates multilinguals to code-switch between the languages they speak and the functions of these switches in discourse. Code-switching is further divided into two major subheadings; code-switching involving Arabic in the religious domain and speakers' attitudes towards code-switching in religious discourse. The gap in these researches is then analyzed and discussed. This is followed by chapter three, methodology and data collection, which talks about this study's data gathering methods.

The study employed three instruments; questionnaires, interviews, and matched-guise tests. The chapter discusses these choices of tools and the rationale behind choosing them. Then the population and sampling method with justifications are mentioned. After that, the procedure in which the instruments are administered is discussed. Chapter four presents the outcomes of the three tools. The results from these tools are organized according to the research questions. Tables and figures are used to illustrate and summarize numeric information from the results. And in chapter five, the study discusses the meanings of the findings. Also, in this chapter, findings are grouped and organized according to the two research questions. The hypotheses that were made are tested against the findings

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and discussed. The study presents the conclusions as revealed by the results in chapter 6, and finally, the limitations and recommendations for future research works are suggested.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS (1.7)

Attitudes refers to the predisposition to react favorable or unfavorable towards a given object. (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975)

Code: a word used in sociolinguistics to mean a variety of a language; it is intentionally neutral and does not specify if the variety is a particular dialect (e.g., 'Cockney') or a broader category (e.g., 'English'); compare with language, dialect, register, genre, and style.

Code-switching: the mixing by bilinguals or multilingual of two or more languages in (the) discourse, often with no change of speakers or topic, such mixing may take place at any place at any level of linguistic structure. (Poplack, 1980)

Dialect: the term used to refer to a particular way of speaking a language which is associated with a particular region or social group; compare with language.

Discourse(s): language use combined with other social practices which produce and reproduce social categories and their values.

Domain: a concept which refers to language use as determined by topic, setting, and speakers; often used to discuss the choice of a particular variety of language.

Language: a system of signs used for communication; in sociolinguistics, one focus is on how to define the boundaries of such a system. This term is usually taken to mean the superordinate category of a variety which includes dialects, one of which is the standard.

Language attitudes refers to the attitudes that individuals have towards linguistic varieties and its speakers.

Lingua franca: a common language used to communicate in situations in which speakers of different languages interact.

Multilingual, **multilingualism**: is simply referred to as a society in which its members employs more than one language in communicating with each other**.**

Multilingual discourse: the use of linguistic elements from more than one variety in a conversation or text.

Matched-Guise Technique (MGT): is a method to study language attitudes; research participants are asked to judge speakers of different languages, based on a recording of their voices, for a variety of characteristics; unbeknownst to them, the same speaker is given to them in different 'guises' (i.e., speaking two different codes).

Norms: although this term may refer to value-laden attitudes about any type of social behavior, here this term is used to refer to ideas about the values of certain ways of speaking.

Speech community: a term used to describe a group of people who share linguistic norms; some definitions also focus on shared speech patterns.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

This section presents a summary and theoretical review of works about the phenomena to be investigated in the current study. The researcher shall examine some studies on multilingualism, language choices, and their effect on language use. The scholarship on code-switching is reviewed and accompanied by a synthesis of the literature that depict this societal phenomenon prevalent globally. The researcher shall then examine the role of the different codes of Arabic language in the formal Islamic religious context. Though not the target of this study (which mainly deals with code-switching between Arabic and other languages), the role of codes of Arabic in religious context is presented as an example of how codes commonly regarded as formal or informal are employed in the mentioned setting. Additionally, the functions of code-switching involving Arabic, in general, will be deliberated. In this chapter's final parts, works done in language attitudes, including attitudes towards Arabic in the religious discourse, are introduced.

Multilingualism and Language Choices (2.1)

As a societal phenomenon, multiculturalism is a situation common in many parts of the world where it is a social norm for people to speak a number of languages to execute several societal purposes. In such societies, it is a norm for a person to speak more than one language (Owens, 2000). Aronin & Singleton's (2012) work indicates that there is no general agreement regarding whom to call a bilingual or a multilingual and what level of competence the person must display command in those target languages to be considered a multilingual. Sridhar (1996) mentions that both bilingualism and multilingualism have been approached alike in the literature to refer to the use or knowledge of more

than one language. Wardhaugh (2011, p. 83) maintained that a person must not only have command of these languages but also must master how to use each language in its appropriate social context. In this study*, **multilingual community** is simply referred to as a society in which its members employ more than one language to communicate, and* **multilingualism** being the result of this practice.

Several researchers have taken a keen interest in the advances of multilingualism since it is rapidly increasing due to globalization, migration, and global mobility (Aronin & Singleton, 2008). When groups of people with different native languages live together in a community, three possible linguistic outcomes are realized; (1) language maintenance, speakers continue to use their language/languages (2) multilingualism/bilingualism: learning the other language/languages or (3) language shift: this is where one group shifts to the dominant language over a period of time (see Dweik & Qawar, 2015). Attempts to understand the language choices of speakers in such a multilingual community are witnessed in studies like the study of Dweik & Qawar, (2015), who examined immigrant Arabs living in Quebec, Canada, a society where French and English are spoken. The researchers wanted to investigate the language choices of these multilingual participants who spoke Arabic in addition to French and English. The researcher drew his data from 100 Arabs consisting of 73 males and 27 females who resided in Quebec, Canada. The sample comprised participants from different geographical backgrounds, different educational levels, and other extensive variation regarding demographic features like age, occupation, religion, etc. All the participants had Canadian nationality, and they were selected out of convenience and availability for the research. It must be pointed out that although the researchers tried to include a wide range of categories in their sample, they mentioned that the results and conclusions are not generalizable to the entire population of Arabs living in Quebec. The research employed a questionnaire and utilized the "social network" model by Milroy & Milroy, (1978) to address the following questions (1) What are the factors that determine the linguistic choices among the Canadian Arabs of Quebec? And (2) what are the attitudes among the Canadian Arabs of Quebec towards Arabic, English, and French?

The findings indicated that different factors influenced the choice of a language over the other. While at work, educational institutions, and to express their Canadian nationality, the majority of the participants chose to speak English and French. On the other hand, the use of Arabic was influenced by factors like home, family, and religion. Regarding watching TV and using social media, participants' choices alternated between Arabic, English, and French. These outcomes were similar to that of Ferrer & Sankoff's, (2004) and Thomason's, (2001). For participants' attitudes towards these languages, the study revealed that the respondents had favorable psychological and linguistic attitudes towards Arabic, English, and French. The participants viewed Arabic as fundamental in their social and religious communications. Most of them stated that they expressed their convert emotions in Arabic and dreamed in it. They considered Arabic as the most beautiful and poetic. They also had positive attitudes towards English and French since they viewed it as a symbol of their Canadian identity, provided better opportunities, and facilitated their educational and formal interactions. It was not surprising that French was maintained as the most prestigious and poetic code since it's the dominant language in Quebec.

Multilinguals language choices when it comes to the religious realm are influenced by so many factors, a fact that Dewaele & Wei, (2014) attempted to investigate in a purely spiritual setting, a church, in two multilingual communities of Kumba and Mundemba in the West African country of Cameroon. The languages used in these churches were English, French, Pidgin English, Latin, Oroko, Lingala, Bamileke, Lamnso', etc. The study's purpose was to discover the language choices of these Catholic congregations and what motivated those choices. The researcher sampled participants who were all adherents to the Catholic faith, including priests, catechists, choir leaders, and religious and lay faithful to the Catholic faith who were residing in these two areas. The researcher collected both qualitative and quantitative data in two stages using observation, interviews, discussions at the first stage, and questionnaires at the second stage. The only criteria for selecting the respondents was based on their regular attendance at the church. The researcher failed to mention the total number of

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participants involved in the qualitative data collection phase. However, a total of 36 questionnaires were completed for the quantitative data collection stage. Analysis of the results showed that, in general, there was the frequent use of English for reading Missal (scriptural guidebook used in the Catholic mass), for the ritual prayers, and for songs.

On the other hand, in both communities, Pidgin English was frequently used for preaching, reading Epistles (a book of the New Testaments), and reading announcements. Although French, Latin, and the native languages were also utilized, they were used for minor and subsidiary church activities, sometimes like singing and reciting some prayers. The reasons the participants gave that stood out for the choice of using a particular language was because the priests were proficient in them, and the audience comprehended it. This is what happens in most religious settings since the aim of the gathering is to convey a message. Additionally, they gave reasons as the availability of religious materials in them, the songs, and when the enchanting lyrics in a song of a particular language.

It is essential to state that it is common to find multilingual speakers communicating in different languages to one another, known as passive-multilingualism or dual-lingualism. This is the situation where speakers have knowledge of more than one language, and in communicating, each speaker speaks a language different from but understood by their interlocutors. A typical example will be an immigrant family living in the US, where the dominant language is English. The parents speak their native language to their children while their children reply in English. Thus, both parties understand both languages but speak a different language to one another for a different reason. Here we review a very unique situation of this passive multilingualism. Campbell & Grondona, (2010) investigated the language choices of speakers of Spanish and three other indigenous languages in Misión La Paz, Salta Province in Argentina, with a population of 650 people. The researcher investigated the unique language situation of multilingualism known as "dual-lingualism" or "passive multilingualism." The researcher acknowledged that unlike multilingualism elsewhere globally, this type of communication

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between bilinguals was very rare and even predicted that this type of multilingualism would die out in the near future due to the increasing threat from Spanish to the three endangered languages; Chorote, Nivaclé, and Wichí. Thus, the purpose of the researcher was to document this exceptional language situation and explain why it happened before it ceased to exist and before it was lost in history without it been recorded in the multilingual scholarship. To do this, the researcher investigated families and households' linguistic repertoires in the community for over six years engaging in six weeks to two months of fieldwork each year. The purpose of the fieldwork was to document the Chorote, Nivaclé, and Wichí languages to construct a grammar and dictionary for these languages. The researchers gathered audio and video data of daily conversations involving observation and interviews of many contexts from different works and social settings. The questions the researchers wanted to answer were straight forward: what language or languages is or are spoken by each member of the household? Which language or languages are understood? How does each person identify himself or herself (ethnicity they associated with)?

The findings of the research were unique as they found large accounts of passive multilingualism and extensive linguistic exogamy present in the community. A linguistic exogamy is a form of cultural exogamy in which marriage occurs between speakers of different languages. That is, most interactions are multilingual in nature. However, each speaker speaks in their own native language during conversations. Astonishingly, the speakers generally identified themselves as speaking only one language. However, all the three languages were used around them continuously, and they had perfect knowledge of them but maintained not to speak the other two that they didn't associate with. When the researchers queried the participants about their choice of language during childhood, they had no precise answers. The participants' responses suggested that they only favored one language over the other based on personal feelings and early experiences. For instance, in their language choice, the participants' responses were "I liked it more," "it just felt better," and "I thought it was nicer." Although unique, these findings were not entirely new since there were some partial similarities

elsewhere, like, as mentioned before, the dual-lingualism that happened among immigrants in the US where parents communicate in their home language to their children and their children replying in English. Other similarities can be found in Scandinavians involving Swedish, Norwegian and Danish, which has codes not wildly divergent from one another. The researcher concluded that what happened in Misión La Paz had a unique situation in its combination of dual-multilingualism, marriages between speakers from different languages, and the absence of language accommodation between spouses, which was uncommon in other types of dual-multilingualism and this necessitated the need to document the rare case of Misión La Paz

CODE-SWITCHING (2.2)

Bilinguals and multilinguals living in multilingual societies are constantly faced with the communicative need to use different languages in different social contexts, ranging from informal interpersonal interactions like a casual conversation with a friend to more formal communications like talking to a boss or teacher (see J. A.-R. Mohammad, 2019). Similarly, some of these communicative events compel a bilingual to use more than one language within the same conversation, and this concept is referred to as code-switching. This universal sociolinguistic concept of code-switching basically refers to the alternating use of more than one linguistic code or variety in a single conversation or speech. Code-switching is a style of speech commonly found in multilingual communities and known amongst bilingual (see J. A.-R. Mohammad, 2019). Poplack (1980) defined code-switching as "the mixing by bilinguals or multilingual of two or more languages in (the) discourse, often with no change of speakers or topic, such mixing may take place at any place at any level of linguistic structure." Poplack's (1980) definition is used in this study as the operational definition of code-switching.

The primary goals of many sociolinguistic studies done about this universal phenomenon of code-switching are to investigate its functions (Appel & Muysken, 2005; Gumperz, 1977; Hoffman, 1991; J. A.-R. Mohammad, 2019; Rahman, 2018; Ting & Yeo, 2019), some concentrated on the reasons for code-switching (see Abalhassan & Alshalawi, 2000; Kim, 2006) and others examined the attitudes towards code-switching (see Al-Qaysi, 2019; Koch, Gross, & Kolts, 2001; Nordin, Ali, Zubir, & Sadjirin, 2013). Examples of each of the above research goals will be discussed in this section.

Functions of CS (2.2.1)

Gumperz's (1977) earliest study on code-switching analyzed the conversational functions of code-switching, which he grouped into metaphorical and conversational usage. The researcher analyzed data from tape-recording of naturally occurring conversations of fluent bilinguals and multilinguals. Conversational switches were extracted from passages and conversations of students, professionals, and other educated speakers of Spanish and English, Hindi and English, and Slovenian and German language pairs. These participants were residing in ethnically and culturally multilingual environments and used a significant part of their time communicating with speakers of diverse linguistic backgrounds. After a detailed examination of data, evidence from his analysis revealed six different functions of code-switching;

1. quotations or reported speech,
2. addressee specification,
3. interjections,
4. repetitions,
5. message qualification,
6. personalization versus objectivization.

Gumpez discovered that switches to different codes served similar functions across all languages.

A recent work by Kim (2006), which reviewed much of the studies done on code-switching that investigated these linguistic behaviors of multilinguals, discussed the motivations and reasons that induced multilinguals to code-switch or code-mix. After examining previous studies, he came up with four broad motivations that may lead to the code-switching of bilinguals. These are:

1. Situational factors that comprise participants and social groups, i.e., code-switching depending on the interlocutors.

2. Physical situations, i.e., the context the person finds himself.

3. The topic of discourse.

4. Social variables, which may include social class, age, or race.

However, in a more extensive work by Bhatia (2004) in his book titled "Bilinguals," the researcher summarized the motivations of multilinguals into "with whom," "about what," "when" and "where." Regarding "with whom," the author meant the participants who engage in the code-switching, their backgrounds and their relationships with each other, and their roles in that particular speech event. As for "about what," the author explains that the topic and content of the conversation or event influenced the decision to choose a code. When and where indicated the situation and setting of the communication event. Bhatia concludes by reiterating that code-switching reflects a normal and universal phenomenon of language usage by multilinguals.

