



Exploring the effect of sect and gender on language attitudes: A case study of Urban Hasawi dialect in Saudi Arabia

Fahad Al Owdah

Ph.D. Thesis

University of East Anglia

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies

June 2022

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with the author and that use of any information derived there-from must be in accordance with current UK Copyright Law. In addition, any quotation or extract must include full attribution.

Abstract

The current study examines the attitudes of speakers of the urban Hasawi dialect towards their dialect; Hasawi is spoken in Alhasa, a city in Saudi Arabia. It also investigates whether the participants' gender and sect (Shiite and Sunni) have any impact on their perception of their dialect or how it is perceived by non-native speakers of the dialect. To this end, this study adopted a mixed methods approach, combining qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (Match-guise Techniques). For the interviews, the present study uses a semi-structured interview consisting of 17 questions that were divided into three sets. The first set of questions was designed to explore the participants' views about other Saudi dialects. The second set was designed to explore attitudes towards the Hasawi variety. The third set was more precise and related to their attitudes from a sectarian perspective.

For the MGT, a 7-point-Likert-scale questionnaire for seven traits was designed, with 6 recordings for four local speakers (from both sects and gender) and two speakers of Supra-local dialect, requiring participants to rate their attitudes towards these dialects. The sample included 40 participants; whose first language variety is the Hasawi dialect of Arabic. On the basis of the two dependent variables, namely, gender and sect, the participants were divided into four groups: Hasawi Shiite female speakers, Hasawi Shiite male speakers, Hasawi Sunni female Speakers and Hasawi Sunni male speakers.

The results reveal that in general gender impacted attitudes to the dialect very little in comparison to religious sect. Hasawi Shiite male and female participants demonstrated a sense of responsibility towards their dialect, positively making their attitudes towards it, particularly in regard to their belief that it forms part of their identity as minority group in Saudi Arabia. However, Hasawi Sunni male and female participants had negative attitudes toward the local dialect. This is attributed to the social ideology that the dialect spoken by Shiites in Alhasa is either widely regarded as a reference point for the Hasawi dialect or as a dominant dialect in Alhasa. In addition, the results reveal that participants from both sects believe that there is a dichotomous dialect situation; as Hasawi Shiite dialect represents the traditional dialect, while the Sunni Hasawi dialect represents the urbanised dialect that converges with Supra local variety that is spoken

in the capital city (Riyadh). Moreover, the participants from both sects perceived that outsiders have an inferior view toward their dialect as a result of linguistic features.

Regarding gender, the results show that Sunni male and female participants have similar views to their dialect in terms of the level of prestige, as they perceived it to be of lower prestige than the Supra local variety. For Shiite participants, the results differed somewhat when looking at gender. Shiite female participants expressed the view that the Hasawi dialect was more prestigious, possibly because they are less mobile than other groups included here. This was contrasted by Shiite male participants who believed that the Supra dialect was more prestigious.

The importance of this project is contributing to the research on language attitudes and religion as a social factor by focusing on Alhasa, that is inhabited by people belonging to different sects. To date, there have been no attitudinal investigations of the dialects spoken in Alhasa in relation to Sectarian affiliation. Ascertaining how the Hasawi people feel about the local variety in Alhasa, and how they construct their sectarian affiliation was crucial thought. Defining the linguistic situation of Alhasa positions and interprets Hasawi people's language attitudes and sectarian affiliation within a specific linguistic framework and in the general socio-sectarian and historical context of Alhasa and shows how the double relationship between language attitudes and sectarian affiliation functions in Alhasa.

The key findings for this research found that the religious affiliation had a fundamental role to construct the attitudes of Hasawi participants toward the local dialect at the expense of linguistic, national or the local affiliation, similar to findings of other studies which investigated the language attitudes from religious perspectives (Baker and Bowie 2010; Yilmaz 2020). Regarding the gender as a social factor, the results of this study contradict with the common generalisations, that is comparing to men, women are more inclined to approximate prestigious linguistic forms (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1986; Cheshire 2002; Tagliamonte 2011). However, in this study found that men from both sects have positive attitudes toward the supra local dialect, and Shiite women found the local dialect is more prestigious.

Access Condition and Agreement

Each deposit in UEA Digital Repository is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of the Data Collections is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form. You must obtain permission from the copyright holder, usually the author, for any other use. Exceptions only apply where a deposit may be explicitly provided under a stated licence, such as a Creative Commons licence or Open Government licence.

Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone, unless explicitly stated under a Creative Commons or Open Government license. Unauthorised reproduction, editing or reformatting for resale purposes is explicitly prohibited (except where approved by the copyright holder themselves) and UEA reserves the right to take immediate 'take down' action on behalf of the copyright and/or rights holder if this Access condition of the UEA Digital Repository is breached. Any material in this database has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the material may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, praise to Allah, the almighty, for giving me the opportunity, strength and determination to achieve the completion of this thesis. Without his blessings and mercy, this work would not have been possible.

My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisors **Dr Kim Ridealgh** and **Dr Alberto Hijazo-Gascon**, who have offered their constant moral encouragement and intellectual guidance throughout my PhD journey. Without their guidance and persistent help, this thesis would not have been possible. They were a great inspiration with their patience, respect and comprehensive academic knowledge. They have been and will continue to be role models for me, who truly motivated me along my journey. I am deeply grateful for their positive attitude and continuous interest that they always showed. Their confidence in me has been a source of constant motivation. The unwavering support I received from **Dr Kim Ridealgh** and **Dr Alberto Hijazo-Gascon** in my PhD was not only academic; they were incredibly supportive in all the hard times I have been through in my social life as well. Words can never express my gratitude to them for all the care, love and encouragement they have provided to me and my family.

My profound thanks and endless gratitude go to my parents **Jalelah Al-Olaji** and **Saleh Al Owdah** for their endless love, care, support, prayers, and for all they have done and continue to do for me in my life. My thanks are extended to my sisters and brothers for supporting me spiritually throughout my years of study in the UK.

My deepest gratitude is due to my loving, caring, patient and understanding wife, **Sarah Alafaliq**, who has always been my strength. I want to thank her for being my wife. I will not forget to thank my three little children, **Saleh, Leen and Bassam**, who were my utmost motivation throughout the whole PhD journey (lots of kisses).

I would like to thank my brother-in-law **Mr. Yousef Al-Katheer** for offering me self-help advice whenever needed, and for helping me to overcome many of the obstacles I faced throughout my years of study.

This thesis could not have been completed without the funding of the Saudi government through Imam Mohamed Ibn Saud University. I am very indebted to the Saudi government, which gave me the opportunity to undertake this research study.

My thanks and gratitude go to **Dr Mahmood El-Kastawi** and **Mrs Rema Abu Hajar**, who helped me to collect data from the male and female participants and for their patience. My thanks are extended to all Hasawi participants who agreed to take part in the study; without them, the study could not have been completed.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables	ix
List of figures	xii
List of Maps	xii
List of Abbreviations	xii
Phonetic transcription	xiii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. Hypotheses and research questions.....	2
1.2. Structure of the thesis.....	3
1.3. Social background of Alhasa.....	4
1.3.1. Geography of Alhasa	4
1.3.2. History of Alhasa.....	7
1.3.3. Population of Alhasa.....	8
1.3.4. Economic profile	9
1.3.5. Occupational background in Alhasa	10
1.3.6. Sect	11
1.3.6.1. Genealogical origin of Alhasa residents from both sects	13
1.3.6.2. Religious practices.....	14
1.3.6.3. Residency	14
1.3.6.4. Inter-marriage	15
1.3.6.5. Historical roots of the Sunni–Shiite divisions	15
1.3.6.5.1. The social divisions.....	16
1.3.6.5.2. The political divisions	16
1.3.6.5.3. The religious divisions	18
1.3.6.6. Identity	19
1.3.6.6.1. Social identity	20
1.3.6.6.2. Religious identity	22
1.3.6.6.3. Sunni-Shiite identity in Alhasa	23
1.3.6.6.4. National identity.....	25
1.4. The dialect situation in Saudi Arabia.....	27
1.4.1. The classifications of the dialects of Saudi Arabia.....	27
1.4.1.1. Urbanisation	28
1.4.1.2. Language and power relations.....	30
1.4.2. The dialect of Alhasa (Hasawi dialect)	32
1.4.2.1. Social network and language use in Alhasa	33
1.4.2.2. The linguistic features of the dialect of Alhasa	35
1.5. Conclusion.....	38
Chapter 2: ATTITUDES	39
2.1. Introduction	39
2.2. Defining attitude	39
2.2.1. Relations between attitudes and other concepts	43
2.2.1.1. Attitudes and beliefs	43
2.2.1.2. Attitudes and values.....	44
2.2.1.3. Attitudes and ideologies	44

2.2.1.4. Attitudes and social identity	47
2.2.1.5. Attitudes and behaviour	48
2.2.1.6. Attitudes and motivation	52
2.3. Language attitudes	54
2.3.1. Social stereotypes and language ideology	55
2.3.2. Language attitudes and the concept of prestige	56
2.3.3. Language attitude studies in Arabic contexts	57
2.3.4. Approaches to language attitudes	60
2.3.4.1. Direct approach towards studying language attitudes	60
2.3.4.2. Indirect approach towards studying language attitudes	62
2.3.5. Perceptual dialectology	65
2.5. Conclusion.....	68
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	69
3.1. Introduction	69
3.2. Variables of the study	69
3.2.1. Religious/sectarian variable	70
3.2.2. Gender variable	75
3.2.3. Intersectionality	78
3.2.3.1. Gender relations in Saudi Muslim society	80
3.2.3.2. Intersectional identities and language	80
3.3. Mixed methods	82
3.3.1. Qualitative method.....	85
3.3.1.1. Interviews	85
3.3.1.2. Previous studies using interviews in the Arabic context.....	87
3.3.1.3. Interview design and procedure.....	90
3.3.2. Quantitative method.....	92
3.3.2.1. Matched-guise technique (MGT)	92
3.3.2.2. Previous studies conducted with the MGT	94
3.3.2.3. Design and procedure of the matched-guise technique.....	98
3.3.2.4 Statistical analysis.....	105
3.3.2.5. Translating the data.....	105
3.3.3. Problems and difficulties.....	106
3.4. The sample	106
3.4.1. Sampling methods	107
3.4.2. Sample size.....	109
3.4.3. Ethical approval.....	110
3.4.4. Gatekeepers	111
3.5. Pilot studies and preliminary results	111
3.5.1. First pilot study.....	113
3.5.2. Second pilot study	115
3.6. Conclusion.....	116
Chapter 4: Data analysis (interviews)	117
4.1. Introduction	117
4.2. Interview analysis	117
4.3. Female participants	118
4.3.1 Summary of the interview results obtained from female participants.	144
4.4. Male participants	145
4.4.1 Summary of the interview results obtained from male participants.	171
4.5. Summary of the interview results	172

Chapter 5: Data Analysis (MGT).....	174
5.1. introduction.	174
5.2. Matched Guise Technique Analysis	174
5.3 Participants' attitudes towards male speakers	176
5.3.1. Attitudes towards the Hasawi Shiite male speaker	176
5.3.2. Attitudes towards the Hasawi Sunni male speaker	180
5.3.3. Attitudes towards the non-Hasawi male speaker	184
5.4. Participants' attitudes towards female speakers	189
5.4.1. Attitudes towards the Hasawi Shiite female speaker	189
5.4.2. Attitudes towards the Hasawi Sunni female speaker	193
5.4.3. Attitudes towards the non-Hasawi female speaker	197
5.5. Conclusion.....	201
6. Discussion: Attitudes based on sectarianism	203
6.1. Introduction	203
6.2. Summary of results	203
6.3. The effect of social ideology on the participants' attitudes	206
6.3.1. Similarity of the Hasawi dialect to neighbouring dialects	206
6.3.2. Genealogy of Hasawi families.....	210
6.3.3. Role of the media.....	212
6.4. The dichotomous dialect situation	217
6.5. The effect of intergroup issues on the participants' attitudes	223
6.5.1 The effect of minority and majority issues on the participants' attitudes	224
6.5.1.1 Shiites as a minority group.....	224
6.5.1.2 Sunnis as a majority group.....	226
6.5.2 In-group loyalty	229
6.5.3. Linguistic security among both social groups	231
6.6. The effect of attitudes on linguistic behaviour	235
6.7 The effect of a view of inferiority from outsiders on participants' attitudes	237
6.8. The effect of social networks on the participants' attitudes	240
6.9. The effect of religious discrimination on Shiite participants' attitudes	241
6.10. The effect of political issues on Sunni participants' attitudes	243
6.11. Conclusion.....	245
7. Discussion: Attitudes based on Gender.....	246
7.1. Introduction	246
7.2. Gender-related attitudes towards prestigious linguistic patterns	246
7.2.1. Female participants' attitudes towards the prestigious norms	249
7.2.2. Male participants' attitudes towards the prestigious norms	253
7.3. Effect of cultural issues on gender-related attitudes towards the local variety.....	257
7.3.1. Culture and female participants' attitudes towards the local dialect.....	257
7.3.2. Cultural issues and male participants' attitudes towards the local dialect	260
7.4. Conclusion.....	262
Chapter 8: Conclusion.....	264
8.1. Introduction	264
8.2 Key findings	265
8.3. Limitations and future studies	269

Bibliography	271
Appendix.....	305
Appendix 1: the interview.....	305
Appendix 2: permission of the university, where the data collection took place:	308
Appendix 3: Consent form.....	309
Appendix 4: Seven-point-Likert scale used in the MGT questionnaire.....	310
Appendix 5: Scripts of Speakers Narratives	311
Appendix 6: Ethical Approval	312
Appendix 7: gatekeeper protocol document.	313
Appendix 8: Obtained permission from the tweeter	316

List of Tables

Table 1: Speaker sample by sect, literacy and urban/rural origins (Holes 1983: 438).	87
Table 2: Seven-point Likert scale used in the MGT questionnaire.	100
Table 3: Speakers of the MGT and groups of participants.....	104
Table 4: Distribution of participants by sectarian affiliation and gender.....	109
Table 5: Interview transcription conventions	117
Table 6: What are the differences between Saudi dialects? In which aspects of language? (Shiite females)	118
Table 7: What are the differences between Saudi dialects? In which aspects of language? (Sunni females)	120
Table 8: Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia? (Shiite females).....	121
Table 9: Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia? (Sunni females).....	122
Table 10: What do you think about the Najdi dialect; for example, what are its characteristics? (Shiite females)..	124
Table 11: What do you think about the Najdi dialect; for example, what are its characteristics? (Sunni females)..	125
Table 12: As a Hasawi person, what do you think about the Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why? (Shiite females).....	126
Table 13: As a Hasawi person, what do you think about Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why? (Sunni females)	127
Table 14: How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people? (Shiite females).....	130
Table 15: How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people? (Sunni females).....	131
Table 16: Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g., words/phrases/sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Why? (Shiite females)	132
Table 17: Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g., words/phrases/sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Why? (Sunni females)	133
Table 18: Do you feel comfortable and confident when you use the Hasawi dialect with non-Hasawi people in open informal discussion? Why? (Shiite females).....	134
Table 19: Do you feel comfortable and confident when you use the Hasawi dialect with non-Hasawi people in open informal discussion? Why? (Sunni females).....	136
Table 20: Alhasa is a city that involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite); do you think both sects speak the same or differently? How? (Shiite females)	137
Table 21: Alhasa is a city that involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite); do you think both sects speak the same or differently? How? (Sunni females)	139
Table 22: As a Hasawi person, how do you recognise Shiite or Sunni in the way of speaking? How? How? Please give an example. (Shiite females).....	141
Table 23: As a Hasawi person, how do you recognise Shiite or Sunni in the way of speaking? How? How? Please give an example (Sunni females).....	142

Table 24: What are the differences between Saudi dialects? In which aspects of language? (Shiite males)	145
Table 25: Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia? (Shiite males)	148
Table 26: Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia? (Sunni males)	149
Table 27: What do you think about the Najdi dialect; for example, what are its characteristics? (Shiite males).....	151
Table 28: What do you think about the Najdi dialect; for example, what are its characteristics? (Sunni males).....	152
Table 29: As a Hasawi person, what do you think about the Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why? (Shiite males).....	153
Table 30: As a Hasawi person, what do you think about the Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why? (Sunni males).....	155
Table 31: How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people? (Shiite males)	158
Table 32: How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people? (Sunni males)	159
Table 33: Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g., words/phrases/sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Why? (Shiite males)	161
Table 34: Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g., words/phrases/sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Why? (Sunni males)	162
Table 35: Do you feel comfortable and confident when you use the Hasawi dialect with non-Hasawi people in open informal discussion? Why? (Shiite males).....	163
Table 36: Do you feel comfortable and confident when you use the Hasawi dialect with non-Hasawi people in open informal discussion? Why? (Sunni males).....	164
Table 37: Alhasa is a city that involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite); do you think both sects speak the same or differently? How? (Shiite males)	166
Table 38: Alhasa is a city that involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite); do you think both sects speak the same or differently? How? (Sunni males)	167
Table 39: As a Hasawi person, can you recognise Shiite or Sunni people from their way of speaking? How? Please give an example. (Shiite males).....	168
Table 40: As a Hasawi person, can you recognise Shiite or Sunni people from their way of speaking? How? Please give an example. (Sunni males).....	170
Table 41: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Hasawi Shiite male speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).	177
Table 42: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the HShM	179
Table 43: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Hasawi Sunni male speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).	182
Table 44: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the HSM.	184
Table 45: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Non-Hasawi male speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).	186

Table 46: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the NHM	188
Table 47: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Hasawi Shiite female speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).	191
Table 48: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the HShF.	193
Table 49: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Hasawi Sunni female speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).	195
Table 50: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the HSF.	197
Table 51: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Non-Hasawi female speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).	199
Table 52: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the NHF.	201

List of figures

Figure 1: source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05p6z-rVUDU	216
Figure 2: source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05p6z-rVUDU	216
Figure 3: source: https://twitter.com/as_alismail/status/1307004899071340544	217

List of Maps

Map 1: Regions in Saudi Arabia (Source: https://ar.maps-saudi-arabia.com)	6
Map 2: The two main areas in Alhasa: Al Hofuf and Al Mubarraz (Modified from source: https://www.google.com/maps).....	7

List of Abbreviations

MGT:	Match-guise Techniques
HShM:	Hasawi Shiite male
HSM:	Hasawi Sunni male
HShF:	Hasawi Shiite female
HSF:	Hasawi Sunni female
NHM:	Non Hasawi male
NHF:	Non Hasawi female
SA	Standard Arabic
RP	Received Pronunciation

Phonetic transcription¹

Arabic	IPA (International phonetic Alphabet)	
أ	ʔ	voiced glottal stop <i>hamza</i>
ب	b	voiced bilabial stop <i>bā'</i>
ت	t	voiceless dento-alveolar stop <i>tā'</i>
ث	θ	voiceless interdental fricative <i>ṯā'</i>
ج	dʒ	voiced post-alveolar fricative <i>jīm</i>
ح	h	voiceless pharyngeal fricative <i>ḥā'</i>
خ	x	voiceless velar fricative <i>xā'</i>
د	d	voiced dento-alveolar stop <i>dāl</i>
ذ	ð	voiced interdental fricative <i>ḏāl</i>
ر	r	voiced alveolar trill <i>rā'</i>
ز	z	voiced alveolar fricative <i>zāy</i>
س	s	voiceless dental fricative <i>sīn</i>
ش	ʃ	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative <i>šīn</i>
ص	s ^ʕ	voiceless velarised alveolar fricative <i>ṣād</i>
ض	d ^ʕ	voiced velarised dento-alveolar stop <i>ḍād</i>
ط	t ^ʕ	voiceless velarised dento-alveolar stop <i>ṭā'</i>
ظ	ð ^ʕ	voiced velarised interdental fricative <i>ḏā'</i>
ع	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative <i>ʿayn</i>
غ	ɣ	voiced uvular fricative <i>ḡayn</i>
ف	f	voiceless labio-dental fricative <i>fā'</i>
ق	q	voiceless uvular stop <i>qāf</i>
ك	k	voiceless velar stop <i>kāf</i>
ل	l	voiced dental lateral <i>lām</i>
م	m	voiced bilabial nasal <i>mīm</i>
ن	n	voiced alveolar nasal <i>nūn</i>
ه	h	voiceless glottal fricative <i>hā'</i>
و	w	voiced labiovelar glide <i>wāw</i>
ي	j	voiced palatal glide <i>yā'</i>
يَش	tʃ	voiceless palate-alveolar sibilant affricate

¹ Obtained from Al-Bhnayyah (2019: 13)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Saudi Arabia has attracted the attention of numerous historians, politicians, religious leaders, and even economists throughout history (Cordesman 2003; Weston 2011). There are two primary explanations for the high level of interest in Saudi Arabia. The first explanation is that two of Islam's holiest cities, Mecca and Al Madinah, are situated in the Hijaz area (i.e., Western Saudi Arabia; Weston 2011; Wilson and Graham 2016). Most notably, Mecca is the destination of pilgrimage, one of Islam's five pillars, at a particular time and date each year. The second explanation is that the country became one of the world's largest oil producers following the 1938 discovery of oil (Albatel 2005; Weston 2011). OPEC ranks Saudi Arabia second worldwide in terms of crude oil reserves (OPEC 2018). Since the peak of the oil boom, the country has experienced rapid urbanisation (Al-Hathloul and Mughal 2004: 610). The majority of oil wells and oil companies are concentrated in the eastern part of Saudi Arabia, near the city of Alhasa.

Alhasa is located in the eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula, on the border of two dialect groups: eastern and central Najdi, which are similar to the Gulf region's dialects spoken in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and the Emirates. Alhasa has linguistic characteristics of both dialect groups² (Al-Shubat 1989: 74). According to Prochazka's (1988: 3) classification, the Alhasa dialect is classified as a dialect of the Arabian Peninsula's Najdi and Eastern Arabian forms. The Alhasa dialect, or the Hasawi dialect as its more commonly known (Hasawi is an adjective form of each element, i.e., people, architectural design, dates, that belong to the Alhasa region), has regional characteristics that distinguish it from the varieties spoken in the central region of Saudi Arabia. Religion plays a major part in every aspect of life in Saudi Arabia and according to Al-Bohnayyah (2018: 17) there is a common belief in the areas that individuals with different religious background do in fact speak differently, as marker of identity³; Sunnis tend to adapt to a Najdi-like dialect,

² The characteristics of the Alhasa dialect are discussed in Section 1.5.

³ See section (1.4.2.1)

whereas Shiites retain traditional features resembling Gulf Arabic. The points raised above can help us to understand the attitudes of Hasawi speakers from both sects towards the local dialect.

With the exception of general descriptive research and descriptions of the Alhasa dialect (cf. Prochazka 1988; Al-Shubat 1989), only three sociolinguistic studies of the Alhasa dialect have been conducted to date: Al-Mubarak (2015), El Salman and Al Fridan (2018) and Al-Bohnayyah (2019), who examined language variation and change. The present study is regarded as the first examination of language attitudes towards the Alhasa dialect.

The present study examines attitudes towards the local dialect and their relationship to two social variables: gender and sectarian affiliation. The data provided in this study were gathered using a mixed-methods approach: a direct approach using semi-structured interviews and an indirect approach using the matched-guise technique (MGT). Data were obtained from members of the Sunni and Shiite sects in Alhasa, as well as both males and females.

One of the novel aspects of the present study is the inclusion of sect as well as gender as linguistic variables. The possibility that sect (Sunni/Shiite) and gender (male/female) are significant factors in language attitudes in Saudi dialects has not been investigated previously apart from in recent studies of sociolinguistic variation by Al-Mubarak (2015) and Al-Bohnayyah (2019); previous studies have also focused on Bahraini communities (Holes 1987; Al-Qouz 2009). In addition, the present study is the first attempt to incorporate an integrated approach in which direct and indirect measures are used to elicit attitudes towards the spoken dialect in Alhasa from a sectarian perspective.

1.1. Hypotheses and research questions

Based on the findings of the studies conducted on Alhasa by Al-Mubarak (2015) and Al-Bohnayyah (2019), the local dialect is in the process of changing and converting to a supra-local dialect (the dialect spoken in the capital of Riyadh), with sect as a social component. These studies found that Shiites are less motivated than Sunnis to adopt the supra-local dialect in several linguistic features.

In terms of gender, the findings of Al-Mubarak (2015), El Salman and Al Fridan (2018) and Al-Bohnyyah (2019), are relatively consistent with global, Arabic trends, which indicate that women adopt standard or prestigious linguistic variants at a higher rate than men, particularly among younger females. Additionally, Al-Bohnyyah (2019) discovered that Sunni males were under less social pressure to convert to their majority Sunni group's dialect than Shiite males. Therefore, based on their findings, the present study aims to address the following research questions:

1. What are the attitudes of Hasawi people towards their dialect from a sectarian perspective?
2. What are the attitudes of Hasawi people towards their dialect from a gender perspective?
3. How do Hasawi people think outsiders perceive their dialect?

The basis for the hypotheses of the present study is:

- The Sunni group has negative attitudes towards the local dialect.
- The Shiite group has positive attitudes towards the local dialect.
- Males have positive attitudes of towards the local dialect.
- Females have negative attitudes towards the local dialect.

1.2. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters, structured as follows. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter that includes the focus, hypotheses and research questions of the present study, the dialectology and how it has improved. It also explains the social background in terms of the geographical, historical and social profile of Alhasa. In addition, it presents the sectarian identity and background of Alhasa and the roots of the sectarian divisions, socially, politically and religiously. Additionally, the linguistic characteristics of Hasawi dialect are detailed.

Chapter 2 examines attitudes in detail, including a definition of attitude and related concepts. Additionally, it discusses language attitudes and associated concepts. This chapter discusses research examining language

attitudes in Arabic contexts. In addition, it describes two approaches to studying attitudes: direct and indirect

In Chapter 3, the researcher explains the methods adopted in the current research. It provides information about the participants whose attitudes are analysed in this study, including the sample size and how it was classified. This chapter also presents the social variables of the study: sect and gender. Detailed information is provided about the design of the interviews and MGT. Both preliminary studies and outcomes are discussed in this chapter, together with the role of gatekeepers in the present study.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the results and analysis of the interviews and MGT. Chapter 5 is divided into different sections based on the sect and gender of the participants, and Chapter 6 is divided into different sections based on the speakers.

The conclusion, in Chapter 8, presents a summary of the key findings from the current research and concluding remarks. This chapter also illustrates how this study contributes to the field of language attitudes and provides recommendations for future research.

1.3. Social background of Alhasa

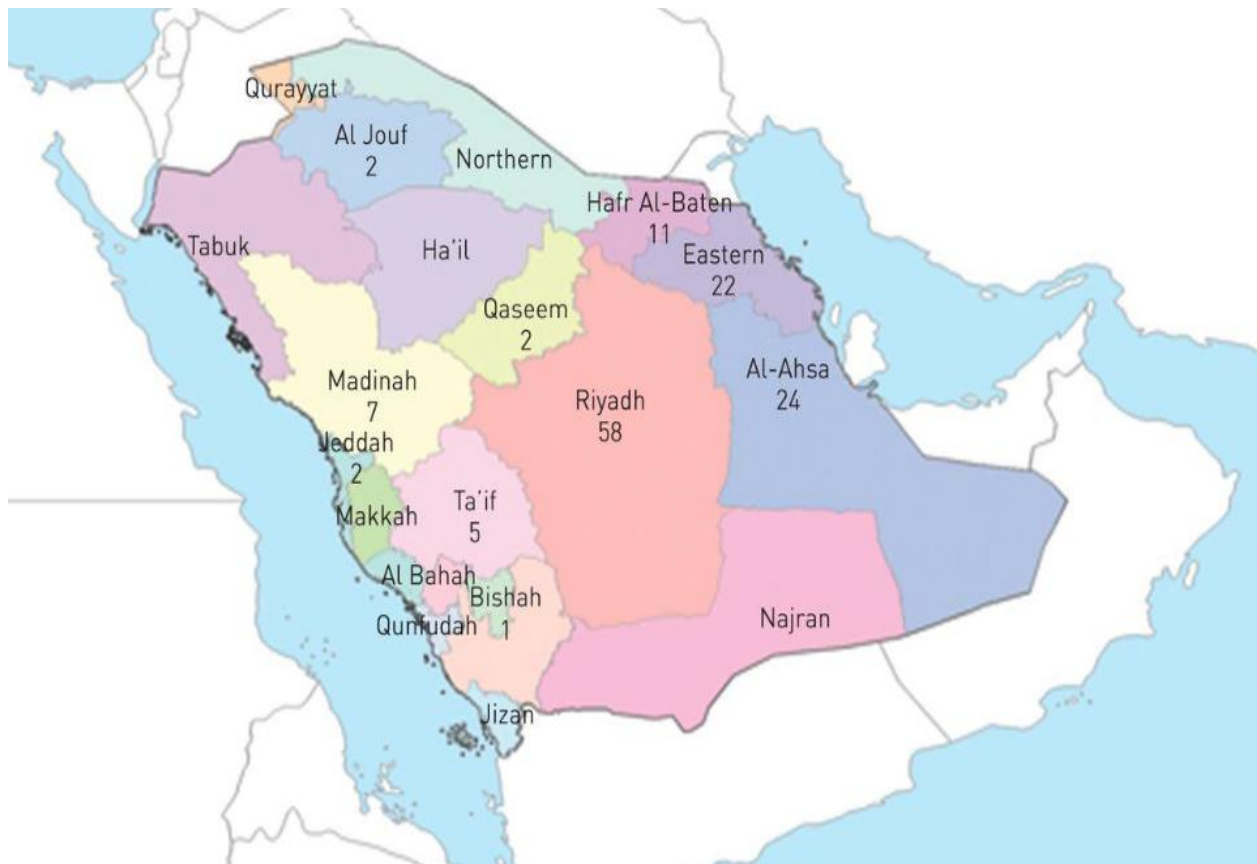
This section contextualises Alhasa, a city in eastern Saudi Arabia, and its inhabitants geographically, demographically, historically, and socially. This is necessary in order to understand the context in which the subjects of this study are situated. This section presents details the geographical characteristics of Alhasa, summarises its history, the demographic characteristics of Alhasa, which are examined in terms of tribal origin and economic situation. In addition, the fundamental differences between sectarian affiliations in Alhasa are discussed in terms of religious practice, intermarriage relations, and residency, as well as briefly describing the sectarian conflict that historically existed between the two sects. Additionally, the linguistic characteristics of the Hasawi dialect are detailed.

1.3.1. Geography of Alhasa

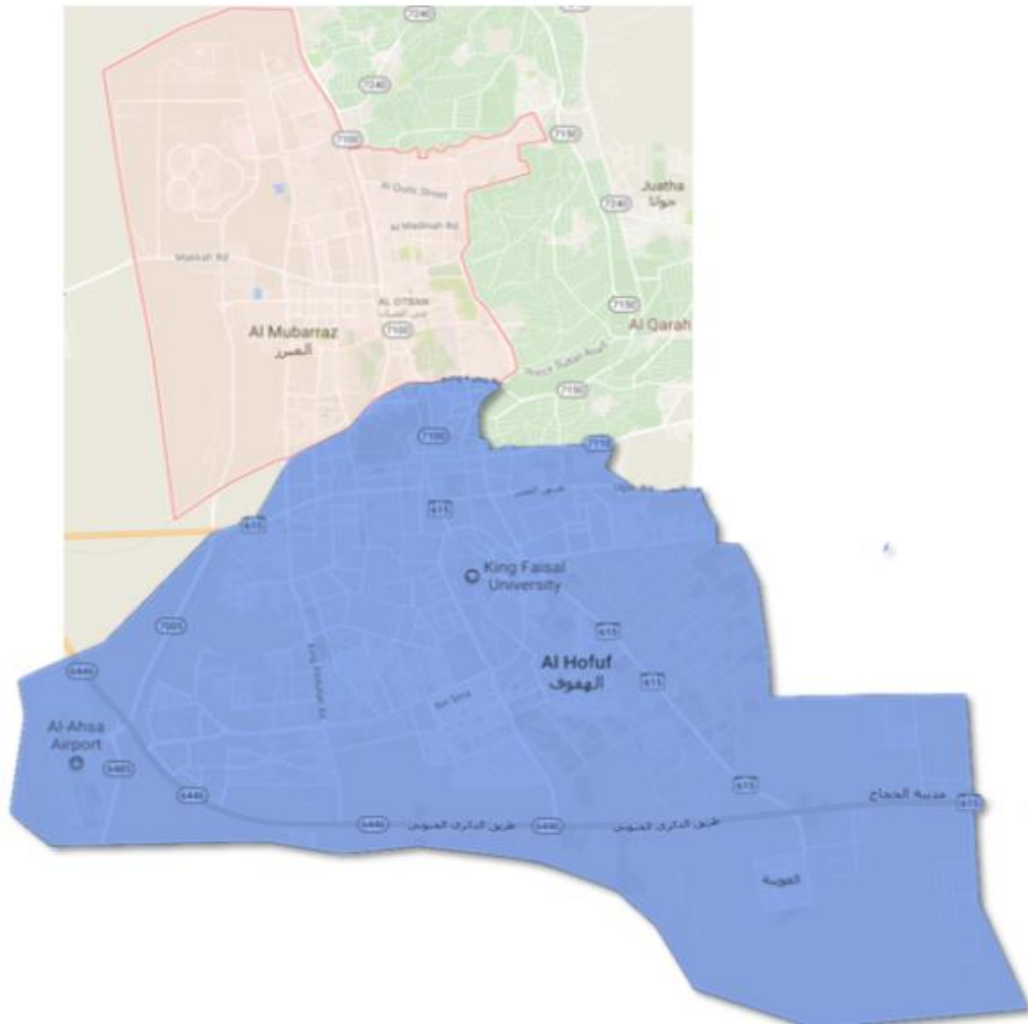
This section will describe the location and land area of Alhasa to indicate precisely where the sample for the current study was drawn from. Additionally, a brief description of the terrain will be provided to demonstrate how Alhasa's resources have affected its economy, history, and society. This will assist the reader in situating the attitudinal analysis within an actual context.

Alhasa is the name of an oasis region in eastern Saudi Arabia (see Map 1). Alhasa oasis is one of the largest in the world (Al-Tahir 1999: 5), covering an area of approximately 375,000 km² (Saudi Geological Survey 2012: 15) and accounting for approximately 69% of the Eastern province area. Alhasa is located 40 kilometres east of the Arabian (Persian) Gulf coast, 150 kilometres north of Ad Dammam and Qatif, and 320 kilometres west of Riyadh. Alhasa borders Qatar, approximately 250 kilometres away, the United Arab Emirates, approximately 350 kilometres away, and Oman to the south (Al-Bohnayyah 2019: 21). The main area of Alhasa is Al Hofuf, which has merged with its twin city Al Mubarraz due to urban expansion (see Map 2). Alhasa contains 43 villages, which are divided into eastern villages such as Al-Jafr, Attaraf, Al-Qarrah, and Al-Jishah, and northern villages such as Ash-shuqayq, Al-Mutairfi, and Al-Wazziyyah (Al-Hulaybi 2003: 15). Al-Uqayr port is located in Alhasa, which was once used as a commercial port for the transport of goods between the Peninsula and Persia, India and Africa, in addition to receiving pilgrims from the east, but is now primarily used as a beach resort and tourist attraction (Al-Hulaybi 2003: 15; El-Shakhs and Amirahmadi 2012: 200). In the present study, the term Alhasa is used to refer to two major areas: Al Hofuf and Al Mubarraz, as well as its villages, unless otherwise specified.

Alhasa is a very wealthy and resource-rich region owing to its soil fertility and the abundant supply of groundwater: it contains approximately ten major water springs and nearly 70 smaller ones, all of which contributed to the creation of the magnificent oasis (Al-Abdulaqadir 1999: 52). As a result, it has over two million date palms that produce an enormous quantity of dates each year (Al-Shubat 1989: 12). Additionally, with a total area of 7,000 hectares, Alhasa is the largest agricultural region in Saudi Arabia (Al-Bohnayyah: 2019: 21).



Map 1: Regions in Saudi Arabia (Source: <https://ar.maps-saudi-arabia.com>)



Map 2: The two main areas in Alhasa: Al Hofuf and Al Mubarraz (Modified from source: <https://www.google.com/maps>)

1.3.2. History of Alhasa

The name Alhasa derives from the word “hase”, which refers to the extremely solid plain land beneath the surface that prevents water from receding further into the ground (Al-Bohneyah: 2019: 23). Over the centuries, there appears to have been considerable confusion regarding the name, location, and boundaries of what is now known as Alhasa. The current Alhasa was originally known as the area of *Hajir*, indicating that it was an extension of the city of *Hajir*. *Hajir* was a part of the earlier historical Bahrain area, which spanned the Euphrates to Oman and included the *Uwl* islands, which is now known as the Kingdom of Bahrain (Al-Gharib 1988: 22). Vidal (1955: 6) states that *Hajir* was located near the modern town of Al Hofuf. Al-Janabi (2004: 142) also claims that it was located adjacent to *Al-Qarrah* Mountain, formerly known as *Ash-Shab'an* Mountain, approximately 15 kilometres east of the Al Hofuf area.

Vidal (1955: 6–7) explains how the name Alhasa came into existence, stating that a region or settlement called *Ma 'a Alhasa* “the water of Alhasa” existed near *Hajir*. Immediately adjacent to this, a fortress known as *Al-Muminiyyah* was located near to what is now called *Al-Battaliyyah* village. This was built by the Qarmatian, Shiite dissidents from southern Iraq, who refused to recognise Fatimid⁴ successors as leaders (Bowering *et al.* 2013: 446). This village is located approximately 7 kilometres north of Al Hofuf. *Al-Muminiyyah* was announced as the region’s capital, but local residents objected to the name and it was thus replaced by Alhasa. This name spread gradually throughout the oasis, eventually supplanting the term *Hajir* (Al-Mubarak 2015: 42).

During the rule of the Ottoman Empire, Alhasa was annexed to the state of Baghdad and Basra (Al-Shubat 1989: 80) and was referred to as *Liwa Najd* along with Al-Qatif and Qatar (Al-Hulaybi 2003: 13), or “*Sanjaq Najd*” in Turkish (the area of Najd; Busch 1967: 31). However, locals objected to this name, and it was changed to *Sanjaq Alhasa* (Lorimer 1975: 838). Following King Abdulaziz’s⁵ unification of Saudi Arabia, the term Alhasa was used to refer to the entire region extending from the Kuwaiti border in the north to the Qatari border in the south, and from the Arabian Gulf in the east to the desert of *Ad Dahna* in the west. Al Hofuf was designated as the region’s capital. The province of Alhasa remained unchanged until 1956, when a royal decree renamed it the Eastern province and designated Ad Dammam City as its capital. Since then, the term Alhasa has been used exclusively to refer to Al Hofuf, Al Mubarraz, and the surrounding towns and villages (Al-Gharib 1988: 70).

1.3.3. Population of Alhasa

Understanding the demographic characteristics of the Alhasa population is critical for both the development of the methodology and data interpretation of the present study. This is particularly true given that the independent variables examined in this study are closely related to demographic characteristics, i.e., sectarian affiliation and gender.

⁴ Fatimid Caliphate is a Shiite state that was extended in North Africa from 909 to 1171 AD.

⁵ The first King and the unifier of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (1877–1953).

Alhasa has a population of 1,063,112 people, according to the 2010 census. The majority of residents of Alhasa (870,577) are nationals, while expatriates account for only 192,535 people. In the national population, there are slightly more males than females: 440,864 males compared with 429,713 females (General Authority of Statistics 2010). According to Al-Hasan (2010: 32), until recently, the majority of the population in the Eastern province were Shiite. However, no official census includes the actual percentage of Shiites in Saudi Arabia in general, or in Alhasa in particular, in comparison to Sunnis; the origin of both sects is discussed in detail in Section 1.4.6.1.

1.3.4. Economic profile

Alhasa is an agricultural area (see Section 1.4.1.), which has been considered a centre for exporting dates, palm fronds, horses, donkeys, men's gowns, ghee, firewood, and leather, as well as other products such as rice, grain, and barley, coffee, sugar, spices, metals, and fabrics (Al-Shubat 1989: 153). Farming is intensive across the two towns of Al Hofuf and Al Mubarraz from the south to east but does not extend beyond the former from the south and the latter from the north. There are also some other large farming areas in the northern and eastern villages (Al-Mulla 1991: 206). Commerce also flourished in the area as a result of its strategic location. Thus, people's occupations are in sectors such as fishing and pearl extraction, construction, butchery, baking, knitting, carpentry, jewellery making, metal smithing, pottery, mat and basket crafting (Al-Bohnayyah 2019: 24).

Since the discovery of oil in 1938, Saudi Arabia, and particularly the eastern region, entered a new era of civilisation. Aramco, the Arabian Oil Company in Saudi Arabia, has employed many residents of Alhasa, as the world's largest oilfield, *Al Gawwaar*, was discovered there. Many residents of Alhasa began working in the oil production, refining, and exporting industries, as well as in other oil-related services. Aramco provides loans to assist its employees in purchasing homes. Numerous other members of the population worked for the government or in private institutions. Commerce has benefitted significantly from the breadth of products made possible by oil derivatives. The government, on the other hand, has considered

methods of balancing the oil industry with other sources of revenue, such as agricultural, livestock, aquatic, and industrial resources (Al-Bohnayyah 2019: 24).

1.3.5. Occupational background in Alhasa

Vocational factors may have impacted language attitudes towards the local variety, which may have been subsequently transmitted to the participants via older generations. The oil industry had a significant impact on Alhasa's professional and employment landscape, while modernity has enhanced and expanded local jobs, as well as introducing new professions that have surpassed pre-existing ones in popularity. For example, agricultural work used to be the primary source of income for residents of Alhasa, whereas the oil industry is the primary source of income today (Al-Shubat 1989: 120). Although farms remain in Alhasa, only a few local men continue to work as agricultural labourers because the financial rewards from farms are extremely limited; however, these men continue this work because they enjoy it. However, local younger generations are reluctant to work on farms. Instead, young and middle-aged local men of both sectarian affiliations may work in modernised food processing factories, such as those that process dates (Al-Mubarak 2015: 60).

It is important to understand gender-related occupational differences since gender is an independent social variable in the present study. Men typically work both locally and across the country, whereas women typically work at a more local level. Men in Alhasa have a variety of job opportunities in both the public and private sectors. Women also have significantly more employment opportunities nowadays. Until recently, women were restricted to jobs in hospitals, educational institutions, banks, and salons; however, they have recently been permitted to work in shops. In terms of gender segregation, the majority of jobs, particularly those in education, strictly prohibit contact between males and females. However, segregation does not exist in certain occupations, such as those in the field of medicine (cf. Al-Muaysin 2012; Mubarak 2015).

1.3.6. Sect

In the present study, sectarian affiliation is an independent social variable examined alongside gender. A religious sect is defined as a self-consciously and purposefully separated religious minority that espouses a faith that differs from other religious bodies (Bryan 1999: 32). It “claims to provide better access to salvation than is elsewhere available, and does so by virtue of a monopoly of truth”. It is also exclusive, tolerating no dual allegiances, no compromise with its principles, no deviations from the standards of conduct that it promotes, and no violation of its taboos. Furthermore, sectarianism implies the possibility of conflict, intolerance, and discrimination (Bryan 1999: 47).

There are two major Muslim sects in Alhasa: Sunni and Shiite. Al-Hasan (2010: 27) claims that the majority of the population of Alhasa are Shiites, dating back to the succession of *Ali bin Abi Talib*⁶ (661 AD), through the *Umayyad* Caliphate and then the *Abbasid* Caliphate. However, Wright (2001: 154) states that Shiites are estimated to number around five million in Saudi Arabia, accounting for roughly less than one-third of the population of Alhasa. Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 27) claims that in Alhasa, being Sunni or Shiite simply refers to a particular method of performing Muslim religious practices. However, the division between Sunnis and Shiites in Alhasa is not merely religious but is location, social networks, urbanization, neighbouring countries, such as Bahrain, and identity. Thus, the sectarian divide in Alhasa is complicated and interconnected by several factors, including genealogical origin, religious practices, intermarriage, neighbourhood and cultural attributes (dialect, personal names and clothing), as discussed in detail below. According to Joseph (2004:173), sectarian groups need to be able to recognise one another and identify members of other sects through adopting various ways of doing this, specific dress codes, names, or religious practices. Alhasa appears to be dominated by religion (Al-Mubarak 2015: 52), which is a particular feature of the Arab world, where “religion is usually not seen as a matter of individual choice, but as a matter of family and group affiliation” (Bassiouney 2009: 105).

⁶ Ali bin Abi Talib was a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and his companion. He ruled as the fourth successor from 656 until his assassination in 661 (Haylamaz 2011: 3).

Sunnis and Shiites generally agree on basic Islamic beliefs and practices. They both believe in a single God (Almighty Allah), in the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), and in the Quran as God's revelation. According to Al-Mubarak (2015: 52), some Shiites believe that portions of the Quran have been altered or hidden. In relation to this, Imam Al-Ash'ari⁷ (935; as cited in Amir-Moezzi 2016: 86–87) classifies Shiites into three categories: those who believe that portions of the Quran were censored; those who believe that some additions were made; and those who believe that the Quran was not altered. It should be noted that dominant Shiite scholars such as Khomeini and Al-Sistani have strenuously refuted claims of Quran alteration (Al-Awwa 2006: 24–25).

Both Sunnis and Shiites adhere to the five pillars of Islam: declaring that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad (peace be upon him) is the messenger of Allah, praying, *Zakat* (annually giving 2.5 per cent of savings to the poor), fasting during Ramadan, and pilgrimage to the Holy Mosque (Terrill 2013: 548; further details are provided in Section 1.3.6.2. Guidère (2012: 320) attributes the differences between the two sects to the primary distinction being historical and political, based primarily on their views on who should have succeeded the Prophet in Islamic leadership. Shiites believe that the successor to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) should have been a member of his family and that the throne should have been passed to his cousin Ali ben Abi Talib, whereas Sunnis believe that the successor should have been any capable individual elected by a group of trustworthy people, which is why they chose his companion, *Abu Bakr*⁸ (Al-Awwa 2006: 34). Moreover, other distinctions between these two groups can be found in their interpretations of the Quran and, consequently, in their methods of establishing rulings and codes of conduct (Ahlstrom 2010: 86). Therefore, genealogical origin, religious practices, neighbourhood, intermarriage relations between Sunnis and Shiites in Alhasa, and historical conflict between Sunnis and Shiites will all be discussed in view of their significance for the present study as these differences may play a role in constructing language attitudes.

⁷ Ali bin Ismail bin Bishr bin Is'haq. He is called Abu Hassan Al-Ash'ari. A prominent Sunni scholar (874–936 AD; Battar 2018).

⁸ Abu Bakr Abdullah ibn Uthman was a companion and, through his daughter *Aisha*, a father-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). He was the first successor after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

1.3.6.1. Genealogical origin of Alhasa residents from both sects

In Alhasa, Shiites are a homogenous group because they migrated into the area centuries ago and are related to the historical Bahrain population (Lorimer 1975: 820–821). However, some argue that Gulf Shiites are not Arab and are of Persian ancestry, based on geographical proximity and similar sectarian backgrounds. Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 113) states that Sunni resources refer to Shiites as being not indigenous to the eastern region of Saudi Arabia, arguing that they are of non-Arab origin, and they were brought to the eastern region in 1669 by the *Bani Khaled* Emirate⁹ in Alhasa to serve the Sunnis. However, Al-Hassan (2010: 30) and Holes (2010: 283) reject this claim. While many Gulf Shiites, such as *Ajam*,¹⁰ are of Persian ancestry, Holes (2010: 283) asserts that the vast majority of Shiites in this region are ethnically and linguistically Arab. Al-Hassan (2010: 31) confirms that the Shiites of Bahrain and eastern Saudi Arabia share the same ancestors as they can be classified into two groups: those who are descended from southern Arabian tribes and became sedentarised in historical Bahrain long before Islam, and those who are descended from Najdi tribes, such as *Abd al-Qays* and *Bakr ibn Wa'el*, who converted to Shiism after migrating to the eastern coasts of the Peninsula and eventually assimilated with existing Shiite groups (Al-Jaser 1981 as cited in Al-Hassan 2010: 28). According to Al-Hassan (2010: 33–34), Shiites in the eastern Arabian Peninsula cannot trace their ancestry to particular Arab tribes. Al-Mubarak (2015: 56) notes that while the loss of genealogy is a natural result of long historical sedentarisation processes, this does not mean that Shiites are descended from non-Arabs. Holes (2010: 283) supports the latter notion, explaining that Shiites “are not tribalised, and have traditionally led an agriculture-based, non-belligerent lifestyle in small villages”.

Sunnis can be classified into two groups: the first group consists of families descended from Arab tribes such as the *Bani Abd Al-Qays*, who migrated from *Tihamah*¹¹ to Alhasa centuries ago (Al-Gharib 1988: 375; Holes 2001: xxiii). The second group includes families who later migrated from Najd around 1909 AD (Al-Hulaybi 2003: 18). According to Ingham (1982: 11), extensive migration from Najd to eastern settled

⁹ Bani Khalid Emirate is a state that arose in the eastern region of the Arabian Peninsula between 1669 and 1796 AD.

¹⁰ *Ajam* is a term referring to non-Arabic speakers. The singular form is *A'ajami* and the plural form is *Ajam*.

¹¹ Tihama refers to the coastal plain of the Arabian Peninsula on the Red Sea from the Gulf of Aqaba in the north to Bab Al-Mandab in the south.

lands occurred as a result of either mass movement of nomadic Bedouin groups or the migration of families from settled Najdi areas. Although some of these groups converted to Shiism, as Al-Jaser (1981, as cited in Al-Hassan 2010: 28) claims, the majority of these groups have remained Sunni. Najdi tribes in Alhasa, such as *Bani Khalid* and *Al Murrah*, are examples of sedentary Sunni families that migrated from Najd in the late nineteenth century (Al-Gharib 1988: 367–368; Al-Shubat 1989: 96–99).

1.3.6.2. Religious practices

Sunnis and Shiites have their own separate places of worship and religious practices. Sunnis have their own mosques and pray five times a day as a group, whereas Shiites have their own mosques and pray five times a day individually at three different times. They combine *Dhuhr* prayer (noon) and *Asr* prayer (afternoon) at the same time, and *Maghrib* prayer (sunset) and *Isha* prayer (night) at the same time, in addition to *Fajer* prayer (dawn). Shiites have *Husainiyyat*, places where they can perform rituals throughout the year, such as sharing details about the birth or death of Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him), Ali bin ben Talib, and *Ashura*, i.e., the tenth day of Muharram commemoration of the martyrdom of Al-Husain in 680 (Matthiesen 2014: xix), and so on. Both men and women are welcome to attend these events but must do so separately. Shiites close their businesses during these ceremonies. However, within certain subgroups of the two sects, some believe that the other sect does not represent a right Muslim sect because it practises certain rituals; this has a number of consequences, including the prohibition of intermarriage and praying together (Al-Bohnayyah 2019: 29).

1.3.6.3. Residency

In physical terms, the separation of the two religious groups is almost complete. Al Hofuf, on the one hand, is the primary area where Sunnis live in large groups alongside a Shiite minority. Sunnis also inhabit a few of the larger Alhasa villages (Al-Abdulmehsen 2013: 1721). In Al Mubarraz, on the other hand, Sunnis and Shiites are nearly equal in number, and there are also numerous small villages with an exclusively Shiite population. However, in Al Mubarraz, where the Sunni and Shiite populations are nearly equal, and in Al Hofuf, where the Shiite population is smaller, the two sects have established separate neighbourhoods.

Recent development across Alhasa, in the major cities of Al Hofuf and Al Mubarraz, and in the smaller villages, has resulted in the development of “mixed” areas. Even here, and in the villages and lodgings of Al Hofuf and Al Mubarraz, friendships and social contacts are often sect-based (often kin-based), though Sunnis and Shias may interact in public settings such as work, local markets, and shops (Al-Bohnayyah 2019:30).

1.3.6.4. Intermarriage

In Alhasa, marriage between Sunnis and Shiites is considered unacceptable (Al-Mubarak. 2015: 54). Al-Bohnayyah 2018: 31) asserts that religious identity is critical in this regard, meaning that the two groups retain distinct kinship ties. However, Al-Shubat (1989: 178) asserts that avoidance of intermarriage in Alhasa is not solely motivated by sectarian affiliation. There are also subgroups ranging from tribal to non-tribal that maintain endogamous marital relations. This latter practice is virtually non-existent among Shiites but is widespread among Sunnis. Historically, the situation was even more severe among Sunnis, as marriages were restricted to members of the same tribe or family (Al-Shubat 1989: 167).

1.3.6.5. Historical roots of the Sunni–Shiite divisions

This section will demonstrate the historical conflict between Shiites and Sunnis; the historical incidents could have assisted in shaping language attitudes, especially in an area such as Alhasa inhabited by both sects and who speak the same dialect. According to Cargile *et al.* (1994: 226), political and historical realities exert a strong influence over the process of language attitude formation. The conflict between Shiites and Sunnis has historical roots extending to the beginning of Islam; the initial dispute was a social incident and then turned into a political incident. Later, the dispute extended to religious practices such as worship and beliefs. The dispute thus has social, political, and religious dimensions (Abdul Malek 2018: 84).

1.3.6.5.1. The social divisions

Perhaps the most significant incident that spooked the Islamic State, and has continued to do until recent times, is the *Al-Ifk* (the slander) incident, when *Al-Munafiqun* (The hypocrites) accused *Aisha*, the Prophet's wife of adultery until the Quran exonerated her (Al-Razi 1209: 173), and *Aisha* was acquitted in all Islamic sources (Al-Malki 1994: 65). However, the Shiites continue to accuse her; Imam Khamenei¹² expressed his resentment and issued a *fatwa*¹³ commanding Shiites to refrain from insulting *Aisha* and the Prophet's Companions. However, Sunnis regarded this as a form of *Taqiyya*,¹⁴ and Khamenei acted in response to a call from several Sunnis to attempt to reconcile Shiites and Sunnis (Adwan 1981: 105).

1.3.6.5.2. The political divisions

On the political scene, the conflict manifested over who was entitled to be the successor of the Prophet. The matter was decided in *Saqifah*¹⁵ *bani Saedah* by electing Abu Bakr as a successor of the Prophet. Meanwhile, Ali ben Abi Talib was busy preparing the Prophet's funeral. After Ali joined *the Saqifah*, he was dissatisfied with electing Abu Bakr and clung to the Saying of the Prophet: "...Allah reminds you of the people of my house (and repeated it three times) ... the people of my house are Ali and his sons...". However, Ali then pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othman, and He did not dispute their verdicts. This disagreement expanded over the days of Ali's ruling after the Battles of the *Aljamal* (655 AD) and *Siffin* (656 AD; cf. Abdul Malek 2018: 91). However, the Shiites exploited this situation through the grandsons of Hussein (one of Ali's sons), but not through any of his other sons, particularly his sibling Hassan. According to Abdul Malek (2018: 84), the reason is that the sons of Hussein are descended from his Persian wife, *Shahir Bano Shah Zanan* (a Persian princess), the daughter of *Yazdegerd ban Anushirvan*, the last Chosroe of the Persian Empire (Al-Talqani 1961: 192). Shiites still believe that the Islamic world

¹² A Shiite scholar.

¹³ A fatwa is an Islamic religious ruling, a scholarly opinion on a matter of Islamic law (Weimann 2011: 765).

¹⁴ *Taqiyya* is a Shiite's precautionary dissimulation or denial of religious belief and practice in the face of persecution (Stewart 2015).

¹⁵ *Saqifah* was a roofed building in Al Medina city used by the *Banu Sa'idah* tribe. It is significant as the site where, after the Prophet Muhammad's death, some of his companions gathered and pledged allegiance to *Abu Bakr*, electing him as the first successor (Al-Malki 1994: 80)

must be ruled by one of the descendants of Ali, and that the rule of someone else is considered invalid religiously (Abdul Malek 2018: 91).

Among the most prominent Shiite beliefs that is considered a primary reason for the division between Shiites and Sunnis is the infallibility of Imams. The prevailing belief among Shiites is that the Caliphate following the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) should have been from Ali's descendants, the last of whom is *Imam Muhammad bin Hussein Al-Mahdi* (Al-Kulayni 1363: 239–240). *Al-Mahdi* is believed to be in Major Occultation by the *Twelver* Shiites, an eschatological redeemer of Islam and the final Imam of the Twelve Imams who will emerge alongside Isa (Jesus; peace be upon him) to fulfil their mission of bringing peace and justice to the world. Sunnis, in contrast, reject this belief that *Al-Mahdi* has not yet been born. They believe his precise identity is anonymous, except that he is to be descended from the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him; Abdul Malek 2018: 91)

From antiquity to the present time, political conflicts between Shiites and Sunnis have persisted. This is demonstrated by the issue of guardianship of the jurist (*Wilayat al-Faqih*), whom the Shiites define as “the person who represents the infallible Imam (*Al-Mahdi*) in the leadership of the Islamic State and managing its affairs during the period of Major Occultation in all matters over which the infallible Imam had guardianship, other than his specializations, and provided that there is a public interest” (Khomeini 1956, as cited in Abdul Malek 2018: 93).

In light of the guardianship of the jurist, several Shiite states emerged during the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1285 AD). Examples include the Idrisid State (788–973 AD) in North Africa, the Alawite state (865–900 AD) in northern contemporary Iran, which was re-established in eastern Syria following the First World War, the Buyid State (945–1055 AD) in western and central contemporary Iran, and the Fatimid State (901–1171 AD) in Egypt and North Africa. Numerous Shiite states arose during the Ottoman Empire era, the most famous of which was the Safavid State (1501–1785 AD). All of these states were involved in bloody battles that resulted in the deaths of thousands of adherents of the two sects. The Islamic Republic of Iran, which was established by Imam Khomeini following the 1979 revolution against the Shah of Iran, became

embroiled in military conflicts such as the 1980–1989 Iraq–Iran war, as well as interfering in the internal affairs of several Arabic states, including Bahrain, Iraq, and Syria. (cf. Matthiesen 2014; Abdul Malek 2018).

1.3.6.5.3. The religious divisions

Regarding the religious dimension, the political divisions evolved into a religious and jurisprudential one, resulting in the emergence of Sunni and Shiite sects. Therefore, it is mainly a religious identity conflict; as Al-Hasan (2006: 29) states, divergence between groups may be exacerbated significantly in multireligious or sectarian states, where the degree of religious heterogeneity and historical ties between religious groups are significant predictors of conflicts involving identity. There is clear evidence of types of identity divergence based on religious or sectarian differences around the world, such as in Northern Ireland, the Kashmir border of India-Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nigeria (Liman 2015: 29–30). The Shiite and Sunni sectarian communities in Saudi Arabia emphasise the religious, cultural, and historical ties that construct their identity. (Al-Hasan 2006: 102). Although the Shiite doctrines number in the dozens, the *Twelver Shiites* are those referred to in this research as this is the largest doctrine; Hasawi Shiites also belong to this doctrine. The difference between the two sects is based on the issue of the Noble Quran. According to Abdul Malek (2018: 93), certain Shiites admitted that Fatima had her own copy of the Quran and that the revelation continued to her after the death of her father, the Prophet Muhammad. Marrakech (1983: 49) asserts that “from what Aba Muhammad said: that we have a Qur’an of Fatima contains like of yours three times, and by Allah there is not a single letter in it from your Quran”. As previously stated, several Shiite scholars have refuted these claims.

As a consequence of these divisions or controversies, whether social, political or religious, certain dangerous and anomalous *fatwas* appeared from both sides. From the Shiite side, Al-Saduq (1966: 601) stated that it is permissible for Shiites to murder Sunnis and steal their money and honour: “On the authority of Dawood bin Farqad, stated: I asked Abu Abdullah — peace be upon him — what do you say about killing *Al-Nasibi* (as the Sunnis’ adherents are referred by Shiites to as *Al-Nawasib*), which means Sunni.

He stated: Blood is permissible, but keep in mind that if you can turn a wall over him or submerge him in water to prevent him from testifying against you, do so. After that, I asked, ‘What do you see in his money?’ Take what you can get, he stated.”. For Sunnis, a fatwa dated 2 December 1999 called for combating Shiites and requiring them to submit to the Sunnis rather than practising modesty and living in harmony. Additionally, this fatwa identified Shiite Muslims as polytheists and emphasised the importance of combating them (Ibn Jebreen 1999).

A large number of historical statements and fatwas have called and are still calling for violence (cf. Ismail 2012). However, there are reasonable people from both sides who call for mutual respect and peaceful coexistence. The researcher has provided a brief account of the long history of disagreement and divisions in various dimensions, which helped to establish two different religious identities (see section 1.3.6.6.2.), consequently may help to discover if this had an impact on the language attitudes of the participants of both sects.

1.3.6.6. Identity

This section will review the literature concerning identity issues, types of identities, and intersectionality. The historical divisions (see section 1.3.6.5) between Sunnis and Shiites in different dimensions (socially, politically, and religiously) helped to create different religious and social identities among the two sects in Alhasa. Therefore, identity is an essential factor to discuss in relation to the Hasawi community in various social and cultural domains. Exploring this issue may assist in determining whether identity issues played an essential role in shaping participants’ attitudes towards the local dialect in Alhasa.

Identity has long been a “hot topic” in the contemporary social sciences, having been theorised in various fields such as anthropology, linguistics, psychology, sociology, history, literature, gender studies, and social theory (Al-Mulla 2018: 10). In each case, the goal is to comprehend the power and role of the identity concept, and to determine how various processes and strategies contribute to the negotiation and construction of power (De Fina *et al.* 2006: 32). The concept of identity refers to the characteristics that distinguish individuals, collectives, or groups from one another and can be loosely defined as “social

categories, attributes, or components of the self-concept that are shared with others and therefore define individuals as being similar to others” (Monroe *et al.* 2000: 421). It can also be defined as the “stabilisation of a sense of self or group that is formed in actual historical time and space, in evolving economies, politics, and cultures, as a continuous search for some solidity in a constantly shifting world” (Suny 2001: 866).

One of the striking features illustrating the complexity of identity issues is the number of different classifications of identity types, such as personal identity and social identity. According to Joseph (2004: 5), the “fundamental” identity types are found in the following pairs: “one for real people and one for fictional characters, one for oneself and one for others, and one for individuals and one for groups”. However, De Fina (201: 265) takes a different view, noting that individual identity is responsible for how an individual chooses to represent himself or herself to others, whereas social identity is concerned with how an individual belongs to a group. De Fina (2011: 268) argues that the borders between distinct identity categories can sometimes become blurred. For example, social identity categories frequently impact the construction of personal identities, which in turn are also likely to personalise social identities. Another difficulty with attempting to create neat classifications of social identities is that new identities are continuously being shaped and challenging “well-defined macro-social categories” (De Fina 2011: 268). Conversely, other forms of identity, such as religious or national identities, may become more stable over time due to complicated historical processes (Al-Mulla 2018: 13).

1.3.6.6.1. Social identity

Henri Tajfel and John Turner coined the term social identity theory in 1977 to describe a body of research that investigates intergroup relations and conflict. Traditionally, social psychology described behaviour in terms of inter-individual interactions (Abrams and Hogg 2006: vii). However, this was later deemed a flaw because it fails to account for how communities provide individuals with an identity. Later, social identity theory was established to describe how groups influence individuals (Abrams and Hogg 2006: vii). Ashore *et al.* (2004: 81) refer to social identity as a group in which members share or feel they share specific features such as language, religion, or ethnic origin; they consider themselves to be members of an in-

group, while everyone else with different traits is viewed as the “other”. These traits are thought to be inherent in the individuals who comprise a group, and the stronger the sense of similarity, the more rigid the boundaries are between in and out-groups (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 10).

Social identity theory describes how social identity is formed and how the process of favouring one’s in-group occurs through four stages: 1) Social categorisation, which involves an individual’s self-identification with a social group, where individuals initially categorise themselves and others into social groups according to external or internal criteria. 2) In-group positivity, which comprises the positive emotions and self-esteem produced by group affiliation. People identify with a group, invest in it emotionally, and change their behaviour to some extent because of their membership. 3) Intergroup comparison, which involves a comparison between different groups and the perceptions of group status this creates (this was later expanded by Turner as social categorisation theory [Turner 2010: 245]). Individuals compare themselves to other groups in an attempt to gain respect for their identified membership. This approach maximises the similarities within groups and the disparities between them. 4) In the final stage, out-group hostility, hostility towards other groups results from intergroup comparisons and perceptions about the illegitimacy of intergroup power relations in society (Abrams and Hogg 2006: 7–9).

According to social identity theory, people naturally desire inclusion and differentiation (Baumeister and Leary 2017: 61). People seek to belong to groups and tend to classify groups within a given society. Social groups also compete with each other. Given that groups aim to maintain their perceived upper status by reinforcing prejudices and negative stereotypes of out-groups, in certain conditions this competition can translate into intergroup hostility and violence. Aghabi *et al.* (2017: 6) shows how cases of large-scale intergroup violence, including the Rwandan genocide (ethnic social identity), the Balkans war, and Nigerian conflicts (religious social identity), contributed to a shift in the focus of social identity theory research. What initially was confined to lab-controlled experiments evolved to include examination of sectarian divisions and conflicts, genocide and, most recently, radicalisation (Aghabi *et al.* 2017: 6).

1.3.6.6.2. Religious identity

Religion plays a role in identity formation particularly in Middle Eastern countries, as well as other parts of the world. According to Albirini (2018: 145), since the second Gulf War (2003), “sectarianism has become the dominant mode of identity expression in the Arab region”. Therefore, sectarianism erases language-based and nation-based identity borders and recreates new boundaries based on religious commitments to the sect in all life domains (Albirini 2018: 145). However, the topic of religious identity has not been considered a distinct category in much of the literature focusing on identity theory, unlike gender, ethnicity, nationality, age, physical and mental ability, and class (Peek 2005: 215). Dingley (2011: 393) argues that these studies neglect eastern religions such as Islam, which has its own political, economic, and social organisations.

Mol’s (1979: 15) research contains one of the earliest conceptualisations of religious identity, arguing that “religion in any of its forms favours the identity side of the dialectic”. Therefore, religion, in Mol’s model, serves to stabilise individual and group identity because religious traditions and institutions often resist constant change. Seul (1999: 558) also emphasises religion’s role in supporting the stabilisation of individual and group identity, arguing that it achieves this through “favouring the preservation of old content (in the form of doctrine, ritual, moral frameworks, role expectations, symbols, and the like), offering individuals a basis for reconstructing their identities within a stable or very slowly changing universe of shared meaning”. Similarly, Joseph (2004: 165) observes that “religious identities are like ethnic ones in that they concern where we come from and where we are going — our entire existence, not just the moment-to-moment. It is these identities above all that, for most people, give profound meaning to the names we identify ourselves by, both as individuals and as groups, and are bound up with our deepest beliefs about life, the universe and everything”.

The role of religion in identity formation begins when young people seek ideological contexts such as religion to “make sense of the world and their place in it”, as well as to “generate a sense of meaning and order” (King 2003: 198) in their lives, assisting in the formation of the cornerstone of their identity. Religion has “compelling qualities to people all over the world” (Roy 1994: 96), and although it varies across peoples

and cultures, it assists in the formation of reality and courses of action for individuals and societies, particularly among communities such as the Middle East and Africa (Den Heever 2001). Stewart (2009: 18) notes that religious leaders typically have a long history of religious devotion and supporting religious identities; religion always comes first before power-seeking, which is seen as secondary by religious leaders. This may explain why religion is easy to use as a mobilisation platform in Saudi Arabia (and other countries in the Middle East) due to its long history, entrenchment in the region's social fabric, and strong emotional bonds between community members.

1.3.6.6.3. Sunni-Shiite identity in Alhasa

Members of the Sunni and Shiite social groups in Alhasa attempt to distinguish their groups by several religious, social, or cultural means as a marker of identity. Joseph (2004: 173) confirms that sectarian groups need to be able to recognise one another and identify members of other sects; they do this by adopting various means, such as specific dress codes, names, or religious practices. Religious practices and occasions are considered essential markers of religious identity between the Sunni and Shiite religious groups (see section 1.3.6.2). Albirini (2018: 141) notes that “religion becomes a main marker of identity when it incorporates spiritual beliefs and religious practices that influence a person's perceptions of him/herself in relation to others who have similar or different spiritual beliefs and religious practices”; similarly, Hylen (2018: 302) asserts the importance of religious rituals in creating and sustaining group identities. However, religious practice is considered one among several ways in which Hasawi Sunnis and Shiites assert their religious identities, such as personal names, dialect, dress codes, and other various means. Language, i.e., dialect, is considered a marker of identity in Alhasa among Sunni and Shiites, involving adopting several linguistic features¹⁶ or diverging/converging with the supralocal dialect (Al-Mubarak 2015; Al-Bohnyyah 2019). Safran (2008: 178) notes that language and religion have over time been the two most essential markers of identity; He argues that religion was historically more often the

¹⁶ Linguistic differences will be discussed in detail in section 1.4.2.

bedrock of identity, while its replacement by language is a more contemporary phenomenon: “religion had the upper hand until the Renaissance, and language from then until the present” (Safran 2008: 178).

Dress code is also a marker of identity among both Sunnis and Shiites. Giddens and Sutton (2010: 136) refer to language, religion, and dress codes as cultural attributes that distinguish each social group and help reinforce their identity. Slight differences exist between the two groups in Alhasa regarding dress code as a marker of identity. Shiite men wear the *Ghutra* (white kaffiyeh) and do not wear the *Shemagh* (red kaffiyeh). In contrast, Sunnis wear both. This is because the white kaffiyeh is part of the traditional dress code in Alhasa and the Gulf area (Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and Emirates), while the *Shemagh* is common on a wider geographical basis and has been imported culturally from the Najed area. Therefore, as a marker of identity, Shiites prefer to wear the *Ghutra*, similar to their peers in the Gulf area. In contrast, Sunnis in Alhasa prefer to wear the *Shemagh*, similar to other Sunnis in Saudi Arabia, and to wear the *Ghutra* as a part of their local culture. Also, Shiite scholars wear a black or white *Umama* (turban), whereas Sunni sheikhs do not. There is not a noticeable difference in women’s dress code, as both groups wear the abaya (black robe-like garment) in public and similar types of clothes in private settings (Al-Mubarak 2015: 54).

Personal names are one of the religious markers of identity for Shiites and Sunnis in Alhasa. According to Edward (2010: 35), personal names are frequently associated with profound religious significance. Therefore, in Alhasa, parents give their children names with religious connotations; for both the Shiite and Sunni groups, these names are exclusively used within their own religious sect. Mensah (2020: 12) argues that children in religious communities are bestowed with names that reinforce and sustain their religious identity. The political and social divisions between Sunnis and Shiites play an essential role in the personal naming process. For example, the name *Aisha* (female name) cannot be used by Shiites because they believe that *Aisah*, the Prophet’s wife, betrayed the Prophet by committing adultery, as well as participating in the *Battles of the Aljmal* (655 AD) against Ali ben Abi Talib, whom Shiites believe to be the successor of the Prophet and his sons (see sections 1.3.6.5.1 and 1.3.6.5.2.). Also, it is common for Shiites, but not Sunnis, to give their male children names such as *Baqer* (referring to Imam Albaqer) and *Sadeq* (referring to Imam Alsadiq), who are the grandsons of Ali ben Abi Talib from his son Husain. For Sunnis, there are some

common and exclusive names, such as *Abu Bakr* (referring to Abu Bakr Alseddeq) and *Omar* (referring to Omar bin Al-Khattab), who are believed among Sunnis to be the best Muslims after the Prophet. In contrast, these names cannot be found in the Shiite group since they believe that Omar and Abu Bakr stole the succession of the Prophet from Ali ben Abi Talib. However, both groups share common names that have cultural connotations such as *Mohammed and Ali*.

1.3.6.6.4. National identity

National identity is associated with utmost allegiance to the nation, with relationships that transcend all other identities. In some ways, it is not an ethnic, religious, or racial bond; it is founded on a manufactured legal and political bond with a shared cultural legacy rather than on inherent or primal bonds. It signifies the cultural and political bonds that unite people within a single political community (Smith 1999: 14–15). National identity is part of individuals' identity and is closely linked to their individual histories and memories. It gives individuals a sense of place, and their sense of belonging to this identity cannot be separated from the national identity. Citizens obtain an emotional depth to their national identity by participation in the celebrations and rituals of the state. In addition, their national identity is also confirmed by their participation and involvement in the public life of the state, such as voting in elections, shaping national issues and expressing their views, and feeling anger or pride in what is being done under the name of the nation or state (Parekh 2008: 97–98). Moreover, national identity transcends all other loyalties without necessarily eradicating them. Despite attempts to preserve all the cultural, political, religious, and social attributes and features of various identities and sub-affiliations, national identity encompasses all these different affiliations, identities, and multiple cultures within the country (Lukitz 2005: 114).

