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**Psychology of dialect differentiation: the emergence  
of muslim English in America\***

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Regional dialects of a language can be identified in terms of different geographical divisions of a speech community. Thus we can distinguish between speakers of American English, British English and Australian English by the special dialectal markers peculiar to the speakers living in these countries. But the dialect differentiation between the speakers of a language living in the same geographical divisions may be motivated by social, political or religious considerations. These sociolinguistic features distinguishing the speakers of different dialects of a language serve as identity markers of their religious, social or political affiliations. The innovation and diffusion of these features may be re-inforced by various historical developments, different sources of borrowing, different ideological backgrounds and different associations and aspirations of various sections of the language speaking community. Thus dialect variation may be an unconscious product of social distances between various groups speaking the same language or may be a result of a conscious engineering by the planners of social change.

Language variation on religious parameter has attracted the attention of quite a few linguists recently. Blanc (1964) gives a systematic study of communal dialects of Arabic spoken by Muslims, Christians and Jews in Baghdad Iraq. The differences in the *gelet*, *qultu* dialects (Muslim non-Muslim) did not originate as religious differences. Large scale migration of the tribal Muslim population to Baghdad started the language differentiation which got established as the Muslim variety in the city.

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Cohen (1964) brings out the language differentiation between the Jewish and the Muslim Arabic dialects in Tunis. The Jewish dialect is influenced by the Hebrew and the differences are reinforced by the social and communitive isolation of the two communities for a period of several centuries.

We are particularly interested in the role that Islam has played in encouraging a sort of language convergence between various languages spoken predominantly by Muslims. Since Arabic plays an important role in the religiocultural lives of Muslims, large-scale borrowing from Arabic is shared by all Muslim languages. Languages with both Muslim and non-Muslim speakers get split into Muslim and non-Muslim dialects because Muslim speakers tend to borrow their religio-cultural terminology from a common Islamic source in Arabic (in some cases from languages like Turkish, Persian and Urdu which have also become associated with Islamic cultural traditions) and thus replace certain indigenous vocabulary with non-Islamic associations.

Gumperz and Naim (1960) have identified the two distinct varieties of speech in the Hindi-speaking North India, where Urdu, with borrowing mostly from the Perso-Arabic sources and written in Perso-Arabic script, is spoken by Muslims, and Hindi, with borrowings from Sanskrit and written in the Devnagri script is spoken by Hindus.

Afia Dil (1972) discusses the extent to which Hindu and Muslim dialects of Bengali originated as a result of the introduction of Islam in Bengal (especially in the present Bengla Desh), as the Muslims began to look upon the Perso-Arabic culture as their own and as such a major source of their borrowing. The Hindus always looked upon Sanskrit as their cultural heritage and as a source of great borrowing. Though the use of Perso-Arabic script for writing Bangali did not get established into a convention as it did in the case of Urdu, it was certainly used by Muslims from time to time.

The present writer has discussed in detail the origin and sociolinguistic implications of the Muslim and Hindu dialects of Kashmiri in Syeed (1975). The process of Islamization in Kashmir started towards the end of the fourteenth century, centuries after the Muslim rule had been established in the surrounding areas. The case of Kashmir is unique because no Muslim army conquered it. The mass conversion to Islam resulted in supplanting Sanskrit by Persian and subjecting the Kashmiri language to a tremendous influence of Persian. The dialect differentiation between Kashmiri spoken by Muslims and by Hindus has attracted the attention of many scholars earlier (Grerson 1919, Kachru 1969). Syeed

(1975), shows how Muslim and Hindu dialects serve as in-group codes and as marks of identity for the two communities, and now the speakers switch back & forth from one dialect to the other depending on the participants involved in the verbal exchange. The Muslims have always used Perso-Arabic script for writing Kashmiri in spite of the fact that the exotic vowel system could not be captured until the script was modified very recently. The shifting from Pre-Islamic Kashmiri script named Sharada to Devnagri (Script used for writing Hindi) in the case of Kashmiri Hindus, provides a wonderful study of the association of the script with the religions of the users.