Moreover, in recent years the alternation between the formal and informal codes, which is peculiar to some languages like Arabic, has attracted notable interest from scholars in studying code-switching involving Arabic. Findings from such investigations revealed that the functions of code-switching involving Arabic were not different from previous discoveries, and as established by many scholars, the phenomenon was universal. Studies conducted in the Arab World demonstrated that in religious discourse switches involving the classical Arabic functioned as identifying speakers' association to

the Islamic religion, and had a relationship with the level of knowledge in Arabic and religious knowledge of speakers and their religiosity (see Saeed, 1998; Albirini, 2011; Alnafisah, 2019)

Albirini (2011), for instance, investigated the social functions of code-switching between the codes of Arabic by native Egyptian, Gulf, and Levantine speakers of the Arabic language. The researcher examined data from 35 audio and video recordings derived from Arabic language use in formal and informal contexts (religion, politics, and sports). The researcher analyzed the patterns of language use by these educated participants switching between their dialects and the Standard Arabic in formal religious discourse, informal soccer commentaries, and political debates. The audios were natural conversations, which varied between thirty to ninety minutes and twenty-seven hours in the total recordings. The results he found regarding the Arabic language use in these formal and informal domains, including the religious domain suggested that speakers switched for eight major motivations ":

1. To introduce formulaic expressions.

2. To highlight the importance of a segment of discourse.

3. To mark emphasis.

4. To introduce direct quotations.

5. To signal a shift in tone from comic to serious.

6. To produce rhyming stretches of discourse.

7. To take a pedantic stand.

8. To indicate pan-Arab or Muslim identity."

Albirini (2011) further grouped these motivations into constructs ranging from importance, prestige, accessibility, seriousness, identity, and sophistication. He concluded that, on the one hand, the switching to the informal code counted for less seriousness, less prestigious, inaccessible, and less importance. On the other hand, switching to the formal code was noted for Islamic religious identity, more seriousness, high prestige, more sophisticated, and more important. An overwhelming result

reported by Albirini (2011) was that the findings suggested that code-switching between the formal and informal codes are linked in the discourse functionally rather than contextually.

Speakers' Perceptions Towards Code-switching (2.2.2)

Regarding speakers' perceptions towards code-switching, Koch, Gross, & Kolts, (2001) using the Revised Speech Dialect Attitudinal Scale, examined 102 African American undergraduate students' perceptions of speaking only Black English, only Standard and code-switching between the two codes. The researcher recorded four audiotapes to evoke the necessary attitudes of the participants. The four tapes comprised of four different codes, Black English, Standard English, code-switching between them according to the social norm, and code-switching between them against the social norm. Participants were assigned to one of these four recorded audios and were asked to rate the personality of the speaker based on characteristics like literacy, wealth, education, and other social variables and also whether they would like to know or work with these speakers. Evidence from the results in line with the hypotheses favored the speakers of Standard English and the code-switching, which corresponded to social norms. Participants had positive perceptions towards these codes and viewed the speakers superior on the socio-intellectual status and aesthetic quality than those who spoke Black English and those who violated the social norms when they code-switched. They also expressed their hope to know and work with the Standard English speakers and those who code-switched according to social norms than the Black English speakers and those who violated the social norms when they code-switched. Similar studies done in this regard had identical results where speakers of Standard English were rated more likable and higher than their Black English counterparts (see Doss & Gross, 1992; Garner & Rubin, 1986; Mims & Camden, 1985). All these studies reaffirm previous studies on Ferguson's sociolinguistic phenomena of diglossia where there are two codes spoken side by side in speech community where one of the codes, commands higher status than the other code/s."

Code-Switching involving Arabic in Religious Domain (2.2.3)

Research works that investigated the social motivations of code-switching involving Arabic in religious discourse are relatively few, and one of the most distinguished and current studies in this respect is that of Bassiouney (2013). Bassiouney, a prominent scholar in Arab sociolinguistics, tried to explore how Egyptian Islamic scholars linguistically utilized varieties of the Arabic language to maximize the effectiveness of the message they delivered during religious sermons in a highly formal setting. The researcher analyzed ten hours of recordings from Friday sermons between the years of 1997 and 1999 based on the concept of indexicality by Woorlard (2004) and the "Markedness" theory by Myers-Scotton, (1998). Out of these, only three sermons were highlighted to explain the social motivation of CS in the researcher's paper. Each speech ranged from thirty minutes to an hour in length. Two of the three recordings were sermons from Sheikh Sharawy and one from Sheikh Abd Al-Zahir. Evidence from the speeches indicated that some religious figures regarded code-switching as a norm in the spiritual domain. Based on observations, Bassiouney (2013) concluded that preachers switched between codes to express a form of informal relationship with their listeners. Besides, these alternations had social motivations that created an atmosphere of solidarity in religious discourse.

Like Bassiouney's research, the majority of studies down on code-switching in the religious domain were dedicated to the patterns of alternations employed by native Arabic speakers. Very few studies focused on the switches involving non-native speakers of Arabic where code-switching takes place between Arabic and other languages. One such work existing in the literature that was interested in the interaction of the formal Arabic and other languages other than Arabic in a religious context by non-native speakers of MSA is that of Susanto (2006). This research focused on just the code-switches evoked by the Arabic term "Insha'Allah," thus switching from Indonesian or Javanese to Arabic. The researcher investigated its occurrence and role in code-switches between Arabic (as embodied by the targeted term), Indonesian, and Javanese spoken in Malang, Indonesia. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection with the use of questionnaires and

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interviews. Thirteen hours of conversational data were gathered in four months from evening meetings involving 195 participants, with 91 of them taking an active part in the discussion at these meetings. For rich qualitative information, the researcher interviewed 16 of the participants to ask them about their use of insha'Allah during the sessions. The data was then analyzed based on Blom and Gumperz (1972) Situational and Metaphorical theories. Susanto (2006) found that the Arabic term insha'Allah, which means "if God wills," occurred at various positions within a speech. Switching to this Arabic term was used to confirm that activity was going to be carried out in the future but dependent on God's will, a plan of action might change in the future, to signal the ending of a speech and used to invoke religiosity. Susanto summarized that participants employed the Arabic term insha'Allah to show their total submission to God, thus their membership to the Islamic faith, and to show a sense of politeness.

A more recent study in the religious setting investigating code-switching between MSA and other languages other than dialectal Arabic is by Alnafisah (2019). Alnafisah (2019) argued that the majority of the previous studies on code-switching involving Arabic directed their interest on native speakers of Arabic, and less concentration was accorded to non-native speakers. Addressing this gap in the literature, Alnafisah (2019) investigated the linguistic repertoire of non-native speakers of Arabic and their alternations between Arabic and English in religious discourse. Inspired by the functional analysis and optimality-theoretic analysis, the researcher analyzed data of American Islamic religious scholars to examine the social functions of their code-switching in this highly formal setting. Findings demonstrated that code-switching involving Arabic in the religious setting served the functions of evoking religiosity and religious affiliation, and switches also indicated the level of knowledge of the preachers in both their Islamic and Arabic education.

Attitudes towards code-switching in the Religious Domain (2.2.4)

In previous research, Ferguson (1966) noted that there exist several shared beliefs about a language and its speakers in every speech community. This assumption has been reaffirmed by numerous matched-guise tests (MGT) that demonstrate how the choice of code a speaker employs triggers an image or belief that individuals have of that code. For example, M. Mohammad (2019), investigating the role of Arabic in Ghana, acknowledged that it was quite difficult, if not impossible, not to relate the Arabic language to the Muslim identity. M. Mohammad (2019) findings of the perceptions of Arabic and religious identity are not new since Owens (2000) also noted that the sacred relationship between the religion of Islam and Arabic is revealed in the believes and attitudes of the followers of Islam all around the world from far east to the far west.

Earliest research, as Saeed (1998) quoting El-Dash and Tucker's (1975) asserts, indicates that "speakers of classical Arabic were judged significantly more religious than speakers of all other varieties." In fact, evidence from earlier research suggested that people had unfavorable attitudes towards code-switching between formal and informal codes in the religious domain (Soliman, 2008). Findings from Albirini, (2011), (2014); Saeed, (1998); Soliman, (2008) indicated that what was perceived as positive was expressed in the formal code and therefore this code was perceived as being employed in upgrading, whereas the informal code was perceived as being applied in downgrading (Saeed, 1998).

For Saeed (1998), his study concentrated on the alternations involving the Classical Arabic, which is the formal code, and the dialectal Arabic, the informal code, to examine the pragmatics of CS in a highly formal religious setting and the attitudes towards the speakers' switches. Data was gathered from 13 religious' preachers from various regions of the Arab world was used in his study. Saeed analyzed audio and video recordings of these participants to verify his hypothesis. Three of his postulations out of the five were reinforced with the outcomes from his analysis. Results revealed that the scholars switched between the two codes based on how they felt about the message being

delivered. The principal finding of the preacher's attitudes towards alternations was that, when a particular message was formal, serious, logical, authoritative, they expressed such message in the formal code. However, when they considered the message as less serious, less important, less positive among others, they represented it in the less formal code. Saeed consequently concluded that the preachers' attitude towards code-switching was influenced by the content and topic they were presenting.

Again, regarding the attitudes of speakers in the domains of religion, Soliman (2008) examined Amr Khaled's speeches (a famous Egyptian religious cleric) to investigate the linguistic situation and code-switching between the formal and informal codes of the Arabic language in the religious domain. The researcher was also concerned about how Egyptians perceived code-switches from the formal code to the informal codes of Arabic in a religious context. Therefore, the study collected qualitative and quantitative data to examine their attitudes towards code-switching. Soliman (2008) regarded the use of mixed methods, i.e., the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches in data collection, as the most appropriate to address the research problems. Data was gathered and analyzed in four stages. In the first stage, the researcher investigated the frequency of CS in ten recordings to examine the link between the alternations and the type of discourse, i.e., whether it was a lecture or a discussion session.

The researcher also examined the frequencies against the type of audience, i.e., whether they were Egyptians or non-Egyptians. The second step examined the linguistic features of the formal and informal codes of Arabic in the ten recordings of Khaled. The third phase focused on the attitudes and opinions of Egyptians concerning the alternations between the Standard Arabic and the dialectal Arabic in the formal religious domain. The fourth stage was dedicated to having interviews with Egyptian elites to gather their attitudes on Khaled's code-switching style. These four processes were used to address the five research questions, one of which was "what are the attitudes of the educated Egyptians towards the use of Egyptian Arabic in religious formal speech?" The findings from his

investigation revealed that Egyptians' perceptions on the use of the informal codes of Arabic in a formal setting like the religious domain were very favorable, supportive, thus they approved its use even in settings "that is supposed to disfavor it most" (Soliman, 2008, p. 148).

The current study is an extension to the knowledge of this phenomenon, namely attitudes towards code-switching in a religious context, however, it examines it in a multilingual situation to detect attitudes towards code-switching exhibited by multilingual non-native speakers of Arabic and other languages. Accordingly, the study hopes to offer new understandings on code-switching exploiting a new setting. This is in and by itself very important in avoiding the problem "that much sociolinguistic theory has been built up so tightly around data from industrialized and post-industrialized societies that a more adequate theory is dependent upon a more adequate descriptive basis, specifically from the less or non-industrialized world (see Owens 1998)."

3

Methodology & Data Collection

Various methodologies have been used in the literature to address attitudes towards languages. Garrett (2010, p. 37), after examining research works on attitudes in his book "Attitudes to Language, key topics in sociolinguistics," discussed three practical approaches in the literature implemented in studying attitudes. First of all, there is the ***direct approach***, which involves directly eliciting users' overt attitudes by employing questionnaires, interviews, focused groups, etc.

The second technique is the ***indirect approach***, which indirectly measures users' opinions without their knowledge about what they are reporting on. The most widely applied tool in such an approach is the Matched Guise Test. Additionally, there is a ***societal treatment approach***, which is the third technique in measuring attitudes. It comprises the researcher making observations, inferences on existing data such as audio or video recordings, etc., without directly or indirectly eliciting human participants' responses (Garrett, 2010, p. 37).

As famous as the direct approach is in examining attitudes in the literature, this approach is insufficient in comprehensively documenting speakers' beliefs and perceptions since the direct method do not consider the subtle opinions and feelings of participants. Therefore, using indirect means is ideal for supporting the overt statement of behavior. This current study, accordingly, makes use of the indirect method, employing the Matched Guise Test (MGT) in the data collection and the direct approach working with questionnaires and interviews. The significance of the MGT is that it takes advantage of the elusiveness and subtleness in how the questions are presented to capture behavior instead of directly asking individuals to report on their attitudes. The researcher is also convinced that these comprehensive techniques will appropriately measure Ghanaians' attitudes

towards Arabic (i.e., CS from GLs to Arabic) and Ghanaian languages (i.e., CS from Arabic to GLs) in religious-oriented discourse.

Participants (3.1)

Participant is "the term used to refer to the people who are part of the communicative event being studied" (Wardhaugh, 2011, p. 413). While a *sample* is "the group of research participants in a given study" (Wardhaugh, 2011, p. 416). The study draws its sample from Ghanaian Islamic preachers and Muslims who have some knowledge of Arabic. For the purpose of this research, any participant literate in Arabic and has some level of experience in Arabic is considered and invited to take part in the study. The target sample consists of anyone capable of detecting when Arabic is spoken, can read and write Arabic, and can distinguish when Islamic scholars alternate to and from the Arabic language in religious discourse. The study deems these Ghanaian Arabic literates as representative of speakers of the Arabic language in this setting since the Arabic speakers in the Ghanaian speech environment are not native Arabs. The researcher believes that using such educated informants to measure code-switching attitudes leads to better-informed opinions because the educated participants may have a fair idea about the code-switching phenomenon (see Albirini, 2011; Soliman, 2008).

Regarding the mode of sampling, Islamic religious' preachers are chosen from two distinctive mosques in different localities in Accra based on the researcher's judgments. For qualitative information, *judgment sampling* is regarded in sociolinguistic studies as practical and preferred (see Wardhaugh, 2011, p. 159). Judgment sampling is a non-probability sampling method where researchers recruit members based on the researcher's knowledge and professional judgment. This type of sampling is generally purposive, unlike probability sampling, where all the target population has a chance of being selected for research in a kind of probabilistic manner. In general, the criteria for selecting these religious scholars are based on their frequent shifts to Arabic and their usage of at

least two Ghanaian languages in their regular Friday sermons. Also, the study acknowledges the number of followers who listen to these religious scholars', which simultaneously indicates the scholars' popularity and, at the same time, suggests that their CS style is not out of the norm. Additionally, the study includes these two mosques because they have extensive Muslim outreach. Both have television channels, which are very popular, and are influential in reaching out to more Muslims.

In recruiting other participants from the congregation in these mosques, the study uses *the snowball sampling technique* to invite participants who have knowledge of Arabic and are among the regular audience in these chosen mosques. The snowball technique, which is also referred to as chain sampling, chain-referral sampling, or referral sampling, is also a type of non-probability selection where current research participants identify or recommend other participants from among their contacts to partake in the research. This technique is used since the study is after two significant traits in the participants, which are; individuals with Arabic knowledge and Ghanaian Muslims who frequents these two chosen mosques. Thus, using this technique makes it easier to reach these participants faster, and little planning is needed. The researcher is also convinced that these Arabic-inclined participants are the excellent target models whose remarks on code-switching in this context are essential since they "have lived through the phenomenon" (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 15; Soliman, 2008, p. 72).

The overall sample of the study consist of 74 participants. Sixty-nine of them are Ghanaian Muslims, and five of them are Islamic scholars from two mosques. The Islamic scholars only took part in the interviews and the Ghanaian Muslims took part in all three instruments (questionnaires, interviews, and MGT). All these Islamic scholars are above the ages of 24, and they are all graduates and well versed in the Arabic language.