The national identity of Saudi Arabia comprises three main aspects: “firstly, the consolidation of the core of the nation around the Al Saud; secondly, the development of the state’s institutional framework; thirdly, the development of a national political culture based on the state projection of Najdi political and religious culture” (Thompson 2019: 17). Al-Hassan (2006: 204) points out that the Saudi national identity is

composed of elements of three interrelated Najdi identities: Sunni (*Wahhabiyya*¹⁷ ideology), which emphasises the religious element; “Saudism”, which stresses the role of the Saudi royal family as a symbol of the state and as a source of identification for all Saudi citizens; and finally “Najdism”, which is concerned with Najdi hegemony and its sectarian ideology (Sunni), as well as political supremacy (Saudism). Schwarzmante (1991: 208) argues that “if a particular national group (primary nation) establishes a nation-state, it may use state power to impose its own national or ethnic identity on others”. Similarly, Bourdieu (1998: 46) maintains that for the state to establish a national identity, a homogeneous culture must be formed through formal laws, bureaucratic procedures, the education system, and social and mental reality. Therefore, Saudi Arabia emerged around a single group (Najdi), which created and took over the state through a high degree of *tadayun* (religionisation; Sunni), politicisation, and militarisation of its members (Al-Hasan 2006: 167). It has used the state’s power to forge its own identity. Consequently, Najdi culture in all aspects (culture, religion, politics) is dominant and revolves around the Saudi national identity, ignoring other regional (Hejaz, Southern, Eastern area) and religious (Sufism,¹⁸ Ismailism,¹⁹ Shiite) identities. Al-Rasheed (1998: 126) emphasises the “cultural, political and religious domination of Najd [...] over the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, including the Eastern Province, the Hijaz and Asir”. Al-Hasan (2006: 29) argues that the divergence between groups may be exacerbated significantly in multireligious states, where religious and sectarian heterogeneity and the historical relationships between religious groups are significant predictors of identity conflict. Therefore, the issue of Saudi national identity and ignoring other identities may impact the attitudes of participants from both social groups. Moreover, Samin (2011: 198) argues that: “reconciling Shi’ite identity with the Saudi state, however, is considerably more difficult to envisage because most Saudis appear unwilling to contemplate such a possibility”.

¹⁷ Attributed to Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahab, the founder of the religious doctrine that later became known as the *Wahhabiyya*. The *Wahhabiyya* followers propagated the oneness of God (tawhid). They tried to “purify” Islam of Arabia’s nomadic and sedentary communities (Matthiesen 2014: 27).

¹⁸ Sufism is a mystical form of Islam, a school of practice that emphasises the inward search for God and shuns materialism.

¹⁹ Ismailism is a branch or sub-sect of Shiite Islam.

1.4. The dialect situation in Saudi Arabia

This section describes classifications of the dialect spoken in Saudi Arabia. Also, it demonstrates urbanisation as a sociolinguistics variable in Saudi Arabia. Then, the role of power in raising the dialect of Riyadh as a prestigious norm. Also, this section shows the dialects of neighbouring countries that the Hasawi dialect has similar linguistic features. Then, the linguistic situation in Alhasa and linguistic features of the spoken dialect in Alhasa city will be presented.

1.4.1. The classifications of the dialects of Saudi Arabia.

The overwhelming majority of Alhasa residents are native Peninsular Arabic speakers. There are two classifications of the dialect spoken in the Arabian Peninsula. Firstly, Johnstone (1967: 1–2) classified the Arabian Peninsula's dialects into four groups: North Arabian, Hejazi, South-western, and Omani. He categorised the dialects spoken in Eastern Arabia as North Arabian dialects. Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Alhasa, and the Oman coast or the United Arab Emirates are all part of the East Arabian dialects. As a result, the Alhasa dialect, according to Johnstone's classification, is classified as a dialect of northern Arabia. For the second classification, Prochazka (1988: 3) confines his description to Saudi dialects, which he splits into dialects spoken in southern al-Hejaz and Tihamah, as well as dialects spoken in Central and Eastern Arabia, which include the Hasawi dialect. Al-Bohnayyah (2018: 32) approximates the two classifications to each other: "we can say that the dialects that are spoken in the North Arabian dialectal area are from the Najdi and Eastern Arabian type of dialects".

In terms of its synchronic categorisation, Ingham (1982: 1) identifies that Arabic dialects are mostly defined geographically, though linguistic features may be implicit. Therefore, the dialects in Saudi Arabia share several linguistic features with neighbouring countries' dialects. For instance, in the Hejaz area, Ingham (1971: 274) refers to "Meccan is a dialect of mixed affinities, basically of the Egypto-Levantine type in terms of its morphology and phonology". Also, in the Southern area of Saudi Arabia, modern South Arabian dialects are today spoken in some parts of Yemen, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and a group of islands south of the Arabian Peninsula, the largest of which is Socotra (Alghamdi 2014; AlMubarak 2015). Regarding Alhasa,

the Hasawi dialect is assigned to the Eastern Arabia dialects (Prochazka 1988: 3), more precisely to Gulf dialects, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar (Holes 1990: xi), on the basis of shared linguistic features such as affrication of /k/ and /g/ and the use of the interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð].

The vast majority of dialects spoken in Saudi Arabia are known as Bedouin dialects, which inherit Bedouin features of Arabic dialects. Exceptions include a small number of dialects known as sedentary dialects, such as the dialects spoken in Mecca, Medina, and Jeddah, as well as several dialects spoken in eastern Saudi Arabia.

1.4.1.1. Urbanisation

The Middle East has experienced rapid urbanisation and profound societal transformations during the last 80 years (Holes 1995: 217). One of the primary characteristics of urbanisation is the change in employment from agriculture to industry. Consequently, there has been a clear transition from rural to urban populations. As a result, the concept of “urban primacy” has strengthened significantly, where “one city, usually the capital, is much larger than its rival” (Holes 1995: 271).

Linguistically, the vast development in the Middle East and Arabian Gulf in general, and Saudi Arabia in particular, affected the dialect situation. Fast development facilitated the emergence of new linguistic features in urban dialects, endowing them with prestige. As a result, these prestigious Arabic dialects are considered “national standard dialects” (Holes 1995: 285). Miller (2004: 180) also states that “the dialects of the main cities are often emerging as national or regional standards in both the Maghreb and the Middle East. In this respect they are competing with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA, *Fus’ha*) as prestigious norms in the Middle East”.

Following unification and the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia, the population reaped the benefits of living in a single wealthy state; they gained access to a united administrative system, a sophisticated healthcare system, a superior educational system, and an improved transportation infrastructure. The process of urbanisation increased, resulting in dramatic changes in social, cultural, economic, and demographic

characteristics, both within individual families and across entire communities and regions. Rapid urbanisation, particularly in large cities, promotes geographic movement among people of diverse cultural and dialectal origins. People from less urban areas frequently relocate temporarily or even permanently to urban areas in search of a better quality of life (AlAmmar 2017: 67).

Dialect interaction has increased as a result of Saudi Arabia's rapid economic growth. When speakers of different "mutually intelligible" dialects come into frequent contact, their ways of speaking may merge (AlAmmar 2017: 67). Convergence can be a sign of unity with other groups; mutual convergence occurs when mutually favourable attitudes are shared. Convergence of dialects may result in the emergence of a completely new, unified norm, a so-called koine dialect.²⁰ Koineisation is a linguistic process that entails several steps: mixing, levelling,²¹ simplification, and reallocation. Trudgill (2004: 23) states: "...one of the consequences of dialect mixing is levelling in which minority forms, socially marked forms and linguistically marked forms are lost...". The levelling process preserves unmarked and more regular forms of the koine, while marked forms disappear. Additionally, new supralocal characteristics emerge and are accepted by speakers across a broader geographic region (Williams and Kerswill 1999: 148). The spread of these supralocal forms to neighbouring regions and beyond can eventually establish a regional standard (Al-Wer 2014: 398). Numerous sociolinguistic studies of current Arabic dialects have indicated that dialects spoken in major cities, particularly capital cities, establish themselves as national or regional (supralocal) standards, and their varieties are imposed on the surrounding territories (e.g., Abd-el-Jawad 1986; Abu-Haider 1989; Al-Mubarak 2015; Al-Rorjai 2015).

Riyadh, Saudi Arabia's capital and largest metropolitan area, has begun to have a significant influence on cultural, social, and linguistic changes over the last few decades, most notably in Central Arabia (Najd). This is mostly a result of the city's tremendous population increase, economic affluence, and political

²⁰ Koineisation is the process through which a new linguistic variety emerges through language contact between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties (Trudgill 1986: 107). A koine typically appears with the migration of speakers of mutually intelligible varieties to new settlements (Kerswill 2013: 519).

²¹ Levelling is a term used to "label the process by which, as a result of mobility and dialect contact, linguistic variants with a wider socio-spatial currency become more widely adopted at the expense of more locally specific forms" (Britain 2010: 93).

hegemony. Linguistically, it is establishing itself as a focal point of change, similar to other Arab urban centres such as Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus, and Amman. Thus, the dialect of Najd (Riyadh) is emerging as the supralocal and prestigious standard linked with a new regional identity in Central Arabia, and its characteristics are spreading outward at the expense of the dialects of smaller places (Al-Rorjai 2015: 55).

1.4.1.2. Language and power relations

The Riyadh dialect, i.e., the Najdi dialect, has economic, political, social, and linguistic power, being the spoken dialect of the royal family and the Saudi elite. In other words, it has the upper hand over all other dialects in Saudi Arabia. This section conceptualises language beyond its instrumental function and relates it to power and how language usage by different social groups contributes to societal inequities. Language is not simply a way of communication; it also contributes to social inequality through unequal power relations (Cao 2011: xvi). Harmon and Wilson (2006: 8) argue that language and power are inextricably linked; language does not exist independently but is an intrinsic aspect of society and culture. Language serves as a tool for negotiation, empowerment, resistance, identity creation, and power (Makoe 2014: 654). Power relations exist between different social divisions, ethnic backgrounds, institutions, genders, age groups, religions, and so on, but are not limited to specific groups or institutions and are a constant source of conflict between diverse social groupings with disparate interests (Fairclough 2001: 28). Likewise, Bourdieu (1991: 23) argues that language is a tool of power: the form of language spoken by individuals, the manner in which they speak and communicate with others, and their right to be heard or not all reflect their social positions in society.

Furthermore, Garcia *et al.* (2006: 36) assert that “linguistic practices are symbolic capital that is distributed unequally in the linguistic community”, and that those with dominant languages enjoy economic and social benefits (Bourdieu 1991: 44). Those who lack access to dominant languages, in contrast, may be excluded from such rewards. This is the product of unequal power relations, which classify languages as dominant or inferior. (Montrul 2013: 169). Dominant languages are described as those which “have official status and recognition, are used in the media, and are imparted in education” (Montrul 2013: 169). In comparison,

an inferior language is “the language of groups who are in the ethnolinguistic minority. Their language and culture may be a demographic minority or may be numerically significant in a population but still be considered a minority by virtue of low social, cultural, and political status” (Montrul 2013: 169).

As May (2006: 259–260) states, establishing dominant–inferior language hierarchies are neither a natural process nor a linguistic one. Rather, it is a historically, socially, and politically constructed process. In other words, the status accorded to dominant languages, and the stigma accorded to inferior languages are social constructs resulting from external influences, and not inherent in the languages. Additionally, the distinction between dominant and inferior languages may not hold everywhere. Depending on the circumstances, the same language may be seen as both a dominant and an inferior language (Montrul 2013: 171).

This notion applies to the Saudi context in that official regional dialects such as Hejazi, Southern, and Eastern, which are dominant in their respective regions, can be considered inferior dialects in the capital city, Riyadh, since these dialects do not have power status because the royal family and the elite instead speak the Najdi dialect. In addition, the power implicated in defining the Najdi dialect involves accessing different social resources (e.g., education, media, economy) and, therefore, influencing other dialects through ability, status and decision-making. In the present study, the above-mentioned ideas about dominant and inferior languages, i.e., dialects and power relations, will be applied to discover whether or not they affect participants’ attitudes towards the local variety in Alhasa.

Thus, the value of a linguistic code is reliant upon its ability to provide access to political, economic, and social power (Heller 2011; Bassiouney 2017). Similarly, Fairclough (2009: 321) believes that language contributes to the “construction” of ideologies to maintain power. Heller (2007:14) also argues that during the social construction process, linguistic resources acquire values that can be interpreted in a variety of ways: “it is always someone’s notion of what counts, and someone’s ability to control access both to resources and to the definition of their value, which ultimately makes a difference to people’s lives” (Heller

2007: 14). Public discourse, particularly in the media, not only reinforces but also builds and controls access to belief systems and ideologies, but also constructs and controls access to them (Bassiouney 2020: 337).

Bassiouney (2010: 334) outlines the linguistic forms and functions in relation to politics and access to linguistic codes as devices used during dormant or active conflicts. To give a broader example, in a study conducted by Boussofara (2017), she discusses the last three speeches of the former Tunisian president, Ben Ali. Boussofara (2017: 12) arguing that “the analysis captures the processes whereby Ben Ali loses his voice of authority and legitimacy even though he spoke, or so he thought, “*bi-lughat kull tunisi-yyin wa t-tunisiyyaat*”, (in the language of all Tunisians)”. Boussofara’s study sheds light on how politicians use political speeches to cement their legitimacy and political dominance. Her work shows that, unlike his predecessor, Bourguiba, Ben Ali never made full use of the linguistic resources available to him. While former president Bourguiba (ruled 1962–86) used Standard Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, French, and even English in his speeches, sometimes code-switching between three or four of them in the same speech, Ben Ali stuck to Standard Arabic throughout his 23 years in power. However, in his last speech, on January 13, 2011, one day before he fled the country, he used Tunisian Arabic for the first and last time to acknowledge that he understood the message of Tunisians and that he respected it.

Boussofara (2017) argues that, despite Ben Ali making full use of the linguistic resources available to him, this was not enough to save him. Although he sought to appeal to Tunisians by using Tunisian Arabic, he failed to convince them of his legitimacy. Boussofara (2017: 23) argues that this was because “languages, words, and voices are never heard in isolation”. As Bassiouney (2020:335) argues, language is a coherent part of society and cannot stand alone, and, according to Boussofara (2017:24), Ben Ali’s switch to Tunisian Arabic only emphasised that his role no longer existed and gave voice to a new Tunisia and that, by using Tunisian Arabic, he “gives legitimacy” to a new era and to the pro-revolution Tunisians. (cf. see Bassiouney, 2020).

1.4.2. The dialect of Alhasa (Hasawi dialect)

It may be said that traditionally, in terms of pre- and post-history, the Alhasa dialect is both a western Hejazi and eastern Tamimi dialect. On the one hand, the Shiites of Alhasa moved from Tihama in ancient times

(see section 1.3.5.1.), and so have traditionally been known to speak the western Hejazi dialect. On the other hand, the vast majority of Sunnis descend from the area of Najd (see section 1.3.5.1.), and so should traditionally be considered speakers of the eastern Tamimi dialects (Al-Mubarak 2015: 109). However, Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 32) states that when it comes to the spoken dialects of eastern Saudi Arabia, sectarian differences correlate with lifestyle-based dialect communities, as Shiites speak a dialect that is very close to that spoken by Shiites elsewhere in the Gulf such as Bahrain, which descends from sedentary norms. Al-Hasan (2006: 95) confirms this difference, stating that in Alhasa “the Shiite dialect generally differs from that of the Sunnis”.

However, Sunnis speak a dialect that is strikingly similar to other Sunni dialects spoken in the Gulf, which descended from Bedouin norms. Moreover, Al-Mubarak (2015: 112) claims that “given that Shiites and Sunnis have more in common than they have with speakers from other cities in Saudi Arabia or the Gulf, and considering that they live in the same area of *al-’Aḥsā’*, where they interact with each other in numerous contexts, from markets to educational institutions, they can be considered a single speech community. This speech community typically includes a range of nested speech communities, such as Sunnis, Shiites, males, females”. Most of the Alhasa dialect’s stereotypical linguistic features are associated with the Shiite variety, since this was the original spoken form in eastern Arabia prior to the arrival of Sunnis from Najd during the 18th century (Ingham 1994: 8). Thus, several linguistic features are almost exclusively used by Shiites in Alhasa (see section 1.4.2.1.), which is associated with the issue of identity discussed earlier (section 1.3.6.6.2). As Edwards (2010: 100) argues, religion is often the “bedrock of identity” and linking it to language is important to accentuate identity.

1.4.2.1. Social network and language use in Alhasa

A social network is defined by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 117) as follows: “an individual’s social network is the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking many individuals, sometimes remotely”. Milroy (1987: 169) describes linguistic variation and change in social networks between members of a speech community,

while Milroy and Milroy (1992: 4) state that comprehending linguistic diversity requires understanding the structure of relationships between community members and the nature of their relationships. Moreover, Milroy (1987) describes social networks in terms of their structural and interactional aspects. The structural property of a social network is primarily defined by its density, or the ratio of current connections between community members relative to possible connections. The interactional characteristic of networks can be determined by studying the multiplexity, persistence, and strength of the ties connecting community members. These features characterise the nature and strength of the bonds. Milroy (1987: 172) classifies social networks into several order zones. A first-order zone comprises friends and family members who are inexorably connected. A second-order zone comprises “friends of friends” and relatives, whose relationships are typically less solid and direct. The third-order zone is concerned with community members’ remote or indirect relationships. Close-knit speech groups serve as “a conservative force, resisting pressures for change” (Milroy and Milroy 1992: 5). In comparison, groups that lack these strong ties are more prone to language diversity and change (Bassiouny 2020: 103).

For the Alhasa community, both the Sunni and Shiite social groups have different social networks based on religious affiliation, such as neighbourhoods, places of worship, religious occasions, marriage, and kinship ties (see section 1.3.6.), although members of both groups work together and attend the same schools and universities in Alhasa.

The social networks of both social groups can be described as “dense and multiplex” (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 118). For Shiites, their social networks are dense, with a large number of people linked to each other in ties of kinship, hobbies, neighbourhoods, and voluntary groups (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 121). Sunnis, moreover, have a multiplex social network; ties between people are multiplex when they communicate with different Saudi dialect speakers. The social network of Shiites is limited to their group in Alhasa city or may extend to the nearby city of Al-Qatif that is almost totally inhabited by Shiites, but for Sunnis their network extends past Alhasa’s boundaries to different cities, as most of them have kinship ties with people from other cities. Al-Mubarak (2015: 220) confirms that most social relations for Sunnis and Shiites are

based on kinship ties, Therefore, “strong social relations between Sunnis and Shiites in such contexts tend to be rather limited”. Moreover, marriages are confined to the same sect because intermarriage between Sunnis and Shiites is considered to be taboo in Alhasa, so both social groups maintain distinct and separate kinship ties (Al-Mubarak 2015: 54). Therefore, marriages among Shiites are limited to Alhasa, while Sunnis can marry people from outside Alhasa. In addition, Shiites and Sunnis live in separate neighbourhoods away from each other (Gengler 2014: 161; Thompson 2019: 36). Sunnis and Shiites in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia mostly live in more or less segregated residential areas.

Linguistically, Hasawi Sunnis and Shiites have a slightly different way of speaking. Al-Mubarak (2015: 110) states that “most of its synchronic stereotypical linguistic characteristics are associated with the Shiite variety, since this was the original spoken form of eastern Arabia”. Therefore, in the Hasawi speech community, the Sunni/Shiite dialect dichotomy is clearly evident (Al-Shubat 1989: 182; Al-Hulaybi 2003: 20), as well as that between Hasawi (Sunnis and Shiite) and Bedouins²² (El Salman and Al Fridan 2018: 142). Different social networks, as mentioned above, play an essential role in this dichotomous situation. El Salman and Al Fridan (2018: 142) confirm that at the individual level, there are interactions and mutual relations; it is also acknowledged that, at the more prominent level of family, friends, and kinship, “each society has its own conservation regarding traditions” and dialect, thus “it would be expected that this would contribute to dialectal division but not have a mutual effect on one another. Each group would prefer to use the local vernacular in homogenous settings”. Also, Al-Mubarak (2015) and Al-Bohnyyah (2019) found that the Hasawi Sunni dialect converges with the supralocal dialect, while the Shiite Hasawi dialect diverges with the supralocal dialect as a result of the social networks of each group and the degree of contact with other Saudi dialects.

1.4.2.2. The linguistic features of the dialect of Alhasa

The linguistic features of the dialect of Alhasa are not just differentiated by social groups, but also according to geographical location. El Salman and Al Fridan (2018: 142) note that another important dialectal

²² Bedouins in Alhasa are people from areas adjacent to Alhasa originally from other tribes in remote areas who became permanent residents in Alhasa. The Bedouins have their own dialect.

dichotomy, besides that of social groups, is between the villages and main areas of Alhasa. Al-Shubat (1989: 182) and Al-Hulaybi (2003: 20) also state that in addition to differences between the Sunni and Shiite groups, there are several subdivisions within the Alhasa dialect between town and village dwellers: Alhafouf and Almubarraz towns, northern and eastern villages, and even between neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, Al-Mubarak (2015: 113) notes that these subdivisions within the Hasawi dialect seem to be impressionistic, especially since no specific details are provided regarding the types of regionally based linguistic differences that may potentially exist between Hasawi speakers.

The linguistic characteristics of the Hasawi dialect, the velar plosive [g] replaces the standard *Qa:f*, [q]. For example, *ga:l* “he said” and *ʔaga:rbi*: “my relatives”. A significant and intriguing phonological characteristic of the Alhasa dialect is the frequent alternation of [q] and the voiced fricative velar /ɣ/ when the original sound is [ɣ], as in *jistiql* vs *jistiyl* ‘he exploits’, *ga:li*: vs *ya:li*: ‘expensive’. Variation between [ɣ] and [q], where the original sound is [ɣ], is common in Gulf dialects (cf. Al-Tajir 1982: 138; Holes 1987: 36; Al-Sulaiti 1993: 7; Al-Bohnayyah 2019: 37).

The stem /k/ is affricated [tʃ], mainly in the environment of a front vowel as in *fʔa:n* “he was”, *semaʔf* “fish”. It should be noted that there are some instances where [tʃ] occurs in the environment of a back vowel as in *dʒi:tʃ* “cock” (bird). [tʃ] represents the local feature while [k] is the standard form or the form of the supra-local dialect (i.e., the Najdi dialect). With reference to [-k] in the suffix, affrication also occurs in the second-person singular form suffix [-k]. Again, the affricate [-tʃ] is the local variant and [-k] is the standard or the supra-local dialect form. For instance, *ras-ik* vs *ras-ift* “your head, and *ʔuxu:-k* vs *ʔuxu:-tʃ* “your brother”. Affrication of the second-person singular form suffix (-k) carries gender information, such as, *ʕinda-k* (Standard) > *ʕinda-tʃ* “you have”. (cf. Prochazka 1988: 126; Holes 1991: 653–655; Al-Bohnayyah 2019:37)

The standard /q/ can be pronounced in the Hasawi dialect as either a velar plosive [g] or a voiced affricate palatal [dʒ]. Again, in the Hasawi dialect, the affricated [g] is the local form, while the deaffricated [g] is

the supra-local form. Sunnis produce the standard form [g] deaffrication more frequently than Shiites, who produce the affricated [dʒ] (Al-Mubarak 2015).

The possessive/object pronoun *-i:* in the first-person singular is always recognised as *-ya* or *-i*, in free variation such as (standard) *qalam-i:* > (supra-local) *glum-i:* vs. (Hasawi) *galam-ya* “my pen”. According to Al Bohnayah (2019: 39), the dialect of Alhasa is one of the few Arabic dialects to contain this unconditioned variant. Al-Mubarak (2015: 110) asserts that this feature is almost exclusively used by Shiites in Alhasa. Also, Ingham (1994: 8) states that the majority of Hasawi linguistic features are associated with the Shiite dialect, since this was the original spoken form of Eastern Arabia prior to the 18th-century arrival of Sunnis from Najd.

The long back vowel in medial position [ɑ:], referred to in Standard Arabic as *al-alif*, is a distinguishing characteristic of Alhasa. The long back vowel is produced in a variety of ways, from low-back rounded [ɒ:] in local dialects to low-back unrounded [ɑ:] in supra-local dialects, such as *ba:b* > *bo:b* “door”, *halla:g* > *hallɒ:g* “barber” (Al Bohnayah 2019: 118–119).

Imala (vowel raising) is the articulation of /a:/ in the direction of /j, i:/, and /a/ in the direction of /i/ (Ibn-Al-Sarraj 1996: 160). It is a linguistic phenomenon in Arabic that may occur in different forms. *Imala* in the feminine ending (-a) in the unbound state has two forms in the dialect of Alhasa. The vernacular raised [-e] and the incoming low [-a], unlike the supralocal (-ah), are both as articulated as follows: (Alhasa) *θigi:l-e* or *θigi:l-a* vs. (supralocal) *θigi:l-ah* “heavy”. Raising the feminine ending is present in a number of Gulf dialects, including the dialects of Qatar, the Emirates, and Bahrain, as well as in a number of Saudi dialects, including Hail (Al Bohnayah 2019: 118–150).

In the Hasawi dialect, *mad* (vowel lengthening) is found in the vowels [o], [i], or [a] and is strongly tied to one’s origins in the city or the countryside. However, it is more extensively associated with Shiites than with Sunnis. Socially speaking, vowel lengthening is stigmatised as a phonetic feature. Hasawi people lengthen the vowel and, at the same time, make it emphatic. Where a speaker lengthens the vowel in any

word during his or her speech, this occurs in the three vowels [o], [i], or [a], such as in *Koorah* “a ball”, *Haqiii* (mine), and *Qaaal* “he said” (El Salman and Al Fridan 2018: 142–143).

1.5. Conclusion

As shown in this chapter, Alhasa is a governorate in eastern Saudi Arabia with a centuries-old history and a population of approximately one million people. Residents of Alhasa can be classified into two sectarian groups: Sunnis and Shiites. It is widely claimed that the majority of Shiites in Bahrain and eastern Saudi Arabia are descended from the same Arabian tribes that migrated to this region in ancient times and lost knowledge of their genealogy due to lengthy sedentarisation processes. They later combined with Najdi migrants who converted to Shiism. Sunnis, on the other hand, constitute a minority of Hasawi indigenous people, although there is a sizeable community of Najdi migrants. Distinct religious rituals, neighbourhood segregation, and intermarriage between Shiites and Sunnis have all been discussed. In addition, this chapter demonstrated the origins of the historical dispute on social, political, and religious levels. The final section discussed the linguistic characteristics of the Alhasa dialect.

Chapter 2: ATTITUDES

2.1. Introduction

The way people see the world is shaped by their previous experiences and reactions. People do not respond to the world itself, but rather to their image of the world, to their mental and social representations and constructions of reality that are not completely precise. As noted by Korzybski (1958: 58), “a map is not the territory it represents”. Attitudes capture these images that facilitate people’s understanding of the world and in their decision-making through perceptual simplicity: these images divide the social universe into objects that an individual likes, dislikes or does not think about (Heining-Boynton and Haitema 2007: 150; Ianos 2014: 94).

It is unsurprising that language attitudes generate so much attention, given the pervasiveness of language and the function that language attitudes play in interpersonal and intergroup relationships, as well as language-related behaviours such as language usage and social integration.

This chapter is dedicated to reviewing the relevant studies on language regard, which covers research about language attitudes. Section 2.2 focuses on defining attitudes and describing their relationship with related concepts, while Section 2.3 reviews the literature on language attitudes. It then reviews relevant language attitude studies conducted in Arabic and Saudi communities. The final section centres on the broad approaches found in the literature for studying attitudes towards languages or language varieties

2.2. Defining attitude

The concept of attitude is found in a number of fields such as psychology, politics, sociology, law, and anthropology (Baker 1992: 10). It has been a vital concept in sociolinguistics since Labov’s work in 1966 concerning the social stratification of speech, focusing on the /r/ sound and its relation to social class in New York department stores (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 2), because attitudes to language play an important role in the process of language change (Labov 1972; Preston 1999). For instance, Kristiansen (2009) investigated language attitudes towards regional varieties in Denmark. The sample consisted of Danish

adolescents and the aim of the study was to reveal how conscious and unconscious attitudes reflect patterns of language variation and change in the country. In order to gain access to participants' conscious attitudes, Kristiansen (2009) combined two approaches: the first consisted of a conceptual presentation of regional varieties through a direct approach (conscious) where participants were presented conceptually with all of the dialect names in Denmark and were asked to rank "the dialects they like the best" in a dialect chart. The second approach consisted of orally presented varieties based on a matched-guise technique (unconscious). The results revealed that participants' preference was always for a local variety when they were presented with the conceptual names of varieties. In other words, the ranking task uncovered "local patriotism", where the local dialect was always preferred (Kristiansen 2009: 177). In contrast, different results emerged when varieties were presented orally (using the matched-guise technique as an indirect approach), as the preference was for the modern Copenhagen variety. Kristiansen (2009) concluded that the subconscious attitudes in the country reflect a pattern of language variation and change.

Despite attitude being extensively explored in sociolinguistics and social psychology, "defining the concept is by no means straightforward" (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 2). Various scholars in different areas, such as sociology and psychology, have attempted to define the concept. Among these scholars, Oppenheim (1982) tried to define attitude through presenting an account of what it is, the reasons behind the difficulty of defining it, in addition to how it can be observed. Garrett (2010: 20) defines attitudes in accordance with Sarnoff's broad definition of an attitude, which is "a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects" (Sarnoff 1970: 279). He concludes that "an attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language, or a new government policy, etc." (Garrett 2010: 20). According to Oppenheim, an attitude is:

a construct, an obstruction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through such more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behavior.

The above definition points to attitude being a concealed psychological construct and a hereditary aspect transmitted through the generations. Thus, it cannot be observed unless through its behavioural results, whereby the attitudes of others towards a specific object can be observed. Three components of attitude are implied by Oppenheim's definition: cognition, affect, and behaviour, which are considered to comprise the structure of an attitude (Garrett 2010; Kristiansen *et al.* 2005). The three components were described by Kristiansen *et al.* (2005: 15) as a "tripartite model" which form the structure of an attitude. Kristiansen *et al.* (2005: 16) claimed that the tripartite model can yield significant understanding in data exploration and constitutes "a basis for critical comment". The following sections will explain the three components of attitude, i.e., the tripartite model.

The first component is cognition, which according to Cargile *et al.* (1994: 222) is considered as one of the most essential components of attitude given that attitude contains cognitive functions in the form of stored thoughts about the world within an individual's mental lexicon. Moreover, cognition encompasses any relationship people assume between objects in the world (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 221–222). Cognition helps to construct relationships between objects. In terms of language attitudes research, Garrett (2010: 23) assumes that standard language varieties are attached to people with a high professional status. According to Kristiansen *et al.* (2005: 16), over the last three decades, considerable contributions in the cognition and language attitudes field explore relationships between assessment of attitudinal dimensions (such as solidarity and status) and speakers of language varieties. For solidarity, it is explained by Yin and Li (2021:1) as individuals' perceptions of their solidarity with their language includes: beautifulness, usefulness and learnability. With regards to status, it includes economic level, intelligent, wealthy (Yin and Li 2021:1).

The second component is affect, which is concerned with one's emotional orientation towards objects. These emotions can be largely, or even entirely, affected positively or negatively and can comprise feelings

that are optimistic or pessimistic, favourable or unfavourable (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 222; Kristiansen *et al.* 2005: 17).

In language attitude research, the emotional orientation of individuals positively or negatively influences their evaluation of several speech varieties. The question of extremes of effect is extensively discussed, which involves the extent to which the affect is negative or positive (Garrett *et al.* 2003; Kristiansen *et al.* 2005; Garrett 2010). In the field of language attitudes, scholars have attempted to address this issue using different approaches to measure grading of affect; this will be discussed in Section 2.3.3.

The third component of attitude structure is behaviour, which can be viewed as an input or output (Kristiansen *et al.* 2005: 17; Garrett 2010 2–22). For the input factor, learning a new language indicates a positive attitude towards this language, and this is considered input. This positive attitude could help significantly in learning this language; thus, output can be explained as the outcome of learning a new language as a result of the input (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 6). For example, according to Baker (1992: 12) attitudes towards the Welsh language is a primary input factor in learning Welsh. Favourable attitudes could help in motivating significant levels of success in Welsh language programmes. Regarding the output factor, Kristiansen *et al.* (2005: 27) state that positive attitude to a given language may result in “less resistance to words from that language being loaned into one’s own. In this case, behaviour is an output”. To put it another way, there are two ways in which people can observe the behaviour of language attitudes: either by one’s desire to learn a language that reflects his or her positive attitude towards this language, or by realising the outcomes of learning new language in his or her speech.

There are several criticisms of the tripartite model. Firstly, this model indicates that an attitude requires all three components to exist (Zanna and Rempel 2008: 8). Secondly, the three components of the attitude structure must be mutually consistent (Zanna and Rempel 2008: 8). Thirdly, attitudes always guide behaviour (Fazio and Olson 2007: 124). Various researchers (Breckler and Wiggins 1989; Zanna and Rempel 1988; Fazio and Olson 2007) have shown that attitudes could depend on any combination of the components of the tripartite model, and there are contradictions between each of the components.

Furthermore, the relationship between attitude and behaviour is complex and behaviour is determined based on different factors.

2.2.1. Relations between attitudes and other concepts

In order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the process of attitudinal formation, it is important elaborate the points of convergence with other related concepts. Therefore, this section highlights the similarities and differences between attitudes and other concepts such as beliefs, ideology, social identity and the links between these structures, taking into consideration that all these structures are dynamic and interconnected.

2.2.1.1. Attitudes and beliefs

Beliefs are defined as cognitions about “the perceived likelihood that an attribute is associated with an object” (Albarracín *et al.* 2005: 4). Attitudes have often been comprehended as beliefs which link positive or negative assessment to objects. According to Gibbons and Ramirez (2004: 99), it is extremely difficult to distinguish between attitudes and beliefs, so, they prefer to use one term for both. Rokeach (1968, as cited in Ianos 2014: 106) had a different view, that is, attitude is “a system of beliefs and, consequently, placed attitudes at a superordinate structural level”.

According to the belief-based perspective, in the expectancy-value model, “attitudes develop reasonably from the beliefs people hold about the object of the attitude” (Ajzen: 1991: 191). Ajzen and Fishbein (2005: 35) state that attitudes emerge from the attributes of the belief and the evaluation of these attributes associated with an object. The main difference between attitudes and beliefs is seen in the evaluative aspect. Moreover, Edwards (2004: 139) conceptualises attitudes as “belief amplified by affect”.

The probability of validation was employed as a criterion by Eagly and Chaiken, (1993: 132) to differentiate the concepts of attitudes and beliefs; they argued that although certain beliefs could be verified by objective criteria, attitudes were not externally validated. At the measurement level, there is a considerable overlap between the two concepts. Edwards (1999: 109) attributes this to the deficiencies of several methods such

as questionnaires, which only ask participants about their beliefs and have a shortage of exploratory inquiry; the latter would provide more detailed information on the affective and/or behavioural dimensions.

2.2.1.2. Attitudes and values

Rokeach (1973: 5) defines values as “an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence”. Values are described by Olson and Maio (2003: 300) as “abstract ideals that people consider to be important guiding principles in their lives” that involve the three components of the attitude structure: affect, cognition and behaviour (Maio and Olson 1998: 294). For Maio and Olson (1998: 301), the important difference between values and attitudes lies in the importance of values, as values play a leading role in life, Attitudes do not appear to suggest that the objects are significant life principles.

Also, according to Maio *et al.* (2006: 284), values and attitudes are different in levels of abstraction. Thus, attitudes towards objects can be concrete (e.g., milk, pizza) or attitudes could relate to abstract issues (e.g., abortion, censorship), while values totally concentrate only on abstract ideals (e.g., freedom or helpfulness).

Values were operationalised by Katz and Stotland (1959: 427) as groups of attitudes structured around a central idea. Therefore, the values appear to be “higher-order constructs”. Rokeach’s (1973: 308) seminal theory supports this hierarchical network that demonstrates how attitudes could be driven by values. He suggests that a relatively small set of social values motivate most attitudes. Moreover, the value-expressive function of attitudes has been described by several theories, whereby attitudes help to express values (Ianos 2014: 107). According to Thomsen *et al.* (1996: 191–197), several studies have shown that priming a value allows access to different relevant attitudes, while priming attitudes does not change the accessibility of the related values. Consequently, attitudes are a means of expressing values, which are described as superordinate constructs. However, as a result of a lack of knowledge about how attitudes are derived from values, Olson and Maio (2003: 318) suggest that more research needs to be conducted into this relationship.

2.2.1.3. Attitudes and ideologies

Ideologies have been defined as “clusters of thematically related values and attitudes” (Olson and Maio 2003: 308) or configurations of interdependent attitudes and beliefs based on a dominant theme (Converse 1964: 207; McGuire 1985: 233). Also, Van Dijk (2008: 65) defined ideology as a set of common beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge (usually referred to as social representations) about justice, equality, freedom, and objectivity shared by members of specific social groups. People’s broad perspective on life often consists of ideologies, which are “ingrained, unquestioned beliefs about the way the world is” (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006: 9). Ideologies also form a part of higher-order constructs, which are located at a higher level of abstraction than values. Therefore, researchers have focused on the hierarchy in which ideologies influence values, which form attitudes (Maio *et al.* 2006: 284). Furthermore, Dyers and Abongdia, (2010) examined ideologies and attitudes towards language in Cameroon in a sample of 40 Francophone high school students in Yaoundé, Cameroon. The aim was to study attitudes towards English in order to clarify precisely the differences between language attitudes and language ideologies. The researchers conducted classroom observations and follow-up interviews with the teachers. From their findings, they concluded that the attitudes expressed by this particular group of participants emanated from dominant language ideologies in Cameroon shaped over many years by historical, socio-political, economic, and identity factors. These factors played a significant role in the teaching of the language in the particular school in which their study took place. In addition, there were also a few more personally held attitudes where individual preferences contrasted with the generally held perceptions. Dyers and Abongdia (2010: 132) concluded that there was a set of differences between attitudes and ideologies. Ideologies are a social matter, i.e., held by groups, which differentiates them from attitudes, which are mostly an individual matter. In addition, socio-historical events play a role in shaping ideologies, whereas attitudes are ingrained in one’s experience. Also, ideologies are long term and difficult to change, whereas attitudes can be both short term and long term and are less resistant to change.

Moreover, Dyers (1997) conducted a study on first-year student responses to the English language to explore students’ attitudes towards their mother tongues, Afrikaans, and other South African languages in Cape Town, South Africa. He conducted a survey of 252 students, and 25 randomly selected students from

a lecture group were interviewed as a follow-up to the questionnaire. Dyers (1997: 30) concluded that dominant ideologies can be accepted or rejected and shape an individual's attitudes; this is a process affected by personal experiences

Attitudes can therefore express ideologies. This is similar to the case of values; Ianos (2014: 108) points out that "how attitudes can be derived from ideologies was little documented. Ideologies can serve as a psychological basis or as post-hoc justifications of attitudes". Also, Olson and Maio (2003: 308–309) suggest that the influence can be direct, when the ideology or value is relevant for a particular attitude, or can be indirect, mediated through other attitudes.

A given dominant ideology can be imposed through a dominant group or power, as a dominant group offers what desires, which exploits state resources to achieve its interests, aims, and profits in order to manipulate people's minds and impose the ideology of this dominant group, and the ideas of the ruling class (Jacob 1999: 8). Bourdieu's (1991: 51) primary concern is how dominated groups tend to misrecognise and establish negative ideologies about their own activities and how they come to accept their subordinate positions as legitimate. This is what Bourdieu termed "symbolic domination to conceptualize the (re-)production of power relations. Within the social space the relative symbolic values of cultural practices and cultural goods (and the interest they engender) as associated with the different class habitus²³ are reproduced" (Schmitz *et al.* 2018: 628). According to Bourdieu (1991: 52), the habitus is predisposed to respond to symbolic domination as a result of its development in the social circumstances of the environment. Symbolic domination results from a slow process of acquiring structures and beliefs that appear to be common sense, such as people's conviction in the legitimacy of a nationally recognised standard language or dialect. Bourdieu (1991) argues that language is a critical site of power and authority struggles. Various linguistic varieties have been endowed with arbitrary qualities based on aesthetic, moral, and prestigious characteristics throughout history. Those languages (or varieties of language) considered

²³ The term habitus refers to a person's physical state, circumstances, style of dress, personality, quality, temperament, posture, and state of feeling. Bourdieu uses it in a distinctive and quite specific way. "The habitus is a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways" (Bourdieu 1991: 12).

correct, beautiful, legitimate, and so on, are the languages usually spoken by the dominant and economically powerful classes. For these groups to maintain misrecognition of their authority, the market must be united, and all other types of language must be compared to the prevailing standard (Bourdieu 1991). Thus, the language of the state or educational system, or dialect of a language, becomes the primary struggle for linguistic dominance. For Saudi Arabia, the dominant ideology among Saudis is that the Shiite way of speaking in Alhasa is the reference point for the Hasawi dialect due to presentation via official media (television and radio) once these technologies were introduced to the country. Therefore, one of the present study's aims is to determine the effect of this dominant ideology on language attitudes in Alhasa.

2.2.1.4. Attitudes and social identity

Social identity was first coined by Tajfel (1972: 292) as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership”. Tajfel (1972: 292) asserts the idea that the group to which people affiliate provides them with a sense of identity and individuality; members of a group seek to reinforce the status of their group as a way of increasing their own confidence and self-esteem. This definition is considered the main construct of the social identity theory, which was established by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and applies to group processes, intergroup relationships, and the social self (Hogg *et al.* 1995: 256). It is assumed that societies globally are divided into classes or categories that shape social categorisations. According to Turner (1982:17), social identification points to “the process of locating oneself, or another person, within a system of social categorizations or, as a noun, to any social categorization used by a person to define him- or herself and others”. The sum of all social identifications defining an individual forms his or her social identity (Turner 1982: 18).

Hogg and Smith (2007: 120) examined attitudes from a social identity perspective and conceptualised attitudes as “normative attributes of social groups that define who we are and provide us with an identity in society”. Group normative attitudes, which express intergroup similarities and differences (in-group and out-group), are reflected by individual attitudes. Attitudes are linked to group membership, which is adopted in the process of identity construction. By belonging to different groups, people acquire normative

attitudes of these various groups and accordingly construct their attitudinal individuality (Ianos 2014: 109). In this regard, Sherif (1936: 203) states that “man’s socialization is revealed mainly in his attitudes formed in relation to the values or norms of his reference group or groups”. Therefore, people “adopt the prototypic ingroup attitudes as their own” (Wood 2000: 557). In this sense, an individual’s attitudes are depersonalised through self-categorization so that they correspond to the prototype that represents “genuine attitude change” (Hogg and Smith 2007: 96).

Attitudinal change was explained by Turner (1982: 21) as the process of “referent informational influence”, whereby attitudes are modified to conform to the cognitive representation of normative attitudes. Furthermore, Wood (2000: 577) argues that attitudinal change is maximised when group membership is important because the driver of influence is the social identification of the individual. This is because agreement within the group indicates that the shared attitudes reflect reality and therefore reinforces an individual’s subjective certainty (Wood 2000: 577–588).

Moreover, one can employ attitudes to classify other people in order to deduce their group membership. An individual’s group membership can also assist in inferring their attitudes. This occurs because social groups are embodied as category prototypes that are “fuzzy sets of interrelated attributes” (Hogg *et al.* 2004: 253). These attributes contain physical features, preferences for clothing, behaviours, emotions, ways of speech and attitudes towards different objects (Ianos 2014: 110). Hogg and Smith, (2007: 89) consider that attitudes “are windows on identity”, as they assist in defining and expressing an individual’s identity, and in deducing the identities of other people with whom an individual interacts.

2.2.1.5. Attitudes and behaviour

Behaviour is usually defined as the observable actions of a person (Albarracín *et al.* 2005: 3). One of the greatest disagreements in the field is based on the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. This relationship, for many researchers, is so vital that guiding behaviours were made a defining aspect of the concept of attitude (Oppenheim 1982; Ajzen 1988; Johnson and Boynton 2010). Attitudes have been

assumed to be causally related to behaviour, as they were “always seen as precursors of behaviour, as determinants of how a person will actually behave in his daily affairs” (Cohen 1964: 138).

Wicker (1969) challenged the claim of attitudes being antecedent to behaviour. In a review of 42 studies, he found that around 30 of them had few correlations between attitudes and behaviour and some roughly zero, and so he considered a relationship between attitudes and behaviour to be unlikely. Wicker (1969: 75) went even further, questioning the existence of attitudes: “the review provides little evidence to support the postulated existence of stable, underlying attitudes within the individual which influence both his verbal expressions and his actions”.

Fishbein and Ajzen (1974: 59) attribute the relatively weak relationship between attitudes and behaviour as being due to adopting various levels of specificity in measuring attitudes and behaviours. According to Fishbein and Ajzen (1974: 60), several studies used a single specificity behavioural measure to represent the measurement of all attitudes. For example, attitude towards foreign languages, attitude towards English and attitude towards speaking English in the classroom have different levels of specificity. Connecting a specific behaviour such as visiting England on a summer holiday or watching a television programme in English to a more general attitude towards English could clearly lead to disappointing results. Fishbein and Ajzen (1974: 68) indicate that the correspondence of attitudes improved when combining behaviours across situations and forms of action to obtain a general measure. Meta-analysis by Kraus (1995: 8) confirmed that stronger relations between attitudes and behaviour are evident when the same level of specificity is examined. Consequently, attitudes and behaviour have to be examined at an equal level of specificity (Eagly and Chaiken 1993; Johnson and Boynton 2010; Ianos 2014).

Moreover, to best predict behaviour, Jaccard and Blanton (2014: 131) argue that in terms of the principle of correspondence or compatibility, researchers measure a behaviour, implicitly if not explicitly, through four core elements: (a) an action (e.g., to register), (b) an object or target towards which the action is directed (e.g., a foreign language course), (c) a setting (e.g., a university), and (d) a time (e.g., during the next year).

Johnson and Boynton (2010: 19) found that complex behaviours decrease the predictive power of attitudes, which can also be influenced by the potential presence of multiple attitude objects that are salient (Pratkanis and Greenwald 1989: 250).

The difference between the two types of attitude objects (behaviours and targets) is also relevant to relationships between attitudes and behaviour, e.g., concrete objects, people, abstract ideas, etc. (Crano *et al.* 2010: 10). Accordingly, two different views can be identified: the first view relies on the expectancy-value model of attitudes, which mainly focuses on attitudes towards behaviour; the second view follows the traditional mode ascribed by Allport (1935: 141) and maintains an interest not only in predicting behaviour from more general attitudes towards targets, but in considering whether they play a directive and dynamic role (Eagly 1992: 694–695).

Several research studies that aimed to capture the complexities of the relationship between attitude and behaviour revealed that the relationship is controlled by a series of variables. The extent to which behaviour is predicted by attitudes depends on the properties of attitude, such as accessibility, stability, ambivalence, certainty, affective-cognitive consistency, or on direct rather than indirect experience (Kraus 1995; Cooke and Sheeran 2004; Glasman and Albarracín 2006). According to Ladegaard (2000: 215), the assumption that linguistic behaviours are reflections of internal attitudes and perspectives arises from a reductionist view of behaviour. In his study of adolescents' attitudes towards a Danish dialect, Ladegaard (2000) examined participants' usage of dialect features, as observed during classroom observations and interviews, alongside the results of two attitude measures: a self-report questionnaire and matched-guise research. While the questionnaire revealed a relationship between behaviour and attitude, no such relationship was found with the matched-guise task. This emphasises the critical nature of examining methodology when planning studies of this type. He observes that attitudes are multifaceted, resulting in a variety of outcomes depending on the context. Additionally, the variables influencing pupils' linguistic production are exceedingly complicated, making it challenging to anticipate general language behaviours based on a single component. Additionally, Ladegaard (2000) emphasises the impossibility of recording an individual's

whole verbal repertoire and comparing it to their complicated set of linguistic attitudes. This third point is that while studies of language attitudes can predict broad sociolinguistic activities, they cannot conclusively correlate behaviour and attitudes due to their psychological complexity.

Shrigley (1990) provided evidence showing that attitude leads to behaviour, as well as behaviour leading to attitude, concluding that the two mutually impact each other. Consequently, attitudes and behaviour may be in an association of mutual causation, being both the cause and effect of each other (Baker 1992; Eagly; 1992; Ianos 2014).

Several studies have found that behaviours are reflections of attitudes and perspectives (Park and Sarkar; 2007; Guardado 2010; Dweik *et al.* 2014) Dweik *et al.* (2014) investigated language behaviour and language attitudes among the Muslim Arabs living in Vancouver, Canada. The sample consisted of 70 Muslim Arabs who reside in Vancouver. The researchers administered a questionnaire containing language attitude items to speakers who speak English or Arabic as an immigrant ethnic language. The results showed that Arabic and English are used side by side in different domains. They also pointed out that the Muslim Arabs of Vancouver have positive attitudes towards Arabic, which represents their identity and culture. Also, using Arabic reflects their linguistic behaviour as Muslim Arabs in Vancouver. Dweik *et al.* (2014) conclude that their linguistic behaviour helped to maintain Arabic as a result of their positive attitudes towards Arabic, the habitual language use in many domains, and the social and religious structures of the community. Similarly, Anderbeck (2010) examined linguistic behaviour and attitudes in Jambi, Indonesia, in two Malay communities near Sumatra's capital city. The data collection methods consisted of a questionnaire and a matched-guise technique used on a total of 293 participants, together with participant observation. The results revealed that the mesolect (Jambi Indonesian), together with the basilect (Jambi Malay) and the acrolect (Indonesian), form a relatively linguistic stable situation in and around the city. Also, Anderbeck (2010) found that the young and the educated generally have less positive attitudes towards the Jambi variant, which is reflected in their linguistic behaviours through a lower level of usage.

In contrast, the old and the uneducated have positive attitudes towards the Jambi variant, as shown by their linguistic behaviour.

2.2.1.6. Attitudes and motivation

Motivation is associated with how “behaviour gets started, is energized, is sustained, is directed, is stopped and what kind of subjective reaction is present in the organism when all this is going on” (Jones 1955: vii). More specifically, motivation energises and guides behaviour through motives, which reflect “goals or end-states toward which people strive” (Eagly and Chaiken 2005: 753), such simulating high class or educated people’s way of speaking. While both are related to behaviour, Newcomb (1950, as cited in Baker 1992: 14) asserts that attitudes and motivations are distinct in terms of stability and generality, with attitudes being more general and permanent. Additionally, motives have a directing state, while attitudes do not, and are goal directed, whereas attitudes are object directed (Baker 1992: 14).

Both concepts have evolved independently of social psychology, each with its own research tradition, assumptions, and researchers. However, the area of linguistic studies has moved in the opposite direction, towards conceptual unification. The similarities between the concepts were stressed and distinctions omitted to the point that conceptualisations of attitude and motivation, as well as their interaction, were muddled and confusing (Ellis 1985:117; Baker 1992: 14).

McGuire (1985: 241) asserts that the distinction is necessary only if “the differentiated variables have a separate relationship to the third variables of interest”. At the same time, according to Chambers (1999: 26), other scholars later argue that it is important to differentiate attitude and motivation, emphasising that “to tackle both concepts as if they were one is misguided and turns out to be of very little help”. Nonetheless, Ianos (2014: 111) argues that attitude and motivation are two distinct concepts that are intricately linked by the use of social psychology’s assumptions and observations. On the one hand, motivations have the potential to influence attitudinal mechanisms. Motivations such as accuracy, defence, and impression affect information processing and, subsequently, attitude formation and adjustment, as well as the relationship between attitude and action (Fazio 1990: 76; Chen and Chaiken 1999: 78; Eagly and Chaiken 2005: 753).

On the other hand, attitudes can play a role in the emergence of motivation. Atkinson and Feather's (1966) motivation model emphasises the critical role of attitudes. According to the model, individuals' motivation to participate in a behaviour is contingent upon their anticipation of success and the perceived importance of that behaviour. The meaning assigned to an action reflects the attitude towards that behaviour (Cochran *et al.* 2010: 571).

In terms of language attitudes, speakers' attitudes towards a particular language/dialect can motivate them to choose another language/dialect. As a result, Giles *et al.* (1991) established the theory of communication accommodation. Two fundamental concepts underpin communication accommodation theory. The first is convergence, which is described as a technique by which speakers adapt their communicative behaviour to their interlocutors by minimising communication differences (Giles *et al.* 1991: 7). In other words, convergence is a strategy that speakers may use to make their speech similar to their interlocutor. According to communication accommodation theory, speakers converge out of a need for social integration, acceptance, or identification with their interlocutors. Social acceptance, in particular, is considered a catalyst for convergence, especially when speakers are aware of or have observed the beneficial cognitive, affective, and behavioural outcomes of the convergence (Giles *et al.* 1991: 18). In the case of Hasawi speakers, if they have negative attitudes towards the local variety, this may cause them to turn to or accommodate their outsider interlocutors' speech, i.e., non-Hasawi, in order to communicate effectively or to associate themselves with them in order to convey their similarity due to their shared variety.

Divergence is the second concept of communication accommodation theory, in which speakers emphasise the contradictions between themselves and their interlocutors (Giles *et al.* 1991: 8). Speakers who diverge from their interlocutors may seek to disassociate themselves from the social and behavioural ideals shared with their interlocutors; in other words, they lack a preference for association (Giles 1973: 92–93). In the case of Hasawi speakers, they can deviate from their interlocutors' speech in order to disassociate and separate themselves from them, especially if they have favourable attitudes towards the local dialect. More details about language-related attitudes will be discussed in the next section.

2.3. Language attitudes

Studying language attitudes is a broader issue than determining attitudes towards a language itself as it involves assessing attitudes towards speakers of a specific language or dialect (Fasold 1984: 148). According to Baker (1982: 29), “language attitude is an umbrella term, under which resides a variety of specific attitudes. For example, attitude to language variation, dialect and speech style, learning a new language”. Obols (2002: 1) states that studying speakers’ attitudes towards their language or dialect can provide awareness about the following factors: linguistic behaviour, chosen language or dialect in multilingual or various speech communities, language or dialect prestige, and language or dialect loyalty.

Recently, attitudes towards speech variation have become a concern of linguists, and an object of popular interest and evaluation (Dahlbäck 2009: 65). Attitudes towards speech varieties differ according to the gender of the listener and the speaker. For example, Trudgill (1983: 175) found that women, in general, are more positive towards standard variation than men are, and more prone to consider themselves closer to the standard dialect. Dahlbäck (2009: 66) argues that four criteria can be adopted to make hypotheses about attitudes towards dialects. The first criterion is distance to place, in which the dialects spoken far from the speaker’s area of habitation are more popular than the dialects of nearby places. This would “probably relate to general tendencies of mistrust and rivalry between adjacent groups” (Dahlbäck 2009: 66). The second criterion relates to social connotation, whereby the attitudes towards dialect are specified by attitudes towards the users of the dialects or the features of life in that area. For example, British people have been shown to hold negative views towards urban accents, especially that of London, and a high estimation of rural accents (Trudgill 1983: 176). The third criterion relates to the power of the area in which the dialect is spoken. On the one hand, negative evaluation of the spoken dialect in areas of dominant power such as a capital city may have its origin in a reaction against this dominance. On the other hand, power may also be an attractive feature, particularly when it is mediated through the domination of the media (Andersson 1985: 87). The fourth criterion relates to linguistic distance: the more geographically separated the dialects, the more likely it is that the remote dialect will be disliked (Dahlbäck 2009: 66). Saville-Troike (2003: 183) notes that “individuals rarely have the ability to choose their attitudes toward a language or

variety. Attitudes are acquired as a result of group membership, as part of the process of enculturation in a particular speech community, and thus serve as a foundation for its description”.

Saville-Troike (2003) emphasises three critical characteristics of language attitudes. Firstly, they are rarely individualistic, as speakers are shaped by the sociolinguistic order that prevails in their sociocultural milieu. Secondly, one of the sociolinguistic constructs that can define a speech community is language attitudes. This suggests that one can make some generalisations about other aspects of language behaviour based on language attitudes in a particular speech community. Finally, this contention has a methodological implication: data collected from a deliberately small but representative sample may provide an adequate basis for describing general language-related trends in the speech community (Saville-Troike 2003: 183–184).

2.3.1. Social stereotypes and language ideology

Cognitive processes in language attitude formation are probably constituted by individual and collective functions as a result of stereotyping social group relations (Garrett 2010: 32). People often divide the world into social groups, whereby members of a social group share similar characteristics to others within their group. Therefore, social stereotypes can be motivated by biases, where group members favour their own social group over other social groups (Kristiansen *et al.* 2005: 15).

The situation in the language attitudes field is similar to that of social identity theory, which involves analysing the attitudes of the in-group and out-group towards each other, as discussed above in Section 2.2.1.4. In language attitude research, stereotypical attitudes towards a given language or dialect inherently involve cognitive processes, which can be formed by “beliefs about a speaker, their group membership and can lead to assumptions of attributes of those members” (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 3). Such thoughts or beliefs are not random because they systematically affect the way an individual speaks, involving his or her style of speaking, linguistic forms, and so on. Social stereotypes are strongly claimed to be influenced by the concept of language ideology, where they are affected by “the system of beliefs that maintains, triggers, and directs such discrimination” (Garrett 2010: 33). This means that stereotype functions as ideology, but,

in reality, it is a macro-system, which divides the world into groups according to sociocultural shared features which emanate from assumptions in language ideology. While social stereotypes and language ideology are similar conceptually, it is important to note that they arise from different fields. “While social stereotypes originate from the field of social psychology, the notion of language ideology mainly emanates from linguistic anthropology” (Garrett 2010: 34).

In forming and directing an individual’s judgement towards a certain dialect or language, the concept of stereotypes in language attitudes plays a significant role. Moreover, it is of great importance for researchers who attempt to explain why language change and variation are vital. Thus, language attitude studies have been widely investigated (Giles 1970; Ladegaard 1998; Garrett *et al.* 2005a). The investigation of stereotypical assumptions and the macro ideological system of the Hasawi dialect in the present study will help to reveal underpinning and sustaining factors that led or may lead to dialect variation and change in the region, as found by Al-Mubarak (2015) and Al-Bohnayya (2019).

2.3.2. Language attitudes and the concept of prestige

Prestige is a significant term that emerged from sociolinguistic research on language attitudes and can be classified as overt or covert. Certain language varieties, often standard varieties that exude a sense of superiority, are associated with higher social status and economic success (Chambers 2003: 76). Covertly prestigious varieties, typically non-standard or vernacular varieties that can be stigmatised, have been demonstrated to have positive associations with certain local contexts and can be utilised to indicate friendship and group solidarity (Trudgill 2003: 30). Although varieties with overt prestige are linked with high-status elites, they may also reflect negative attributes associated with the elite, such as pompousness, snobbishness, and arrogance (Giles and Marlow 2011: 172). If speakers use varieties associated with overt forms of prestige, they could lose the solidarity of their social networks and be ostracised and stigmatised by their social groups (Giles and Marlow 2011: 173). “Varieties with covert prestige, which are generally non-standard varieties, can also bestow negative attributes on speakers such as being unattractive and uneducated” (Macaulay 1975 cited in Reilly 2018: 59).

Numerous studies in the Arabic context have demonstrated that the majority of speakers use a prestigious variety, the identity of which is determined by a number of geographical, political, religious, and social elements within each region and which may impact speech in particular contexts (Bassiouny 2020: 19). The causes for its influence are numerous, but primary among them are aspects such as a city's socioeconomic dominance over the countryside (e.g., Cairo) or the influence of a dominant political group (e.g., the royal families of the Gulf). The dialects of these groups become a sign of their strength and have a powerful influence on individuals who come into contact with them or who must deal with speakers of these dialects (Al-Rojaie 2013; Bassiouny 2020).

Several studies conducted in Saudi Arabia found that the speakers of local dialects converge with the dialect of Riyadh as result of its social status (Al-Rojaie 2013; AlAmmar 2017). AlAmmar (2017) investigated sociolinguistic variation and change in the dialect of Ha'il city, Saudi Arabia. Two traditional linguistic features of the Ha'ili variety were examined: the realisation of the feminine ending (*eh*) as in *thalattheh* "three" and the feminine plural suffix (*a:t*) as in *maktaba:t* "library", in relation to three social variables: age, gender, and levels of contact with people from different dialectal backgrounds. AlAmmar (2017) interviewed 47 participants. She found a progressive levelling out of local/marked features in Hail, with speakers favouring features found in the Riyadh variety in the central region of Saudi Arabia, as in (*ah*) *thalathah* "three" and *maktabah* "library", due to the social status of the Riyadh variety.

2.3.3. Language attitude studies in Arabic contexts

Most language attitude studies in Arabic contexts mainly focus on comparing attitudes towards Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic. The majority of available research on language attitudes affirms positive attitudes towards Standard Arabic and negative attitudes towards Colloquial Arabic (Al-Muhannadi 1991; Haeri 2003; Saidat 2010). This is attributed to several factors; firstly: the religious status of Standard Arabic. Alberini (2018: 86) maintains that Standard Arabic's exceptional position is due to a number of interconnected factors, most notably its relationship to Arab history and traditions, Muslim religion, and Arab identity. Standard Arabic is considered the language of the Holy Quran; Haeri (2003: 1) observes that the "language of the Quran separates the sacred from the profane, writing from speaking, and prescribed

religious rituals from personal communication with God”. Consequently, there are conflicts between Standard Arabic devotees and reformers who think Arabic needs to be reformed to follow recent technology, whereas the Standard Arabic devotees believe that modernising Arabic is an offence against the Arabic culture and the whole of Arabic literature (Suleiman 2004: 255). Moreover, what is more hazardous about this reformists’ endeavour is that it might be viewed as an attack and offence against the Quran and Islam as long as the Arabic language is the main language of the Islamic religion (Suleiman 2004: 255). It appears that there is not much of an open door for reformers to discuss any advancement of vernacular dialects (Biadisy *et al.* 2009: 55).

The second factor is related to the difficulty in exploring attitudes between different Arabic varieties. Albirini (2018: 86) argues that in the various Colloquial Arabic varieties, attitudes become more difficult to identify due to their intricate relationship with various contextual and speaker variables. Ferguson (1968: 379) remarks: “Sedentary Arabs generally feel that their own dialect is best, but on certain occasions or in certain contexts will maintain that the Bedouin dialects are better”. Ferguson’s explanation of this trend is that speakers attempt to elevate their dialect’s status in comparison to other dialects. For example, upper-class and middle-class Christians in Beirut and Zahle, even when in their towns, reacted positively to the dialect spoken by the socioeconomically disadvantaged Shiites in a small village in the Bekka Valley. However, “A Zahle dialect would be imitated if one were telling a joke” (Nader 1962: 26). Similarly, Hussein and El-Ali (1989) conducted a survey of 303 Jordanian students regarding their attitudes towards Standard Arabic and three Colloquial Arabic dialects in Jordan: Bedouin, Madani (urban), and Fallahi (rural). They discovered that while Madani (urban) and Fallahi (rural) communities generally have a higher socioeconomic status than Bedouins, the 303 participants expressed a preference for the Bedouin dialect over their own. Hussein and El-Ali (1989: 46–47) attributed that to “a belief deeply-rooted in the minds of some Arabs, that Bedouins speakers are exceptionally intelligent and eloquent, or the close to association between the Bedouin variety and Bedouins nature of the Arab culture which may be evident in some aspects of Arabs ways of life and thinking”.

Thirdly, researchers in language attitude studies in Arab contexts aim to discover attitudes towards Standard Arabic by comparing it with foreign languages on the one hand, as well as comparing it with foreign languages and Colloquial Arabic on the other hand (El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Shaaban and Ghaith 2002; Chakrani 2010). According to Albirini (2018: 86–87), Standard Arabic is in competition with foreign languages such as English and French, not only in terms of its relative status within Arabic-speaking communities, but also in terms of domains of use. For example, Shaaban and Ghaith (2002) investigated 176 Lebanese college students' attitudes towards Arabic, English, and French. The findings indicate that each of these varieties has a unique value. English, for example, is associated with science, French with culture and education, and Standard Arabic with news media, education, and conversations. By and large, students viewed English as the language of possibility and the future, owing to its global status. Moreover, Chakrani (2010) discovered that French is contesting the solidarity traits of Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic as local varieties in his study of high school students' attitudes towards language varieties in Morocco. Conversely, Standard Arabic is posing a threat to French's status as a variety. Additionally, Chakrani (2010) discovered favourable attitudes towards English inclusion, particularly in business and education. According to Chakrani (2010: 199), while Standard Arabic is promoted as an official language and a language of education within language policies, this promotion does not translate into symbolic capital, as French and English are the codes that articulate the projection of modernity and, in the case of French, are associated with the ascription of overt prestige.

From the aforementioned, it appears that there is a little attention in the Arab context to study a particular society's attitudes towards the local dialect. The reason for this, as mentioned earlier, is an assumption that people have positive attitudes towards their dialects. In fact, several recent research studies that examined speakers' attitudes towards their local dialect have proved this assumption that people favour their own dialect (Alahmadi 2016; Altakhaineh and Rahrouh 2017; Alhazmi 2018). For instance, in his study in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, Alahmadi (2016) examined the attitudes of speakers of Urban Meccan Hijazi Arabic towards their dialect. He also investigated whether social variables, for 80 speakers, such as age, gender and educational level, had any impact on the participants' attitudes towards the local variant. Alahmadi

(2016) found that, in general, all the groups of participants (old and young, male and female, and educated and uneducated) have a sense of responsibility towards their dialect, i.e., attitudes towards their dialect were positive. Alahmadi (2016: 252) contends that participants may have expressed such attitudes in order to demonstrate their pride in speaking Urban Meccan Hijazi Arabic, the holy city's dialect. Another possibility is that they were embarrassed; they did not want others to believe they were unconcerned about their dialect.

All the previous language attitude research in the Arabic context, as in other contexts globally, investigated the effect of different social variables such as gender, age, level of education, and socioeconomic level on speakers' attitudes towards their dialect. To the researcher's knowledge, this study is the first attempt to obtain Hasawi people's attitudes towards their dialect based on religion as a social variable. In addition, this study will contribute to the broader field of language attitude research by determining whether the Hasawi people have positive attitudes towards their dialect similar to that found in other Saudi contexts as Alahmadi's (2016) and Alhazmi's (2018) studies or whether the sect affiliation influences the speakers' attitudes towards the spoken dialect in Alhasa.

2.3.4. Approaches to language attitudes

The nature of attitudes elicited from participants are the subject of debate in language attitude research (Kristiansen *et al.* 2005: 19). The problem is, on the one hand, that people in actual life frequently conceal their attitudes rather than offer their real attitudes; rather, they reveal attitudes that they believe they must expose. On the other hand, people may occasionally reveal their true attitudes through their social interactions (Garrett 2010; Garrett *et al.* 2003; Kristiansen *et al.* 2005). Hence, Language attitude research aims to determine the best methods for triggering real attitudes, whether direct or indirect methods. So, two approaches to measuring language attitudes have emerged: the direct and indirect approaches.

2.3.4.1. Direct approach towards studying language attitudes

The direct approach is heavily reliant on asking participants direct questions in order to evaluate language; this type of question is explicit and directed at a single point, and it aims to elicit overt attitudes (Garrett 2010: 39). This mode of direct questioning is referred to as "controlled processing", i.e., conscious

attention, in information processing theory (Garrett *et al.* 2005a: 40). Participants pay attention to the aim of the research, meaning that their answers are controlled and deliberate (Garrett *et al.* 2005a: 40). According to the social psychology perspective, personal beliefs can only be activated when the individual is aware of being subject to conscious attention, whereas stereotypes and prejudice can be activated automatically without the individual being aware (Devine 1989: 6–7). This means that when a study is focused on eliciting personal beliefs and prejudices, the direct approach implies that controlled processing is often employed. Additionally, social stereotypes are more easily elicited via automatic processing, i.e., unconscious attention; the latter is discussed in Section 2.3.3.2 below. Several researchers have argued that taking a direct approach is much more likely to reveal category-bound social ideologies than it is to reveal stereotypical assumptions, which are more likely to be elicited through indirect measures (Bishop *et al.* 2005; Kristiansen *et al.* 2005). The direct approach is distinguished from the indirect approach in that researchers are able to easily elicit the attitude instead of being involved in inferring the attitude (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 29).

In language attitude research, the direct approach has been extensively employed (Baker 1992; Garrett *et al.* 2005b; Garrett *et al.* 2009; Giles 1970). Methods that are adopted include interviews and/or questionnaires on specific features of language in order to measure the participants' language attitude. For example, Garrett *et al.* (2009) examined attitudes towards the Welsh language in three Welsh communities: Wales, North America, and Patagonia. They collected data primarily through a questionnaire, which was divided into two sections. The first section contained open-ended questions about participants' perceptions, knowledge, and emotions about the Welsh language; and the second section encompassed closed-ended questions based on the Likert scale. The findings indicated that members of all three communities have a positive attitude towards the Welsh language and are committed to its support. Additionally, members of all three communities reported being motivated to engage in activities related to Welsh culture in order to support the Welsh culture and language.

Also, in language attitude research, interviews were used as a direct approach by Papapavlou and Sophocleous (2009) in order to elicit the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot speakers towards their variety and how they construct their social identity through language use. The results of this study showed that the speakers of features of Greek-Cypriot were negatively perceived by other speakers because features of Greek-Cypriot seemed to be associated with village life and people being less educated. Although many studies of language attitudes have used a direct approach, attitudes, as previously stated, have a complex hidden nature that cannot be elicited directly. To put this another way, as discussed previously in Section 2.3.2, attitudes can be conveyed indirectly via covert stereotypes and beliefs, requiring the researcher to deduce the attitude.

To summarise, the direct approach deduces overt attitudes but fails to deduce covert attitudes. This is a significant issue because covert attitudes are based on stereotypes, which is a central issue in language attitude research. As a result, the indirect approach is of great interest to a large number of researchers working in the area of language attitudes.

2.3.4.2. Indirect approach towards studying language attitudes

The indirect approach employs subtle and somewhat deceptive questions designed to elicit more private emotional and conceptual reactions from participants (Garrett *et al.* 2005a: 38). It is defined by Garrett *et al.* (2005a: 38) as “one resource for hindering or preventing respondents from giving conscious attention to the matter being researched”. This indicates that the indirect approach seeks to shift participants’ attention away from conscious attention and towards automatic or unconscious attention. The indirect approach hides the research’s primary function; as a result, participants do not feel compelled to express attitudes they believe they are obligated to reveal, but instead reveal their attitudes naturally.

The indirect approach, according to information processing theory, entails automatic processing (i.e., unintentional and spontaneous processing; Garrett *et al.* 2005a: 40). Automatic processing is advantageous for eliciting social stereotypes because they are formed prior to personal beliefs and are frequently resistant to change. As a result, the manner in which stereotypes are elicited must not alert informants to the fact that

the question's real function is to elicit social stereotypes (Garrett *et al.* 2005a: 40). The indirect approach can be applied via the "matched guise" technique and its derivation, "verbal guise" (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 6). Researchers employ the matched-guise technique to analyse the recorded speech of a single person imitating multiple dialects. Participants may believe that multiple speakers contributed to the recorded speech, but in reality, there is only one speaker (Garrett 2010: 53). Thus, when using the matched-guise technique, participants believe they are rating the speaker's attitude, when in fact they are rating the speaker's accent or dialect. The verbal-guise technique employs various speakers' recorded speech with one speaker assigned to each variety of language (Garrett 2010: 41–42).

Numerous researchers have used the matched-guise technique to elicit attitudes towards language (Lambert 1967; Giles 1970; Huygens and Vaughan 1983). For example, Giles (1970) used the matched-guise technique in his study. The study recorded and presented 177 school students from southwest of England and south of Wales with various English accents (i.e., Received Pronunciation [RP], French, Irish, South Welsh, Northern English, Indian, Italian, Somerset, North American, Cockney, German, and Birmingham). Participants were told that the different accents were performed by multiple speakers, but they were actually performed by a single speaker. Students rated how strongly they linked each accent with three adjectives: pleasant, prestigious, and comfortable, on a scale of 1 to 7. RP and two foreign accents (French and North American) were all rated as highly prestigious, even more so than the British regional accents. RP, English with a French accent, and Irish English all scored highly in the pleasant category. Finally, RP, American English, and English with a French accent were all associated with a high level of comfort. Giles's study revealed a remarkable pattern: RP received the highest ratings on all three scales: pleasant, prestigious, and comfortable. Giles (1970) attributed the high rating for RP to British language ideologies that favoured the standard language accent over other accents.

While the previously mentioned research used the matched-guise technique, several studies have employed the verbal-guise technique (Stewart *et al.* 1985; Bayard *et al.* 2001). For instance, Stewart *et al.* (1985) conducted a study in the United States that used the verbal-guise technique. Two different speakers

recorded versions of RP and standard American English for this study. Accents were rated using two criteria: social status and social attractiveness. Participants, (American), evaluated the RP accent as having high social status but low social attractiveness. Surprisingly, participants perceived RP to have a higher social status than their own dialects.

In the Arab context, several studies have employed the verbal-guise technique. For example, a study conducted by El-Dash and Tucker (1975) used the verbal-guise technique to conduct an attitudinal study in Egypt, where each of the following varieties was spoken by a different speaker: classical Arabic, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, American English, British English, and Egyptian English. The results suggested that the previously mentioned language varieties exhibit a discernible hierarchy. Classical Arabic speakers were ranked first in terms of status-associated intelligence evaluation, followed by Egyptian English speakers. Both Classical Arabic and Egyptian English speakers were ranked highest in terms of status-associated evaluations of leadership, while American English speakers were ranked immediately below Classical Arabic and Egyptian English speakers. The study's findings show that there is an undeniable hierarchy among Egypt's language varieties, with Classical Arabic always coming first, followed by Egyptian English, American English, British English, and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.

In a similar way, Alhazmi (2018) conducted a study in Saudi Arabia to examine the attitudes of Urban Hadari Hejazi and Urban Bedouin Hejazi people towards the Hejazi dialects in the western area of the country. Alhazmi adopted the voice-guise technique in the study with real names to find whether Hijazi will be able to identify urban Bedouin Hijazi and Hadari Hijazi? and do they rely on linguistic factors or metalinguistic factors in the identification of dialects through evaluating the dialect of speakers. She used Five speakers; Female Urban Hadari Hejazi, Female Urban Bedouin Hejazi, Female Urban Hadari Hejazi (manipulated), Female Urban Bedouin Hejazi (manipulated) and male Urban Hadari Hejazi with manipulated dialect. Her participants were 654 aged from 15 to 65 from both the Urban Hadari Hejazi and Urban Bedouin Hejazi social groups. Alhazmi (2018) found most 643 of the participants could recognise the speakers' dialect, and most of the participants (643) were able to recognise from which group the

speakers belong. Also, Alhazmi (2018) found the evaluation of the speakers' dialect relayed more on linguistics factors than metalinguistic factors. She concluded that both groups have positive attitudes towards the Hejazi dialect. Also, she found that the Urban Bedouin Hejazi dialect represents a traditional dialect, while the Urban Hadari Hejazi dialect represents a modern one.