The purpose of the present paper is to investigate the sociolinguistic impact of Islam on the English used by the so called 'Black Muslims' of America, officially called 'the Nation of Islam'. We have chosen this native dialect of English to discuss the influence of Islam in preference to other varieties of English developed in some Muslim countries like the Indo-Pak subcontinent, Egypt, the Sudan, Malaysia, where a huge body of literature is being produced on Islam and Muslims. All these varieties do have certain features common but they are all nonnative forms of English. The Black Muslim English provides us an opportunity to study the process of differentiation that began in some Asian languages centuries ago. Islamization of Persian and Turkish differentiation between the dialects spoken by the Muslim and the non-Muslim speakers of languages like Bengali, Kashmiri, Punjabi and others began long back in history. We can watch this process of differentiation, as an active contemporary process going on in the present day Black Muslim English. The more exposure the Black Muslims have towards orthodox Islam and the stronger the urge to identify their community with the orthodox Muslim world, the more marked and faster the differentiations between the Muslim and non-Muslim varieties of English.

The Black Muslim movement in America was founded by W. D. Fard in 1930, who is said to have disappeared in 1933. He was succeeded by his disciple Elijah Muhammad, who deified Fard and declared that he was Allah (God) in person, and that he himself was his messenger. These views were a clear deviation from the orthodox Islam, but they helped him to develop a version of Islam suited to unite the Blacks against the «blue-eyed white devils» who were «incapable of doing any good to the Blacks». Islam as interpreted by him 'was a natural religion for the Blacks', for whom he prophesied a millennium of power and prosperity.

The first important defection from this strongly organized cult was staged by the most powerful lieutenant of Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm

X in 1965. After visiting Mecca, the place of pilgrimage of the orthodox Muslim world and after developing contact with the orthodox Muslim scholars, Malcolm X came to the conclusion, «America needs to understand Islam, because this is the one religion that erases from its society the race problem. Throughout my travels in the Muslim world, I have met, talked to, and even eaten with people who in America would have been considered «white» but the white attitude was removed from their minds by the religion of Islam. I have never before seen sincere and true brotherhood practised by all together, irrespective of their colour» (Malcolm, 1966).

Malcolm X was murdered but his ideas started gaining strength and contradiction between the Islam presented by E. Muhammad and the Islam of the Orient began to be realized by other influential Black Muslims and trust.» (Malcolm 1966:277) ... «I have always a high opinion of WDM's EM's son and Malcolm X's confident succeeded EM after the latter's death, as the chief Minister of the Nation of Islam. Malcolm X had already noticed:—

«WDM was Mr Muhammad's most strongly spiritual son, the son with the most objective outlook. Always Wallace and I shared a closeness and trust.» (Malcolm 1966:277) ... «I have always a high opinion of WDM's opinion» (p 318) ... «Mr Muhammad has expressed to me his conviction that the only possible salvation for the Nation of Islam would be its accepting and projecting a better understanding of the Orthodox Islam» (Malcolm 1966:339).

The appointment of WDM as the Chief Minister of the Nation of Islam is called the Second Resurrection in the Black Muslim literature. The event is very important for our study because his succession has started a gradual process of mutual understanding and appreciation between the Orthodox Muslim world and the Nation of Islam. He has redefined the identity of the Black Muslims. «Fard», declared WDM in one of his speeches (*Bilalian News* May, 1976), «was a man who was concerned with the plight of the blacks in America and planned the introduction of Islam by a very ingenious strategy.»

WDM quotes neither Fard nor EM as his authorities. He has been re-iterating his faith in Muhammad of Arabia as his chief leader 'the last and the most complete prophet who lived 1400 years ago' (*Bilalian News* Dec, 1976).

This new phase is marked by frequent visits of orthodox Muslim leaders to the Black Muslim head quarters in Chicago, exchange of delegations and students, and tours of Black Muslim leaders to Saudi Ara-

bia, Libya, Egypt and other Arab countries. WDM's own tour to Muslim countries was widely publicized in the *Bilalian News*. Thus, the large scale cultural contact has not only intensified an urge but also facilitated the borrowing of Islamic conceptual and cultural terms.