Regarding the Ghanaian Muslims, their data were collected through the questionnaire, which was administered through Google Forms. This web-based survey was used since this was in accordance with COVID-19 protocols of avoiding physical contact with people, and also, it was easier to collect and analyze the data. Over four months, the online Google Forms received 82 responses, and this was strictly through the snowball methodology. This method was useful as it collected data from different individuals who frequented the two mosques selected for the study and avoided any prospective visitor who is not used to praying at these two mosques nor was familiar with the code-switching style of the Imams. Nine out of the 82 responses were discarded since they were from the same individuals, i.e. these respondents submitted the same responses more than once. Since they were the same responses submitted more than once, the extra responses were discarded and not included. The possible explanation for this was that they clicked on submit more than once or probably technical glitches from Google Forms. To make sure that this problem was not recurrent (i.e. there were no exact repeated responses), the researcher compared all the responses to each other. The researcher believes this did not have any repercussions on the results. Also, three other submissions were excluded because the responders indicated on the survey that they did not know Arabic. Also, another respondent did not complete the demographic information and whether he had knowledge in Arabic or not. To stay on the safe side, their submission was also omitted from the results. Thus, the study analyzed only 69 responses from the Ghanaian Muslim congregations. The demographic distribution of these participants is as follows. Out of the 69 participants who declared their gender, 67% were male, and 33% were female. Thirty-six representing the majority were between the age of 15 to 24 (52%), and the rest, 33, were above the age of 24 years (48%). The educational distribution of the participants can be seen from Figure 1 (p.35) that 55% of the respondents were in higher educational institutes, 29% of them were graduates, 12% of the participants were high school students, and the other 4% of the respondents were dispersed between; Ph.D., masters, and post-graduate education. The other major factor in selecting participants was whether they had knowledge of Arabic. From the survey, only three of the respondents stated that they had no knowledge of Arabic and were excluded

from the results. The rest of the sample was knowledgeable in Arabic, and some even had advanced knowledge.

During the second stage, a substantial number of the participants were all inclined to contribute to the talk. Forty-eight percent (33) of the respondents put down their numbers to have the interview, and another 35% (24) others were hoping to take part in the interview when they had the chance. Accordingly, the 35% (24) respondents indicated their willingness to participate in the interview by selecting the option "Maybe" to answer the question, "**Will you be interested in participating in a short interview?"** Albeit out of 83% (57) of participants willing to have the interview, only 15 interviews were conducted (five interviews with the Imams and ten with the congregation). Out of the number of participants from the congregation who were interviewed from both mosques, 60% of them were males, and 40% of them were females. Seventy percent were between the ages of 15 – 24 years, and 30% were above 24 years. Twenty percent were still in High school, and 50% were in tertiary institutions, and the last 30% were graduates. The remaining respondents were not contacted due to time constraints. Accordingly, after finalizing the scheduled dialogues with the Imams, the study could not reach out to additional participants for further meetings.

Participants' education background

Figure 1

What is your level of Education?

Others
4.3%

High School
11.6%

Graduate
29.0%

Tertiary/Polytec...
55.1%
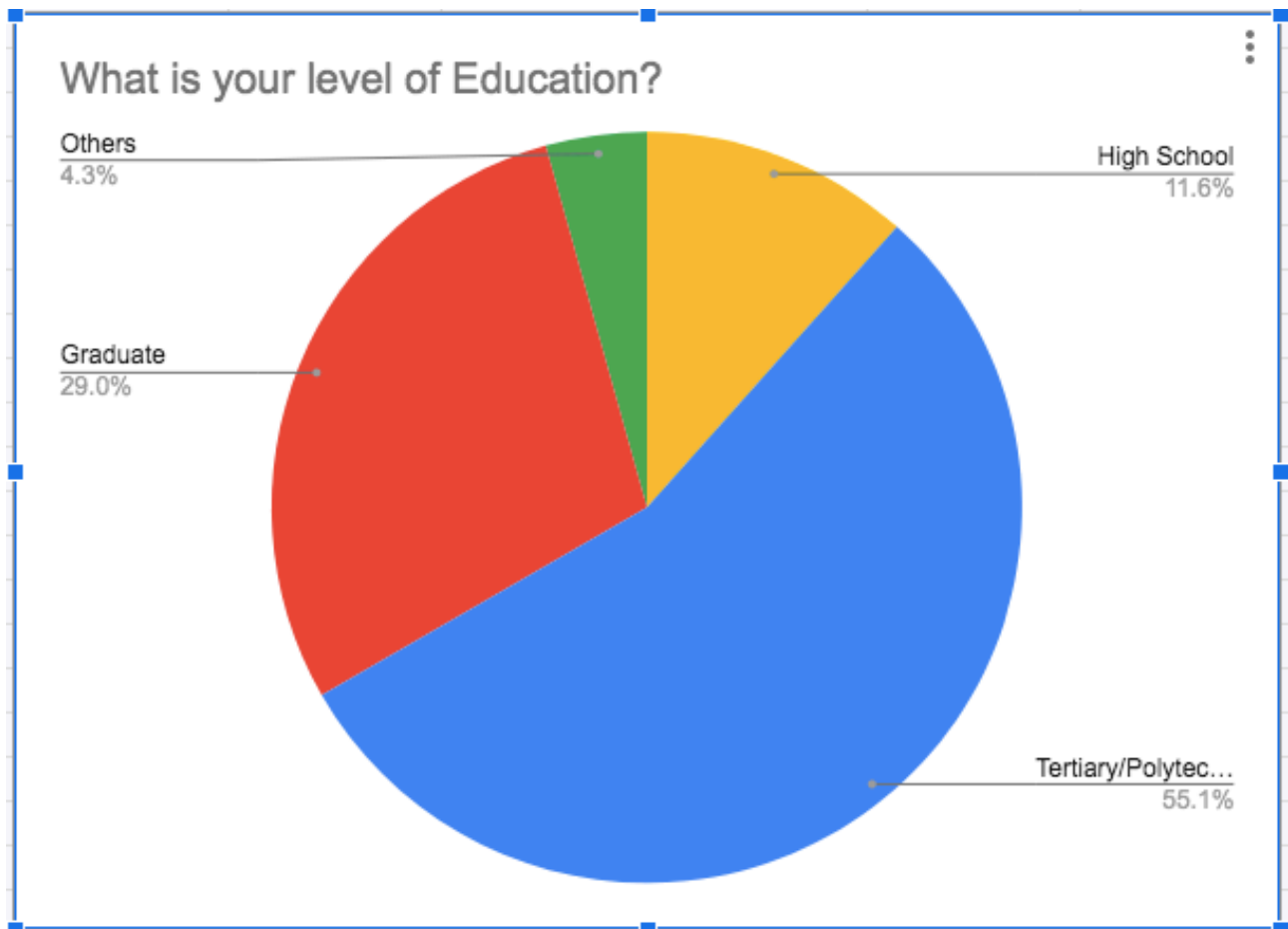
INSTRUMENTS (3.2)

Questionnaire (3.2.1)

In addressing the research questions, one of the tools used to collect data concerning participants' attitudes and perceptions towards code-switching is the questionnaire. ***Questionnaires*** are a well-established method of gathering data in sociolinguistics (Garrett, 2010, p. 37; Soliman, 2008). This study adapts Soliman's (2008) questionnaires, which were utilized to address Egyptians' attitudes towards code-switching in a religious-oriented discourse. The reason for using Soliman's (2008) survey is that the primary goal of his tool was to measure the attitudes of participants towards code-switching, and that is also the sole purpose of this current research. Thus, using this instrument is deemed suitable to measure attitudes.

Additionally, it saves the time needed to develop a new tool. Nonetheless, Soliman's (2008) questionnaire is modified to address the Ghanaian context better. (The complete questionnaire is attached to the Appendix **A** p.104) These changes make the study questionnaire easier and more straightforward for the participants in answering the survey. Examples of these adaptations include an additional item found in section one, question 2, "Which of the following do you think is appropriate in religious discourse?" This question was added to examine the languages the participants favored in religious discourse. Other modifications made to the initial survey are mere simplifications of language to achieve the questionnaire's expected objective in this new setting. An example of an adjustment can be observed in the question "they are not good in Arabic." which is rephrased from the original question "they are deficient in Classical Arabic" in Soliman's, (2008) work. Also, the phrase religious scholars in the initial questionnaire is altered to "Imam" (leader) in the new questionnaire, and this is because religious leaders are traditionally referred to as "Imam" in this environment and, therefore, the participants will relate well with it. Other questions are omitted altogether; for example, the item "They (Islamic Scholars) belong to a high socio-economic class." is omitted as this question does not apply or serve the purpose of the current research. Similarly, since the study investigates only the standard Arabic language, the researcher only uses the word "Arabic"

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throughout the questionnaire and the **informal variety** being the Ghanaian languages. This simplification of speech will not pose any difficulty to the participants or the researcher since only the Modern Standard Arabic is widely known and used in this setting.

The questionnaire is designed to address research question one, "what are Ghanaian Muslims attitudes towards code-switching from Arabic to GLs and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon," since it gathers information on Ghanaians' positions towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages and vice versa. In general, the total items on the questionnaire are 14, not including the demographic section. Out of that, ten assesses attitudes on a five-point Likert-type scale where participants answer from a range of 1 to 5, namely "strongly disagree," "disagree," "uncertain," "agree," and "strongly agree," respectively. The five-point Likert-type questions are grouped into two; **one** targeting participants' attitudes towards switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages. Here participants will attempt the questions "I think Imams who switch to Ghanaian languages such as Twi and Hausa while delivering their sermons are;

1. Using easier languages that users will understand.

2. Not good in Arabic.

3. Competent speakers of Ghanaian languages than Arabic.

4. More likely to engage their audience.

5. More capable of addressing all classes of the Ghanaian society.

Likewise, the **second** group of questions targets participants' opinions of alternations from GLs to the Arabic language and is also answered with the five-point Likert scale (strongly disagree – disagree – uncertain – agree – strongly agree). Participants attempt the question, "What are your feelings about Imams who switch from Ghanaian languages to Arabic when delivering their sermons?

1. They are very good in the Arabic language.

2. They are religiously knowledgeable.

3. They are more trustworthy.

4. They receive more respect from the audience.

5. I believe that switching to Arabic indicates that an important message is about to be delivered.

Two questions are open-ended;

1. "I feel that switching **to Ghanaian languages** in religious discourse ……………………………………………………………………………………………………"

2. I feel that switching **to Arabic** in religious discourse ……………………………………………………………………………………………………"

Participants are invited to respond to these two open-ended questions with their general feelings and opinions on the phenomenon. Although all the items are in English, participants are also allowed to express their views in English or any of the local Ghanaian languages they feel comfortable articulating.

The other two queries that make up the 14 total questions on the questionnaire are designed to explore respondents' language preferences in the religious domain. Participants attempt the questions;

1. "Arrange the following languages according to your preference in a religious sermon. (a) Twi (b) My first language (c) Arabic (d) English (e) Others."

2. "Which of the following do you think is appropriate in religious discourse? (a) Only Arabic (b) Only Ghanaian language(s) (c) Arabic and Ghanaian language(s)."

These two questions above are designed to provide a clue to the language varieties that these participants expect in religious discourse. The first question allows the participant to mention their language of preference and their answer indicate what they believe is expected in religious sermon. The second question focuses on the appropriateness of the language/s chosen in this formal Islamic religious discourse. That is, whether the participants believe only formal codes (like Arabic and English) is appropriate or the informal codes (like the GLs) or both are appropriate in a formal religious setting.

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Interview (3.2.2)

The interview questions are semi-structured and modeled to be a follow-up to the survey (the complete interview questions are attached to the Appendix **B** p.107). It serves to complement the questionnaire by providing the study with qualitative information by gathering participants' global perceptions towards code-switching involving Arabic in targeted setting. Soliman's (2008) interview questions inspired the current interview since Soliman employed it to investigate Egyptians' attitudes towards alternating the high and low varieties of the Arabic language in a religious speech. However, the questions are adjusted to coincide with the demands of the Ghanaian setting and the focus of the study. Some of the modification include the omission of questions like "Do these scholars belong to the upper class?" is excluded from the interview questions since it is not part of the focus of the current research. Other adaptations have to do with rephrases of sentences and diction. For instance, "In Egypt, several scholars and sheikhs use Egyptian Arabic in their formal speech. Do you think the use of Egyptian Arabic is appropriate in religious discourse?" is rephrased to "In Ghana, several scholars and sheikhs use Ghanaian languages like Twi and Dagbani in their religious formal speech. Do you think the use of Ghanaian languages is inappropriate in religious discourse? Why do you think so?"

Through the interview, participants will provide their knowledge on code-switching since they have experience and know more about the phenomenon than the interviewer (Soliman, 2008, p. 73). Therefore, the interview's significance is that participants' insightful comments and clarifications reveal their feelings, perceptions, and beliefs towards code-switching in a more elaborated manner, which the questionnaire will not be able to capture. For instance, inquiries like "Are those scholars who use Ghanaian languages incompetent in Arabic? Why?" and "In Ghana, several scholars and sheiks use Ghanaian languages like Twi and Dagbani in their formal religious speech. Do you think the use of Ghanaian languages is inappropriate in religious discourse? Why do you think so?" gives the interviewees' chance to elaborate on their previous stance in the questionnaire verbally.

The interview questions are designed for two groups of participants, "Group A" for the audience and "Group B" for the Islamic scholars. The "Group A" questions are devised to address problem one of the research questions, which is "What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?". Similarly, the responses from "Group B" provide qualitative information that will be used to examine the second research question, which is "What are the attitudes of Islamic scholars towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?" While both groups' items are similar, they include slightly different questions specific to the mentioned group. For example, the Islamic scholars respond to a question like "What do you think are the opinions of your audience about your switches to Arabic?" On the other hand, the audience expresses their views on a question like, "When you notice the Imam switching to Arabic, does it draw your attention to the importance of the message about to be delivered? Why?" Similar to the questionnaire, some of the interview questions in Soliman's (2008) work are omitted in the current study. An item like "Do those scholars belong to the upper class?" is removed since scholars' social status is not the current study's focus.

Matched-Guise Technique (3.2.3)

Matched-Guise Technique (MGT*)* as explained by Wardhaugh (2011, p. 144), is "a method to study language attitudes; research participants are asked to judge speakers of different languages, based on a recording of their voices, for a variety of characteristics; unbeknownst to them, the same speaker is given to them in different 'guises' (i.e., speaking two different codes)." The matched-guise technique used in this study is inspired by the outstanding work of (Lambert et al., 1960). It concentrates on the attitudes of participants towards code-switching (CS) from Ghanaian languages (GLs) to Arabic and CS from Arabic to Ghanaian Languages, which are the main variables under investigation. This test is introduced to the respondents after they have completed the survey since it is a follow up of the

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questionnaire. The MGT is administered to participants in an effort to examine their attitudes towards a particular language variety as indicated by the type of inferences participants make about the speaker (whether negative or positive inferences). The advantage of using the MGT alongside the direct techniques, as Lambert et al. (1965) demonstrated, is that it undoubtedly induced covertly held beliefs and feelings about languages that cannot be registered using the direct methods. The outcomes of the MGT will be used to address the attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations' attitudes towards code-switching from GLs to Arabic. The MGT test differs from the questionnaire in the sense that it reports on users' covert opinions on CS from GLs to Arabic. Thus, it registers participants' secretly held judgments (Giles and Coupland, 1991). These findings are obtained by allowing participants to rate two recorded audios regarding Islamic knowledge, Arabic language knowledge, intelligence, dependability, and the speaker's leadership skills. Here also, the five-point Likert-type scale is employed where, for instance, listeners rate speakers' "Arabic knowledge" by choosing from;

     (a) Not very knowledgeable in Arabic

     (b) less knowledgeable in Arabic

     (c) neutral

     (d) knowledgeable in Arabic

     (e) very knowledgeable in Arabic."