Combining direct and indirect approaches in a single study is an extremely successful strategy for studying language attitudes. Numerous researchers have examined language attitudes using both techniques (Giles 1970; Garrett 2010; Alhazmi 2018). To the researcher's knowledge, the present study is one of the first attempts to incorporate an integrated approach in which direct and indirect measures are used to elicit attitudes towards the spoken dialect in Alhasa. Additionally, this study will contribute to the broader field of language attitude research by determining whether the results from both approaches are comparable, as Giles's study (1970) suggested, or whether they are contrastive, as Kristiansen's study indicated (2009).

2.3.5. Perceptual dialectology

Perceptual dialectology is a subfield of folk linguistics, described as the study of "the views and perceptions of those who are not formally trained experts in the area being investigated" (Garrett 2010: 179). Accordingly, folk linguistics is concerned with the attitudes and perceptions of non-linguistically trained individuals. Perceptual dialectology "represents the dialectologist's-sociolinguist's-variationist's interest in folk linguistics" (Preston 1999: xxv). The field's objective is to address the following four issues concerning dialect variation:

- "What do non-specialists have to say about variation?
- Where do they believe it comes from?
- Where do they believe it exists?
- What do they believe its function is?" (Preston 1999: xxv)

Therefore, perceptual dialectology investigates perceptions entirely from the viewpoint of non-linguists (Garrett 2010: 179).

Prior to the advent of contemporary perceptual dialectology, language attitude investigations were conducted. Both disciplines were concerned with non-linguists' perspectives on dialect areas, particularly their attitudes and perceptions. Thus, language attitude studies and contemporary perceptual dialectology share common goals, but with a divergence in methodological concerns (Preston 1999: 3). While language attitude studies rely on interviews, questionnaires, and the matched-guise technique, contemporary perceptual dialectology largely relies on maps to elicit attitudes and perceptions and identifying the origin of a recorded voice sample (Preston 1999: 4). As a result, research in perceptual dialectology emerged to address some of the shortcomings of language attitude studies and vice versa.

Language attitude studies add importance to the field of perceptual dialectology by assisting researchers in revealing the dialect images formed in participants' minds. These images can then be used to help researchers better understand how certain dialect areas are seen. Additionally, the value of perceptual dialectology research for the study of language attitudes stems from its ability to contextualise voice samples by enquiring into where the voice samples originate (Alhazmi 2018: 78). A brief overview will be now provided of several relevant perceptual dialectology research studies.

Evans (2013) conducted a perceptual study in Washington State to ascertain how people perceive language varieties. The study surveyed 125 female and 104 male participants, who were required to complete three primary tasks: first, to draw lines around places where people spoke differently inside Washington State; second, to label the styles of speaking in perceived distinct areas within the state; and third, to provide an example of the distinctions found in each variety. According to the findings, the Washington participants perceived three distinct patterns of language variants throughout the state. First, urban areas were recognised as distinct locations with a high concentration of educated individuals. Second, there was an explicit contrast between urban and rural varieties: inhabitants of the state's eastern region were portrayed as adopting rural and farming lifestyles and were labelled "country" (Evans 2013: 286). Third, participants' comments and labelling indicate that Washington has a reasonable level of linguistic security, as many participants referred to the state's linguistic variety as "standard", "normal", or "normal English" (Evans

2013: 284). Evans maintains that her study provided a detailed perceptual account since it was regionally focused and asked participants about their perceptions of their region, rather than the entire country or neighbouring regions. Concentrating participants' attention on their local region would result in more precise and thorough data.

Similarly, Bucholtz *et al.* (2007) conducted regionally based research to ascertain Californians' perceptions of dialect areas in California. The study sample consisted of undergraduate students from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Participants were asked to complete two tasks: first, to label dialect areas in California on a map; and second, to respond to survey questions, which included open-ended questions designed to elicit participants' opinions about where they assumed people spoke the best English and where they assumed people spoke the worst English in California. The study discovered that Northern California and Southern California were the most frequently labelled regions. The Northern Californian dialect was deemed Standard English by participants, whereas the Southern Californian dialect was deemed broken English (referring to incorrect or awkwardly structured English, usually spoken or written by non-natives). Additionally, the majority of participants thought that Northern Californians spoke the best English, while Southern Californians were perceived as speaking the worst English.

Preston (1999) proposed a method for contemporary perceptual dialectology called dialect identification. The purpose of this method is to determine whether a speaker's speech perception is limited to "phonetic processing of the speech signal" or if it extends to metalinguistic factors that help identify the speaker's regional variety or language (Niedzielski 1999: 63). Several studies have been conducted on perceptions of speech, focusing on the effects of linguistic factors (Niedzielski 1999; Lees 2000; Hay *et al.* 2006; Bellamy 2010) or metalinguistic factors (Hay and Drager 2010; Hay *et al.* 2018) on speech perceptions of voice samples. Since the present study focuses on linguistic factors, several studies will be reviewed.

In New Zealand, Hay *et al.* (2006) enrolled 49 New Zealand participants, who listened to sentences read by a native English speaker from New Zealand. Each sentence was placed on an answer sheet, and participants were instructed to focus on a certain word beginning with a distinct vowel in each sentence.

They were then instructed to match the vowels they had heard to those on a synthesised vowel continuum. Half of the participants were given an answer sheet bearing a New Zealander label, while the other half were given an answer sheet with an Australian label. “It is worth noting that the Australian and New Zealand dialects differ significantly in terms of the realisation of the vowel, /i/, which is raised in Australian English and is centralised in NZE” (Hay *et al.* 2006: 354). The experiment’s findings indicated that when the term Australian appeared on the answer sheet, participants were more likely to select the elevated variant /I/ than when the New Zealand label appeared. Similarly, the latter group chose the central variation /I/ more frequently because it is a characteristic of New Zealanders’ speech.

Similarly, Bellamy (2010) conducted a study in Manchester with a sample of 47 young participants from Manchester. The research aimed to discover the participants’ perspective towards the English variants spoken in Manchester, Liverpool and York. Bellamy presented to the participants three different speakers of these variants reading a passage. Participants evaluated the speakers using a five-point Likert-scale. Then they were asked to answer questions related to the dialect of the speakers, via a voice allocation method. The results revealed that high-prestige speakers were associated with better-paid employment and better education.

The current study will combine interviews and a matched-guise approach from language attitude research with a voice allocation method from perceptual dialectology; Alhazmi (2018: 84) argued that both fields may considerably benefit from using the methodologies of the other.

2.5. Conclusion

In summary, this chapter reviewed the points of convergence between attitudes and other related concepts (beliefs, values, ideology, social identity, and behaviour). This chapter discussed the language attitude studies conducted in Arabic contexts and the areas studied. Additionally, this chapter has demonstrated the efficacy of broad methodological approaches (direct and indirect) in studying language attitudes (Cargile *et al.* 1994; Garret *et al.* 2003; Garrett 2010). This evidence serves as the foundation for the present study, which will employ both direct and indirect approaches

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used to identify the attitudes of Hasawi people towards the Hasawi dialect, taking into account sex and gender. This is a mixed-methods study where both qualitative and quantitative data were collected via two different methods: interviews and the matched-guise technique (MGT). This chapter begins with a presentation of the social variables examined in this study, followed by the design of each method used in this study as well as a detailed profile of the participants. Permission from the participants was obtained to ensure that this research project complies and adheres to the ethical procedure expected by the University of East Anglia and the wider discipline of linguistics. The difficulties encountered in the research during data gathering are also discussed in detail. In addition, the preliminary results obtained from the first and second pilot study are discussed in this chapter.

3.2. Variables of the study

Social variables that influence the linguistic features (lexical, phonological, syntactic) that speakers choose to use have been studied over the last 50 years. These include such aspects as gender, for example, in Norwich, UK (Trudgill 1972), socio-economic status in New York City, USA (Labov 1966), professional aspirations in Oberwart, Austria (Gal 1978), and ethnicity in Quebec, Canada (Miller 1975). The scope of these studies expanded in the years following these studies after Milroy and Milroy (1985) linked these variables to social networks (neighbourhood, family, occupation, etc.), in which individuals speak in similar ways to the people around them. However, religion as a social variable has not been considered as a measure of group identity or ideology/beliefs regarding language and language maintenance (Omoniyi and Fishman 2006: 2), although it has been accepted as a major factor in language usage (Zuckermann 2006: 237). In recent years, there has been a rising tendency to conduct research on the intersection of language and religion in sociolinguistic studies (Yaeger-Dror 2015: 69) focusing on “volatile” sectarian and political societies (Yaeger-Dror 2015: 69), such as communities located in the Middle East and North Africa (Germanos and Miller 2015). In the present study, participants’ attitudes will be elicited from the data and

correlated with two social variables: the religious sect and gender of speakers. In the following sections, the researcher discusses these variables and justifies the need to include them in the analysis.

3.2.1. Religious/sectarian variable

Religious/sectarian background is a social factor that may have an impact on language variation and one which has not received, relatively speaking, much attention in sociolinguistic research, likely due to the legacy of secular western scholars, where religious utterances occur separately (and frequently in private) from everyday conversations and relationships in western culture (Ridealgh 2021: 62). In contrast, religious utterances play a more prominent role in communication in cultures where religion is more openly practiced (Ridealgh 2021: 62). For example, in Muslim cultures, religious utterances are used frequently, and integrated them into day-to-day life conversation, such as in the greeting *assalamu alai-kum wa rahmatu Allah wa Barakatuh* (peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings; Alsohaibani 2017: 41) However, According to Baker and Bowie 2010: (1–2) sociolinguists, recently, have realised that religious affiliation as a social factor is important to investigate because religious affiliation is a socially significant characteristic in several communities (the United States, the Middle East, and India, among others); it is possible that different religious groups form distinct social networks that do not overlap significantly. In such cases, religious affiliation may manifest in linguistic behaviour, as very distinct social networks within the same geographic region may effectively produce distinct speech communities, which may then have distinct systems of variation. Therefore, recent studies are now recognising the importance of this variable within language change and its use in regions where there is an overlap between ethnicity and religious affiliation (Baker and Bowie 2010: 1).

According to Giddens and Sutton (2010: 136), ethnicity has been recently used to denote “the different unequal experience of social groups with specific cultural attributes such as language, religion, and dress codes”. Importantly, Yaeger-Dror (2014: 578) asserts that “ethnicity and religion are not synonymous, and religion cannot be subsumed under ethnicity”, and that what has often been referred to as ethnicity might be best viewed as at least three different entities: race, linguistic heritage and religious heritage. In the

present study, as Sunnis and Shiites are Arab and speak the same language with slightly different accents (see Chapter 1), the variable is therefore religious, i.e., sectarian.

Over the last ten years, there have been a number of studies around the world attempting to recognise and highlight the relationship between religious affiliation and language variations (Keiser 2015; Kulkarni-Joshi 2015; Nicole and Skriver 2015). For example, Kulkarni-Joshi (2015) investigated the correlation between religion and language in the speech of Muslims and Hindus in Kupwar, India. She found that distinct rules for language use are maintained in the strictly liturgical realm from those for language use in other contexts. However, for Muslims, language does not seem to be used to denote religious affiliation in non-liturgical realms. Along with a growing sense of religious identity among Muslims, there is a clear inclination towards assimilation with Marathi, the state language. Thus, the religious identity–language nexus is being strengthened in order to ensure good home-based Hindi-Urdu preservation and contact within the religious group.

For the *Jains* and *Chaturbhuj* Hindu Lingayats, Marathi's financial value far outweighs any interest in preserving a language (Kannada) that is restricted to the religious realm or the home: language–religion associations are being downplayed in favour of regional identity. Also, Baker and Bowie (2010) examine whether religious affiliation among English speakers who identified as Mormons (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) was associated with vowel contrasts (hot–caught, pin–pen, bag–beg, fail–fell, and pool–pull–pole) in Utah County. Their results indicate that variations in vowel merger behaviour were found according to self-described religious affiliation for many of the vowel mergers, and those who self-identified as Mormons demonstrated significantly different linguistic behaviour to those who self-identified as non-Mormons. Additionally, the research demonstrates that religious devotion played a significant role in the creation of social networks, resulting in linguistic distinctions between Mormons and non-Mormons (Baker and Bowie 2010).

In terms of the Arab world, religion is considered an essential factor for language variation and change only in the sense that it marks a “close-knit” society whose members feel, due to one aim or different aims, that

they are united by it (Bassiouney 2009: 105). Thus, a number of studies have investigated the reflection of religious/sectarian affiliation on language (Blanc 1964; Holes 1983, 1986; Abu-Haidar 1991; Heath 2002; Al-Qouz 2009). For instance, Al-Wer (1991) classifies her Jordanian participants into two nearly equal classes of Muslims and Christians in her study. Her results indicate that religion had little impact on the linguistic characteristics of the speakers studied. She clarifies that this was predictable given the Jordanian community's tribal structure and political system. The tribal structure (not religious) is central to identity construction in this case. Al-Wer *et al.* (2015: 70) comment in this study: "This characteristic has been sustained by 'shared space' in that there is no physical segregation between the Christians and the Muslims... Additionally, upward 'social mobility' (e.g., access to services, promotion in the state administration sector, armed forces and the private sector) is not linked to religious affiliation". However, Al-Wer *et al.* (2015) conducted another study on the same Jordanian community 25 years later. They (2015: 83) note that religious affiliation had an impact on the dialect, and they attribute the sect-related linguistic differences to recent trends, especially demographic changes in the two religious groups. They argue that religious affiliation has become more prominent as a result of the latest socio-political schemas, and that the traditional picture of Jordanian culture as homogeneous has shifted as a result of the rapid arrival of large numbers of Palestinian refugees and immigrants. Apart from their "lack of intermarriage" with Muslims, Christians as a minority community are disproportionately affected; they are perceived to be more conservative and capable of using the traditional Jordanian variety than Muslims (Al-Wer *et al.* 2015).

In Hit (Iraq) Khan (1997) conducted research on Karaite Jews' Arabic dialect. Khan provided a historical background on the community under investigation and information on their current situation. Khan sought to describe and record the dialect. The Karaites are a Jewish sect that originated in Iran and Iraq in the ninth century and extended to Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Asia Minor, and Eastern Europe. Hit's earliest urban settlement dates back to the ninth century. There was a large Karaite Jewish community known for its scholarly legacy. By 1951, the group had shrunk to 20 families who relocated to Israel and settled on the same Beersheba street. The dialect comprises several distinctive syntactic, phonological, and lexical characteristics. For instance, the letter /h/ is omitted immediately after other consonants in third

person pronominal suffixes, as in *gibtim* “I brought them”, as opposed to *gibthim*, or *ma:lim* “belonging to them”, as opposed to *ma:lhim*. It is occasionally maintained, as in *minhim* “from them” (1997: 69). Khan asserts that the dialect retains some characteristics of the *Qeltu* dialect spoken in the old urban settlement of Hit. While the community is a direct descendant of mediaeval urban towns, it retains Bedouin characteristics and has little influence from other Arabic dialects. However, some Hebrew words have been incorporated into the dialect due to the inhabitants’ Arabic/Hebrew bilingualism. Although Khan does not mention it, it appears that this dialect survived after the families went to Israel due to the density and multiplexity of their kinship links

In Saudi Arabia, where this study was conducted, two studies investigated the effect of religion, i.e., sect, on the local dialect in Alhasa in term of language change and variation (Al-Bohnayyah 2019; Al-Mubarak 2016). For Al-Mubarak (2015), she highlights that sectarian affiliation has a pronounced effect on stable linguistic variation. These findings indicate that localised dialect divergences, as well as established convergences, can coexist with pressures towards or away from the supra-local norms. It has been discovered that the degree of linguistic convergence with the supra-local norms is highly dependent on the existence of a common sectarian context. Sunnis, who share a sectarian relationship with the majority of the Saudi population, are more likely to converge with supra-local features than Shiites in terms of prestige/status and solidarity in the context of Alhasa (Al-Mubarak 2015). Similarly, Al-Bohnayyah 2019 found that the Hasawi dialect is levelling out of the local features and replacing them with features found in the supra-local variety in the central region of Saudi Arabia. This change he found to be influenced by the social factors gender and socio-sectarian affiliation. Therefore, this study aims to identify the attitudes of the local dialect speakers, on the basis of sect and gender, toward the local variety and find the underlying motives behind their attitudes that may explain their convergence or divergence with the supra local variable, whether these motives are linguistic, social, sectarian or other motives related to identity. Garrett (2010: 15) argues that language attitude studies are not only concerned with documenting people’s attitudes toward languages, language varieties, linguistic features, and stereotypes, but they are also concerned with identifying what determines and defines these attitudes, as well as how individuals position themselves

socially and relate other individuals and groups. Dailey-O’Cain and Liebscher (2011: 94) points to that people construct their language attitudes through taking stances not just on the languages, but also on the values attached to the languages or their relationship to the community using the languages

Regarding language attitudes, there are limited studies that have investigated the effect of religion as a social variable on language attitudes (Riagáin 2007; Yilmaz 2020). For instance, Yilmaz (2020) investigates the impact of sect as a social variable on language attitudes among Sunni and Alevi speakers towards the Kurdish Kurmanji dialect. He concludes that the religious affiliations of Kurmanji speakers who identify as Alevi (Maras Kurmanji) and Sunni (Bohtan Kurmanji) exhibit distinct linguistic characteristics within both groups. Additionally, the issue of in-group and out-group identities has an impact on language choice and use. Alevi have close links to the region and the Alevi faith, which contributes to the formation of a distinct Kurdish Alevi identity and influences their attitudes towards the Sunni and Alevi Kurmanji dialects. Additionally, Sunni Kurmanji speakers studied were deemed religious. However, Alevi Kurmanji speakers were classified non-religious. No studies to date have been conducted on the intersection of language and religion in relation to language (dialect) attitudes in Arabic contexts in general and the Saudi context in particular (for more details, see Chapter 2). Therefore, this study aims to identify the intersection of language and religion in relation to language attitudes between Sunnis and Shiites in an Arabic and Saudi context.

The occurrence of different religious/sectarian linguistic varieties in Arabic is attributed, in general, to a combination of two historical factors: genealogical origin of the dialects and social barriers (Al-Wer *et al.* 2015: 69). Regarding the first factor, genealogical origin of the dialects, the majority of Christians in Baghdad, Iraq, come from the north of Iraq, where the Arabic Christian variety of Baghdad is a settled dialect that is thought to have “evolved from the Arabic vernacular of medieval Iraq” (Jastrow 1978: 318). The Muslim dialect in Baghdad, Iraq, has similarities to the Bedouin linguistic patterns and has a more recent history (Abu-Haidar 1991: 2–3). According to Holes’ (1987: 11) study in Bahrain, Sunni Arabs are originally from the central Arabian Peninsula and their dialect is classified as a Bedouin dialect; the Shiite Baharna dialect is a sedentary one.

Regarding the second factor, social barriers, Al-Wer *et al.* (2015: 69) state that these barriers have prevented contact between different religious/sectarian groups, consequently restricting the natural process of koineisation. Recently, the former Christian and Jewish neighbourhoods in Baghdad, Iraq, and the Shiite districts in Bahrain have been inhabited by different groups and are no longer exclusively for the same respective group. The Jewish community in Baghdad has nearly disappeared due to the emigration of its members, and the Christian community has significantly decreased in size for the same reasons. Regarding the Shiite community in Bahrain, which forms the majority of the population, their variety is less dominant than that of the Sunni Arabs, who are considered the minority group in Bahrain despite being the socially dominant group (Al-Wer *et al.* 2015: 69). In both cases, the speakers of the less dominant variety (i.e., the Shiite community in Bahrain and the Christian and Jewish communities in Baghdad) have accommodated towards the dialects that are spoken traditionally by more powerful groups (i.e., Sunni Arabs in Bahrain and Muslim Baghdadis in Baghdad; Al-Wer *et al.* 2015: 70). In this study, the attitudes of two different sectarian groups towards the local dialect were investigated: one is the majority while the other is the minority sectarian group. The Sunni sect represents the majority of the Saudi population while the Shiite sect is considered a minority group (see Chapter 1).

3.2.2. Gender variable

In sociolinguistic studies, the gender of a speaker is considered to be an essential social factor in understanding the mechanism of language change and the structure of linguistic variation. Studies, (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; Milroy 1980) have shown differences between male and female speech since the early days of modern sociolinguistic research (1960s and 1970s) and have described female speakers as generally tending to use more ‘prestigious’ norms, such as standard forms, while male speakers, in general, have been defined as more consistent users of non-standard or vernacular forms (Labov 1982: 78). The findings of a study conducted in Tyneside, England (Milroy *et al.* 1994) suggested that linguistic preferences for women could be defined as ‘supra-local’, while men prefer localised patterns. Labov (1990) suggests principles on the basis of the findings from research concerning sex-differentiated patterns as follows: Principle 1: *In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women* (Labov

1990: 205). Principle 1a: *In change from above, women favor the incoming prestige form more than men* (Labov 1990: 213). Principles 1 and 1a are supported by strong evidence from a range of languages and communities. Principle 2: *In change from below, women are most often the innovators* (Labov 1990: 215). Thus, according to these principles, Labov concludes that women lead most linguistic changes.

However, there are issues with this assumption. Researchers explain the role of gender in language variation and change in different ways, Labov (1966: 402) states that gender is a complicated social factor, but it is also a significant factor in the structure of people's lives within society. Similarly, Milroy (1980: 113) argues that considering social values is essential to realising the change in term of the speaker's gender. Also, Cameron (1998: 271) notes that "gender is socially constructed rather than natural". For instance, in contrast with Labov's study (1962), the new generation of women in Martha's Vineyard, USA, might have the opportunity to lead the change if their social values are equivalent to those of men (Mohammed 2018: 108). In light of this, Ehlich (2004: 304) states that to confirm the assumption that several linguistic patterns or varieties become socially classified as masculine and feminine, it is necessary to point to the social context, communities or activities of practice that both genders are involved in. Holmes (1997: 199) explains this need, stating:

Women are often the family brokers in interaction with outsiders: it is more often women than men who interact with others in shops and neighbourhood interactions, as well as in communications with schools, and between institutional bureaucracies and the family. Women's social activities and jobs often involve them in interaction with a wider range of social contacts than men's.

One of the most significant findings in the sociolinguistic studies in different global contexts is that women tend to use more prestigious and standard norms than men (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; Milroy 1980). For example, Trudgill (1974: 22) found that males and females in Norwich, England use [ŋ] in different ways; female speakers use the standard form [ŋ], while male speakers use a more non-standard [n] form. However, in a study of the Swahili language in Mombasa, Kenya, Russell (1982: 140) found different results as women use vernacular forms more frequently than men. Fasold (1990: 93) comments on this finding, explaining it in terms of speakers' preference since they evaluate several linguistic norms as 'favoured' or

‘disfavoured’; consequently, female speakers do not use socially disfavoured features in formal styles, but in less formal styles it is not easy to find gender differences in the use of such features. Mohammed (2018: 109) argues that it is the:

context and not the speaker’s gender, which defines what language forms are to be used and under what social evaluations. Central to these evaluations lies the fact that women’s preferences to use vernacular forms stems from their negative attitudes to outsiders i.e., those from out of their social groups. In contrast, educated men who have positive attitudes towards outsiders were leading a change away from the local dialect by adopting forms that are more standard.

There are several reasons why female speakers use more standardised norms (Holmes 1992: 157). Firstly, by adopting standard forms, female speakers are claiming social status in society, highlighting a possible connection between standard speech and social class. Ibrahim (1986: 123) defines this as reflecting “women’s inferior social position” and explains it in terms of female speakers being “less secure socially and psychologically than men”. Likewise, Fasold (1990: 95) views female speakers’ social position as traditionally less secure. Eckert (1989: 256) maintains that marginalisation leads female speakers to exaggerated adaptation of symbolic means in order to assert status; thus, they accumulate “symbolic capital” to assert authority and membership. A second reason is the role of women in “modelling correct behaviour” in the community (Holmes 1992: 158). This, additionally, relies on the availability of the standard form for the female speakers to use (Mohammed 2018: 110). Regarding the third reason, Holmes (1992: 159) states that, being subordinate, women must be polite. Holmes disagrees that politeness is associated with standard speech and argues that it is possible to speak politely with non-standard speech.

Regarding Arabic-speaking communities, several studies have found that gender has an effect on language variation and change (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Abou Seida 1971; Ibrahim 1986; Ismail 2008). For example, Al-Essa (2009) studied dialect contact between Najdi and Hejazi dialects in Jeddah. The results show that older women among the migrant Najdi community in Jeddah were more conservative with respect to the traditional Najdi norms, while the younger women were the most innovative group. Similarly, Alqahtani (2015) studied the dialect of *Tihamat Qahtan* in southern Saudi Arabia; she found that older-generation

female speakers are more conservative than men, whereas newer generations of female speakers are more innovative and similar to men.

Regarding language attitudes, several studies have identified the influence of gender on language attitudes (Loureiro-Rodriguez *et al.* 2013; Alahmadi 2016; Altakhaineh and Rahrourh 2017; Alhazmi 2018). For example, Puah and Ting (2015) explored the effect of gender, along with other factors, on Foochow and Hokkien attitudes towards their ethnic language and Mandarin. The findings of a study of Foochow and Hokkien participants in Kuching, Malaysia, indicated that the majority of the participants had a positive attitude towards Mandarin. The Hokkien participants were more positive about speakers of their own ethnic language than the Foochow participants. Foochow speakers were considered as loud, and the male Foochow speaker received negative ratings for five additional characteristics. Additionally, findings indicated that gender had an impact on Foochow participants' perceptions of Foochow speakers' wealth and on Hokkien participants' perceptions of Mandarin speakers' easy-going nature, the gentleness and solidarity of the male Mandarin speaker, and the height and intellect of the male Hokkien speaker. Foochow participants were inclined to have more favourable views of Foochow women's generosity, female Mandarin speakers' hard-working trait and Foochow men's politeness, intelligence and ambition, but the only trait that the richer Foochow evaluated favourably was male Mandarin speakers' hard-working trait (Puah and Ting (2015)). The present study aims to explore to investigate Hasawi male and female speakers' perceptions towards their local dialect from Sunni and Shiite viewpoints.

3.2.3. Intersectionality

This section explains the term intersectionality, which may help in understanding participants' attitudes in the current study. Intersectionality is a theoretical framework used by sociologists to conceptualise the subjective experience of identity (Nash 2008: 2). It is frequently used to call attention to the complex circumstances that shape the experience of minority and marginalised groups in society. It explores how inequities, prejudice, and oppression of excluded groups manifest themselves in society. Feminist scholars initially utilised it to demonstrate how African American women's experiences are distinct from those of white American women.

Crenshaw (1989) is widely considered the founder of the theory of intersectionality. She demonstrated how the intersection of race and gender had a differential effect on black women. She recognised that a black woman faces a unique type of discrimination due to her gender and racial intersection. Although scientists initially used intersectionality as a feminist theory to investigate the dual social identities of race and gender (Collins 2000: 7), it has evolved into a mainstream theory in sociology, anthropology, and psychology for discussions on race, ethnicity, and class. As society becomes increasingly diverse, intersectionality becomes more important for explaining social groups' complex and diverse identities. It has been recently further developed to account for interactions between additional social factors such as sexuality, age, gender, disability, nativity, and religion (Korede 2019: 28). Various forms of social hierarchy, such as socioeconomic class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, religion, creed, disability, and gender orientation, are included in intersectionality and cultural and social influences. The intersectional theory of discrimination aims to determine the intertwining of different facets of individuals' identities and norms, and to consider these intersections when working to support political and social justice (Yonce 2014: 17).

Intersectionality is used to refer to the interconnections and interconnectedness of identities. It critiques social facts and processes from a conventional and normative perspective (Choo and Ferree 2010: 132). Intersectionality represents the holistic depiction of modern super-diverse society by giving a voice to marginalised and excluded groups; it "calls for critical consideration of normative cases as well as the excluded or marginalised" (Choo and Ferree 2010: 133).

Different categories, narratives, and discourses generate and sustain distinct types of identity (Albirirni 2018: 65). In general, social actors do not share a single type of identity but rather "repertoires of identities" (Kroskrity 1993: 43). As a result, they may mobilise distinct forms of identity for distinct objectives and establish and reconstruct distinct forms of identity in response to changing contextual conditions. Joseph (2004: 210) demonstrates that during periods of sectarian conflict, the Lebanese may linguistically highlight their dissimilar religious identities above their shared ethnic and national identities. The existence of numerous forms of identity requires the operationalisation of the particular forms of identity under examination. Not all types of identity are categorical or non-overlapping (Somers 1994: 6). Nevertheless,

even when various forms of identity converge, it is necessary to demystify this complicated construct and possibly explain how any overlap manifests in different contexts (Albirirni 2018: 65).

3.2.3.1. Gender relations in Saudi Muslim society

Gender relations in Saudi society are based on the concept of complementarity between men and women, in which different roles are assigned to men and women according to their nature (*fitrah*) and physical abilities (Karim 1992: 8). Since men are generally regarded as physically stronger, they are responsible for protecting the women in their families: from the cradle to the grave, women in Muslim societies are supported and looked after by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and children (Ngah 1985: 50).

In the Saudi mind, these hierarchical gender relations are related to the roles of men as providers and maintainers of their families. In other aspects of the domestic sphere, women play important roles, including running the household and making decisions regarding their children. As such, the ethical passages of the Quran that highlight an egalitarian relationship are not practised very much within Saudi society. This is in contrast to other Muslim communities; for example, Wadud-Muhsin (1995: 36) argues that the traditional Malay agrarian economy helped generate “a certain level of sharing with females and lends itself to greater acceptance of the participation of women”. As a result, the relationship between males and females in Malay society “is more egalitarian than the patriarchy of the nomadic Arab culture”. Gender relations in Saudi Arabia are relatively unequal compared to other parts of several Muslim communities, such as East and South Asia. In his study about obstacles to Saudi women’s right to work in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Alharabi (2018: 21) argues that Saudi women rarely enjoy equality with their male counterparts; their rights are overlooked or not protected for several cultural or religious reasons, and they have been regarded as inferior to men. Therefore, inequality and different roles in Saudi culture between men and women may affect the participant’s attitudes toward the local variant.

3.2.3.2. Intersectional identities and language

Many of the existing studies on language and identity view identity as dynamic, socially produced, negotiable, and shaped by particular circumstances (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Darwin and Norton 2014; Ali

2021). This is applicable to all aspects of identity, including, but not limited to, gender, race and ethnic background, and social status (Darvin and Norton, 2014). However, linguistic research must take an intersectional approach to study how numerous facets of identity – particularly those related to gender and language – may collectively influence linguistic behaviour (Ali 2021: 224).

Within the scope of the current study, a possible critical intersection of identity is that between gender and religion in terms of participants' attitudes towards the local variant in Alhasa. While other disciplines have explored gender and religious identity among migrant women and urban settler women (Ashdown *et al.* 2014; Read 2015), studies examining language use or attitudes are sparse. As such, this section will discuss research in different contexts.

Rida and Milton (2001) argue that migrant women from diverse backgrounds may face numerous barriers to accessing English language classes, for example, due to gender and ethnic factors. Muslim women, in particular, may face a third dimension of difficulty due to religious barriers, such as feeling uneasy attending mixed-sex classes or in settings outside the Muslim community, or viewing the target language as more critical for their husbands or children for work or school. These results reinforce the idea that Muslim women's gendered and religious identities are inextricably linked and illuminate how this identity affects language use.

Fader (2007) explores language use among Hasidic girls and women in New York City and the relationship between religion and gendered identity in the setting of Yiddish and English language socialisation. Fader's (2007) study concentrated on socialisation in the educational realm: Hasidic men have better access to religious studies, including reading Hebrew sacred books but discussing them in Yiddish. Meanwhile, Hasidic women's restricted access to religious education leads to low skills in Hebrew and Yiddish, and they are required to be more prominent in English in order to use it in day-to-day life in Brooklyn. According to Fader (2007), these language boundaries are shaped by community borders – specifically, religious ideas regarding gender disparities. For Hasidic women, Yiddish is usually connected with religious study and males. This difference impacts Hasidic female identity in that it is “consistent with the

rhetoric of continuity, which, in turn, is undergirded by Hasidic male authority and claims to religious continuity” (Fader 2007:16).

Ali (2021) conducted a study to discover the intersection of language, gender, and religion among migrant Muslim women in Spain. She concluded that the discursive practices of migrant Muslim women in Spain reflect ideologies that appear to play a role in their identities as Muslims and women. Her results revealed that migrant Muslim women in Spain perceive their native/heritage languages as primarily in the familial domain, to be used with parents and other elders. Beyond that, native/heritage language maintenance across generations can be attributed to mothers’ gendered roles as being responsible for transmitting the heritage language to their children, a notion shared by first and second-generation informants. Moreover, taking on a parental role may also inform code choice regarding the domains of use available to stay-at-home mothers. Consequently, different aspects of identity can be seen as imposed, assumed, or negotiable; however, the case of religious identity is non-negotiable, specifically in religious communities (Giampapa 2004; Ali 2021). The current research aims to explore the attitudes of participants from different genders (male and female) and sects (Sunni and Shiite), who negotiate different identities that may intersect with each other to create heterogeneous or homogeneous attitudes towards the local variant.

3.3. Mixed methods

Selecting the appropriate approaches to conduct research depends on the aims and the type of research questions asked. This study adopted mixed methods to explore Hasawi Arabic speakers’ attitudes towards their local dialect from the perspective of Sunnis and Shiites. The main reason for using mixed methods is the fact that combining qualitative and quantitative approaches facilitates a comprehensive view of the research object (Creswell 2015: 2; Bajnaid 2016: 55). The researcher spent two months (from 16 February to 20 April 2019) conducting fieldwork in Alhasa City, during which time the attitudes of the participants were recorded. Interview is an approach to data collection that involves the researcher asking the participants questions to obtain information about the use of language and attitudes to language (Swann *et al.* 2004: 154). In addition to interviews, a matched-guise technique was used, which was first developed by Lambert and colleagues (1960). Triangulation was adopted, which is defined by Denzin (1978: 291) as

“the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon”. Also, Fetterman (1998: 93) defines triangulation as “testing one source of information against another to strip away alternative explanations and prove a hypothesis”. Researchers can be more confident about the results from the collected data as they are obtained from different sources, which is a strong point of this mixed-methods design (Jick 1979: 608). Moreover, adopting more than one approach gives the researcher “unique potential to produce evidence for the validity of the research outcomes through the convergence and corroboration of the findings” (Dörnyei 2007: 45).

A mixed methods approach involves combining or integrating qualitative and quantitative research and data in a single research study (Creswell and Creswell 2018: 51) with the aim of providing a depth that a single method may lack (Ivankova and Creswell 2009: 136). In a mixed approach, researchers collect both numerical data (e.g., through closed-response items on a questionnaire) and textual data (e.g., as interview samples), to answer research questions effectively (Ivankova and Creswell 2009: 137; Creswell and Creswell 2018: 51). A number of studies have emphasised the importance of mixed methods in linguistic research. Ricento (2006: 130), for example, asserts that best research practice for linguistic studies includes using an array of methods and techniques in order to achieve the most valid results. Qualitative approaches, states Ricento (2006: 130), are practical for investigating “grand narrative[s]” about culture and identity and “the roles of language(s) in lives of people” affected by language policies, while quantitative approaches to language usage and attitudes also provide a useful mechanism for cross-checking data on these issues.

Regarding sociolinguistic studies, mixed-method approaches have been supported strongly and consistently by scholars. For instance, Edwards (2010: 66) makes “a plea for disciplinary and methodological triangulation” in research about identities and minority languages. Similarly, Baker (2006: 213) describes the importance of using open-ended or semi-structured interviews in combination with quantitative approaches for linguistic research. On this point, Fishman (2010: xxx) argues that “every approach to data collection always necessarily involves a degree of error [...] it can never be completely eliminated nor

overcome by any method of data collection”; however, combining qualitative and quantitative methods may come the nearest to minimising this.

Understanding the nature of mixed methods includes more than knowing its definition and when it should be used. Moreover, before adopting a mixed-methods approach, researchers need to realise the advantages that accrue from adopting this approach in order to convince others of its value (Creswell and Clark 2011: 12). There are a number of advantages of mixed approaches that have been discussed in detail by Dörnyei (2007: 45–46) and Creswell and Clark (2011: 12–13). Firstly, the mixed-methods approach compensates for the weaknesses of either qualitative or quantitative methods. Qualitative research is weak in taking account of the context, i.e., the setting in which people talk, and it is difficult to hear participants’ voices directly in qualitative research. Moreover, “qualitative research is seen as deficient because of the personal interpretations made by the researcher, the ensuing bias created by this, and the difficulty in generalizing findings to a large group because of the limited number of the participants studied” (Creswell and Clark 2011: 12). Quantitative research does not contain such weaknesses; therefore, combining the strengths of one method mitigates the weaknesses of another method (Fishman and Clark 2011: 12). Secondly, mixed-methods research provides more proof when investigating a research problem than either qualitative or quantitative research alone. As such, researchers are able to adopt all of the instruments for data gathering available instead of being restricted to those related to either a qualitative or quantitative method. Thirdly, a mixed-methods approach can uniquely provide evidence for the validity of the research results through “the convergence and corroboration of the findings” (Dörnyei 2007: 45). Finally, a mixed-methods approach assists in answering questions that cannot be answered by either qualitative or quantitative methods alone (Creswell and Clark 2011: 12).

This study adopted the mixed-methods approach with the aim of triangulation. Jick (1979: 608) and Creswell and Clark (2009: 16) state that by using triangulation, researchers will be more confident about the collected results from the data, which is a strong advantage of this multi-methods design. Ivankova and Creswell (2009: 138) demonstrated the three main features of mixed methods in terms of the processes of gathering, analysing and mixing qualitative and quantitative data in a study. Regarding the first feature,

timing, the gathering and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data is done sequentially or simultaneously. According to the second feature, weighing, emphasis is given to both qualitative and quantitative data equally or to one type of data. Regarding the third feature, mixing, there is an incorporation of qualitative and quantitative data in the study through data collection and data analysis, or during the discussion of the findings (Ivankova and Creswell 2009: 138). By using a triangulation design, the qualitative and quantitative data are collected simultaneously (timing), concentrating on both types or on one of the two types of data (weighting). Mixing occurs either during the analysis, or during the interpretation and discussion of the results (Ivankova and Creswell 2009: 142). In this study, both qualitative and quantitative data were analysed simultaneously, and equal importance was given to both types of data.

It must be noted that the method of triangulation is not without its critics; as Almalki (2016: 291–292) states, the triangulation approach “lie[s] in the considerable effort and expertise that is required to draw everything together and the potential for further research and/or investigation being required as a result of discrepancies within the data sets”. Moreover, Kumar (2019: 32) mentions that the triangulation approach may lead to divergence in data sets.

3.3.1. Qualitative method

This section describes and presents the qualitative method, i.e., interviews, and explains how this method was designed and carried out.

3.3.1.1. Interviews

In qualitative research, the interview is often considered to be a core method of data collection (Richards 2009: 183); it has been defined as “a conversation with a purpose” (Burgess 1984: 102) or a “verbal exchange of information between two or more people for the principal purpose of gathering information from the other(s)” (Pole and Lampard 2002: 126). In variationist sociolinguistic fieldwork, the interview is considered a practical tool (Schilling 2013: 7). The adoption of face-to-face conversational interviews as a qualitative research method is beneficial compared to the method of participant observation and

questionnaire, as it provides data that exactly describes the informants' conception of their behaviour and attitudes, and of social reality in general (Burns *et al.* 2001: 187). Moreover, interviews are useful for discovering participants' attitudes and beliefs and have been employed in applied linguistic research in relation to a number of issues: attitudes towards language in general; attitudes towards specific aspects of language; perceptions of deeper levels of individual meanings; and perceptions of linguistic experiences (Al-Adaileh 2007: 96). Adopting the use of questions and answers to elicit information is a method that provides various ways to test participants' views and experiences of different topics (Richards 2009: 184). Individual interviews were adopted in the present study for one essential reason: the sensitivity of sectarian issues that make it difficult for the participants, especially the Shiites as a minority group, to speak freely in front of a group of people.

The interview was selected in this study as the main research tool for data collection due to its strengths, which align with the aim of this research. The strengths of an interview are that it allows for greater, in-depth comprehension of the issue under investigation; it has a higher response rate than other instruments as the participants are involved and motivated (Cohen *et al.* 2018: 506–508). Interviews also allow the participants to explain what is important for them in their own words, as well as allowing the interviewer to ask for more details in a specific answer and to ensure the participants are answering questions the way they are intended, with feedback being directly received (Abahussain 2016: 85). Nevertheless, the method also has some drawbacks. It provides less anonymity than, for example, a questionnaire, which makes it unpopular with some participants; furthermore, analysing and interpreting interviews is time consuming, and the presence of the interviewer may add bias and subjectivity to the data gathering, which may, in turn, influence the reliability of the data (Cohen *et al.* 2011: 506–508).

There were two main purposes for using interviews in this study. The first purpose was to use interview data as an explanatory device (Cohen *et al.* 2018: 506), which might assist in realising and explaining the main factors behind participants' perspectives on their dialect. Secondly, the interviews contribute to providing some thoughts for suggestions and recommendations, which help in developing an in-depth understanding of the Hasawi people's attitudes towards their own dialect. This information has been

gathered from interviews with Sunni and Shiite male and female speakers from Imam University's students on the Alhasa campus.

3.3.1.2. Previous studies using interviews in the Arabic context

The aim of this section is to consider several studies conducted in the Arabic context and the methodology they adopted in their research, specifically focusing on religion and sectarianism. For example, an earlier study was carried out by Holes (1983: 437–439) to identify the patterns of communal language variation in Bahrain using samples from two Islamic sect believers (Sunnis and Shiites). Holes' (1983) observations of the participants indicated that sects, literacy and urban versus rural settings were associated with language differences of some kind. Thus, he chose his sample relating to these factors, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1: Speaker sample by sect, literacy and urban/rural origins (Holes 1983: 438).

Sect/origin	Literate	Illiterate	Total
Sunnis	17	17	34
Urban Shi'is (Manāma)	7	7	14
Rural Shi'is (various)	11	13	24
Total	35	37	72

Holes' sample was comprised of 72 speakers from roughly every part of Bahrain. Ages ranged from 13 to 70 years and the sample was divided almost equally between males and females. The data were gathered over a period of eight months, during which time Holes got to know many of the speakers personally, specifically the farmers who formed the majority of the illiterate rural Shiite sample. Regarding the methods used, conversations between the researcher and the literate participants were tape recorded for 34 minutes each. The participants were told that the researcher was interested in learning more about old Bahraini religious festivals and social customs and wanted to listen to their views regarding how Bahrain was changing. With regard to the illiterate participants, they were interviewed, and tape recorded by same-sect

Bahrainis who were well known to them and discussed the same topics. In addition, the illiterate participants knew they were being recorded, and the role of the researcher was that of an observer in almost every interview. Holes assumed that in the interviews with the literate participants, the researcher's role as a non-native interviewer influenced the participants' speech style by causing them to add more "formalising" language despite his fluency in the Bahraini dialect. This issue seemed to affect the Shiites to a much more marked degree than it did the Sunnis.

Another study was conducted in Umm Al-Quttain, Jordan (Al-Kateib and Alzoubi 2009) to determine whether the Druze (an Islamic sect) dialect and culture were being maintained or were somehow being transformed and assimilated among the Druze people in Jordan. The participants were permanent residents and had lived in Um Al-Quttain for at least two decades. The sample consisted of 131 participants from the Druze community, who were selected according to age, occupation, and educational background. In total, 70 males and 61 females ranging in age from 10 to 60 were chosen for the study. The methodology applied in the study consisted of interviews and questionnaires. In terms of the questionnaire, it was modified from those used in previous research on Armenians and Chechens in Jordan by Al-Khatib (2001) and Dweik (2000). The first part of the questionnaire was designed to obtain demographic data relating to the participants' gender, age, occupation and education. The body of the questionnaire included three main parts designed to obtain data on language proficiency, language attitude and language use in different domains. Regarding the interview as a second source of data, informal interviews were conducted in the homes of the interviewees. Various topics related to the Druze dialect were discussed, such as their traditions, behaviour, customs, attitudes and the problems they encounter as a minority. Some interviews were also conducted with members of the majority community (Sunni) to discover their attitudes towards the Druze as a minority group living in the village.

In a more recent study conducted in Alhasa, Saudi Arabia (Al-Mubarak 2015: 178–198), the aim was to discover how social factors such as socio-sectarian affiliation, age, gender and education may influence linguistic variation at the levels of phonemics /k/, /g/, and [ɣ] *gh* and morphophonemics (the 2nd person singular feminine object/possessive suffix *-ik*, and the 1st person singular possessive/object pronoun *-i*).

The study also looked into the effects of the phonetic environment and style on the use of /k/ and /g/. Al-Mubarak (2016) implemented a judgement sampling approach, which involved 89 participants from a homogeneous group of sedentary male and female individuals from both sects, i.e., Sunni and Shiite, aged 15–91, all of whom were born and grew up in Alhasa, and more particularly in Al Hufof and al-Mubarraz (the main areas of Alhasa). Bedouins and village inhabitants were excluded. Al-Mubarak interviewed the female Sunni participants. A female assistant interviewed the female Shiite participants as Al-Mubarak (2015: 185) argued that her membership of a different sectarian background may have had an impact on their speech during interviews, while a male assistant interviewed the male participants as she found it difficult to interview male participants due to cultural considerations. All the interviews were held in different places such as workplaces, cafés, schools or the university depending on whether the participants had access to these places. Al-Mubarak adopted a semi-structured interview approach, starting with demographic questions regarding the speaker's age, education, marital status, place of birth and family. In addition to demographic questions, she needed to select questions that would elicit a narrative related to their personal experience such as details of friends and family, humorous or awkward stories, travel, and so forth. These topics involved questions about the participants' opinions about linguistic features, e.g., stereotypes, trends, prestigious varieties or standardisation vs. colloquialism. Such questions needed to be asked near the end of the interview to avoid drawing participants' attention to the way they spoke. All interviews were recorded and lasted from 20 to 40 minutes, and in some cases extending to 60 minutes (Al-Mubarak 2016: 178–198).

In terms of language attitudes, to the researcher's knowledge, no study in the Arabic context has used interviews to elicit attitudes towards a given variety but they have been used in different contexts (Ong 2005; Sophocleous 2009). For instance, Kyriakou (2016) adopted the interview method in order to examine students' language attitudes. These interviews sought to find out students' attitudes towards the Greek-Cypriot variety and its speakers. A semi-structured interview was designed, and new questions and sub-themes were allowed to emerge and were discussed. Six male and six female students were interviewed, with four students from each age group (12, 15 and 18-year-old students).

3.3.1.3. Interview design and procedure

There are two main types of research interview: structured and semi-structured. The present study used a semi-structured interview because it allows for the interview to take a different direction, which under the guidance of the interviewer could lead to new information (Dörnyei 2007: 136; Richards 2009: 186). The researcher may think of other interesting questions or topics during the interview, and a semi-structured interview allows for new questions to be asked and new topics to be discussed; this is in contrast to a structured interview, which has a controlled and permitted set of questions.

The interview designed for this study consisted of 12 questions that were divided into three sets. The first set of questions was designed to explore the participants' views about other Saudi dialects. The second set was designed to explore attitudes towards the Hasawi variety. The third set was more precise and related to their attitudes from a sectarian perspective (Appendix 1). Additionally, there may be subsequent questions that emerged, which may serve the interests of the researcher. Most of the questions were indirect and began with 'what' or 'how' or asked for an example. The researcher attempted to avoid closed 'yes' or 'no' type questions in spite of the difficulty of avoiding this in some cases. However, Tagliamonte (2006: 40) has suggested that any 'yes' or 'no' questions can be followed with indirect questions; for example, the question "were you ever blamed for something you did not do?" could be followed by 'what happened?'. Thus, the gatekeepers (see Section 3.4.4.) were encouraged to ask similar questions that helped to elicit more information from the participants.

The interviews were conducted at the male and female campuses of the Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud University, Alhasa, thanks to permission granted by the University (Appendix 2). The University allocated a room for the researcher to carry out the interviews with the participants at both campuses. The interviews were conducted in a conservative community in Alhasa where cultural constraints make it difficult to interview female participants individually, and where males cannot contact a female if she is not a relative unless absolutely necessary. Therefore, the researcher assigned a female gatekeeper to interview the female participants. As the researcher was unable to interview the female participants due to cultural

considerations, to avoid inequality in the results, a male gatekeeper was also assigned for the male participants.

Labov (1984: 32) states that the duration of the interview should be between one and two hours for each participant, while Schilling (2013: 32–33) argues that “a semi-structured interview designed to approximate a casual conversation should take at least one-and-a-half hours [...] as there is the matter of actual linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis, which is the most time-consuming element of all”. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 58) suggest that a 20–30-minute interview is sufficient to obtain adequate data. Nonetheless, they acknowledge Labov’s suggestion that the participants’ speech is liable to change if the interview continues for longer. Owing to the time constraints of the participants as students and the time required for data analysis, the researcher conducted individual interviews of 20–30 minutes’ duration at the University campuses in line with the guidance of Milroy and Gordon (2003: 58).

Regarding the dialect used during the interviews, the interviewers used the same dialect as the interviewees. Wengraf (2001: 66) argues that using a language (or a style of language) that does not match the style of the participants may lead to counter-productive results. Due to such claims, the interviewers in this study adjusted their way of speaking to match that of the participants at all times to ensure that they felt confident and comfortable enough to impart rich information.

Prior to the interviews, the participants were greeted and thanked for participating in the research. They were informed about the general focus of the interview (in the Hasawi dialect) but without being made explicitly aware that the analysis would also examine their individual perceptions and attitudes. They were told that the interview would be recorded, and they were assured that only the researcher would have access to the recording. They were asked to sign a consent form to confirm their participation in the project (Appendix 3). The recording device was small to help reduce the effect of its presence. A digital recorder (MAOZUA voice recorder) was used due to the ease in which files could be copied onto a computer for analysis. The interviewees were asked to switch off their own mobile devices or leave them outside to guarantee a good-quality recording.

The interview started with general questions to help the interviewee feel relaxed. Dörnyei (2007: 137) suggests that the initial questions should be personal and factual to “create initial rapport” and to help participants relax and “open up”. General questions should be followed by content questions about opinions, values, feelings, knowledge, and so forth. After completing the content questions, the participants should be asked if they would like to add anything else. As Dörnyei (2007: 138) notes from evaluation of a number of studies, the final closing questions can enrich the data. At the end of each interview, the participants were thanked again and reassured that the information provided would be kept confidential and anonymous.

3.3.2. Quantitative method

This section focuses on the description of the quantitative method, the matched-guise technique (MGT), and how this method was designed and carried out.

3.3.2.1. Matched-guise technique (MGT)

Accurately measuring attitudes towards a language or a variety has been a challenge for researchers in their development of methodological instruments to evaluate such attitudes and to reduce distortion by external factors (Bellamy 2010: 69). In his study of the New York accent, Labov (2006: 324) noticed that although his participants often held firm views on language, he could identify certain layers of social stratification through their spoken language. Their answers usually relied on aspects that they were not aware of such as morphological and phonological variables in the speech they discussed. This led Labov (2006: 324) to observe that attitudes to language were grounded in social experience and in comments about language that is perceived to be prestigious. This, eventually, produces an attitude towards language that is shaped by stereotyped notions of a particular community who are commonly thought of as speaking in a specific way:

Most of the informants in our survey have strong opinions about language, and they do not hesitate to express them. But their attention focuses only on those items which have risen to the surface of social consciousness and have entered the general folklore of language.

(Labov 2006: 324)

Therefore, methods and techniques have been developed to look beyond social awareness and to tap into unconscious attitudes and researchers “can therefore turn to these already established tools and approaches for investigations into similar phenomena” (Bellamy 2010: 69). As this study uses mixed methods, the MGT was designed to obtain individual reactions to a local variety. According to Downes (1998: 174), this approach has been developed in such a way to enable researchers to concentrate on examining the reactions of a subject to one particular form of speech without this reaction being affected by other aspects. The MGT was developed by Lambert *et al.* (1960) to examine the reactions of students in Montreal, Canada, towards English speakers and French speakers. The methodology was formed with the objective of examining the following principle:

evolutional reactions to a spoken language should be similar to those prompted by interaction with individuals who are perceived as members of the group that use it, but because the use of the language is one aspect of behaviour common to a variety of individuals, hearing the language is likely to arouse mainly generalised or stereotyped characteristics of the group (Lambert *et al.* 1960: 64).

In an MGT experiment, participants, or ‘judges’, listen to the recorded speech of a speaker who is able to speak two varieties of the same language, or who reads out the same passage many times, the only differences being language with either social or regional accent variation (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 52). The recorded varieties produced are known as ‘guises’ (Bellamy 2010: 70). The recordings are played to subjects who have each been provided with a questionnaire and they are asked to judge the speakers in terms of their personality and character, based on the guise they have listened to, in spite of the speaker of either languages or varieties being the same (Bellamy 2010: 70). In this way, the passage and the speaker can remain the same throughout the investigation and the primary different factor is the variable guise used (Wardhaugh 1992: 113).

As with other research methods, the MGT has certain advantages and disadvantages. For instance, as the MGT contains a questionnaire, the questionnaire enables researchers to collect a large amount of data in a short period of time (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010: 8). However, social attraction bias is a very common obstacle regarding questionnaires (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010: 8). In this case, the participants do not

always provide true answers, but rather give what they consider a desirable or expected answer (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010: 8). Consequently, this bias impacts upon the validity of the research as the participants do not provide true answers. The use of the MGT in an attitude study allows researchers to examine people's attitudes towards linguistic varieties and their speakers. Where there is clear consistency in the assessments of a group of judges, this may represent the stereotyped impressions of that group towards the speakers of the specific linguistic variety (Agheysi and Fishman 1970: 146).

3.3.2.2. Previous studies conducted with the MGT

To the researcher's knowledge, the present study is the first to use the MGT in the Alhasa context; thus, the researcher will discuss several studies in different contexts. A number of studies have used the MGT as a method to discover people's attitudes towards linguistic variations in various contexts. For example, Hoare's (2001) study on Breton and French in Brittany, Pieras-Guasp's work on Catalan and Spanish in Mallorca (2002), and Ihemere's (2006) work on Nigerian Pidgin English and Ikwerre in Port Harcourt City, Alhazmi's (2018) investigation on Hejazi dialect in Saudi Arabia.

An example of a study that used the MGT to discover people's attitudes towards linguistic variations is that carried out by Kyriakou (2015) to investigate the linguistic situation of the Greek-Cypriot dialect in the community of Cyprus, and the language attitudes and perceptions of ethnic identity among Greek-Cypriot students aged between 12 and 18 years old. Kyriakou (2015) used different methods to obtain the results, one of which was the MGT as a quantitative approach. Kyriakou selected six male and six female Greek-Cypriot students to take part in the MGT. The students lived in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, and attended Greek-speaking state schools there. The study made two recordings because the use of more regional Greek-Cypriot accents might have confused the students, particularly the young students, who were mainly exposed to Standard Modern Greek and the Greek-Cypriot koine spoken in Nicosia. The speakers read out the same passage in the two varieties about an experience they had in the past when they went to Italy for their holidays and missed their flight back to England. The two guises were two and a half minutes' long. The participants were not told that they were going to hear the same voice twice, once in Standard Modern Greek and once in Greek-Cypriot. Instead, they were told that they would hear two women narrating a

personal experience and that they should complete a questionnaire after each recording. The participants were not aware that this technique was aimed at eliciting their attitudes towards Standard Modern Greek, the Greek-Cypriot dialect and their speakers. Kyriakou (2015) designed a questionnaire as a data-gathering tool for the students to complete after each run through. The questionnaire was divided into two sections with the first part consisting of a seven-point semantic differential scale in which the participants were asked to evaluate each speaker on ten personality traits (ten descriptive adjectives). A semantic differential scale locates opposite extremes of a trait at either end of the scale and leaves a number of blank spaces between them where the participants put a mark on the line closest to their answer. The second part consisted of four additional open-ended questions about each speaker that the students had to answer very briefly (Kyriakou 2015).

In other research carried out in Malaysia, Puah and Ting (2015) investigated Malaysian Chinese speakers' attitudes towards Foochow, Hokkien and Mandarin by adopting the MGT. The participants of this study were 240 Chinese people living in Kuching (120 Foochow and 120 Hokkien). The participants were of Foochow or Hokkien parentage (either one of the parents), and they could speak Mandarin and either Foochow or Hokkien, respectively. Most of the participants were in their thirties and forties. Puah and Ting (2015: 451–467) used 15 traits in their study, which were formulated from a mixture of evaluative traits from interviews and previous studies. Regarding the interviews, 12 traits were obtained by defining characteristics of Foochow and Hokkien that were elicited from 12 Foochow and 12 Hokkien participants in interviews: traits are likely to be highly culturally bound, and three traits were attained from previous studies (Liao 2008; Markley 2000; McKenzie 2010). A seven-point scale was chosen by Puah and Ting (2015: 451–467) to obtain the results. The semantic differential scale was accompanied by recordings made by female and male speakers of Mandarin and either Foochow or Hokkien. Each speaker was asked to recount an accident once in Mandarin and once in Foochow or Hokkien. No script was given to increase the authenticity of the recording. The data collection for the MGT began with the identification of Foochow and Hokkien participants through Facebook messages, the social contacts of pilot study participants, and visiting shops and food courts at different locations in Kuching. Those willing to participate in the study

were asked to sign a consent form and fill in their personal particulars after the researcher had explained the study to them. Then, the participants filled in the semantic differential form while listening to the recordings in a quiet place (e.g., library, office, home or car). Each recording was played two times because some pilot study participants had requested a replay (Puah and Ting 2015: 451–467).

In a more recent study, Cavallaro *et al.* (2018: 20–23) aimed to shed light on the attitudes of Chinese Singaporeans and Chinese nationals residing in Singapore to varieties of Mandarin Chinese. Thus, the MGT was used with a total of 64 participants: 34 Singaporean Chinese (17 males, 17 females) and 30 Chinese nationals from various People's Republic of China provinces (15 males, 15 females). All were undergraduate students at a Singapore university between the ages of 18 and 26. The Chinese national participants had all been living in Singapore for several years (2-4 years) and were, therefore, reasonably familiar with the Mandarin spoken in Singapore. For the speech samples used in the recordings, a total of six speakers were recruited and speakers from both Singapore and the People's Republic of China were chosen. These speakers were asked to talk about an incident when they had got lost (a topic deemed sufficiently neutral so as to not influence ratings) without using a script, so that the recordings would sound spontaneous and natural. While the individual stories differed, the content was restricted to fairly common experiences that could in no way be construed as extreme or unusual, thus influencing participants' ratings. The instructions to the participants simply asked for their help with a survey that was being conducted by a team of university researchers. No mention was made of its linguistic nature. The instructions were simple and vague enough not to alert them to its real purpose. After completing their demographic details in the first section of the study questionnaire, participants listened to the recordings in random order; after listening to each recording, they rated each speaker on a seven-point Likert scale in terms of ten traits. After completing these ratings, participants were presented, at the end of the questionnaire, with a set of open-ended questions (Cavallaro *et al.* 2018: 20–23).

With respect to studies in the Arabic context, a handful of studies have adopted an MGT approach (El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Alhazmi 2018;). For example, the first Arabic study to use the MGT was undertaken in Egypt (El-Dash and Tucker 1975: 35–37); it investigated the views held by Egyptians of various ages and

educational backgrounds towards several of the speech varieties used in the Egyptian context (Classical Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian English, British English and American English). The sample was selected from four groups: the first group was a school class of children, aged 11 to 12 years; the second group consisted of high school students from 15 to 16 years of age; the third group consisted of a national university's students whose ages ranged from 21 to 26; and the fourth group consisted of students, aged 19 to 24, who were attending upper-level classes at the American University in Cairo, Egypt. El-Dash and Tucker's (1975: 35–37) semantic differential scales were quantified by the arbitrary assignment of digits from one to six to each of the scale points. The judges made their evaluation using a questionnaire prepared in Arabic on which they indicated the probable nationality of each speaker and their general impressions of each speaker using a series of four bipolar, semantic differential-type rating scales: intelligence, likeability, religiousness, and leadership. Regarding the speakers, two representative speakers for each variety were used, but only three of the varieties (i.e., Classical, Colloquial Arabic, and Egyptian English) lent themselves to the use of a single speaker for more than one guise. Two Egyptian speakers were each asked to speak spontaneously in Classical Arabic, Colloquial Arabic and Egyptian English. The two native speakers of British and American English spoke only in their mother tongue. Each speaker was asked to describe and comment on the Giza pyramids, which are located near Cairo, Egypt. The final recordings consisted of six speakers in a total of ten randomly arranged guises. A practice voice was also included to accustom the listeners to their task and to encourage them to ask questions before beginning the actual evaluation. Each passage was followed by a short pause to enable the listeners to respond to the items using a specially prepared questionnaire (El-Dash and Tucker 1975: 35–37).

Regarding language attitudes from religious perspective, a single study that adopted the MGT to discover attitudes towards a local dialect from a religious perspective was conducted by Yilmaz (2020). This study aimed to investigate attitudes towards Bohtan Kurmanji (Sunni dialect) and Maras Kurmanji (Alvei dialect) spoken among Kurdish people by using the MGT. The participants were aged between 18 and 55; 74% were male while 24% were female. The majority of participants had a higher education qualification (34%) or worked in intermediate professions (29%) and a very small number of them had lower-skilled professions

(15%). 49% of participants identified as Alevi while the remainder identified as Sunni or Hanafi (Sunni doctrine). The speakers recorded for the MGT carried out by Yilmaz were a male and female from Maras and had been speakers of Maras Kurmanji as well as Bohtan Kurmanji Kurdish for many years but identified Maras Kurmanji as their first language. Both speakers learned Bohtan Kurmanji as adults through their involvement with the Kurdish movement and were self-taught acquirers. Audio recordings of the two speakers telling a children's story in the two varieties were produced. The speakers were asked to listen to four different stories which were audio recorded and then narrate the stories in both varieties. The audio recordings were randomised so that the same speakers were not heard consecutively by the listeners. A five-point Likert scale was used for each speaker in order to elicit the extreme opposites of the traits tested. Questions that pertained to solidarity traits related to politeness, sense of humour, warmth, likeability, and sociability. Traits that pertained to status were intelligence, dependability, ambition, leadership qualities and intelligibility (Yilmaz 2020).

3.3.2.3. Design and procedure of the matched-guise technique

Three assessment factors are connected to language varieties and their speakers and are found in a number of communities: prestige, social attractiveness and dynamism (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 53). In recent studies where the MGT has been the adopted approach, such as those of Sophocleous, (2009), Bellamy (2010) and Kyriakou (2015), several descriptive adjectives have been used that include these three factors, namely, prestige, social attractiveness and dynamism. The prestige factor involves traits of intelligence/lack of intelligence, educated/uneducated, fluent/halting, comprehensible/incomprehensible, important/unimportant and upper class/lower class (Garrett *et al.* 2003). The social attractiveness factor includes the traits of interesting/uninteresting, polite/impolite, refined/rustic and pleasant/unpleasant (Kyriakou 2015). The dynamism factor includes the traits of confident/unsure and active/inactive (Zahn and Hopper 1985). Previous studies have used personality characteristics to describe the speakers in the recordings. However, in this study the researcher modified traits to describe the dialect itself rather than the speaker, i.e., social class, fluency, and any embarrassing linguistic features. Al-Hindawe (1996: 5) argues that determining the appropriate adjectives depends upon the examined group, the aims of the study and all

the relevant social factors. Similarly, Puah and Ting (2015: 455) assert that traits are likely to be culturally bound. For example, El-Dash and Tucker (1975) used religiousness as a personal characteristic in their study as religion plays a dominant role in Egyptian people's daily lives, and so is a relevant feature for this study. In contrast, as a personal characteristic used in a study conducted in Queensland, Australia, speakers were a mixture of nationalities and cultures, so religiousness may be irrelevant to the examined participants (Gallois and Callan 1981).

Based on feedback from preliminary results, in the first pilot study of the current research (see Section 3.5.1.), personality characteristics (educated, intelligent, etc.) were used in order to examine the feasibility of selected traits; most of the participants thought the chosen traits were ambiguous. As Al-Hindawe (1996: 4) explains, sometimes personal characteristics “may be simply uninterpretable”. Then, in the second pilot study (see Section 3.5.2.), the researcher used traits to describe the dialect itself (attractive dialect, spoken by high social class, etc.), and most of the participants found this clear.

Price *et al.* (1983) surveyed 64 pre-adolescent Welsh students to ascertain their attitudes towards the Welsh language and other varieties of English. They adopted the MGT, in which a single speaker used three distinct dialects: standard English, Welsh-accented English, and Welsh language. Then, using a semantic differential scale, students were asked to rate the speaker. The labels on the scale were derived from a pilot study in which 31 pre-adolescent Welsh students were asked to jot down the characteristics of four speakers with varying accents that they would later listen to: “Birmingham, Somerset, South Welsh, and R.P. accented” (Price *et al.* 1983: 154). Following that, the researchers chose the scales that were most commonly correlated with Welsh and RP English, the subjects of their primary study. Garrett (2010: 56) asserts that collecting labels during the pilot study instils greater trust in the researcher because the labels are relevant to the participants.

Garrett *et al.* (2005a: 37–38) refer to the preceding as the “keyword technique”, in which researchers collect participants' immediate and direct responses. They assert that the keyword technique should not be limited to piloting scales, but that these yield additional insights when responses are analysed qualitatively. In other

words, they imply that the technique can be used “as a primary rather than just a preliminary” procedure (Garrett *et al.* 2005b: 216). They suggest that in some situations, the keywords provided by participants reveal a large number of adjectives that cannot be graded and cannot be omitted because they contain useful stereotypical assumptions about the variety or language in question. Thus, in the present study, this modification made the adjectives more interpretable to the participants for evaluating the way of speaking rather than the speaker.

A questionnaire was accompanied by recordings and was designed as a data collection tool for the participants to complete after each run through (Appendix 4). The questionnaire consists of a number of sections: the first section was a seven-point Likert scale of various semantics, and the participants were asked to assess each dialect based on the seven traits. Fasold (1984: 150) states that a differential semantic scale assigns opposite extremes of a trait at either end, which leaves a number of blank spaces between them where participants can put a mark on the line closest to their answer. For example, if the participants consider a dialect to be high social class, they can place a mark nearer to one rather than seven, which refers to low class. Al-Hindawe (1996: 7) argues that “a seven-point scale [...] has the advantages of allowing neutrality and has enough gradation to give meaningful data”. Table 2 illustrates the seven-point scale used in the MGT questionnaire in the present study.

Table 2: 7-point Likert scale used in the MGT questionnaire.

High Social-Class Dialect								
High	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low

In addition, a seven-point Likert scale was chosen based on findings from previous research using the MGT (Stewart *et al.* 1985; Giles *et al.* 1992; Hundt 1992; Bellamy 2010; Cavallaro *et al.* 2018; Kyriakou 2015; McKenzie 2010). The second section of the questionnaire consisted of three open-ended questions about each speaker that the participants had to answer very briefly to overcome the validity problem (Loureiro-Rodriguez *et al.* 2013: 7). These questions were obtained from Bellamy’s (2010) study with a slight modification. The first question, asking the participants to estimate the age of the speaker, and the final

question, asking where they would most expect to hear the speaker, were only ever intended as distractor questions. However, the second question, asking where they thought the speaker was from, was added as Lees (2000 as cited in Bellamy 2010: 93) thought that “this could test the effectiveness of the experimental manipulation of the matched-guise technique and therefore the validity of the technique”. This is because Lees believed that although a participant might easily predict the regional origin of a speaker using a low-prestige variety, a participant would not be able to predict as easily the regional origin of the same speaker using the standard variety. As such, the participant would not necessarily enter the same place of origin for both guises produced by the same speaker. However, in the present study, the aim of the second question was to discover whether the participants were able to guess the sect the speaker belonged to, in addition to investigating whether the participants could recognise and evaluate other Saudi varieties.

The MGT mostly requires that one speaker (guise) records two different languages or varieties to be evaluated by participants (judges). However, in the present study, as it was difficult to find people who could use both Hasawi and non-Hasawi dialects or Hasawi Sunni and Hasawi Shiite dialects in the same way, a variant of the MGT, verbal guise, was adopted. According to Garrett (2010: 41–42), the verbal-guise technique uses the recorded speech of multiple speakers. Each variety of language is thus represented by one speaker. This technique has been used by several studies (Stewart *et al.* 1985; Alhazmi 2018). In addition, “it is advisable to use more than one speaker to increase the reliability of the findings” (Kircher 2016: 200). For example, Loureiro-Rodriguez *et al.* (2013: 7), in their study investigating adolescents’ attitudes towards standard Galician, non-standard Galician and Spanish in Galicia, Spain, used four different speakers. One male speaker and one female speaker read a passage in Spanish and standard Galician. Both these speakers had Spanish as their first language. Another set of male and female speakers with vernacular Galician as their first language read the passage in Spanish and vernacular Galician. The speakers were not required to read in all three linguistic varieties because it is difficult to find an L1 Spanish speaker who can read vernacular Galician without sounding artificial, as this is a variety acquired at home and not at school (Loureiro-Rodriguez *et al.* 2013: 7).

For the present study, the researcher required eight different speakers (four males and four females) to participate as guises in this study. Four of the speakers were born and raised in Alhasa, and included a Hasawi Sunni male (HSM), a Hasawi Shiite male (HShM), a Hasawi Sunni female (HSF), and a Hasawi Shiite female (HShF). These speakers were chosen to represent Hasawi people from both sects and genders. The other two speakers, a non-Hasawi male (NHM) and a non-Hasawi female (NHF), were born and raised in the Najd area of the capital city of Riyadh (speakers of the supra-local dialect). The researcher chose the Najdi variety because the participants were familiar with this dialect and heard it frequently, because it is the spoken dialect in the capital and in the mass media. The researcher avoided selecting guises from areas that are geographically distant from Alhasa, as the participants might not have been able to evaluate these dialects. This is because in the first pilot study (see Section 3.5.1.), the variety of Hail City (northern Saudi Arabia) was used, and the participants were unable to evaluate the dialect as they informed the researcher that they were unable to recognise the chosen dialect. In addition, two speakers (male and female) from Syria and Algeria were used as distractors in order to conceal the hypotheses being tested (Drager 2018). For example, Sophocleous (2009) used distractors in order to hide the fact that the other two speakers were used twice in the experiment. These distractors were used in the present study to distract participants from the target speakers, namely the Saudi speakers. The distractors were excluded from the analysis.

Two speakers from different genders (male and female) were chosen for recording as a result of other studies showing that the speaker's gender has an influence on the attitudes of the listeners (Street *et al.* 1984; Van-Trieste 1990; Wilson and Bayard 1992; Yilmaz; 2020). In New Zealand, Wilson and Bayard (1992) discovered that female speakers were scored lower on all traits. However, Van-Trieste (1990) states that female participants gave the highest ratings to male speakers and male participants gave the lowest ratings to male speakers among Puerto Rican university students. Yilmaz (2020: 17) argues that the gender of the speakers has a significant impact on the listeners' views and evaluations of female and male speakers. In the present study, recordings were made by speakers of different genders to find whether speaker gender may influence the participants' evaluation.

Regarding the content, the speakers were provided with a script to read written in Standard Arabic (SA), which they then put aside to record their narratives in their own way using their dialect, so that the recordings would sound “spontaneous and natural” (Cavallaro *et al.* 2018: 21). According to Kircher (2016: 199), the texts should be between 30 and 150 seconds in length. This is sufficient for participants to conduct systematic assessments of speakers. Additionally, the use of a brief text allows for the collection of further evaluations from participants in a reasonably short period of time (Kircher 2016: 199). Therefore, the length of each recording was 45 seconds. The researcher did not use any Saudi dialects in the original script to avoid influencing the dialect of the speakers. The speaker’s narrative was developed around the topic of ‘the holy month of Ramadhan’ (Appendix 5). The two reasons for selecting this topic were: first, the speakers and the subject were familiar with the subject matter as Saudi families fast in this month every year; second, the topic was deemed sufficiently neutral so as to not influence ratings. Regarding the authenticity of the speakers, Fasold (1984: 154–155) argues that the MGT is associated with artificiality. Therefore, the speakers were asked to make recordings several times; then the researcher selected the recordings that were clear and relatively authentic depending on feedback from five Hasawi participants in the second pilot study. However, some speakers were identified as being less spontaneous and natural.

The experiment was conducted at Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud University’s Alhasa campus in a language laboratory equipped with computers and headphones. The gatekeepers were in charge of the process for this study. For the female participants, a female gatekeeper was in charge. The gatekeepers contacted the researcher directly by phone for any clarifications. In terms of the MGT participants, the researcher attempted to find different participants from those who participated in the interviews; however, similar participants were interviewed as result of the sensitivity of the sectarian issue. The experiment was introduced as an in-class exercise with instructions provided in SA, which is the language used for instruction in Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud University, as in other Saudi universities.