How this internal ideological shift has resulted in bringing about some linguistic changes is an interesting study. While some changes had already started appearing during EM's time, more extensive linguistic indications of this revolution are noticeable in the more recent literature of the Nation. We have studied the back files of *Muhammad Speakes* from 1970 to 1974, and of the *Bilalian News* of 1976. The additional literature studied for this project is listed in our bibliography.

We have not analysed the spoken English of the members of the Nation. *It is assumed that a community so much dominated by centralized leadership faithfully copies the linguistic innovations of their leaders.* Most of the features noticed by us in the written form of the Black English, being greatly prestigious are absorbed in the spoken form also. These features provide a sense of oneness and in-group identity.

Earlier these differentiating features emphasized a sense of revolt against the immediate past and an urge to dissociate from the 'white oppressors'. They now provide bonds of unity with the larger Muslim community living outside America and sharing a common belief in Arabic as the language of divine revelation.

Motives for adopting special Islamic linguistic markers during Elijah Mohammad's leadership :

1. To establish a separate Black Muslim identity.
2. Dissociation from the white majority and breaking away from the past.

Additional motives for special Islamic linguistic markers during WDM's leadership :

1. to establish a sense of oneness with the rest of the Muslim world.
2. to get access to the study of the Quran and the orthodox Islam.

How these linguistic doses are administered without obstructing the system of communication can be realized by analysing the degree of isolation inflicted on the members of the Nation. Their lives become so much 'temple-centred' that there is little involvement in activities outside the Nation. Abilla (1972:78) quotes a Black Muslim, «Once you become

a registered Muslim, you are automatical isolated from non-Muslim social contact, drifting away from formey friends, associal and parents or relatives who do not belong to the Nation. Muslim philosophy prohibits its members from engaging in many activities that some Black militants enjoy such as drinking, smoking, dancing, attending movies, and eating pork. In this respect, one has to constantly associate with the members of the Nation of Islam in order to remain in good standing... Your friends must all be fellow Muslims. This is the only way to remain in the Nation.»

The change in the official name of the 'Nation of Islam' to 'the World Community of Islam in the West' under WDM's leadership is an indication of an internal urge to identify the community with the orthodox Muslim World, to project it as a part of the international community and not as a segregated minority in America. This is significant because it opens channels for borrowing the original Arabic linguistic terms for religious rituals and concepts.

*From 'Black' to 'Bilalian' :*

Elijah Muhammad had suceceeded in giving a prestigious connotation to the word 'black' in English. He taught the black man to take pride in his colour and in calling himself black. Black man was 'the original man' and the whites were 'devils' (Elijah Muhammad 1965). The antagonism between the black and the white provided the major source for his race-segregation philosophy. Since WDM has thrown the doors of the Nation open to people of all races and of all colours, the shift is reflected on the linguistic level also. The word 'black' has been replaced by 'Bilalian', an adjective derived from *Bilal*, the personal name of a black companion of the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad of Arabia. Bilal was an Ethiopian slave raised in Mecca. He was as early convert to Islam and after achieving his freedom he served the cause of Islam very enthousiastically. He is revered throughout the Muslim world.

The Black Muslims now call themselves *Bilalians* in their literature and are referred to by the same name by other Muslims. The name of the weekly *Mohammad Speaks* has also been changed to the *Bilalian News*. The word *Bilalian* has replaced 'black' even in the contexts where it does not qualify exclusively Muslims only. Our corpus has expressions like:

Bilalian brother	Bilalian children
Bilalin women	Bilalian doctors (contexts suggests
Bilalian medical college	that they are black but not Muslim)
Bilalian journalists.	