The two recorded audios include code-switching from GLs to Arabic and CS from GLs to GLs. The tapes depict a Ghanaian Islamic scholar speaking in a formal religious context. The recordings were initially reviewed by Ghanaian Islamic scholars and a linguist to measure its authenticity as fitting for a religious context. The researcher is convinced that, as a matched-guise, the tapes achieved its objective to guise the speaker since the Ghanaian Islamic scholars who were contacted to judge the audios (as being able to be considered as authentic speech from religious scholars) did not recognize that it was the same person speaking in both audios. Consequently, they acknowledged that the two audios can appropriately represent any Islamic scholars' speech and judged that the speaker

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articulated well in the Ghanaian languages. However, one of the judges, who is a linguist, commented that the speaker's Hausa is not that of a native speaker. Nonetheless, most Hausa speakers in Ghana speak Hausa as a second language, so the researcher believes this will not affect participants' judgment.

During the second phase of data collection, participants who gave consent on the questionnaire to participate in the remaining steps of the research are made to listen to the two tapes. In one tape, the speaker code-switches between Arabic and GLs (Arabic and Twi), and in the other, he alternates between only GLs (Hausa and Twi). In Audio **I,** the speaker quotes a verse of the Quran in Arabic and explains it by alternating between Arabic and Twi. However, in Audio **II**, the speaker quotes the same Quranic verse in Hausa and elucidates it by switching between Hausa and Twi. Twi and Hausa are used because they are the most popular languages used in the religious sermons in Accra and are also widely spoken by Ghanaian Muslims. So, these languages are familiar to the participants. Hence, the hope is that the evaluators would not face difficulties understanding the tapes because they have control over these languages.

The underlying idea here and in almost all Matched-Guise tests is that the study tries to hold all factors as constant as possible in all respects but differing in just one aspect, which is under investigation. In this study, what varies in the two audios is the presence of instances of code-switches to Arabic in Audio **I.** It is essential to state here that both audios are precise translations of each other but in different languages to detect whether there will be a difference in the judgment of the two audios. If there exist differences in evaluating the two audios in favor of Audio **I**. then, the differences will be attributed to the existence of code-switches to the Arabic language. For instance, on "Islamic Knowledge," if out of ten participants, all ten rate the speaker in Audio **I**. as "Very Islamically knowledgeable" and all ten-rate Audio **II** as "Not Islamically knowledgeable," then it suggests that they have more favorable attitudes towards CS involving Arabic. The MGT test is therefore expected

to help address research question one, which is "What are attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?" since it provides covertly held attitudes of Ghanaians Muslims towards instances of CS from GLs to Arabic.

Procedure (3.3)

The data collection is conducted in two distinct stages. The questionnaires are distributed to all participants during the first stage, and participants who give consent to take part in the second stage completes the Matched-Guise Test in addition to the interview. Though all participants participate in the questionnaire, not all of them participate in all three tests. Thus, only those who provide consent after completing the questionnaire are contacted to finish the other steps.

First of all, the researcher contacted the two Imams who are heads of the two mosques selected for the research to seek their approval to carry out the study at their mosque premises and seek their consent to participate in the study as participants. The researcher was provided the permission of one of the Imams, who is the primary Imam of one of the mosques and regularly delivers his sermons there. The research refers to the first mosque as "Masjid A" (MA). The other Imam though the chief Imam in the second mosque, which the study refers to as "Masjid B" (MB), is unavailable, so the researcher took the consent of the second Imam of MB to carry out the research and also take part. The first stage of data collection is carried out online using Google Forms, a web-based questionnaire. A web-based survey provides ease in data collection and handling since data is automatically stored online, and data analysis is facilitated. The researcher contacts the participants through referrals from friends. The participants are individuals who frequent these two mosques, and are invited to attempt the questionnaire, which is sent via WhatsApp by the participants' acquaintances. The questionnaire is administered strictly to participants who voluntarily agree to participate in the research. Their

agreement to participate is recorded with the consent form, which is part of the Google Form. In the last part of the questionnaire, the study request participants to respond to the item "Will you be interested in participating in a short interview? – (a) Yes (b) Maybe (c) No. If **Yes/Maybe**, please kindly leave your contact with the principal investigator." Their answers indicate their consent and confirmation to continue with the second phase.

During the second stage, the researcher contacts participants who left their contact details and schedules an interview at a time convenient to them. All the data collection tools are written in English as this is the lingua franca in Ghana, and all participants have competence in it. Additionally, the second phase is carried out with participants who have filled the questionnaire and have given their consent for the interview. Nonetheless, additional oral consent is recorded at the start of each interview.

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RESULTS

Overview

This chapter highlights the results collected from the study's instruments, namely, the online questionnaires, the matched-guise technique, and the interviews. The chapter pinpoints and groups the most significant aspect of the responses gathered from the respondents with respect to the research questions. In answering each research question, the results are then grouped into two different types of data, qualitative and quantitative. Appropriate diagrams and figures are used to summarize the analysis. The purpose of the analysis is to examine Ghanaians' overall attitudes towards code-switching to address the following research questions;

1. What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?

2. What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Islamic scholars towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?

It has to be mentioned here that code-switches from GLs to Arabic and CS from Arabic to GLs in this study refer to instances of CS from and to these languages in the Ghanaian religious setting (as represented by Friday sermons) where all these languages equally co-exist. Additionally, CS from GLs to Arabic is sometimes referred to as CS to Arabic. Likewise, in this study, CS from Arabic to GLs is sometimes referred to as CS to GLs.

Ghanaian Muslim Participants' Attitudes towards CS from Arabic to Ghanaian Languages (GLs) in a Religious-Oriented Discourse like the Friday Sermon (4.1)

As indicated above, the first research question, "What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?" sought to investigate the opinions and perceptions of the general Ghanaian Muslims about the mentioned code-switches in Accra's Islamic religious domain. The results gathered from the survey and the interviews are presented in this section.

To begin with the survey attempted to look at participants' language preferences to suggest what participants viewed as **preferred (hence appropriate)** language choice in religious setting. Thus, the first question on the questionnaire required participants to arrange Arabic, English, and other Ghanaian Languages (GLs) into their order of preferences regarding their usage in a religious sermon. Table 1.1 shows that the popular selection of the majority was Arabic as their first preferred language in religious sermon. Out of the available sample, 54% (37) respondents, which is a majority indicated Arabic as their first preference, 30% (21) others chose English, 15% (10) selected Twi, and the rest preferred their GLs. The same question sought to identify their second, third, fourth, and fifth choices of languages in this multilingual setting. Table 1.1 further shows that most participants chose English as the second language choice, representing 48% (33) of the respondents, 22% (15) selected their Ghanaian languages, and 20% (14) selected Twi as their second choice. For participants' third choice, Twi was chosen the most by 49% (34) individuals, 25% (17) went for their GLs, and 12% (8) selected Arabic as their third choice. The rest of their options are displayed in Table 1.1. This demonstrates that in religious sermons, Ghanaians view Arabic as the expected language and English as second language they prefer to listen to.

Table 1.1

Q.1. Arrange the following languages according to your preference in a religious sermon.

General Language Preferences

Language Preferences	Twi	My Ghanaian Language/s	Arabic	English	Others	Total Responses
First choice	10 (15%)	1 (1%)	37 (54%)	21(30%)	0 (0%)	69
Second choice	14 (20%)	15(22%)	6 (9%)	33 (48%)	1(1%)	69
Third choice	34 (49%)	17 (25%)	8 (12%)	6 (9%)	4 (5%)	69
Forth choice	12 (17%)	25 (36%)	18 (26%)	8 (12%)	6 (9%)	69
Fifth choice	8 (12%)	8 (12%)	9 (13%)	2 (3%)	42 (60%)	69

Participants were then asked to specify which of their preferred languages were appropriate in religious discourse. The respondents were provided with the following options; Arabic only, Ghanaian languages only, Arabic and Ghanaian languages, and a chance to name their own choices. Table 1.2 revealed that 72% (50) participants, a clear majority of the respondents, reported that the combination of Arabic and Ghanaian languages was more appropriate in religious discourse. Nine percent (6) participants chose the GLs only, and 4% (3) participants believed that Arabic only should be used. Fifteen percent (10) of respondents chose the "Other" option and suggested languages other than those provided. The result here indicates that, though participants hold positive attitudes towards

using Arabic, regarding it as an appropriate language choice in religious sermon as indicated by the first question, they also believe that in religious discourse, Arabic should be alternated with GLs. This indicates that GLs (if and when combined with Arabic) are also believed to be appropriate or anticipated to be used in religious discourse. Thus, Arabic continues to be an appropriate choice for the context of a religious discourse, however, this is combined with GLs, making code-switching between Arabic and GLs the more likely choice for an Imam addressing this congregation.

Table 1.2		
Q.2. Which of the following do you think is appropriate in religious discourse?		
Language Preference in Religious Setting		
Languages	**Responses**	
Arabic & GLs	50	72%
Others	10	15%
Only Ghanaian Languages (GLs)	6	9%
Only Arabic	3	4%

Based on a five-point Likert scale, the participants were asked to strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, and strongly disagree with five statements on Imams who switched from Arabic to GLs while delivering their sermons. Notions presented under this section were targeting to understand participants' stance from the above-mentioned language choices. The first notion was that **"Imams**

who switched to GLs such as Twi and Ga while delivering their sermons are using easier languages that the listeners will understand." Table 2.1 (p.51) shows that a clear majority of the participants, which was 83% (54) of the respondents, shared the view that Imams who switch to GLs are using languages that users will understand." From the above 83%, 62% (40) strongly agreed to that statement, with another 21% (14) agreeing that switching to the mentioned statement that the Imams who switched to GLs are using languages that users will understand. Only 9% (6) of the participants differed from this notion and 8% (5) of the respondents declared that they were uncertain about that view.

As for the second statement indicating that **"Imams who switched to GLs such as Twi and Ga while delivering their sermons are not good in Arabic,"** a clear majority, namely, 79% (49) respondents, opposed it. Out of those, 45% (28) strongly disagreed, 34% (21) disagreed. On the other hand, 13% (8) favored that opinion, and out of those, 10% (6) agreed to the statement, and 3% (2) strongly agreed. Finally, 8% (5) were somewhat uncertain. Hence, participants assert that CS to GLs is not a forced choice that result from a language proficiency problem on part of the Imam.

Moreover, the third statement was that **"Imams who switched to Ghanaian languages such as Twi and Ga while delivering their sermons are more competent speakers of GLs than Arabic."** The respondents were divided on this view as 44% (28) did not think that the Imams who switched to GLs are so. Of those, 20% (13) strongly disagreed, and 24% (15) disagreed. However, 27% (17) agreed, 2% (1) strongly agreed, and 27% (17) others were uncertain about that statement. Results here are inconclusive compared to the first and second questions. This inconclusiveness may be the result of the way this question was stated. For the fact that the Imam is Ghanaian makes it more probable that he would be a more competent speaker of GLs than Arabic whatever language he code-switches to during a religious sermon.

Meanwhile, regarding their opinion about **"Imams who switch to GLs such as Twi and Ga while delivering their sermons are communicating better with the audience,"** the popular belief was that the Imams who were switching to GLs did communicate better with their audience. As 80% (53) of the respondents agreed to that notion, and only 8% (5) of participants disagreed. Thus, 50% (33) strongly agreed, 30% (20) agreed, 12% (8) were uncertain, 3% (2) disagreed, and 5% (3) strongly disagreed that the Imams who switched from Arabic to GLs are communicating better with their congregation.

Lastly, the respondents shared their opinions on the statement, **"Imams who switch to GLs such as Twi and Ga while delivering their sermons are addressing all classes of the Ghanaian society."** Sixty-six percent (42) of the participants favored this notion, thus, 41% (26) strongly agreed, and 25% (16) agreed. Only 14% (9) of participants were different from this belief, whereby 7% (3) disagreed, and 9% (6) strongly disagreed, and 20% (13) were somewhat uncertain with the idea that Muslim scholars who alternated from Arabic to GLs were focused on all classes of the Muslim society.

Thus, the closed-ended questions of the survey indicated that participants believed switching to GLs is expected to lead to better communication, more understanding and better-addressing of a wider range of social classes across congregation.

Table 2.1

I think Imams who switch to Ghanaian languages such as Twi and Ga while delivering their sermons are;

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total Responses
Using easier languages that users will understand	8% (5)	1% (1)	8% (5)	21% (14)	62% (40)	65
Not good in Arabic	45% (28)	34% (21)	8% (5)	10% (6)	3% (2)	62
Competent speakers of Ghanaian languages than Arabic.	20% (13)	24% (15)	27% (17)	27% (17)	2% (1)	63
Communicating better with the audience	5% (3)	3% (2)	12% (8)	30% (20)	50% (33)	66
Addressing all classes of the Ghanaian society.	9% (6)	7% (3)	20% (13)	25% (16)	41% (26)	64

Moreover, the survey had space for an open-ended statement, which encouraged participants to express their general feelings about code-switching from Arabic to GLs in religious discourse. Although the question was non-obligatory, it received 66 different views from the participants (open-ended responses on Table 4.1 p.90). Almost all the respondents shared similar thoughts about the Imam's switches to Ghanaian languages. The majority indicated that switching to Ghanaian languages in religious discourse is a positive thing since it facilitates the communication between the Imam and the congregation. Many mentioned that when the Imam alternated to GLs, it aided the average Ghanaian Muslim to understand the message that was being presented easily. In their own words, they felt it "is necessary," which is "very good because he (the Imam) is able to communicate

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well with us," and this "gives a better understanding of the sermon." Others commented that it "is very appropriate because it would be much easier for most of the listeners to understand the message been sent across" since it "enable non-Arabic audience to understand and benefit from the particular sermon the Imam delivers." The rest of their comments are presented in the Table 4.1 (p.90). The suggestions about appropriateness of CS to GLs here come to back the clear support to such CSs indicated in the closed-ended section of the questionnaire and the first section about language preferences in a religious sermon.

To further probe Ghanaians attitudes towards CS, interviews were conducted with the participants. Forty percent of the interviewees claimed that they had advanced knowledge in Arabic and the remaining of them reported having some background in Arabic. The participants were asked a few questions through a semi-structured conversation to discover their stance about code-switching in the religious domain. The interviews were between 30 – 40 minutes on average (interview questions are attached to Appendix **B** p.107).

In expressing their views towards switching from Arabic to the Ghanaian languages in formal Islamic discourse, all the interviewees emphatically stated that code-switching from Arabic to GLs in a religious domain like the Friday sermon, which is supposed to be a formal setting, **is not inappropriate but rather enhanced communication**. Additionally, the participants who were advanced in Arabic (thus are not expected to have comprehension problem if a language other than GLs is used) also had no problem with the sermon being in the Ghanaian language. For instance, Participant C5, an advanced student of Arabic and Islamic science, was not bothered when the Imam switched from Arabic to Ghanaian languages. He mentions that "it is rather appropriate for them (to do so)." Participant C5 notes that this also helps the congregation to hear the sermon in a language they understand better. Like other respondents, Participant C3 thinks that switching more from Arabic to Ghanaian languages in the religious field is fundamental since using a code the congregation did not understand well will be a "waste of energy and time" and then encouraged the switches from

Arabic to the indigenous languages more. Participant C3 held that the alternations from Arabic to the GLs "should outweigh the (switches to the) Arabic language."

Similarly, almost all the participants shared that **switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages was more likable than using other languages**. They claimed that they felt at ease when the local languages were used. For instance, one participant mentions that "everyone would want to listen to a language that they are comfortable with … I prefer it when an Imam is speaking Twi because I understand it better." (Participant C4). The study interview then queried whether the Islamic scholars who used only Ghanaian languages, and rarely switched to Arabic were regarded by participants as incompetent in the Arabic language? In response, all the respondents disagreed with the notion and believed that not switching from GLs to Arabic was not attributed to their Arabic language's incompetence. Thus, almost all the participants favored the alternation between the Ghanaian and Arabic languages, which also meant that they were in favor of using both (rather than using one and excluding the other).