The participants were divided into two groups, each consisting of ten male and ten female Shiite participants and ten male and ten female Sunni participants. El-Dash and Tucker (1975: 36–37) selected four groups of participants, each consisting of ten males and ten females. The groups were selected to permit an

examination of the language attitudes of individuals of various ages as well as a comparison of the language attitudes of students at a national university with those of students at the American University in Cairo (El-Dash and Tucker 1975: 36–37). In the present study, participants listened to eight recordings of voices from eight speakers. Each group listened to the recordings in a random order to avoid bias in their evaluations. Presenting speakers in a random order has been adopted in several studies (Kircher 2016; Yilmaz 2020). Kircher (2016: 200) argues that randomising of voices helps to ensure that the same speakers are not heard consecutively by the listeners. Thus, the researcher divided the speakers into two groups and different recording orders (Table 3):

Table 3: Speakers of the MGT and groups of participants.

	Group 1	Group 2
Recording 1	(HSM)	(HShM)
	(HShM)	(HSM)
Recording 2	(HSF)	(NHM)
	(HShF)	(NHF)
Recording 3	Distractor male	Distractor male
	Distractor female	Distractor female
Recording 4	(NHM)	(HSF)
	(NHF)	(HShF)

Prior to starting the experiment in the language laboratory, the participants were given an answer booklet and sufficient time to familiarise themselves with the seven traits to be rated on the seven-point Likert scale, adjective scale and to answer the accompanying three questions.

3.3.2.4 Statistical analysis

For statistical analyses, IBM SPSS (version 25) statistical software was used to process and analyse the quantitative data. Each descriptive trait was statistically analysed. The evaluations ranged from strongly agree to agree (1 to 3) and from somewhat disagree to strongly disagree (5 to 7). When a participant indicates that they neither agree nor disagree (4; which sits in the middle of the scale) with a particular descriptive trait for a given speaker, this implies a neutral attitude. Means, standard deviation, minimum and maximum scores were used in order to obtain the descriptive analysis of the data. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) for the six recordings was conducted “to test the difference between groups across several dependent variables simultaneously” (Field 2009: 614), i.e., to test how gender and sect as independent variables interact with and affect the evaluation of these seven descriptive traits as dependent variables. The alpha level (p) is 0.050, and significant differences are considered to exist below this level.

3.3.2.5. Translating the data

This study adopted a sense-to-sense approach to translation; literal translation is not always able to denote the sense of the original language (Owji 2013: 2), and thus context-based translation is necessary to understand the sense of the original language. While the word-for-word approach can reveal the proposition of the utterance, it is not always capable of indicating its illocutionary force; in other words, it is not always possible to translate the cultural connotation of phrases or words directly from Arabic into English (Farghal 1995: 254).

Whereas some phrases or words with cultural connotations in Arabic have direct equivalents in English, many need to be translated according to their pragmatic cultural functions (Farghal and Borini 1997: 82). For example, several expressions in Alhasa, such as *fi el-nakhal* “in the farm” or *la’gena fi es-souq* “you found us in the market”, cannot be translated literally (as in the previous translations) because the translations do not make sense; the former means “impossibility” and the latter means “lying”. Therefore, the researcher explained how these expressions, which have unclear meanings in English, are used by participants. Wolf (2016: 88) states that it is the researchers’ or translators’ responsibility to clarify the concepts they address.

3.3.3. Problems and difficulties

The researcher encountered several problems and difficulties during data gathering. Regarding the interviews, a number of the female participants refused to be recorded as they did not want the researcher, as a man, to hear their voices due to cultural considerations, in spite of assuring them that these recordings would only be listened to by the researcher (see Section 3.4.1.) To overcome this problem, they agreed to be recorded in writing, so the researcher asked the female gatekeeper to transcribe the recordings of participants who did not want their recordings to be heard; the gatekeeper then kept the recordings with her in case the researcher needed clarifications. Regarding the male participants, the researcher did not encounter difficulties with Sunni participants; however, in spite of their initial agreement, the first interviewed Shiite participants informed the rest of the Shiite participants that they would be asked about a sensitive topic related to their sect. Al-Mubarak (2015: 335) refers to this issue: “it was not possible to ask questions about the patterns of contact between Sunnis and Shiites, as this subject is considered a local taboo”. Therefore, asking direct questions about attitudes was more difficult and sensitive. The male gatekeeper and the researcher had to assure them that their names and the interview content would be kept confidential and anonymised; they agreed, but only if they were interviewed off campus. Therefore, several of the interviews were conducted in café shops.

3.4. The sample

Sampling refers to the selection of participants for study from a reliable population (Mohammed 2018: 80). Neuman (2013: 245) defines sampling as the small set a researcher chooses from a “large pool” and generalises to the population. One of the biggest challenges for researchers in sociolinguistics is how to obtain high-quality data that represents the target population. Fouad (2018: 80) notes that sampling concerns how “the results from a study of the linguistic behaviour of a relatively small sample of informants can be generalised to the entire population of a speech community”. The representativeness of a sample is a significant matter for drawing conclusions about an observed community and requires the selection of those most representative of that community from the larger community. In this study, a representative

sample was selected from among Hasawi people of both genders who were born and raised in Alhasa, and who were from both the Sunni and Shiite sects.

3.4.1. Sampling methods

When researching speech, Labov (2001: 38) states that “a truly representative sample of the speech community must be based on a random sample in which each one of several million speakers has an equal chance of being selected. Such a sample requires an enumeration of those individuals, the selection by random numbers, and a vigorous pursuit of the individuals selected”.

In the same way, Grafström and Schelling (2014: 279) argue that “a representative sample from a population will be a scaled-down version of the entire population, where all the different characteristics of the population are present”. Accordingly, a researcher who examines the speech of a community at a specific site may be able to generalise about the speakers of such a community but might not be able to claim that the results represent the whole site (Mohammed 2018: 81). Certainly, when the scope is diverse, big, and urban, achieving representativeness is challenging. According to Cohen *et al.* (2018: 214), two common approaches are adopted in research for the sampling of participants: random sampling and quota/judgement sampling. Mohammed (2018: 81) argues that practical reasons relating to the community under study and the aims of the research can be used to justify the researcher’s selection of either approach.

Random sampling is mainly where “each member of the population under study has an equal chance of being selected and the probability of a member of the population being selected is unaffected by the selection of other members of the population” (Cohen *et al.* 2018: 215). To select the participants randomly, a researcher normally depends on several resources such as telephone directories, electoral registers or census records (Holmes and Kirk Hazen 2013: 31). This strategy has been criticised for several reasons, including computational techniques and the selection of a representative sample where not all the selected participants are easily accessible (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 25; Labov 2011: 31). For example, Labov (1966), in his New York study, had to reduce his random sample from 340 participants to 88 because some participants did not fit several criteria that were designed precisely for the selection. Therefore, it cannot

be agreed that a random sample is always of interest to a researcher (Schilling 2013: 33). Furthermore, this strategy might not include all members of the target community. More importantly, random sampling means that a researcher has to interview complete strangers and, according to Tagliamonte (2006: 19), the lack of prior familiarity or a relationship with participants prevents researchers from being able to achieve their aims (Sankoff 1988: 175). Moreover, concentrating on large samples is another criticism of this approach. Thus, current sociolinguistic research has shown that it is not vital for language variation studies to adopt a large sample, and that small ones can achieve the aims of the research (Sankoff 1980: 900; Holmes and Kirk Hazen 2013: 31). For these reasons, random sampling has been considered “unmanageable and unnecessary in sociolinguistic research” (Chambers 2009: 45).

The second common approach of quota/judgement sampling depends on prior knowledge of the examined social variable to determine the type of participants needed for the study. In this approach, a researcher “seeks out speakers who fulfil certain criteria to meet certain quotas” (Llamas *et. al.* 2006: 13). Owing to the criticism associated with random sampling and the advantages related to judgement sampling, Milroy and Gordon (2003: 30) state that sociolinguistic studies have “abandoned formal random sampling procedures in favour of quota sampling”. Therefore, the majority of sociolinguistic research relies on the judgement approach.

For this study, the researcher used judgement sampling to select the participants from the Alhasa community. The adoption of this approach may be considered valid for two reasons. Firstly, as a native speaker of the Hasawi dialect spoken by the Sunni and Shiite community in Alhasa, who was born and has resided in Alhasa, the researcher was able to use his background knowledge of the speech community to select the sample. Secondly, there is a well-established community in Alhasa. As Milroy (1987: 27) mentions, it works well in a clearly defined community whose features are already known to the researcher, and judgement sampling is more valid for linguistic research. The researcher of the present study selected participants born and raised in Alhasa, who were from both the Sunni and Shiite sects, and where the differences between the sects (see Chapter 2) were not limited to religion but had a “sectarian distinction which involve[d] several complex and inter-related factors such as tribal and geographical origin, inter-

marriage relations, neighbourhood, costumes, or way of speech” (Al-Mubarak 2016: 51). The sample was drawn from among Hasawi male and female speakers, who belonged to the sedentary population. Bedouins and non-Hasawi habitants were excluded due to heterogeneity, as these inhabitants were likely to have maintained their original variety. Thus, the research assumed that including Bedouins and non-Hasawi inhabitants could influence the outcome of the research.

3.4.2. Sample size

Sociolinguistic research is concerned with the size of the study sample. Linguistic research tends to use a smaller study sample compared to that used in other types of research (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 28). Thus, large numbers of participants are not necessarily required in sociolinguistic research. Earlier research into language variation used small samples as long as they represented the whole population. Sankoff (1980: 51–52) states that even for large populations, selecting 150 participants as a sample is redundant. For example, Trudgill’s study (1974), based in Norwich, was based on 60 participants, while Milroy and Milroy’s (1998) data was based on 46 individuals. In recent studies, Hilton (2010) recorded the speech of 44 participants and classified them into four age groups, and Mohammed’s (2018) study in Hit, Iraq, included 36 participants who were stratified by age and group.

The present study sample was composed of 40 university student participants (20 male and 20 female), aged 20 to 23, who were Hasawi native speakers born in Alhasa, and who had lived there all their lives. As mentioned earlier, this sample size is considered adequate in sociolinguistic studies and is capable of producing representative results (Schilling 2013). As the researcher was interested in examining gender and sectarian affiliations, the sample was stratified into two groups (Sunni and Shiite) with an equal number of male and female participants from both sects. Table 4 shows the number of participants used in this study classified by sectarian affiliation and gender.

Table 4: Distribution of participants by sectarian affiliation and gender.

Sect	Males	Females	Total
Sunni	10	10	20

Shiite	10	10	20
Total	20	20	40

A sample of this kind relies on prior knowledge of social networks such as work, friendship and lifestyle. In addition, in the present study, prior knowledge of sectarian background was also required, and the researcher obtained this from the researcher's Shiite friend (a student) who has strong contacts with the Shia group. He helped the researcher to select Shiite male participants. For the female participants, the female gatekeeper had a Shiite friend who helped her to organise interviews with Shiite participants. For Sunni participants, as the researcher was born in a Sunni family this assisted him in conducting research within this community. The researcher has good connections within the Sunni community, which facilitated the process of interviewing Sunni participants (male and female) without encountering any significant difficulties in finding speakers willing to participate in this study.

3.4.3. Ethical approval

Prior to conducting the research fieldwork, the researcher completed an ethical approval form to submit to the General Research Ethics Committee (GREC) at the University of East Anglia (Appendix 6). The anonymity of the participants was assured by gatekeepers confirming to the participants that their names would not be revealed, and that they would be referred to either by numbers or pseudonyms. The participants were given codes according to when they were interviewed; for example, SM1 was the code assigned to the first Sunni male participant and ShF20 to the final Shiite female. Participants were informed about the main objectives of the research; however, informing them about the specific objectives of the research were delayed until the end of the data collection procedure due to the potential influence on their answers. They were also told that they could withdraw from the research at any time. All participants were informed about how and for what purpose their recordings would be used. Those who agreed to participate in the project signed a consent form as a proof of their agreement to take part in the project.

3.4.4. Gatekeepers

As mentioned earlier (see Section 3.3.1.3.), Alhasa, where the study was conducted, is a conservative community in eastern Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the researcher assigned two (paid) gatekeepers who stood between the data collector and the possible participants in the research (Lavrakas 2008: 299): one for male and one for female participants. Several studies that have been conducted in such conservative societies request help from assistants to facilitate conducting their research (Al-Mubarak 2015; AlAmmar 2017; Al-Bohnayyah 2019). In spite of the researcher's ability to conduct the interviews with male participants, he assigned a male gatekeeper because the researcher had more knowledge about the research than the female gatekeeper; thus, the male participants may have been asked more questions than the female participants. Consequently, the outcomes of the result may have been biased or unequal.

The study was conducted at the Alhasa campus of Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud University, so both gatekeepers were employees (lecturers) at the University. The gatekeepers were from the same place that the sample was selected for two reasons: firstly, they had access to the university facilities and systems, and as Gilbert (2008: 508) has stated, gatekeepers should have access to the research site; secondly, the gatekeepers were familiar to the participants, which made them feel relaxed and confident when conducting the study in order to produce natural conversation.

Prior to beginning the study, the researcher met the gatekeepers at home. The researcher informed them of the aims of the research, trained them, and conducted trial interviews. At this time, the male gatekeeper interviewed two of the researcher's brothers and the female gatekeeper interviewed the researcher's wife and sister to make sure that they had mastered the interview aims. These trial interviews were recorded to find any faults that might occur. In addition, the gatekeeper was provided with procedures that they should follow before, during and after the interview (see Appendix 7 for the gatekeeper protocol documents).

3.5. Pilot studies and preliminary results

The researcher conducted two pilot studies to examine the selected methods. In research, the term 'pilot study' is applied in two different ways. Firstly, it can point to so-called feasibility studies that are "small

scale version[s], or trial run[s], done in preparation for the major study” (Polit *et al.* 2001: 467). A pilot study can also involve the pre-testing or “trying out” of a specific research tool (Baker 1994: 182–183). According to Johanson and Brooks (2010: 394), particular concerns such as “item difficulty, item discrimination, internal consistency, response rates, and parameter estimation in general are all relevant”. Conducting a pilot study may give advance warning about where the main research project might fail, where research procedures could not be followed, or whether the proposed methods or tools are inappropriate or too difficult. (Van Teijlingen *et al.* 2001: 1). The principal aim of the pilot study is thus to discover and determine the validity and appropriateness of using a particular methodology (Antonini 2012: 86). In addition, Connelly (2008: 411) states that a pilot study has abundant purposes such as: “developing and testing the adequacy of research instruments, assessing the feasibility of a full study, designing and testing the protocols for the larger study, establishing and testing the sampling and recruitment strategies, collecting preliminary data, obtaining effect size information, and training research assistants”.

Despite the importance of pilot studies, Van Teijlingen *et al.* (2001: 2) have discussed a number of limitations that can occur. For example, perfect completion of a pilot study is not a guarantee of the success of the main study. Moreover, pilot study results can only give several indications of the possible size of the answer rate in the main project; however, they cannot ensure this as they do not have a statistical basis and nearly always rely on small groups. In addition, the inclusion of the pilot study participants in the main study is a common problem, as the participants have already been exposed to involvement, and consequently could respond in different ways to those who have not experienced it previously (Van Teijlingen and Hundley 2001: 2). The researcher conducted two pilot studies to examine the methods that were to be used in the main study and discovered the difficulties and mistakes that could have occurred and influenced the main study. Regarding the participants in the pilot study, according to Al-Hindawe (1996: 5), “Subject groups for the pilot study must be selected using the same criteria as the subjects to be used in the main study”. In this instance, the selected participants were from Alhasa, but they were excluded from the main study.

3.5.1. First pilot study

The first pilot study took place at Imam University's Alhasa campus, which is the site of the main study (24 June 2018). The project aimed to work with a minimum of ten participants (five males and five females), as Isaac and Michael (1995: 101) suggest that "samples with N's between 10 and 30 have many practical advantages". However, the researcher had difficulty finding this number of participants as the majority of university students were on summer break; consequently, there were four male participants and three female participants from the researcher's kinship network in the first pilot study. All the participants were Sunnis, as it was difficult to find Shiite participants.

The researcher aimed to examine the interview as a qualitative method and the MGT as a quantitative method. Regarding the interview as a qualitative approach, the seven participants were interviewed by the researcher. The researcher conducted the interviews by himself for two reasons: firstly, the researcher wanted to identify any mistakes or ambiguities in the questions during the interview; and secondly, most of the workers in the educational sector were on summer break, and thus it was difficult to find a gatekeeper at that time. The interview questions were divided into two sections: the first section concerned the participants' views about the local dialect (Hasawi dialect) and its speakers compared to other Saudi varieties; the second section was about the relationship between the local dialect and religious sectarianism (Sunni and Shiite).

The researcher encountered several complications while asking the interview questions in both sections. In the first section, when the researcher attempted to ask about other Saudi dialects such as the characteristics of the Hejazi dialect, the researcher found that the informants knew little about this dialect as they rarely had contact with people from this area due to its geographical distance. Thus, the researcher tried to ask about a geographically closer dialect such as Najdi because it was familiar to them, and they heard it frequently. The issue with the Najdi dialect is that it is spoken by the Royal Family and elite people in the capital city (Riyadh), so most of their answers about it were positive. Also, some of questions needed to be reformed as participants did not provide sufficient answers. For instance, they were asked if they would change their dialect if they spoke with non-Hasawi people in higher or lower positions who did not

understand them. Five of the seven participants responded negatively as dialect change was not as important as the manner of speaking: the situation was related to courtesy and not to dialect change. Regarding the second section of interview questions, there was one question that was understood, but the participants answered differently than the researcher expected. When they were asked how they identified themselves religiously (Sunni or Shiite) with other dialect speakers, all of their answers concerned several issues not related to dialect. For example, four answers were about praying with that person, as Sunnis and Shiites pray slightly differently. Other answers were about mentioning the Prophet Mohammed's companions, as they believe there are several differences between Sunnis and Shiites in terms of issues related to the Prophet Mohammed's companions (see Chapter 1). Therefore, the researcher often needed to clarify the question for all the participants in order to redirect them to statements about dialect. Moreover, one question was removed from the interview altogether as it was a direct question about the sect they belonged to. In this pilot study, the researcher did not find any concerns because the researcher and the participants belonged to same sect; however, this was a potential difficulty in the main study.

Regarding the MGT in the first pilot study, the same seven participants listened to two different Saudi dialects: the Hasawi dialect (target dialect) and the Hail dialect, which is spoken in the northern part of Saudi Arabia. The researcher chose this dialect as it is uncommon and rarely heard among Hasawi people compared to Najdi, which is spoken by elite people and the Royal Family, and it is heard profusely among Hasawi people. Both clips were obtained from the YouTube website and discussed social issues such as unemployed people who have established their own projects. The participants completed a questionnaire after listening to each clip. The questionnaire consisted of a seven-point Likert scale of various adjectives in which the participants were asked to assess each speaker on several personality traits. There were problems related to the questionnaire. As the questionnaire was designed using English adjectives obtained from previous studies, which were then translated into Arabic, they were either not understood or not logical. For example, the question of education is usually irrelevant to dialect, as educated people use Standard Arabic in the media or in official speech; however, it is difficult in Saudi Arabia to determine whether a speaker is educated through the use of dialect. Bassiouny (2009: 16) clarifies that "understanding

regional/national dialects is tied to daily life to a great extent, and not academic/professional life; hence, speakers may not have ready vocabulary for discussing technological, learned subjects”. Therefore, this trait caused confusion, resulting in its removal from the questionnaire. The researcher also changed the traits from personal adjectives to adjectives describing the dialect. In their pilot study, Puah and Ting (2015) used translated traits from previous studies; however, they found several of them were not relevant to the Malaysian context, so they modified several traits so as to be understandable.

Despite these problems, the researcher made several gains. The pilot study helped the researcher to realise that some of the questions in the interview needed to be edited to make them more realistic and understandable. Moreover, several questions were removed as they were not necessary or sensitive and were replaced by other questions that supported the research. In a study conducted by Salah (2018: 100–101) to investigate language shifts among Libyan Tuareg, he mentions that “new questions were added; others adjusted or removed according to the answers obtained from the pilot study. For instance, some questions turned out to be sensitive when asked and accordingly they were removed from the main study”.

In addition, in the MGT, the chosen clips in the main study were close to the participants’ interests and were age appropriate or they were familiar with them, which made them excited when they evaluated the dialect of speakers. Moreover, this project helped the researcher to understand how to deal with the problems that may arise during the study such as misunderstanding or ambiguity in any part of the applied methods

3.5.2. Second pilot study

After editing the interview questions and the traits in the MGT questionnaire, the second pilot study was conducted at the University of East Anglia campus, Norwich, in the United Kingdom from 15 December 2018 to 20 January 2019. The participants were four male students and one female Hasawi student from the Saudi community who live in Norwich; one of the participants was a Shiite. In addition, three participants were from Spain, one from Algeria and one from Brazil. For the non-Arab participants, the interview was in English as the researcher was attempting to examine whether the interview questions were

understandable and could be answered regardless of cultural differences. Regarding the Saudi participants, they assisted the researcher in investigating the validity of the interview questions and the MGT traits.

In relation to the interview, all the questions were understandable and relevant to the Saudi and Hasawi contexts. Regarding the MGT, in the first pilot study, the researcher asked the participants to evaluate personal adjectives; however, these traits were not interpretable. Thus, the researcher combined personal adjectives with other adjectives describing the target dialect. The results showed that the personal adjectives were still ambiguous compared to the adjectives of the target dialect, in particular for Saudi participants. Consequently, the feedback from the second pilot study made the researcher adopt adjectives to describe the dialect rather than those describing the speakers.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the basic methodological design of the study, in addition to the variables of study, namely sect and gender. Also, the interview and MGT design, as well as the procedures, have been presented. The study's sample size and sampling method, i.e., the judgement method, were also determined. Additionally, this chapter demonstrated the two preliminary experiments and their findings, which aided the researcher in modifying and identifying the shortcomings of the methods in order to improve them.

Chapter 4: Data analysis (interviews)

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the results that were obtained from the interviews as a qualitative method. The interviews aimed to discover the participants' attitudes towards the Hasawi dialect and its speakers, and how the participants perceive the local dialect from their gender in both sects (Shiite and Sunni). Forty interviews were conducted with 20 to 23 year-old participants, twenty from each sect (ten males and ten females). The interviews were recorded, fully transcribed, translated into English and then analysed. The interviews were semi-structured and consisted of 12 questions (Appendix1), as the researcher had anticipated more questions to arise during the exchange with the participants; however, none did possibly due to the age of the participants. For confidentiality issues, the participants were given codes according to the order in which they were interviewed; for example, SM1 was the code assigned to the first Sunni male participant and ShF10 to the final Shiite female.

4.2. Interview analysis

The analysis below consists of the description of the overall interview results. These are divided into two categories: female participants from both sects, male participants from both sects. As the interview questions were divided into three parts, each part will be analysed separately. As the purpose of the interviews is to find out the participants' language attitudes, the purpose of the analysis is to interpret participants' language attitudes and find out how both genders from both sects perceive their dialect; therefore, the conversational organisation of the talk is not the focus of this study. The table below describes the conventions used in the interview data analysis:

Table 5: Interview transcription conventions

Shm	Shiite male
Sm	Sunni male
Shf	Shiite female
Sf	Sunni female

<i>Italics</i>	Arabic word
[...]	Some of the speech is omitted
//	Phoneme
'...'	English translation

The researcher in this study adopted a coding process which allows the data to be grouped together thematically which assists in this analysis (Phakiti 2015: 32–35). This will then give a “deeper understanding” of what was studied and is continually refined in a process of reinterpretation (Basit 2003: 143). In this study analysis, the researcher created codes for each the interview question’s comments. Under each code, similar comments and opinions of the participants are included.

4.3. Female participants

In this section, the researcher presents the results of the gender variable in relation to sect: starting with Shiite female. Table 6 shows the results of Section 1, which is about the participants’ knowledge about the differences between Saudi dialects:

Table 6: What are the differences between Saudi dialects? In which aspects of language? (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5
Word differences	Pronunciation differences	Geographical differences	Sentence structure	No response ²⁴
Shf1 Shf9	Shf2 Shf5 Shf6 Shf7 Shf10	Shf4	Shf8	Shf3

Most of the Shiite female participants recognised the differences between Saudi dialects in terms of the vocabulary, pronunciation, and sentence structure. Regarding vocabulary, two Shiite females commented

²⁴ This code is used when the participant ignores the question and remains silent as in the study of Korkman *et al.* (2008: 116).

on the differences between Saudi dialects in terms of vocabulary (Shf1 and Shf9), particularly in regard to synonyms. Shf1 provided an example of these differences, as in Example (1), but when another participant (Shf9) was asked to provide examples, she responded that she did not remember any. However, for those such as Shf2 and Shf6 who responded by highlighting that the differences in pronunciations occur through the addition of different suffixes for the same word in different dialects, as in Examples (2) and (3). Several Shiite female participants remarked on the differences in pronunciation as demonstrated in Example (4). In term of sentence structure, Shf8 commented on the difference between Saudi dialects, particularly when same sentence but with different orders, as several dialects start the sentence with verb and other dialects start the sentence with subject pronoun, as in Example (5). Shf4 remarked that the differences between Saudi dialects are basically geographical, whereas each Saudi dialect shares similar features with neighbour dialects of close countries as in Example (6).

(١) أي في الكلمات، اقصد فيه فرق في كثير من الكلمات [...] بس هذي الكلمات لها نفس المعنى زي مثلا احنا نقول يلوح وفي القصيم يقولون يجدع.

(1) Yes, in words I mean that there are differences in many words [...] but these words have same meaning. Such as we say *ylooh* ‘throw’ and in Alqaseem²⁵ they say *yejda’a* [Shf1]

(٢) فرق في النطق [...] مثل شخبارش بعض اللهجات يقولون شخبارك وبعضهم يقول شخبارس

(2) Different pronunciation [...] such as *shakhbarsh* ‘how are you’ some people from different dialect say *shakhbark* and some say *shakhbars* [Shf2]

(٣) بعض الناس عندهم فرق في نهاية الكلمة [...] مثل اهل نجد عندهم كلمات تنتهي بالكاف والمنطقة الجنوبية بالشين واحنا في الحسا بالتشا.

(3) Some people have differences at the end of the word [suffix] [...] such as Najdi dialect some words end with /k/ and southern area with /ʃ/ and we in Alhasa with /tʃ/. [Shf6]

(٤) احنا القرويين [...] كل قرية لها لهجتها. قرية العمران يمطون في الكلام وقرية القارة المط عندهم اقل [...] هم يقولون آني [...] وبعضهم يقول أنا

(4) We are as villagers [...] each village has its own dialect. Al Omran village extend words and *Alqara* village less extension [...] they say *Ani* ‘I am’ ... others say *Ana* or *Ona* [Shf5]

(٥) شكل الجملة [...] الفرق في الجمل نفسها إذا جاو يقولونها مثل انتي وين رايحة تختلف عن وينش او وين بتروحين.

(5) Sentence structure [...] in sentences themselves are different when they are said such as *intai ween rayhah* ‘where are you going to’ is different from *weensh* or *ween betroheen* [Shf8]

(٦) تعتمد على القرب من بعض الدول مثل جيزان لهجتهم قريبة من لهجة اهل اليمن. والمنطقة الشرقية زي دول الخليج

(6) It depends on closeness of some countries such as *Jazan*²⁶ their dialect is similar to Yamani dialect and Eastern province’s dialects similar to the dialects of Arabian Gulf countries. [Shf4]

²⁵ A city in central area in Saudi Arabia

²⁶ A Saudi city in southern area near Yemen

In regard to the Sunni female participants, their responses to this question were relatively similar to Shiite female participants, as the following Table 7 shows:

Table 7: What are the differences between Saudi dialects? In which aspects of language? (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4
Word differences	Pronunciation differences	Geographical differences	Customs
Sf1	Sf3	Sf8	Sf6
Sf2	Sf4		
Sf7	Sf5		
Sf9			
Sf10			

Half of the Sunni female participants remarked that the vocabulary is the main difference between most of the Saudi dialects, with each dialect including several words that refer to an object or an action that are different from other dialects. As Sf1 commented, the Hasawi dialect contains different words from other dialects as in (7). Whilst three of the participants, Sf3, Sf4 and Sf5, mentioned that the differences occur in pronunciation through adding suffixes to the words or through replacing letters with other letters as in (8). Moreover, Sf6 responded that differences in customs reflect on the used words or sentences in the dialect as in Example (9). Similarly, to Sf6, Sf8 commented that the geographical factor plays an essential role in differentiating the varieties of the Saudi dialect, as in Example (10).

(٧) كلماتنا تختلف عن اللهجات الثانية [...] مثلا احنا نقول اضمك اهل نجد يقولون اخمك زي كذا يعني [...] احنا نستخدم اخم للكناس. وبعد الحساوية يقولون استنتي اللهجات الثانية يقولون انتظري او احتريك

(7) Our words are different from other dialect speakers [...] for example we²⁷ say *Adhumk* ‘hug you’ for Najdi people say *Akhumk* like this [...] we use *Akhum* for vacuuming. Also, Hasawi people say *Estani* ‘wait’ other dialects speakers say *Entadhri* or *Ahtreek* [Sf1]

(٨) كل مدينة او منطقة لها لهجتها الخاصة مثلا في الدمام يحطون شين زي شلونس بس فس الخبر يحطون كاف زي شلونك. بعد فيه فروق تصوير في النطق، تشوفها نفس الكلمة بس تنطق بطريقة غير [...] مثلا الحساوية يقولون ايش هذا بس في الرياض يقولون ويش هذا.

²⁷ Here the ‘we’ refers to the Hasawi people.

(8) Every city or region has its own dialect for example people in Dammam city add [suffix] /ʃ/ *shloonsh* ‘how are you’ but in Khubar city they add [suffix] /k/ *shloonk*. Also, some time the differences take place in pronunciation, whereas same word but with different pronunciation [...] for example, Hasawi people say *eysh hath* ‘what is this’ but in Riyadh people say *wish hatha*. [Sf5]

(٩) لان هناك فروق في العادات والتقاليد بين المناطق السعودية، علشان كذا هذا ينعكس على طريقة كلامهم والكلمات والجمل اللي هم يستخدمونها وبعد من الامثال تقدر تعرف الفرق.

(9) Because there are differences in customs and traditions between Saudi regions, so these reflect on their way of speaking and words and phrases that they use also the proverbs you can recognise the differences. [Sf6]

(١٠) الفروق الأساسية بين اللهجات السعودية تكون في الكلمات. فمثلاً، اللهجة الحساوية تتشارك مع اللهجة الكويتية والبحرينية والقطرية علشان قربهم من بعضهم والشئ الأساسي اللي يميزها اللهجات هو المط في الكلام. اللهجات الجنوبية تشبه اليمن واللهجات الغربية تتشارك نفس الكلمات والنطق مع مصر والسودان.

(10) The main differences between Saudi dialects are in words. For example, Hasawi dialect share words with Kuwaiti, Bahraini and Qatari dialect because they are close to each other, and the main feature of theses dialects is extension the words²⁸. Southern dialects are similar to Yemen, and western Saudi dialects share some words and pronunciations with Egypt or Sudan. [Sf8]

Regarding the second question in section 1 of the interview, Table 8 below presents the Shiite female participants’ views about the prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia.

Table 8: Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia? (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Hasawi dialect	The dialect of Riyadh city	No prestigious dialect
Shf1	Shf4	Shf2
Shf3	Shf8	
Shf5	Shf9	
Shf6		
Shf7		
Shf10		

Most of the Shiite female participants, Shf1, Shf3, Shf5, Shf6, Shf7 and Shf10, commented that the Hasawi dialect is a prestigious dialect, because they believe people should be proud of their identity and that they should have affiliation to their land and city, as in Examples (11) and (12). One of the Shiite participants, Shf2, responded to this question by commenting that there is not really a true prestigious dialect because people naturally support all issues that are related to their identity and find their dialect is prestigious, as in

²⁸ To clarify, she meant vowel lengthening.

(13). On the other hand, three of the Shiite female participants felt that the dialect of Riyadh is the most prestigious dialect. They commented that as it spoken in the capital city, it is perceived to have the power because it is spoken by the royal family, as in Example (14). In addition, it is a clear and understandable dialect. A Shiite female participant, Shf8 in Example (15), justified why she believes that the dialect of Riyadh is prestigious, by commenting that it is the typical Saudi dialect, as it does not share similar features with neighbour countries' dialects

(١١) اللهجة الحساوية [...] لأنني من الحسا.

(11) Hasawi dialect [...] because I am from Alhasa [Shf1]

(١٢) اكيد، الحساوية [...] لأنها لهجتي.

(12) Of course, Hasawi dialect [...] because it is my dialect. [Sh10]

(١٣) ما فيه لهجة راقية، كل الناس تشوف لهجتهم راقية ويحبونها وطبيعي يدعمونها

(13) There is no specific prestigious dialect, all people consider their dialect is a prestigious and like it and support it naturally. [Shf2]

(١٤) اللهجة النجدية [...] علشان انها في الرياض، ولأن الاسرة المالكة والاغنياء يتكلمونها.

(14) Najdi dialect [...] because it is spoken in the capital city, so it is spoken by the Royal family and rich people. [Shf4]

(١٥) لهجة اهل الرياض [...] لأنها تمثل اللهجة السعودية الحقيقية ولا لها نفس صفات لهجات الدول اللي جنبها.

(15) The spoken dialect in Riyadh [...] because it represents an authentic Saudi dialect, and it does not have same characteristics with neighbour countries' dialects. [Shf8]

For Sunni female participants' views with regard to prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia, Table 9 below presents that:

Table 9: Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia? (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
The dialect of Riyadh city	No prestigious dialect	No given answer
Sf1	Sf5	Sf3
Sf2		Sf4
Sf6		
Sf7		
Sf8		

Sf9		
Sf10		

Sunni female participants did not nominate Hasawi dialect as a prestigious dialect, whilst almost half of Shiite female participants remarked that Hasawi dialect is a prestigious dialect. Several of Sunni female participants commented that Hasawi dialect is shameful because of the vowel lengthening²⁹ that takes place within the dialect, as in Example (16). Though the dialect of Riyadh was suggested to be the prestigious dialect by most of the Sunni female participants. They attributed that to the elite using the dialect of Riyadh, and a large number of people try to simulate it as an aspirational language, as well as being a beautiful dialect, as in Examples (17) and (18). In addition, Sf8, in Example (19), commented that Najdi dialect is prestigious because it represents the original Saudi dialect and when an individual speaks it, there is no doubt he or she is a Saudi unlike other Saudi dialects. One of the Sunni female participants, Sf5, felt that there was no prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia, as in Example (20).

(١٦) أي لهجة غير الحساوية لأن اللهجة الحساوية تفشل علشان المط في الكلام. بس خلني أقول لهجة اهل الرياض لأن مافيهما تمطط.

(16) Any other dialect rather than Hasawi because Hasawi dialect is shameful because of lengthening the words. But let me say the dialect of Riyadh because it has no lengthening. [Sf1]

(١٧) اعتقد انها لهجة الرياض، لان التجار يتكلمونها او يقلدونها.

(17) I think the dialect of Riyadh, because rich people speak it or imitate it. [Sf6]

(١٨) يمكن لهجة الرياض [...] لأنهم يستخدمون كلمات لطيفة وجميلة والنطق حلو بعد

(18) Maybe the dialect of Riyadh [...] because they use nice and beautiful words and pronunciation [Sf9]

(١٩) اللهجة النجدية، لان إذا سمعتها بتقول هذا الشخص سعودي، بس إذا سمعت واحد من جدة بتقول يمكن سوداني او مصري، وإذا سمعت شخص من الجنوب بتقول يمني. علشان كذا اللهجة النجدية تمثل اللهجة السعودية الأصلية.

(19) Najdi dialect, because when you hear it you will say this person is Saudi but when you hear someone from Jeddah you will say this person may be from Sudan or Egypt, and if you listen to a person from southern areas you will say he or she may be Yamani. So Najdi dialect represent authentic Saudi dialect. [Sf8]

(٢٠) اعتقد ما فيه شي في السعودية اسمه لهجة راقية.

(20) I think there is no a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia. [Sf5]

²⁹ Long vowel is one of the characteristics of Hasawi dialect (See Chapter 1)

For the last question in section 1, Shiite female participants responded to the question relating to the Najdi dialect with different answers as Table 10 demonstrates

Table 10: What do you think about the Najdi dialect; for example, what are its characteristics? (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Clear dialect	Bedouin dialect	No response
Shf6	Shf3	Shf1
Shf7	Shf8	Shf2
Shf9		Shf4
		Shf5
		Shf10

Just three of the Shiite female participants, Shf6, Shf7 and Shf9, felt that Najdi dialect is a “clear, fluent and pure” dialect, as in Examples (21) and (22). While two of them perceived that Najdi dialect as being similar to the Bedouin dialects³⁰, as in Example (23). In addition, Shf6, in Example (24), commented that Najdi dialect is clear and understandable as Standard Arabic. The rest of the Shiite participants commented that they did not have experience with Najdi dialect, nor do they come into contact with users of the dialect. None of the Shiite female participants commented on the linguistic features of Najdi dialect, which for this particular study refer to dialect-specific words and pronunciation.

(٢١) هي واضحة وفيها طلاقة

(21) It is clear and fluent [Shf7]

(٢٢) اللهجة النجدية صافية وواضحة.

(22) Najdi dialect is a pure and clear dialect [Shf9]

(٢٣) اللهجة النجدية زي البدو

(23) Najdi dialect tends to be Bedouin [Shf3]

(٢٤) النجدية واضحة وقريبة من اللهجة العربية الفصحى

³⁰ Bedouins are a grouping of nomadic Arab people who have historically inhabited the desert regions (Al-Naimi 2016: 5–7). They are traditionally divided into tribes, or clans (Al-Naimi 2016: 5–7). Each tribe or clan has its own dialect that is slightly different from other tribes or clans’ dialects (Al-Naimi 2016: 5–7).

(24) Najdi dialect is clear and is close to standard Arabic [Shf6]

Compared to Shiite female participants, Sunni female participants provided more information about Najdi dialect and most of their answers were positive toward it. Table 11 shows that:

Table 11: What do you think about the Najdi dialect; for example, what are its characteristics? (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4
Nice and eloquent	Authentic dialect	Same as any other Saudi dialect	No given answer
Sf1	Sf3	Sf5	Sf4
Sf2			Sf10
Sf6			
Sf7			
Sf8			
Sf9			

The majority of Sunni female participants commented that the Najdi dialect is “a nice”, “eloquent”, and “understandable” dialect and people like to listen to it, as in Examples (25) and (28). One participant, Sf3, remarked that it is an authentic dialect since it does not borrow words from other languages comparing to the Hasawi dialect, which does, as in Example (26). Sf5 felt that the Najdi dialect is considered as any other Saudi dialect that has its own features and it does not have any privilege (Example (27)). Regarding the characteristics of Najdi dialect, most of the answers were related to pronunciations and words as in Examples (28) and (29):

(٢٥) اعتقد اللهجة النجدية لهجة فصيحة وجميلة ومفهومة. علشان مافيه مط في الكلام لان المط يخرب طريقة الكلام.

(25) I think Najdi dialect is eloquent, nice and understandable. There is no words extension in Najdi dialect because stretching the words spoil the way of speaking. [Sf1]

(٢٦) اللهجة النجدية، على ما اعتقد، انها لهجة اصيلة. اقصد انها ما فيها كلمات دخيلة من لغات ثانية زي الحساوية فيها كلمات فارسية وتركسية، كلماتها بس عربية.

(26) Najdi dialect, I think, is an authentic dialect, I mean it does not borrow words from other languages, unlike Hasawi dialect that contains Persian and Turkish words such as *drwasza*³¹ ‘gate’, so Najdi dialect contains just Arabic words. [Sf3]

³¹ A Turkish word means the gate.

(٢٧) تعتبر اللهجة النجدية حالها حال اللهجات السعودية الثانية، لها كلماتها الخاصة فيها ولها طريقتها في الكلام.

(27) Najdi dialect is considered a Saudi dialect as same as other Saudi dialects, it has its own words and its way of speaking. [Sf5]

(٢٨) لهجة محببة للأذن، وأهم صفاتها هي ان الكلمة تنتهي بالسین إذا جاو يكلمون المرأة مثل وينتس او شخبارتس.

(28) It is a nice dialect to hear, and its main characteristic is the end of the word [suffix] /s/ they use it when they talk to women like *weents* 'where are you' or *shakbarts* 'how are you'. [Sf7]

(٢٩) الصراحة اللهجة النجدية مفهومة لكل الناس [...] من صفاتها نهاية الكلمة بحرف السين إذا هم بيكلمون الانثى مش زينا نستخدم الشين.

(29) In fact, Najdi dialect is an understandable dialect that everybody can understand it [...] one of its characteristics is the words end with [suffix] /s/ when they talk to a female not like us³² we use [suffix] /s/. [Sf9]

Section Two of the interview was about the participants' views toward their dialect. This part includes four questions. Table 12 below presents the Shiite female participants' views toward the Hasawi dialect:

Table 12: As a Hasawi person, what do you think about the Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why? (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Beautiful and authentic dialect	Difficult to understand	No given answer
Shf2	Shf1	Shf4
Shf3	Shf6	Shf5
Shf7	Shf8	
Shf9		
Shf10		

Shiite female participants responded positively toward the Hasawi dialect. They commented that it is a beautiful dialect because of the authenticity of the dialect, which has been spoken for centuries, and that it contains unique phrases and vocabulary, as in Examples (30), (31) and (32). Although several of the Shiite females felt that the difficulty of Hasawi words proves its authenticity, so Hasawi people are proud of their dialect and they do not change their vocabulary over time, as in Examples (31) and (33):

(٣٠) لهجة اصيلة الناس تتكلمها من مئات السنين. ولا زال الناس يتكلمون اللهجة الأصلية.

³² Hasawi people.

(30) It is an authentic dialect that has been spoken for centuries. The original dialect is still spoken by Hasawi people. [Shf3]

(٣١) اللهجة الحساوية حلوه [...] لهجتي وانا اشوفها لهجة حلوة بدون سبب.

(31) Hasawi dialect is beautiful [...] It is my dialect and I see it a beautiful dialect without reasons [Shf9]

(٣٢) اللهجة الحساوية صعبة انها نتفهم على اللي من بره الحسا لان فيها كلمات خاصة.

(32) Hasawi dialect is difficult for outsiders to understand it as it contains unique words [Shf6]

(٣٣) شوي صعبة انها نتفهم [...] لأن الحساوية مستمرين يستخدمون نفس الكلمات اللي استخدموها اجدادهم.

(33) It is slightly difficult to be understandable [...] because Hasawi people maintain using same words that grandparents used it [Shf8]

The Sunni female participants' views were completely different from Shiite female participants as Table 13 below shows:

Table 13: As a Hasawi person, what do you think about Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why? (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Shameful dialect	Stereotyping	Different dialect
Sf3	Sf2	Sf1
Sf5	Sf4	
Sf6	Sf7	
Sf8	Sf10	
Sf9		

Sunni female participants' views toward Hasawi dialect are generally negative in nature. They felt that they are stigmatised because of their dialect for several reasons. They commented that the way Hasawi speakers pronounce words and some of the dialect specific words are seen as being shameful, as in Examples (34) and (35). In addition, some of them felt that the Hasawi dialect is not a suitable dialect for women, because women tend to use beautiful words and pronunciation and that is what the Hasawi dialect misses (See Example (36)). A significant reason highlighted by several of the participants is related to stereotyping, as in Examples (37) and (38). The participants' felt that the Hasawi dialect is not a nice dialect because there

is strong link between the Hasawi dialect and the Shiite sect. Sf1, remarked, that there are two Hasawi dialects, one is spoken by the older generation and another one is spoken by the new generation (See Example (39)).

(٣٤) الحساوية مش حلوة ومافيهها طلاقة [...] لأن الحساوية يمتطون في الكلام ويتكلمون كأنهم بيموتون.

(34) Hasawi dialect is not beautiful and not fluent [...] Because Hasawi people lengthen the words and speak slowly like a dying man. [Sf3]

(٣٥) هي لهجة مش لطيفة ومملة. إذا سمعت الحساوي في التلفزيون او الراديو اتفشل وودي ان يقطعون البرنامج مثل طاش ماطاش يجيبونه زي الشيعة يتكلم.

(35) It is not nice and a boring dialect. When I listen to a Hasawi person in TV or radio I feel shy and want the TV show or radio program to be cut like *Tah ma tash* presents Hasawi as Shiites. [Sf6]

(٣٦) اللهجة الحساوية على ما عتقد راکبة على الرجال بس اظن الحريم ما يحبونها، لان الحريم يحبون الكلمات الحلوة واللطيفة وينطقون الكلام بزيادة، بس نطق بعض الكلمات بالحساوية تخرب الانوثة.

(36) Hasawi dialect is good for men, but for women I think they do not like it, because women like to use nice and beautiful words in good pronunciation, but pronunciation of some words in Hasawi dialect spoils femininity. [Sf9]

(٣٧) ما أحبها، علشان الصورة النمطية [...] إذا أي واحد سمع اللهجة الحساوية مباشرة يفكر في الشيعة.

(37) I don't like it, unfortunately because of the stereotyping [...] when others listen to Hasawi dialect directly think about Shiite. [Sf7]

(٣٨) اللهجة الحساوية للأسف صارت علامة يا اما على الشخص المتخلف او شخص شيعي زي ما يطلعونها في التلفزيون زي طاش ماطاش.

(38) Unfortunately, Hasawi dialect has become a marker of either an uneducated person or a Shiite person as it presented in TV Shows like *Tash ma Tash*. [Sf10]

(٣٩) بصراحة الجيل القديم يتكلم اللهجة الحساوية الاصلية ويستخدمون بعض الكلمات اللي مش مفهومه او اللي غير شايعة، بس جيلنا صاروا يستخدمون الكلمات الدارجة بين اللهجات في السعودية والخليج. مثلاً الجيل القديم يقول جدر بس الجيل الجديد يقول قدر [...] الحقيقة ان سبب الفروق بين الجيلين هي وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي وسماع اللهجات المختلفة علشان كذا جيلنا صار يستخدم العبارات والكلمات اللي في نظرنا جميلة او أجمل من كلماتنا اللي تفشل.

(39) The truly, old generation speak authentic Hasawi dialect and use some incomprehensible or uncommon words, but our generation use common words in Saudi and Gulf dialects. For example, the old generation say *Jeder* 'pot', but new generation say *keder* [...] These differences between both generations is attributed to the fact that new generation uses social media and listens to different dialects and that our generation use words and phrases that we think are more beautiful than our words specifically shameful words. [Sf1]

With regards to the second question for section two of the interview, there is an agreement between Shiite and Sunni female participants. All of them commented that the main characteristic of Hasawi dialect is lengthening of the vowels as in Examples (40), (41), (42) and (43), (for more details about the main characteristic of Hasawi dialect, see Chapter 1). Moreover, the participants commented that the Hasawi dialect contains unique words that are not found in any other dialects in Saudi Arabia, and they provided

examples of these, as found in Examples (45), (46) and (47). A participant, Sf3, as in Example (44), responded that /f/ sound is added to the words as a suffix when Hasawi people talk to a woman unlike several other Saudi dialects that add /k/ as a suffix.

(٤٠) [...] علشان الحساوية بمطون في الكلام

(40) [...] as Hasawi people extend the words [Shf2]

(٤١) أكثر شي يميز اللهجة الحساوية هو المط في الكلام. وبعد عندهم كلمات الثاين ما يفهمونها

(41) The most feature of Hasawi dialect is expansion the words. In addition, they have their own

(٤٢) معروفة اللهجة الحساوية بالتمطط في الكلام

(42) Hasawi dialect is known by expansion the words [Shf4]

(٤٣) كلمات الناس الثانية ما تفهمها

(43) Words others cannot understand them [Shf3]

(٤٤) أولاً، المد في الكلام، وثانياً، يحطون حرف الشين في نهاية الكلمة مثل شلونش بس في اللهجات الثانية يقولون شلونك بالكاف.

(44) Firstly, extension the words, secondly, they add [suffix] /f/ at the end of the word such as *shloonsh* ‘how are you’ but other dialects speakers say *shloonk* with /k/ [Sf3]

(٤٥) المد في الكلام مثل ايش ذا. وبعد الحساوية لها كلماتها الخاصة فيها مثل اندسي.

(45) Extension words like *Ish tha*³³ ‘what is this’. Also, the Hasawi dialect has its own words such as *enda'ssai* ‘hide yourself’. [Sf4]

(٤٦) بشكل عام، اللهجة الحساوية زيتها زي أي لهجة سعودية ثانية، مفهومه، بس فيها بعض الكلمات اللي بس تستخدم في الحسا مثل أبخص، اللي أعرفه انها بس تستخدم في الحسا.

(46) In general, Hasawi dialect like other Saudi dialect it is understandable, but it contains some words that is just used in Alhasa for example *Abkhas* ‘experience in a specific subject’ as I know this word, for example, is just used in Alhasa. [Sf5]

(٤٧) اللهجة الحساوية عادتاً معروفة باللي يسمونه المط في الكلام، وفيها كلمات خاصة بالحساوية مثل كمشة ما تلقينها في أي لهجة سعودية ثانية، بس مستخدمة في الكويت والبحرين.

(47) Usually, Hasawi dialect is known what is called expansion the words, and it has its unique words for example *Kamsha* (spoon) you cannot find this word in any other dialects in Saudi Arabia, but it is used in Kuwait or Bahrain. [Sf8]

When the female participants from both sects were asked about other dialect speakers’ reactions when they hear Hasawi people, their answers were relatively similar. Table 14 below presents what Shiite female participants think about other people’s reactions:

³³ The participant lengthened the las vowel to explain the pronunciation.

Table 14: How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people? (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Shocked or strange	Revolting	Laughing and funny
Shf1	Shf4	Shf6
Shf2	Shf9	Shf7
Shf3		Shf8
Shf5		Shf10

The Shiite female participants commented that other dialect speakers react negatively toward the Hasawi dialect. They felt that people consider the Hasawi dialect strange, and they will be shocked because of the words used among Hasawi people, as in Example (48). Several of the Shiite female participants recognised that a large number of people consider that the Hasawi dialect is a revolting dialect because of its connection to the Shiite sect (see Example (49)). In addition, a number of Shiite female participants, as in Example (50), commented that outsiders connect the Hasawi dialect with low class people such as farmers. Some Shiite female participants answered that other people consider Hasawi dialect as being funny and the way its users pronounce words, makes them laugh, as in Example (51).

(٤٨) بينصدمون [...] لأنهم بيستمعون كلمات غريبة ومش معروفة

(48) They will be shocked [...] because they will listen to strange and uncommon words [Shf1]

(٤٩) ردة فعل بعض الناس على اللهجة الحساوية هي وش هاللهجة المقرفة وليش تتكلم كذا وبعضهم مباشرناً إذا سمع الحساوي يقول هذا او هذي شيعة ويتصرف بطريقة غير لأنهم يعرفون ان شيعة كثير يعيشون هناك.

(49) Some people's reaction toward Hasawi dialect is what a disgusted dialect and why you speak like this and some directly when listen to Hasawi speaker say he or she is Shiite and act in different way because they know that many Shiite people live there. [Shf4]

(٥٠) بيقولون انها مش حلوة ومقرفة وبعضهم يعتقد انها لهجة ناس دونيين للفلاحين.

(50) They will say it is not beautiful and disgusted and some think it is a low-class dialect for peasants [Shf9]

(٥١) من وجهة نظري اظن انهم بيضحكون [...] علشان النطق في اللهجة الحساوية تخلي الناس يضحكون او يشوفونها مضحكة.

(51) From my view, I think will laugh directly [...] because pronunciation in Hasawi dialect make others laugh and find it funny [Shf8]

Sunni female participants' thought for this question are relatively similar to what Shiite think. Table 15 below presents the Sunni female opinions:

Table 15: How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people? (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Laughing	Low class	Shiite dialect
Sf6	Sf2	Sf1
Sf8	Sf4	Sf3
Sf10		Sf5
		Sf7
		Sf9

Three of the Sunni female participants perceived that other dialect speakers laugh at the Hasawi dialect speakers because of the pronunciation, with a number of other dialect speakers trying to imitate it for taunting and for fun (see Examples (52) and (53)). The majority of Sunni female participants mentioned that the reactions of other dialect speakers was related to stereotyping, in that Alhasa City is a Shiite city, as participant, Sf7 in Example (54). Some of the participants remarked that other dialect speakers do not like it or they do not favour it because it is related with low class people, as in Example (55).

(٥٢) اظن انهم بيحاولون يقلدونها مش علشان انها حلوه بس لتتكت والضحك

(52) I think they will try to simulate it not because it is nice but for fun and laughing [Sf6]

(٥٣) يمكن يشوفونها لهجة غريبة ومضحكة، لان فيها كلمات مش معروفة مثل ما قلت من قبل الحساوية يقولون كمشة والكلمة المعروفة ملعقة. مثل هالفروق تخلي الواحد يحتار.

(53) They may find it is a strange and funny dialect, as it contains uncommon words like I said earlier Hasawi people say *Kamsha* 'spoon' and the common word is *Mal'aqa*. These differences cause sometimes confusion [Sf8]

(٥٤) اول شي بيقولون هذا الشخص شيعي مثل ما قلت لك من قبل الصورة النمطية، وثانياً بيضحكون ويتمسخرون.

(54) First thing they will say this person is from the Shiite sect as I said earlier stereotyping, second, they will laugh and taunt [Sf7]

(٥٥) دائماً مايجبوها ولا يفضلونها [...] لانهم يعتقدون انها سيئة وأنها لهجة ناس المتدنيين اجتماعياً.

(55) They always do not like it and do not prefer it [...] because they think it is a bad and a low-class dialect. [Sf2]

Regarding the fourth question in section two of the interview concerning the modifications and changing the way of speaking with other dialect speakers. The majority of female participants found it necessary to modify or change their way of speaking, however their justifications are relatively different for both sects.

The following Table 16 demonstrates the Shiite female participants' answers:

Table 16: Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g., words/phrases/sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Why? (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2
Change is necessary	No need to change
Shf1	Shf3
Shf2	Shf4
Shf5	Shf10
Shf6	
Shf7	
Shf8	
Shf9	

Seven of the Shiite female participants expressed the feeling that they needed to change or modify their way of speaking with other dialect speakers. They attribute this modification to the need to avoid misunderstandings and confusion, as in Examples (56) and (57). In addition, they felt that by modifying their speech conversations with non Hasawi users, then the interaction went more smoothly, and so less time was needed for clarification (see Example (57)). Nevertheless, a handful of the Shiite female participants felt that the Hasawi people do not need to change their way of speaking, because of pride, and because other dialect speakers in several cities such as Jeddah or Riyadh do not alter their speech; these views can be seen in Examples (58) and (59).

(٥٦) لا مش لازم نغير [...] بس اذا مايفهمون علينا عدل، ولازم عاد احنا نوضح اللي نقوله علشان احنا لنا كلماتنا الخاصة.

(56) No, we do not have to change [...] but if they may misunderstand us, we have to clarify what we say because we have our own words [Shf1]

(٥٧) أي، لابد نغير [...] لان بعض الكلمات الحساوية مش حلوة وبيقعدون يسالونا كم مرة علشان نوضح لهم بعض الكلمات، علشان كذا لازم نغير علشان المحادثة تمشي.

(57) Yes, they have to change [...] because some Hasawi words are not beautiful and we will be asked many times to clarify some words, so we have to change to make the conversation continues. [Shf5]

(٥٨) لا، مش لازم انهم يغيرون لأنها مسألة اعتزاز، ليش اللهجات الثانية مثل جدة والرياض ما يغيرون طريقة كلامهم إذا جاو يتكلمون مع الناس الثانين.

(58) No, they do not have to change because it is a proudness issue [...] Why other dialect speakers such Jeddah or Riyadh do not change their way of speaking when they speak to others. [Shf3]

(٥٩) لا، أحب لهجتيا، ولا استحي منها عشان اغير طريقة كلامي.

(59) No, I like my dialect and I am not shy with it to modify my way of speaking. [Shf10]

For the Sunni female participants, they predominantly felt that Hasawi people must change or modify their way of speaking, but the reasons for changing and modification are quite different from what the Shiite female participants thought. Table 16 presents the Sunni female participants' thoughts:

Table 17: Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g., words/phrases/sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Why? (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2
Must change	No need to change
Sf1	Sf3
Sf2	Sf6
Sf4	Sf10
Sf5	
Sf7	
Sf8	
Sf9	

Sunni female participants who commented that Hasawi people must change or modify their way of speaking, mentioned that one of the reasons was related to taunting or being laughed at for their way of speaking, this view can be seen in Example (60). Moreover, a number of them said that they changed their speech to avoid being judged as a Shiite as in Examples (60), (61) and (62). Similar to the Shiite female participants' comments, several of the Sunni female participants felt that Hasawi people must change or modify their way of speaking to avoid misunderstandings and keep the conversation going smoothly (see Example (63)). However, a number of Sunni female participants had different views toward changing their speech with other dialect users. They felt that Hasawi people do not have to change their way of speaking because of pride or difficulties around changing the dialect, as can be seen in Example (64). Also, some of

them responded that Hasawi people must maintain using their dialect and explain unknown words to non-dialect users (Example (65)).

(٦٠) أي، لازم يغيرون او يعدلون علشان عدة اشياء. أولا، بعض الناس يحبون يتمسخرون، يعلقون على الحساوية، ثانيا، بعض الكلمات مش مألوفة عند الثانيين. [...] ولا تتسين ان اكثر اللي من برى الحسا يفكرون ان كل الحساوية شيعة.

(60) Yes, they have to change and modify for many reasons. First some people like to taunt and comment on Hasawi people, second some words is uncommon for others [...] do not forget that may non Hasawi think all Hasawi People are Shiites [Sf5]

(٦١) أي، اعتقد لازم يغيرون طريقة كلامهم علشان ما يقولون انها شيعية، للأسف، اللي مش نت الحسا يعتقد ان كل الحساوية شيعة.

(61) Yes. I think they have to change their way of speaking in order they do not say she is as Shiite person, unfortunately, other people think that all Hasawi people are Shiite. [Sf2]

(٦٢) أي، [...] لأن الحساوية فيها أخطاء نحوية وهجائية، مثلا الحساوية يقولون غران والصحيح قرآن. واللهجة الحساوية فيها كلمات غريبة ومش مألوفة. عموما، الحساوية لازم يغيرون كلماتهم والنطق إذا جاو يتكلمون مع الناس الثانية. وعلشان بعد لا يعتقدون إنك شيعية.

(62) Yes, [...] because Hasawi dialect has grammatical and spelling errors for example Hasawi people say /yuran/ 'the Holy Qura'an' and the correct is /quran/. And Hasawi dialect contains strange and uncommon words. Generally, it is all errors. So Hasawi people must change their words and pronunciation when they talk to others. Also, they don't think you are a Shiite [Sf7]

(٦٣) أي، لازم انهم يغيرون [...] علشان بيتعدون عن سوء الفهم فمثلا احنا نقول حبيب هالكلمة عند بعض اللهجات معناها مهبول او فيه مشكلة عقلية
(63) Yes, they need to change [...] to avoid misunderstanding for example we say *hbayyeb* 'good person' this word in other dialect means crazy or he has a mental ill, so try to find another word. [Sf9]

(٦٤) ليه بعد يحتاجون يغيرون؟ هذي لهجتهم وصعب انهم يغيرونها ولازم يفتخرون فيها، بس إذا فيه كلمات غير مش مفهومة يقدرين يوضحونها.

(64) Why do they need to change? This is their dialect and it is difficult to change it and they must be proud of it, but if there are incomprehensible words, they can explain the words. [Sf6]

(٦٥) ليه لازم يغيرون؟ [...] إذا الناس الثانية ما فهمت بعض الكلمات. بوضحها له او لها.

(65) Why do they have to change? [...] if other dialect speaker did not understand some words, I will explain them to her or him without changing my way of speaking. [Sf10]

With regard to the last question of this section of the interview, the responses from both Sunni and Shiite participants were completely different. Table 18 below shows the Shiite female participants' answers:

Table 18: Do you feel comfortable and confident when you use the Hasawi dialect with non-Hasawi people in open informal discussion? Why? (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2
Comfortable	(not comfortable) Prove the stereotype
Shf1	Shf4
Shf2	
Shf3	
Shf5	

Shf6	
Shf7	
Shf8	
Shf9	
Shf10	

All Shiite female participants commented that they were comfortable³⁴ and confident when speaking with non-Hasawi speakers in open informal discussion. Their justifications for this were varied, however, as the majority of them stated that as it is an informal and friendly conversation, it is a good opportunity to show others Hasawi people's pride of their dialect as in Examples (66) and (67). Moreover, a number of them mentioned that the reason behind being comfortable and confident is that it is a good thing to someone to be his or herself and they do not need to abandon their identity, namely do not speak different dialects that they cannot master them (see Examples (69) and (70)). In spite of their refusal to change their way of speaking, some of the Shiite female participants said that it is possible to explain uncommon words, this view can be seen in Example (68). One of the answers, Shf6, justified being comfortable and confident with the need to prove that the Hasawi dialect is spoken by Shiite people (see Example (71)).

(٦٦) أي، أحس إني مرتاحة ومرتاحة وفخورة جداً بلهجتي.

(66) Yes, I feel comfortable and I am so proud of my dialect. [Shf1]

(٦٧) أكيد، أحس إني مرتاحة [...] هذي لهجتي ولا راح اغيرها خاصتنا مع أصدقائي

(67) Sure, I feel comfortable [...] It is my dialect and will not change especially with friends [Shf2]

(٦٨) إذا هي مناقشة غير رسمية، ما راح اغير طريقة كلامي، الا علشان ابسط الكلمات اللي مش معروفة.

(68) If it is an informal discussion, I do not have to change my way of speaking, unless to simplify unknown words [Shf3]

(٦٩) أحس بالراحة ولا راح أغير، وراح أكون أنا.

(69) I feel comfortable and I do not have to change, and I will be myself [Shf8]

(٧٠) أي، أحس إني مرتاحة، لأنها طريقة كلامي ولا اعرف اتقن لهجة ثانية [...] اللي يلبس ثوب أطول منه لازم يتعثّر لأنه مش على القدر.

(70) Yes, I feel comfortable, because it is my way of speaking and I cannot master other dialect [...] who wear a long dress will stumble because it is not suitable. [Shf5]

³⁴ This word was used by the participants, and they mean that they are relaxed, and they are not stressed when using their dialect with others.

(٧١) بعض الناس إذا سمعوا اللهجة الحساوية على طول يفكرون بالشيعة، راح أكون أكثر من واثقة علشان اثبت هالفكرة.

(71) Some people when listen to Hasawi dialect directly think about Shiite, I will be more than comfortable to prove this thought. [Shf4]

In contrast. Sunni female participants had different opinion for this question as the Table 19 below shows:

Table 19: Do you feel comfortable and confident when you use the Hasawi dialect with non-Hasawi people in open informal discussion? Why? (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2
Comfortable	Not comfortable
Sf3	Sf1
Sf6	Sf2
Sf8	Sf4
	Sf5
	Sf7
	Sf9
	Sf10

Three of the Sunni female participants commented that they will not change their way of speaking as it is a matter of pride to use one's own dialect, and an informal conversation is a good opportunity for other dialect users to know more about Hasawi specific vocabulary, in addition, to showing them that not all Hasawi people are Shiite, as in Examples (72) and (73). One of the participants remarked that she will speak naturally and will clarify just uncommon words (Example (74)). However, the majority of them stated that they would not be confident or comfortable due to fear of being taunted or laughed at, or the way in which they speak is viewed as strange, see Examples (75) and (76). They pointed out that a friendly or informal situation usually breaks the ice and there are no limits or complements, so this makes other dialect speakers talk freely and express what they think as in (Example (77)).

(٧٢) اكيد، بكون مفتخرة بلهجتي، وهذي فرصة علشان التانيين يعرفون كلمات جديدة من لهجتي، و يعرفون ان مش كل الحساوية شيعة.

(72) Of course, I will be proud of my dialect, also it is a good chance for other to know new words from my dialect, and to know that not all Hasawi people are Shiite [Sf6]

(٧٣) أي، بصير مرتاحة جدا ولا راح أقلد أي لهجة ثانية [...] هذي لهجتي.

(73) Yes, I will be very comfortable, and I will not simulate any other dialect [...] it is my dialect. [Sf3]

(٧٤) مادري والله، بس بحاول اتجنب إني استخدم الكلمات اللي مش دارجة ، بس انا استخدمهم بعفوية علشان كذا بوضحهم وبستمر أتكلم بشكل طبيعي.

(74) I do not know, but I will try to avoid using uncommon words, but I use them spontaneously, so I will explain them and keep talking naturally. [Sf4]

(٧٥) [...] بعض الأحيان أي وبعض الأحيان لا، اذا حسيت ان طريقة كلامي او الكلمات اللي استخدمها راح تلفت الانتباه او اذا تكلمت بيقتدون يطالعون في بعض، على طول بغير طريقة كلامي الى لهجة الرياض. بس إذا الوضع طبيعي بتكلم بلهجتي.

(75) [...] sometimes yes and sometimes no, if I felt that my way of speaking or the word that I use will attract the attentions of others or when I speak, they look at each other, I will change my way of speaking directly to the dialect of Riyadh. But if the situation is normal, I will speak my dialect. [Sf2]

(٧٦) ما راح أكون واثقة [...] لازم اغير نطقي وبعض الكلام علشان ما حد يتمسخر.

(76) I will not be confident [...] I have to change my way pronunciation and some words to avoid taunt [Sf7]

(٧٧) لا. خاصتنا إذا هي مناقشة ما فيها رسمية لان بعض الناس ما يركزون على الكلام اللي أقوله بس يركزون على شلون أتكلم. وبعض الناس تحاول تتصيد بعض الكلمات الحساوية علشان تعلق عليها بضحك وتخلي الثانين يضحكون، علشان كذا ليش احط نفسي في هالموقف البايخ والمخرج.

(77) No. Especially if it is a friendly discussion as some people do not pay attention to what I say but paying attention to how I speak. And some people try to catch some Hasawi words to say funny comment and make other laugh, so, why should put myself in this silly and embarrassing situation. [Sf5]

The third part of the interview consists of three questions about the relationship between sectarianism and the Hasawi dialect. The female participants provided different thoughts about this issue. With regards to the first question, which was about whether they thought there are linguistic differences between Shiite and Sunni speakers in Alhasa, Table 20 presents the responses:

Table 20: Alhasa is a city that involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite); do you think both sects speak the same or differently? How? (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Differences in words and pronunciation	Shiite represent Hasawi dialect and Sunni speak like Bedouins	No respond
Shf2	Shf1	Shf5
Shf4	Shf3	Shf9
Shf7	Shf6 Shf8	

All the Shiite female participants felt that Sunni people and Shiite people in Alhasa spoke differently. However, they offered different opinions about the way that Shiites and Sunnis use the Hasawi dialect. The majority of the Shiite female participants commented that Hasawi Sunni people speak similar to Bedouins or Najdi speakers as in Examples (78) and (79). In addition, they mentioned that Shiites had maintained the Hasawi dialect as the older generation spoke it. Consequently, they felt that Shiites utilised the real Hasawi dialect. While other Shiite female participants felt that the differences lay in the pronunciation of the dialect. Examples (80) and (81) highlight that some of the participants commented that the Shiite people extend the vowels more than Sunni people which meant that differences between the sects were easy to recognise.

(٧٨) لهجة السنة تشبه البدو في الكلمات والاصوات، والسنة أصلاً هم عيال اللي جاو للحسا للعمل علشان كذا للحين محافظين على لهجتهم الأصلية. بس الشيعة هم السكان الأصليين ومحافظين على لهجتهم.

(78) The dialect of Sunni is similar to Bedouins in words and sounds, and Sunnis are descendants of people who come to Alhasa to work so they still maintain their original dialects. But Shiite are indigenous people and maintain their dialect. [Shf3]

(٧٩) فرق بسيط في طريقة الكلام، لأن السنة تقريباً يتكلمون نفس البدو أو اللهجة النجدية يعني زي اهلهم. بس الشيعة يتكلمون اللهجة الحساوية الأصلية. الشيعة ينطقون الكلمات وفيها مد، بس السنة ينطقونها انعم شوي.

(79) Slightly different way of speaking, because Sunnis' speak relatively like Bedouins or Najdi dialect similar to their origins, but Shiite speak original Hasawi dialect. Shiite pronounce the words with more extension, but Sunnis' pronounce it softly [Shf6]

(٨٠) يمكن، إذا اعتبرنا انهم يتكلمون بطريقة غير ممكن يكون في النطق بما ان الشيعة يمطون في الكلام اكثر من الشيعة.

(80) maybe, if we consider they speak differently could be in pronunciation whereas Shiite extend the words more than Sunni. [Shf4]

(٨١) كل طائفة تتكلم غير، لأن السنة نادر يمطون في الكلام بس عادتاً الشيعة يمطون في الكلام علشان كذا تقدر تميز الفرق.

(81) Both sects speak differently, because Sunni rarely extend words but Shiite usually extend the words so you can recognise the differences [Shf7]

Sunni female participants had different opinions toward the linguistic differences between Sunni people and Shiite people in Alhasa. Table 21 below demonstrates Sunni female participants' thoughts:

Table 21: Alhasa is a city that involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite); do you think both sects speak the same or differently? How? (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2
Regional differences	Differences in words and pronunciation
Sf1	Sf2
Sf4	Sf3
Sf8	Sf5
	Sf6
	Sf7
	Sf9
	Sf10

A number of the Sunni female participants attributed the differences between Sunni and Shiite to geographical or regional matters. Sunni female participants felt that it is more a regional matter than sectarian one, because several villages and neighbourhoods are inhabited with Shiite and Sunni who speak similarly (See Examples (82) and (83)). They also mentioned that the majority of Shiite people live in villages, so they have their own dialect or accent. While a large number of Sunni people live in main suburban areas, like Alhafouf and Almubarraz, consequently the differences exist at a regional level, as in Examples (84). However, the majority of Sunni female participants, as in (85), agreed with Shiite female participants' thoughts that there are several differences between how both sects use the dialect in regard to pronunciation and words. In addition, some of Sunni female participants perceived that Shiites use the Hasawi dialect as the older generation, whilst Sunnis had developed the Hasawi dialect by inserting new words and pronunciation from other dialects, these views can be seen in Examples (86), (87) and (88):

(٨٢) شوفي، فيه فروق بسيطة، بس بشكل عام احنا واهم نتكلم نفس اللهجة الحساوية، [...] بس الشيعة يمدون في الكلام أكثر من السنة [...] في بعض القرى المختلطة او اللي يتشارك فيها السنة والشيعة مثل الطرف والجفر صعب إنك تميز الفروق

(82) See, there are slight differences, but in general we and they share same Hasawi dialect, [...] but Shiite extend words more than Sunni [...] In some shared or mixed village between Sunni and Shiite such as Aljafer or Attaraf³⁵ it is difficult to recognise the differences. [Sf1]

(٨٣) بالنسبة لي ما شوف فيه أي فرق بين الشيعة والسنة، مثلاً ما فيه فرق بين السنة والشيعة اللي ساكنين في الهفوف.

(83) For me I do not find any differences between Shiite and Sunni, for example there are no differences between Shiite and Sunni people who live in Alhafouf. [Sf4]

(٨٤) ما فيه فرق بين الطائفتين، لأن هنا في الحسا عندنا لكناات مختلفة، عندنا لهجة القرى، الأماكن اللي يعيشون فيها أكثر الشيعة، ولكنة المبرز والقفوف، أكثر السنة يعيشون فيها، كل الطائفتين تتكلم على حسب المنطقة اللي هم ساكنين فيها.

(84) There is no different between both sects, because here in Alhasa we have different Hasawi accents, we have village accents, where the majority of Shiite people live in, Almubarraz accent am Alhafouf accent, where the majority of Sunni people live in, both sects speak depending on the accent of the area they belong to. [Sf8]

(٨٥) الفرق الأساسي بين الشيعة والسنة هو في نطق الكلمات [...] مثلاً، المط في الكلام عند الشيعة مبالغ فيه. [...] والشيعة ينطقون بعض الكلمات بطريقة خاصة فيهم مثل هم يقولون اميه بس السنة يقولون أمي.

(85) The main difference between Shiite and Sunni is in pronouncing some words [...] for example, the extension words in Shiite words is exaggerated. [...] and Shiite people have unique pronunciation for some words for example they say *omya* 'my mother' but for Sunni people say *omi*. [Sf6]

(٨٦) الصراحة فيه فرق لان الشيعة لازالوا يتكلمون زي العجايز ويمطون فيالكلام. بس اغلب السنة يعدلون كلامهم ويكونون اكثر تمدن.

(86) Frankly, there is a difference because Shiite people still speak like old generation and lengthen the vowels, but most Sunni people modify their speech to be more modern. [Sf5]

(٨٧) بالتأكيد فيه [...] الشيعة كلامهم بفشل ولا يحاولون يختارون الكلمات او النطق الحلو [...] بس السنة على الأقل يحاولون يختارون الكلمات والنطق الزين.

(87) Of course, there are differences [...] Shiite speech is shameful because they do not choose beautiful words or pronunciation [...] but Sunni people at least try to choose nice words and pronunciation [Sf3]

(٨٨) أي، فيه فروق، لان الشيعة ما يحاولون يعدلون كلامهم ومستمرين يستخدمون كلمات حساوية زي الجيل القديم اللي مش دارجة ويمدون في الكلام، بس السنة يحاولون يبدلون الكلمات اللي تفشل بكلمات حلوه ومتطورة.

(88) Yes, there are differences, because Shiite people do not try to modify their speaking and they still talking like old generation that contains uncommon words and expansion words, but for Sunni people try to exchange shameful words³⁶ with modern and beautiful words. [Sf9]

For the second question in the last part of the interview, which was about the ability to recognise the Shiite and Sunni people from their way of speaking. For Shiite female participants, all of them commented that it is an easy matter to recognise the Shiite and Sunni speakers because Sunni people speak like Bedouins and use non-Hasawi words, as in Examples (89) and (90). Moreover, they mentioned that Sunni people do not

³⁵ Names of villages in Alhasa.