*Arabicization of the Personal Names :*

The changing of the names had started during Fard's time when he changed E M's second name from Pool to Muhammad. EM preached that Christian religion and personal names of the blacks were the relics of the days of their slavery and advised his followers to get rid of their personal names. We find a large number of personal names with X as second name, which means that the person concerned has renounced his family name as the one given by his slave masters.

In the later literature, we find the frequency of X's has gone down and Arabic second names have taken their place. Almost all the names appearing in the issues of November, 1976 of the *Bilalian News*, have either their first or their second name an Arabic or an Anglicized Arabic name. We find as advertisement in the *Bilalian News*:—

«*Book of Muslim Names*, with cassette tapes of Arabic pronunciation of names» (Bilalian News Nov 7, 1976.)

The process of Arabicization of names is a usual practise in all Muslim countries. Whenever a non-Muslim accepts Islam, he is expected to take an Arabic name. However, in some countries certain non Arabic names have also got associated with Islam. But they may be considered an exception and not a rule.

*Change in the Spellings of Anglicized Arabic words:*

One of the most *striking* features of the Black Muslim English is the change in the spellings of the Arabic words already in use in English. An attempt is made to spell the Arabic words in a way to represent their Arabic pronunciation as nearly as possible. Thus, 'Muslim' 'Muhammad' and the 'Quran' which for centuries had been subjected to the nativization process of the English pronunciation and to the vagaries of spellings of English, were inconsistently spelt as *Moslem*, *Muslim*, *Mohammad*, *Mohomet Koran*, *Quran* and so on. It is true that this standardization



of Arabic names in Black Muslim English has synchronized with a similar tendency in the academic orientalist literature produced in the West, which can be traced to a wave of interest in the Middle East and access to the direct sources after the oil boom.

The Muslim greetings, 'Ass-Salamu Alaikum' is spelt differently in different Muslim countries. But the spellings standardized in the Black Muslim English literature come closer to the original Arabic expression phonetically and graphically.

#### *Adoption of Arabic-Islamic Calendar :*

The annual calendars published by the Nation have Islamic-Arabic names for the months according to the lunar calendar corresponding to the English names of the months according to the solar system. For example:—

<i>Muharram :</i>	first month of the Muslim year corresponding to Jan, 3-31, 1976.
<i>Safar :</i>	second month, Corresponding to Feb, 1976.
<i>Rabi'ul I. :</i>	third month March, 1976.

Similarly, in our data, we come across Jumu'a being used for Friday. The month of Muslim fasting 'Ramadan' occurs very frequently. In Indo-Iranian Muslim languages, it is written as, 'Ramazan', because *z* is the nearest substitute for the Arabic emphatic consonant *d*, and it is 'Ramazan' and not 'Ramadan' that one comes across in English press and literature produced in that region.

In *Muhammad Speaks*, the festival celebrated immediately after the month of Ramadan is referred to as post-Ramadan feast', but in the *Bilalian News*, the Arabic name of this festival, universally used throughout the Muslim world, 'Idul-fitr' has been used. This clearly marks a step forward in the direction of Arabicization, and toward orthodox Islamic conventions.

#### *Borrowing Arabic Terms for Muslim Beliefs and Rituals :*

The words for beliefs and basic tenets of Islam, prayers and rituals are being directly borrowed from Arabic. *Bilalian News* has a special

feature on Islamic Prayers. Arabic labels are given in every case. The readers are encouraged to remember the Arabic forms and use them in English. The following words current in the BM English may be considered to belong to this category:—

*Salat* : 'prayer'

*adhan* : call to prayer

*Saum* : 'fasting'

*waddu* : ablution

*Zakat* : 'alms' 'poordue'

*sunnah* : pratice of the Prophet.

*Hajj* : pilgrimage to Mecca.

It is interesting to note here that while most of these words are common to all Muslim languages, the words for 'prayer' and 'fasting' in most of the non-Arabic Asian languages are Persian. This is so because Persian served as the medium of Islam and as the language of culture and education of the rulers in most of these countries.