In fact, some participants indicated that code-switching from Arabic to the Ghanaian language showed that they (Muslim scholars or Imams) cared more about their congregation understanding the message than showing off their Arabic prowess (Participant C3). During the interview almost, all the participants shared that switching from Arabic to GLs **was a way Imams use to come to their level and make them understand the sermon's message better**. Participant C3, felt that this style **gave the Imam more credibility in their preaching**. Participant C5 also added that these alternations drew the audience's attention if they were not paying attention to the sermon (both notions will be discussed in the following sections).

Thus, it can be concluded that results from interviews with Ghanaians support results reached from the section about language preferences as well as the section about CS to GLs in closed-ended survey questions. The above means that both tools (survey & interviews) indicate that Arabic and GLs are

expected even encouraged to co-exist in a religious sermon for better communication and comprehension as well as personalizing the relationship between Imam and his congregation.

Ghanaian Muslim Participants' Attitudes towards Cs from Ghanaian Languages (GLs) to Arabic in a Religious-Oriented Discourse like the Friday Sermon (4.2)

Section 2 of the questionnaire addressed the second part of the first research question namely attitudes towards CS from GLs to Arabic. In this section, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they strongly agreed, agreed, were uncertain, disagreed, and strongly disagreed to five opinions under the umbrella question **"What are your feelings and perception about Imams who switch from Ghanaian languages to Arabic when delivering their sermons?"** The first view was whether the Imam's who switched from GLs to Arabic were doing so because they **"are very good in the Arabic language."** Reading the results from Table 2.2 (p.57), 60% (39) participants, which represented a significant number of the respondents, agreed to that thought. From the above number, 35% (23) agreed, and 25% (16) others strongly agreed. Additionally, 22% (14) indicated that they were uncertain. However, 12% (8) of the participants disagreed, and 6% (4) strongly disagreed that the switching of Imams from GLs to Arabic suggested their ability in the Arabic language, which amounts to 18% of the participants. The above responses suggest that subjects of the study relate between higher levels of proficiency in Arabic language and CS to that language.

Secondly, the participants shared their perceptions on the notion that the Islamic clerics who switched from GLs to Arabic **"are religiously knowledgeable."** Forty-seven percent (30) of participants agreed, and 25% (16) others strongly agreed to the belief that Imams who switched from GLs to Arabic were religiously knowledgeable, bringing this to a clear majority of 72% (46) participants. However, 14% (9) of respondents were uncertain about it. Fourteen percent (9), which is made up of

8% (5) participants disagreeing, and another 6% (4) strongly disagreeing that switching from GLs to Arabic showed that the Imams were religiously knowledgeable.

Results of these two statements suggest a positive attitude towards CS to Arabic. The fact that participants relate between CS to Arabic and religiosity as well as a high proficiency in the language that indicate Islamic Identity in Ghana make CS to that language a well sought-after choice in the eyes of a reasonable majority of participants representing Islamic congregation in Ghana. Like results in the section about language preferences, results here establish the appropriacy of CS to Arabic in the targeted context (namely a religious sermon) since any Imam would want to sound knowledgeable to his congregation.

In the third notion which was that the Imams who switched from GLs to Arabic **"are more trustworthy"** results were as follows. Thirty-eight percent (24) respondents, which is a significant number of the participants, were uncertain whether Imams who switched from GLs to Arabic were more trustworthy. Eighteen percent (11) of the participants disagreed that the Imams were more trustworthy, and 14% (9) also strongly disagreed, which adds up to 32% (20). Nonetheless, 19% (12) agreed that the Imams who switched from GLs to Arabic were trustworthy, and 11% (7) others strongly agreed, making those who favored it 30% (19) of the participants. That is, a total of 32% disagreed, 38% were uncertain, and a total of 30% agreed, making results of this question inconclusive. Such inconclusive results do not seem to match with results of previous question relating CS to Arabic to religious knowledge an issue which will be discussed further in the following chapter.

The fourth statement was **"Imams who switch from GLs to Arabic when delivering their sermons receive more respect from the audience,"** Twenty-eight percent (18) of respondents agreed that these Imams received more respect from their audience, and 13% (8) others strongly agreed to it.

Also, 28% (18) of other participants were somewhat uncertain, 18% (12) disagreed, and 13% (8) strongly disagreed that these Islamic scholars received respect because of their alternations from GLs to Arabic. Thus, 41% shared that Imams who alternated from GLs to Arabic in the religious discourse receive more respect from the congregation and only 31% opposed that notion. Thus, results here seem to suggest a positive attitude by relating CS to Arabic to respect; this is done in a percentage that is more but not considerably so compared to results of those who object to this relationship.

The last statement investigated whether when Imams switch from GLs to Arabic, the participants **"pay more attention because switching to Arabic indicates an important message**." Sixteen percent (11) of the participants disagreed, and another 19% (13) strongly disagreed with the notion that they paid more attention to Imams who switched from GLs to Arabic since it indicated a critical message to be delivered. Eighteen percent (12) were uncertain, yet 20% (14) agreed, and 27% (18) also strongly agreed that they paid attention to the Imam when he switched from GLs to Arabic. Thus, the majority, 47%, which denotes a reasonable number of participants, indicated that they paid more attention to the Imam when he alternated from GLs to Arabic. Just 35% did not consider that CS to Arabic led to their paying more attention to topic.

Thus, it could be concluded that results of closed-ended survey questions about CS to Arabic indicate a generally positive attitude towards CS to Arabic as reflected by the high support to relating this form of CS to knowledge of Arabic and general religious knowledgeability, and less - though relatively - considerable support to relating it to respect and importance of message; however, results about relating CS to Arabic with trustworthiness were inconclusive.

Table 2.2

What are your feelings and perception about Imams who switch from Ghanaian languages to Arabic when delivering their sermons?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total Responses
They are very good in the Arabic language.	6% (4)	12% (8)	22% (14)	35% (23)	25% (16)	65
They are religiously knowledgeable.	6% (4)	8% (5)	14% (9)	47% (30)	25% (16)	64
They are more trustworthy.	4% (9)	18% (11)	38% (24)	19% (12)	11% (7)	63
They receive more respect from the audience.	13% (8)	18% (12)	28% (18)	28% (18)	13% (8)	64
I pay more attention because switching to Arabic indicates an important message.	19% (13)	16% (11)	18% (12)	20% (14)	27% (18)	68

There was a second open-ended question, **"How do you feel when Imams switch to the Arabic language in a religious discourse like the Friday sermon"** on the questionnaire where participants were encouraged to provide their opinions and perceptions towards code-switching of Islamic scholars from GLs to the Arabic language in a Friday sermon. Like the first open-ended question, this

question was not compulsory and was left empty by a few. However, unlike the first open-ended question, the responses gathered by this question were very diverse and rich in information. Data gathered from this question indicate that a number of the respondents (around 14 out of 61) wrote statements indicating a negative attitude about CS to Arabic mostly because of difficulty members of the congregation might face in understanding the message. For example, although some held that it allowed those who spoke Arabic to understand the sermon better, others believed that switching from GLs to Arabic in a Friday sermon was "not necessary" and switching to Arabic "may not help the larger congregation understand the content of the matter."

Other participants however indicated a positive attitude to such CSs. For example, some shared the view that when the Imam switched from GLs to Arabic, it drew the audience's attention. Quoting the participants' words, one said that it "will draw more attention of the audience." One said, "it indicated the severity of the matter and shows the Imam knows what he is about."

Also, a number of participants considered it necessary. For example, one participant believed that it "is the best because that is the sunna (tradition) of the Prophet (Peach Be Upon Him)." Moreover, someone commented that "Arabic is the language of the deen (religion)," and the "language of the Quran". Some mentioned that it was unavoidable since quotes from Qur'an and Hadith are said in Arabic. Some also signaled it encouraged the learning of Arabic, focused attention on importance of the language, and encouraged them to "try to pick on the topic or the verse to do further checks for more understanding". The rest of their opinions are enumerated in Table 4.2 (p. 95).

In conclusion it would seem that results of this open-ended question suggest that CS to Arabic is mainly regarded as positive even necessary which supports language preference choices. It is also clear that results in this section are not as conclusive as section about CS to GLs as will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Apart from the survey, the study interviewed participants to examine their beliefs towards code-switching from GLs to Arabic in a religious motivated Friday sermon. The respondents' common

perceptions about switches from GLs to Arabic in a Friday sermon were that it was **used to make important points and demonstrate the credibility of the message since most of the switches to Arabic were references to Islamic scriptures**. A participant mentioned that "switching to Arabic language only shows the originality [authenticity] …" of the message. One added that when the Imam switches from GLs to Arabic, "it actually draws our mind to the fact that he (the speaker) is trying to make a particular important point." Another respondent added that "when there is a switch from Ghanaian language into the Arabic language, this also has the same effect of drawing the audience's attention." As most of the switches being references to the Muslim religious sources, other participants viewed the alternations from GLs to Arabic as an avenue to do further research on the religious message. One participant mentions that "he (the Imam) is trying to make us read more about it." Another commented that "when an imam switches to Arabic I enjoy it in a way and try to understand certain things though I might not understand everything but just one or two things because as I read I come across certain words and when the Imam mentions the word, I get to know the meaning of such words."

Moreover, the congregation shared that **Islamic scholars who switch a lot from GLs to Arabic are respected because it demonstrates their extraordinary level of knowledge in Islam**. One participant believed that this was so "because Arabic itself is the language of the religion, so if a preacher man uses the language, it earns him some level of respect." Another had the belief that "Ghanaians think people who speak Arabic are huge literates."

The above indicates that results of interviews about CS to Arabic are in line with and support those of open-ended question about CS to Arabic as well as the close-ended questions in the survey. It also further supports results relating CS to Arabic to respectability of Imam and trustworthiness/credibility of the message.

Covert Attitudes of Ghanaian Participants towards Switches from GLs to Arabic (4.3)

Additionally, in investigating the participants' attitudes towards CS from GLs to Arabic to address the first research question "What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?", a Matched-guise test (MGT) was performed. To analyze the outcome of the MGT, a nonparametric Wilcoxon Sign Rank Test was used to determine whether the results from the two audios were different (Audio **I**. Arabic and Twi audio, and Audio **II**. Hausa and Twi audio). The sample satisfied the basic assumptions of the Wilcoxon Sign Rank Test (WSRT). Thus, the data were paired and were from the same population. Also, the data were measured on an ordinal scale. The paired sample WSRT test was used since the study wanted to investigate whether a significant difference in attitudes existed between two sets of audios with the same sample. The MGT test's underlining target was to determine whether there was a significant difference in the responses gathered from the Arabic and Twi audio on the one hand and the Hausa and Twi audio on the other hand. If any, this difference was attributed to the presence of the switches to Arabic since one audio contained alternations between Arabic and Ghanaian languages, and the other contained only alternations between Ghanaian languages. On this, the study assumed the null hypothesis of P-value = 0.05 for the paired WSRT test. That is, "the evaluation of the Arabic and Twi audio will not differ from the evaluation of the Hausa and Twi audio."

After performing the paired sample WSRT tests of the nine observations, the results for the first question, which was **"how would you rate the speech you just heard according to Islamic knowledge,"** showed that the mean of the Arabic & Twi audio for the first question was 4.22. The mean of the Hausa & Twi was 3.78. The standard deviations for the two audios were 0.44 and 0.67 respectively. The standard deviation of **W** (Wilcoxon test) was 2.74. The test statistics was -1.64 and the P-value was 0.10. The p-value was larger than the null hypothesis 0.05, indicating that there was

no statistically significant difference between the two tapes. Despite the absence of a significant statistical difference the mean difference reveals a slight tendency on the part of participants to rate the Arabic and Twi audio higher than the Hausa and Twi audio on "Islamic knowledge" (details of results on Table 3.1 p.99).

The paired sample WSRT test was also done on the remaining four questions. Question two, which was **"how would you rate the speech you just heard according to Arabic knowledge"** on the MGT, sought to examine whether switching from GLs to Arabic played a role in how the participants rated Islamic Scholars' **"Arabic knowledge"** (details of results on Table 3.2 p.100). The outcomes from the WSRT tests showed that the mean for the Arabic and Twi audio was 3.67 and 3.22 for Hausa and Twi audio. The corresponding standard deviations were 0.5 and 0.97 respectively. The W value was 7 and the p-value was 0.27. Comparing this p-value to that of the null hypothesis which was set at 0.05, shows that the p-value was greater than the null hypothesis, indicating no statistically significant difference between the two audios. There were no tendencies to rate one Audio over the other on the parameter of "Arabic knowledge."

Regarding question three, **"how would you rate the speech you just heard according to intelligence,"** the outcome of the WSRT test is as follow (details of results on Table 3.3 p.101). The mean for Audio **I** was 3.89, and that of Audio **II** was 3.78. The W value was 2, and the p-value was 0.79. The p-value was greater than the null hypothesis, indicating no statistically significant difference between the two audios. The mean differences were so close, suggesting similar evaluations in both audios.

As for question four, **"how would you rate the speech you just heard, according to dependability,"** the results show a slight difference in the means of the two audios (details of results on Table 3.4 p.102). The mean for Audio **I** was 3.78, while the mean for Audio **II** was 3.11. On the

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other hand, the standard deviations were 1.30 and 1.05, respectively, for Audio **I** and **II**. The value of W was 5, and the p-value was 0.15, which was greater than the null hypothesis. That is, there was no statistically significant difference in the two audios for question four. However, despite not recording a statistically significant difference, the mean differences between the two audios reveal a slight tendency on participants to rate Audio **I** higher than Audio **II** on "Dependability." Indicating that there was an inclination of favorability for Audio **I**, which includes CS to Arabic on dependability. These results are consistent with participants' responses on the interviews where participants related CS to Arabic as indicating credibility of the message. Likewise, it is similar to the responses in the survey, which demonstrated a loose link between CS to Arabic and trustworthiness.

Lastly, question five, **"how would you rate the speech you just heard, according to leadership,"** showed no differences in ratings (details of results on Table 3.5 p.103). The mean of the two audios was 3.33 and 3.22 for Audio **I** and Audio **II**, respectively. The standard deviation for both audios were 1.11 and 0.67 for Audio **I** and **II**, respectively. The W value was 4, and the p-value was 0.86. The p-value was greater than 0.05 and, therefore, indicated no statistical significance difference.

Overall, the results showed differences in mean of the two audios across the five questions. Yet, the differences between the two audios in all the items were not statistically significant. Hence, the instances of CS to Arabic did not play a role in the evaluations of the speaker towards his Islamic knowledge, Arabic knowledge, intelligence, dependability, and leadership traits. Therefore, the null hypothesis, which stated that the Arabic and Twi Audio would not differ from the Hausa and Twi Audio, was maintained. The failure to detect statistical significance differences may be attributed to the small sample size in the MGT.

However, the marginal differences in favor of Audio I, which contains switches between Arabic and GLs suggest that participants prefer switches between Arabic and GLs than switches between only

GLs as demonstrated in question two in section of the survey where there was a clear majority in favor of CS between Arabic and GLs in religious discourse.