³⁶ The Hasawi dialect contains shameful words is from the participant's point view

extend the vowels, whilst Shiites exaggerate the vowel extension (see Example (91)). Table 22 below shows their answers:

Table 22: As a Hasawi person, how do you recognise Shiite or Sunni in the way of speaking? How? How? Please give an example. (Shiite females)

Code 1	Code 2
Sunnis speak like Bedouins	Words and pronunciation
Shf1	Shf7
Shf2	Shf8
Shf3	
Shf4	
Shf5	
Shf6	
Shf9	
Shf10	

(٨٩) اكيد، يقدرن يميزون لان الحساوي معناتها شيعي ومثل ما هو معروف أكثر القرى وبعض المناطق يسكنونها شيعة، بس أي واحد يتكلم زي البدو معناها انه سني أو سنييه.

(89) Of course, they can recognise as Hasawi means Shiite as it is known most villages and some parts of Alhasa are accommodated with Shiite people but when someone talks like Bedouins or Najdi that means he or she is Sunni [Shf3]

(٩٠) مثل ما قلت لش قبل الشيعة معروفين ببعض الكلمات والنطق مثلا السنة يقولون صدق مثل اهل الرياض اللي هم أصلا منهم، بس الشيعة يقولون صح زي لهجة الشرقية، علشان كذا سهل تفرقين بينهم.

(90) As I said earlier Shiite are recognised with some word and pronunciation such as Sunni say *sedq* ‘truth’ like Riyadh people who belong to, but Shiite say *Sedj* like Eastern Arabian dialect, so it easy to recognise the differences. [Shf7]

(٩١) أي، يقدرن، احنا نمد في الكلام مثل وين بتروحيين بس السنة يقويون وين بتروحين، علشان كذا ممكن ان احنا نفرق بسهولة.

(91) Yes, they do. We extend the words like *wein betroheeeen* ‘where are you going to’ but Sunni say *wein betrohen*, so it can be recognised easily [Shf8]

For Sunni female participants, generally they expressed similar views toward the ability to recognise whether dialect users are Shiite or Sunni. Table 23 presents their responses:

Table 23: As a Hasawi person, how do you recognise Shiite or Sunni in the way of speaking? How? How? Please give an example (Sunni females)

Code 1	Code 2
Difficult to recognise	Easy to recognise
Sf1	Sf2
Sf4	Sf3
Sf8	Sf5
	Sf6
	Sf7
	Sf9
	Sf10

Three of the Sunni female participants commented that it is a difficult matter to recognise Shiite or Sunni speakers in the way of speaking because Sunni and Shiite people use same words and pronunciations as in Examples (92), (93) and (94). However, the majority of Sunni female participants felt that recognising Shiite or Sunni by their way of speaking is an easy issue because of the pronunciation and words that Shiite use when they speak (see Examples (95), (96) and (97)):

(٩٢) اعتقد صعب إنك تقول هذا شيعي وهذا سني بس من طريقة كلامه لأن هنا في الجامعة بعض الطلاب الشيعة والسنة يتكلمون نفس الشيء. والسنة والشيعة في نفس القرية يمطون في الكلام أكثر من الي يعيشون في المناطق الرئيسية.

(92) I think it is difficult to say this person is Shiite or Sunni just from way of speaking because here in the university some Shiite or Sunni students speak in same way. Also, Sunni and Shiite in same village extend the words more than others who live in the main areas [Sf1]

(٩٣) بعض الأحيان نتكلم مع واحد وتظن انه شيعي ويطلع سني والعكس صحيح.

(93) sometimes you talk to a person you think she is Shiite then you discover she is a Sunni, and vice versa. [Sf4]

(٩٤) في البداية كنت اعتقد اني أقدر اميز بين الشيعة والسنة، بس يوم دخلت الجامعة لقيت انه صعب تميز بينهم من كلامهم.

(94) At the beginning I think I can recognise Shiite and Sunni people, but when I have joined the university, I found it is difficult to distinguish between both sect speakers through their way of speaking [Sf8]

(٩٥) الصراحة، انا اشتغل في المستشفى العام نص دوام كثير من اللي يتصلون علشان المواعيد، اعرف من أي طائفة هم من يتكلم بدون لا يقولون لي أسمائهم او من أي منطقة هم.

(95) To be honest, I work in a call centre in the general hospital as a part time, many people call to book an appointment, I know from which sects they belong from first word without telling me their names or areas that they live in. [Sf7]

(٩٦) طبعا أقدر، الشيعة يمتطون في الكلام ويتكلمون مثل الشيايب، بس السنة، مش كلهم معظمهم، يستخدمون كلمات زينه ويحاولون يقللون من التمتط في الكلام.

(96) Of course, I do. Shiite people extend the words and speaking like old people, but Sunni people, not all of them but most of them, use nice words and try to lessen from word extension. [Sf9]

(٩٧) أي أقدر. أقدر اميز بين الشيعة والسنة في الجامعة من كلامهم ونطقهم [...] الشيعة لهم طريقة الشيايب في النطق والسنة يميلون لراقي في الكلام والنطق.

(97) Yes, I do. In the university I can recognise the Shiite and Sunni students from their words and pronunciation [...] the way of pronouncing word is similar to old people, but Sunni people tend to prestigious words and pronunciation. [Sf6]

The last question of the interview was about the ability of individuals, whether dialect users or non-dialect users, to recognise whether the participants are Shiite or Sunni when conversing. Most of the Shiite female participants rejected or apologised for their answer to this question and a number of them responded that they had no answer in light of the question. For Sunni females, their answers were similar to the former question. A number of them felt that it is difficult to recognise the sects through their way of speaking unless they reveal from which area or village they belong to. However, the majority of the Sunni female participants felt that if the people who talk to them are from Alhasa it will be recognised from their pronunciation, such as lengthening vowels, but non-Hasawi people will not be able to recognise their sects or they will judge them as Shiite because of stereotyping, these comments can be seen in the following examples:

(٩٨) إذا عرفوا الحي أو القرية اللي أعيش فيها صار سهل عليهم يميزون بس إذا ماعرفوا وين بيتي مايقدرن يميزوني.

(98) If they know the village or neighbourhood that I live it is easy to recognise but if they do not know where my house is, they cannot recognise me. [Sf1]

(٩٩) لا مايقدرن اذا هم من منطقة ثانية

(99) No, they do not if they are not from Alhasa. [Sf4]

(١٠٠) أي اذا كان حساوي ، لان كلمات او عبارات او نطق انا استخدمها كسنييه والشيعة ما يستخدمونها. بس اللي من بره مايعرف يميز.

(100) Yes, if the person is Hasawi. because there is specific words, expressions or pronunciation I as a Sunni use them, but a Shiite does not use them. But people from outside Alhasa cannot recognise. [Sf6]

(١٠١) تعرف من أي طائفة انا من طريقة كلامي. بس اللي من برى الحسا صعبه يميز

(101) You know from which sects I belong to through way of speaking. But people who are not from Alhasa it is difficult to know. [Sf5]

(١٠٢) أي، يقدر يميزني إني انا سنية من طريقة كلامي إذا الشخص اللي أتكلم معاه يعيش في الحسا او من مواليد الحسا.

(102) Yes, he can recognise me I am Sunni from way of speaking if the person who is taking to me lives in Alhasa from his or her birth [Sf6].

(١٠٣) أي، لأنني ما أنطق بعض الكلمات مثل الشيعة وأحاول استخدم كلمات حلوة ومفهومة.

(103) Yes, because I don't pronounce some words like Shiite and try to use beautiful and understood words. [Sf9]

4.3.1 Summary of the interview results obtained from female participants.

To sum up, the results that were obtained from female participants, demonstrate that they have a good knowledge about the differences between Saudi dialects, in terms of both vocabulary and pronunciation. The majority of Sunni female participants nominated the dialect of Riyadh as the most prestigious dialect because it is used by royal family and the social elite, while the Hasawi dialect was nominated by the majority of Shiite female participants. In contrast, all Sunni female participants felt that Hasawi was not a prestigious dialect. When the female participants were asked about Najdi dialect, they commented that it is a clear and a fluent dialect. In addition, the result shows that Shiite female participants were proud of the local dialect, namely Hasawi dialect, and attempted to connect Shiite with Hasawi dialect, while Sunni female participants felt stigmatised and attempted to avoid using in order not to be stereotyped as Shiite people, who are considered the minority group in Saudi Arabi (see Chapter 2)

A large number of female participants from both sects commented that other people laugh and taunt Hasawi people when they listen to them speak, or other people find Hasawi to be a strange dialect because of the pronunciation or words used. Moreover, the results illustrated that there was agreement between the Sunni and Shiite female participants regarding the features of the Hasawi dialect as it contains unique or uncommon words, and it is known for having lengthened vowels. Most of the female participants from both sects felt that Hasawi people must change or modify their way of speaking when they speak with non-dialect users to avoid taunting and to ensure that conversation continues without the need for semantic clarifications. However, Shiite female participants and Sunni female participants commented differently about the use of Hasawi dialect in friendly conversation. For most of Shiite female participants, they remarked that they felt comfortable using their dialect and they attributed that within a friendly conversation it is an opportunity to show others their pride of their dialect and disprove the stereotyping.

With regard to Sunni female participants, the majority of them answered that they do not feel comfortable using it with a non-dialect user because taunting and to avoid stereotyping.

Regarding the dialect differences between Shiite and Sunni people in Alhasa, a large number of the female participants from both sects felt that there are differences in pronunciation and words between Hasawi speakers of different religious sects. Moreover, the results demonstrated that the large number of Shiite and Sunni female participants remarked that they can recognise Shiite and Sunni people from their way of speaking. A handful of the Sunni female participants found it a difficult issue to recognise Shiite and Sunni from their speech unless they knew from which area or family they belong to. Sunni female participants mentioned that people who live in Alhasa can recognise the participants' sect through their way of speaking, but non-dialect users consider all Hasawi people to be Shiite regardless to their way of speaking.

4.4. Male participants

This section highlights the interview outcomes that were obtained from the male participants from both sects and highlights their opinions toward the Hasawi dialect. The first question in the first section of the interview was about Saudi dialects. In general, the male participants showed a wider knowledge of Saudi dialects and their differences than the female participants, as the following table shows:

Table 24: What are the differences between Saudi dialects? In which aspects of language? (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2
Word and pronunciation differences	Tribal differences

Shm1	Shm3
Shm2	
Shm4	
Shm5	
Shm6	
Shm7	
Shm8	
Shm9	
Shm10	

The majority of Shiite male participants mentioned that there are several Saudi dialects and within these dialects there are different accents as the following demonstrates in Example (104). Also, they stated that there are differences between these dialects in terms of the level of vocabulary and pronunciation and provided sufficient examples of these differences as in Examples (105) and (106). One of the Shiite male participants, Shm3, Example (107), responded that there are dialects of tribes, and each tribe has its own way of speaking, in addition to a large number of dialects that are spoken in Saudi Arabia and the differences between them in the vocabulary and pronunciation.

(١٠٤) المملكة غنية باللهجات المختلفة على حسب المناطق والمدن والقرى [...] فمثلاً، عندنا اللهجات الشمالية والجنوبية والشرقية والغربية [...] في نفس المدينة تقدر تلقى لهجات غير عن بعضها زي مثلاً الحسا فيه لهجة الهفوف ولهجة المبرز ولهجة القرى حتى داخل القرى في الحسا تحصل فرق من قرية لقرية [...] والفرق بين اللهجات السعودية يكون على مستوى النطق والمرادفات [...] استخدم انا بعض الكلمات تعني شي محدد وعند بعض اللهجات تعني شي ثاني.

(104) Saudi Arabia is rich in different dialects depending on the areas, cities, and villages [...] for example, we have northern, southern, eastern, western dialects [...] within one city you can recognise different accents; in Alhasa, for example, there are the accent of Alhafouf, the accent of Almubarraz, and the accent of the villages; even in the Hasawi villages the accent is different from one village to another village [...] the differences between dialects in Saudi Arabia is on the level of pronunciation and synonyms [...] I use a specific word, for me it means something particularly but for another dialect it means something else. [Shm2]

(١٠٥) كل منطقة في السعودية لها لهجتها [...] مثلاً الحساوية يشددون على بعض الكلمات [...] ويمدون في الكلام بعد [...] علشان كذا فيه فرق في الكلمات بين اللهجات السعودية وبعض الأحيان في الجمل [...] ولا بكل اللهجات تنفهم عدل من الثانيين. مثلاً، على شحم مش متداولة كثير عند الحساوية بس معروفة في نجد.

(105) Every region in Saudi Arabia has its own dialect [...] Hasawi, for example, has a strong stress on some words [...] also they extend the words [...] therefore the differences between Saudi dialects in words and sometimes in

sentences [...] not every dialect can be understood clearly by other dialect speakers. For example, *ala shaham*³⁷ is not common or used among Hasawi people, but it is commonly used in the Najd area. [Shm1]

(١٠٦) [...] بسبب المساحة الجغرافية تلقى فيها لهجات كثيرة، ما قدر أعدهم. مثلاً إذا رحلت الحجاز بتلقى فيها عدة لهجات زي لهجة مكة أو لهجة جدة ولهجات ثانية، وإذا رحلت المنطقة الشرقية بتحصل فيها لهجة الدمام ولهجة القطيف ولهجة الحسا [...] الفروق اللي بين اللهجات تكون في الكلمات والنطق [...] مثلاً في الحسا تحصل فرق بين القرى، لهجة قريتي بيدلون الجيم ياء زي رجال نقول ريال [...] واللي يسكنون القرية اللي جنبنا يقولون شو اسمك انتي بس احنا نقول شنواسمك انتي.

(106) [...] as a result of the geographical size of Saudi Arabia, there are many dialects, I cannot count them. For example, if you go to Al Hejaz province you can find different dialects like the dialect of Makkah, the dialect of Jeddah, and other dialects; if you go to the eastern province you can find the dialect of Dammam, the dialect of Al Qatif, and the dialect of Alhasa [...] there are differences between these dialects in words and pronunciation [...] for example, in Alhasa you can find differences between villages; my village's accent replaces /dʒ/ with /i/ such as for *rajal* "man" we say *raial* [...] and the neighbouring village's inhabitants say *sho esmak enti* "what is your name" but we say *shno esmek enta*. [Shm9]

(١٠٧) فيه لهجات كثيرة في السعودية [...] اعرف ان فيه لهجات القبائل مثلاً لهجة شمر غير لهجة الدواسر وغيرها من القبائل، وفي السعودية ١٥ منطقة وفي كل منطقة فيها لهجات غير [...] كل لهجة تختلف عن غيرها في النطق وفي الكلمات. مثلاً في الحسا نقول دش وفي الرياض يقولون ادخل.

(107) In Saudi Arabia there are many dialects [...] I know that there are tribal dialects, for example the Shmmar tribe speaks in a different way from the Dossary tribe and so on; also in Saudi Arabia there are 15 regions, each region contains many dialects [...] each dialect differs from other dialects in pronunciation and words. For example, here in Alhasa we say *desh* "come in" but in Riyadh they say *edkhal*. [Shm3]

All the Sunni male participants agreed with Shiite male participants that the differences between Saudi dialects are in the level of words or pronunciation as the following examples show:

(١٠٨) كل منطقة لها لهجتها، وفيه تشابه بين اللهجات القريبة من بعض، مثل لهجة الباحة في الجنوب تشبه لهجة ابها بس إذا عشت هناك بتلقى ان ٦٠٪ من الكلمات متشابهة و ٤٠٪ منها مختلفة [...] إذا رحلت ابعده تصير الأشياء اللي يتشابهون فيها اقل [...] علشان كذا فيه فرق كامل بين لهجة الباحة عند لهجة حائل في الشمال [...] الفروق بين اللهجات في السعودية تلقاها في الكلمات واللهجات، مثلاً في الحسا نقول قفل بعض اللهجات يقولون مزلاج.

(108) Each region has its own dialect, there are similarities between close dialects, such as the dialect of Albaha in the southern area is similar to the dialect of Abha but if you live there you can find 60% of the words are similar and 40% are different [...] if you go further the similarities become less [...] so the dialect of Albaha is completely different from the dialect of Hail in the north [...] the differences between Saudi dialects are in words and accents, such as in Alhasa we say *qufol* "lock" but some dialects say *mezla* "lock". [Sm4]

(١٠٩) اعرف ان فيه اللهجة الجنوبية وداخلها عدة لهجات، بس زينا في الشرقية عندنا اللهجة الحساوية ولهجة الدمام واللهجة القطيفية [...] بعد فيه لهجات الغربية مثل لهجة مكة ولهجة المدينة ولهجة جدة [...] وفيه فروق بينهم في الكلمات. مثلاً في الحسا احنا نقول تخبي وفي نجد يقولون توزي.

(109) I know there is the southern dialect and inside this dialect there are different accents, just as we in the eastern region have many dialects like the Hasawi dialect, the dialect of Dammam and the Qatifi dialect [...] Also there are western dialects such as the dialect of Makkah, the dialect of Madinah, and the dialect of Jeddah [...] and there are differences in words and pronunciation. For example, we in Alhasa say *tekhibi* "hide", in Najd they say *twazi* "hide". [Sm5]

(١١٠) أقدر اقسم لك اللهجات السعودية الى خمس لهجات رئيسية: اللهجة الشرقية والغربية والجنوبية والشمالية والوسطى [...] تختلف اللهجات في الكلمات والنطق [...] مثل الحسا ولهجات الخليج بيدلون الكاف بالشين مثل شلونك يقولونها شلونس.

(110) I can divide Saudi dialects into five main dialects: eastern dialect, western dialect, southern dialect, northern dialect, and central dialect [...] these dialects are different in vocabulary and pronunciation [...] Such as in Alhasa

³⁷ A phrase is used when an angry person tells another one to stop talking.

and the dialects of Arabian Gulf countries replace /k/ with /ʃ/ like *shollnk* “how are you” they say *shloonsh*, and the central region replaces /k/ with /s/ like *shloonk* with *shloons*. [Sm7]

(١١١) فيه عدة لهجات في السعودية [...] الفروق بين هاللهجات في المفردات والنطق، علشان كذا تلقى بعض اللهجات يمدون في الكلام أكثر من غيرهم وبعضهم يتكلم بسرعة أكثر من بعض اللهجات.

(111) There are many dialects in Saudi Arabia [...] the differences between these dialects are in vocabulary, such as in Alhasa people say *dalah* “tea pot” but in other dialects *barrad* or *zemzemyah* [...] and pronunciation, so, you can hear some other dialects’ speakers expand the words more than others. And some people speak faster than other dialects’ speakers. [Sm8]

Regarding the second question, which was about the prestigious dialects in Saudi Arabia, Shiite and Sunni male participants had similar thoughts between them. Table 25 below shows Shiite male participants’ thoughts about prestigious dialects in Saudi Arabia:

Table 25: Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia? (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 4
The dialect of Riyadh city	Other dialect	No prestigious dialect
Shm3	Shm1	Shm9
Shm4	Shm2	
Shm5		
Shm6		
Shm7		
Shm8		
Shm10		

Almost all the Shiite male participants considered that there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia, only one of them thought that there is no prestigious dialect. The majority of the Shiite male participants perceived that the dialect of Riyadh was the most prestigious. They highlighted the key reasons for this as being the power, media, high social class, and the royal family, as can be seen as in Examples (112) and (113) However, several participants had different views, one participant, Shm2, commented that Dammam is a modern and industrial city and it is a combination of different dialects, so it is used by high-class people (see Example (114)). Also, one participant, Shm1, in Example (115), highlighted that the Hejazi dialect was prestigious because it is used in the two holy cities (Makkah and Almadinah), as the participants

commented that religion affords the dialect a social position. In addition, Shm9, Example (116), commented that in each dialect there is an accent that is considered prestigious, and he gave an example of the accent of the Alhafouf area as a prestigious accent in the Hasawi dialect:

(١١٢) ممكن لهجة الرياض علشان الاسرة الحاكمة وكونها في المنطقة الوسطى

(112) Maybe the dialect of Riyadh because of the royal family, and it is the central area. [Shm4]

(١١٣) علشان السلطة اعتقد انها بهجة الرياض بما انها في العاصمة [...] وبعد ينظر لها انها لهجة الكبارية.

(113) Because of power, I think the dialect of Riyadh as it is the capital city [...] also it is seen as the dialect of high-class people. [Shm5]

(١١٤) اعتقد ان كل واحد يؤمن بان لهجته او لهجتها هي احسن لهجة، بس لان ناقشنا موضوع اللهجات، اظن ان لهجة الدمام هي المرموقة [...] لان هذي اللهجة خليط بين عدة لهجات ويستخدمونها الطبقة المخملية لان لهجة الدمام ناعمة وواضحة وسلسة، ولا يستخدمون كلمات صعبة.

(114) I think that everyone believes that his or her dialect is the best dialect, but because we are discussing Saudi dialects, I think the dialect of Dammam is prestigious [...] Because this dialect is a combination of different dialects, and it is used by the “velvet class”³⁸ because the dialect of Dammam is soft, clear and smooth, also they do not use difficult words. [Shm2]

(١١٥) أي، لهجة جده او اللهجة الحجازية بشكل عام. اعتقد انها فخمة بسبب الأماكن المقدسة والعادة ان الدين يعطي اللغة او اللهجة مكانة عالية.

(115) Yes. Jeddah dialect, or Hejazi in general. I think it is a majestic dialect because of holy places, and the religion usually gives the language and the dialect a high status. [Shm1]

(١١٦) ما فيه شي اسمه لهجة راقية، بس اعتقد ان كل لهجة داخلها لهجة أكثر الناس يحاولون يقلدونها. مثلا في الحسا لهجة الهفوف تعتبر لهجة راقية [...] أكثر الناس يظنون ان لهجة الرياض لهجة عريقة [...] ومعظم الناس تحاول تقلدها مش علشان انها لهجة راقية بس لأنها مفهومة من كل اللهجات الثانية في السعودية.

(116) There is no what is called a prestigious dialect, but I think in every dialect there is an accent that most people try to simulate it. For example, in Alhasa the accent of Alhafouf is consider the prestigious one [...] most people think the dialect of Riyadh is prestigious, but it is not [...] many people try to simulate it in not because it prestigious but because it is understandable by all other dialect speakers in Saudi Arabia. [Shm9]

With regards to Sunni male participants, they did not nominate the Hasawi dialect to be a prestigious dialect, but the majority of them felt that the dialect of Riyadh was a prestigious dialect, as Table 26 below presents.

Table 26: Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia? (Sunni males)

Code 1	Code 2
The dialect of Riyadh city	No prestigious dialect
Sm1	Sm5
Sm2	Sm9
Sm3	

³⁸ This phrase is used in Arabic to refer to high-class or rich people.

Sm4	
Sm6	
Sm7	
Sm8	
Shm10	

Similar to the Shiite male participants, Sunni male participants felt that power, media and the royal family play an essential role in identifying a prestigious dialect, in addition to the clarity of the dialect as in Examples (117), (118) and (119). Two of the participants, Sm5 and Sm9, remarked that there is no prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia, but that the Riyadh dialect is considered a ‘lingua franca’ in Saudi Arabia, because it is commonly heard among Saudi people (see Example (120))

(١١٧) ممكن اللهجة النجدية او خلني اقولك لهجة الرياض بالتحديد [...] لأنها مستخدمه في التلفزيون الرسمي والمقابلات [...] واي وحد يبي يسوي نفسه من الناس الهاي كلاس يتكلم زي اهل الرياض.

(117) Maybe the Najdi dialect or let me say the dialect of Riyadh specifically [...] because it is used in official TV programmes and interviews [...] also anyone who wants to pretend to be from the high-class people speaks like people who are from Riyadh. [Sm1]

(١١٨) اكيد فيه [...] اللهجة النجدية [...] اكيد مش اللهجة الحساوية لان اللهجة الحساوية بعيدة عن العراقة [...] اللهجة النجدية مرموقة لان الملك من نجد ومستخدمة رسميا [...] وهي واضحة وحلوه ولا فيها كلمات أو عبارات غريبة او غامضة.

(118) Of course, there is [...]. It is the Najdi dialect [...] of course not the Hasawi dialect because the Hasawi dialect is far away from prestige [...] the Najdi dialect is prestigious because the king is from Najd and it is used officially [...] Also it is clear, nice and does not contain uncommon or mysterious words or phrases. [Sm2]

(١١٩) لهجة الرياض، لأنها معروفة بسبب الاعلام [...] وإذا اثنين من لهجات غير تلقاهم يحاولون انهم يتكلمون زي اهل الرياض

(119) The dialect of Riyadh, it is well known because of the media [...] also if two speakers are from different dialects you find them trying to speak the dialect of Riyadh. [Sm3]

(١٢٠) اعتقد ما فيه شي اسمه لهجة مرموقة او عريقة لان كل واحد يشوف لهجته هي المرموقة بغض النظر عن رأي الاخرين، بس اعتقد ان فيه لهجة اقدر اسميها لهجة مشتركة او lingua franca اللي كل اللي في السعودية يفهمها و يستخدمها بس علشان يوصل الرسالة.

(120) I think there is no prestigious dialect as I think everyone thinks his dialect is prestigious regardless of others’ views, but I think there is a dialect I can call a lingua franca – that means everyone in Saudi Arabia understands it and uses it just for delivering the message. [Sm5]

For the third question about their opinion toward the Najdi dialect, the Shiite male participants' comments were mainly neutral, hence they do not think the Najdi dialect is neither nice and eloquent or a poor dialect. Table 27 below presents the Shiite male participants' comments:

Table 27: What do you think about the Najdi dialect; for example, what are its characteristics? (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4
Neutral response	Bedouin dialect	Nice and eloquent	No given answer
Shm2	Shm1	Shm3	Shm6
Shm4	Shm10		Shm7
Shm5			
Shm8			
Shm9			

The majority of the Shiite male participants considered the Najdi dialect to be the same as other Saudi dialects in that it has words and pronunciations that distinguish it from other Saudi dialect (see Example 121) A number of Shiite male participants felt that it was similar to Bedouins' dialects, whereas they comment that Najdi people speak fast and stress on several letters as in Examples (122) and (123). One Shiite male participant, Shm3 in Example (124), commented that it is a clear and eloquent dialect comparing to Hasawi dialect, which contains uncommon words. In terms of its characteristics, they think it is known with affrication of [tʃ]³⁹ when the Najdi dialect speaker is talking to a female listener, as in example (125).

(١٢١) تعتبر اللهجة النجدية حالها حال اللهجات السعودية الثانية، لها كلماتها ونطقها اللي يميزها عن غيرها.

(121) The Najdi dialect is considered one of the Saudi dialects, it contains words and pronunciations that distinguish it from other Saudi dialects. [Shm2]

(١٢٢) أحس ان اللهجة النجدية يتكلمون بسرعه وانها قريبة من طريقة كلام البدو.

(122) I feel Najdi dialect speakers speak fast, and it is close to Bedouins' way of speaking. [Shm1]

(١٢٣) اللي يتكلمون اللهجة النجدية يشدون على بعض الكلمات وتشبه لهجة البدو.

³⁹ Affrication in Najdi dialect is the suffix that affects the second-person singular feminine object/possessive suffix /-k/ is affricated into [tʃ], as in [mints] "from you" (Al-Rojaie, 2013: 43)

(123) Najdi dialect speakers stress some words, and it is similar to Bedouins' dialects. [Shm4]

(١٢٤) الوضوح، مضمون الكلام يوصل بسلاسة، واللي يتكلمون نجدى ينطقون الكلمات بوضوح وبشكل مفهوم بس إذا تبي تقارنها باللهجة الحساوية تقدر تلقى فيها كلمات كثيرة مش دارجة او مش مفهومة [...] اعتقد ان اللهجة النجدية محببة عند كثير من الناس.

(124) Clarity, the message can be conveyed smoothly, Najdi speakers pronounce words clearly and understandable, but if you want to compare it to Hasawi dialect you can find in Hasawi dialect many of uncommon or ambiguous words [...] I think that Najdi dialect is favourite by many people. [Shm3]

(١٢٥) اعرف ان اللهجة النجدية تختلف باقي الهجات السعودية فهم يبدلون حروف مكان حروف [...] مثلا بدال الكاف يحطون سين إذا جاو يكلمون المرأة مثل شلونس بدال شلونك.

(125) I know that the Najdi dialect is different from other dialects in replacing some letters with others [...] for example, they replace /k/ with /s/ when they speak to a female person, like *shloons* (how are you) instead of *shloonk*. [Shm5]

In contrast to Shiite male participants, a large number of the Sunni male participants had contrary views, as Table 28 below shows:

Table 28: What do you think about the Najdi dialect; for example, what are its characteristics? (Sunni males)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Nice and eloquent dialect	Neutral	No given answer
Sm1	Sm6	Sm3
Sm2		Sm7
Sm4		
Sm5		
Sm9		
Sm8		
Sm10		

The majority of the Sunni male participants commented that the Najdi dialect is an eloquent, clear and nice (see Examples (126), (127) and (128)). One of the participants, Sm6 in Example (129), highlighted that it is like any other Saudi dialect that has unique words and pronunciation. In terms of its characteristics, similar to Shiite male participants, Sunni male participants felt that Najdi dialect is known for adding /s/ at the end of the words when the Najdi speakers talk to a female listener, also its speakers do not extend vowels as in Example (130).

(١٢٦) بشكل عام اللهجة النجدية مميزة وجميلة [...] مقارنة بالحساوية فيها مد في الكلام وفيه كلمات مختلفة بين النجدية والحساوية مثلا يقرص بالحساوي ويقصص باللهجة النجدية

(126) The Najdi dialect generally is a distinguished dialect and beautiful [...] comparing to the Hasawi dialect, that has a lengthening vowel and there are different words between the Najdi dialect and Hasawi dialect, such as *yagres* “bite” in the Hasawi dialect and *yagbos* in the Najdi dialect. [Sm1]

(١٢٧) اللهجة النجدية فيها وضوح ومفهومة، ولا فيها أي كلمات غريبة عليك علشان تسال عن معانيها.

(127) The Najdi dialect is clear and understandable, also it does not contain any strange words for you to ask about their meaning. [Sm2]

(١٢٨) لهجة مميزة [...] النجدي يتكلم بشكل واضح [...] الكلمات المستخدمة واضحة ومفهومة ولا فيها مفردات تخليك تسال عن معانيها [...] اقصد ان كل المفردات واضحة ولا فيها تعقيد

(128) It is a distinguished dialect [...] A Najdi person speaks clearly [...] the used words are understandable and clear, there is no vocabulary that makes you ask about their meaning [...] I mean all vocabulary is clear, there are no complications. [Sm4]

(١٢٩) بالنسبة لي اشوف انها نفس اللهجات السعودية الأخرى، لها مواصفات، مثل تبديل الكاف بدال السين زي اعطيك يقولون اعطيتس [...] هذا لي اعتقد.

(129) For me I think it is that same as other Saudi dialects, it has its own characteristics, such as replacing /k/ to /s/ like *a'atek* “give you” they say *a'ates* [...] that is what I think. [Sm6]

(١٣٠) اللهجة النجدية لهجة جميلة وسلسة وسهلة. النجديين مايمدون في الكلام زينا [...] واللهجة النجدية معروفة بانهم بيدلون حرف الكاف بالسين مثل بيتس ما يقولون بيتك.

(130) Najdi dialect is beautiful dialect, smooth, and easy. Najdi speakers do not lengthen the vowel like us [...] it is also known with replacing /k/ with /s/ like they say *beytes* “your house” do not say *beytek*. [Sm9]

With regards to the second section of the interview about the Hasawi dialect, the first question was about their perspectives toward the Hasawi dialect. Shiite male participants had different points of view toward the Hasawi dialect, as Table 29 below demonstrates:

Table 29: As a Hasawi person, what do you think about the Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why? (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2
Negative view	Positive view

Shm1	Shm3
Shm2	Shm4
Shm6	Shm5
Shm7	Shm8
	Shm9
	Shm10

A number of the Shiite male participants expressed negative views toward the Hasawi dialect because they regarded it as a less prestigious dialect compared to the other Saudi dialects. They attributed that to either the uncommon words and the pronunciation, or the lack of power that the dialect of Riyadh has (see Examples (131), (132) and (133)). One of the Shiite male participants, Shm6 in Example (134), remarked that sometimes Hasawi people themselves underestimate their dialect by concealing their original dialect when conversing with other dialect speakers. Moreover, a Shiite male participant, Shm9 in Example (135), blamed the media and a number of television shows that represented Hasawi people as a simple and unwise. Conversely, six of the Shiite male participants had a positive view of Hasawi dialect and expressed that they were proud of their dialect. They, as in Examples (136) and (137), commented that the Hasawi dialect was an authentic dialect as it has been spoken for centuries and that the Hasawi people should be proud of their dialect regardless of other people's views.

(١٣١) بالنسبة لي أحب لهجتي واشوفها لهجة ممتازة، بس اللهجة اللي في الرياض اعلى من الحساوية علشان انها في العاصمة.

(131) For me I like my dialect and I find it is a perfect dialect, but the dialect that is used in Riyadh city is higher than the Hasawi dialect because it is spoken in the capital city. [Shm1]

(١٣٢) من وجهة نظري، اعتقد ان الحساوية يتكلمون بعفوية وذي العفوية تخليهم يستخدمون كلمات صعبة خاصتا الكلمات اللي يستخدمونها كبار السن [...] فيه فكرة عامة ان اللهجة الحساوية حق الناس الأقل أو الدونيين، للأسف إذا بنقارنها باللهجات الثنية تلي الحساوية اقل منهم. بس ما عرف لي ولا وش المعايير اللي تخلي لهجة معينه اعلى واللهجات الثانية اقل.

(132) From my point of view, I think Hasawi people speak spontaneously, this spontaneity makes them use difficult words, especially words that are used by old people [...] There is a common thought that the Hasawi dialect is a low-class dialect, unfortunately when compared to other dialects Hasawi is lower than them. But I don't know why and what are the criteria that make a specific dialect higher while others are lower. [Shm2]

(١٣٣) إذا بغيت أقيم اللهجة الحساوية بقول ٥ او ٦ من عشرة، لان اللهجة الحساوية لهجة خشنه [...] وتمد في الكلام [...] وفيها تبديل حر لألف بحرف الواو مثل ناصر ينطقونها نوصر [...] وهذا يخلي الناس يضحكون على طريقة كلامنا.

(133) If I want to evaluate the Hasawi dialect I will say 5 or 6 out of 10, because the Hasawi dialect is a harsh dialect [...] And it expands the word [...] it also replaces /a/ with /o/ such as *Naser*⁴⁰ they pronounce it *Noser* [...] this makes other dialect speakers laugh at our way of speaking. [Shm7]

(١٣٤) للأسف اللهجة الحساوية كثير من الناس يشوفها، والحساوية نفسها عندهم نفس الراي بس يسوون نفسها انهم يفتخرون فيها. ليش اجل يعدلون طريقة كلامهم في أي مناسبة [...] هذا يدل انهم يتقشرون من لهجتهم

(134) Unfortunately, Hasawi dialects is seen as a low place by many people, also Hasawi people themselves have same opinion but they pretend they are proud of it. Why then they try to modify their way of speaking at any chance [...] that means they are embarrassed from their dialect. [Shm6]

(١٣٥) بعض الناس يستحون من اللهجة الحساوية ويحاولون يخفونها إذا جاو يتكلمون مع ناس من لهجة ثانية [...] وهذا بسبب المسلسل المشهور طاش ما طاش اللي كان يعرض في التسعينات وأول الالفين يطلع الحساوي غبي وبسيط وجاهل. علشان كذا لازم نفتخر بلهجتنا ونبين للآخرين ان هذي الصورة مش صحيحة.

(135) Some Hasawi people are stigmatised about the Hasawi dialect and try to conceal it when they talk to other dialect speakers [...] this is because some famous shows or series such as the famous series *Tash Ma Tash*⁴¹ in the nineties and early part of the new millennium showed a Hasawi person as a stupid, poor, and uneducated person. So, we have to be proud about our dialect and prove for others that this bad image is untrue. [Shm9]

(١٣٦) اللهجة الحساوية وحدة من اللهجات السعودية وأحبها بغض النظر عن وش الي تحسه الناس الثانية.

(136) The Hasawi dialect is one of the dialects of Saudi Arabia. I like it regardless of how others feel about it. [Shm5]

(١٣٧) في الحسا نفسها فيه عدة لهجات، وفرق بين القرى والمناطق الرئيسية في الحسا، واللهجة الحساوية لها قيمتها بين اللهجات السعودية الثانية [...] بعض الناس يعتقد اللهجة الحساوية اقل من غيرها، بس هذا مش صحيح لان اللهجة الحساوية لهجة اصيلة والناس تتكلمها من مئات السنين.

(137) In Alhasa itself there are many accents, and differences between villages and main areas, and the Hasawi dialect has its own value among other Saudi dialects [...] some people think the Hasawi dialect is lower than other dialects, but this is not correct; the Hasawi dialect is an authentic dialect and has been spoken for centuries. [Shm4]

For Sunni male participants, the majority of them expressed negative views toward the local dialect, as Table 30 presents.

Table 30: As a Hasawi person, what do you think about the Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why? (Sunni males)

Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Negative view	Shiite dialect	No given answer

⁴⁰ a male name.

⁴¹ *Tash Ma Tash* “no big deal” was a popular Saudi Arabia satirical comedy that ran for 18 seasons from 1993 to 2011. It aired on the Saudi State-owned television channel Saudi 1 for 13 seasons but in 2005 it was bought by MBC group new episodes ran exclusively during Ramadan right after sunset. (Kraidy 2006: 18)

Sm1	Sm4	Sm5
Sm2		Sm10
Sm3		
Sm6		
Sm7		
Sm8		
Sm9		

They highlighted that the Hasawi dialect represents uneducated people and peasants as in Examples (138) and (139). In addition, several Sunni participants, such as Sm3 in Example (140), commented that they avoid using some Hasawi words because they make others taunt them and laugh. Moreover, the stereotyping that represents Hasawi people as Shiite makes them feel negatively toward the Hasawi dialect (Example (141)). Two of the participants, Shm5 and Shm10 did not explain their impression toward the Hasawi dialect, but they answered this question with regard to the different accents in Alhasa (Examples (142) and (43)).

(١٣٨) اعتقد اللهجة الحساوية تناسب الناس اللي مش متعلمين [...] لان إذا هو متعلم يعرف ان اللهجة الحساوية مش جيدة لناس المتعلمة.

(138) I think the Hasawi dialect is suitable for non-educated people [...] because if he is educated that means he knows that Hasawi is not a good dialect to be used for educated people. [Sm1]

(١٣٩) شف اللهجة الحساوية أقدر اوصفها لك ان هي لهجة عفوية والناس البسيطة وفلاحين علشان كذا ما تصلح للمقابلات الرسمية

(139) See, the Hasawi dialect, I can describe it as a spontaneous dialect and for simple people and peasants, so it is not good for official interviews. [Sm2]

(١٤٠) اعتقد ان اللهجة الحساوية في مكانه اقل مقارنة بغيرها من اللهجات [...] بالنسبة لي دايمًا أحاول إنني ابتعد عن استخدام بعض الكلمات الحساوية لأن تخلي الناس تضحك.

(140) I think the Hasawi dialect is in a low place compared to other dialects [...] for me I always try to avoid using some Hasawi vocabulary because it makes others laugh. [Sm3]

(١٤١) للأسف اللهجة الحساوية تعني الشيعة علشان كذا اشوفها لهجة مش كويسة.

(141) Unfortunately, the Hasawi dialect indicates Shiite people, so I find it is not a good dialect [Sm4]

(١٤٢) اللهجة الحساوية غيبها لهجات مختلفة [...] كبار السن يقدرن يعرفون حتى الفروق البسيطة بين هاللهجات، بالنسبة لي اميز بين لهجات القرى وبين لهجات المناطق الرئيسية.

(142) Hasawi dialects contains different accents [...] old people can recognise even slight differences between these accents, but for me I can recognise the accents of villages more than the accents of main areas. [Sm5]

(١٤٣) في الحسا أشكال من اللهجة الحساوية، تلقى لهجة الهفوف ولهجة المبرز [...] ولهجة القرى [...] حتى القرى فيها لجات مختلفة

(143) In Alhasa there are different forms of Hasawi accent; you can find the accent of Alhafouf and the accent of Almubarraz [...] and the accent of villages [...] even in the villages there are different accents. [Sm10]

For the second question of section two in the interview, the participants were asked about the characteristics of the Hasawi dialect. All the male participants from both sects stated that the Hasawi dialect is known for the lengthening the vowels and for containing dialect-specific words:

(١٤٤) اللهجة الحساوية حالها حال أي لهجة ثانية لها خصائصها اللغوية، أولا المط في الكلام، ثانيا الحساوية تنتهي الكلمة بشي يميزها عن غيرها. مثلا يحصون يا في نهاية بعض الكلمات مثل سيارتيا وعنديا [...] وعندنا بعض العبارات اللي تميزنا مثل اسمج ابها، إذا انت مش حساوي ممكن ماتعرفها.

(144) The Hasawi dialect, as other dialects, has linguistic characteristics, first, the expansion of words, second, [suffix] in the Hasawi dialect is a unique characteristic, for example they add *ya /ja/* to some words such as *seyaratiya* “my car” and *endiya* “I have” [...] also we have some distinguished phrases such as *esmej ebha*⁴²; if you were not Hasawi you would not understand it. [Shm3]

(١٤٥) اللهجة الحساوية لها خصائص لغوية، مثلا المد في الكلام والشد على بعض الكلمات وتنتهي الكلمة بيا وهذا خاصة بالحسا مثل عطنيا واللهجات الثانية يقولون عطني وبعد فيه بعض الكلمات اللي بس تستخدم في الحسا زي حمش.

(145) The Hasawi dialect has unique linguistic features, for example, the expansion of words, stress on some words, and the special [suffix] *ya /ja/* such as for *Atanya* “gave me” other dialect speakers say *Atni* also there are some words that are just used in Alhasa like *hemish* “angry person”. [Shm4]

(١٤٦) اللهجة الحساوية معروفة بشيين: المد في الكلام وضمير الملكية يا مثل قلميا وكتابيا.

(146) The Hasawi dialect is known by two things: lengthening of words such as */ya/ qalamya* “my pen” and *ketabya* “my book”. [Shm6]

(١٤٧) اللهجة الحساوية معروفة بشيين اثنين: المط في الكلام وتغيير الالف لواو زي تعال الحساوية يقولون تو عول [...] وفيه بعد كلمات وجمل اللي بس تنفهم من الحساوية مثل ازرف عليه

(147) The Hasawi dialect is known for two things: lengthening of words and changing */a/* to */o/*⁴³ such as for *ta'al* “come” Hasawi people say *to'ol* [...] also there are some words or phrases that are understood only by Hasawi people like *ezref 'aleh*⁴⁴. [Sm2]

(١٤٨) اظن الحساوية تتشارك اللهجة البحرينية والقطرية في بعض الأشياء مثل الشد على الدال إذا بينطقونها بقليلة.

(148) I think the Hasawi dialect shares some characteristics of the Bahraini and Qatari dialects, such as stressing */d/*⁴⁵ – when they pronounce it, they make it so heavy. [Sm3]

(١٤٩) اللهجة الحساوية لها لجة وكلمات خاصة مثل زنت وهباب [...] والحساوية يبدلون حرف الكاف بالشين زي كان يقولون تشان [...] وأشهر شي فيه اللهجة الحساوية المد في الكلام.

⁴² To take an object and run with it.

⁴³ The characteristics of Hasawi dialect were discussed in (Chapter 1.5.)

⁴⁴ A phrase that means hit him.

⁴⁵ The characteristics of Hasawi dialect were discussed in (Chapter 1)

(149) The Hasawi dialect has its own accent and special words such as *zatet* “quickly” and *habab* “hurry” [...] also Hasawi people replace /k/ with /t/ like *kan* “was” with *chan* [...] and the most famous characteristic in the Hasawi dialect is lengthening the words. [Sm4]

With regard to the third question of the second section of the interview about the prospection of outsiders regarding Hasawi Dialect, Table 31 shows that:

Table 31: How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people? (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2
Positive reaction	Negative reaction
Shm1	Shm3
Shm2	Shm5
Shm4	Shm6
	Shm7
	Shm8
	Shm9
	Shm10

The male participants were asked about other people’s reactions toward the Hasawi dialect; the answers were relatively similar for both sects. For Shiite male participants, a large number of them highlighted, as Table 31 above presents, that other dialect speakers consider the Hasawi dialect to be a funny dialect and generally inferior. In addition, other dialect speakers may laugh, make jokes, or try to imitate it to make others laugh. Most importantly, they connect Hasawi dialect to Shiite Sect (Examples (150), (151), (152) and (153)). However, several of the Shiite male participants, such as Shm1 and Shm2 as in Examples (154) and (155), commented that other dialect speakers have a positive view toward the Hasawi dialect and respect it as they do other Saudi dialects:

(١٥٠) اللهجة الحساوية تعكس الطيبة والتسامح، علشان كذا بعض الناس يلقونها انها لناس دونه او مزارعين ويضحكون ويتمسحرون

(150) The Hasawi dialect reflects tolerance and simplicity, therefore some people find it for low-class people or for farmers, also some laugh, or taunt. [Shm3]

(١٥١) بعض الناس تعتقد ان اللهجة الحساوية مضحكة [...] وبعض الناس يضحكون او يتبسّمون [...] انا واجهت مثل هالمواقف يوم انا كنت في الطائف [...] للأسف بعض الناس يعيدون اللي أقوله وهم يقلدون اللهجة الحساوية بس علشان يضحكون او يتمسّخرون.

(151) Some people think Hasawi dialect is funny [...] and some people laugh or smile when you talk to them [...] I encountered like this situation when I was in Alttayyef city⁴⁶ [...] unfortunately, some people repeated what I say with simulating Hasawi dialect for laugh and taunting [Shm8]

(١٥٢) اعتقد فيه رديتين فعل: الأولى يشوفونها لهجة غريبة ويبنون يسمعونها خاصتا لهجة القرويين. ردة الفعل الثانية يتمسّخرون وينكتون.

(152) I think there are two reactions: first reaction, they find it strange and like to listen to it, especially the dialects of villagers; second reaction, they taunt and make jokes. [Shm6]

(١٥٣) كثير من السعوديين في المملكة يشوفون اللهجة الحساوية لهجة دونية وكثير منهم يربطون بين اللهجة الحساوية والشيعية، اقصد انها مسألة طائفية أكثر من كون ان لها علاقة باللهجة.

(153) Many Saudis around Saudi Arabia look at the Hasawi dialect as an inferior dialect, and a large number connect the Hasawi dialect to Shiite, I mean it is a sectarian matter more than a dialectal matter. [Shm5]

(١٥٤) قابلت ناس من مناطق مختلفة بس ردة فعلهم كانت إيجابية وحبوا طريقة كلامي [...] في البداية ظنوا اني من البحرين بس بينت لهم اني من الحسا وكانوا مبسوطين.

(154) I met many people from different Saudi regions, but their reaction was positive and they like my way of speaking [...] at the beginning they thought I was from Bahrain, but I explained to them that I am from Alhasa and they were so happy. [Shm1]

(١٥٥) [...] ردة فعل إيجابية عندنا مشاهير كثير في التواصل الاجتماعي وعندهم الاف المتابعين. اعتقد كثير من الناس يحبون اللهجة الحساوية ومهتمين يعرفون عباراتها وكلماتها.

(155) [...] positive reaction, we have many Hasawi celebrities on social media and they have thousands of followers. I think many people like the Hasawi dialect and are interested to know its phrases and words. [Shm2]

For the Sunni male participants, all of them commented that other dialect speakers have a negative reaction toward the Hasawi dialect. They highlighted that other dialect speakers' reactions are laughing, taunting, and making jokes. They attribute that to two reasons, as Table 32 below shows

Table 32: How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people? (Sunni males)

Code 1	Code 2
Low class, laughing and taunting	Shiite people

⁴⁶ A city in western region.

Sm2	Sm1
Sm3	Sm6
Sm4	Sm7
Sm5	Sm8
	Sm9
	Sm10

The first reason, as in Examples (156), (157) and (158) is related to social class, as other dialect speakers consider the Hasawi dialect to be used among low-class people. The second reason is connected to sectarianism or stereotyping, as they think all Alhasa residents are Shiite (see Examples (159) and (160)).

(١٥٦) معظم اللي مش حساوية يعتقدون ان اللهجة الحساوية حق ناس اقل درجة اجتماعية وفلاحين ويتعاملون مع الحساوية على انهم مش متعلمين او بسطين [...] وبعدين بيدون ينكتون ويتمسخرون على اللهجة الحساوية

(156) Most non-Hasawi people think that the Hasawi dialect is for low-class people and for farmers and deal with Hasawi people as uneducated or simple [...] then they start to joke and taunt the Hasawi dialect. [Sm2]

(١٥٧) يشوفون و يعتقدون ان اللهجة الحساوية حق ناس Low class، على ان في الحقيقة كثير من ال high class في الحسا يستخدمون اللهجة الحساوية بشكل طبيعي.

(157) They look, and they think the Hasawi dialect is for low-class people, in spite of the fact that many high-class especially rich people in Alhasa use the Hasawi dialect naturally. [Sm3]

(١٥٨) فيه عدة وجهات نظر، بعض الناس يشوف انها لهجة ناس اقل درجة اجتماعية ولا مش زينه لذوق العام، وبعض الناس يشوف انها تنوع ثقافي.

(158) There are different views, some people think it is a low-class dialect and is not good for public decency, and some people think this is a cultural verity. [Sm4]

(١٥٩) يتمسخرون على طريقة كلام الحساوية إذا جاو يتكلمون [...] مثلا اذا انضميت مع group من الناس في العاب الانترنت وسمعوا لهجتي يقعدون يضحكون ويقولون انت شيعي؟

(159) They taunt the way that Hasawi people use it when they speak [...] for example, when I join a group of people on the internet gaming, and they listen to my dialect they laugh and say are you Shiite? [Sm1]

(١٦٠) عادتا يتمسخرون [...] اعتقد مش علشان اللهجة نفسها [...] بس علشان أشياء ثانية [...] معظم السعوديين يعتقدون ان كل الحساوية الشيعية، علشان كذا يرفضونهم او يميزونهم.

(160) It is usually taunting [...] I think it is not because of the dialect itself [...], buy for other issue [...] because most Saudi people think all Hasawi people are Shiite, so they reject them or discriminate against them. [Sm6]

Regarding the third question of the second section, where the participants were asked about modification or changing their way of speaking with non-Hasawi speakers, the male participants had different points of view. Shiite male participants had two different views on this, as the following table, Table 33, presents:

Table 33: Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g., words/phrases/sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Why? (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2
Change is necessary	Need for explanation
Shm1	Shm2
Shm3	Shm4
Shm5	Shm8
Shm6	Shm9
Shm7	Shm10

Half of the Shiite male participants felt that the Hasawi people must change their way of speaking with non-Hasawi speakers in order to avoid embarrassment, taunting, laughing and judgments, as in Examples (161) and (162). However, the other half of the Shiite male participants, as in Examples (163) and (164), felt that the Hasawi people should speak their dialect naturally, but change words that other dialect speakers may find strange or uncommon, so as to make the conversation clearer.

(١٦١) أي [...] علشان اتجنب الاحراجات [...] أحاول أخفي لهجتي علشان اتجنب اصدار الاحكام [...] اهي مش مسألة لهجة [...], بس هي تتجاوز الى قضايا وظيفية وطائفية [...] وبعد اتجنب النظرة الدونية.

(161) yes [...] to avoid the embarrassment [...] I try to conceal my dialect in order to avoid being judged [...] it is not a dialectal matter, but it exceeds to for professional and to sectarian issues [...] also to avoid being seen in an inferior way. [Shm5]

(١٦٢) أي، لازم يغيرون طريقة كلامهم لسببين: السبب الأول علشان بيتعدون عن السخرية لأن بعض الناس وقحة، السبب علشان المحادثة تمشي بسلاسة وتكون واضحة.

(162) Yes, they have to change their way of speaking for two reasons: the first reason is to avoid taunting because some people are rude; the second reason is to make the conversation go smoothly and to be clear. [Shm6]

(١٦٣) يمكن علشان التوضيح، مش علشان الفشلة او علشان التمسخر [...] لأن إذا الحساوية غيروا بعض الكلمات، بتكون الرسالة واضحة [...] وبعض الكلمات والجمل مش مفهومة من اللهجات الثانية.

(163) Maybe for explanation, not because of shyness or to avoid taunts [...] because when Hasawi people change some words, the message will be clear [...] Also, Hasawi words and phrases cannot be understood by other dialect speakers. [Shm4]

(١٦٤) اعتقد ما يحتاجون يغيرون [...] إذا هو او هي سألوهم عن توضيح او الحساوي حس انهم ما فهموهم، لازم يغيرون او يوضحون وش معناهم، خاصتا الكلمات اللي يس مستخدمة في الحسا مثل مخاشر.

(164) I think they do not need to change [...] if he or she is asked for clarification or the Hasawi speaker felt they did not understand them, they must change or clarify what this word means, especially the words that are just used in Alhasa such as *mkhashar*⁴⁷. [Shm10]

Sunni male participants relatively agreed with the Shiite male participants' views, as Table 34 below shows,

Table 34: Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g., words/phrases/sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Why? (Sunni males)

Code 1	Code 2
Change is necessary	No need to change
Sm1	Sm4
Sm2	
Sm3	
Sm5	
Sm6	
Sm7	
Sm8	
Sm9	
Sm10	

They considered changing speech to avoid embarrassment and taunting, or to explain uncommon words, as in Examples (165), (166) and (167). In addition, a number of Sunni male participants commented on that the need for modification of speech is necessary to avoid being judged in relation to religious orientation (see Example (168)). One of the Sunni male participants, Sm4 in Example (169), remarked that there is no need for modification because of pride and difficulty in simulating other dialects

(١٦٥) أي، يحتاجون علشان سببين: بيتعدون عن الاحراج ويغيرون الخلفية السلبية عن الحساوية وطريقة كلامهم.

⁴⁷ This phrase refers to the act of sharing money.

(165) Yes, they need to change for two reasons: to avoid embarrassment and to change the negative background about Hasawi people and their way of speaking. [Sm3]

(١٦٥) ممكن يحتاجون يغيرون مش علشان انهم يستحون من لهجتهم بس علشان يخلون الثانين يفهمونهم.

(166) They may need to change not because they are shy about their dialect but to make others understand them. [Sm1]

(١٦٦) اعتقد انها تعتمد على اللي يتكلم نفس، اذا يعتقد ان اللي يسمعه ما راح يفهم بعض العبارات او الكلمات يقدر يغير بس ما يغير علشان الفشيلة او الكلمات اللي تفشل اللي تخلي الناس تضحك.

(167) I think it depends on the speaker himself; if he thinks the listener will not understand some phrases or words, he can change, but he will not change because of shyness some shameful words that make other people laugh. [Sm2]

(١٦٧) كثيرين من الحساوية يغيرون لأنهم اما يستحون او ما بيون أحد يحكم عليهم [...] اقصد يمكن انه سني ولا يبي الاخرين يعتقدون انه شخص شيعي، بينما الشيعة يحاول يخفي خلفيته الشيعية.

(168) many people in Alhasa change because they are either shy or they do not want to be judged [...] I mean maybe he is Sunni and he does not want others to think he is a Shiite person; on the other side, Shiite change to hide their sectarian background. [Sm7]

(١٦٨) اعتقد ماله داعي يغيرون لسببين: أولاً كل انسان لازم يكون عنده اعتزاز بثقافته ولهجته [...] ثانياً صعوبة تقليد لهجة ثانية لأنك إذا حاولت تغيير طريقة كلامك الثانين راح يعرفون هالشي، علشان كذا تتحاش من الفشيلة وتطيح في التمسخر لانه ما راح يتقن أي لهجة زي أهلها.

(169) I think no need to change for two reasons: first, everyone must be proud of his culture and dialect [...] Second, it is difficult to simulate another dialect because if you try to change your way of speaking, others will know that, so you escape from embarrassing and fall in taunt because he will not master any dialect like its speakers. [Sm4]

For the last question of the second part, the participants were asked about their confidence or comfort when they use their local dialect with other dialect speakers in an informal or friendly situation. Table 35 below presents Shiite male participants' views:

Table 35: Do you feel comfortable and confident when you use the Hasawi dialect with non-Hasawi people in open informal discussion? Why? (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2
Not comfortable	Comfortable
Shm2	Shm1
Shm3	Shm4
Shm5	Shm8
Shm6	Shm9
Shm10	Shm7

Several of the Shiite male participants responded that they would not feel confident or comfortable because they felt that people of other dialects would laugh, and maybe they would be judged based on their sect (see Examples (170), (171) and (172)). However, other Shiite male participants, as in Examples (173), (174) and (175), responded that they would feel comfortable because of feelings related to pride and identity matters.

(١٧٠) اعتقد ما راح أكون مرتاح، كثير من الناس بعض الأحيان يحسون بالإحراج والخل، والناس اللي تتكلم لهم ما يفهمون [...] ويمكن يتمسخرون وبعض الناس بيقولون " وش قاعد يقول؟ " وش ها للهجة اللي يستخدمها؟ " علشان كذا يبدأ يحس بالإحراج ويحاول يغير طريقة كلامه. ويستخدم على سبيل المثال لهجة الرياض او لهجة الدمام بدل لهجته الأصلية.

(170) I think, I would not feel comfortable, many people sometimes feel embarrassed and ashamed, and people who talk to them do not understand [...] or maybe ridicule, some people can say "What is he saying?", "What is the dialect he uses?" So, he begins to feel embarrassed and is trying to change his way of speaking. He uses, for example, the dialect of Riyadh or the dialect of Dammam instead of using his original dialect. [Shm2]

(١٧١) لا، ممكن ما أكون مرتاح [...] لأن كثير من الناس تحكم على الآخرين وتحاول تصنفهم دينيا، ومذهبيا، وطائفيا.

(171) No, I would not be comfortable [...] because many people like to judge other people and try to classify them regionally, ideologically, and in terms of sectarianism. [Shm5]

(١٧٢) بصراحة، ممكن أكون متوتر، لاني يكون حذر في اختيار الكلمات و الجمل.

(172) Honestly, I would be nervous, because I will have to be careful with the phrases and words that I choose. [Shm6]

(١٧٣) ممكن أكون مرتاح، لأنها لهجتي من انولدت و افتخر فيها

(173) I would be comfortable, because it is my dialect from birth, and I am proud of it. [Shm4]

(١٧٤) طبعا [...] هذي لهجتي ومعناها شخصيتي وهويتي.

(174) Of course, [...] it is my dialect and that means my identity. [Shm8]

(١٧٥) أي أي أي [...] مرتاح جدا، انا افتخر بلهجتي وعندي ثقة بالنفس [...] وإذا حاولوا يتمسخرون على طريقة كلامي يتمسخر على كلماتهم وطريقة كلامهم.

(175) Yes, yes yes [...] Very comfortable, I am proud of my dialect, and I have a self-confidence [...] if they try to taunt my way of speaking, I will taunt their words or their way of speaking. [Shm9]

For Sunni male participants' responses to the question related to whether they feel cosy when they use their local dialect with non-Hasawi people or not, Table 36 below demonstrates that:

Table 36: Do you feel comfortable and confident when you use the Hasawi dialect with non-Hasawi people in open informal discussion? Why? (Sunni males)

Code 1	Code 2
Not comfortable	Comfortable

Sm1	Sm4
Sm2	Sm5
Sm3	Sm6
Sm7	
Sm8	
Sm9	
Sm10	

They had slightly different views, as Table 36 above shows. The majority of Sunni male participants felt they would not be confident because they would need to be careful with selecting the words and pronunciation to make my speech is clear and to avoid negative comments or laughing (see Examples (176) and (177)). Conversely, three of the Sunni male participants, as in Examples (178), (179) and (180), felt that they would be confident and comfortable because they commented that it is a good opportunity for other dialect speakers to know more about the Hasawi dialect. In addition, several of the Sunni male participants thought it was related to pride.

(١٧٦) ممكن أكون متوتر علشان انها مناقشة وابي الناس الثانية تفهم قاعد أقول، علشان كذا افضل اني اختار كلمات دارجة وواضحة.

(176) I would be nervous, as it is a discussion and I want other people to understand what I say, so I prefer to choose common and clear words. [Sm9]

(١٧٧) ممكن أكون مرتبك، وعلى كل حال ممكن أكون حذر في كيفية نطق بعض الكلمات وبصراحة بحاول أخلى كلامي ناعم علشان ما حد يضحك [...] اقصد ما راح اخذ راحتتي مثل إذا جيت أتكلم مع اهلي.

(177) I would be nervous, and anyway I would be careful about how I pronounce the words and I honestly would try to make my way of speaking very soft to avoid laughing [...] I mean I would not be comfortable like when I speak to my family members. [Sm1]

(١٧٨) بالنسبة لي ممكن بكون أكثر من مرتاح وبلقاها فرصة جيدة علشان الناس اللي من بره الحسا يعرفون عن لهجتي.

(178) For me I would be more than comfortable, and I find it a good chance for others to know about my dialect. [Sm6]

(١٧٩) ممكن أكون مرتاح، لان عندي تجربته شخصية والاخرين يحترمون لهجتي ولا علقوا ولا ضحكوا.

(179) I would be comfortable, for I have personal experience and others respected me and they did not comment or laugh. [Sm4]

(١٨٠) ما عمرتي غيرت لأنها لهجتي واعتز فيها

(180) I never change dialect, because it is my dialect, and I am proud of it. [Sm5]

The last part of the interview is about the relationship between the Hasawi dialect and sectarianism. For the first question, the Shiite male participants were asked if there are linguistic differences between Shiite and Sunni speakers in Alhasa: Table 37 demonstrates their responses:

Table 37: Alhasa is a city that involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite); do you think both sects speak the same or differently? How? (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2
similar way of speaking	Differences in words and pronunciation
Shm8	Shm1
Shm9	Shm2
Shm10	Shm3
	Shm4
	Shm5
	Shm6
	Shm7

A handful of Shiite male participants felt that people who are Shiite and Sunni in Alhasa speak in similar ways. They attributed the differences to regional matters. They commented that neighbourhoods and villages that are inhabited by Shiite and Sunni speakers use the same vocabulary and pronunciation (see Examples (181) and (182)). However, the majority of the Shiite male participants, as in Examples (183) and (184), remarked that there is a linguistic difference between both sects:

(١٨١) لا، يتكلمون نفس اللهجة [...] هالفصل عندي تطبيق في مدارس الحكومة [...] وهالمدرسة فيها طلاب شيعية وسنة [...] ولا لقيت فيه فروق لغوية بين الطائفتين

(181) No, they speak the same dialect [...] I now have teaching placement in a public school this semester [...] and this school includes Shiite and Sunni pupils [...] and I do not find any linguistic differences between both sects. [Shm8]

(١٨٢) الصراحة مافيه فروق لغوية بين الطائفتين [...] لان الحسا مجتمع متعايش دينياً [...] بس تعتمد اساساً على المنطقة اللي تعيش فيها كل طائفة [...] إذا واحد من بني معن تكلم معاي بقول هذا شيعي وإذا واحد من السلمانية بقول هذا سني لان هالحي كله سني.

(182) Honestly, there are no linguistic differences between both sects [...] Because Alhasa is a homogeneous society linguistically and religiously [...] But it mainly depends on the areas each sect group lives in [...] when someone

from Bani Ma'an⁴⁸ speaks to me I will say he is Shiite and someone from Alssalmanyah⁴⁹ I will say he is Sunni because this neighbourhood is fully inhabited with Sunni people [Shm9]

(١٨٣) كل مذهب له طريقة كلام، [...] أكثر الشيعة الى اللحين يتكلمون الحساوية الاصيله والسنة غيروا طريقة كلامهم زي الرياض وهذا يعني ان فيه فروق لغوية بين الطائفتين.

(183) Every sect has its way of speaking [...] Most of the Shiite people still use authentic Hasawi dialect and Sunni people have change their speech similar to Riyadh; that does mean that there are linguistic differences between both sects [Shm5]

(١٨٤) ايه فيه فروق [...] لان لهجة الشيعة فيها خشونه بس لهجة السنة ناعمة خاصتا في نطق الكلمات والشيعة يمطون في الكلام أكثر من السنة.

(184) Yes, there are differences [...] as the Shiite dialect is a harsh dialect but the Sunni dialect is soft, specifically in pronunciation of words and Shiite speakers expand words more than Sunni speakers. [Shm7]

With regard to Sunni male participants, they had different views on these differences, shown in Table 38 below:

Table 38: Alhasa is a city that involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite); do you think both sects speak the same or differently? How? (Sunni males)

Code 1	Code 2
Similar way of speaking	Differences in words and pronunciation
Sm2	Sm1
Sm5	Sm3
Sm7	Sm4
	Sm6
	Sm8
	Sm9
	Sm10

A number of the Sunni male participants, as in Examples (185) and (186), had similar opinions to the Shiite male participants in that it involves similar way of speaking as it is a regional matter. Nevertheless, a large number of the Sunni male participants highlighted several linguistic differences between Shiite and Sunni in Alhasa. The linguistic differences⁵⁰ are in the level of vocabulary and pronunciations. For the vocabulary,

⁴⁸ It is a village in Alhasa is fully inhabited by Shiite citizens.

⁴⁹ It is a neighbourhood in Alhasa is fully inhabited by Sunni citizens.

⁵⁰ For more details see (Chapter 1)

people who are Shiite tend to use old Hasawi words that are rarely used by Sunni speakers (see Example (187)). Regarding the pronunciations, people who are Shiite lengthen vowels more than those who are Sunni, and there is the affrication of suffix /ja/ that is commonly used among Shiite speakers of Hasawi (see Examples (188) and (189)):

(١٨٥) غير !!!! لا لا، بس اعتقد الشيعة يمدون الكلم أكثر من السنة لأنهم يعيشون في نفس المنطقة اللي طريقة كلامهم زي كذا، حتى السنة اللي يعيشون قراب جنب الشيعة يتكلمون زيهم.

(185) Differently!!!! No, but I think Shiite expand words more than Sunni because they live in areas where their way of speaking is like this. Even Sunni people who live near Shiite speak like them. [Sm2]

(١٨٦) يتكلمون نفس الشي واثنينهم عندهم نفس مواصفات اللهجة الحساوية.

(186) They speak similarly, both sects share most of the Hasawi linguistics features [Sm5]

(١٨٧) اكيد يتكلمون غير عن بعض، السبب ان الشيعة يمددون في الكلمات أكثر من السنة وينطقون زي كبار السن. و السنة يحاولون يطورون في كلامهم.

(187) Of course, they speak differently, the reason is that Shiite people expand the words more than Sunni and their pronunciation is like that of old people. And Sunnis try to develop their speech [Sm4]

(١٨٨) نعم فيه فروق في اللفظ بس الكلمات نفس الشي لان الشيعة يمددون الكلمات أكثر من السنة [...] مثلا السنة يقولون اها عاد خلونا نتعشي والشيعة يقولون اها عود خلونا نتعشي

(188) Yes, there are differences in pronunciation, but the vocabulary is same because Shiite people expand the words more than Sunni people [...] for example, Sunni people say *aha a'ad kalona nta'asha*⁵¹ and Shiite people say *aha o'od khlona net'asaa*⁵². [Sm6]

(١٨٩) أي أقدر اميز الفروق لان فيه فروق في النطق مثلا السنة يقولون امي او سيارتي بس الشيعة يقولون اميا وسيارتيا.

(189) Yes, I can recognise differences, because there are differences in pronunciation; for example, Sunni speakers say *omi* “my mother” or *siyarti* “my car”, but Shiite speakers, they say *omya* or *siyartya*. [Sm9]

Regarding the second question in the last part, which is about whether it is possible to recognise Shiite and Sunni speakers of Hasawi from their way of speaking, there are different views between the Sunni and Shiite male participants. See Table 39:

Table 39: As a Hasawi person, can you recognise Shiite or Sunni people from their way of speaking? How? Please give an example. (Shiite males)

Code 1	Code 2
No, I cannot	Yes, I can

⁵¹ It means: “Come on guys, let us go for dinner”

⁵² The participant lengthened the last vowel to explain the difference.

Shm8	Shm1
Shm9	Shm2
Shm10	Shm3
	Shm4
	Shm5
	Shm6
	Shm7

Generally, for the Shiite male participants, three of them, Shm8, Shm9 and Shm10, commented that it is a difficult issue to recognise whether the speaker is Shiite or Sunni from their way of speaking unless the speaker reveals which area he or she lives in (see Examples (190), (191) and (192)) However, the majority of the participant, as in Examples (193) and (194), felt that they can recognise Shiite and Sunni when they speak because of differences in their pronunciation.

(١٩٠) لا، ما قدر اميز خاصنا إذا يعيشون في نفس المنطقة.

(190) No, I do not recognise, especially if they live in the same area. [Shm8]

(١٩١) اكيد لا علشان المسالة لها علاقة وين تعيش مش وش طائفة انت منها.

(191) Of course, no, because it is a matter of the place you live in not the sect you belong to. [Shm9]

(١٩٢) لا، بعض الاحيان أتكلم مع واحد اطن انه شيعي ويطلع سني والعكس صحيح [...] خاصنا اذا عرفت وين بيته.

(192) No, sometimes I speak with a person I think he is a Shiite then I found he is a Sunni and vice versa [...] especially if I know where his house is [Shm10]

(١٩٣) ممكن، مثل ما قلت لك من قبل فيه فروق، مثل خلف اميه إذا سمعتها اقدر أقول هذا شيعي. بالنسبة لسنة ممكن إني اميزهم من نفس نطق هالكلمة.

(193) Maybe, as I said earlier there are differences, such as *Khalaf Omiya*⁵³ when I hear it, I can say this person is Shiite. For Sunni people, I maybe recognise them through the pronouncing of some words. [Shm1]

(١٩٤) أي، أقدر اميز، مره تكلمت مع اثنين في الرياض وعلى طول قلت هذيلة شيعية من طريقة نطقهم [...] وفعلا اطلعوا شيعية جابين لرياض علشان يخلصون بعض الاوراق في دائرة حكومية.

(194) Yes, I can recognise, once I spoke to two Hasawi people in Riyadh and I directly said they are Shiite from their pronunciation [...] and really they were Shiite people who came to Riyadh to finish some paperwork in a governmental department [Shm7]

⁵³ A phrase used for a beloved person.

For Sunni male participants, the majority of them felt that they can identify Shiites and Sunnis from their way of speaking, as the following table presents:

Table 40: As a Hasawi person, can you recognise Shiite or Sunni people from their way of speaking? How? Please give an example. (Sunni males)

Code 1	Code 2
No, I cannot	Yes, I can
Sm2	Sm1
Sm5	Sm3
Sm7	Sm4
	Sm6
	Sm8
	Sm9
	Sm10

A number of Sunni participants such as Sm5 and Sm7, in Examples (195) and (196), commented that they could not identify individuals as Shiite or Sunni through their way of speaking, as Sunni and Shiite live in the same areas and use the same accent. In contrast, the majority of Sunni male participants felt that they could recognise Shiite and Sunni speakers through pronunciations and words that they use (see Examples (197), (198), and (199)).

(١٩٥) بالنسبة لي ما قدر اميز من اللكنة، لان فيه مناطق يعيش فيها شيعة وسنة بس أقدر اميز بطرق ثانية.

(195) For me I cannot recognise via their accent because there are areas that are shared between Sunni and Shiite people, but I can recognise from other ways. [Sm5]

(١٩٦) اعتقد صعب، مثلا ابوي عمي ونوموه في المستشفى واللي جالس جنبه قام يسولف معاه في مواضيع كثيرة، وابوي ما أدري وش هو شيعي ولا سني. بس بعد فترة هالرجال قال لولدة منى بنروح الحسينية؟ [...] من هالسلفة أحب أقول بعض الأحيان صعب أنك تميز من أي طائفة اللي يتكلم.

(196) I think it is difficult; for example, my father is blind, and he was admitted to the hospital and the person who was sitting beside him spoke to my father about many issues. And my father did not know which sect he belonged to. But after a while this man said to his son, when will we go to *Hussainyah*⁵⁴? [...] From his story I would like to say sometimes it's difficult to recognise both sects' speakers [Sm7]

(١٩٧) أي، أقدر من طريقة كلامهم والنطق [...] والشيعية للحين يتكلمون زي كبار السن، بس السنة يحاولون يكونون أكثر تطور من خلال استعمال كلمات من لهجات ثانية وخاصتا الرياض

⁵⁴ A congregation hall for Shiite commemoration ceremonies.

(197) Yes, I can. Through their way of speaking and pronouncing [...] and Shiite people still speak like old Hasawi people, but Sunni people try to be more modern by borrowing some words from other dialects, specifically the dialect of Riyadh. [Sm1]

(١٩٨) أي، مثل ما قلت قبل، الشيعة ينطقون بعض الكلمات مثل الشيايب، زي كلمة انا الشيعة يقولن اونا او كلمة اسمي الشيعة يقولون اسميا علشان كذا نادر تسمع سني ينطق زي الشيعة

(198) yes, as I said earlier, Shiite pronounce some words the same as old people, such as *ana* (I am), Shiite say *ona*, or the word *esmi* “my name”, Shiite say *esmya*, so it is rare to hear Sunni pronounce words like Shiite. [Sm3]

(١٩٩) أي مثل ما قلت من النطق، ممثل السني يقول ما تجي والشيعة يقول ما بتجي.