The Arabic expression *In Sha Allah* (if God wills) *Allaho Akbar* (God is Great), the usual expletives of orthodox Muslims are found in our data also. The Muslim way of greetings, *Ass-Salamu Alaikum* is used consistently in speech and writing wherever the context demands.

*The use of Arabic script in English text :*

The urge to pick up the universally accepted traditions in the Muslim World has resulted in another linguistically important feature in the English publications of the Nation. The translations of the Quran in various Muslim languages publish Arabic text in the Arabic script along side the translation. This practice is considered a safeguard against any distortion of the original text. The convention is responsible for promoting respect for the Arabic script and finally resulting in the replacement of the indigenous scripts by the Arabic script in other situations also.

We find quotations from the Quran in the Arabic script followed by English translation and in certain cases also by transliteration into Roman alphabet. This convention has been adopted by *the Bilalian News* and is conspicuously absent from the *Muhammad Speaks*.

The front page of the *Bilalian News* begins with

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

«In the name of Allah The most compassionate» (sic)

All the important announcements begin with this invocation written in Arabic and translated into English.

The *Bilalian News* and other BM publications are interspersed with Arabic quotations written in the Arabic alphabet. This new tendency has popularized the use of Arabic script and there are beautiful designs of Arabic calligraphy in some BM publications.

*Arabic borrowings in advertisements :*

The popularity of Arabic, a tendency to borrow words from Arabic into English and the love for Arabic script is fully exploited by the commercial advertizers. The Souvenir published on the Saviors' Day 1976 is full of advertisements from various commercial concerns.

Ireland's Prescription Pharmacy has put an advertisement with a greeting in Arabic written in the Arabic script:—

صلى الله عليه وسلم

«May Allah grant you good health»

The Salaam Sardines bears its name both in the Arabic as well as in English on its packing cover :

سردين علامة مسلم

«Sardine Brand Muslim»

Many products advertised in the *Muhammad Speaks* and the *Bilalian News* have partially Arabic names:—

Salaam Sardines	Salaam Soft Drinks
Bilalian products	Omar Soft Drinks
Bilalian Brand Frozen Soup	Islamic Jewelry
Arabian Chicken	Shabbaz Soft Drinks
Muslim Soft Drinks	

Commercial concerns and buildings too bear Arabic constituents in their names:—

- Salaam Corporations
- Salaam Restaurant
- Salaam Art and Culture
- Fard Building
- Shabbaz barbar Shop, Shabbaz dry-cleaners.

Sometimes the names may not have a borrowed Arabic element in

them 'instead an English word with an Arab and Islamic association may be used:—

Nile Snack Shop  
Qasis Food Mart  
Crescent Room

*Arabic Equivalents used as Captions :*

The women's page in othe *Bilalian News* is headed by the Arabic word النساء 'Women' with transliteration in Roman alphabet *Anisa* (sic) Similarly, the children's page has the Arabic caption الاطفال 'children'.

*Nursery Rhymes and childrens letters :*

The nursery rhymes and poems written by children from six to sixteen for the *Bilalian News* give an evidence of the quick assimilation of the Arabic words in English borrowed by the elders.