Attitudes of Ghanaian Islamic Scholars towards CS from Arabic to Ghanaian Languages (GLs) in Religious-Oriented Discourse like the Friday Sermon (4.4)

This section attempts to address the second research question which is "What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Islamic scholars towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?" Besides, due to the Islamic scholars' busy schedules, the only instrument used to gather data from the Muslim clerics was the face to face interviews (interview questions are attached to Appendix **B** p.107). The total number of Islamic scholars interviewed was five, three from Masjid A, and two from Masjid B. All of them were above 25 years, all four were graduates and exceptionally versed in the Arabic language. However, because of their busy schedules, the interviews with them lasted 20 minutes on average.

The Imams are the most educated among all the participants in Islamic knowledge and the Arabic language. Therefore, they are regarded as the best judges of the code-switching phenomenon in the religious realm. About their attitudes towards switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages in religious discourse, **all of them shared the belief that switching from Arabic to GLs in a religious domain was very appropriate, favored, and facilitated communication**. Imam B2 believed that switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages made delivering more accessible and understandable to the audience. He thought that "… using Ghanaian languages in their (Imams) speeches is appropriate because it makes them (the congregation) understand the message they (the Imams) are delivering." One Islamic scholar also added it was excellent to switch from Arabic to GLs "since the listeners too are Ghanaians, they can also understand you better."

Moreover, the Islamic scholars were queried about language preference in a Friday sermon. All of them again agreed that both languages must be used in the delivery, and one cannot be used at the other's expense. Mallam A3 had the view that "we cannot leave the local languages out, but we cannot also leave out the Arabic language because it is the Sunnah (tradition)." Mallam A1 also shared a similar belief saying, "as for the Arabic it is somehow good for them (the audience) because it propagates Islamic values and they will know how important the language is and in order for them to understand (better) we use the local languages." Another scholar added that although he thought it is more favorable to use GLs in Friday sermon, "blending the Arabia (Arabic) and the GLs is good for them (the audience)." The scholars were divided on whether the Imams who did not switch more from GLs to Arabic were incompetent in the language or not. The majority believed it is due to incompetency and the rest were not entirely sure if fewer switches from GLs to Arabic constituted poor Arabic knowledge. However, they commented that not switching from GLs to Arabic more in a formal religious setting was Islamically "not appropriate because you have to bring the Arabic language." The other Islamic scholars instead thought their inability to alternate between the GLs and Arabic was purely due to incompetence in the language, with one scholar attributing it "to incompetence and that they are not competence when it comes to using the Arabic language." Another Imam added that viewing this from another point "somehow shows the level of their (Islamic) knowledge." (Mallam A1)

The above results support results reached from the survey about switches to GLs being appropriate in religious discourse. It also supports that participants representing the Ghanaian Muslim congregation hold positive attitude towards statements indicating that CS to GLs facilitate communication between Imams and their congregation.

Attitudes of Ghanaian Islamic Scholars towards CS from Ghanaian Languages to Arabic in Religious Discourse like the Friday Sermon (4.5)

Regarding the Islamic scholars' perceptions about CS from GLs to Arabic, all of them believe that **Arabic cannot be left out in formal Islamic preaches like the Friday sermon**. They maintained that blending Arabic with the Ghanaian languages was ideal for better communication. Imam A2 expressed that Arabic was a religious language, and in order to understand the Islamic religion, it was necessary to be competent in Arabic to grasp the Muslim scriptures from its primary source. Mallam B1 mentioned that Arabic was one of the conditions of giving a Friday sermon, and therefore he stated that "in simple terms, we cannot do away with the Arabic." The scholars added that switching from GLs to Arabic during a Friday sermon was also a way to reference evidence from the Islamic sacred manuscripts since the Islamic religion was "about (providing) evidence" (Mallam B1). They shared the view that switching from GLs to Arabic sent a message to the congregation that what they were saying was not concocted by them but are facts backed by religious sources, and this act convinces the audience to believe in the message.

Moreover, the Islamic scholars were asked about their switches from GLs to Arabic and whether it appealed to the congregation's attention. All of the Imams agreed that **chipping in Arabic from time to time draws the audience's attention and directs their interests to the sermon that was being presented**. They also believed that **switching from GLs more to Arabic demonstrated one's knowledge in Islam, the credibility of the message, and earned the Imam more respect**. To put this in the words of one Imam, Mallam A1 thought that Arabic "draws their (the congregations') attention because they somehow expect it since it somehow shows the level of your knowledge in your speech." And not only did it show the level of the Imam's knowledge, but "it attaches a lot of importance to whatever you are saying." Another Imam put it more clearly by saying, "when you use the Arabic, people have some kind of confidence in you, and they will know that this fellow knows what he is saying" (Mallam A3). Furthermore, "it makes people respect you and have confidence in

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you that you are learned and anything you tell them they want to pick it as something they can rely on," added another scholar.

The results here from the Islamic scholars demonstrate very positive attitudes towards CS to Arabic since switches to Arabic make their message credible and demonstrate the Islamic scholar's knowledge in Islam, which is very important in religious discourse. These results support the close-ended responses from participants representing the Ghanaian Muslim congregation in the survey, which attributed CS to Arabic to the credibility of Imams' message and knowledgeability. It also supports the open-ended responses that participants pay more attention when Imams switch to Arabic.

5

DISCUSSIONS

Overview

 This chapter discusses the results and findings concerning the participants representing Ghanaian Islamic scholars and Ghanaian Muslims' attitudes towards code-switching between Arabic and GLs in formal religious-oriented discourse like the Muslim Friday sermon. The results are used to discuss the credibility of the various hypotheses suggested by the researcher at the start of this study. Regarding the first question, which is "What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?", it was hypothesized that Ghanaian Muslims would display more positive attitudes towards CS to Arabic compared to CS to GLs. Also, it was hypothesized that Ghanaians will hold that Islamic scholars who switch from GLs to Arabic are more religious and trustworthy. Moreover, it was hypothesized that Ghanaians will perceive code-switching to Arabic as an indication of the importance of the message. As for the second research question which is "What are the attitudes of Ghanaian Islamic scholars towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?" the study's hypothesis was that Ghanaian Islamic scholars would favor code-switches (CS) from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) more than from GLs to Arabic.

In the following sections of this chapter, results about each of the mentioned hypotheses concerning research questions are highlighted and discussed making clear possible reasons for inconsistencies with study preconceived hypotheses.

RQ1. Ghanaian Muslim Participants' Attitudes Towards CS Between Arabic and GLs

Attitudes towards CS from Arabic to GLs (5.1)

GLs in a formal religious setting (5.1.1)

The first question sought to examine Ghanaian Muslims' opinions towards the instances of code-switching from Arabic to GLs and vice versa. The findings reveal that Ghanaian Muslims who participated in this study believe the indigenous Ghanaian languages like the Twi and Hausa are appropriate in the mentioned formal setting. In fact, the congregation, who were the sermon's listeners and took part in this study, fully **approved the local dialects'** usage in this setting. It is meriting to mention that, in Ghana, Twi and Hausa are not regarded as varieties for formal usage like in the educational sector, literature, and official purposes (see A. Bodomo et al., 2009; A. B. Bodomo, 1996). Therefore, GLs are considered **informal languages** in general. These informal varieties are conventionally attached with low prestige, low status, and not known to be used for formal purposes like in religious speeches, etc. (Albirini, 2011; A. Bodomo et al., 2009; A. B. Bodomo, 1996; Ferguson, 1959). Regardless, the participants representing Ghanaian Muslims' feelings towards these informal varieties are favorable and welcoming in the Ghanaian spiritual realm, which is a highly formal setting.

Clear evidence of the above can be seen from the outcomes of question two of section one of the survey, where 73% viewed CS to Ghanaian languages as appropriate in the formal Friday sermon, which represented the majority of the study participants demonstrating the Ghanaian congregation members.

Additionally, in the interviews, they expressed clear positive attitudes towards the GLs. For instance, a member of the congregation who participated in the interview believes that using the local dialects "is a very good thing," and said, "it is better to use the local languages." This was because "everyone

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would want to listen to a language that they are comfortable with" (Participant C4). These feelings of Participant C4 and all the participants who were interviewed point to the fact that, in religious speeches, they anticipate hearing their local dialect. These **unequivocal approvals** from both the survey and interviews demonstrate that the GLs are expected in this setting and thus establishes **GLs as an appropriate language choice in a religious setting.** This result is seemingly inconsistent with participants' indicated language preferences in religious discourse in section one of the survey (find survey results in Chapter 4. p.46 and questionnaire attached to Appendix A, p.104). In this section, a majority indicated a preference for Arabic in religious discourse. This however, could be the result of the fact that the question offers choices of a single language not a combination of more than one like question 2. It is also an indication of respect to that language, which is part and parcel of Muslim identity; a fact which will be further discussed in looking at CSs to Arabic in the following section.

Thus, even though the setting is highly formal, local Ghanaian dialects, irrespective of their being informal (see Bodomo et al., 2009), were regarded as appropriate in the Ghanaian religious setting and met with positive attitudes. One possible rationale behind the enthusiasm to alternations to GLs considered as appropriate and preferred, as discussed in Chapter **5.1.2,** could be reasons of language maintenance as well as creating a sense of solidarity as will be discussed in detail in the following section.

Indication of Ghanaians acceptance of appropriateness of GLs in a formal religious setting (5.1.2)
The contrast between the overwhelming majority endorsing CS to GLs and the less clear positive attitudes towards instances of CS to Arabic (as will be discussed in section 5.2) may suggest an existent acceptance of the role of Arabic in a religious context but also an increasing endorsement of using GLs in that context. This may indicate that Ghanaians participating in this study **are seeking to maintain the indigenous Ghanaian languages** in the religious realm. Thus, for the switches to

the GLs, it would seem that the strong approvals for it is a vote in favor of the use of their local languages in this setting. For example, one participant (Participant C4) commenting on this said, "well, we know the **best language** for this setting is **Arabic**, but we might not have a better understanding of the Arabic, and so, what are we doing about that?" What the participant is implying here is that, usage of Ghanaian local languages is inevitable despite their respect for Arabic. This full support we see for the CS to GLs may be attributed to a desire to support GLs as appropriate for use in the formal religious setting and thus, giving more space in formal domains to **dialectal languages** in general. This tendency in relation to Arabic could be similar to the situation of another formal language namely English. As Bodomo et al., (2009) findings demonstrate, Ghanaians are gradually shifting to the GLs in domains where English language was used.

Following the above argument, there is a high temptation to conclude that Ghanaian Muslims consider these local Ghanaian languages and anticipated listening to them because they do not have good Arabic proficiency. Nonetheless, the two mosques in question use English in their sermon, and English is spoken and understood by almost all Ghanaians, especially those living in Accra, where the study took place. Yet, when asked about the languages they believed are appropriate in religious discourse (in section one question two), they showed **a strong positive attitude** to using GLs such as Hausa and Twi in the religious setting in combination with Arabic. This suggests that the participants representing Ghanaian Muslims, in their own fashion, are purposely or unknowingly attempting **to maintain their local languages** by using them – in fact encouraging their use in combination with Arabic in this formal religious setting.

The above, as mentioned earlier, correspond to Bodomo et al.'s (2009) suggestions about language shift and language maintenance in Ghana. Their research explains how "the new language (English language, which is the formal and official language of Ghana) and the old languages (the indigenous languages) are fighting over certain domain use." Bodomo et al. (2009 p.363) postulated that the indigenous languages are beginning to challenge the English language for dominance in formal

settings that were reserved for the English. It is therefore possible in light of the above-mentioned results to ask whether the same could be true in the case of Arabic in religious discourse.

The case of Ghana specifically Accra is not unique, studies of the phenomena of CS between less and more formal varieties in religious domain has indicated that, the **informal or dialectal varieties** have been recorded in the **formal Islamic religious discourse**. For example, Saeed (1998), Bassiouney (2013), and others (see also Albirini, 2011; Soliman, 2008) have recorded the use of dialectal Arabic (which are considered informal) in formal religious situations. This study's findings are consistent with Soliman's (2008) findings, which revealed that the informal codes received positive attitudes in the formal religious setting, and that dialectal Arabic was considered **appropriate and comfortable** in formal religious discourse.

Another explanation of Ghanaians enthusiasm to the CS to GLs is the participants' belief that such switches create **solidarity** among the Islamic scholars and the audience by using a variety that the congregation considers a "we code." Evidence of this is from the open-ended part of the survey where one participant indicated that when the Imams switch from Arabic to GLs, "I feel comfortable, and part of the discussion," and another participant commented on this section saying, "I feel part of the discussion, and it gives me a deeper understanding." Also, during the interviews, Participant C4 added that when the Islamic scholars switch to GLs, "it is very good, so that at least everyone will have their share of the sermon." These findings are comparable to Bassiouney's (2013) work, who noted that Islamic scholars use colloquial Arabic to create an informal relationship with the audience and make them feel that he was part of them. Therefore, these switches can be a form of accommodation style that the Islamic scholars use to create a feeling of solidarity among the audience to make their message accepted. On this matter, Mallam A3 explains that "although it is a formal setting, you cannot use only English nor only Arabic because there are other classes of people. Therefore, you need to include

them by adding their local languages." This suggests Mallam A3 believes that switching to the local languages makes these classes of people part of the sermon.

In light of the above findings, the **hypothesis regarding the first research question that Ghanaian Muslims would display less favorable attitudes towards the alternations to GLs in a religious domain** was not supported by this study results since the participants demonstrated positive attitudes towards alternations to GLs .The above results shed doubt on views that the high varieties or formal codes (which is Arabic in this study) are proper, preferred, and expected in formal settings like religious one (as indicated by Ferguson, 1959; Gumperz, 1961; Fishman, 1967).

Attitudes towards CS from GLs to Arabic (5.2)

Appropriateness of CS to Arabic in a formal religious setting (5.2.1)

In the first question of the first section of survey, results indicate that a majority of participants (54%) considered Arabic as their first preference in the religious context. As mentioned earlier this is seemingly contradictory to the above-mentioned results signifying enthusiasm to usage of GLs in targeted context. A possible explanation for this choice of **Arabic** as the first preferred language may be attributed to the influence that the Arabic language possesses in this setting. These Ghanaian Muslims may be projecting their **"Islamic identity"** when they chose Arabic as their first preferred language since the Arabic language is accorded with reverence, high status and correlates with the Muslim identity (see M. Mohammad, 2019). In fact, some of the study participants acknowledged through the various study tools that the proper language for this setting is supposed to be Arabic. In fact, one of the Ghanaian Muslims referred to it as "**the ultimate language**" (Participant C4). It could also be attributed to the questionnaire's limitation as a tool in measuring attitudes, for what participants may indicate on the questionnaire as their attitudes may be inconsistent with their actual behavior (see La Piere, 1934; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1977; Garrett, 2010). But more important, the above

results could be attributed to the fact that the participants are for alternation between Arabic and GLs without excluding either of them. This is suggested by the high percentage of positive responses in question two section one where participants (72%) indicate that a mixture of both Arabic and GLs is the most appropriate language choice for religious sermons. It is also worth noting that very small percentages indicated preference of GLs only (9%) or Arabic only (4%) in the same question.

Relating CSs to Arabic to Islamic knowledgeability, respect, and trustworthiness (5.2.2)

Study findings are consistent with the second hypothesis made at the onset of this study, which was that **Ghanaians would perceive Islamic scholars who CS from GLs to Arabic in positive light.** The mentioned findings were confirmed with both the survey and the interviews, signifying that the above was a widespread perception among study participants.