(199) Yes, as I said from pronunciation, like Sunni speakers say *ma teji* “wrong” but Shiite speakers say *mab teji*. [Sm8]

With regard to the last question about the ability of non-Hasawi people to recognise a person’s sect through their way of speaking, all Shiite and Sunni male participants felt that it is a difficult matter to be recognised through their dialect, if the speaker is from Alhasa he can recognise them because of the words and pronunciation used, but for non-Hasawi speakers he cannot identify which sect they belong to.

4.4.1 Summary of the interview results obtained from male participants.

To sum up, the results that were obtained from male participants demonstrate that they have a good knowledge about the differences between Saudi dialects in terms of both vocabulary and pronunciation. The majority of male participants from both sects nominated the dialect of Riyadh as the most prestigious dialect because it is used by royal family and the social elite. When the male participants were asked about Najdi dialect, they commented that it is a clear and a fluent dialect. In addition, the result shows that Shiite male participants were proud of the local dialect, namely Hasawi dialect, while Sunni male participants felt stigmatised as low-class people and attempted to avoid using in order not to be stereotyped as Shiite people.

A large number of male participants from both sects commented that other people laugh and taunt Hasawi people when they listen to them speak, or other people find Hasawi to be a strange dialect because of the pronunciation or words used. Moreover, the results illustrated that there was agreement between the Sunni and Shiite male participants regarding the features of the Hasawi dialect as it contains unique or uncommon

words, and it is known for having lengthened vowels. Half of the Shiite male participants from felt that Hasawi people must change or modify their way of speaking when they speak with non-dialect users to ensure that conversation continues without the need for semantic clarifications. In contrast, most of Sunni male participants felt that they have to change their way of speaking in order to avoid being judged as Shiites. However, Shiite male participants and Sunni female participants commented differently about the use of Hasawi dialect in friendly conversation. For most of Shiite male participants, they remarked that they felt comfortable using their dialect and they attributed that within a friendly conversation it is an opportunity to show others their pride of their dialect. With regard to Sunni male participants, the majority of them answered that they do not feel comfortable using it with a non-dialect user because taunting and to avoid stereotyping.

Regarding the dialect differences between Shiite and Sunni people in Alhasa, most of the male participants from both sects felt that there are differences in pronunciation and words between Hasawi speakers of different religious sects. Moreover, the results demonstrated that the large number of Shiite and Sunni male participants remarked that they can recognise Shiite and Sunni people from their way of speaking. A handful of the Sunni and Shiite male participants attributed the linguistic differences to areas or family they belong to. Sunni male participants commented that people who live in Alhasa can recognise speakers' sect through their way of speaking, but non-dialect users consider all Hasawi people to be Shiite regardless to their way of speaking.

4.5. Summary of the interview results

To compare the obtained results for both genders from both sects, the results showed that both genders from both sects realise that the differences between Saudi dialects are in words and pronunciations. However, male participants demonstrated more knowledge about the differences more than female participants, providing relevant examples, whereas the female participants did not provide sufficient examples to these differences. In addition, the results indicate that both Sunni males and females did not identify Hasawi dialect as a prestigious dialect, with most of them considering the dialect of Riyadh as the most prestigious because of the power associated with the capital city and ruling elite. Similarly, Shiite

males identified other dialects to be prestigious dialects rather than Hasawi dialect, such as the dialect of Riyadh and other dialects. While the majority of the Shiite females named Hasawi dialect as a prestigious dialect, a number of them commented that the dialect of Riyadh is a prestigious dialect. Moreover, the results showed that most Sunni male and female participants remarked that the Najdi dialect is a clear and understandable dialect. In contrast, most of Shiite male and female participants highlighted that Najdi dialect is similar to Bedouin dialects or answered neutrally.

Regarding Hasawi dialect, both Sunni male and female participants responded negatively about the Hasawi dialect in regard to how it is spoken and its stereotyped connection as being a Shiite dialect. For Shiite participants, most of them commented positively toward Hasawi dialect, while a number of them felt that the Hasawi dialect contained difficult words or provided a clear answer. Also, the majority of both gender participants from both sects highlighted that other dialect speakers' reaction when they hear Hasawi speakers is laughing or taunting. With regards to modifying or changing the way of speaking with outsiders, there is a tendency from Sunni participants to modify and that was attributed to embarrassments, clarification and being judged as Shiites. Correspondingly, Shiite participants answered that changing way of speaking is just for clarity not for shyness, while a number of the participants disagreed with changing the way of speaking due to their pride in their dialect. In addition, the results pointed that the majority of Sunni participants commented that they do not feel comfortable when they speak with outsiders in friendly conversation because of laughing and taunting. Conversely, the Shiite participants highlighted that they feel comfortable because of pride.

Regarding the relationship between Hasawi dialect and sectarianism, the results showed that Shiite and Sunni participants felt that there is a dichotomous situation, namely, that the two dialects have different language ideologies which have apparently affected the way in which the dialects are perceived. Therefore, participants remarked both sects speak differently through words and pronunciation. Moreover, participants responded that they could recognise the speaker's sect from the way of speaking or words used.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis (MGT)

5.1. introduction.

The quantitative data collected using the Matched Guise Technique (MGT) are presented in this Chapter. In this study, MGT is used to identify attitudes towards the Hasawi dialect. For the MGT recordings, four Hasawi speakers were recorded: a Hasawi male Shiite speaker (HShM), Hasawi female Shiite speaker (HShF), Hasawi male Sunni speaker (HSM) and Hasawi Sunni female speaker (HSF). In addition, two speakers of the Najdi dialect, a non-Hasawi male speaker (NHM) and a non-Hasawi female speaker (NHF), were recorded, as well as a male distractor speaking a Syrian dialect and a female distractor speaking an Algerian dialect.⁵⁵ All speakers read the same passage once.

5.2. Matched Guise Technique Analysis

The participants comprised a total of 40 Hasawi males and females divided into two groups: Shiite and Sunni (20 Shiites and 20 Sunnis) and were the same participants who participated in the interview. Each group contained ten males and ten females. The participants listened to eight voice recordings, one from each speaker. Each group listened to the recordings in two random orders in order to avoid bias in their evaluation (see Chapter 3). The participants evaluated the speakers based on a seven-point Likert-type scale comprising seven traits. All seven descriptive traits (لهجة الطبقة الاجتماعية العالية) “high social class”, النطق سليم “good pronunciation”, لهجة جاذبه “attractive dialect”, لهجة محببة للنفس “pleasant dialect”, لهجة تتميز بالطلاقة “fluent dialect”, لهجة تحتوى ألفاظ قاسية “embarrassing linguistic features” and لهجة تتضمن خصائص لغوية محرجة “rugged dialect”). Therefore, it is important to explain what these terms mean within the Arabic context, particularly those that have not been applied in previous studies (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.3.). High social class means that the dialect is commonly used among elite people such as rich people and politicians or used in TV programmes. Good pronunciation involves evaluation of the linguistic features of uttered words. An attractive dialect means that a large number of people attempt to simulate the dialect in their

⁵⁵ These two distractors are excluded from the analysis (see Chapter 3 in Section 3.3.2.3).

daily lives. Regarding fluency, Mohsen (2010: 20) defines it as when people speak a dialect with clarity and correct vocabulary. A pleasant dialect is one that contains nice words and is one that people prefer to hear regardless of whether it is spoken by elite people or not. With respect to embarrassing linguistic features, this involves a dialect where particular sounds are replaced with other sounds or where vowels are lengthened (for more details, see Chapter 1), which makes its speakers embarrassed as others may laugh at or ridicule their way of speaking. Regarding ruggedness, Al-Wesaifi (1995: 223) defines ruggedness in language as the opposite of a smooth dialect. It involves the difficulty of the vocabulary used, with a rugged dialect usually containing vocabulary that is uncommon or incomprehensible to language users (Al-Wesaifi 1995: 223).

The second section of the MGT consisted of three open-ended questions; the first and third questions were only ever intended as distractor questions. For the second question, the aim of this question was to determine whether or not participants could guess the sect to which the speaker belonged. This type of question aids in establishing the technique's validity (Lees 2000 as cited in Bellamy 2010: 93). The participants were thus aware that they were assessing Sunnis, Shiites and non-Hasawi speakers based on their responses to the second question on where they thought the speaker was from. The majority of participants, (35 of 40), anticipated the sect of speakers, either in reference to the neighbourhood or area or directly to the sect that the speaker belongs to.

For statistical analyses, IBM SPSS (version 25) statistical software was used to process and analyse the quantitative data. Each descriptive trait was statistically analysed. The evaluations ranged from strongly agree to agree (1 to 3) and from somewhat disagree to strongly disagree (5 to 7). When a participant indicates that they neither agree or disagree (4; which sits in the middle of the scale) with a particular descriptive trait for a given speaker, this implies a neutral attitude. Two descriptive traits (embarrassing linguistic features and ruggedness) have negative connotations, so they were reverse-analysed, namely ratings of 5 to 7 were positive evaluations while ratings of 1 to 3 were negative evaluations. The results are presented in the form of standard deviation (*SD*) and mean (*M*) scores, which according to Guy and Holmes

(2014: 200) is the best-known measure for quantitative scales (normally interval scales). This enables the calculation of the average response for a group of speakers (Guy and Holmes 2014: 200). In addition, the mean was chosen as a measure based on findings from previous research where the MGT was used (Bugge 2018; Cavallaro *et al.* 2018; Kyriakou 2015; McKenzie 2010; Puah and Ting 2015). Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) for the six recordings was conducted “to test the difference between groups across several dependent variables simultaneously” (Field 2009: 614), i.e., to test how gender and sect as independent variables interact with and affect the evaluation of these seven descriptive traits as dependent variables. The analysis of the MGT results on attitudes towards male speakers is presented first, followed by the results on attitudes towards female speakers.

5.3 Participants’ attitudes towards male speakers

In this section, the MGT results obtained from all participants (n=40) and their attitudes towards male speakers will be discussed and compared depending on two variables, their gender and their religious sect.

5.3.1. Attitudes towards the Hasawi Shiite male speaker

The Hasawi Shiite male speaker (HShM), as Table 1 below shows, was evaluated by Shiite female participants (n=10) as being of high social class, with a well-pronounced, attractive, pleasant and fluent dialect ($M = 2.60$, $SD = 1.506$; $M = 1.90$, $SD = .994$; $M = 1.70$, $SD = .823$; $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.160$; and $M = 2.10$, $SD = .994$, respectively). As these scores range from 1 to 3 on the seven-point Likert-type scale (strongly agree to agree), this indicates a positive evaluation. The results also indicate that the Shiite female participants did not perceive HShM to use embarrassing linguistic features or to have a rugged dialect (these two traits were evaluated in a negative direction as explained above). The mean scores are within the range of somewhat disagree to strongly disagree (5 to 7), ($M = 6.10$, $SD = 1.197$; $M = 6.60$, $SD = .699$) respectively, which again indicates that this speaker was evaluated positively on these attributes. The standard deviation for all traits is low, with most Shiite female participants’ evaluations being concentrated around the mean.

In contrast, HShM was evaluated negatively by the Sunni female participants ($n=10$), as shown in Table 1. These participants evaluated HShM as not being of high social class, and as speaking a dialect with the following attributes: poor pronunciation, unattractive, unpleasant and with a lack of fluency ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 1.247$; $M = 6.20$, $SD = 1.135$; $M = 6.50$, $SD = .972$; $M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.418$; and $M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.449$, respectively). Moreover, Sunni female participants perceived that HShM used embarrassing linguistic features and had a rugged dialect ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.636$; $M = 2.00$, $SD = 1.333$, respectively); thus, their evaluation was negative. The standard deviation for all traits is low, with most Sunni female participants' evaluations being concentrated around the mean.

The Shiite male participants ($n=10$) evaluated the Hasawi Shiite male's dialect positively; as Table 41 shows, the mean for most of the descriptive traits is below 4.00, as being of high social class, with a well-pronounced, attractive, pleasant and fluent dialect ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.033$; $M = 2.10$, $SD = .994$; $M = 2.20$, $SD = .816$; $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.160$; and $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.075$, respectively). They considered HShM's dialect to contain no embarrassing linguistic features and not to be rugged ($M = 6.10$, $SD = 1.101$; $M = 6.10$, $SD = .994$). The standard deviation is low for all traits, with most Shiite male participants' evaluations being concentrated around the mean. However, the Sunni male participants ($n=10$) perceived HShM's dialect to be undesirable. As illustrated in Table 1, the mean scores for the positive descriptive traits (high social class, good pronunciation, attractive, pleasant and fluent) are above 4.00, ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.033$; $M = 2.10$, $SD = .994$; $M = 2.20$, $SD = .816$; $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.160$; and $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.075$, respectively) whereas the scores are below 4.00 for the negative descriptive traits of embarrassing linguistic features and rugged ($M = 1.90$, $SD = .876$; $M = 2.00$, $SD = .943$, respectively) The standard deviation is concentrated around the mean in all the traits.

Table 41: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Hasawi Shiite male speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).

	Gender	Sect	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
High social class	female	Shiite	2.60	1.506	1	5
		Sunni	6.00	1.247	4	7
		Total	4.30	2.203		
	male	Shiite	2.20	1.033	1	4

		Sunni	6.60	.516	6	7
		Total	4.40	2.393		
Good pronunciation	female	Shiite	1.90	.994	1	4
		Sunni	6.20	1.135	4	7
		Total	4.05	2.438		
	male	Shiite	2.10	.994	1	4
		Sunni	5.80	1.033	4	7
		Total	3.95	2.139		
Attractive	female	Shiite	1.70	.823	1	3
		Sunni	6.50	.972	4	7
		Total	4.10	2.614		
	male	Shiite	2.00	.816	1	3
		Sunni	6.40	.843	5	7
		Total	4.20	2.397		
Pleasant	female	Shiite	2.30	1.160	1	4
		Sunni	5.70	1.418	3	7
		Total	4.00	2.152		
	male	Shiite	2.30	1.160	1	4
		Sunni	6.00	.816	5	7
		Total	4.15	2.134		
Fluent	female	Shiite	2.10	.994	1	4
		Sunni	5.10	1.449	3	7
		Total	3.60	1.957		
	male	Shiite	2.40	1.075	1	4
		Sunni	6.00	.943	4	7
		Total	4.20	2.093		
Embarrassing linguistic features	female	Shiite	6.10	1.197	4	7
		Sunni	2.30	1.636	1	6
		Total	4.20	2.397		
	male	Shiite	6.10	1.101	4	7
		Sunni	1.90	.876	1	3
		Total	4.00	2.362		
Rugged	female	Shiite	6.60	.699	5	7
		Sunni	2.00	1.333	1	4
		Total	4.30	2.577		
	male	Shiite	6.10	.994	4	7
		Sunni	2.00	.943	1	3
		Total	4.05	2.305		

A MANOVA test of between-subjects effects was conducted to explore the gender and sect effects on the descriptive traits of HShM's dialect in addition, illustrating the interaction at the level of gender and sect on the traits. The alpha level (p) is 0.050, and significant differences are considered below this level. The results shown in Table 42 below indicate that there was not a significant effect at the level of gender on the evaluations of any of the descriptive traits: high social class ($F(1, 36) = .078, p > 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = .092, p > 0.050$); attractive ($F(1,36) = .133, p > 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1,36) = .168, p > 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = 2.805, p > 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = .263, p > 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1,36) = .603, p > 0.050$). The results do, however, highlight a significant effect at the level of sect as all traits' evaluations have a significance level of $p < 0.050$, high social class ($F(1, 36) = 118.009, p < 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 147.692, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1,36) = 282.133, p < 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1,36) = 93.932, p < 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = 84.857, p < 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 105.109, p < 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1,36) = 182.630, p < 0.050$). There was a clear trend for the Sunni participants to evaluate HShM's dialect more negatively than the Shiite participants did; the Shiite participants evaluated HShM significantly more positively than the Sunni participants did. In relation to the interaction of the independent variables, there is no significant interaction at the level of gender and sect in relation to high social class ($F(1, 36) = 1.940, p > 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = .831, p > 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = .533, p > 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = .168, p > 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = .701, p > 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1,36) = .263, p > 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = .603, p > 0.050$). Despite the Shiite and Sunni participants' different evaluations of HShM's dialect, the interaction between both gender and sect was not significantly different.

Table 42: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the HShM

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Gender	High social class	1	.078	.782
	Good pronunciation	1	.092	.763
	Attractive	1	.133	.717
	Pleasant	1	.168	.685
	Fluent	1	2.805	.103
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	.263	.611
	Rugged	1	.603	.442

Sect	High social class	1	118.009	.000
	Good pronunciation	1	147.692	.000
	Attractive	1	282.133	.000
	Pleasant	1	93.932	.000
	Fluent	1	84.857	.000
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	105.109	.000
	Rugged	1	182.630	.000
Gender * Sect	High social class	1	1.940	.172
	Good pronunciation	1	.831	.368
	Attractive	1	.533	.470
	Pleasant	1	.168	.685
	Fluent	1	.701	.408
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	.263	.611
	Rugged	1	.603	.442
Error	High social class	36		
	Good pronunciation	36		
	Attractive	36		
	Pleasant	36		
	Fluent	36		
	Embarrassing	36		
	Rugged	36		

5.3.2. Attitudes towards the Hasawi Sunni male speaker

Regarding the Hasawi Sunni male (HSM), the Shiite female participants generally evaluated, as Table 43 below demonstrates, the Hasawi Sunni male speaker's dialect neutrally. They rated HSM neutrally on social class, pronunciation, pleasantness, and fluency ($M = 4.00$, $SD = .943$; $M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.418$; $M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.179$; $M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.595$, respectively). However, the Sunni female participants had a negative attitude towards this speaker. Table 3 shows that they evaluated him as not being of high social class, and as speaking a dialect with poor pronunciation, and that was unpleasant with a lack of fluency. The mean is above 4.00 and there is low standard deviation, which is concentrated around the mean ($M = 6.20$, $SD = 1.135$; $M = 6.70$, $SD = .675$; $M = 6.30$, $SD = .949$; and $M = 6.00$, $SD = .943$, respectively). Both groups considered HSM's dialect to be unattractive ($M = 5.10$, $SD = .876$ for the Shiite group and $M = 6.40$, $SD = .422$ for the Sunni group). Interestingly, HSM's dialect was evaluated negatively by the Sunni female participants as they perceived it to contain embarrassing linguistic features ($M = 1.80$, $SD = 1.135$),

but the female Shiite participants rated this attribute neutrally ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.247$). Both Shiite and Sunni female groups agreed that this speaker had a rugged dialect ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.581$ and $M = 1.90$, $SD = 1.449$, respectively).

The results show that the Shiite male participants had a near-neutral evaluation of the Hasawi Sunni male's dialect, as shown in Table 3. They gave neutral evaluations for the traits of pronunciation, pleasantness, and fluency ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.317$; $M = 4.70$, $SD = .949$; and $M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.269$, respectively). They evaluated the dialect as not being high social class, unattractive, containing embarrassing linguistic features and rugged ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.247$; $M = 5.30$, $SD = 1.059$; $M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.619$; and $M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.563$, respectively). Similarly, the Sunni male participants evaluated all the descriptive traits negatively, shown by the mean being above 4.0 ($M = 6.10$, $SD = .738$; $M = 6.00$, $SD = .816$; $M = 6.40$, $SD = .699$; $M = 5.80$, $SD = .789$; and $M = 5.90$, $SD = .994$, respectively), apart from the traits that were reverse-analysed where the mean is below 4.0 ($M = 1.80$, $SD = .919$; $M = 1.80$, $SD = 1.033$, respectively) The standard deviation is low and around the mean, as shown in Table 43.

Table 43: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Hasawi Sunni male speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).

	Gender	Sect	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
High social class	Female	Shiite	4.00	.943	3	6
		Sunni	6.20	1.135	4	7
		Total	4.85	1.755		
	Male	Shiite	5.00	1.247	3	7
		Sunni	6.10	.738	5	7
		Total	5.55	1.146		
Good pronunciation	Female	Shiite	4.70	1.418	2	7
		Sunni	6.70	.675	5	7
		Total	5.45	1.820		
	Male	Shiite	4.20	1.317	1	6
		Sunni	6.00	.816	5	7
		Total	5.10	1.410		
Attractive	Female	Shiite	5.10	.876	4	6
		Sunni	6.80	.422	6	7
		Total	5.70	1.559		
	Male	Shiite	5.30	1.059	4	7
		Sunni	6.40	.699	5	7
		Total	5.85	1.040		
Pleasant	Female	Shiite	4.50	1.179	3	6
		Sunni	6.30	.949	5	7
		Total	5.15	1.694		
	Male	Shiite	4.70	.949	4	6
		Sunni	5.80	.789	5	7
		Total	5.25	1.020		
Fluent	Female	Shiite	4.10	1.595	1	6
		Sunni	6.00	.943	5	7
		Total	4.80	1.824		
	Male	Shiite	4.50	1.269	3	6
		Sunni	5.90	.994	4	7
		Total	5.20	1.322		
Embarrassing linguistic features	Female	Shiite	4.00	1.247	3	7
		Sunni	1.80	1.135	1	4
		Total	2.75	1.333		
	Male	Shiite	3.80	1.619	3	6
		Sunni	1.80	.919	1	3
		Total	2.80	1.642		
Rugged	Female	Shiite	3.50	1.581	1	6
		Sunni	1.90	1.449	1	4
		Total	2.95	1.905		

Male	Shiite	3.00	1.563	1	6
	Sunni	1.80	1.033	1	4
	Total	2.40	1.429		

The results shown in Table 44 below suggest that there is no significant effect at the level of gender on any of the descriptive traits: high social class ($F(1, 36) = 1.894, p > 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 2.959, p > 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = .157, p > 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = .236, p > 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = .149, p > 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = .063, p > 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = .444, p > 0.050$). Therefore, it can be said that there is no significant difference in how both genders evaluated this speaker.

In contrast, there is a significant difference at the level of sect, as $p < 0.05$ for all traits, high social class ($F(1, 36) = 25.457, p < 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 29.671, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 30.678, p < 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 22.067, p < 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = 18.050, p < 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 27.951, p < 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = 9.666, p < 0.050$). This is because the Shiite participants generally evaluated HSM's dialect neutrally, while the Sunni participants evaluated his dialect extremely negatively. Regarding the interaction between the levels of gender and sect, there is no significant effect, as $p > 0.05$ for all traits, as presented in Table 44: high social class ($F(1, 36) = 2.829, p > 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = .082, p > 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 1.409, p > 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 1.286, p > 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = .414, p > 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = .063, p > 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = .197, p > 0.050$). Despite the different evaluations of HSM's dialect between both genders in both the Shiite and Sunni participant samples, no significant difference was found when the interaction between gender and sect was tested.

Table 44: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the HSM.

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Gender	High social class	1	1.894	.177
	Good pronunciation	1	2.959	.094
	Attractive	1	.157	.695
	Pleasant	1	.236	.630
	Fluent	1	.149	.702
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	.063	.803
	Rugged	1	.444	.510
Sect	High social class	1	25.457	.000
	Good pronunciation	1	29.671	.000
	Attractive	1	30.678	.000
	Pleasant	1	22.067	.000
	Fluent	1	18.050	.000
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	27.951	.000
	Rugged	1	9.666	.004
Gender * Sect	High social class	1	2.829	.101
	Good pronunciation	1	.082	.776
	Attractive	1	1.409	.243
	Pleasant	1	1.286	.264
	Fluent	1	.414	.524
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	.063	.803
	Rugged	1	.197	.660
Error	High social class	36		
	Good pronunciation	36		
	Attractive	36		
	Pleasant	36		
	Fluent	36		
	Embarrassing linguistic features	36		
	Rugged	36		

5.3.3. Attitudes towards the non-Hasawi male speaker

In relation to the non-Hasawi male speaker (NHM), Table 45 below shows that the Shiite female participants perceived the Najdi dialect of the non-Hasawi male speaker negatively, as indicated by the mean scores for most descriptive traits being above 4.00, and below 4.00 for traits that were reverse-analysed, with the standard deviation concentrated around the mean. They evaluated this speaker as not being of high social class, and as speaking a dialect with the following attributes: poor pronunciation, unattractive, unpleasant, embarrassing linguistic features and rugged ($M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.595$; $M = 5.40$, SD

= 1.174; $M = 5.10$, $SD = .876$; $M = 5.40$, $SD = 1.350$; $M = 3.10$, $SD = .994$; and $M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.581$, respectively). However, they evaluated the dialect neutrally on fluency ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.595$). The Sunni female participants evaluated NHM as being of high social class, and as speaking a well-pronounced, attractive, pleasant and fluent dialect ($M = 2.00$, $SD = .943$; $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.160$; $M = 2.10$, $SD = 1.101$; $M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.686$; and $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.174$, respectively). In addition, the Sunni female participants did not perceive NHM's speech to include embarrassing linguistic features and or as being rugged ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.265$; $M = 5.90$, $SD = 1.663$, respectively).

Both Shiite and Sunni male participants had a positive perception of the dialect of the non-Hasawi male speaker. They both evaluated approximately all of the positive descriptive traits affirmatively, as shown in Table 45, with mean scores below 4.00 and a low standard deviation, ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.792$; $M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.524$; $M = 2.60$, $SD = 1.578$; $M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.491$; and $M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.751$, respectively) for Shiite male participants and ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.838$; $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.838$; $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.776$; $M = 2.60$, $SD = 1.955$; and $M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.434$, respectively) for Sunni male participants. In addition, the Shiite and Sunni male participants perceived NHM's dialect not to have any embarrassing linguistic features or to be rugged, ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.506$; $M = 6.00$, $SD = 1.491$, respectively) for Shiite male participants and ($M = 5.90$, $SD = 1.449$; $M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.418$, respectively) for Sunni male participants.

Table 45: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the non-Hasawi male speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).

	Gender	Sect	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
High social class	Female	Shiite	5.10	1.595	3	7
		Sunni	2.00	.943	1	4
		Total	3.55	2.038		
	Male	Shiite	3.10	1.792	1	6
		Sunni	2.40	1.838	1	3
		Total	2.75	1.803		
Good pronunciation	Female	Shiite	5.40	1.174	3	7
		Sunni	2.30	1.160	1	4
		Total	3.85	1.954		
	Male	Shiite	3.10	1.524	2	6
		Sunni	2.40	1.838	1	3
		Total	2.75	1.682		
Attractive	Female	Shiite	5.10	.876	3	7
		Sunni	2.10	1.101	1	4
		Total	3.60	1.818		
	Male	Shiite	2.60	1.578	1	6
		Sunni	2.40	1.776	1	3
		Total	2.50	1.638		
Pleasant	Female	Shiite	5.40	1.350	3	6
		Sunni	2.20	1.686	1	6
		Total	5.85	1.226		
	Male	Shiite	3.00	1.491	1	6
		Sunni	2.60	1.955	1	4
		Total	2.80	1.704		
Fluent	Female	Shiite	4.10	1.595	3	7
		Sunni	2.40	1.174	1	4
		Total	3.25	1.618		
	Male	Shiite	3.20	1.751	1	6
		Sunni	2.50	1.434	1	4
		Total	2.85	1.599		
Embarrassing linguistic features	Female	Shiite	3.10	.994	2	5
		Sunni	5.60	1.265	4	7
		Total	4.35	1.694		
	Male	Shiite	5.60	1.506	4	7
		Sunni	5.90	1.449	3	7
		Total	5.75	1.446		
Rugged	Female	Shiite	3.50	1.581	1	6
		Sunni	5.90	1.663	4	7
		Total	4.70	2.003		

Male	Shiite	6.00	1.491	2	7
	Sunni	5.70	1.418	4	7
	Total	5.85	1.424		

The results obtained from the Shiite and Sunni participants regarding NHM's dialect, as shown in Table 46, reveal no significant effect at the level of gender for the traits of high social class ($F(1, 36) = 2.554, p > 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 3.734, p > 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = .708, p > 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 2.554, p > 0.050$). However, there is a significant effect on the attributes; good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 5.747, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 6.350, p < 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = 2.747, p < 0.050$). Regarding the sect, there is a significant effect on all of the traits: high social class ($F(1, 36) = 14.408, p < 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 17.145, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 13.434, p < 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 12.100, p < 0.050$); fluency ($F(1, 36) = 6.369, p < 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 11.272, p < 0.050$); and ruggedness ($F(1,36) = 4.642, p < 0.050$). In addition, the results suggest a significant effect in the interaction between gender and sect ($p < 0.050$) for almost all descriptive traits; high social class ($F(1, 36) = 5.747, p < 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1,36) = 6.839, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 10.286, p < 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 7.320, p < 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1,36) = 6.958, p < 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = 7.674, p > 0.050$). In relation to fluency, however, the results revealed that there is no significant effect in the interaction between gender and sect for this speaker ($F(1,36) = 1.106, p > 0.050$). This means that in this case it is both variables that play a role, gender and also sect as one of the groups is different (Shiite female participants) from the other three.

Table 46: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the NHM

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Gender	High social class	1	2.554	.119
	Good pronunciation	1	5.747	.022
	Attractive	1	6.350	.016
	Pleasant	1	3.734	.061
	Fluent	1	.708	.406
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	2.554	.119
	Rugged	1	5.747	.022
Sect	High social class	1	14.408	.001
	Good pronunciation	1	17.145	.000
	Attractive	1	13.434	.001
	Pleasant	1	12.100	.001
	Fluent	1	6.369	.016
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	11.272	.002
	Rugged	1	4.642	.038
Gender * Sect	High social class	1	5.747	.022
	Good pronunciation	1	6.839	.013
	Attractive	1	10.286	.003
	Pleasant	1	7.320	.010
	Fluent	1	1.106	.300
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	6.958	.012
	Rugged	1	7.674	.009
Error	High social class	36		
	Good pronunciation	36		
	Attractive	36		
	Pleasant	36		
	Fluent	36		
	Embarrassing linguistic features	36		
	Rugged	36		

The overall results obtained from the Shiite and Sunni participants show clear attitudes towards the Hasawi male speakers and different views toward the non-Hasawi speaker. Although the Shiite male and female participants perceived HShM's dialect (in-group speaker) to be a favourable one, the Sunni male and female participants evaluated it (out-group speaker) negatively. In addition, the Shiite males and females evaluated the dialect of HSM neutrally (out-group speaker). Similar to their evaluations of HShM, the Sunni male and female participants rated HSM's dialect (in-group speaker) negatively. Interestingly, Shiite male and

female participants had different attitudes towards NHM's dialect (Najdi dialect), whereas Shiite male participants shared the Sunni male and female participants' positive attitudes. The Shiite female participants found NHM's dialect unfavourable. There is no significant effect of gender on evaluations of the Hasawi male speakers. However, there is a significant difference at the level of sect on evaluations of the Hasawi male speakers. Moreover, the results showed that there is no significant effect on the interaction between gender and sect on the evaluations of Hasawi male speakers. With respect to NHM's dialect, on the level of gender there is no significant effect with the exception of the traits of social class and good pronunciation. Contrary to the level of gender, there is significant effect on the level of sect with the exception of the trait of ruggedness. Moreover, the interaction between gender and sect for non-Hasawi male speaker is affected significantly for all traits with the exception of fluency.

5.4. Participants' attitudes towards female speakers

This section discusses the results obtained from the male and female Shiite and Sunni participants regarding their attitudes towards female speakers: namely, the Hasawi Shiite female speaker (HShF), Hasawi Sunni female speaker (HSF) and non-Hasawi female speaker (NHF).

5.4.1. Attitudes towards the Hasawi Shiite female speaker

As was the case with the HShM recording, the Shiite female participants evaluated the Hasawi Shiite female speaker (HShF) positively. Table 47 below shows that they evaluated the speaker as being of high social class, with a well-pronounced, attractive, pleasant, and fluent dialect ($M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.337$; $M = 1.90$, $SD = 1.197$; $M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.059$; $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.252$; and $M = 2.40$, $SD = .966$, respectively). The Shiite female participants did not perceive this speaker to use embarrassing linguistic features or to have a rugged dialect ($M = 6.80$, $SD = .632$; $M = 6.90$, $SD = .316$, respectively). However, the Sunni female participants took an opposite view towards HShF. These participants evaluated HShF as not being of high social class, and as speaking a dialect with the following attributes: poor pronunciation, unattractive, unpleasant and with a lack of fluency ($M = 6.20$, $SD = 1.135$; $M = 6.50$, $SD = .850$; $M = 6.70$, $SD = .483$; $M = 6.10$, $SD = .994$; and $M = 5.60$, $SD = .966$, respectively). Moreover, the Sunni female participants perceived that HShF

used embarrassing linguistic features and had a rugged dialect ($M = 1.50$, $SD = .850$; $M = 1.60$, $SD = 1.265$, respectively).

Turning to the male participants, Table 47 shows that the Shiite male participants had a positive view towards the Hasawi Shiite female (HShF), similar to their views towards the Hasawi Shiite male. They evaluated all the descriptive traits positively, with the mean below 4.00; ($M = 2.80$, $SD = .789$; $M = 2.10$, $SD = 1.101$; $M = 2.60$, $SD = .966$; $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.059$; and $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.160$). In addition, their evaluations were at or above 4.00 for descriptive traits that were reverse-analysed, namely, embarrassing linguistic features and rugged, ($M = 6.10$, $SD = .738$; $M = 6.40$, $SD = .699$, respectively). The standard deviation for participants' evaluation of all traits is low, concentrated around the mean. In contrast, the Sunni male participants (Table 7) had a negative attitude towards HShF's dialect just as they did for HShM: the mean scores for all the positive descriptive traits range between 5.00 and 6.00 with a low standard deviation ($M = 6.00$, $SD = .943$; $M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.252$; $M = 6.20$, $SD = .919$; $M = 5.90$, $SD = 1.101$; and $M = 6.00$, $SD = .943$). For the reverse-analysed traits, the mean scores range between 1.00 and 2.10, namely because the dialect of HShF was evaluated as having embarrassing, linguistic features and being rugged ($M = 1.90$, $SD = 1.101$; $M = 1.80$, $SD = 1.229$, respectively).

Table 47: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Hasawi Shiite female speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).

	Gender	Sect	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
High social class	Female	Shiite	2.70	1.337	1	5
		Sunni	6.20	1.135	4	7
		Total	4.45	2.164		
	Male	Shiite	2.80	.789	2	7
		Sunni	6.00	.943	4	7
		Total	4.40	1.847		
Good pronunciation	Female	Shiite	1.90	1.197	1	4
		Sunni	6.50	.850	5	7
		Total	4.20	2.567		
	Male	Shiite	2.10	1.101	1	5
		Sunni	5.70	1.252	4	7
		Total	3.90	2.174		
Attractive	Female	Shiite	2.70	1.059	1	4
		Sunni	6.70	.483	6	7
		Total	4.70	2.203		
	Male	Shiite	2.60	.966	1	6
		Sunni	6.20	.919	5	7
		Total	4.40	2.062		
Pleasant	Female	Shiite	2.30	1.252	1	4
		Sunni	6.10	.994	5	7
		Total	4.20	2.238		
	Male	Shiite	2.30	1.059	1	5
		Sunni	5.90	1.101	4	7
		Total	4.10	2.125		
Fluent	Female	Shiite	2.40	.966	1	4
		Sunni	5.60	.966	4	7
		Total	4.00	1.892		
	Male	Shiite	2.30	1.160	1	6
		Sunni	6.00	.943	4	7
		Total	4.15	2.159		
Embarrassing linguistic features	Female	Shiite	6.80	.632	1	7
		Sunni	1.50	.850	1	3
		Total	4.15	2.815		
	Male	Shiite	6.10	.738	4	7
		Sunni	1.90	1.101	1	4
		Total	4.00	2.340		
Rugged	Female	Shiite	6.90	.316	6	7
		Sunni	1.60	1.265	1	4
		Total	4.25	2.863		

Male	Shiite	6.40	.699	1	7
	Sunni	1.80	1.229	1	4
	Total	4.10	2.553		

The results of the test on between-subject effects, presented in Table 48 below, reveal no significant effect at the level of gender on any of the descriptive traits: high social class ($F(1, 36) = .022, p > 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = .730, p > 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 1.149, p > 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = .082, p > 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = .220, p > 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = .313, p > 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = .243, p > 0.050$). Similar to the results for HShM, there is a significant effect at the level of sect ($p < 0.050$) on all the traits: high social class ($F(1, 36) = 97.823, p < 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 136.297, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 184.340, p < 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 112.009, p < 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = 313.610, p < 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 313.610, p < 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = 264.892, p < 0.050$). In relation to the interaction between the level of gender and sect, there is no significant effect on the evaluation of roughly all the descriptive traits ($p > 0.05$): high social class ($F(1, 36) = .196, p > 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 2.027, p > 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = .511, p > 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = .082, p > 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = .610, p > 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = 1.324, p > 0.050$). However, there is a significant effect with the attribute of embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 4.205, p < 0.050$).

Table 48: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the HShF.

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Gender	High social class	1	.022	.883
	Good pronunciation	1	.730	.399
	Attractive	1	1.149	.291
	Pleasant	1	.082	.776
	Fluent	1	.220	.642
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	.313	.579
	Rugged	1	.243	.625
Sect	High social class	1	97.823	.000
	Good pronunciation	1	136.297	.000
	Attractive	1	184.340	.000
	Pleasant	1	112.009	.000
	Fluent	1	116.122	.000
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	313.610	.000
	Rugged	1	264.892	.000
Gender * Sect	High social class	1	.196	.661
	Good pronunciation	1	2.027	.163
	Attractive	1	.511	.479
	Pleasant	1	.082	.776
	Fluent	1	.610	.440
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	4.205	.048
	Rugged	1	1.324	.257
Error	High social class	36		
	Good pronunciation	36		
	Attractive	36		
	Pleasant	36		
	Fluent	36		
	Embarrassing linguistic features	36		
	Rugged	36		

5.4.2. Attitudes towards the Hasawi Sunni female speaker

In relation to the Hasawi Sunni female speaker (HSF), the Shiite and Sunni female participants, in general, had different perceptions of her dialect. The Shiite female participants evaluated HSF close to neutral on most of the descriptive traits. Table 49 below shows that they evaluated the speaker as having neither a high- nor a low-social-class dialect ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.337$) and gave a neutral evaluation for the attributes of pronunciation, attractiveness, fluency, and embarrassing linguistic features ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.398$; $M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.434$; $M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.229$; and $M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.459$, respectively). However, the Shiite

female participants perceived the speaker's dialect as unpleasant and rugged, as indicated by the respective mean scores of $M = 5.10$ and $M = 3.40$ and low standard deviation of $SD = 1.595$ and $SD = 1.506$, respectively. In contrast, the Sunni female participants evaluated almost all descriptive traits negatively: social class, pronunciation, attractiveness, pleasantness, and fluency ($M = 6.10$, $SD = .994$; $M = 6.00$, $SD = .943$; $M = 6.20$, $SD = 1.033$; $M = 6.10$, $SD = 1.101$; and $M = 6.00$, $SD = .943$, respectively). For the reverse-analysed traits, also were evaluated negatively by Sunni female participants, shown in Table 9, embarrassing linguistic features and ruggedness ($M = 1.90$, $SD = 1.101$ and $M = 2.00$, $SD = 1.054$).

Table 9 also shows that the Shiite male participants had the same neutral attitude towards the dialect of the Hasawi Sunni female (HSF) as they did towards HSM's dialect. They rated this dialect as neither a high- nor a low-class dialect ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.509$), and gave neutral evaluations for the attributes of pronunciation, attractiveness, pleasantness, and ruggedness ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.337$; $M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.337$; $M = 4.40$, $SD = .843$; and $M = 4.30$, $SD = 2.312$, respectively). However, they felt that it is not a fluent dialect ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.155$) and that it contains embarrassing linguistic features ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.792$). The Sunni male participants did not favour this dialect on any of the descriptive traits, as shown in Table 9. These participants evaluated HSF as not being of high social class, and as speaking a dialect with the following attributes: poor pronunciation, unattractive, unpleasant and with a lack of fluency ($M = 5.90$, $SD = .876$; $M = 6.10$, $SD = .568$; $M = 6.10$, $SD = .738$; $M = 6.00$, $SD = 1.054$; and $M = 6.10$, $SD = .994$, respectively). Moreover, the Sunni female participants perceived that HShF used embarrassing linguistic features and had a rugged dialect ($M = 2.50$, $SD = .850$; $M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.080$, respectively).

Table 49: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the Hasawi Sunni female speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).

	Gender	Sect	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
High social class	Female	Shiite	4.70	1.337	3	7
		Sunni	6.10	.994	4	7
		Total	5.40	1.353		
	Male	Shiite	4.50	1.509	2	7
		Sunni	5.90	.876	5	7
		Total	5.20	1.399		
Good pronunciation	Female	Shiite	4.80	1.398	3	7
		Sunni	6.00	.943	4	7
		Total	5.40	1.314		
	Male	Shiite	4.30	1.337	2	7
		Sunni	6.10	.568	5	7
		Total	5.20	1.361		
Attractive	Female	Shiite	4.50	1.434	3	7
		Sunni	6.20	1.033	4	7
		Total	5.35	1.496		
	Male	Shiite	4.70	1.337	3	7
		Sunni	6.10	.738	5	7
		Total	5.40	1.273		
Pleasant	Female	Shiite	5.10	1.595	3	7
		Sunni	6.10	1.101	4	7
		Total	5.60	1.429		
	Male	Shiite	4.40	.843	3	6
		Sunni	6.00	1.054	4	7
		Total	5.20	1.240		
Fluent	Female	Shiite	4.20	1.229	3	6
		Sunni	6.00	.943	4	7
		Total	5.10	1.410		
	Male	Shiite	5.00	1.155	3	7
		Sunni	6.10	.994	4	7
		Total	5.55	1.191		
Embarrassing linguistic features	Female	Shiite	4.20	1.549	2	7
		Sunni	1.90	1.101	1	4
		Total	3.05	1.761		
	Male	Shiite	3.10	1.792	1	6
		Sunni	2.50	.850	1	4
		Total	2.80	1.399		
Rugged	Female	Shiite	3.40	1.506	2	6
		Sunni	2.00	1.054	1	4
		Total	2.70	1.455		

Male	Shiite	4.30	2.312	1	6
	Sunni	2.50	1.080	1	4
	Total	3.40	1.984		

The test of between-subject effects, as shown in the results in Table 50 below, found no significant effects at the level of gender regarding HSF on all traits: high social class ($F(1, 36) = .275, p > 0.050$), good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = .323, p > 0.05$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = .018, p > 0.05$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 1.147, p > 0.05$); fluent ($F(1,36) = 1.715, p > 0.05$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1,36) = .331, p > 0.05$); and rugged ($F(1,36) = 1.982, p > 0.05$). In relation to sect, the results reveal a significant effect on the evaluation of all traits for HSF's dialect ($p < 0.050$): high social class ($F(1, 36) = 13.466, p < 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 18.161, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 17.615, p < 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 12.120, p < 0.050$); fluent ($F(1, 36) = 17.809, p < 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 3.831, p < 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1, 36) = 10.355, p < 0.050$). The interaction between the levels of gender and sect had no significant effect on any of the descriptive traits: high social class ($F(1, 36) = .000, p > 0.050$), good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = .726, p > 0.05$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = .165, p > 0.05$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = .165, p > 0.05$); fluent ($F(1,36) = 1.038, p > 0.05$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1,36) = 3.831, p > 0.05$); and rugged ($F(1,36) = .162, p > 0.05$).

Table 50: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the HSF.

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Gender	High social class	1	.275	.603
	Good pronunciation	1	.323	.573
	Attractive	1	.018	.893
	Pleasant	1	1.147	.291
	Fluent	1	1.715	.199
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	.331	.568
	Rugged	1	1.982	.168
Sect	High social class	1	13.466	.001
	Good pronunciation	1	18.161	.000
	Attractive	1	17.615	.000
	Pleasant	1	12.120	.001
	Fluent	1	17.809	.000
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	11.147	.002
	Rugged	1	10.355	.003
Gender * Sect	High social class	1	.000	1.000
	Good pronunciation	1	.726	.400
	Attractive	1	.165	.687
	Pleasant	1	.645	.427
	Fluent	1	1.038	.315
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	3.831	.058
	Rugged	1	.162	.690
Error	High social class	36		
	Good pronunciation	36		
	Attractive	36		
	Pleasant	36		
	Fluent	36		
	Embarrassing linguistic features	36		
	Rugged	36		

5.4.3. Attitudes towards the non-Hasawi female speaker

Regarding the non-Hasawi female (NHF) speaker (a Najdi dialect speaker), Table 51 below shows that the Shiite female participants evaluated this speaker negatively on several descriptive traits. They perceived NHF's dialect as not being of high social class, and as being unattractive, unpleasant and rugged ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.430$; $M = 6.00$, $SD = 1.054$; $M = 5.70$, $SD = .949$; and $M = 2.10$, $SD = 1.524$, respectively). In addition, the Shiite female participants perceived the pronunciation as neither good nor bad ($M = 4.80$, SD

= 1.549) and the dialect to contain embarrassing linguistic features ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.197$). Nevertheless, they evaluated NHF's dialect as fluent ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 1.524$). In contrast, Table 11 shows that the Sunni female speakers evaluated NHF favourably. They perceived the speaker as being high social class, and as speaking a well-pronounced, attractive, pleasant, and fluent dialect ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.350$; $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.350$; $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.252$; $M = 2.60$, $SD = 1.647$; and $M = 2.80$, $SD = 1.398$, respectively). The Sunni female participants considered this dialect to contain no embarrassing linguistic features ($M = 6.30$, $SD = .949$) and is not rugged ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 1.155$).

As shown in Table 51, both Shiite and Sunni male participants evaluated the non-Hasawi female (NHF) speaker's dialect (Najdi dialect) positively. They evaluated this speaker as being of high social class, and as speaking a well-pronounced, attractive, pleasant and fluent dialect. The Shiite male participants' mean scores for these attributes are ($M = 2.60$, $SD = 1.74$; $M = 2.90$, $SD = .994$; $M = 2.80$, $SD = 1.033$; $M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.080$; and $M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.059$, respectively), while the mean scores for the Sunni participants are: ($M = 2.00$, $SD = .943$; $M = 1.70$, $SD = .823$; $M = 2.00$, $SD = 1.414$; $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.647$; and $M = 2.10$, $SD = 1.370$, respectively). Moreover, the participants evaluated NHF's dialect to have no embarrassing linguistic features (Shiite participants: $M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.398$; Sunni participants: $M = 6.30$, $SD = 1.059$). However, they gave very different ratings for ruggedness, as shown in Table 51. The mean score for the Shiite male participants is ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.636$), while that for the male Sunni participants is ($M = 6.20$, $SD = 1.229$).

Table 51: Sunni and Shiite participants' ratings of the non-Hasawi female speaker (mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values).

	Gender	Sect	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
High social class	Female	Shiite	5.60	1.430	3	7
		Sunni	2.40	1.350	1	5
		Total	4.00	2.128		
	Male	Shiite	2.60	1.174	1	4
		Sunni	2.00	.943	1	4
		Total	2.30	1.081		
Good pronunciation	Female	Shiite	4.80	1.549	3	7
		Sunni	2.40	1.350	1	5
		Total	3.60	1.875		
	Male	Shiite	2.90	.994	2	5
		Sunni	1.70	.823	1	3
		Total	2.30	1.081		
Attractive	Female	Shiite	6.00	1.054	4	7
		Sunni	2.30	1.252	1	5
		Total	4.15	2.207		
	Male	Shiite	2.80	1.033	1	4
		Sunni	2.00	1.414	1	5
		Total	2.40	1.273		
Pleasant	Female	Shiite	5.70	.949	4	7
		Sunni	2.60	1.647	1	6
		Total	4.15	2.059		
	Male	Shiite	3.50	1.080	2	5
		Sunni	2.40	1.647	1	5
		Total	2.95	1.468		
Fluent	Female	Shiite	3.90	1.524	2	6
		Sunni	2.80	1.398	1	5
		Total	3.35	1.531		
	Male	Shiite	2.70	1.059	1	4
		Sunni	2.10	1.370	1	5
		Total	2.40	1.231		
Embarrassing linguistic features	Female	Shiite	3.10	1.197	2	5
		Sunni	6.30	.949	5	7
		Total	4.70	1.949		
	Male	Shiite	4.80	1.398	2	6
		Sunni	6.30	1.059	4	7
		Total	5.55	1.432		
Rugged	Female	Shiite	2.10	1.524	1	5
		Sunni	6.00	1.155	4	7
		Total	4.05	2.395		

Male	Shiite	3.30	1.636	1	6
	Sunni	6.20	1.229	4	7
	Total	4.75	2.049		

The results shown in Table 52 indicate that gender has a significant effect on the evaluation of almost all traits for NHF's dialect: high social class ($F(1, 36) = 18.848, p < 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 11.479, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 21.325, p < 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 7.691, p < 0.050$); fluent ($F(1,36) = 4.960, p < 0.050$); and embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 5.341, p < 0.050$). For ruggedness, gender has no significant effect ($F(1, 36) = 2.499, p > 0.050$). Regarding the effect of sect on the evaluation of traits, the results found significant effects; the significance value is $p < 0.05$ for almost all traits, ($F(1, 36) = 23.543, p < 0.050$); good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 22.008, p < 0.050$); attractive ($F(1, 36) = 35.251, p < 0.050$); pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 23.555, p < 0.050$); embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 40.823, p < 0.050$); and rugged ($F(1,36) = 58.946, p < 0.050$), apart from the fluency of NHF's dialect ($F(1, 36) = 3.971, p > 0.050$). Moreover, the results suggest a significant interaction between gender and sect and the evaluation of the dialect being high social class ($F(1, 36) = 11.022 p < 0.050$), attractive ($F(1, 36) = 14.640, p < 0.050$), pleasant ($F(1, 36) = 5.341, p < 0.050$) and embarrassing linguistic features ($F(1, 36) = 5.341, p < 0.050$). However, there is no interaction between gender and sect and evaluation of other traits: good pronunciation ($F(1, 36) = 2.445, p > 0.050$), fluent ($F(1, 36) = .344, p > 0.050$), and rugged ($F(1, 36) = 1.275, p > 0.050$).

Table 52: Test of Between-Subjects Effects for attitudes towards the NHF.

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Gender	High social class	1	18.848	.000
	Good pronunciation	1	11.479	.002
	Attractive	1	21.325	.000
	Pleasant	1	7.691	.009
	Fluent	1	4.960	.032
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	5.341	.027
	Rugged	1	2.499	.123
Sect	High social class	1	23.543	.000
	Good pronunciation	1	22.008	.000
	Attractive	1	35.251	.000
	Pleasant	1	23.555	.000
	Fluent	1	3.971	.054
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	40.823	.000
	Rugged	1	58.946	.000
Gender * Sect	High social class	1	11.022	.002
	Good pronunciation	1	2.445	.127
	Attractive	1	14.640	.000
	Pleasant	1	5.341	.027
	Fluent	1	.344	.561
	Embarrassing linguistic features	1	5.341	.027
	Rugged	1	1.275	.266
Error	High social class	36		
	Good pronunciation	36		
	Attractive	36		
	Pleasant	36		
	Fluent	36		
	Embarrassing linguistic features	36		
	Rugged	36		

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter described the results from the MGT experiment. The results revealed that Shiite female participants have favourable attitudes towards Hasawi Shiite male and female speakers, who are in-group members. However, they displayed almost neutral attitudes towards the Hasawi Sunni male and female speaker (out-group members), notwithstanding these speakers belonging to the same city and roughly sharing the same linguistic features. Interestingly, the Shiite female participants considered the non-Hasawi

speakers, i.e., the Najdi speakers, as speaking an unfavourable dialect. On the other hand, Sunni female participants displayed negative attitudes towards all Hasawi speakers, namely Shiite speakers (out-group) or Sunni speakers (in-group). By contrast, Sunni participants found that non-Hasawi speakers used a favourable dialect. Similar to Shiite female participants, Shiite male participants evaluated Shiite male and female speakers (in-group) positively. Nevertheless, they evaluated Sunni speakers (out-group) neither favourite nor unfavourite dialect. In contrast to Shiite female participants, they displayed negative attitude toward non-Hasawi speakers' dialect (Najdi dialect). With respect to Sunni male participants, they had same negative attitudes as Sunni female participants regarding Hasawi speakers' dialect, whether Shiite speakers (out-group) or Sunni speakers (in-group). However, Sunni male participants have favourable attitudes toward non-Hasawi speakers. These results confirm Kyriakou's (2015: 180) comment that "speakers attribute positive and negative evaluations to varieties according to how they sound aesthetically".

Regarding the effect of gender and sect on the evaluation of speakers' dialects, the results suggest that gender does not have a significant effect on the evaluation of all Hasawi speakers' dialects. However, gender plays a role when they evaluated non-Hasawi speakers' dialect, specifically for non-Hasawi female speaker. However, sect does have a significant effect on the evaluation of all speakers, whether Hasawi speakers or non-Hasawi speakers. In relation to the interaction between gender and sect, the results revealed that there is no significant effect on the evaluation of dialects of Hasawi speakers, while it is significant in several traits of the dialect of non-Hasawi speakers. Interestingly, both variables, i.e., gender and sect, play a role on the evaluation of traits, with except to traits that are more related to dialect, namely pronunciation, fluency and rugged. Consequently, the differences between Shiite participants and Sunni participants derive from their sect rather than being attributed to gender. In addition, their evaluations to the speakers were relied on social matters more than linguistic matters, that what will be discussed in details next pages.

6. Discussion: Attitudes based on sectarianism

6.1. Introduction

The chapter begins with a brief summary of the results, followed by a dissection on the following themes that emerged from the findings: 1) effects of social ideology on participants' perceptions of the dominance of the Shiite dialect in Alhasa; 2) the perceived dichotomous dialect situation; 3) the perceived similarity between the Shiite and Bahraini dialects, genealogy of Hasawi families and role of the media; 4) the perceived effects of minority and majority issues; 5) perceptions of in-group loyalty; 6) the effect of attitudes on language behaviour; 7) the effects of a sense of inferiority and social networks; and finally, 8) the role of religious discrimination and political events in the participants' attitudes. The chapter concludes with generalisations and implications of the research.

6.2. Summary of results

The results showed that there are interesting findings, although some are inconsistent, with regard to the outcomes of the interviews and the MGT. Prior to addressing the findings, it is necessary to note that in the MGT, the participants were aware that they were assessing Sunnis, Shiites, and non-Hasawi speakers based on their responses to the second question that was attached in the second part of the MGT question was, where they thought the speaker was from. The majority of participants anticipated the sect of speakers, either in reference to the neighbourhoods or areas or directly to the sect that the speaker belongs to. The aim of this question was to determine whether or not participants could guess the sect to which the speaker belonged. This type of question aids in establishing the technique's validity (Lees 2000 as cited in Bellamy 2010: 93). Therefore, the gender of the speakers had no greater impact on participant assessment than the way of speaking. In other words, the participants were concerned with the way of speaking significantly than the gender of speakers. In contrast to several studies that showed that the speaker's gender influenced on assessment of the speaker's dialect. For example, Wilson and Bayard (1992) discovered that female speakers scored lower on all traits in New Zealand. According to Van-Trieste (1990), female participants gave male speakers the highest ratings, while male participants gave male speakers the lowest ratings

among Puerto Rican university students. Similarly, Yilmaz (2020) discovered that participants from Bohtan Kurmanji Sunni and Maras Kurmanji Alevi ranked Bohtan Kurmanji male speakers higher on the status dimension and Bohtan Kurmanji female speakers higher on the solidarity dimension.

Back to the result summary, regarding the Shiite participants, particularly the females, their attitudes toward the local variety were clear and consistent. In the interviews, they commented on the local dialect, indicating that it was a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia, which reflected on their positive evaluation of the Hasawi Speakers, specifically the Shiite speakers, as presenting a high social class dialect trait, while offering a neutral evaluation of Sunni speakers. As far as Shiite male participants are concerned, they have contradictory views. In the interviews they did not recognize the local variety as a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia. However, in the MGT they evaluated the local variety positively in terms of possessing a high social class trait.

In the interviews the Shiite participants felt that the local dialect contained linguistic features that may make the outsiders taunt the local speakers or laugh at their way of speaking. However, they evaluated Hasawi speakers positively in terms of linguistic features trait, suggesting that the dialect of Hasawi speakers does not reveal embarrassing linguistic features. Moreover, the Shiite participants had another inconsistent thought, in that in the interviews they remarked that the local dialect contains uncommon words, and local speakers have to change their way of speaking with outsiders to avoid misunderstandings. Nevertheless, in MGT, they evaluated Hasawi speakers negatively in terms of the rugged dialect trait (this trait was reverse-analysed), and positively in terms of the fluency trait.

The Shiite participants perceived that there are two different Hasawi dialects — the traditional Shiite dialect and the Modern Sunni dialect that is similar to the Najdi dialect. In the interviews, they did not comment either negatively or neutrally with regard to the Sunni dialect, but they evaluated Sunni speakers neutrally in the MGT. According to what the Shiite participants stated, they perceived that the Hasawi Sunni dialect as being similar to the Najdi dialect. This means that their views were contradictory when it came to the interviews and the MGT outcomes. Shiite female participants found the Hasawi Sunni dialect to be similar

to the Najdi dialect, but in MGT they evaluated Hasawi Sunni speakers neutrally, while they evaluated Najdi speakers negatively. With respect to Shiite male participants, their comments in the interviews and the MGT outcomes were consistent regarding Hasawi Sunni speakers. They did not point to any similarities between the Sunni dialect in Alhasa and the Najdi dialect. In fact, they commented that Sunnis use different words and pronunciation to Shiites in Alhasa and evaluated Sunni speakers neutrally.

Sunni participants had consistent views expressed in both approaches, i.e., interviews and MGT in related to the local dialect. They perceived that the Hasawi dialect is not a prestigious dialect. Consequently, they evaluated all Hasawi speakers — whether Shiites or Sunnis — negatively in terms of the high social class trait. In addition, they commented that outsiders taunted and laughed at the words used and the pronunciation of Hasawi dialect speakers, and this clearly reflected on their evaluation of all Hasawi speakers in terms of the embarrassing linguistic features trait. Moreover, Sunni participants' negative attitudes toward the local variety were mirrored in their linguistic behaviour, as they commented in the interview that they have to change their way of speaking to outsiders, and they were not comfortable using the local dialect. Thus, their negative evaluation of all Hasawi speakers in terms of the pronunciation and attractiveness, and fluency traits, can be noted. However, the Sunni participants felt that their dialect represents the modern Hasawi dialect because they are innovative in terms of using words and pronunciation from different Saudi dialects. Nevertheless, in the MGT, they evaluated in-group speakers negatively in all traits.

It can be noted that the Shiite participants had, relatively speaking, incompatible views between the interviews and the MGT regarding the Hasawi dialect. This is in direct comparison to the Sunni participants who had clear and consistent views with regard to the outcomes of both approaches. To date, there have been no attitudinal investigations of the dialects spoken in Alhasa, with the exception of Al-Mubarak (2015), El Salman and Al Fridan (2018) and Al-Bohnayyah (2019), each of whom investigated language change and variation in the spoken dialect of Alhasa. The researcher will rely on the conclusions of these studies to support the discussion. In addition, other studies will be referenced that have investigated religion

as a social factor in other contexts in Arab areas, or in different parts of the world. Moreover, studies will also be cited that have investigated language attitudes, whether in the Saudi context or in other contexts.

6.3. The effect of social ideology on the participants' attitudes

Language ideology refers to the belief system that is widespread in the use of language in a particular society (Bassiouney 2009: 201). It is important to demonstrate the social ideology underpinning the perception of the Hasawi Shiite dialect being the dominant dialect in Alhasa and the reference point for the Hasawi dialect. It may be suggested that the findings are based on traditional stereotypes that occur in the Shiite dialect. However, I would argue that the results confirm the language ideology in the area, which forms participants' perceptions of the Hasawi dialect stereotypes. Three different explanations can be proposed: similarity of the Hasawi dialect to neighbouring dialects, the genealogy of Hasawi families and the role of the media.

6.3.1. Similarity of the Hasawi dialect to neighbouring dialects

The dialect spoken by Shiites in Alhasa is either widely regarded as a reference point for the Hasawi dialect or as a dominant dialect in Alhasa. This may be due to the Hasawi dialect having similar features to the Bahraini dialect, and the majority of Bahrainis are Shiites. Al-Mubarak (2015: 69) states that Hasawi Arabic is one of the Gulf dialects, which are spoken in Iraq, Kuwait, eastern Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman. This similarity between the Hasawi and Bahraini dialects may create a connection between the Hasawi dialect and Shiites. Ingham (1994: 8) points to most of the linguistic features of the Alhasa dialect being associated with the Shiite variety since this was the original spoken form in eastern Arabia before the migration of Sunnis from Najd during the eighteenth century. In the present study, this connection and similarity between the dialects was mentioned several times by the participants, such as in Examples (47) and (49) in Chapter 4:

(47) Usually, Hasawi dialect is known what is called lengthening the vowels,
and it has its unique words for example *Kamsha* (spoon) you cannot find this

word in any other dialects in Saudi Arabia, but it is used in Kuwait or Bahrain.

[Sf8]

(49) Some people's reaction toward Hasawi dialect is what a disgusted dialect and why you speak like this and some directly when listen to Hasawi speaker say he or she is Shiite and act in different way because they know that many Shiite people live there. [Shf4]

The term “Baharni” is the singular form and “Baharna” is the plural form that points to the group of Arabic Shiite speakers living in Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, UAE and the eastern part of Saudi Arabia, namely, Alhasa and Al-Qatif (Lorimer 1975: 257 and Holes 2010: 283). This term is still used in Alhasa among Sunnis to refer to Shiites or those who speak their dialect. Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 32) notes that “Shias speak a very similar dialect to those spoken by the Shias elsewhere in the Gulf”.

The findings of the present study are largely in line with perceptual dialectology research conducted by Alrumaih (2002), who examined perceptions towards regional dialects in Saudi Arabia through exploring the attitudes of Najdi participants (i.e., from the central region). One of the significant findings of his study was that eastern dialects in Saudi Arabia were stereotypically associated with Bahrain in terms of sounds. This indicates that even outsiders from Alhasa — the Najdi participants in Alrumaih's (2002) investigation — stereotypically associated the Hasawi dialect with Bahrain, that is, the Shiites' way of speaking, while other social groups in Alhasa were ignored. This stereotypical connotation, from insiders and outsiders of Alhasa, demonstrates how the language ideology of the Shiite dialect is not limited or confined to Hasawi people. Instead, it is extended outside Alhasa, where stereotypical perceptions regarding the Hasawi dialect mean that the Shiite dialect is interpreted as the only Hasawi dialect in the area. This confirms Al-Mubarak's (2015: 146) finding that people from outside Alhasa ascribe to the stereotype that it is a Shiite region or that, for most of them, it has a Shiite majority.

The present study is consistent with attitudinal research towards the Hejazi dialect conducted by Alhazmi (2018), which examined the perceptions of Hadari Hejazi and urban Bedouin Hejazi speakers. Alhazmi

found that outsiders and insiders of the Al-Hejaz area perceived the Hadari Hejazi dialect as the dominant dialect because “the settlers came from all different parts of the Islamic world and contributed different features to the dialect, that have resulted in the dialect being different and distinctive from all other dialects in SA” Alhazmi (2018: 148). It is important to note that the present study differs from Alhazmi’s study in several respects. Alhazmi (2018: 148) concluded that the Hejazi people accept “that Hijaz is the settlers’ homeland. Thus, the dialect of the settler’s group is stereotypically referred to using the place name (i.e., Hijaz)”. However, the results in the present study revealed that the Hasawi Sunni group rejected the stereotypical assumption of the Hasawi dialect being a Shiite dialect; participants remarked several times that outsiders think that all Hasawi people are Shiite, as in Examples (54) and (159) in Chapter 4:

(54) First thing they will say this person is from the Shiite sect as I said earlier
stereotyping, second, they will laugh and taunt [**Sf7**]

(159) They taunt the way that Hasawi people use it when they speak [...] for
example, when I join a group of people on the internet gaming, and they listen
to my dialect they laugh and say are you Shiite? [**Sm1**]

Al Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 146) referred to “people from outside of Al-Ahsa, with insufficient knowledge about its social composition, have a stereotypical image that it is a Shia area or, for the best of them, it is a Shia majority”. The rejection of this stereotyping might be expressed by Sunnis through negative responses towards the Hasawi dialect and their attempts to conceal their dialect when speaking with outsiders. This is also reflected in their evaluation of in-group (Sunni) speakers (see Table 43 in Chapter 5, and Table 49 in Chapter 5) and certainly their evaluation of Shiite speakers (out-group), as can be seen in Table 41 (Chapter 5) and Table 47 (Chapter 5). Moreover, this association of the Hasawi dialect with Shiites’ way of speaking leads the Sunni group to converge on the Najdi dialect (the supra-local dialect) in order to avoid being judged as Shiites, as Al-Mubarak (2015) and Al-Bohnayyah (2019) concluded that Hasawi Sunni speakers, attempt to distance themselves from being thought as Shiites by diverging from using the local characteristics and use the several linguistics features, which used in the supra-local dialect spoken by the

Sunni majority. So, they perceived it as a prestigious dialect rather than a local dialect, as in Examples (16) and (17) in Chapter 4 and evaluated it as a favourite dialect (see Table 45 and Table 51 in Chapter 6):

(16) Any other dialect rather than Hasawi because Hasawi dialect is shameful because of lengthening the words. But let me say the dialect of Riyadh because it has no lengthening. [Sf1]

(17) I think the dialect of Riyadh, because rich people speak it or imitate it. [Sf6]

In contrast with the Sunni group, the Shiite group accepted and welcomed this stereotypical assumption as their dialect represents the Hasawi dialect. They perceived it as a prestigious dialect and evaluated it as a favoured dialect (see Table 41 and Table 47 in Chapter 5). They also felt proud of the Hasawi dialect, as referred to by a number of Shiite participants as in Examples (71) and (78) in Chapter 4:

(71) Some people when listen to Hasawi dialect directly think about Shiite, I will be more than comfortable to prove this thought. [Shf4]

(78) The dialect of Sunni is similar to Bedouins in words and sounds, and Sunnis are descendants of people who come to Alhasa to work so they still maintain their original dialects. But Shiite are indigenous people and maintain their dialect. [Shf3]

It seems that it is linked to their religious identity as a minority group. Kaouache (2009: 122) states that Black Americans, as a minority group in the United States, also consider their dialect as a means to represent their identity, regardless of how others interpret it in terms of correctness. Furthermore, Shiite participants mentioned that the Hasawi Sunni dialect is similar to the Bedouin or Najdi dialect. They did this in order to demonstrate that the Hasawi Sunni dialect does not represent the authentic Hasawi dialect, thus distancing the former from being a Hasawi dialect as in Examples (78) and (79) in Chapter 4:

(78) The dialect of Sunni is similar to Bedouins in words and sounds, and Sunnis are descendants of people who come to Alhasa to work so they still maintain their original dialects. But Shiite are indigenous people and maintain their dialect. [Shf3]

(79) Slightly different way of speaking, because Sunnis speak relatively like Bedouins or Najdi dialect similar to their origins, but Shiites speak original Hasawi dialect. Shiite pronounce the words with more extension, but Sunnis pronounce it softly [Shf6]

6.3.2. Genealogy of Hasawi families

The second possible explanation as to why the Shiite dialect was strongly seen as a reference point for the Hasawi dialect being a dominant dialect in the area relates to the genealogy of Hasawi families. There is a common belief among Saudis that Shiite people are the descendants of settlers from different areas, such as Bahrain, Iraq and the Persian area (contemporary Iran). Lorimer (1975: 820-821) states that Shiites have long been migrating to the Alhasa and are associated with Bahrain's historic original population. According to Al-Hasn (2010: 31), Shiites in eastern Saudi Arabia, Al-Qatif and Alhasa, and Bahrain have the same roots. However, some scholars have rejected these claims, arguing that Shiites in eastern Saudi Arabia were originally Arabs. As Holes (2010: 248) notes, several Shiites in the Gulf have Persian roots, such as "Ajames", but most Shiites in the region are ethnically and linguistically Arab. For Sunnis in Alhasa, most of their families descend from Arabian tribes who migrated to Alhasa in the remote past (Holes 2010: xxiii). Ingham (1982: 11) and Al-Hulaybi (2003: 18) refer to the large-scale migration from Najd to eastern settled lands in the early Twentieth Century as taking place either through the movement of the majority of nomadic Bedouin communities or by families from settled Najdi areas. Also, according to Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 27), the majority of the residents in several neighbourhoods originate from families belonging to Arab tribes from outside Alhasa. This issue was mentioned several times by the participants as in Examples (78) and (90), (for more details see Chapter 4):

(78) The dialect of Sunni is similar to Bedouins in words and sounds, and Sunnis are descendants of people who come to Alhasa to work so they still maintain their original dialects. But Shiite are indigenous people and maintain their dialect. [Shf3]

(90) As I said earlier Shiite are recognised with some word and pronunciation such as Sunni say *sedq* ‘truth’ like Riyadh people who belong to, but Shiite say *Sedj* like Eastern Arabian dialect, so it easy to recognise the differences. [Shf7]

This confirms what Al-Wer *et al.* (2015:69) stated that the one of the historical factors of emerging religious or sectarian verities in Arabic is attributed to “Different genealogical origin of the dialects in question, or different geographical provenance”. For instance, the majority of the Christian Iraqi hail from northern provinces, and the spoken Arabic dialect by Christians in Bagdad, Iraq, has evolved, as believed, from Arabic vernacular of medieval Iraq. Regarding Iraqi Muslims dialect in Bagdad is akin to Bedouin norm and has s recent history (Abu-Haidar 1991: 2-3). Likewise, the origin of the Sunni group in Bahrain lies in the middle of the Arabian Peninsula and their dialect is classified as a Bedouin dialect, while the Bahraini Shiite dialect is of sedentary stock (Holes 2013: 11–12).

Returning to discuss the Genealogy of Hasawi families, the reason for this might be due to the similarity between each group’s dialect and their original dialects. In other words, it may be the case that Sunni speakers in Alhasa belong to the same tribes found in cities in other parts of Saudi Arabia, and that Shiite speakers speak the same dialect as that in Bahrain, which has similar features to the Hasawi dialect. Therefore, the dialect spoken by Sunnis is not seen as a reference point for the Hasawi dialect or even as the dominant dialect in the region as the dialect is spoken throughout Saudi Arabia. This explanation is in line with Alhazmi’s (2018: 147) finding that the dialect of urban Bedouin Hejazis in the Hejaz area resembles the dialect of other Bedouins in different parts of Saudi Arabia, while the dialect of Hadari

Hejazis is perceived as a reference point for the dialect of Hejaz, despite their dialect being considered as a new emerging dialect in the region as it is a settlers' dialect.

Another similar finding was revealed by Ingham (1986: 278), who found that Bedouins in Saudi Arabia still share the same dialect when they are part of the same tribe, even though they have travelled to distant geographic areas. Ingham discovered that several tribes, such as the Al-Murra and Al-Ajman tribes, are located adjacent to each other in a southern part of the Najd region and have a large level of linguistic similarity, such as the use of /k/ that is still used in their dialect despite changes in the other neighbouring dialects regarding this sound. Although these two tribes have several neighbours, the dialects of their neighbours did not influence their dialect. Ingham (1986: 271) attributes this as being due to the similarity between the two dialects because of their genealogical relationship, as they derive from a single ancestor, originally from south-western Saudi Arabia, that is, the Najran region. Consequently, it is believed that due to the resemblance between the Sunni dialect and other tribal dialects in Saudi Arabia, the former is not seen as the main representative of the Hasawi dialect. In contrast, the Shiite dialect in Alhasa is perceived as associated with Gulf dialects, specifically the Bahraini dialect.

6.3.3. Role of the media

The third possible factor underlying the Shiite dialect being perceived as the dominant dialect or as representing the Hasawi dialect is the traditional Saudi media and modern media, that is, social media. The media reinforces, builds and controls access to belief systems and ideologies (Bassiouny: 2020: 337). The dominant group or power offers what desires, which exploits state resources, such as the media, to impose the ideology of this dominant group (Jacob 1999: 8) Firstly, the traditional Saudi media most often represent the Shiite dialect as the main reference point for the Hasawi dialect, through TV series and shows. Tyree (2011: 399) notes that television viewers seem to accept that what they see is a true reflection of cultures and people, particularly when they rarely meet these people or even have no experience of meeting them. A large number of stereotypical images that people consume via the media are presented in entertainment media such as reality television, popular film, comedy and video games (Ross 2019: 403). Garrett (2010:

22-23) maintained that “the media may also influence attitudes in some areas. [...] Media portrayals of the elderly, for example, have been found generally to stereotype them as frail, unattractive, useless”. For example, the famous Saudi satirical comedy *Tash ma Tash*, which lasted for 19 seasons (1992 to 2011), depicted the Hasawi image as an individual speaking the Hasawi Shiite dialect. In the series, the Hasawi character is always indicated as the Hasawi person, specifically from the Shiite group, and when the character speaks, he immediately adopts the Shiites’ way of speaking as in Example (35) and (38): in Chapter 5:

(35) It is not nice and a boring dialect. When I listen to a Hasawi person in TV or radio I feel shy and want the TV show or radio program to be cut like *Tah ma tash* presents Hasawi as Shiites. [Sf6]

(38) Unfortunately, Hasawi dialect has become a marker of either an uneducated person or a Shiite person as it presented in TV Shows like *Tash ma Tash*. [Sf10]

I would argue that this reflects a stereotypical view of the Hasawi dialect image constantly being associated with the Shiite dialect. Accordingly, this could be another factor that prompted the participants to point to the Hasawi dialect as a stereotypically Shiite dialect. This confirms findings from Alhazmi’s (2018: 148-149) investigation that this popular Saudi satirical comedy and other TV shows helped in constructing the stereotyping of the Hadari Hejazi dialect being the reference point for the Hejazi dialect, particularly marking speakers as being from Jeddah city.