*Transfer of Cultural Connotation and Semantic Shift :*

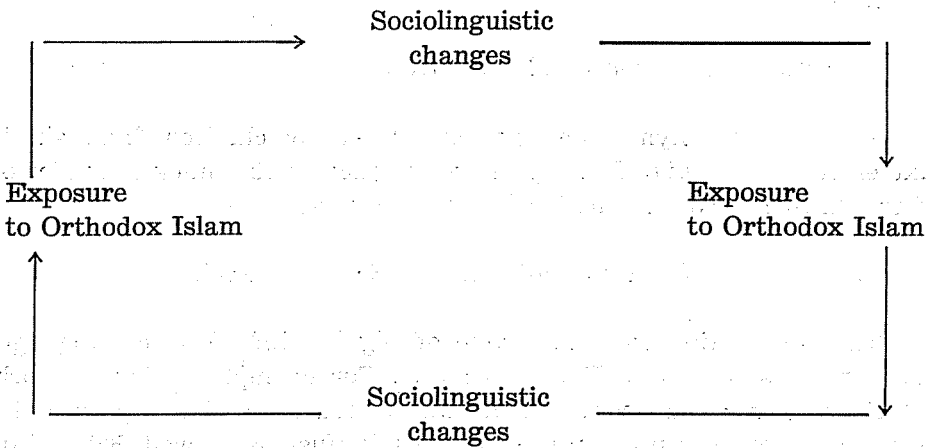
The connotation with the name of pig in other Muslim languages has got transferred into English as well. For example, in Urdu, 'Pork-eater' has a very bad connotation and is used as a highly provocative swear word. Pork is prohibited to the Black Muslims as well. Elijah Muhammad and now his son have been persistently preaching against the 'dirty habit' of pork eating. One of the greatest sins of the Caucasian race, according to E.M, is eating of the pork. 'You are what you eat', says E.M. The buttons worn by the Black Muslims, show their hatred against the pig and thus the unpleasantness associated with its name.

*Are these Sociolinguistic Changes only  
Cosmetic Changes ?*

There has been a controversy going on in the orthodox Muslim circles regarding the true nature of the ideological change in the Black Muslims after EM's death. Some have dismissed some of the observable sociolinguistic changes as 'cosmetic changes' unaccompanied by any serious internal ideological transformation. (Impact Oct 21, 1976)

Even this criticism is significant for our study of the inter-relation between language and society. Out of the four possible different views that can be expressed about the relationship between language and society, discussed by Grimshaw (1969), our study of the Black Muslim English can be explained by two of the perspectives put forth by him:—

- (a). B M English confirms that the ideology central to the existence of the Nation is responsible for shaping a new dialect of English.
- (b). B M linguistic symbols facilitate the shaping of new loyalties, building up new identity and thus conditioning the minds of the speakers for a change in a certain direction.



The lag noticed by the Orthodox Muslim critics between the slow ideological change of the Black Muslims and the fast appearing ostentatious sociolinguistic changes in the B M English, only shows that they are not aware of the circular relationship between language and the social transformation. Every linguistic change that is introduced, need not be a product of an internal ideological change. The leaders may plan to introduce it purposely to strengthen the symbols of change. Linguistic symbols can condition the minds of the members of a particular society and prepare them for a change in a certain direction.

It is really interesting to notice that in their transition, while shifting focus from Elijah Muhammad the self-declared messenger of Islam to the prophet of Orthodox Islam and replacing segregationist philosophy

and claims for the black supermacy by a more open approach, linguistic symbols are certainly playing an important role.

Note :— While discussing the emergence of Muslim English in America, for technical reasons, we have focussed only on the Black Muslim English. This has provided us a homogeneous, well-Knit single community-base for studying the process of language change, because language differentiation presupposes a large scale in-group activity to popularize the linguistic innovations and absorb them in the daily language of the community.

This is not to deny the existence of a large number of American born Muslims who are not associated with the Nation of Islam and many of whom are not black. They too are engaged in promoting the communicative efficiency of English as a vehicle of Islamic culture and ideology quite distinct from their immediate environment. Black Muslim English, in fact, broadly identifies the direction of the development of Muslim English in America and may function as a common symbol of identity for Muslims in general.