In the second part of the survey a substantial number of the participants, 72%, acknowledged that Imams who alternated from GLs to Arabic were religiously knowledgeable, with 25% out of them strongly confirming that stance. Results also show that 41% of the participants who took part in the survey considered CS to Arabic to be inspiring respect to Imam doing these switches. Besides, the interviews with the participants also reiterated these notions. For instance, during the interviews, one participant said, "most of the audience or the congregation who listen to these scholars tend to have more trust in a scholar who usually quote in the Arabic language" (Participant C5). In relating CS to Arabic to respect, Participant C3 mentioned that "CS to Arabic tends to earn the Imam respect one way or the other." Participant C10 added that this is "because Arabic itself is the language of the religion, and if an Imam CS to Arabic it earns him some level of respect. Also, an Islamic scholar indicated that when an Imam alternate to the Arabic language, "they (the congregation) perceive you to be a learned person and it also gives you some kind of prestige". The audience "tend to see such Imams as scholars they can rely on and can seek knowledge from," added another Imam (Mallam A2). This participant believes it is because "people have some kind of confidence in you, and they

will know that this fellow knows what he is saying" (Mallam A3). These alternations to Arabic "show the level of your knowledge in your speech" and the speaker's religiosity since switching to Arabic "can even tell your level of understanding when it comes to the religion." (Mallam A1). Likewise, the MGT demonstrated participants' tendencies to rate audios that included CS to Arabic as Islamically knowledgeable. Question 1. (questions attached to Appendix B p.107) on the MGT showed a mean of 4.22 for Audio **I**, meaning that averagely, participants who took part in the MGT believed that the speaker in Audio **I**, who included CS to Arabic, was Islamically knowledgeable than the speaker in Audio II, who did not include CS to Arabic. Also, the MGT demonstrated a link between CS to Arabic and the dependability of Imams. The results from question 4. (questions attached to Appendix B p.107) show a mean of 3.78 for Audio **I** regarding dependability. This means that, on average, participants believed the speaker who CS to Arabic was dependable in other words, trustworthy.

Thus, study's initial hypothesis that Ghanaians believed Islamic clerics who alternated from GLs to Arabic are more religiously knowledgeable was supported as Muslim scholars are exceedingly viewed as holy and insinuate that some Ghanaians believe Islamic preachers who switch from GLs to Arabic are reliable.

The above results are similar to previous works, which established a relationship between switching to standard Arabic and Islamic knowledge (Saeed, 1998; Soliman, 2008), as well as Muslimness, and religiosity (Albirini, 2011). In the line of religiosity, these findings are in line with an earlier work by Susanto (2006), who discovered that in Islamic religious gatherings, Indonesian speakers often code-switched to Arabic to gain some Islamic advantage from their audience. Such alternations to Arabic, represented religiosity and their total submission to the Islamic faith. Likewise, Albirini (2011) noticed that, most of the switches to the formal Arabic language in religious discourse and other domains of usage was significantly to gain spiritual merits by projecting the individual's Islamic identity (see also, M. Mohammad, 2019).

Despite the above, hints from the survey show that participants were not firm on the notion that scholars who switched from GLs to Arabic are "trustworthy" as indicated in the study hypothesis. The highest percentage of respondents to the question pertaining to this issue in the survey, 38% (24), were those who were uncertain whether CS to Arabic indicated that Imams using them were trustworthy. The remaining 62% (39) of participants were split between those who supported CS to Arabic leads to perceiving Imam as trustworthy 30% (19), and others who were against it 30% (20). This comes in clear contrast with evidence from the interviews where many of the participants expressed very positive attitudes towards Imams who CS to Arabic and stated that the congregation saw these Imams as trustworthy. In fact, one of the Ghanaian Muslims explained that "most of the audience or the masses who listen to these scholars tend to have more trust in a scholar who usually quotes in the Arabic language because they feel what he is giving is authentic" (Participant C5).

A possible explanation of the above-mentioned contrast in results of the various study tools could be the limitations of questionnaires as a tool for gathering data (in comparison to interviews for example) regarding how people interpret questions, the truthfulness of answers, questions that are presented without accurate elucidation, or a problem in the way a question is structured. Challenges like these are why this study used questionnaires and employed interviews as well in its data collection to complement each other.

CSs to Arabic as indicating importance of message being delivered (5.2.3)

Participants representing Ghanaian Muslim congregation in Accra believe that switching from GLs to Arabic in the religious domain indicates importance of what is about to be said.

This study observes that participants accord high status to Arabic in the formal Islamic religious discourse and that they believe code-switches from the GLs to Arabic signifies a vital message to be delivered. Indications of these are from the questionnaire where the participants, 47%, indicated that

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alternating to Arabic suggested an important message. This is verified by participants' responses in the interviews. For example, Participant C3 believes that switching to Arabic means "that particular message carries more weight … because it means the message is important." Participant C9 believes that "switching to Arabic indicates that the message is vital and especially when it is melodious." This finding confirms the research hypothesis regarding the first question that Ghanaians will perceive CS to Arabic to indicate an important message. Likewise, this finding is akin to Saeed's (1998) work, which discovered that in the Arab world (including countries like Egypt, Kuwait, and Yemen), code-switching to formal Arabic was used to convey messages that were perceived as positive and were utilized to elevate certain information in the sermon. Furthermore, evidence from the Ghanaian context confirms previous assertions such as Albirini's (2011) and other works like that of Bassiouney (2013) and Saeed (1998), which demonstrated that switching to the formal Arabic conveys more power and prestige than the less formal language varieties (dialectal Arabic in the context of the mentioned studies).

In conclusion, results of this study about the first research question regarding **attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon** indicate that contrary to the study's hypothesis, the participants' opinions show positive attitudes towards **both types of switches**. Similarly, this finding is comparable to Soliman's (2008) results, who discovered that together with the formal variety represented by standard Arabic, educated Egyptians hold positive attitudes towards using less formal varieties (dialectal Arabic in the mentioned study context) in religious discourse.

RQ2. Participants Representing Ghanaian Islamic Scholars' Attitudes towards CS Between GLs and Arabic

Islamic Scholars' Attitudes towards CS to GLs (5.3)

CS from Arabic to GLs is appropriate and encouraged (5.3.1)

The second research question investigated participants representing Ghanaian Islamic scholars' attitudes towards CS to GLs and Arabic. And like the participants representing Ghanaian Muslims, outcomes from the interviews with the Muslim clerics who participated in the study were unequivocal about using Ghanaian languages in the religious realm. The scholars emphatically disagree with the suggestion that since the Friday sermon was a formal setting, using the local languages was inappropriate. Instead, they encouraged it use in this formal setting. They stated that "it is our language so sometimes we can express ourselves (better) in the Ghanaian language." "Since the listeners too are Ghanaians, they can also understand you better," as indicated by an Islamic cleric (Mallam A3).

Thus, these Islamic clerics favored the local dialects as it facilitated the understanding of the sermon. One Muslim scholar mentioned that the indigenous local language usage is preferred in a Friday sermon and religious dealing. They believe that using the Ghanaian languages is "appropriate and the best way for them (the audience) to have the understanding" of the message being delivered (Mallam B1).

From the above, the hypothesis that Ghanaian Muslim clerics would display **more favorable attitudes towards the alternations to Arabic in a religious domain than the CS to GLs** was inconsistent with the findings. In fact, evidence from the study results demonstrate Islamic scholars' favorable attitudes towards using the local Ghanaian dialects (like Twi and Hausa). This hypothesis which was based on Ferguson, (1959); Gumperz, (1961); Fishman, (1967) concepts postulating that in official settings like religious discourse, the formal variety (which is Arabic in this study) is

appropriate, preferred, and expected, while the informal codes are less fit and less likely to be used in a formal context was disproved in the Ghanaian religious context. One Muslim from the audience who took part in the study said, "it is appropriate that they use Arabic for some time and then switch to Ghanaian language." An Islamic scholar confirmed the audience's expectations by saying, "the congregation prefers listening to you speaking Arabic and Ghanaian language in your sermon" (Mallam B1).

Therefore, these Islamic scholars like participants representing the Ghanaian Muslims congregation confirmed positive attitudes to alternations to GLs in religious discourse as indicated by Soliman's (2008).

Participants representing Islamic Scholars' Attitudes towards CS to Arabic (5.4)

Effect of code-switching from GLs to Arabic on message being delivered (5.4.1)

Regarding the participant representing Imams' attitudes towards CS to Arabic, the results point to two principal opinions. The first was that Muslim clerics indicated during the interviews that when they switch from the local languages to Arabic, it grabbed the congregation's attention in the process. These scholars who were interviewed offered no conflicting answers to this issue. All of them entirely agreed that switching to Arabic draws the attention of the audience. Mallam A1 stated that "it draws their attention because they somehow expect it since it somehow shows the level of your knowledge in your speech." Mallam A3 mentioned that it draws their audience's attention because "they believe what you are going to say is a fact, and they want to know what it is about."

Moreover, the second agreed opinion which the participants representing Ghanaian Islamic scholars provided was that these alternations to Arabic upgraded the messages they conveyed since switching to Arabic "attaches a lot of importance to whatever you are saying," one cleric said (Mallam A2). Another Islamic scholar indicated that when you use Arabic, "they know it is a point you want to hit on" (Mallam A3). The participant believes it endorses the message as fact to the listeners, which is

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similar to what Saeed (1998) considers as highlighting a point to signal its importance and seriousness (also see Bassiouney, 2013). Such findings are comparable to those of Albirini (2011), who revealed that Egyptians believed switching to formal Arabic indicated the message's significance and its seriousness in religious discourse.

Effect of code-switching from GLs to Arabic on listener's knowledge as Muslims (5.4.2)

From the interviews with the Islamic scholars, they highlighted the point that CS to Arabic was a form of religious education for the audience at the same time. Evidence from the submissions of Muslim scholars like Mallam A2 supports this notion. Mallam A2 explains that switching to Arabic is vital for the audience to learn the religion through the Arabic language. Mallam A1 adds that Islamic clerics see the switches to Arabic as an avenue to transmit the Islamic values to their audience and project the significance of the Arabic language and its association with Islamic identity with their CS to Arabic (see also Susanto,2006; Albirini,2011).

This finding explains why the participants representing Ghanaian Muslim congregation view Imams who CS to Arabic as knowledgeable. One Muslim participant said, when an Imam switches to Arabic, it "is important because it shows that the Imam has a fair understanding of the subject and (the) Arabic language." Since these switches, most of the time, are references from religious scriptures for the congregation to read further on a particular topic that the Islamic scholar is talking about. Some of the participants' responses to the survey indicate that the switches to Arabic were indeed educational for them. One said when the Imam switches to Arabic, I "try to pick on the topic or the verse to do further checks for more understanding." These participants representing Ghanaian Muslims view these switches as proves and references and consider the Islamic scholars extremely knowledgeable in their fields.

To conclude findings about the **second research question** regarding **attitudes of Ghanaian Islamic scholars towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages (GLs) and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon** verify results reached regarding the first question namely that, like participants representing Ghanaian congregation, Islamic scholars in Accra show positive attitudes towards both switches (i.e. switching to Arabic and to GLs) indicating that each has an important role to play.

6

CONCLUSION

In this chapter a sum up of the results of the study, limitations of the current study, and suggestions for further research are presented.

This study aimed to compliment sociolinguistic scholarship on code-switching involving Arabic in Accra's by investigating Ghanaian Islamic scholars' attitudes and their Muslim audiences' perceptions towards code-switching (CS) from Ghanaian languages (GLs) to Arabic and vice versa. Inspired by Soliman's (2008) research methodology in examining educated Egyptians' attitudes towards CS between Egyptian Arabic and classical Arabic in the religious context, this current study modified Soliman's questionnaires and interviews to investigate Ghanaian's attitudes towards CS between Classical Arabic and GLs in this setting. Additionally, a Matched-Guise Technique (MGT) was introduced in an attempt to discover Ghanaians subtle behaviors on CS in the religious realm. Data was gathered from 5 Ghanaian Islamic scholars and 69 Ghanaian Muslims.

The research wanted to address two research questions; (1) "what are the attitudes of Ghanaian Muslim congregations towards code-switching from Arabic to Ghanaian languages and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday?" and (2) "what are the attitudes of Ghanaian Islamic scholars towards code-switching from Arabic to GLs and from GLs to Arabic in an Islamic religious Friday sermon?" Four hypotheses were postulated before the investigation; (1) Ghanaians will display more positive attitudes towards CS from GLs to Arabic in a religious-oriented discourse compared to CS from Arabic to GLs, (2) Ghanaians will hold the view that Islamic scholars who switch from GLs to Arabic are more religiously knowledgeable and trustworthy, (3) Ghanaian Islamic scholars will favor CS from GLs to Arabic compared to CS from Arabic to GLs. And (4) Ghanaian will perceive CS to

Arabic as an indication of an importance message about to be delivered. Out of these four hypotheses, the findings confirmed two. Thus, the results proved that the participants representing Ghanaian Muslims perceive Islamic scholars who switched from GLs to Arabic were more religiously knowledgeable and trustworthy. The findings also supported the notion that Ghanaian Muslims believe CS to Arabic indicates an important message to be delivered. However, the findings were inconsistent with the other two hypotheses.

The other findings from the study established that GLs are in fact an appropriate code in a religious setting in Accra; study results also indicated that Arabic is also well sought even though not as clearly as GLs (according to survey results), and speakers exploit these alternations between both language codes to facilitate delivery (see also Bassiouney, 2013). Furthermore, the findings demonstrated that the functions of the formal-informal codes to formal-informal settings, as postulated by Ferguson (1959) were insignificant in the Ghanaian Islamic setting. The study revealed that Arabic and GLs currently co-existed in the religious context.

The alternations between Arabic and GLs is regarded by all study participants as a means to enhance the communication between Islamic scholars and their congregations. The results suggest that the participants Ghanaian Muslims believe switching from Arabic to GLs is Muslim scholars' way of simplifying their speeches to aid understanding and to get closer to their audience's level. Thus, they feel these alternations to GLs forge a close relationship between the Islamic scholars and them, making them feel comfortable and part of the sermon. Besides, the outcome of the survey illustrated that Ghanaian Muslim participants perceive switches from GLs to Arabic to correlate with religious knowledge and holiness positively. Thus, Islamic scholars who switch more to Arabic in the spiritual domain are believed to be delivering credible information from authentic sources and therefore are viewed as Islamically knowledgeable. Similarly, alternations from GLs to Arabic are perceived to highlight a point in the sermon and indicate a message's importance.

On the other hand, comparable to the Ghanaian Muslims participants, the Islamic scholars view the switches from Arabic to GLs as appropriate and supported its use in this formal setting. Like their audience, they believed in blending both. Thus, switching to Arabic and switching to GLs facilitated effective delivery of their speeches. For the alternations from GLs to Arabic, the Islamic scholars mentioned that it drew the audience's attention to the message. And they code-switch from GLs to Arabic to show the authority of their speech, and accordingly, it upgrades their message. Also, by switching to Arabic, they believed it served an educational purpose to the congregation.

Finally, these findings represent an addition to the literature of code-switching in general as it introduces new insights into this phenomenon from a less industrialized and multilingual environment where less research has been done.

Limitation and Recommendation for Further Research

The study was confronted with some challenges and limitations. First of all, the data collection mode was heavily hit by the protocols of COVID-19, which made it difficult, if not impossible, to have face to face interviews with most of the participants. Also, the low number of Islamic scholars made it challenging to compare their attitudes and opinions to the congregation. Additionally, some of the tools measured attitudes on some scales leaving other parameters. For instance, the Matched-guise test (MGT) was one-sided as it only focused on the impact of CS to Arabic in evaluating Islamic scholars. It did not consider how CS to GLs affects the perceptions towards Islamic scholars. Plus, only a few of the participants took part in the MGT, which made its analysis also problematic. Moreover, the study also did not focus on the functions and social motivation of code-switching in this formal religious setting. All the above, plus the fact that the study was carried in an urban area, Accra, where the manifestation of code-switching and multilingualism is widespread, the study

cautions that the interpretation and generalizations of the findings should be done with all the above in mind.