In Jijel, Algeria, a satirical comedy film *L’Inspecteur Tahar* was shown in the 1970s, starring El Hadj Abderrahman,⁵⁶ an actor famous for imitating the Jijel dialect as a source of fun and laughter, which led to constructing a social stereotype about the people of Jijel being naive (Kaouache 2009: 118). Therefore, this TV show resulted in the following: “the population of Jijel is deprived of many privileges because of dialect

⁵⁶ An Algerian actor (12/10/1940 – 05/10/1981).

stigma. These privileges lie in the fact that educated people fear communications in seminars and conferences, university students fear contribution in classes (especially at the University of Constantine), gifted singers fear appearance before audiences etc... All this is for fear of being laughed at” (Kaouache 2009: 118).

Conversely, mass media might assist in creating positive social stereotyping regarding a target dialect. Montgomery (2012) investigated how proximity could affect participants’ attitudes towards dialect areas in northern Britain. In two case studies, Montgomery carried out fieldwork. The first study was conducted in 2004 in northern England and the second was on the Scottish-English border in 2009. An interesting finding from these studies is that the Greater Manchester dialect area was identified as a salient dialect, whereas in previous research on perceptual dialectology, such as the study by Inoue (1996), the area was not stigmatised. Montgomery (2012: 659) attributes this to cultural importance, where Greater Manchester “became a focal point for many in the country. It has remained significant in the national consciousness, playing host to the 2002 Commonwealth Games and now the destination of many relocated BBC jobs from London”. Consequently, print media have paid even more attention to the city.

Mass media might play a supporting role in constructing or strengthening stereotypical images, either in terms of positive or negative dimensions. Tukachinsky *et al.* (2017: 538) observe that mass media access has long been recognised as a force leading to the construction of social reality, including stereotypical perceptions of the characteristics of various societies. Therefore, it could be inferred that the media in general could have possibly enhanced the views of the participants about the prominence of different dialects.

In recent years, many new social media platforms have been used widely and have attracted many users of all ages, especially adolescents. Among the most popular applications in Saudi Arabia, as in other countries, are Snapchat, YouTube, and TikTok, because these applications have become a means of attaining fame and earning money through numerous followers. As with other Saudis, the Hasawi people have signed up to these platforms and curated their content according to their interests. However, Shiites and Sunnis have

different ways of speaking. Therefore, it is evident that the majority of Shiite social media influencers, that is, celebrities on social media, use local dialect features, intentionally or unintentionally, in an exaggerated manner. Although this may lead to mockery and being trivialised by outsiders, they persist in doing this in order to reinforce their religious identity in the region. From the first days of using the Internet in Saudi Arabia in 1999, Saudi Shiites have seized upon the opportunities afforded by Internet bulletin boards to establish online virtual communities. Samin (2010), for example, analysed a bulletin board representing a Najdi tribe in Saudi Arabia and one representing the Shiite community in the Alhasa region. The Alhasa Cultural Board (*Muntada Alhasa Al-Thaqafi*) is the voice of Saudi Shiite Internet communities, with 34,399 members. Unlike the other Saudi bulletin boards located in various cities, which are concerned with general social or religious issues, the Alhasa bulletin board is teeming with conversations regarding the region's dialect. These debates take a defensive tone; pride is commonly expressed and regional affiliation. While the Alhasa Cultural Board is, as its name implies, primarily concerned with cultural matters, the forums exhibit a pan-Shiite religious tint. As a marker of identity, users on the Alhasa board select Shiite icons such as *Hizbullah* leader Hassan Nasrallah or sites in the Shiite holy towns of Najaf and Karbala as their signature images.

Alternatively, several Sunni social media influencers on social media avoid or intentionally conceal their Hasawi dialect. This tendency may confirm the social stereotype associating the Hasawi dialect with the Shiite dialect. Sunnis in Alhasa always express their rejection of this social stereotyping that connects the local dialect with the Shiite group. For example, in a channel on YouTube owned by a Hasawi Shiite influencer conducted interviews with people to introduce the Hasawi dialect, all the interviewees were speakers of Shiites dialect. So, a large number of the comments, specifically from Sunnis, demanded him to elaborate that this dialect is spoken by a group of Hasawi people not all Hasawi people, as in figure 1 below, posted:

“Firstly, thank you for your effort. Secondly, it is better to give more details in this video for the viewers. This is the dialect of the villagers only. However, the dialect of Al-Mubarraz and Al-Hofuf is completely different from what you presented. In addition, the Bedouins

who live in Alhasa from every tribe have their own dialects. All the dialects in this video are from a specific sect (Shiites). please, do not generalise that. you spoil the reputation of the local dialect”.

Another example, as in figure 2, below, posted

“I am from Alhasa, and there are different dialects, but you presented Shiite-dialect speakers, why you did not present the Hasawi Sunni speakers. It is not a sectarian matter, but in order to present a satisfied and complete image, God bless you”.

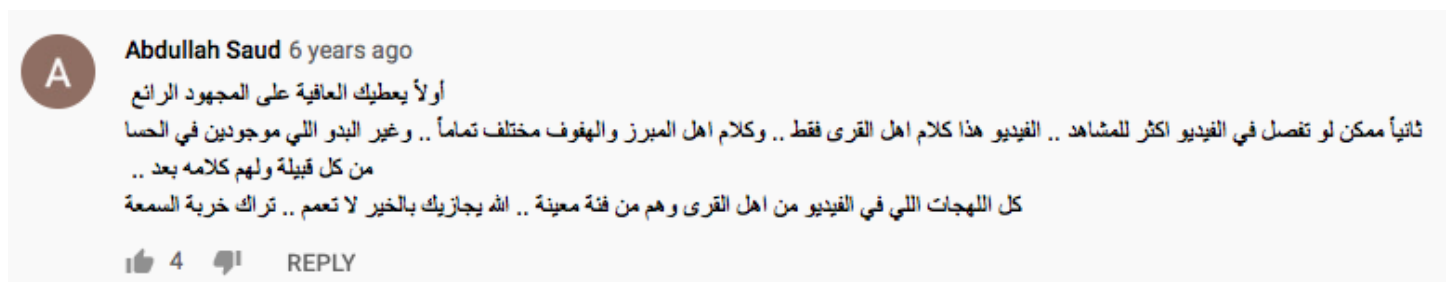


Figure 1: source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05p6z-rVUDU>

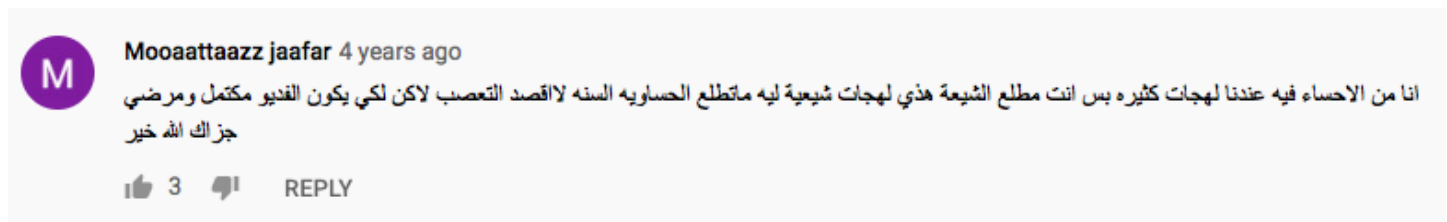


Figure 2: source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05p6z-rVUDU>

Educated scholars, writers and activists, specifically Sunnis, have made demands in social media such as on Twitter or on YouTube, though not officially, to stop these influencers who attempt to use the local dialect in an exaggerated manner to assert this type of social stereotyping, linking the Alhasa dialect with Shiites. For example, one of the Twitter users who is known as a journalist, as shown in figure 3 below, posted the following:

“Recently, a group of Hasawi bankrupt influencers has gone viral on social media. They are showing their contents by portraying the local Hasawi people — consciously or

unconsciously — as unintelligent; ignorant about modern life, civilised behaviour, and lacking virility in their pranks; and shabby in their outfit and lengthening the vowel in their speaking. O people of Alhasa! These do not represent us, so stop supporting them”⁵⁷.

Therefore, it can be argued that even several Hasawi people might have contributed, consciously or unconsciously, to construct this stereotypical image alongside the Saudi official media.

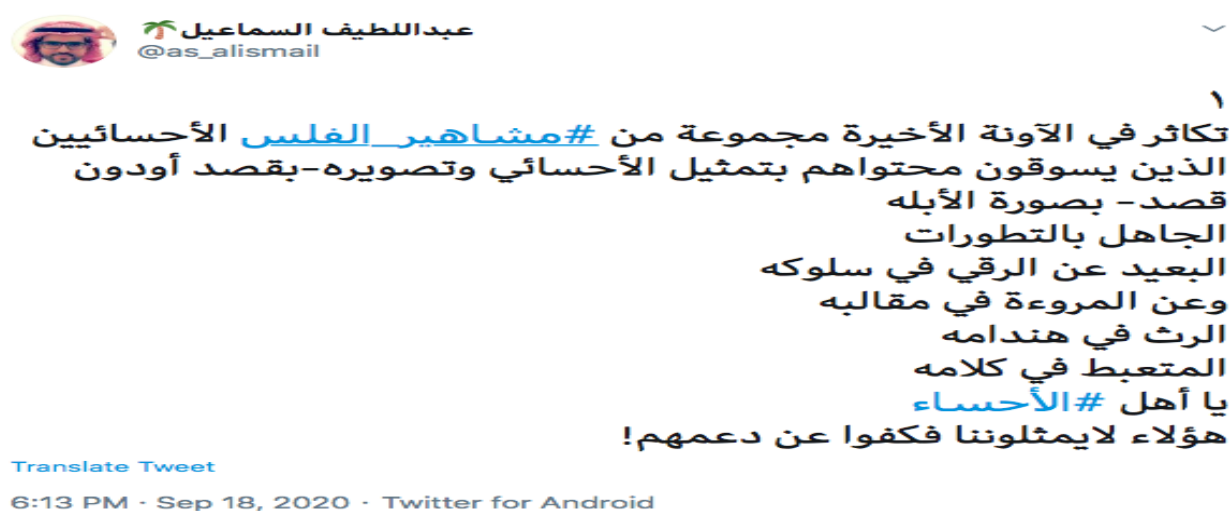


Figure 3: source: https://twitter.com/as_alismail/status/1307004899071340544

6.4. The dichotomous dialect situation

The results showed that most of the participants perceived that the two dialects, the Shiite dialect, and the Sunni dialect, are distinct, with the distinction between the two dialects relating to the sounds, words and speech style. Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 115) stated that in many societies, people use to a certain degree with linguistic characteristics that prove they belong to a specific group, so; in the local community of Alhasa the linguistics difference between Sunnis and Shias is very salient. According to Hudson (1996: 3) it is apparently the case that people are conscious of the differences between speech spoken within different social groups. For example, in Baghdad, Iraq, Abu Haidar (1996: 120) noted that the Arabic of members of Sunni group contains Turkish loanwords, while the speech of Arabic Shiites relatively free from these

⁵⁷ Permission was obtained from this Twitter user (see Appendix 8).

Turkish borrowings, however, Arabic of Shiites characterised by Persian loanwords, in order to distinct themselves from each group. Thus, El Salman and Al Fridan (2018: 142) note that there is a dialectal dichotomy between the villages in Alhasa and the main city. In the present study, the majority of participants gave the impression that, to a great extent, several linguistic features index whether an individual is from the city or the villages. For example, a large number of these participants associate *mad* (vowel lengthening), such as *Kooora* “a ball”, *Rajaal* “a man”, with the people of the villages. Most of the villages in Alhasa are inhabited by Shiites; Al-Abdulmehsen (2013: 17–21) states that of the 43 villages in Alhasa inhabited by Shiites, only three villages are fully inhabited by Sunnis. According to Al-Mubarak (2015: 110), several linguistic characteristics are nearly exclusively used by Shiites in Alhasa, such as “the unconditioned use of the -*ya* reflex of the 1st person singular possessive pronoun -*i*, e.g., *jaddat-ya* ~ *jaddit-i* my grandmother”. The language ideology of the Sunni Hasawi dialect is simply a consequence of the belief system that directs people to stereotype it as a Shiite dialect, and the same may be said of Shiite dialect. This stereotype may affect the Sunnis more than the Shiites in terms of dialect perceptions, especially when it is related to outsiders who share the same sect.

Considering the data in depth, it is clear that both the interviews and MGT contribute to the dichotomy. Firstly, the data obtained in the first stage of data collection (i.e., interviews) indicated a modern/traditional dichotomy. That is to say, the participants appeared to interpret the Shiite dialect as having a range of features that seem to represent a traditional way of speaking as single dimension. The Sunni dialect was identified with a different set of characteristics, which seem to represent a different dimension (modern dimension). The Shiites in Alhasa perceived that their dialect represents the traditional dimension of the local dialect by preserving its linguistic characteristics; they considered the Sunni dialect as converging with the Bedouin dialect or the Najdi dialect as in Examples (91) and (183) in Chapter 4:

(91) Yes, they do. We lengthen the words like *wein betroheeeen* (where are you going to) but Sunni say *wein betrohen*, so it can be recognised easily

[Shf8]

(183) Every sect has its way of speaking [...] Most of the Shiite people still use authentic Hasawi dialect and Sunni people have changed their speech similar to Riyadh; that does mean that there are linguistic differences between both sects [Shm5]

According to Al-Bonhnayyah (2019: 148) “the faster generational rate of linguistic change among the Sunnis indicates a state of divergence from the traditional features as they have more motivation to converge to the speech of other Sunni groups. This slower change among the Shias indicates more attachment to the traditional feature”. This backs up the social ideology that the Sunni people are descendants of migrants who still use their original dialect. In contrast, the Sunnis perceived that their dialect represents the modern dimension. They viewed themselves as speaking the modern or modified Hasawi dialect that converges with other dialects. Sunni participants remarked that the Shiites in Alhasa spoke in a traditional way shared with the older generation. Therefore, they rejected the generalisation that everyone in Alhasa speaks in the Shiites’ style as in Examples (86), (87) and (197) in Chapter 4:

(86) Frankly, there is a difference because Shiite people still speak like old people and lengthen the vowels, but most Sunni people modify their speech to be more modern. [Sf5]

(87) Of course, there are differences [...] Shiite speech is shameful because they do not choose beautiful words or pronunciation [...] but Sunni people at least try to choose nice words and pronunciation [Sf3]

(197) Yes, I can. Through their way of speaking and pronouncing [...] and Shiite people still speak like old Hasawi people, but Sunni people try to be more modern by borrowing some words from other dialects, specifically the dialect of Riyadh. [Sm1]

The second stage of data collection (i.e., matched-guise technique) as an indirect method assisted the researcher in gaining an in-depth understanding of this social ideology, which is defined by Van Dijk (2008:

65) as a set of common beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge (usually referred to as social representations) about justice, equality, freedom, and objectivity shared by members of specific social groups. People's broad perspective on life often consists of ideologies, which are "ingrained, unquestioned beliefs about the way the world is". Ladegaard (1998:190) argued that "indirect attitude measures of some form seem to have certain advantages in terms of eliciting the biased views held by members of one social group toward members of another". Shiite participants evaluated out-group (Hasawi Sunnis) speakers neutrally in almost all traits, both linguistic and non-linguistic (see Tables 43 and 49 in Chapter 5). However, in the interview, they remarked that Sunnis use a dialect similar to the Najdi dialect, which was evaluated as an unfavourable dialect by female Shiite participants and almost neutrally by Shiite males, as shown in Tables 47 and 51 in Chapter 5. This is a result of the sensitivity of this issue for Shiites as a minority group, especially given that the issue is related to power, i.e., the royal family. As Alahmadi (2016: 251) states, participants may feel worried and embarrassed about expressing their true feelings because in the Arab culture, as in other cultures, most people worry about what others think. Thus, their attitudes towards the Sunni dialect or the Najdi dialect were blurred, or they avoided answering the question, as a result of the presence of the interviewer: this is what Labov (1972: 207) termed the "observer's paradox".

However, when they felt they were unobserved in MGT as an indirect approach, their attitudes became more obvious. The following question arises: Why did they not evaluate the Sunni dialect in a negative way, as they did with the Najdi dialect, especially given that they highlighted that it is similar to the Najdi dialect? In response, it can be stated that the Shiite participants appeared to realise the presence of a dialectal dichotomy between Sunnis and Shiites in Alhasa, and that the Hasawi Sunni dialect differs somewhat from the Najdi dialect. Therefore, it might be an attempt to distinguish themselves, to assert the social stereotyping that the Shiite dialect is the only reference point of the Hasawi dialect, and to ascribe the Sunnis as the majority out-group. They evaluated Sunni speakers neutrally; if they had given a negative evaluation, there would have been illogicality between, on the one hand, their pride in the local dialect and the absence of the need to change or amend their speech with strangers, and on the other hand, a negative evaluation. Therefore, in order to avoid this problem, neutrality was the solution.

For Sunni participants, their perception towards the Hasawi dialect was clear from the first stage (interviews) and second stage (MGT) of data collection. Although they perceived that their way of speaking has a dimension of modernity, they viewed the Hasawi dialect as a lower-status dialect compared to the other dialects. This is evident in their comments that the Hasawi dialect contains embarrassing features (Examples (37) and (144)), in addition to their evaluations of Hasawi speakers, whether Shiites or Sunnis. It can be argued that this reflects social stereotyping, where the Shiite dialect is a reference point for the Hasawi dialect, especially for the majority of Sunnis in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the Sunnis have economic and social ties with outsiders in other regions. The participants remarked that outsiders do not differentiate between the Shiite dialect and the Sunni dialect; therefore, they might be judged as Shiites. It can be said that, despite the dialectal dichotomy in the region, social stereotyping has a strong influence on the attitudes of both social groups which are based on the sectarian issue. Thus, the MANOVA results revealed that sectarianism, has a significant effect on all traits for Hasawi speakers from both social groups, as shown in Tables 42, 44, 46 and 48 in Chapter 5.

The issue of dialectal dichotomy has been studied in other language varieties. In Washington State, USA, Evans (2013) examined people's perceptions of language varieties. Evans' results showed that inhabitants of Washington State identified two distinct language variation patterns within the state. Firstly, urban areas, where educated people were most concentrated, were identified as being different from rural areas. Secondly, there was clear differentiation between urban and rural varieties: people from the eastern part of the state were identified as adopting rural and farming lifestyles and labelled as "country" (Evans 2013: 286). Such variation was not "found in national perceptual dialect map surveys" (Evans 2013: 281). Evans notes that her research produced a detailed account of perceptions because it was regionally based, only asking informants about their perceptions of their area, not of the entire country and neighbouring areas. It is therefore argued that concentrating the attention of respondents on their own areas contributes to more reliable and informative findings than those observed in earlier studies.

In a similar vein, the present study is regionally based (that is, only one area of Saudi Arabia is studied). In terms of results, both the present study and that of Evans (2013) refer to a similar dichotomy; a modern/traditional dialectal dichotomy in the present study and an urban–rural dialectal dichotomy in Evans’ study. It should be noted that Evans’ method differs from that of the current study. Evans applied a draw-the-map task along with labelling ways of speaking in perceived different regions, while the current study relied on an interview along with MGT. In addition, the present study relied on gender and sect as social variables, but Evans’s study depended on demographic groups (gender, age, level of education, and long-term residents) as social variables. Despite the differences in the methods and variables of the two studies however, a language dichotomy appeared to emerge in both studies’ findings. The most probable explanation of these findings is from two sides: firstly, the actual approach in the two studies, the perceptual approach in Evans’ research and the attitudinal approach in the present study, respectively, produced a structured language ideology in Washington State and Alhasa region. The second explanation is related to the way people look at the world. The dichotomy revealed in the two different studies with two different approaches might result in a hypothesis that suggests that people categorise variety into different types based on their personal or ideological leanings.

Another study was conducted by Alhazmi (2018) on the Hejaz dialect, Saudi Arabia. The present study’s findings were similar to her findings in terms of revealing a dialectal dichotomy (modern/traditional). The Hadari Hejazi dialect is perceived as a modern dialect because it is considered newly emerged as a result of settlers. The urban Bedouin Hejazi dialect is perceived as a traditional dialect, as it is perceived as similar to the other Bedouin dialects in other areas of Saudi Arabia because they have similar linguistic characteristics. The findings of the present study differ from Alhazmi’s study in two points: the social stereotyping that Hasawi Sunnis are descendants of Najdi and Bedouin families and that both social groups studied by Alhazmi were proud of their dialects.

Firstly, based on the social stereotype that the Sunnis in Alhasa are descendants of Najd and Bedouin families, their dialect is perceived as having a dimension of modernity, unlike the urban Bedouin Hejazis

who perceived their dialect as having a traditional dimension. Regarding the Shiite dialect in Alhasa, on the assumption that they are the descendants of settlers, their dialect represents the traditional dimension, which contrasts with the Hadari Hijazi dialect in that it is perceived as a modern dialect. Secondly, Alhazmi found that both social groups studied were proud of their dialects, although Hadari Hejazi is considered as the reference point of the Hejaz dialect. The present study discovered that Hasawi Sunnis have a negative attitude towards the local dialect as it is considered the reference point of the Hasawi dialect, but that the Hasawi Shiites rated the dialect favourably. It can be argued that the issue of sectarianism in this study had an effective role in shaping participants' attitudes, which led to the differences in attitudes; this contrasts with the context of Alhazmi's study, as the Hijaz region is almost totally inhabited by the Sunnis. So, it can be argued that the difference in religion/ sect could create different attitudes toward the spoken language/dialect among the speakers within a given society, in contrast to Trudgill (1983) and Edward (1985), in communities where people of different creeds live side by side, religion, without language, frequently acts as a boundary-defining dimension. Cities that the Catholic community of Northern Ireland and the Jewish of England are homogeneous linguistically not religiously Trudgill (1983: 127).

6.5. The effect of intergroup issues on the participants' attitudes

Looking at the Hasawi society, one may perceive that it is a homogeneous society that has no problems culturally, religiously or even linguistically. Specifically, Hasawi inhabitants speak relatively the same dialect, practise the same social customs and religion, and follow the same religious practices. However, there are several differences within the society. As Al-Mubarak (2015: 15) states, "the sectarian distinction involves several complex and inter-related factors such as tribal and geographical origin, intermarriage relations, neighbourhood, costumes, or way of speech". In addition to these aforementioned factors, issues such majority and minority status, historical and political issues might impact the participants' attitudes. These factors may have particular relevance for why Sunni participants had a problem with the social ideology that associates the Hasawi dialect with Shiites and why they found the local dialect unfavourable compared to the Najdi dialect (supra-local dialect) that they favoured. These factors may also help to explain why Shiite participants showed positive attitudes towards the Hasawi dialect, while they found the

dialect of Hasawi Sunnis similar to the Najdi dialect, which was perceived unfavourably. Therefore, it is important to reveal the factors behind their linguistic attitudes.

6.5.1 The effect of minority and majority issues on the participants' attitudes

There is a common overlap between ethnicity and religion; thus, religious minorities are often studied as part of ethnic minorities. However, in fact, not all religious minorities are ethnic minorities. According to Roald and Nga Longva (2011: 2), ethnic minorities are defined by others or even by themselves as groups that have common inherited characteristics such as skin colour, facial features and hair type (race), but there are minorities that have acquired traits such as language and religion (culture). As Shiites and Sunnis in Saudi Arabia are ethnically Arab (see Chapter 1), and the Shiite minority in Saudi Arabia is a religious group that denominationally differs from the majority Sunni one that is in power. Being a religious minority seems to be a very sensitive topic, as the religious minority group is discriminated against solely because it has different religious beliefs than the powerful group or is different from the majority religion (Jamai 2008: 63). Therefore, it is believed that the participants' attitudes toward the local dialect are mainly motivated by religion, given the importance of religion in Middle Eastern societies. Religion is considered an identity issue; as Albirini (2016: 141) states, religion becomes a primary marker of identity by integrating spiritual beliefs and religious practices that affect a person's attitudes regarding those of different religious beliefs and practices.

6.5.1.1 Shiites as a minority group

The results from the present study in both the interview and MGT methods confirm Moscatelli *et al.*'s (2017: 757) argument that minority groups are typically more prone than larger groups to favouritism, i.e., "the systematic tendency to evaluate one's own membership group (the in-group) or its members more favourably than a non-membership group (the out-group) or its members" (Hewstone, *et al.* 2002: 576). Shiite participants had a positive perception towards the local dialect as a favourite dialect and evaluated it positively in all traits. This might be because the Hasawi dialect represents their religious identity as a minority group and they need to be united in all matters relating to their identity, including language.

Edwards (2009: 100) argues that religion is often the “bedrock of identity” and linking it to a language is important to accentuate identity. According to Giles *et al.* (1977: 309), when minorities live in a concentrated area, this allows for verbal contact between group members, thus preserving language use and reinforcing feelings of group solidarity. This role of solidarity is viewed by Ryan (1979: 146) as the key factor for the survival of given dialect (and low prestige) variants. When the matter is related to faith or religion, as is the case for the Shiites in this study, this strengthens the solidarity among group members. Bassiouney (2009: 105) states that religion has an important relation to language only in communities that feel that it can create “a close-knit community whose members feel for one reason or another that they are united by it”. In addition, since language is not only a way of communication, but also represents the uniqueness of people’s identity, this uniqueness cannot be conveyed by a foreign language, either national or international (Kishindo 1994:144).

The findings of the present study are in line with the findings of Al-Kahtib and Alzoubi (2009), who conducted a study in Umm Al-Quttain, Jordan. Their study found that the religious climate of Druz, as a minority religious group, exhibited positive attitudes towards their dialect, which assisted them in engaging in a process of dialect and cultural maintenance. Similarly, Yilmaz (2020) investigated the language attitudes toward the Kurdish Kurmanji variety that are spoken by two different Islamic sects (Alevi and Sunni) in south of Turkey. The majority Sunnis are identified as Bohtan Kurmanji speakers and the minority Alevis are recognised as Maras Kurmanji speakers. Yilmaz’s (2020) results reveal that though many Kurdish Alevis recognise what is considered as academic or proper Kurmanji, that is, Kurdish Sunnis’ variety, their strong affiliation with the Alevi sect helps them to form a distinctive Kurdish Alevi identity that, consequently, influenced their attitudes towards Bohtan Kurmanji with expense of Maras Kurmanji.

However, the present study is not consistent with the findings of Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007), who conducted an investigation into language attitudes and shifts among the indigenous Greek Orthodox community, a religious minority, in Istanbul, Turkey. They found that Greek has high symbolic status and plays a key role in defining identity; it is now widely spoken only in the home and at Church.

However, the Greek younger generation appear to have positive attitudes towards the Turkish language as it represents social and economic status.

The present study appears to differ from Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis's study in two points. Firstly, the Greek community in Istanbul is a Christian minority group living in a secular country that does not adopt a specific religion, so they are entitled to the rights shared by all citizens in their respective host countries, safeguarding in particular their religious, educational and linguistic freedoms. In contrast, Shiites in Saudi Arabia are in a religious country where the government adopts the Sunni sect, which is the sect of majority. Secondly, according to Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007: 365), the Christian Greek community in Istanbul has economic power that forms the backbone of the city's business, professional and trading classes, while Shiites in Saudi Arabia are a minority that do not have any economic or social power. Therefore, the results from the present study suggest that Shiites have a positive attitude towards their local dialect as a sign of solidarity and identity preservation. As Al-Mubarak (2015: 407) notes, Hasawi Shiites seem to be inclined to maintain the local variety. Moreover, Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 189) concludes that there is a significant linguistic difference between the Sunni group and the Shiite group in Alhasa regarding the rounding of the [v:] feature, as in [ga:l] or [gv:l] 'he has said', whereas Sunnis are leading in the use of innovative features that converge with the supra-local dialect and Shiite are more preserving this feature.

6.5.1.2 Sunnis as a majority group

Majority groups usually are not subject to linguistic shifts, nor do they tend to have negative attitudes towards their language or dialect. Rovira (2015: 165) confirms that minority languages are subject to different language shift processes and, in extreme cases, to extinction when facing the power of the language of a nation state, which inevitably has more prestige, economic and social value and regulatory notions of usefulness. However, in the case of the Sunnis in Alhasa, the opposite scenario occurs. Al-Mubarak (2015) and Al-Bohnayyah (2019) conclude that Sunnis in Alhasa are leading language change and converging a supra-local dialect.

The present study reveals that Sunnis have negative attitudes towards the local dialect due to three possible reasons. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, stereotyping associates the Hasawi dialect with Shiites. Specifically, outsiders are unable to recognise the linguistic differences between Shiites and Sunnis in Alhasa, as noted by the participants in Example (100) and (101) in Chapter 4:

(100) Yes, if the person is Hasawi. because there is specific words, expressions, or pronunciation I as a Sunni use them, but a Shiite does not use them. But people from outside Alhasa cannot recognise. [Sf6]

(101) You know from which sect I belong to through my way of speaking. But people who are not from Alhasa it is difficult to know. [Sf5]

Thus, negative attitudes emerge as a result of wanting to avoid being negatively perceived as Shiites by fellow Sunnis elsewhere in the country. The second possible reason is related to social status. Sunni participants, such as in Examples (38) and (138) in Chapter 4, commented that the local dialect has a low status compared to other dialects:

(38) Unfortunately, Hasawi dialect has become a marker of either an uneducated person or a Shiite person as it presented in TV Shows *like Tash ma Tash*. [Sf10]

(138) I think the Hasawi dialect is suitable for non-educated people [...] because if he is educated that means he knows that Hasawi is not a good dialect to be used for educated people. [Sm1]

This explains why they evaluated in-group speakers (see Table 43 and Table 49 in Chapter 5) negatively with regard to non-linguistic features (social class and attractiveness), with their evaluation giving these features a low mean score (5 to 6) in Table 43 and Table 48 in Chapter 5. Thus, Sunnis seek to share the high social status of the majority group by adopting positive attitudes towards the supra-local dialect.

Luhman (1990: 332) notes that language, i.e., dialect, “symbolizes our social experience in an intimate way and locates us within significant social groups from which we draw our identities”. El Salman and Al Fridan (2018: 146) refer to the fact that several Hasawi people, specifically middle-aged people, “recognize that being local is not sufficient to achieve social power” as a result of their maturity. However, El Salman and Al Fridan (2018: 146) claim that young Hasawis might use any tools, including the local dialect, to actualise themselves and take advantage of any vocational opportunities. The findings of the present study are not consistent with El Salman and Al Fridan’s (2018) findings; the sample of the present study consisted of young Hasawis, who found that the local dialect does not provide them with social status or vocational opportunities, even among Shiites as in Example (161) in Chapter 5, Sunnis seek for this social status as they belong to the majority group.

Regarding the third possible reason for the negative attitudes of the Sunni group, their religious affiliation might influence their comments and their evaluation of the local dialect, which is considered as a reference point for the Shiite group. Al-Wer *et al.* (2015: 83) report that religious affiliation has an impact on dialect and note that there are sect-based linguistic differences, especially demographic change, in the make-up of the two religious groups. Therefore, the Sunni participants commented positively on the Najdi dialect (supra-local dialect) and evaluated its speakers as speaking a favourite dialect and vice versa with the local dialect (see Tables 45 and 51). This favouritism appears to be based more on religious affiliation rather than the linguistic aesthetics and indexes of their affiliation with the Sunni majority. Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 141) confirms that young Sunni speakers in Alhasa speak in a similar manner to the Najdi dialect in order to emphasise their affiliation with the wider Sunni community in Saudi Arabia. So, it can be argued that in-group and out-group identities influence attitudes of the language, i.e., dialect use, as Tajfel (1974:72) emphasises the idea that the group of an individual gives him/her a sense of identity and individuality, and that a member of a group seeks to improve the status of the group in order to increase his/her self-confidence and self-esteem. To further enhance their status, members of the group tend to emphasize similarities and differences between their own social group and other social groups.

6.5.2 In-group loyalty

Another very significant result is revealed when comparing the participants' comments with the MGT results. The results revealed that both social groups (Shiites and Sunnis) indicated differences regarding in-group loyalty.

Shiite participants were much more loyal to their group, tending to rate the Hasawi speakers more positively than was the case for the Sunnis towards Hasawi speakers (see Table 41 and Table 47 in Chapter 5). Sunnis were less loyal to their Hasawi Sunni group and more loyal to the mass in-group (supra-local dialect; See Table 43, Table 45, Table 49, and Table 51 in Chapter 5). One explanation for this result might be associated with the idea of competing stereotypes, where both sets of participants display different attitudes towards their own dialect. In other words, Sunni participants attempted to attribute modernity to their own dialect, or evaluated the Najdi dialect positively, as a way of avoiding the Shiite dialect's traditionality. In contrast, Shiite participants attempted to attribute traditionality to their own dialect as a way of asserting their identity within a traditional society that has a long history in the region as in Example (78) in Chapter 4:

(78) The dialect of Sunni is similar to Bedouins in words and sounds, and Sunnis are descendants of people who come to Alhasa to work so they still maintain their original dialects. But Shiite are indigenous people and maintain their dialect. [Shf3

This finding parallels Bayard *et al.*'s (2001) results on the group loyalty of American, Australian and New Zealand participants towards their English variety. Bayard *et al.* (2001) analysed attitudes towards American, Australian and New Zealand English and selected participants who were located in three geographical areas. The general pattern they found showed that participants from the United States and Australia rated their English high in the following dimensions: power, competence, solidarity, and status based on a verbal-coating technique. Participants from New Zealand were less positive about their regional dialect. Despite the context of the present study being different from that of Bayard *et al.* (2001), it is possible to infer that group loyalty is focused on how outsiders perceive their own dialect or language.

The in-group loyalty can be explained as follows. The Shiite participants were not challenging Sunni people regarding the issue of modernity and converging to the out-group through negative or neutral comments and evaluations, particularly towards the supra-local dialect, as revealed above. This was because they wanted to prove their strong affiliation towards their traditional identity: they rated highly their dialect on all traits, more than the Sunnis did towards their dialect. Overall, it seems to be the case that tradition is favourable to Shiite participants as it does not let them pursue the modernity of the Sunni dialect and enables them to greater assert their traditional identity. The traditional identity that the Shiite participants revealed could have direct implications for how linguistically secure this particular group is, which will be discussed in Section 5.3 below. Regarding the Sunni participants, the results might be explained by the idea that Sunni participants may perceive modernity as an assertion of their affiliation and loyalty to the mass in-group rather than the Hasawi Sunni in-group. This could be something they are looking for; therefore, they perceive their dialect as more modern than the Shiite dialect.

The present study echoes findings from the BBC (2005) research, at least in terms of the perceptions of the Shiites rather than the Sunnis. The BBC study revealed an essential tendency of in-group loyalty by participants in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland towards their own varieties. They rated the social attractiveness and prestige of their regional variety higher than other varieties, even higher than RP English. Likewise, in Kristiansen's study (2009: 177), the preference for local dialects also showed "local patriotism", where local varieties were preferred over others. Alhazmi (2018: 207-208) confirms what was noted earlier about the loyalty to the group being linked to how outsiders view their own dialect or language. Thus, both social groups take into consideration how outsiders view them through their dialect. The Sunni groups want to prove their loyalty and belonging to the mass Sunni majority group in Saudi Arabia, who see all Hasawi speakers as Shiites based on the social ideology discussed in Section 6.3. above, rather than being loyal to the Hasawi in-group as Al-Mubarak (2015) in her study found the Sunnis have high a level of adoption of the supra-local linguistic features in relation to [k], [g] sounds, and Al-Mubarak (2015: 334) conclude that one of the reasons is related to "the way that they feel embarrassed about the sectarian

character of al-’Aḥsā’⁵⁸ city. Sunnis prefer to be less associated with Shiites, because they think that other Saudis look down on them. Sunnis talked about how people from al-’Aḥsā’ exert a deliberate effort to adopt the Saudi koiné because they do not want to feel less important than others, as well as because of a wish to bolster their identity as Saudis and be part of the wider Saudi community”.

In contrast, the Shiite group attempt to prove their identity and loyalty to their group. Therefore, the results of the present study contrast with Alhazmi’s (2018: 208) claim that “people have a tendency to favour their own language/varieties over others”, specifically in the Sunni case, whose speakers found their dialect unfavourable. It can be argued that several factors might influence individuals’ perceptions towards their dialect or language; in particular, factors that might threaten their identity and convey different identities that they do not want to be attached to them. Accordingly, Sunni participants may have perceived the supra-local dialect as representing their sectarian identity and the group they belong to rather than the local dialect, and in contrast Shiites perceived the local dialect as representing their group and their sectarian identity. Tajfel (1974: 72) states that the group to which an individual belongs provides a sense of identity and individuality and that a group member aims to enhance his/her group’s status to increase their confidence and self-esteem. Similarly, Bassiouney (2009: 103) confirms that in a community of practice, individuals choose to belong to their groups’ variety because this supplied them with strength socially and status.

6.5.3. Linguistic security among both social groups

Linguistic security is a feeling of safety to speak freely, conscious of language correctness of speaking (words or pronunciation), when a speaker is sure of validity of speaking (Andreevna 2015: 32). The fact that speakers find their speech unacceptable regarding the correctness of speaking, which generates fear in language or its variety, is quite linked to the linguistic insecurity (Andreevna 2015: 32). So, by examining the comments of Shiite participants and the mean scores of linguistic traits (pronunciation, fluency,

⁵⁸ That this is a different way of transcribing Alhasa.

embarrassing linguistic features, ruggedness) given to each of the Shiite speakers, it seems that, in respect to their positive comments about the Hasawi dialect, as in Examples (30) and (136) in Chapter 4,

(30) It is an authentic dialect that has been spoken for centuries. The original dialect is still spoken by Hasawi people. [**Shf3**]

(136) The Hasawi dialect is one of the dialects of Saudi Arabia. I like it regardless of how others feel about it. [**Shm5**]

and the linguistic traits, the Shiite participants gave the Shiite dialect speakers a mean score range of 1 to 3 (see Tables 41 and 47) in Chapter 5, while the Sunni participants remarked negatively on the Hasawi dialect, as in Examples (34) and (139) in Chapter 4,

(34) Hasawi dialect is not beautiful and not fluent [...] Because Hasawi people lengthen the words and speak slowly like a dying man. [**Sf3**]

(139) See, the Hasawi dialect, I can describe it as a spontaneous dialect and for simple people and peasants, so it is not good for official interviews. [**Sm2**]

and gave their dialect a mean score of 5 to 7 (see Tables 43 and 49 in Chapter 5). Taking a closer look at the Shiite participants' positive comments about the local dialect their commented about feeling cosy and confident by using the local dialect when speaking with non-Hasawi speakers in open informal discussion, as in Examples (67), and (174) in Chapter 4, they give a strong indication of the linguistic security of the Shiite dialect as perceived by the Shiite:

(67) Sure, I feel comfortable [...] It is my dialect and will not change especially with friends [**Shf2**]

(174) Of course, [...] it is my dialect and that means my personality and identity. [Shm8]

In addition, the linguistic traits, particularly pronunciation and fluency, indicate that the speakers of this dialect have the advantage of being linguistically secure in these characteristics. These results may explain why Shiites are less prone to converge with the supra-local dialect, as Al-Mubarak (2015) and Al-Bohnayyah (2019) concluded. In contrast, the Sunni participants may lack this linguistic security, as suggested by their comments on the local dialect in Examples (62) and (140) in Chapter 4:

(62) Yes, [...] because Hasawi dialect has grammatical and spelling errors for example Hasawi people say /yuran/ 'the Holy Qura'an' and the correct is /quran/. And Hasawi dialect contains strange and uncommon words. Generally, it is all errors. So Hasawi people must change their words and pronunciation when they talk to others. Also, they don't think you are a Shiite [Sf7]

(140) I think the Hasawi dialect is in a low place compared to other dialects [...] for me I always try to avoid using some Hasawi vocabulary because it makes others laugh. [Sm3]

and their comments that they would not be confident or cosy in Examples (76), (77) and (177) in Chapter 4:

(76) I will not be confident [...] I have to change my way pronunciation and some words to avoid taunt [Sf7]

(77) No. Especially if it is a friendly discussion as some people do not pay attention to what I say but paying attention to how I speak. And some people try to catch some Hasawi words to say funny comment and make other

laugh, so, why should put myself in this silly and embarrassing situation.

[Sf5]

(177) I would be nervous, and anyway I would be careful about how I pronounce the words and I honestly would try to make my way of speaking very soft to avoid laughing [...] I mean I would not be comfortable like when I speak to my family members. [Sm1]

Moreover, Sunnis' evaluation of the in-group speakers (Hasawi Sunnis) in Tables 43 and 49 in Chapter 5, with respect to linguistic features (pronunciation, fluency, embarrassing linguistic features and ruggedness): the mean scores were between 5 and 7. Hence, Sunni participants compensated for this with positive comments and evaluation of linguistic features of the Najdi dialect, to assert their membership of the majority group.

A possible explanation can be put forward to interpret these findings. On one hand, it seems to be the case that speakers of a dialect with a high level of linguistic security (i.e., Shiite dialect in the present study) do not concentrate on the modern dimension or social status since their linguistic status gives them a sense of distinction. On the other hand, speakers of a dialect with a low level of linguistic security (i.e., Sunni dialect) attempted to prove that their dialect has a modern dimension and social status through converging with the supra-local dialect or evaluating it positively.

This finding is somewhat supported by Preston's study (1999) conducted in Michigan, USA, which discovered a high level of linguistic security among Michiganders through evaluation of a high average score for the status variable "correct", despite the Michiganders rating their dialect at an approximate mid-point for "pleasantness". This contrasted with Southern dialect speakers who rated their way of speaking high on "pleasantness" and at a rough mid-point for "correctness". Consequently, it appears that Michiganders have a high level of linguistic security; thus, they concentrate their evaluations on

“correctness”. Southern dialect speakers do not have such linguistic security; henceforth they compensate for this by evaluating their dialect high on “pleasantness”.

It should be noted that the above study findings differ from the present study in two aspects: firstly, the participants’ evaluations differ in terms of the speakers of the dialect with high and low levels of linguistic security. For Michiganders in Preston’s study (1999), they evaluated several traits such as pleasantness with a mid-point ranking, and others with a high ranking, while Shiites in the present study evaluated all linguistic traits of their dialect with a high rating. Correspondingly, despite the Southern dialect speakers evaluating several traits with a high rating such as pleasantness, it was considered that they do not have such linguistic security, while Sunni participants evaluated all linguistic traits for their dialect with a low rating. Secondly, Preston’s sample consisted of a variety of status and age groups, male and female, while the present study relied on a sect-gender based sample. Therefore, it can be affirmed that when the evaluation was based on religion, that is, sectarianism, the matter of linguistic security becomes stronger, as in the case of the Shiites regarding the local dialect and Sunnis with the supra-local dialect.

6.6. The effect of attitudes on linguistic behaviour

Attitudes towards a given dialect may be reflected in the linguistic behaviour of the people. The results of the present study confirm Alberini’s (2016: 99) argument that attitudes towards a language usually direct linguistic behaviour by forming behavioural intentions that become the basis of linguistic behaviour. Thus, the attitudes of the Sunni and Shiite participants are reflected in their linguistic behaviour, as this is linked to religious affiliation and group loyalty through the use of linguistic differences to index differences in religious affiliation. Each social group, that is, Shiites and Sunnis, attempt to distinguish themselves by adopting several linguistic features. According to Baker and Bowie (2010: 1-2), religious affiliation may be displayed in linguistic behaviour, creating different language groups which could then have separate systems of variation.

This is what occurs among Shiites and Sunnis in Alhasa. For the Shiites, as a part of their religious affiliation and identity, they assert use of the local dialect and do not switch or use words and pronunciation

from different dialects unless the receiver requires clarification, even if they are engaged in a friendly conversation and feel confident and comfortable, as stated in Examples (58), (66), (163) in Chapter 4:

(58) No, they do not have to change because it is a proudness issue [...]

Why other dialect speakers such Jeddah or Riyadh do not change their way of speaking when they speak to others. [Shf3]

(69) I feel comfortable, and I do not have to change, and I will be myself [Shf8]

(163) Maybe for explanation, not because of shyness or to avoid taunts [...] because when Hasawi people change some words, the message will be clear [...] Also, Hasawi words and phrases cannot be understood by other dialect speakers. [Shm4]

In contrast, Sunnis' attitudes towards the local dialect affected their linguistic behaviour more than was the case with the Shiites. The Sunnis attempt to conceal their linguistic background through code-switching to or adopting supra-local dialect features, specifically when they speak to outsiders, to avoid being judged as Shiites. This is a result of social ideology and the fact that outsiders cannot identify the dialect of Hasawi Shiites and Sunnis, as participants stated in Examples (60) and (168) in Chapter 4:

(60) Yes, they have to change and modify for many reasons. First some people like to taunt and comment on Hasawi people, second some words is uncommon for others [...] do not forget that may non Hasawi think all Hasawi People are Shiites [Sf5]

(168) many people in Alhasa change because they are either shy or they do not want to be judged [...] I mean maybe he is Sunni and he does not want others to think he is a Shiite person; on the other side, Shiite change to hide their sectarian background. [Sm7]

“They are judgements about speakers rather than about speech” (Trudgill 1975: 27). Therefore, the Sunni situation is similar to that stated by Le Page (1980: 15): “we create our rules so as to resemble as closely as possible those of the groups with which from time to time we wish to identify”.

The findings of this study are in line with the study by Baker and Bowie (2010), who examined whether religious affiliation in Utah County, the United States, affected the production of several vowel mergers typical of the area (i.e., *fell-fail*, *pool-pole-pull*, *card-cord*) among members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) and non-Mormons. Their findings revealed strong signs of distinctions based on self-described religious affiliation, as those who described themselves as Mormons who regularly engaged in religious activities displayed substantially different linguistic behaviours to those who described themselves as non-Mormons. Interestingly, the non-Mormon situation is similar to the Sunni situation in the present study, where non-Mormons may be attempting to use differences in vowel production to identify themselves as members of the dominant culture in the Utah States, while Sunnis attempt to avoid using local linguistic features to assert their membership of the majority Sunni in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, it can be argued that linguistic behaviour can be affected by attitudes, particularly if this relates to demonstrating, or proving to others, social group membership.

6.7 The effect of a view of inferiority from outsiders on participants’ attitudes

There is an agreement among the participants from both sects that non-Hasawis consider the local dialect, i.e., the Hasawi dialect, as an inferior dialect. The reasons for this view of inferiority differ in the Shiites’ and Sunnis’ perceptions. For Shiites, the reasons behind this inferiority are based on sectarian discrimination, as in Examples (49) and (153):

(49) Some people’s reaction toward Hasawi dialect is what a disgusted dialect and why you speak like this and some directly when listen to Hasawi speaker say he or she is Shiite and act in different way because they know that many Shiite people live there. [Shf4]

(153) Many Saudis around Saudi Arabia look at the Hasawi dialect as an inferior dialect, and a large number connect the Hasawi dialect to Shiite, I mean it is a sectarian matter more than a dialectal matter. [Shm5]

or on the basis of social status, as non-Hasawi people consider the Hasawi dialect as a dialect of low-class people or peasants, as in Examples (50) and (152).

(50) They will say it is not beautiful and disgusted and some think it is a low-class dialect for peasants [Shf9]

(152) I think there are two reactions: first reaction, they find it strange and like to listen to it, especially the dialects of villagers; second reaction, they taunt and make jokes. [Shm6]

In addition, several Shiite participants attributed the outsiders' view of the linguistic features being inferior due to several words and pronunciation being considered laughable, as in Examples (51) and (150):

(51) From my view, I think will laugh directly [...] because pronunciation in Hasawi dialect make others laugh and find it funny [Shf8]

(150) The Hasawi dialect reflects tolerance and simplicity, therefore some people find it for low-class people or for farmers, also some laugh, or taunt. [Shm3]

With respect to Sunnis, in addition to social status and linguistic features, the main reason for the inferiority was considering the Hasawi dialect as a Shiite dialect, as in Examples (54) and (159):

(54) First thing they will say this person is from the Shiite sect as I said earlier stereotyping, second, they will laugh and taunt [Sf7]

(159) They taunt the way that Hasawi people use it when they speak
[...] for example, when I join a group of people on the internet gaming,
and they listen to my dialect they laugh and say are you Shiite? [Sm1]

It is evident that when it is related to a sectarian matter, Shiites perceive it as sectarian discrimination and Sunnis perceived it as stigmatisation; the explanations for this are discussed in Section 6.9. below. Therefore, the participants perceive that outsiders have an inferior view toward the local variety, that could influence participants' attitudes towards the local dialect. Such thoughts of how speakers of a dialect believe that outsiders see their dialect may affect the self-esteem of these speakers and their social status. Such features can also lead others to assume that certain dialect speakers are not only socially disadvantaged, but also cognitively disadvantaged (Papapavlou 1998: 16). This perceived inferiority among the participants confirms what Al- Bohnayyah (2019: 145) concludes, that a large number of the people, particularly younger generation, in Alhasa "are teased by their dialect", which leads to switching to use features that belong to what they perceive as a higher status, i.e., Supra- local dialect. According to Breakwell (2001: 275) It is possible for speakers of stigmatized language varieties to accept and reproduce negative social representations of their language variety, which could have a detrimental effect on their identities (Breakwell, 2001: 275). For example, speakers of Andalusian Spanish, a non-standard, stigmatized language variety, have been found to have a lower view of their own speech than speakers of Standard Spanish, that is seen as the linguistic ideal (Carbonero 2003).

Kaouache's study (2009) confirms the results of the present study, who found that because of an inferior view towards the Jejel dialect, Algeria, intellectuals are afraid to communicate at seminars and conferences, university students are afraid to contribute in classes, and talented singers are afraid to appear in front of audiences. Therefore, this perceived inferiority view from outsiders might affect the linguistic behaviour of the participants particularly Sunnis as mentioned in section 5.4 above, Ladegaard (1998: 14) mentioned that people's linguistic behaviour is related to "social ambition", i.e., keenness to get on in the world, rather than status of education or occupations.

6.8. The effect of social networks on the participants' attitudes

Participants' attitudes can be affected by the social networks of each social group. A social network is defined by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 117) as follows: "an individual's social network is the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking many individuals, sometimes remotely". According to Baker and Bowie (2010: 8), "religions that require a high time commitment of their members facilitate the development of social networks based on religious affiliation, leading to linguistic differences between adherents". Therefore, it can be recognised that each social group⁵⁹ (Sunnis and Shiites) has a different social network based on religious affiliation, such as neighbourhoods, worship places, religious occasions, marriage, and kinship ties, although both group members work together and attend the same schools and universities in Alhasa .

Sunnis and Shiites in the East province of Saudi Arabia mostly live in more or less segregated residential areas. According to Baker and Bowie (2010: 2), residential segregation can occur, with members of a specific religion preferring to live more closely with each other than with others, contributing, of course, to numerous social networks which can be related to religion. In fact, there is not just separation between Hasawi Shiites and Sunnis in neighbourhoods or kinships, but even social contact and friendships are based on people being from the same sect. Different attitudes towards the local dialect emerge as a result of these social networks. Sunnis have kinship ties and friends from outside Alhasa as Al-Bohnayyah (2019:148) explained that Sunni group lead the change in term of the local feature vowel [ɑ:] from rounded [ɒ:] to unrounded [ɑ:] because the Sunni group mix and interact with the Sunni majority all over the country, which means that they have greater mobility than Shiites, and consequently are exposed to sarcastic and offensive situations or being judged as Shiites. Therefore, Sunni participants perceived their dialect as not a prestigious dialect and as containing embarrassing linguistic features (see Tables 43 and 49). In addition, these defective practices from outsiders are reflected in the Sunnis' linguistic behaviour, as mentioned above (Section 6.4), whereby they avoid using local features with outsiders. In contrast, as Shiites are

⁵⁹ See chapter one

segregated and their social network is relatively limited to Alhasa, they perceived their dialect as prestigious and not containing any embarrassing linguistic features, as shown in Tables 41 and 47 in Chapter 6.

6.9. The effect of religious discrimination on Shiite participants' attitudes

The political system of government in Saudi Arabia is based on the religion of the Sunni sect. Therefore, when religion is closely associated with the state, government discrimination against minority religions is more likely to occur (Fox 2016: 33). The religious discrimination that the Shiites in Saudi Arabia have suffered from originates from the early days of ruling the areas inhabited with Shiites, i.e., Alhasa and Al-Qatif, by Sunni government might be reflected in the Shiite participants' attitudes towards the Hasawi dialect spoken by Sunnis. As mentioned earlier, the Shiite participants found the Sunnis' Hasawi dialect to be similar to the Najdi dialect that is spoken by the royal family, so they evaluated the dialect neutrally in general (see Table 43 and Table 49 in Chapter 5) and the Najdi dialect was evaluated negatively (see Table 45 and 50 in Chapter 5). Religious discrimination occurs when certain individuals or groups are not privileged to the same rights or benefits as other religious groups in the society (Bowen 2010: 1750). According to Bowen (2010: 1750), two types of discrimination can occur against the discriminated groups: discrimination in the religious domain (access to worship places, fiscal exemptions) or discrimination in the non-religious sectors (employment, housing, police treatment) as a result of social bias. Saudi Shiites suffered from both types of discrimination until 2003 when the Crown Prince Abdullah,⁶⁰ de facto ruler at that time, launched the National Dialogues entitled Partners in the Nation (*shuraka fi al-watan*). The dialogue aims to create channels of communication, which play a role in dealing with many issues and acknowledging religious difference in the country.

It is important to demonstrate, briefly, both types of discriminatory practices that have been experienced by the Shiites in order to understand their attitudes towards the Hasawi Sunni dialect and the Najdi dialect. In religious domains, Saudi Arabia has adopted *The Wahhabiyya*, that became the ideological backbone of the political and religious movement, which led to what is officially known as the first Saudi State (1744–

⁶⁰ King Abdulla bin Abdulaziz, the sixth king of Saudi Arabia (2005–2015).

1818) and the second Saudi state (1818–1891; Matthiesen 2014: 28) and then the current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Wahhabi ideology saw Shiite worship as a *shirk* (polytheism). Therefore, since 1927, when the Wahhabi missionaries destroyed some *hussainiyat*⁶¹ in Alhasa and Al-Qatif, it was forbidden to build *hussainiyat* in Saudi Arabia. Afterwards, many Shia turned *hussainiyat* into “normal” houses, in order to avoid this prohibition (Steinberg 2002: 501). Moreover, Shiites have been largely banned from observing religious practices in public and practice of these rituals is often forbidden and punished, such as the celebration of *Maulid Al-Nabi* (Birthday of Prophet Mohammed Peace be upon him) or *Ashura*⁶² (Constantin 2016: 1). Shiites, in Saudi Arabia, are not allowed to teach their jurisprudence and the fundamentals of their sect, and even religious schools have been banned since the 1950s. They are not allowed to sue according to their doctrine, despite the existence of a Shiite low court that had some jurisdiction, but its authority was reduced later (Al-Hasan 2010: 399). In addition, numerous fatwas⁶³ were issued by the former Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Abdul-Aziz bin Baz (1910–1999), against Shia religious practices and Saudi Shiite clerics (Ibrahim 2006: 35). One of these fatwas, according to Al-Hasan (2010: 400), prevented the Shiites from butchering, because eating what a Shiite slaughtered is forbidden. In 2008, Saudi newspapers published a fatwa forbidding the selling of properties to Shia by another scholar (Matthiesen 2014: 9; cf. Al-Hasan 2010; Ismail 2012 and Matthiesen 2014).

Regarding discrimination in the non-religious sectors, the non-employment of Shiites in security and army sectors has become inevitable except in maintenance departments or traffic services. In addition, in 1984, a political decision was issued to prevent the employment of Shiites in the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO⁶⁴), and to demote those who are in charge of work from security and guard positions and some other places and positions. This has remained in effect despite the lifting of the political decision (Al-Hasan

⁶¹ Alhussainiyyat (Hussainiyya, pl. Hussainiyyat) are Shiite mourning houses for the commemoration of the martyrdom of Hussein, also community centres (Matthiesen 2014: xx).

⁶² The first ten days of Muharram (the first month of the Islamic calendar) when Shiites commemorate the martyrdom of Hussein (the grandson of prophet Mohammed peace be upon him) in 680 (Matthiesen 2014: 101).

⁶³ The fatwa is an Islamic religious ruling, a scholarly opinion on a matter of Islamic law (Weimann 2011: 765).

⁶⁴ ARAMCO (formerly) now is Saudi Aramco, which is the state-owned oil company of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and a fully integrated, global petroleum and chemicals enterprise.

2010: 371-383). In 1988 Shiites were prevented from admission to several colleges such as those focusing on Islamic law and Shri'a, and medical school.

The above discussion about the discrimination experienced by Shiites can help to explain why they have a strong affiliation to the dialect that represents their identity, and, in contrast, why they have neutral or negative attitudes towards every aspect relating to the Najd area, including the dialect. Despite easing of restrictions and changes from the government since 2003 towards Shiite issues, these historical issues remain stuck in the Shiites' cultural memory. Therefore, Shiites perceive the Sunni dialect in Alhasa as a part of the system that discriminates against them. In fact, Shiite participants realised the social importance of the Najdi dialect, as they commented in the interviews, and found it a prestigious dialect. However, out of solidarity and sympathy with their groups and intolerance towards the out-group, they evaluated it negatively.

6.10. The effect of political issues on Sunni participants' attitudes

Political reality is considered an additional factor affecting that has a significant impact on the process of language attitude formation (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 226). Sunnis and Shiites have a long history of sectarian and ideological conflict from the first days of Islam in the Seventh Century CE; this historical conflict is not within the scope of the present study. As this study discusses the attitudes towards the local dialect in Alhasa city in Saudi Arabia, it is important to demonstrate the reasons, at least in the Saudi era, why Sunnis' reject being stigmatised as Shiites, meaning that they perceive their dialect based on the social ideology whereby the Shiites dialect is rated unfavourably. Firstly, regardless of the sectarian differences among Sunnis and Shiites that may be a salient factor in Sunnis' rejection of being stigmatised as Shiites and vice versa, political and nationalism issues have played an essential role in forming the attitudes of Sunni participants towards the local dialect. In the 1950s and 1960s there were revolutions in the Arab world against the royal regimes, which led to the toppling of the royalty in Libya, Egypt, Iraq, and Yemen by socialist and communist parties. According to Al-Hasan (2010: 440), socialist and communist ideologies found fertile soil among the Shiites in Saudi Arabia, which led to the foundation of political parties, such as the National Liberation Front (NLF; *jabhat al-taharrur al-watani*) that entered into various alliances

with, among others, the Arab National Liberation Front (ANLF; *jabhat al-taharrur al-watani al-arabiyya*), which aimed to topple the Saudi monarchy in 1960. Moreover, in the 1970s, several Shiites in Saudi Arabia joined the radical *shirazi* movement, established in Kuwait, and which helped bring about the Islamic Iranian Revolution in 1979 (Matthiesen 2014: 99). They established an armed party called the Islamic Revolution in the Arabian Peninsula (*al-Thawra al-Islamiyya fi al-Jazira al-Arabiyya*), which was influenced by the thoughts of Ruhollah Al-Khomeini⁶⁵. In 1979, the Islamic Iranian Revolution was supported by Shiites in Arab Gulf countries generally and Saudi Shiites specifically; Shiites perceived this revolution as an opportunity to free themselves. Thus, they started to move against the Saudi Government and started their revolution, which was called the Moharram Revolution (*intifadat Muharram*); it led to the killing of tens of protesters and Saudi security guards (Matthiesen 2014:113). Then, Shiites established an armed party supported by the Republic of Iran, called Hezbollah in Al-Hejaz (*Hezbollah fi al-hejaz*). Most of its members were from ARAMCO Shiite labour, who caused two explosions in 1987 and 1988 in oil and chemical facilities. In addition, during what was called the Arab Spring in 2011, the Shiites in Alhasa and Al-Qatif protested against the intervention of the Saudi National Guard to stop a Shiite protest in Bahrain, which was supported by Iran. Moreover, according to SAP (Saudi Press Agency), tens of security guards were killed in the Shiite areas from 2015 to 2017, and several warehouses of weapons were smuggled from Iran; they were discovered in some Shiite neighbourhoods and farms (cf. Alsaif 2013; Al-Ḥasan 2010; Ismail 2012 and Matthiesen 2014).

The discussion above shows that the Sunnis in Saudi Arabia have always questioned the national loyalty of the Shiites and accuse them of loyalty to Iran because of historical events and their religious *Marj'iyyah* (authority), which is based in Qom, Iran and Najaf, Iraq. Therefore, this might be reflected in their attitudes towards their local dialect, which is perceived as representing an unfavoured social group rather than the majority group. In line with the present study, Kaouache (2009) investigated why the dialect of Jijel, Algeria, is stigmatised in Constantin city and other parts of Algeria. His results revealed that one of the

⁶⁵ The leader of the Iranian Revolution (1979–1989).

reasons were the historical events. The Constantinians still bitterly remember culturally the invasion of Ibn el Ahrache to Constantine in 1804. Therefore, it can be argued that the historical and political issues might influence individuals' attitudes towards a given group's dialect or language, as can be seen among Shiites towards Sunnis and the Najdi dialect, or Sunnis that perceived their dialect as an unfavourable dialect because of its association with the Shiites.

6.11. Conclusion

This chapter has presented a discussion based on a comparison of the data obtained from the Shiite and Sunni participants. There appears to be a social ideology that associates the Hasawi dialect with Shiites because of its similarity to the Bahraini dialect, and the media and genealogy of Hasawi families have also influenced the participants' attitudes. In the comparison of results, on the one hand, the modern dimension has been proved to be associated with the Hasawi Sunni dialect, as it was perceived as such by participants from both social groups (i.e., Sunni and Shiites). Shiites perceived that the Sunni dialect belongs to its origins and Sunnis perceived that they have developed their way of speaking in line with modernity. On the other hand, the traditional dimension is always associated with the Shiite dialect. It was perceived as such by the Shiite and Sunni social groups, with the Shiites perceiving their dialect to represent the authentic Hasawi dialect and Sunnis perceiving that Shiites do not want to reform their dialect in line with modernity. Moreover, majority, minority, inferiority, policy and religious discrimination issues have effects on the participants' attitudes and their evaluation of the local dialect.

To sum up, two main findings have emerged: firstly, modern characteristics were associated mostly with the Sunni dialect, and traditional characteristics were associated with the Shiite dialect. Secondly, the Sunnis found that the local dialect associates them with the Shiite group, whom they consider undesirable compared to the majority Sunni group due to doubts about their national loyalty and their hostility to the state. For the Shiites, the local dialect is considered a matter of identity and due to the religious discrimination they face, they perceived the local dialect as a means by which they can express solidarity with their in-group.

7. Discussion: Attitudes based on Gender

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the correlation between participants' gender and their attitudes towards the Hasawi dialect will be discussed. There are several interesting findings regarding the attitudes by gender that contradict trends in Arabic and global studies regarding standard or prestigious forms, i.e., the preference of women for standard or prestigious linguistic forms and men for local linguistic forms, while some findings are consistent with these trends. To the researcher's knowledge, no study in the Arabic context has investigated the effect of gender (and sect) on language attitudes in a given variety. In addition, there is a lack of language attitude studies on the local varieties in the Saudi context based on the gender variable. The exceptions to this are Alahmadi (2016), who examined the Urban Makkah dialect, and Alhazmi (2018), who investigated perceptions towards the dialect of Hijaz. Therefore, the present study relies on the conclusions of these two Saudi studies and language attitude studies in other communities; in addition to other studies in the Saudi and Arabic context that examined the role of gender in language change and variation.

7.2. Gender-related attitudes towards prestigious linguistic patterns

Numerous sociolinguistic studies in western societies have confirmed that women adopt standard or prestigious linguistic variants at a higher frequency than men (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1986; Cheshire 2002; Tagliamonte 2011). However, sociolinguistic studies in Arabic-speaking communities have provided contradictory evidence as to whether gender has a role in the frequency and nature of standard or prestigious patterns in the speech of men and women. One group of studies has contradicted this, finding that men are more prone to adopt standard norms than women (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Schmidt 1986 Daher 1998;). However, another group of studies has confirmed the global trends where women prefer standard forms (Abu-Haidar 1989; Holes 2004; Jaber 2013). A possible reconciliation of these contradictory findings can be explained as follows. Ibrahim (1986: 124) and Al-Wer (1997: 255) clarify the difference between the use of Standard Arabic in Arabic-speaking communities and the use of the standard in other western

communities. Standard Arabic, the high variety, is used formally in situations such as education, religious contexts and formal meetings, while the low varieties are used in everyday life. Therefore, several studies in different Arabic-speaking communities have proven the global norm concerning women's tendency to adopt prestigious forms in their speech even if these forms do not match the standard features: Haeri (1991) in Cairo; Lawson-Sako and Sachdev (1996) in Tunis; Al-Wer (2007) in Amman. Albirini (2016: 197) states that women in Arabic-speaking communities tend to adopt prestigious dialect characteristics, even if the prestige is not associated directly with Standard Arabic but with regional or supra-local standards; for example, in most Arab countries the prestige varieties are those spoken in capital cities. Also, Al-Wer (1997: 261) confirms that "the data from various parts of the Arab world show overwhelmingly that Arab men opt for localised and older features, while Arab women favour features which have a wider regional acceptance (prestige) and usage regardless of the status of these features vis-à-vis Classic Arabic". Most of the findings of sociolinguistic studies in Saudi communities (e.g., Al-Essa 2009; Al-Rojaie 2013; Alghamdi, 2014) are in line with the global trends.

In the present study, the findings for two groups of participants (Sunni females and Shiite males) are in line with global and Arabic trends, although the aims of the research are different, in terms of women adopting prestigious forms and men using local forms, while the other two groups (Shiite females and Sunni males) contradicted these trends. It is important to explain that the present study differs from previous studies, particularly those in Arabic contexts, in terms of the study aim and the cultural context. Regarding the study aim, previous studies aimed to investigate language change and behaviour, whereas the present study aims to investigate language attitudes. Thus, while the linguistic behaviour of individuals may change depending on their situation, their attitudes may not. Baker (1992: 15) argues that people's behaviour is often inconsistent in various contexts, and behavioural predictors and explanations are likely to become deceive attitudes. This focus on context casts doubts on a direct relationship between attitudes and behaviour, so attitudes are often investigated in order to reveal compatibility with the origin of the behaviour (Bohner 2001: 270). Redinger (2010: 56) provided an example of context-related linguistic behaviour that did not depend on attitudes: during a job interview, a speaker may strategically adjust his/her language use to align

with a socially prestigious language or language variety towards, which they normally hold negative attitudes. The particular conditions of the interview led the speaker to diverge from his/her usual speech style due to a belief that such behaviour may increase his/her chances of getting the job, regardless of his/her negative or positive attitude towards the variety that he/she used in the interview. The present study's results differ slightly from the findings of language change and variation investigations conducted in Alhasa community in relation to gender (Al-Bohnayyah 2019; Al-Mubarak 2015).

Al-Mubarak (2015) found that the Hasawi males from both sects were more attached to local form. The findings in the present study reveal that Sunni males hold negative attitudes toward the local variant and males from both sects had favourable attitudes to the supra-local variety. Moreover, Al-Bohnayyah's (2019) findings refer to Shiite women, marginalised both by gender and sect, would be the group most pressured or most motivated to use national linguistic symbols in order to secure membership of the national group. However, the current study discovered that Shiite females had negative attitudes to the supra local dialect. In addition, Al-Bohnayyah (2019) found that Hasawi Shiite females led the change to the supra-local dialect in terms of the local variant with a feminine ending (-a) to a greater extent than Shiite males.

Nevertheless, the present study found that the Shiite male had positive attitudes to the Supra-local dialect, in contrast to Shiite female who had negative attitudes toward it. Furthermore, Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 181) claims that Sunnis, in particular men, "are under less social pressure, as their national allegiance is already confirmed by belonging to the official and majority sectarian group in Saudi Arabia. The absence of social pressure on the Sunni group reduces the need for Sunnis to change to use symbolic means". However, the current study found that Sunni males' attitudes indicated that they are under greater social pressure more than Shiite males in order to demonstrate their affiliation with the majority Sunni group. as will be discussed in in this chapter in more detail.

Regarding the cultural factor, it is important to realise that the surrounding context may assist in speakers adopting particular attitudes towards a given variety, which give rise to gender-related patterns. Therefore, linguistic generalisations should be viewed with caution. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 108) state that

researchers should have a profound historical, ideological, and social understanding of a particular community, cautioning against making generalisations across societies that are very culturally different. Both genders of participants in the present study belong to two different sects; consequently, their attitudes towards the local dialect seem to be more affected by their religious affiliations than dialectal prestige. This contrasts with other studies conducted in Saudi societies or in Arab societies that are characterised by homogeneity in a single religion or sect and may be affected by other social or cultural factors (e.g., economic levels and tribal affiliations) that may be considered less influential than religious affiliation on linguistic behaviour or linguistic attitudes.

7.2.1. Female participants' attitudes towards the prestigious norms

The results of the Shiite female participants revealed a reverse gender-related linguistic pattern to that usually found in sociolinguistic studies (Trudgill 1986; Cheshire 2002; Al-Essa 2009; Al-Rojaie 2013). Shiite female participants perceived the local dialect to be more prestigious than the supra-local dialect in Saudi Arabi, as they commented in the interviews (Chapter 4). In addition, they positively evaluated the Hasawi Shiite speakers' dialect in terms of prestigious traits, high social class, attractiveness, and pleasantness in the MGT as shown in Table 41 and Table 46 (Chapter 5). A possible explanation for adopting this positive attitude towards the local dialect, besides the other sectarian issues discussed in Chapter 6, is the influence of social networks. Shiite females live in a relatively limited community of relatives or same-sect friends. As noted by Al-Mubarak (2015: 220), Shiite females have a very domestic lifestyle, although some elderly females open their houses from time to time to neighbours and relatives. Therefore, their lower level of contact with out-group members may create this perception that the local dialect is prestigious and underestimate the social importance of the supra-local dialect; thus, they have no social pressures on their linguistic behaviour.

Al-Essa (2009) examined of the impact of dialect contact between Najdi speakers in Jeddah revealed that older Najdi women are the most conservative group in terms of Najdi Arabic's traditional features, e.g., the use of [ts] instead of the Hejazi feature [k]. She explained that their linguistic behaviour is a result of the

Najdi community's social restrictions in Jeddah, which results in older women having less contact with the Hejazi community and thus less exposure to the Hejazi form [k]. Several years later, those social constraints were eased, as evidenced by the linguistic behaviour of younger females who had increased contact with the Hejazi community, granting them increased access to the target features. As a result, younger female speakers are increasingly utilizing the Hejazi form [k]. Similarly, in the city of Sult, Jordan, Al-Wer (2002) also identifies that a group of females, particularly young women, were conservative in their use of local linguistic features and attributed this to them having tight local social networks. A study conducted in a religious community in Umm Al-Quttain, by Al-Khatib and Alzoubi (2009), found that Durzi females were less frequent speakers of the Bedouin dialect (the majority dialect) across all social domains. This may be due to the fact that women are significantly less exposed than men to the broader community. In her language change and variation study in Hail, Saudi Arabia, AlAmmar (2017) found that the feminine ending [-ah] variable in the dialect of Hail is undergoing change in progress towards the supra-local variant [a], led by speakers with high levels of contact.

The findings of the present study are coherent the results of a language change and variation study conducted in the Alhasa community by Al-Bohnayyah (2019). He found that the Shiite females preserve the local variant, rounded [ɒ:], particularly old females, and were less motivated to adopt the supra-local variant, unrounded [ɑ:], than Sunni females. Bohnayyah (2019: 141) attributed this to the fact that Shiite females' "connections are more confined to tightknit local networks, such as their close relatives and neighbourhoods". In the present study, most of the Shiite female participants commented in the interviews that they feel comfortable and confident when speaking with non-Hasawi speakers in open informal discussion and do not change their way of speaking unless they need to clarify meaning, as in Examples (56) and (68) in Chapter 4:

(56): No, we do not have to change [...] but if they may misunderstand us, we have to clarify what we say because we have our own words. [Shf1]

(68): If it is an informal discussion, I do not have to change my way of speaking,
unless to simplify unknown words. [Shf3]

Moreover, they evaluated the dialect of speakers regarding the trait of a dialect with embarrassing linguistic features negatively⁶⁶ in the MGT (see Tables 41 and Table 47 in Chapter 5). They felt that people consider the Hasawi dialect to be strange and that they will be shocked by it or may laugh (see Examples (48), and (51) in Chapter 4), also, they evaluated Hasawi speakers negatively in term of trait rugged dialect, in the MGT (see Tables 41 and Table 47 in Chapter 5). These answers may prove that either they are in less contact with outsiders and have less experience of situations where they are taunted, or they do not mind being taunted because they are proud of their local dialect, that represents their identity.

Another possible reason for Shiite female participants' negative perception of the prestigious norms relates to their loss of ability in the process of acquiring the supra-local norms adequately as in Example (70):

(70) Yes, if feel comfortable, because it is my way of speaking and I cannot
master other dialect [...] who wear a long dress will stumble because it is not
suitable. [Shf5]

This may be as a result of insufficient contact with the speakers of the supra-local dialect. According to Al-Mubarak (2015: 347), Shiite females “expressed a lack of confidence in their ability to successfully acquire these variants (supra-local variants), accompanied by a strong pride in their command of their own forms”. In the same vein, several Durzi participants in the study by Al-Khatib and Alzoubi (2009) reacted negatively to the Bedouin dialect; their answers associate this negativity with their lack of proficiency in using the Bedouin dialect.