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## — Ö Z E T —

Muhtelîm coğrafi bölgelerde konuşulan aynı dil bu bölgelerin birtakım karakteristik vasıflarını üzerinde toplar. Amerikan İngilizcesi, İngiliz İngilizcesi, Avustralya İngilizcesinin birbirinden farklı tarafları hep bu coğrafi bölge farklılığından doğmuştur. Dinin de bu tür dialektlerin doğuşunda bir faktör olduğu meselesi son zamanlarda dilciler tarafından ortaya konulmuştur. 1964 yılında, Bağdat'ta yaşayan Müslüman, Hristiyan ve Yahudi cemaatlerinin konuştuıkları Arapçanın dialektleri üzerinde sistematik bir çalışma yapan Blanc önemli farklılıklar tesbit etmiştir. Aynı şekilde Cohen 1964 yılında Tunusta'ki Müslüman ve Yahudi cemaatlerin konuştuıkları Arapça üzerinde de bir çalışma yapmıştır. Bu tür çalışmalar daha birçok bölgelerde geliştirilmiş ve sosyal cemaatlerin birbirinden ayrı kültürlerle bağı olarak yaşamakta olmalarının diyalektlerin doğmasında baş faktörlerden biri olduğu ittifakla tesbit edilmiştir. 1960 da Hindistan'da bir araştırma yapan Gumberz Naim, 1972 de Bengladeş'te aynı çalışmayı yapan Alfia Dil, aynı neticelere ulaşmışlardır. Bu makalede de bunlara benzer bir çalışma yapılmıştır. Amerika'da yaşamakta olan ve kendilerini «İslâm Milleti» diye tanımlayan Zenci Müslümanların kullandıkları dil üzerinde İslâmın tesiri araştırılmaktadır. İngilizce'nin yaygın bir şekilde konuşulduğu Hindistan, Pakistan, Mısır, Sudan ve Malezya'da İslâmî mevzularda geniş bir literatürün vücuda geldiği görülmektedir.

1930 larda Fard Muhammed ile başlayan Amerika'daki Zenci Müslüman hareketi, daha sonra gelen Elijah Muhammed devrinde farklı bir gelişme gösterdi. Hâlen devam eden bu hareketin başında Elijah Muhammed'in oğlu Wallace Muhammed bulunmaktadır. 1965 lerde Elijah Muhammed'in söylediği istikamette, gerçek insanın siyah olduğu beyazların ise Şeytan olduklarına inanan Zenci Müslüman cemaat, yeni lider Wallace Muhammed devrinde insan renginin herhangi bir şekilde değer ve fazilet ölçüsü olamayacağı kanaatine varmış bulunmaktadırlar. Daha önce Amerika'da tecrit edilmiş bir şekilde yaşayan Müslümanlar böylece kendilerini İslâm Dünyası ile birleştirmek yolunu tutmuş oluyorlar. Yine daha önce zenci müslüman diye bilinen kimseler, artık kendilerini Mekke-



de yetişmiş Habeşistan'lı bir köle olan ve ilk müslümanlar arasında bulunan Bilâl-i Habeşîye benzeterek Bilalian ismini veriyorlar. Önceden *Muhammad Speaks* (Muhammed konuşuyor) adı ile çıkan gazete, bugün «Bilalian News» başlığını almıştır. Bu hareketin ikinci liderinin, adı Pool yerine Muhammed'i alması ile başlayan isimlerdeki İslâmlaştırma hareketi geniş bir şekilde devam etmektedir. Hattâ bu yolda yeni mühtedilere yardımcı olmak bakımından Müslüman isimlerin listelerini veren bir kitap satışa çıkarılmıştır. Bu isimler mümkün mertebe Arapça'daki gerçek telaffuz ile verilip kullanılmaktadır. Günlük hayatta İslâm ülkelerinde cârî olan «selâm» şekli kullanılmakta, ibâdet tamamen Arapça olarak yapılmaktadır. Bunlarla birlikte dîni terminoloji ve mefhumlar da dilin yapısına girmekte ve konuşulmaktadır. Zekât, Hac, Savm (Oruç), ezan ve sünnet kelimeleri bunlara birer misâl olarak verilebilir. Ayrıca kamerî sisteme göre tanzim edilmiş bulunan İslâm takvimi de kullanılmakta ve Muharrem ayı senenin ilk ayı olarak bilinmektedir. *Bilalian News* gazetesi Arapça hattı ile «Bismillahirrahmânirrahim» başlığı ile başlamakta ve buna paralel olarak, konuşulan İngilizce'de Arapça köklü kelimeler çoğalmaktadır. Böylece Amerika'da müslümanlar arasında konuşulan İngilizce, dil yönünden bir diyalek şekline dönüşmektedir.

Y. K.