For future research, it is recommended that code-switching functions and social motivations would be considered in Accra and other parts of the country. Findings from such studies will extend our knowledge of code-switching and help us appreciate Ghanaians' attitudes and opinions on code-switching in the formal domain. Also, future studies should consider administering the MGT to all participants. The researcher believes more responses from the MGT will produce better analysis. Future studies should also consider interviewing more Islamic scholars as their well-informed knowledge will provide valuable information to understanding code-switching in the highly formal religious realm.

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Tables

Table 4.1

How do you feel when an Imam switches to Ghanaian languages in a religious discourse like the Friday sermon?	
Respondent	**Response**
	I feel that switching to Ghanaian languages in religious discourse …
1	It gives me an understanding of what is being thought
2	Is great and makes it easy to understand
3	Easily understanding
4	Ok
5	I feel comfortable and part of the discussion
6	Ok because not all understand Arab. But also fill the imam is innovating something the prophet never did on Friday sermon
7	Will let the audience understand what the Imam said in Arabic
8	It's ok
9	Congregants absorb better
10	Helps the ordinary Ghanaian understand better
11	Good
12	The best and innovative, majority of us Muslims don't really understand the Arabic language. Though we read the Qur'an every day. Sermons are meant to be

	understood, practiced and change behaviours of the audience for improvement of the Muslim Ummah
13	Happy
14	Makes communication easier and understandable
15	Allows more people to understand what the sermon is about. Although it may seem redundant to those who understand all the spoken languages. It allows a wider each of audience.
16	Yes
17	Provides a better understanding of the message being sent across
18	Would defeat the purpose of a sermon... Communicating
19	Gives a better understanding of the sermon
20	I think it's very necessary translated sermon from Arabic to other local dialect since the essence of the sermon is for people to understand and hence help people to effectively abide by what they have heard.
21	Very good because he is able to communicate well with us
22	Is fine. To reach the people, get the message across to them
23	makes us get the message in a simple way and also we get a clear understanding of the sermon and most of us who attend prayers in the mosque don't understand the Arabic very well so the imams help us to follow the sermon when they speak the Ghanaian language like the Twi..
24	Is very helpful and makes it easy to understand the sermon
25	No
26	Is a great idea

27	is necessary
28	Quite okay with that. And makes understanding more easy.
29	Is very appropriate because it would be much easier for most of the listeners to understand the message been sent across
30	No comment
31	It makes understanding more easier because not everyone understands and speaks the Arabic language in the society.
32	Helps everyone understand what is happening
33	It makes understanding of sermon easier as most aren't fluent Arabic speakers
34	Helps in communicating with the people
35	For the better understanding of the audience
36	It is good so that people get to understand the sermon.
37	Its a good thing because most of us will be able to digest the info
38	Enable non- Arabic audiences to understand and benefit from the particular sermon the Imam delivers.
39	I understand better
40	Are necessary
41	Its a very good thing
42	I feel part of the sermon and gives me deeper understanding
43	Helps in understanding the sermon very well as the rest of the languages contain some unique and diverse information which at the end the Imam has delivered and met his target and put his message across...
44	Very good and understandable

45	I feel the imam is trying his best to speak almost all the languages most people understand
46	Yes is very good
47	Good
48	Helps communicate better with audience
49	Create a better understanding for the audience
50	I'm able to understand the sermon much better
51	enables more people to understand the matter under discussion
52	Good And Understandable
53	Good course
54	Gets congregants involved
55	I believe he wants to communicate with all if not, majority of the congregation
56	I think switching to Ghanaian languages help all class of people enjoy visiting a particular mosque
57	It's okay
58	To communicate better with the audience
59	It will help most people understand the imam better and can easily follow the sermon
60	I feel okay
61	Comfortable
62	Helps in the understanding of the sermon
63	I think it helps audience understand the sermon very well
64	it's a great way to communicate with those who don't understand other languages
65	Encouraged

66	I feel ok

Table 4.2

	How do you feel when Imams switch to Arabic language in a religious discourse like the Friday sermon?
Respondent	**Response**
	I feel that switching to Arabic in religious discourse …
1	Ok
2	Yes
3	Sometimes draws one attention more to the discussion at hand
4	Is the best because, that is the sunna of the prophet (ص)
5	Will draw more attention of the audience
6	I don't like it because I don't understand
7	The impact may not be felt because not everybody understands Arabic
8	Makes us get a clear meaning in case u hear it somewhere. But only after he switch from a Ghanaian language first
9	OK
10	Good but not the best
11	Do not spread messages across the Ummah
12	In as much as very few ppl understand Arabic, it allows Arabic speaking foreigners who attend the sermon to understand. It may also serve as a revision avenue for students studying Arabic
13	Is necessary because we must hold on to the language of the Qur'an

14	I'm fine with that.. We have Arab speaking congregants as well.. And most importantly, Arabic is the language of the deen
15	Gives a better understanding of the sermon
16	Its good but the understanding of the congregation is Kean
17	Is important because, especially with Hadeeth, it makes us appreciate it more.
18	Is fine too. Provided most of the audience agree with it. I think the aim is for the message to get across. The audience could be taught the Arabic language separately as well for the benefit to learn the Qur'an and matters of the Deen too.
19	Indicates that there's a strong message which we need to pay attention to...
20	Not that great since I don't understand most of what they say
21	No
22	Makes it more formal
23	is necessary
24	It's perfectly ok because sometimes Imams need to quote directly in Arabic language to justify the sermon.
25	Wouldn't be ideal because not everyone speaks or understand the Arabic language
26	No comment
27	Means a lot. Very important facts in Arabic makes one pay attention ,listens and works with it
28	Helps stress some important points which cannot be translated well in the local lang(uage)
29	Isn't necessarily a bad thing either as it mostly quotations of Quranic ayaats or Hadiths

30	That's Qur'anic language
31	Doing Friday Sermon (Khutbah) only in Arabic will not send the message. Inclusion of local language is the best in order to get congregants understand .
32	Makes me appreciate the Arabic language as well
33	There is emphasis on the subject being delivered.
34	Brings out better understanding
35	Necessary to make the audience to learn the language
36	Its good
37	Is important because it shows that the Imam has fair understanding of the subject and Arabic language.
38	Plays a very important role in covering the needed info of the Sermon
39	Feel dull and don't pay much attention to the sermon
40	I feel good
41	I fell very comfortable
42	Good
43	I feel lost bcuz (because) I dnt (don't) understand the language
44	Makes it difficult for the audience to understand
45	It makes the sermon entertaining
46	may not help the larger congregation understand the content of the matter.
47	Preferable
48	Positive note
49	Gets congregants involve
50	Not necessary

51	Mostly indicated the severity of the matter and shows the Imam knows what he is about
52	Try to pick on the topic or the verse to do further checks for more understanding
53	Draws my attention
54	They are good in Arabic language
55	Will help only those who understand it better... (some can't read or write)
56	I feel okay
57	Helps to understand the sermon
58	There is an important message about to be told
59	it portrays something important or a reference
60	Encouraged
61	I feel happy

Wilcoxon Sum Rank Tests;

Table. 3.1

Question 1. How would you rate the speech you just heard according "Islamic knowledge"?

Participant	Arabic & Twi (A)	Hausa & Twi (B)	Diff (A-B)	Sign	ABS (Diff)	Rank
1	4	4	0			
2	5	4	1	+	1	2.5
3	4	4	0			
4	4	3	1	+	1	2.5
5	4	3	1	+	1	2.5
6	4	4	0			
7	4	3	1	+	1	2.5
8	5	5	0			
9	4	4	0			
Mean	4.22222222	3.77777778				
SD	0.44095855	0.66666667				
S-	0					
S+	10					
W	0					
E (W)	5					
SD (W)	2.73861279					
Test Statistics	-1.6431677					
P-value	**0.10034825**					

Table 3.2

Question 2. How would you rate the speech you just heard according "Arabic knowledge"?

Participant	Arabic & Twi (A)	Hausa & Twi (B)	Diff (A-B)	Sign	ABS (Diff)	Rank
1	4	4	0			
2	4	3	1	+	1	3.5
3	3	4	-1	-	1	3.5
4	3	2	1	+	1	3.5
5	3	3	0			
6	4	3	1	+	1	7
7	4	2	2	+	2	3.5
8	4	5	-1	-	1	3.5
9	4	3	1	+	1	3.5
Mean	3.66666667	3.22222222				
SD	0.5	0.97182532				
S-	7					
S+	21					
W	7					
E (W)	14					
SD (W)	5.91607978					
Test Statistics	-1.0987005					
P-value	**0.27189871**					

Table 3.3

Question 3. How would you rate the speech you just heard according "Intelligence"?

Participant	Arabic & Twi (A)	Hausa & Twi (B)	Diff (A-B)	Sign	ABS (Diff)	Rank
1	5	4	1	+	1	2
2	4	4	0			
3	4	4	0			
4	4	3	1	+	1	2
5	3	3	0			
6	4	4	0			
7	3	3	0			
8	4	5	-1	-	1	2
9	4	4	0			
Mean	3.88888889	3.77777778				
SD	0.60092521	0.66666667				
S-	2					
S+	4					
W	2					
E (W)	3					
SD (W)	1.87082869					
Test Statistics	-0.2672612					
P-value	**0.78926803**					

Table 3.4

Question 4. How would you rate the speech you just heard according "Dependability"?

Participant	Arabic & Twi (A)	Hausa & Twi (B)	Diff (A-B)	Sign	ABS (Diff)	Rank
1	5	4	1	+	1	2.5
2	5	4	1	+	1	2.5
3	3	3	0			
4	4	2	2	+	2	6
5	4	2	2	+	2	6
6	3	3	0			
7	1	2	-1	-	1	2.5
8	4	5	-1	-	1	2.5
9	5	3	2	+	2	6
Mean	3.77777778	3.11111111				
SD	1.30170828	1.05409255				
S-	5					
S+	23					
W	5					
E (W)	14					
SD (W)	5.91607978					
Test Statistics	-1.4367622					
P-value	**0.15078557**					

Table 3.5

Question 5. How would you rate the speech you just heard according "Leadership"?

Participant	Arabic & Twi (A)	Hausa & Twi (B)	Diff (A-B)	Sign	ABS (Diff)	Rank
1	3	3	0			
2	4	3	1	+	1	2
3	4	4	0			
4	3	2	1	+	1	2
5	3	3	0			
6	3	3	0			
7	1	3	-2	-	2	4
8	4	4	0			
9	5	4	1	+	1	2
Mean	3.33333333	3.22222222				
SD	1.11803399	0.66666667				
S-	4					
S+	6					
W	4					
E (W)	5					
SD (W)	2.73861279					
Test Statistics	-0.1825742					
P-value	**0.85513214**					

Appendix A

Questionnaire (6.3)

SECTION 1.

1. Arrange the following languages according to your preference in a religious sermon.

(a) Twi (b) My first language (c) Arabic (d) English (e) Others.

i.

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………….………….

ii.

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iii.

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iv.

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……………......…….

v.

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………….……....

2.Which of the following do you think is appropriate in religious discourse?

(a) Only Arabic (b) Only Ghanaian language(s) (c) Arabic and Ghanaian language(s)

I think Imams who switch to Ghanaian languages such as Twi and Hausa while delivering their

sermons are;

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3. Using easier languages that users will understand.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

4. Not good in Arabic.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

5. Competent speakers of Ghanaian languages than Arabic.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

6. More likely to engage their audience.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

7. More capable of addressing all classes of the Ghanaian society.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

8. I feel that switching **to Ghanaian languages** in religious discourse

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SECTION 2.

What are your feelings and perception about Imams who switch from Ghanaian languages to Arabic when delivering their sermons?

1. They are very good in the Arabic language.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

2. They are religiously knowledgeable.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

3. They are more trustworthy.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

4. They receive more respect from the audience.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

5. I believe that switching to Arabic indicates that an important message is about to be delivered.

Strongly Disagree – Disagree – Uncertain – Agree – Strongly Agree

6.   I   feel   that   switching   **to**   **Arabic**   in   religious   discourse

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Demographic Information:

1. How old are you?

(a)Below 14 years (b) 15 – 24 years (c) Above 25 years

2. What is your level of Education?

(a)Primary dropout (b) Middle school (c) High school (d) Tertiary/Polytechnic (e) Graduate

3. How do you consider the level of your Arabic language?

(a) No knowledge (b) Some knowledge (b) Beginner (c) Intermediate (d) Advanced

Will you be interested in participating in a short interview? – (a) Yes (b) Maybe (c) No

If **Yes/Maybe**, please kindly leave your contact to the principal investigator.

Appendix B

Group A - Questions for the Audience

1. Do you like to listen to or watch religious speeches or sermons? How often do you do that?

2. Who are your favorite scholars and sheikhs? Why do you like them? What languages do they normally use in their sermons?

3. In Ghana, several scholars and sheikhs use Ghanaian languages like Twi and Dagbani in their religious formal speech. Do you think the use of Ghanaian languages is inappropriate in religious discourse? Why do you think so?

4. Is it more likeable to Friday sermon listeners if Imams would convey their messages in Ghanaian languages rather than Arabic? Why?

5. Are those scholars who use Ghanaian languages incompetent in Arabic? Why do you think so?

6. How do you feel when the Imam suddenly switch to Ghanaian languages?

7. You listened to (name of Imam) this Friday, what do you think of his switches to Arabic? Why do you feel that way?

8. How do you feel when the Imam suddenly switches to Arabic?

9. Do you think the use of Arabic earns him the audience's respect? Why?

10. When you notice the Imam switching to Arabic does it draw your attention to the importance of the message about to be said? Why?

Group B - Questions for the Imams

1. Do you like to listen to or watch religious speeches or sermons? How often do you do that?

2. Who are your favorite scholars and sheikhs? Why do you like them? What languages do they normally use in their sermons?

3. Several scholars and sheikhs use Ghanaian languages such as Twi and Dagbani in their religious formal speech. Do you think the use of Ghanaian languages is inappropriate in a religious discourse? Why?

4. Do you think it would be more pleasant to Friday sermon listeners if you would convey the sermon in Ghanaian languages rather than Arabic? Why?

5. Are the Imams who use Ghanaian languages incompetent in Arabic? Why?

6. What do you think are the opinions of your audience about your switches to Arabic?

7. Do you think the use of Arabic earns you the listeners' respect? Why do you think so?

8. Does speaking Arabic draws your audience attention to the importance of the message you are about to deliver? Why?

Appendix C

Matched Guise Test (6.5)

How would you rate the speech you just heard according to the following scales;

1. Islamic knowledge

(a) Not very Islamically knowledgeable (b) less Islamically knowledgeable (c) neutral (d) Islamically knowledgeable (e) very Islamically knowledgeable

2. Arabic knowledge

(a) Not very knowledgeable in Arabic (b) less knowledgeable in Arabic (c) neutral (d) knowledgeable in Arabic (e) very knowledgeable in Arabic

3. Intelligence

(a) Not very intelligent (b) less intelligent (c) neutral (d) intelligent (e) very intelligent

4. Dependability

(a) Not very dependable (b) less dependable (c) neutral (d) dependable (e) very dependable

5. Leadership

(a) Not a very good leader (b) less leadership qualities (c) neutral (d) good leader (e) very good leader