Alternatively, the interview data showed that Sunni female participants perceived the supra-local dialect in Saudi Arabia to be more prestigious than the local dialect (see Chapter 4). In addition, they positively

⁶⁶ Descriptive traits (embarrassing linguistic feature and rugged dialect) have negative connotations, so they were reverse-analysed.

evaluated the non-Hasawi speakers' dialects in terms of prestigious traits, high social class, attractiveness and pleasantness, as shown in Table 5 and Table 11 (see Chapter 5). Their attitudes support Milroy *et al*'s (1994: 352) suggestion that women tend to lead in the use of what are called supra-local linguistic norms. The Sunni female participants' attitudes are supported by several findings of Saudi sociolinguistic studies that have proven that women are innovative and attached to prestige (Al-Essa, 2009; Al-Rojaie, 2013; Alghamdi, 2014;). Similarly, Al-Mubarak (2015: 142) found that Hasawi Sunni females "have a stronger tendency to associate themselves with the supra-local prestigious variants".

Possible social factors may assist Sunni female participants in adopting this negative attitude towards the local variety. In a similar situation to Shiite females, the social network plays a fundamental role in constructing this perception. Sunni female participants have an open social network that may exceed the boundaries of Alhasa city. Al-Mubarak (2015: 220) refers to Sunni females as having an open social network and that "this goes some way to explaining why female Sunnis tend to display supra-local linguistic features more than female Shiites". Therefore, their frequent exposure to the supra-local dialect that most Saudi people attempt to imitate, specifically women, may help them to underestimate the local dialect in favour of the supra-local dialect. In addition, they have more experience of being taunted by outsiders as a result of their open social network, which can be noted in their comments in the interviews. They felt that outsiders may laugh at them or think they are Shiites, as in Example (55) in Chapter 4:

(54) First thing they will say this person is from the Shiite sect as I said
earlier stereotyping, second, they will laugh and taunt. [Sf7]

thus, they have to change their way of speaking, particularly regarding the supra-local dialect, as in Example (75) in Chapter 4:

(75) [...] sometimes yes and sometimes no, if I felt that my way of
speaking or the word that I use will attract the attentions of others or when
I speak, they look at each other, I will change my way of speaking directly

to the dialect of Riyadh. But if the situation is normal, I will speak my dialect. [Sf2]

The findings of the present study are consistent with Alahmadi's (2016) findings in his study about attitudes towards the Urban Meccan dialect. He found that Meccan women believe that their dialect may have been influenced by the dialect spoken in Jeddah as a result of their frequent contact with women in Jeddah and believe that by adopting the dialect spoken by women in Jeddah, it may make others perceive them as prestigious. It can be argued that attitudes towards a given dialect can be enhanced by the social networks that the speakers belong to and frequent contact with them and their proficiency in using the dialect. Consequently, these factors play a role in creating a positive or even negative perception towards the dialect regardless of its social status.

7.2.2. Male participants' attitudes towards the prestigious norms

In the male participants' results, there are dissimilar attitudes between Shiites and Sunnis male participants towards the local dialect, while they had homogeneous attitudes towards the supra-local dialect. This finding contrasts with Al-Mubarak (2015), who found that the Hasawi males from both sects were more attached to local forms. Regarding Shiite males, their positive attitude towards the local variety is in line with global trends (men tending to favour local forms) and their positive attitude towards the supra-local dialect is inconsistent with these trends. A possible reconciliation of these attitudes can be explained by the social consciousness of the importance of the national symbolic, i.e., Supra-local dialect. Shiite male participants, similar to Shiite female participants, realise the importance of being loyal to the local identity, i.e., Shiite affiliation; this could be due to them encountering social pressure from their community to use the local dialect. Al-Khatib and Alzoubi (2009: 205) in their study state that if Jordanian Durzi men, in Umm Al-Quttain, do not speak the Durzi dialect, a common reaction is "I can't believe you don't speak Durzi!" and they will be judged negatively. Therefore, individuals will experience negative feelings or even embarrassment after such a reaction (Al-Khatib and Alzoubi 2009: 205). At the same time, Shiite male participants are more sensitive to the possibility of questioning their national loyalty, which has increased significantly after recent political events within the region. They are, therefore, more aware of the adverse

consequences of not presenting positive attitudes towards the national norms. This contrasts with Al-Bohnayyah's (2019) suggestion that Shia women, marginalised both by gender and sect, would be the group most pressured or most motivated to use national linguistic symbols in order to secure membership of the national group (Saudi).

The findings of the present study are in line with a study that aimed to analyse the frequency of phonemes external to Arabic, such as /p/ and /v/, among Egyptians by El-Essawi (1999). She noted that the prestigious variants are related to foreign languages, that are usually more typical of women. She also observed that they were more frequent in her interviews with males, which was an unexpected finding. She confirmed that consciousness of prestige influences language use. Consequently, the Shiite male attitudes can be explained as reflecting social awareness of the importance of using the supra-local variety as a symbol of patriotism/national loyalty rather than a matter of linguistic prestige. According to Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 181), Shiites attempt to comply with the Saudi supra-local forms as a means of demonstrating their national loyalty and identity in order to avoid false and negative accusations regarding their affiliation to external parties. Despite their positive attitudes towards the local dialect, Al-Bohnayyah (2019) found that Hasawi Shiite females led the change to the supra-local dialect in terms of the local variant with a feminine ending (-a) to a greater extent than Shiite males. The aforementioned discussion suggests that the male Shiite community members try to maintain a balance between, on the one hand, the desire to be seen as members of the national (Saudi) community in order to achieve several social and instrumental aims, and, on the other hand, the desire to maintain their local dialect and Shiite identity.

The results from the present study also support Al-Khatib and Alzoubi's (2009) findings that Durzi males have a positive attitude towards the Bedouin dialect and use it for instrumental and social means; meanwhile, they have positive attitudes towards the local dialect and use it to maintain their local and sectarian affiliations, with their parents encouraging them to use both dialects (Bedouin and Durzi).

For the Sunni male participants, their negative attitudes towards the local dialect were mainly related to sectarian matters, i.e., to avoid being judged as Shiites, and their positive attitudes towards the supra-local

dialect were related to asserting their affiliation with the majority Sunnis. Their negative attitudes towards the local dialect as a point of reference for the Shiite dialect and their desire to belong to the Sunni majority could be a stronger and more motivating factor than the issue of prestige. This explains Al-Bohnayyah's (2019) finding that Sunni males lead Sunni females in converging to the supra-local unrounded[ɑ:] variant. Regarding the social pressure that motivates Shiite speakers to confirm national symbolic in their speech, Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 181) claimed that Sunnis, in particular men, "are under less social pressure, as their national allegiance is already confirmed by belonging to the official and majority sectarian group in Saudi Arabia. The absence of social pressure on the Sunni group reduces the need for Sunnis to change to use symbolic means".

The results of the present study reveal that all Sunni male participants reported negative attitudes towards the local dialect, as shown in Table 26, while most of the Shiite participants commented positively, as shown in Table, 25. Moreover, when examining the average means of Sunni males' evaluation of Hasawi speakers in MGT, as in Tables 41, 43, 47 and 49, in comparison to Shiite male evaluations, it can be noted that Sunni males may be under more social pressure than Shiite males. These findings are supported by Al-Mubarak's (2015) findings that Sunni males are leading Shiite males in changing to supra-local variants in terms of the local phonological variables [k] and [g] and the 2nd person singular feminine object/possessive suffix *-ik*. Therefore, both Shiite males and Sunni males may experience local or national social pressures leading them to adopt positive attitudes towards, or to use, prestigious forms. Ferguson (1968: 379) states that "sedentary Arabs generally feel that their own dialect is best, but on certain occasions or in certain contexts will maintain that the Bedouin dialects are better". However, Ferguson's remark is in line with the situation of Shiite males but contradicts that of Sunni males, as result of the different aims of both groups.

Moreover, there is an additional possible reason behind males from both sects adopting positive attitudes towards the prestigious form, which relates to social power or professional status. Garratt (2010: 23) assumes that "judgements of standard language varieties tending to be associated with high-status jobs". This assumption is supported by participants' comments in the interviews, where the Hasawi dialect is

perceived as a dialect of low class or a dialect of low-status professions as in Examples (150) and (157) in Chapter 4.

(150) The Hasawi dialect reflects tolerance and simplicity, therefore some people find it for low-class people or for farmers, also some laugh, or taunt.

[Shm3]

(157) They look, and they think the Hasawi dialect is for low-class people, in spite of the fact that many high-class especially rich people in Alhasa use the Hasawi dialect naturally. [Sm3]

In contrast to their positive evaluation of supra-local dialect speakers in MGT. Furthermore, the results of the MGT, as shown in Table 46 and 52 in Chapter 5, show a significant effect the interaction between the levels of gender and sect as male participants evaluated non-Hasawi speakers positively specifically in terms of social traits, i.e., high social class, attractiveness and pleasantness.

The findings of the present study are coherent with by Yilmaz's (2020) findings who determines that both Kurdish Alvie males and Kurdish Sunni males evaluated the Bohtan Kurmanj (prestigious form) speaker as associated with higher-status professions as opposed to the speaker of Maras Kurmanj, who was assessed as having a low-status profession. Moreover, El Salman and Al Fridan (2018) found that whereas their Hasawi female participants⁶⁷ were noted to adopt the variant that helps them to appear prestigious. Their Hasawi male participants, who are in high-status professions, were noted to abandon the local variant in terms of the feature *mad* (vowel lengthening). They attributed this to it being "possible to recognize that being local is not sufficient to achieve social power" (El Salman and Al Fridan 2018: 147). Consequently, Hasawi male participants perceived the local variety as not securing them social power and as being unrelated to high-status professions; these aspects are linked to the prestigious dialect more than the local variety.

⁶⁷ They did not specify whether the participants were Sunnis or Shiites.

7.3. Effect of cultural issues on gender-related attitudes towards the local variety

The cultural factor may also influence an individual's attitudes towards a given dialect (Nader 1962: 25). Several cultural issues that may assist in shaping Hasawi speakers' attitudes towards the local dialect. In fact, these factors may be more relevant for one gender than the other, depending on the nature of society; there are several applied restrictions on women and imposed obligations on men in Saudi society.

7.3.1. Culture and female participants' attitudes towards the local dialect

It is important to demonstrate the role of women in the family as a salient cultural factor that plays a role in participants' adoption of positive or negative attitudes towards the local variety. Garratt (2010:21) suggests that parents can have some role in the development of their children's attitudes at the person-to-person level, intentionally or not; where, parents might point to "approval or agreement at times when their children express attitudes with which they themselves concur". Women in Saudi Arabia are still under their family guardianship; the guardianship system refers to a set of restrictions that oblige every Saudi woman to obtain permission from a male guardian (father, husband or brother) to travel outside the Kingdom, study abroad, get married, or even to be released from prison (Alsahi 2018: 299). Thus, women in Saudi Arabia are relatively controlled by their family members in every domain of life, which could extend to language choice, i.e., dialect, or language attitudes. The Saudi speech communities under investigation were "highly influenced by customs and traditions, especially those that concerned women in the local community" (Al-Bohnayyah 2019: 141).

Similar to other Saudi areas, the role of Hasawi women, until fairly recently, has usually been represented as being confined to the household with women having the main responsibility of taking care of the children and seeing to their needs. AlAmmar (2017: 88) confirms that the role of women in the society of Hail, Saudi Arabia, is similar to that of women in most Arab communities, where Haili women are more connected than men to family responsibilities. In addition, women in Saudi communities, as in other cultures, are considered to have the responsibility of enhancing the religious and cultural values and affiliations of their children. Therefore, female speakers in Alhasa from both sects may be forced by their

family, through criticism or corrections of their way of speaking, to adopt a given dialect or attitudes in order to index their identity or loyalty, whether locally or nationally.

Regarding supporting the sectarian affiliation, similar to the Shiite females' situation, Al-Khatib and Alzoubi (2009) found that Jordanian Durzi families' attitudes towards the use of the Durzi dialect in their homes often are communicated as strongly as verbal orders, and they rebuke their children if they use different dialects as a means of enhancing their sectarian affiliation. Regarding the adoption of national symbolics, similar to Sunni females' situation, Labov (1991: 15) refers to the role of mothers in instilling the standard forms in their children. Al-Rojaie (2013: 57) in his study in Qassim, Saudi Arabia, notes the role of the family in encouraging their children to use a given dialect, where mothers request their daughters not to use the local variant [ts] at any time. Al-Rojaie's explanation of this practice is "that [ts̃] has recently become associated with provinciality and old-fashioned speech"; thus, their children should avoid using it. Both Shiite and Sunni females' attitudes may therefore be influenced by their families wanting to adopt certain attitudes towards the local dialect in order to enhance their affiliation to their sectarian groups (c.f. Al-Bohnayyah, 2019; Al-Mubarak, 2015).

There is an intersection between gender identity and religious identity in terms of language attitudes. As carriers or transmitters of culture, women are responsible for taking care of their children and enhancing the social values that intersect with their religious identities that should enhance their sense of pride and loyalty towards their religion, i.e., their sect. In addition, women are responsible for instilling given attitudes in their children towards their dialect, which is considered a marker of religious identity. These findings are in line with Ali's (2021) study, which showed that migrant Muslim women in Spain perceive their native/heritage languages as primarily in the familial domain and used with parents and other elders. Beyond that, native/heritage language maintenance across the generations can be attributed to mothers' gendered roles as responsible for transmitting the heritage language to their children.

Another issue was raised by several female participants, particularly Sunnis, related to masculinity and femininity, where some participants commented that the Hasawi dialect “spoils the femininity” and is suitable for men, as in Example (36) in Chapter 4:

(36) Hasawi dialect is good for men, but for women I think they do not like it, because women like to use nice and beautiful words in good pronunciation, but pronunciation of some words in Hasawi dialect spoils femininity. [Sf9]

According to Albirinin (2018: 197), a number of accounts reported that the linguistic choices of men and women in relation to certain varieties or linguistic features have been attributed to the issue of masculinity or femininity. Therefore, one of the possible reasons behind several female participants’ negative attitudes towards the local variety is the need to conform to societal or cultural norms, that is “it is inappropriate for women to act like men or for men to act like women” (Albirinin 2018: 197). Usually, the features of urban or supra-local dialects are related to feminine identities, as revealed by several sociolinguistic studies, particularly in Arabic speech communities (Al-Wer 1991 in Amman; Daher 1998 in Damascus; Dendane 2007 in Tlemcen). These studies found that women often favour urban varieties that feature the [ʔ] sound over varieties with alternative forms, such as [q] and [g], because [q] is associated with masculinity. However, AlAmmar (2017: 80) found that in Hail, Saudi Arabia, the usage of the local lenited variant [a:t] is associated with the “social meanings”, which give reference to the gender-differentiated pattern found in the Hail community. Frequent use of the local lenited variant [a:t] by women more often than men has given rise to a general attitude that the local lenited variant [a:t] is a marker of “women’s speech”, which puts further pressure on men to avoid using this. Therefore, if the issue of masculinity or femininity were related to the local dialect or even the supra-local dialect in the current study, male and female participants would not have different attitudes towards both dialects; instead, it may be functional or cultural issues that have influenced their attitudes or a matter of loyalty.

In addition, Shiite female participants negatively evaluated Hasawi speakers in term of the rugged dialect, as shown in Tables 41, 43, 47 and 49 in Chapter 6. In his investigation of the speech of female and male speakers in Korba, Tunisia, Walters (1991) discovered that plenty of females' favour adoption of the local /z/ feature instead of /s/, in spite of the former generally being associated with male speech. Walters attributed the use of the local variant as a means for these female speakers to indicate loyalty to their local dialect and identity. In three different Jordanian towns, Al-Wer (1999: 54) demonstrated that women prefer to use the local /g/ sound than the non-local alternative /ʔ/ sound, thus expressing "a local and ethnic identity". The findings of the present study suggest what Alberini (2018:198) maintains: "rather than being governed by any hard rule, the use of feminine or masculine linguistic features is liable to vary based on context and is influenced by several social factors". So, the gender differences are not exclusive of the use of language, but also present in the attitudes as shown in in the results (mainly in the interviews).

7.3.2. Cultural issues and male participants' attitudes towards the local dialect

Male participants' attitudes towards the local variety may be affected by cultural factors, but in a different way to females. Men experience fewer social restrictions than women and have almost absolute freedom of movement around the country; cultural values epitomise the idea that the man's job is to go to work and support the family. Al-Bohnayyah (2019: 190) refers to that men in Alhasa "enjoy wide social involvement and a wide-range of contact". Therefore, both groups of Shiite and Sunni men have an opportunity to be in contact with outsiders and experience embarrassing situations, such as being laughed at and being the subject of taunting; they may also be judged as sectarian. However, the two groups' attitudes towards the local dialect were different, but they were in agreement in their attitudes towards the supra-local dialect.

For Shiite male participants, it can be noted from their comments in interview as in Examples (137) and (135), in Chapter 5, that they maintained positive attitudes towards the local variety as a way of expressing their sectarian affiliation; meanwhile, they realised the importance of adopting positive attitudes towards the supra-local dialect both professionally, as discussed in section 7.2.2, and socially, as in Examples (112) and (113) in Chapter 5. For Sunni male participants, their negative attitude towards the local dialect is due

to the Hasawi dialect being seen as a dialect of Shiites; their negative attitudes towards the local dialect therefore demonstrate their affiliation with the majority Sunni group. In fact, both groups are in face-to-face contact with outsiders for work or travel for trade purposes, but they have varying degrees of contact: the Sunni group are in more contact with outsiders as a result of their open social networks. This may explain Al-Bohnayyah's (2019) conclusion that males lead females in their usage of the supra-local feature unrounded [ɑ:].

Similarly, AlAmmar (2017: 180) attributes the motivation of males in the Hail community to use the supra-local variant [a:t] to them being "engaged in several social and occupational activities that bring them into face-to-face interaction with different types of speakers". Eckert (1997: 164–166) proposes that the job market for adults is being pressurised by "marketplace dialect", i.e., the use of the linguistic characteristics of the "common/standard" rather than those of the local dialects, by increasing engagement in the wider "standard language linguistic market". However, male speakers probably have a particular awareness of the positive view towards the marked non-local features. In a language attitude study conducted in the United Arab Emirates by Altakhaineh and Rahrouh (2017), they found that their participants, particularly women, perceived the Emirati males' dialect to be affected by other Arabic dialects or languages because they go out to work and mix with different dialect speakers.

Similarly, Alahmadi (2016) found that his participants' attitude towards the Urban Mecca dialect revealed that Meccan men spend most of their time outside the house working; due to pilgrimage, they communicate with many nationalities. Therefore, according to Meccano women participants, men's dialect may be affected by the languages spoken by the pilgrims. It can be argued that the continuous mobility around the country may help individuals to adopt particular attitudes towards their dialect or that of others. Male participants from both sects commented positively on the supra-local dialect due to their frequent exposure to it despite their differing perspectives; for Shiites, their positive attitude reflects an attempt to demonstrate to outsiders their national allegiance, see Example (161):

(161) yes [...] to avoid the embarrassment [...] I try to conceal my dialect in order to avoid being judged [...] it is not a dialectal matter, but it exceeds to for professional and to sectarian issues [...] also to avoid being seen in an inferior way.

[Shm5]

For Sunnis, however, they feel that their dialect does not secure them a place alongside outsiders with whom they share same sect, unlike the supra-local dialect.

7.4. Conclusion

This chapter has compared the data obtained from the male and female participants from both sects. Regarding the well-known pattern of women being associated with standard or prestigious forms and men being linked to local forms, the present study has different results to studies in other Arab communities and around the world. The motivation behind these attitudes is thought to be linked to social networks, cultural factors and mobility. Shiite female participants are in contact with closed social networks that are linked to the Shiite community and perceived their local dialect as a prestigious dialect, while their male counterparts communicated in the same social network and also with other networks due to work or trading purposes as a result of the cultural factor that defines the responsibilities of men as being work and family support. Therefore, the continuous mobility and communication with outsiders assisted them in realising the importance of the supra-local dialect, both professionally and socially, as well as to prove their national affiliation. This means that they have positive attitudes towards both dialects, i.e., the local dialect and the supra-local dialect.

Regarding Sunni participants, Sunni female participants have negative attitudes towards the local dialect because of the social network that requires them to communicate more with outsiders as a result of intermarriage and kinship. Their way of speaking is subject to sarcastic comments and laughter, which created a negative perception of the local dialect. For Sunni males, in addition to the social network,

constant mobility for work and trade purposes is a salient factor behind their adoption of negative attitudes, which means that they are exposed to embarrassing situations in which they are judged as Shiites.

Moreover, family pressures play a key role in the adoption of certain attitudes towards the local dialect. The Shiites seek to enhance their local identity by making sure their daughters use the local dialect and reinforcing the positive attitude towards it because they are responsible for passing on this position to future generations. The Sunnis ensure that their children, for the same purpose as the Shiites, can speak the supra-local dialect and have a positive attitude towards it to emphasise their affiliation to their majority Sunni group. It seems, therefore, that the factors of sectarian affiliation and speaking in professional contexts are motivating factors for some of the attitudes towards the local dialect and supra-local dialect by male and female participants from both sects.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

The aim of this study was to ascertain the attitudes of Hasawi people towards the dialects spoken in Alhasa from sectarian and gender perspectives. The review of the literature in Chapter 2 revealed that a variety of factors seem to influence language attitudes, including ideology, stereotypes, identity, and behaviour. The empirical evidence from the present study indicates that these influences are the primary important dynamics influencing attitudes of Hasawi people towards the local variety. Additionally, social networks and historical, political, and cultural factors have played a role in encouraging Hasawi people to develop different attitudes towards the local dialect.

The first descriptive studies of eastern Arabian dialects began in the 1960s by Johnstone (1967) and resulted in Clive Holes' seminal trilogy (2001, 2005, 2015). Regarding the Alhasa dialect, sociolinguistic studies, especially on language variation and change, are limited and have all been conducted far more recently. Al-Mubarak (2015) conducted the first study, followed by El Salman and Al Fridan (2018), and finally Al-Bohnayyah (2019). However, language attitudes have received scant attention in studies on eastern Arabian dialects, with the exception of Altakhaineh and Rahrouh (2017) in their investigation of the United Arab Emirates dialect. Thus, it is hoped that the present study will serve as the first stage in the development of studies on language attitudes towards the Alhasa dialect, filling a gap and contributing to the field of language attitudes research.

The current research makes significant contributions. Firstly, sect is included as a social variable; this is a factor that has been shown to affect linguistic variation in various Arabic-speaking communities (Blanc 1964), though it has not been examined in terms of language attitudes in Arabic contexts. Religion has gained significant prominence in the aftermath of recent political escalations in the Arab world and has dominated both political and social discourses in the media in a number of ways. In light of this, it is reasonable to anticipate that religion will become more ingrained in terms of language attitudes. The current research establishes a methodological and analytic basis for future and additional explorations of this topic.

Secondly, gender plays a critical role in the formation of language attitudes (see Chapter 3). The present study sought to elucidate the previously unknown position of Hasawi males and females' attitudes. Thirdly, this research is innovative in the field of Arabic dialectology in terms of methodology. Numerous research studies in a variety of contexts have combined a direct approach (interviews) with an indirect approach (MGT; Kyriakou 2016; Sophocleous 2009). However, to the researcher's knowledge, this is the first study to combine a direct approach (interviews) with an indirect approach (MGT) in Arabic contexts in general and the Saudi context in particular.

8.2 Key findings

This section will illustrate the major findings in the research. Each key finding will be presented according to its related research questions. A general discussion will then be provided of the common findings from all research. The following research questions have been investigated in the research:

1. What are the attitudes of Hasawi people towards their dialect from a sectarian perspective?
2. What are the attitudes of Hasawi people towards their dialect from a gender perspective?
3. How do Hasawi people think outsiders perceive their dialect?

The key findings from the first research question indicate that the language ideology of the Hasawi dialect represents a perception of a sharp dichotomous linguistic situation between the Hasawi Sunni dialect and the Hasawi Shiite dialect, where the two dialects are perceived as different from each other. The Participants consider that the Sunni dialect represents the modern Hasawi dialect with the use of linguistic features from the supra-local dialect while the Shiite dialect represents the Hasawi traditional dialect and preserves its linguistic features.

Moreover, social stereotypes shaped by the media, the genealogical origin of both groups, and the similarity of the Hasawi dialect to Gulf dialects, particularly Bahrain, impact the formulation of Sunnis and Shiites' attitudes, whereby the Hasawi dialect is perceived to represent the Shiites' dialect. This stereotyping is rejected by Sunnis, leading to the adoption of negative attitudes towards the local dialects and making them favour the supra-local dialect in order to converge with their large sectarian group. For Shiites, this

stereotype is accepted and makes them proud of the local dialect; they perceive it as their favourite dialect because it represents their sectarian identity.

In-group issues (belonging to a majority or a minority group and loyalty towards the group) lead both Sunnis and Shiites to adopt contradictory attitudes towards the local variety as a symbol of solidarity. For Shiites, positive attitudes towards the local dialect are considered as a kind of loyalty to their group. On the contrary, adopting negative attitudes towards the local dialect by the Sunni group is considered a way of proving their affiliation to the majority Sunni group.

In addition, attitudes can be observed through behaviours. Negative attitudes towards the local dialect by Sunnis are reflected in their linguistic behaviour through converging with the supra-local dialect, as revealed in the results and confirmed by previous studies (Al-Bohnayyah 2019; Al-Mubarak 2015). In contrast, Shiites have less motivation to converge with the supra-local dialect and this is mirrored in their linguistic behaviour and positive attitudes towards the Hasawi dialect.

Furthermore, the role of religious discrimination and political incidents cannot be neglected in shaping language attitudes. Shiites for years have been discriminated against by the Saudi government, which has led them to be more loyal to their dialect that represents their identity. However, for years Sunnis have doubted the national loyalty of Shiites as a result of their affiliation to external parties, which may lead Hasawi Sunnis to favour other dialects rather than the dialect that is perceived as a Shiite dialect. Therefore, it can be concluded the Sunnis have negative attitudes and Shiite have positive attitudes towards the local dialect.

Regarding the key findings from the second research question, the most significant finding related to gender is not in line with global trends: women adopt standard or prestigious form, while men favour the local ones. Whereas Shiite females have a positive attitude towards local forms, Sunni males have a negative attitude towards local dialects. In addition, Sunni females and Shia males have favourable attitudes towards the prestigious forms. This is influenced by sect alongside other factors such as social networks and culture.

For Sunni females, their social networks extend beyond the borders of Alhasa, as a result of inter-marriage and kinship with outsiders with whom they share the same sect. Thus, their negative attitudes may be influenced as a result of simulating female competitors who speak other dialects, particularly given that females tend to converge with the supra-local dialect in various Saudi contexts. Additionally, as a result of their expanded social network, they may have experienced several situations where they are taunted because of their manner of speaking, which may have influenced them to develop negative attitudes towards the native variety. Additionally, family members may encourage them to adopt variants that bring them closer to the majority Sunni population, as they are ultimately responsible for conveying these linguistic forms to their children.

In comparison, Shiite females have favourable attitudes towards the Alhasa dialect. This is attributed to their closed social network, which is limited to kinship and friends within the Alhasa framework. As a result, they are not subjected to social pressure to appear patriotic, and thus may be less susceptible to taunting. Another possibility is that they are unconcerned about taunting at the expense of pride in their dialect representing their sectarian identity.

For male participants, the results indicate that they do not follow global trends; both Sunnis and Shiites have distinctly different attitudes towards the local dialect. Sunni males face similar issues to females when it comes to social networks. For Shiite males, in-group loyalty is critical to adopting these positive attitudes towards the local dialect. One of the most intriguing findings is that both have a favourable attitude towards the local variety. This is attributed to their social responsibilities, as they are responsible for the care of their families; consequently, they must commute across the country for jobs and trading. As a result, they face either judgement as Shiites or taunting about their dialect; these factors led them to adopt this positive attitude towards the local dialect.

Concerning the third research question there is widespread agreement among Shiites and Sunnis that outsiders have an inferior view of the Hasawi dialect. Shiites and Sunnis have different reasons for this. The reason given by Sunni participants is the stereotype that the Alhasa dialect is associated with Shiites.

In other words, everyone who speaks Hasawi is a Shiite. It is regarded by outsiders as a peasant dialect by Shiite participants, or as the dialect of the lower social class. They agree, however, that the Alhasa dialect's linguistic features, such as lengthened vowels and rounded [a:], inspire taunting and laughter, owing to their portrayal in the media or by some social media influencers.

In general, Sunnis from both genders have negative attitudes towards the local dialect, in contrast to Ferguson's (1968: 379) claim that speakers in Arabic communities attempt to elevate their dialect's status in comparison to other dialects. In addition, the findings of the current study contradict with those from other language attitude studies in Arabic contexts that proved that people favour their own dialect (Alahmadi 2016; Alhazmi 2018; Altakhaineh and Rahrouh 2017). However, Shiites from both genders have positive attitudes towards their own dialect, which is a finding in line with the other studies in the case of Shiites. It is believed that Shiites' positive attitudes are not associated with wanting to elevate their dialect as much as it represents their sectarian affiliation: most of them revealed that the prestigious dialect is related to the supra-local dialect. Moreover, it must be noted that all previous studies did not include religion as a social factor, unlike the present study; therefore, the results are different because the attitudes in the present study stem from sectarian affiliation.

In terms of methodology, it can be stated that using a combination of methods enabled the researcher to gain a thorough understanding of the participants' attitudes. For instance, during the interviews, some participants, particularly Shiites, refused to answer certain questions or provided ambiguous responses, making it difficult to elicit their attitudes; as Al-Mubarak (2015: 413) states, "the situation is exacerbated by a current political tension between Sunnis and Shiites caused by acts of rebellion carried out by some Shiites in 2011. As a consequence of this, asking questions related to sect will invariably cause participants to feel suspicious or withdraw from interviews, especially given that they are being digitally recorded". However, their attitudes became more apparent when the researcher used the MGT as an indirect approach and they were not asked questions directly. As a result, the mixed-methods approach results were contrastive in the case of Shiites, as Kristiansen's study indicated (2009). For Sunnis, the findings from both approaches are comparable, as Giles's 1970 study indicated. In the case of the Shiites, it is thought the

sensitivity of the sectarian issues, making it difficult to provide clear answers directly, that lead to contradicted results in several parts.

8.3. Limitations and future studies

This study examined the relationship between language attitudes and social factors (sect and gender) among Alhasa residents. The study, however, has a number of limitations. For example, it was difficult to elicit responses to questions about sects across the Sunni–Shiite divide during the interviews. This is because the Alhasa community views discussion of sect as a highly sensitive issue. In terms of research methods, it was not possible to have interviewers with the same social background as the participants in order to avoid possible ambiguous responses. These influences were mitigated by using interviewers who were familiar with the participants and by assuring them that the research would be conducted for a foreign university and that their names would be kept anonymous. Moreover, the participants are all young and university students, so they are a specific subgroup of Hasawi society

Another limitation is social constraints: several females did not want the researcher, as a man, to hear their voices, in spite of assuring them that these recordings would only be listened to by the researcher (see Chapter 3.4.1.). To overcome this problem, they agreed for their words to be recorded in writing, so the researcher asked the female gatekeeper to transcribe the recordings of participants who did not want their recordings to be heard; the gatekeeper then kept the recordings with her in case the researcher needed clarification. Thus, in future research, both interviewers and interviewees should come from the same social background, particularly when it comes to sensitive issues, in order to elicit and obtain additional information. Another limitation is the number of participants, that they are only 10 per group. Despite being a representative number, a bigger sample would be desirable.

Furthermore, another limitation involves the ability to accurately predict future language attitudes towards the dialect of Alhasa. Synchronic predictions may manifest successfully or unsuccessfully, depending on the persistence or change in social conditions. If a social or political situation persists, it is highly likely that anticipated language attitudes will develop. However, a change in social and political circumstances

may result in the change, reversal or even reorientation of expected language attitudes. Consider Sunni attitudes towards the dialect of Alhasa as an example. Their attitudes may change if the social ideology that connects the Hasawi dialect to Shiite changes.

Regarding future research, several issues require further investigation. For instance, there are additional factors that merit investigation in this context, such as the relationship between sect and age, social class, education, and religious (conservatism) people, in order to obtain the most in-depth understanding of language attitudes towards the dialect of Alhasa. Also, investigating non-Hasawi attitudes towards the Alhasa dialect will enable a greater understanding about non-Hasawi people's perspectives towards the spoken dialect in a co-sect region. Further research should be conducted to explore non-Hasawi and Bedouin families who inhabit Alhasa.

The present study is beneficial to other researchers interested in the region's language attitudes. Replications of the study would be best applied in a similar context in research on communities of various religions or sects. As a result, it is recommended that the same study be replicated across Arabic-speaking countries, as conducting an Arabic language attitude study that encompasses all of its dialects would be a valuable asset. The model would benefit researchers in Arab countries who are interested in religious or sectarian perspectives on language attitudes. A similar situation exists in other Arab countries such as Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Syria, and the United Arab Emirates, where the societies are divided into different sects or religions. It is believed that dimensions similar to those revealed in this study could be discovered in broader research encompassing all Arab countries, which would have the potential to reveal additional dimensions to those identified in this study.

Bibliography

- Abahussain, M. O. (2016). Implementing communicative language teaching method in Saudi Arabia: Challenges faced by formative year teachers in state schools. Doctoral Thesis, University of Stirling.
- Abdel-Jawad, H. R. (1981). Lexical and phonological variation in spoken Arabic of Amman. Doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Abdel-Jawad, H. (1986). The emergence of an urban dialect in the Jordanian urban centres. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 61:53–63
- Abdul Malek, S. (2018). The historical roots of the sunni-shiite conflict from political concessions to the media penetration. *Journal of Social Science and Humanities*, 6(14), 83–104.
- Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (2006). Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes. Routledge
- Abou-Seida, A. (1971). Diglossia in Egyptian Arabic: Prolegomena to a pan-Arabic socio- linguistic study. Doctoral Thesis ,University of Texas.
- Abu-Haidar, F. (1989). Are Iraqi women more prestige conscious than men? Sex differentiation in Baghdadi Arabic. *Language in Society*, 471–481.
- Abu-Haidar, F. (1991). *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Abu Haidar, F. (1996). Turkish as a marker of ethnic identity and religious affiliation. In Y. Suleiman (Ed.), *Language and identity in the Middle East and North Africa*. (117-133). Routledge.
- Adwan, A. (1981). *ad-dawlah al-hamadaniah [Al-Hamadaniah State]*. Libya: al-monsha'ah Ash-sha'abiah l-ensher wa al-tawze'e.
- Aghabi, L., Bondokji, N., Osborne, A. and Wilkinson, K. (2017). Social identity and radicalisation. West Asia-North Africa Institute. 2-20. Amman, Jordan
- Agheyisi, R., & Fishman, J. A. (1970). Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 137–157.
- Ahlstrom, D. (2010). International management: Strategy and culture in the emerging world. Mason: South-Western Cengage Learning.

- Ajzen, I. (1988). Attitudes, behavior and personality. Chicago, IL: Dorsey.
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50(2), 179–211.
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (2005). The influence of attitudes on behavior. In D. Albarracín, B. T. Johnson, & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *The handbook of attitude*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Anis, I. (1965). *fi Ilahajat l'arrabyah* [In the Dialects of Arabs]. Cairo: Egyptian Lanjlo library.
- Al-Abdulmehsen, A. (2013). *Shi'iat al-Qatif wa al-Ahsa derasah fi el-hayat al ejtemae'yah wa ad-denyah le-shi'at al-mentaqah* [A study in the social and religious life of the Shiites of the region]. Al-Ahsa: Dar ibn Aljawzi.
- Al-Abdulqadir, M. (1999). *tuhfatu l-mustafid bi tarikh al-ahsa fi l-qadim wa l-gadid*. [The knowledge of beneficiary with the old and new of al-Ahsa history]. Riyadh: Al-Ma'arif library.
- Al-Adaileh, B. A. M. (2007). *The speech act of apology: a linguistic exploration of politeness orientation in British and Jordanian culture*. Doctoral thesis, University of Leeds.
- Al-Awwa, M. S. (2006). *al-Alaqah bayn as-Sunnah wa ash-Shiah* [The relationship between Sunnis and Shiites]. Cairo: Safir ad-Dawliyyah lil-Nashr.
- Al-Azraqi, M. A. (1998). "Aspects of the syntax of the dialect of Abha (south west Saudi Arabia). Durham University. PhD theses.
- Al-Bohnayyah, M. (2019). *Dialect Variation and Change in Eastern Arabia: Al-Ahsa Dialect*. Doctoral thesis, University of Essex.
- Al-Essa, A. (2009). When Najd meets Hijaz: Dialect contact in Jeddah. In E. Al-Wer & R. de Jong (Eds.), *Arabic dialectology* (203–222). Amsterdam: Brill.
- Al-Garib, K. (1988). *Al-Ahsa abr atwar at-tarikh* [Al-Ahsa over the phases of history]. Riyadh: Addar al-Wataniyyah lin-Nashr wa at-Tawzi'e.
- Al-Hamad, F. (2006). *ara'a Ibn Barri at-tasrefiyah* [Ibn Berri's inflectional opinions]. Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud University press
- Al-Hassan, H. (2006). The role of religion in building national identity:(case study: Saudi

- Arabia) Doctoral dissertation. University of Westminster.
- Al-Hasan, H. (2010). *ash-Shi'ah fī al-Mamlakah al-Arabiyyah as-Sa'udiyyah* [Shiites in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia] (Vol. 1). Beirut: Dar as-Saqi.
- Al-Hathloul, S., & Mughal, M. A. (2004). Urban growth management-the Saudi experience. *Habitat International*, 28(4), 609–623.
- Al-Hindawe, J. (1996). Considerations when constructing a semantic differential scale. Bundoora, Victoria: Linguistics Program, La Trobe University.
- Al-Hulaybi, K. S. (2003). *Ash-Shi'r Al-hadith fi Al-Ahsa 1301-1400 AH*. [The modern poetry of Alhasa 1301-1400 AH.]. Nadi Al-Mantiqa Ash-Sharqiyyah Al-Adabi.
- Al-Janbi, A. A. (2004). *Hajir wa qasabatiha ath-thalath* [Hajir and its three fortresses]. Beirut: Dar al-Mahajjah al-Bayda lit-Tiba'ah wa an-Nasir wa at-Tawzi.
- Al-Khatib, M., & Alzoubi, A. (2009). *The impact of sect-affiliation on dialect and cultural maintenance among the Druze of Jordan: An exploratory study*.
- Al-Kulayni, M. Y. (1363). *Al-Kafi* (Vol. 1) (1st Edi). Tehran: Sidri Press -Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyya.
- Al-Malki, A. A. M. (1994). *Riad an-nofos fi ulama'a el-qirwan wa efriqyah* [Riadh Al-Noufs: in the strata of scholars of Kairouan and Africa]. Dar Almaghrib el-eslami.
- Al-Muaysin, S. (2012). 5000 alf mitir murabba li-iqamat awwal madinah sina' iyyah nisa' iyyah bil-mamlakah [500 thousand meters to establish the first industrial female city]. *Ar-Riyadh Newspaper*. <http://www.alriyadh.com/793138>
- Al-Mubarak, G. (2016). An investigation of sociolinguistic variation in al-'Aḥsā' Arabic. Doctoral dissertation SOAS, University of London.
- Al-Muhannadi, M. (1991). *A sociolinguistic study of women's speech in Qatar*.
- Al-Mulla, A. (1991). *Tarikh hajar* [The history of Hajar] (vol.1). Al-Ahsa: Al-Jawad Printing Press.
- Al-Mulla, I. (2019). Investigating religious identity in family discourse in Saudi Arabia: a study of moral order, narratives, power and solidarity. Lancaster University (United Kingdom).
- Al-Naimi, A. (2016). *Out of the Desert: My journey from nomadic Bedouin to the Heart of Global Oil*.

Penguin UK.

- Al-Qahtani, K. (2015). A sociolinguistic study of the Tihami Qahtani dialect in Asir, Southern Arabia. Doctoral thesis, University of Essex.
- Al-Qouz, M. (2009). Dialect contact, acquisition and change among Manama youth, Bahrain. Doctoral thesis, University of Essex.
- Al-Rasheed, M. (1998). The Shi'a of Saudi Arabia: a minority in search of cultural authenticity. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25(1), 121-138
- Al-Rojaie, Y. (2013). Regional dialect leveling in Najdi Arabic: The case of the deaffrication of [k] in the Qasimi dialect. *Language Variation and Change*, 25(1), 43–63.
- Al-Saduq, S. (1966). *e-lalu esh-shara'ea* [The Reasons for the Laws]. An-Najaf Al-Ashraf: Al-Haidarya Library.
- Al-Shubat, A. (1989). *Safahat min tarikh al-aḥsa'* [Pages of the history of Al-Ahsa]. Al-Dar Al-wataniyyah Al-Jadidah.
- Al-Sulaiti, L. (1993). Some aspects of Qatari Arabic phonology and morphology. PhD thesis, Lancaster University, UK.
- Al-Tahir, A. (1999). *Al-Ahsa: Dirasa gughrafiyyah* [Alhasa a geographic study]. King Saud University.
- Al-Tajir, M. A. (1982). Language and linguistic origins in Bahrain: The Baharnah dialect of Arabic. London: K. Paul International.
- Al-Talqani, M. H. (1961). *omdato At-talib fi ansab a'al Abi Talib* [Abi Talib descents]. Manshorat Alsh-sharif Ar-ridha.
- Al-Wer, E. (1991). Phonological variation in the speech of women from three urban areas in Jordan.
- Al-Wer, E. (2002). Jordanian and Palestinian Dialects in Contact: vowel raising in Amman. In A. Jones & E. Esch (Eds.), *Language Change: the interplay of internal, external and extra-linguistic factors* (63-79). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Al-Wer, E. (2007). The formation of the dialect of Amman: From chaos to order. In C. Miller, E. Al-Wer, D. Caubet, & J. Watson (Eds.), *Arabic in the city: Issues in dialect contact and language variation*

(55–76). London: Routledge.

- Al-Wer, E. (2014). Language and Gender in the Middle East and North Africa. In S. Ehrlich, M. Meyerhoff & J. Holmes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language, Gender and Sexuality*. Wiley Blackwell, 396-411.,
- Al-Wer, E., Horesh, U., Herin, B., & Fanis, M. (2015). How Arabic regional features become sectarian features. Jordan as a Case Study. *Zeitschrift Für Arabische Linguistik*, 62, 68–87.
- Al-Wesaifi, A. M. (1995). *She'ar bani Amir mena al-as'r el-jaheli hata nehayat el-as'r el-Umawi 132 AH*. [poetry of Bani Amir from the pre-Islamic era until the end of the Umayyad era 132 AH]. Dar el-ma'alem. Jeddah: Saudi Arabia.
- Al-Wer, E. (1997). Arabic between reality and ideology. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 7(2), 251–265.
- Al Rumaih, A. (2017). Najdi Perspectives of Saudi regional speech. MA. thesis, Michigan State University.
- Alahmadi, S. D. (2016). Insight into the Attitudes of Speakers of Urban Meccan Hijazi Arabic towards their Dialect. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, 7(2).
- AlAmmar, D. (2017). *Linguistic variation and change in the dialect of Ha ' il , Saudi Arabia : feminine suffixes*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Essex.
- Albarracín, D., Johnson, B. T., Zanna, M. P., & Kumkale, G. T. (2005). Introduction and scope. In D. Albarracín, B. T. Johnson, & M.P. Zanna (Eds.), *Membrane-Mimetic Approach to Advanced Materials* (pp. 1–11). Mahwah; NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Albatel, A. H. (2005). Population growth and economic development in Saudi Arabia. *Scientific Journal of King Faisal University (Humanities and Management Sciences)*, 6(2), 14–26.
- Albirini, A. (2016). Modern Arabic sociolinguistics: Diglossia, variation, codeswitching, attitudes and identity. Routledge.
- Alghamdi, F. (2014). The usage of newly borrowed color terms in Arabic: Gender and regional variations. Doctoral Thesis, Southern Illinois University.

- Alghamdi, N. M. (2014). *A sociolinguistic study of dialect contact in Arabia: Ghamdi immigrants in Mecca*. Doctoral dissertation, (University of Essex).
- Alharbi, H. A. M. (2018). *Examining obstacles to Saudi women's right to work in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (Doctoral dissertation, Brunel University London).
- Alhazmi, L. (2018). *Perceptions of Hijazi Arabic dialects: an attitudinal approach*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Sheffield.
- Ali, F. (2021). At the intersection of language, gender, and religion: Self-reported linguistic ideologies and practices of Muslim women in Barcelona. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 15(2-4), 223-245.
- Almalki, S. (2016). Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data in Mixed Methods Research-- Challenges and Benefits. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 5(3), 288–296.
- Allport, G. W. (1935). Attitudes. In C. Murchison (Ed.), *Handbook of social psychology*. 133–175. Worcester, MA: Clark University Press.
- Anderbeck, K. L. (2010). *Language use and attitudes among the Jambi Malays of Sumatra*. SIL International
- Alsahi, H. (2018). The Twitter Campaign to end the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia. *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 8(2), 298–318.
- Alsaif, T. (2013). *haq huriatu el-ta'abeer wa irhasat al-falsafah al-motakhayyalh. [The right of speech freedom and the harbingers of imagined philosophy]*. Retrieved from http://talsaiif.blogspot.com/2013/12/blog-post_2.html . (accessed at 10:40 on 23/10/2020).
- Alsohaibani, A. (2017). Influence of Religion on Language Use: a sociopragmatic study on the influence of religion on speech acts performance. Doctoral dissertation, University of East Anglia.
- Altakhaineh, A. M., & Rahrouh, H. N. (2017). Language attitudes: Emirati perspectives on the Emirati dialect of Arabic according to age and gender. *The Social Sciences*, 12(8), 1434–1439.
- Amir-Moezzi, M. A. (2016). *Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism, The: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*. Suny Press.
- Andreevna, N. E. (2015). About the linguistic security/insecurity phenomenon in Brussels and Wallonia.

Russian Linguistic Bulletin, 2015(2 (2)).

Antonini, R. (2012). *Language attitudes in old and new Gaeltacht communities*. Doctoral Thesis, Newcastle University.

Ashdown, B. K., Homa, N., & Brown, C. M. (2014). Measuring gender identity and religious identity with adapted versions of the multigroup ethnic identity measure-revised. *Journal of Educational and Developmental Psychology*, 4(1), 226-237.

Ashmore, R., Deaux, K. and McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004) An Organizing Framework for Collective Identity: Articulation and Significance of Multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*. 130(1): 80-114.

Atkinson, J. W., & Feather, N. T. (1966). *A theory of achievement motivation*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Bajnaid, A. N. (2016). *A study of online impression formation, mate preferences and courtship scripts among saudi users of Matrimonial websites*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Leicester.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Languages*. (2nd edn). Multilingual Matters LTD.

Baker, C. (2006). Psycho-sociological analysis in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*. (210-228). Blackwell publishing Ltd.

Baker, T. L. (1994). *Doing Social research* (2nd Edn.). New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.

Baker, W., & Bowie, D. (2010). Religious affiliation as a correlate of linguistic behavior. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics: Selected Papers from NWAV 37*, 15(2), 1-10.

Basit, T. (2003). Manual or electronic? The role of coding in qualitative data analysis. *Educational Research*, 45(2), 143–154.

Bassiouny, R. (2009). *Arabic sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh University Press.

Bassiouny, R. (2016) 'Religion and identity in modern Egyptian public discourse', in A. Gebril (ed.), *Applied Linguistics in the Middle East and North Africa: Current Practices and Future Directions*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 38–60.

Bassiouny, R. (2020). *Arabic sociolinguistics: Topics in diglossia, gender, identity, and politics*. Georgetown University Press.

- Battar, A. (2018). *Markaz Abi Alhsn Al-Ash'ari le-derasat wa al bohoth al aqadiyah [Abi Hassan Al-Ash'ari Center for beliefs Studies and Research]*.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20180915001824/http://achaari.com/Article.aspx?C=5591>
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological bulletin*, 117(3), 497.
- Bayard, D., Weatherall, A., Gallois, C., & Pittam, J. (2001). Pax Americana? Accent attitudinal evaluations in New Zealand, Australia and America. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5(1), 22–49.
- BBC. (2005). *Regional accents 'bad for trade'*. Retrieved from
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/4566028.stm>.
- Bellamy, J. (2010). *Language attitudes in England and Austria: Comparing reactions towards high and low-prestige varieties in Manchester and Vienna*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester.
- Biadisy, F., Hirschberg, J., & Habash, N. (2009). Spoken Arabic dialect identification using phonotactic modeling. In *Proceedings of the eacl 2009 workshop on computational approaches to semitic languages*. (53-61). Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Bishop, H., Coupland, N., & Garrett, P. (2005). Conceptual accent evaluation: Thirty years of accent prejudice in the UK. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 37(1), 131–154.
- Blanc, H. (1964). *Communal dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bohner, G. (2001). Attitudes. In M. Hewstone & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Introduction to Social Psychology* (239-282). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason. On the theory of action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boussofara, N. (2017), 'When the president loses his voice, the people capture speech', in A. Gebril (ed.), *Applied Linguistics in the Middle East and North Africa: Current Practices and Future Directions*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 12–35.
- Bowering, G., Crone, P., & Mirza, M. (Eds.). (2013). *The Princeton encyclopaedia of Islamic political thought*. N.J: Princeton University Press.

- Breakwell, G. M. (2001). Social representational constraints upon identity processes. In K. Deaux, & G. Philogene (Eds.), *Representations of the Social: Bridging Theoretical Traditions*. (271-284). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Breckler, S. J., & Wiggins, E. C. (1989). On defining attitude and attitude theory: Once more with feeling. *Attitude Structure and Function*, 407–427.
- Britain, D., & Cheshire, J. (2003). Social dialectology: in honour of Peter Trudgill . John Benjamins Publishing.
- Britain, D. (2010). Supralocal regional dialect levelling. in Britain, D., Llamas, C., & Watt, (Eds). *Language and identities*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University press
- Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2005) Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4/5): 585–614.
- Bucholtz, M., Bermudez, N., Fung, V., Edwards, L., & Vargas, R. (2007). Hella Nor Cal or totally So Cal? the perceptual dialectology of California. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 35(4), 325–352.
- Bugge, E. (2018). Attitudes to variation in spoken Faroese. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 22(3), 312–330.
- Burgess, R. G. (1984). *In the field*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Burns, S., Matthews, P., & Nolan-Conroy, E. (2001). Language attitudes. In C. Lucas (Ed.), *The sociolinguistics of sign languages*. (181-216). Cambridge University Press.
- Cameron, D. (1998). Performing Gender Identity: Young Men’s Talk and the Construction of Heterogenderual Masculinity. In J. Coates (Ed.), *Language and Gender: A reader guidance* (270-284). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Cao, D. (2011). ‘Forward: Power of and to Language in Law’. In Wagber, A. and Cheng, L. (Eds.). *Exploring Courtroom Discourse: The Language of Power and Control*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited. Pp. Xv-Xvii.
- Carbonero, P. (2003). *Estudios de Sociolingüística Andaluza*. [Andalusian Sociolinguistics Studies]. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla.
- Cargile, A. C., Giles, H., Ryan, E. B., & Bradac, J. J. (1994). Language attitudes as a social process: A

- conceptual model and new directions. *Language and Communication*, 14(3), 211–236.
- Cavallaro, F., Seilhamer, M. F., Yee, H. Y., & Chin, N. B. (2018). Attitudes to Mandarin Chinese varieties in Singapore. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 28(2), 195–225.
- Chakrani, B. (2010). *A sociolinguistic investigation of language attitudes among youth in Morocco*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Illinois.
- Chambers, G. N. (1999). *Motivating language learners*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Chambers, J. K., & Trudgill, P. (1998). *Dialectology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chambers, J. K. (2003). *Sociolinguistic Theory*. Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing.
- Chambers, J. K. (2009). *Sociolinguistic theory: Linguistic variation and its social significance* (2nd ed.). Chichester & Malden: Blackwell.
- Chen, S., & Chaiken, S. (1999). The heuristic-systematic model in its broader context. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), *Dual-process theories in social psychology*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Cheshire, J. (2002). Sex and gender in variation research. In J. Chambers, P. Trudgill, & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*. (423–443). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cochran, J. L., McCallum, R. S., & Bell, S. M. (2010). Three A's: How Do Attributions, Attitudes, and Aptitude Contribute to Foreign Language Learning? *Foreign Language Annals*, 43(4), 566–582.
- Cohen, A. R. (1964). *Attitude change and social influence*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2018). *Research Methods in Education*. Routledge Publishers.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Converse, P. E. (1958). The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics. In D. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Cooke, R., & Sheeran, P. (2004). Moderation of cognition-intention and cognition-behavior relations: A meta-analysis of properties of variables from the theory of planned behavior. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 43, 159–186.
- Cordesman, A. H. (2003). *Saudi Arabia enters the twenty-first century: The political, foreign policy,*

economic, and energy dimensions. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Crano, W. D., Cooper, J., & Forgas, J. P. (2010). Attitudes and attitude change. An introductory review.

In I. J. P. Forgas, J. Cooper, & W. D. Crano (Eds.), *The psychology of attitudes and attitude change*.

New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1989) *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of*

Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics. Chicago: University of

Chicago Legal Forum

Creswell, J. W. (2015). Revisiting mixed methods and advancing scientific practices. In S. N. Hesse-

Biber & R. B. Johnson (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of multimethod and mixed. methods research*

inquiry. (57-71). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods*

approaches. Sage publications.

Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd

ed). SAGE Publications.

Daher, J. (1998). Gender in linguistic variation: The variable (q) in Damascus Arabic. In *Perspectives on*

Arabic linguistics, (vol. XI).(183–205). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dahlbäck, H. (2009). Attitudes towards varieties of Swedish. *Working Papers in Linguistics*, 33, 65–76.

Dailey-O'Cain, J. & Liebscher, G. (2011). Language attitudes, migrant identities and space. , 2011(212),

91-133.

Darvin, R. and Norton, B. (2014) Social class, identity, and migrant students. *Journal of Language,*

Identity, and Education 13: 111–117

De Fina, A. (2011). Discourse and identity. In: T. A. van Dijk, (ed.), *Discourse Studies: A*

Multidisciplinary Introduction. 2nd ed. London: SAGE, .263-282.

De Fina, A., Schifffrin, D. & Bamberg, M. G. W. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press.

Dendane, Z. (2007). *Sociolinguistic variation and attitudes towards language behaviours in an Algerian*

context: *The case of Tlemcen Arabic*. Doctorate thesis, University of Oran.

Denzin, K. N. (1978). *The Research Act New* (2nd edn). York: McGraw-Hill.

Devine, P. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1), 5–18.

Dingley, J. (2011). Sacred communities: Religion and national identities. *National Identities*, 13(4), 389–402.

Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dörnyei, Z., & Taguchi, T. (2010). *Questionnaires in Second Language Research: Construction, Administration, and Processing* (2nd edn). New York: Routledg.

Downes, W. (1998). *Language and Society* (2nd edn). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Downes, William, & Downes, S. F. W. (1998). *Language and society*. Cambridge University Press.

Dweik, B. S., Nofal, M. Y., & Qawasmeh, R. S. (2014). Language use and language attitudes among the Muslim Arabs of Vancouver/Canada: A sociolinguistic study. *International Journal of Linguistics and Communication*, 2(2), 75–99.

Dyers, C. (1997). An investigation into current attitudes toward English at the University of the Western Cape. *Per Linguam*, 31(1), 29–38.

Dyers, C., & Abongdia, J. F. (2010). An exploration of the relationship between language attitudes and ideologies in a study of Francophone students of English in Cameroon. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 31(2), 119–134.

Eagly, A. Chaiken, S. (2005). Attitude research in the 21st century: The current state of knowledge. In B. Albarracín, T. Johnson, & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *The handbook of attitudes*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Eagly, A. (1992). Uneven progress: Social psychology and the study of attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63(5), 693–710.

Eagly, A., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. . New York, NY: Harcourt Brace

Jovanovich College Publishers.

- Eckert, P. (1997). Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics (151-167)*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Eckert, Penelope. (1989). The whole woman: Sex and gender differences in variation. *Language Variation and Change*, 1(3), 245–267.
- Edwards, J. (1999). Refining our understanding of language attitudes. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 18(1), 101–110.
- Edwards, J. (2004). Bilingualism: Contexts, constraints, and identities. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 23(1), 135–141.
- Edwards, J., 2009. *Language and identity: An introduction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Edwards, J. (2010). *Minority languages and group identity: Cases and categories* (Vol. 27). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Ehrlich, S. (2004). Language and Gender. In A. Davies & C.Elde (Eds.), *The handbook of applied linguistics. (304-327)*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- El-Dash, L., & Tucker, G. R. (1975). Subjective reactions to various speech styles in Egypt. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 1975(6), 33–54.
- El-Essawi, R. (1999). The sociolinguistic connotations of /p/ and /v/ in Cairo Arabic. In Y. Suleiman (Ed.), *Language and society in the Middle East and North Africa (204-216)*. New York: Routledge-Curzon.
- El-Shakhs, S. Amirahmadi, H. (2012). *Urban development in the Muslim world* (2nd ed). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- El Salman, M., & Al Fridan, A. (2018). Emphatic and Vowel Lengthening and Identity in the City of Aahsa Saudi Arabia. *Amarabac*, 9(31), 139–148.
- Ellis, R. (1985). *Understanding second language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, B. (2013). Seattle to Spokane: Mapping perceptions of English in Washington state. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 41(3), 268–291.

- Fader, A. (2007) Redeeming sacred sparks: Syncretism and gendered language shift among Hasidic Jews in New York. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 17(1): 1–23.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power (Second Edition)*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough N. (2009), ‘Language and globalization’, *Semiotica*. ‘The consequences of the introduction and spread of modern education: Education and national integration in Egypt’, in E. Kedourie and S. G. Haim (eds), *Modern Egypt: Studies in Politics and Society*, London: Cass, 42–55.
- Farghal, M. (1995). The pragmatics of inšāllah in Jordanian Arabic. *Multilingua – Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 14(3), 253-270.
- Farghal, M. and Ahmed, B. (1997) Pragmareligious failure in translating Arabic politeness formulas into English: Evidence from Mahfouz’s *Awlad Haritna*. *Multilingua*, 16 (1), 77-100.
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fasold, R. (1990). *The sociolinguistics of language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fazio, R. H. (1990). Multiple processes by which attitudes guide behavior: The MODE model as an integrative framework. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 23). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Fazio, Russell H, & Olson, M. A. (2007). Attitudes: Foundations, functions, and consequences. *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 123–145.
- Ferguson, C. (1968). Myths about Arabic. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. (375–381). The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Fetterman, D. M. (1998). *Ethnography : step by step* (2nd ed.). California: Sage Publications.
- Field, A. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS*. London: Sage.
- Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1974). Attitudes toward objects as predictors of single and multiple behavioral criteria. *Psychological Review*, 81, Psychol. Rev.
- Fishman, J. A., & García, O. (2010). *Handbook of language and ethnic identity* (Vol. 1). Oxford University Press.
- Fox, J. (2016). *The unfree exercise of religion: A world survey of discrimination against religious*

- minorities*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gal, S. (1978). Peasant men can't get wives: Language change and sex roles in a bilingual community. *Language in Society*, 1–16.
- Gallois, C., & Callan, V. J. (1981). Personality impressions elicited by accented English speech. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 12(3), 347–359.
- Garcia, O., Peltz, R., Schiffman, H, Fishman, G, and Fishman, J. (2006). *Language Loyalty, Continuity and Change: Joshua A. Fishman's Contributions to International Sociolinguistics*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Garrett, P., Bishop, H., & Coupland, N. (2009). Diasporic ethnolinguistic subjectivities: Patagonia, North America, and Wales. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2009(195), 173–199.
- Garrett, P., Coupland, N., & Williams, A. (2003). *Investigating language attitudes: Social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Garrett, P., Williams, A., & Evans, B. (2005a). Accessing social meanings: Values of keywords, values in keywords. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 37(1), 37–54.
- Garrett, P., Williams, A., & Evans, B. (2005b). Attitudinal data from New Zealand, Australia, the USA and UK about each other's Englishes: Recent changes or consequences of methodologies? *Multilingua*, 24(3), 211–235.
- Gengler, J. (2014). Understanding sectarianism in the Persian Gulf. In L. G. Potter (Ed.), *Sectarian politics in the Persian Gulf*. (31-66). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ggeneral Authority of Statistics. (2010). *Population by Gender, Governorate and Nationality (Saudi/Non-Saudi)*. Retrieved from <https://www.stats.gov.sa/en/13> (accessed at 02:42 on 19/04/2021).
- Giampapa, F. (2004) The politics of identity, representation, and the discourses of self- identification: Negotiating the periphery and the center. In A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge (eds) *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* 192–218. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

- Gibbons, J., Ramirez, E. (2004). Different beliefs: Beliefs and the maintenance of a minority language. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 32(1), 99–117.
- Giddens, A., & Sutton, P. W. (2010). Social Inequalities. In *Sociology: Introductory Readings*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Gilbert, N. (2008). *Researching Social Life* (3rd Editio). Sage.
- Giles, H. (1970). Evaluative reactions to accents. *Educational Review*, 22(3), 211–227.
- Giles, H. (1973). Accent Mobility: A Model and Some Data. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 15(2), 87–105.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*. (307-348). London: Academic Press.
- Giles, H., Coupland, N., & Coupland, J. (1991). *Contexts of Accommodation*. New York: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press.
- Giles, H., and Marlow, M. L. (2011) Theorizing Language Attitudes Existing Frameworks, an Integrative Model, and New Directions. *Annals of the International Communication Association* Vol 35 (1). pp161-197
- Glasman, L. R., & Albarracín, D. (2006). Forming attitudes that predict future behavior: a meta-analysis of the attitude-behavior relation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132(5), 778– 822.
- Grafström, A., & Schelin, L. (2014). How to select representative samples. *Scandinavian Journal of Statistics*, 41(2), 277–290.
- Guardado, M. (2010). *Engaging language and cultural spaces: Latin American parents' reflections on language loss and maintenance in Vancouver*
- Guidère, M. (2012). *Historical dictionary of Islamic fundamentalism*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.
- Haeri, N. (1991). *Sociolinguistic variation in Cairene Arabic: Palatalization and the Qaf in the speech of men and women*. Doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Haeri, N. (2003). *Sacred language, ordinary people: dilemmas of culture and politics in Egypt*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Harmon, M. and Wilson, M. (2006). *Beyond Grammar: Language, Power and The Classroom*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Hay, J., Nolan, A., & Drager, K. (2006). From fush to feesh: Exemplar priming in speech perception. *The Linguistic Review*, 23(3), 351– 379
- Hay, J., & Drager, K. (2010). Stuffed toys and speech perception. *Linguistics*, 48(4), 865–892
- Hay, J., Drager, K., & Gibson, A. (2018). Hearing r-sandhi: The role of past experience. *Language*, 94(2), 360–404
- Hylén, T. (2018). Myth, Ritual, and the Early Development of Shiite Identity. *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 6(3), 300-331.
- Haylamaz, R. (2011). *Ali Ibn Abi Talib: Hero of Chivalry*. NJ: Tughra Books.
- Heining–Boynton, A. L., & Haitema, T. (2007). A ten-year chronicle of student attitudes toward foreign language in the elementary school. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91(2), 149–168.
- Heller, M. S. (2007) *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heller, M. S. (2011), *Paths to Post-nationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hewstone, M., Rubini, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup bias. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53(1), 575–604.
- Hilton, N. H. (2010). *Regional Dialect Levelling and Language Standards: Changes in the Hønefoss Dialect*.
- Hoare, R. (2001). An integrative approach to language attitudes and identity in Brittany. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5(1), 73–84.
- Hogg, M. A., Abrams, D., Otten, S., & Hinkle, S. (2004). The social identity perspective: intergroup relations, self-conception, and small groups. *Small Group Research*, 35(3), 246–276.
- Hogg, M. A., & Smith, J. R. (2007). Attitudes in social context: A social identity perspective. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18(1), 89–131.
- Hogg, M. A., Terry, D. J., & White, K. M. (1995). A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of

- identity theory with social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 58(4), 255–269.
- Holes, C. (1983). Patterns of communal language variation in Bahrain. *Language in Society*, 12(4), 433–457.
- Holes, C. (1986). The social motivation for phonological convergence in three Arabic dialects. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 61(1), 33–52.
- Holes, C. (1987). *Language variation and change in a modernising Arab state: The case of Bahrain*. . New York: Routledge.
- Holes, C. (1990). *Gulf Arabic*. London: Routledge.
- Holes, C. (1991). Kashkasha and the fronting and affrication of the velar stops revisited: A contribution to the historical phonology of the peninsular Arabic dialects. In A. S. Kaye & W. F. Leslau (Ed.), *Semitic studies in honor of Wolf Leslau on the occasion of his 85th birthday*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Holes, C. (1995). Community, dialect and urbanization in the Arabic- speaking Middle East. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 58(2), 270–287.
- Holes, C. (2001). *Dialect, culture, and society in eastern Arabia: Glossary (Vol. 1)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Holes, C. (2004). *Modern Arabic: Structures, functions, and varieties*. Georgetown University Press.
- Holes, C. (2005). *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia: Glossary (Vol.2)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Holes, C. (2010). *Colloquial Arabic of the Gulf: The complete course for beginners*. London: Routledge.
- Holes, C. (2011). *Dialect, culture, and society in eastern Arabia: Glossary (Vol. 1)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Holes, C. (2013). *Language Variation And Change In A Modernising Arab State: The Case Of Bahrain*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.
- Holes, C. (2015). *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia: Glossary (Vol.3)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Holmes, J., & Hazen, K. (2013). *Research Methods in Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide*. Wiley-Blackwel.
- Holmes, Janet. (1997). Women, language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 1(2), 195–223.
- Hudson, R. A. (1996). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge university press.

- Huygens, I., & Vaughan, G. M. (1983). Language attitudes, ethnicity and social class in New Zealand. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 4(2–3), 207–223.
- Ianos, M. A. (2014). *Language attitudes in a multilingual and multicultural context. The case of autochthonous and immigrant students in Catalonia*.
- Ibn Al-SarraJ, M. S. (1996). *al- 'usul fi n-nahw [The basics in Syntax] (Vol. 2-3) (A. Al- fatli (ed.); 3rd editio)*. Beirut: Al-Risalah Est.
- Ibn Jebreen, A. (1991). *Mawqe'a ibn jebreen*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibn-jebreen.com/fatwa/vmasal-5756-.html> (accessed at 21:42 on 24/04/2021).
- Ibrahim, M. H. (1986). Standard and prestige language: A problem in Arabic sociolinguistics. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28(1), 115–126.
- Ihemere, K. U. (2006). An integrated approach to the study of language attitudes and change in Nigeria: The case of the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt City. *Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics. Olaoba FA and Michael AP Eds*, 194–207.
- Ingham, B. (1971). Some characteristics of Meccan speech. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 34(2), 273–297
- Ingham, B. (1982). *North East Arabian dialects*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Ingham, B. (1986). Notes on the dialect of the Āl Murra of eastern and southern Arabia. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 271–291.
- Ingham, B. (1994). *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Inoue, F. (1996). Subjective dialect division in Great Britain. *American Speech*, 71(2), 142–161.
- Isaac, S., & Michael, W. B. (1995). *Handbook in research and evaluation: A collection of principles, methods, and strategies useful in the planning, design, and evaluation of studies in education and the behavioral sciences*. Edits publishers.
- Ismail, H. (2007). The urban and suburban modes: Patterns of linguistic variation and change in Damascus. In C. Miller, E. Al-Wer, D. Caubet, & J. Watson (Eds.), *Arabic in the city: Issues in dialect contact and language variation. (188–212)*. London: Routledge.

- Ismail, R. (2012). The Saudi Ulema and the Shi'a of Saudi Arabia. *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies*, 5(4), 403–422.
- Ivankova, V. N., & Creswell, W. J. (2009a). Mixed Methods. In J. Heigham & R. A. Croker (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Applied Linguistics: A Practical Introduction*. (135-161). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ivankova, V. N., & Creswell, W. J. (2009b). Mixed Methods. In J. Heigham & R. A. A. Croker (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Applied Linguistics: Practical Introduction*. (135-161). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jaber, R. (2013). *Gender and age effects on lexical choice in the baghdadi speech community: A cognitive sociolinguistic analysis*. Doctoral Thesis, Universiti Utara Malaysia.
- Jaccard, J., & Blanton, H. (2014). The origins and structure of behavior: Conceptualizing behavior in attitude research. In D. Albarracin, B. T. Johnson, & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *The handbook of attitudes*. Psychology Press.
- Jacob, J. P. (1998). Sur la télévision suivi de L'emprise du journalisme, par Pierre Bourdieu, (On television followed by The influence of journalism, by Pierre Bourdieu,) Paris, Liber. 8- 95 p. Bulletin de l'APAD, (15).
- Jamai, A. (2008). *Language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Salford.
- Jastrow, O. (1978). *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qaltu-Dialekte*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Johanson, G., & Brooks, G. P. (2010). Initial scale development: sample size for pilot studies. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 70(3), 394–400.
- Johnson, B. T., & Boynton, M. H. (2010). Putting attitudes in their place. Behavioral prediction in the face of competing variables. In J. P. Forgas, J. Cooper, & W. D. Crano (Eds.), *The psychology of attitude and attitude change*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Johnstone, T. M. (1967). *Eastern Arabic dialect studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, M. R. (1955). *Nebraska symposium on motivation*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

- Joseph, J. (2004). *Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious*. Springer.
- Karim, W. J. (1992). *Women & Culture: Between Malay Adat & Islam*. San Francisco: Westview Press.
- Kaouache, S. (2009). Dialect Stigma and Group Conflicts. *Revue Sciences Humaines, A*, 117–131.
- Katz, D., & Stotland, E. (1959). A preliminary statement to a theory of attitude structure and change. *Psychology: A Study of a Science*, 3(423–475).
- Keiser, S. H. (2015). Religious identity and the perception of linguistic difference: The case of Pennsylvania German. *Language & Communication*, 42, 125–134.
- Kerswill, P. (2013). Koineization. In J. Chambers & N. Schilling (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*. (519-536). Wiley Online Library.
- Khan, G. (1997), ‘The Arabic dialect of the Karaite Jews of Hīt’, *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 34: 53–102
- King, P, E. (2003). Religion and Identity: The Role of ideological, Social, and Spiritual Contexts, *Applied Developmental Science*. 7(3):197-204.
- Kircher, R. (2016). The Matched-Guise Technique. In Z. Hua (Ed.), *Research Methods in Intercultural Communication*.(196–211). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kishindo, P. (1994). The impact of a national language on minority languages: The case of Malawi. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 12(2), 127–150.
- Komondouros, M., & McEntee-Atalianis, L. (2007). Language attitudes, shift and the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 28(5), 365–384.
- Korede, O. (2019). *The Intersection of Entrepreneurial Identity and Ethnic Identity: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Black African Migrant Entrepreneurs in the UK* (Doctoral dissertation, Newcastle University)
- Korkman, J., Santtila, P., Westeråker, M., & Sandnabba, N. (2008). Interviewing techniques and follow-up questions in child sexual abuse interviews. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 5(1), 108–128.

- Korzybski, A. (1958). *Science and sanity: An introduction to non-Aristotelian systems and general semantics*. (4th ed.). New York, NY: Institute of General Semantics.
- Kraidy, M. (2006). Reality television and politics in the Arab world: Preliminary observations. *Transnational Broadcasting Studies*, 15.
- Kraus, S. J. (1995). Attitudes and the prediction of behavior: A meta-analysis of the empirical literature. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 21(1), 58–75.
- Kristiansen, T. (2009). The macro-level social meanings of late-modern Danish accents. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 41(1), 167–192.
- Kristiansen, T., Garrett, P., & Coupland, N. (2005). Introducing subjectivities in language variation and change. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 200, 37(1), 9–35.
- Kroskrity, P. (1993). *Language, history and identity: Ethnolinguistic studies of the Arizona Tewa*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Kulkarni-Joshi, S. (2015). Religion and language variation in a convergence area: The view from the border town of Kupwar post-linguistic reorganisation of Indian states. *Language & Communication*, 42(2015), 75–85.
- Kyriakou, M. (2016). *Language attitudes and ethnic identity in a diglossic setting: the case of Greek-Cypriot students*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Sussex.
- Labov, W. (1962). *The social history of a sound change on the island of Martha's Vineyard*. Massachusetts.
- Labov, W. (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C, Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. (1982). Building on empirical foundations. In W. Lehmann & Y. Malkiel (Eds.), *Perspectives on historical linguistics* (Issues 17–82). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Labov, W. (1984). Field Methods of the Project on Linguistic Change and Variation. In J. Baugh & J. Sherze (Eds.), *Language in Use*. (28-53). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Labov, W. (1990). The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change. *Language Variation and Change*, 2(2), 205–254.
- Labov, W. (1991). 1991. The three dialects of English. In P. Eckert (Ed.), *Quantitative Analyses of Sound Change (1-44)*. New York: Academic Press.
- Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of Linguistic Change. vol. 2: Social Factors*. New York: Blackwell.
- Labov, W. (2006). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (2nd edn). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ladegaard, H. J. (1998). Assessing national stereotypes in language attitude studies: The case of class-consciousness in Denmark. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19(3), 182–198.
- Ladegaard, H. J. (2000). Language attitudes and sociolinguistic behaviour: Exploring attitude-behaviour relations in language. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. (4), 214-233.)
- Lambert, W. E. (1967). A Social Psychology of Bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23(2), 91–109.
- Lavrakas, P. J. (2008). *Encyclopedia of survey research methods*. Sage publications.
- Lawson-Sako, S., & Sachdev, I. (1996). Ethnolinguistic communication in Tunisian streets. In Y. Suleiman (Ed.), *Language and ethnic identity in the Middle East and North Africa*. (61–79). Richmond: Curzon.
- Lees, E. (2000). *Dialect or Disadvantage*. BA dissertation, University of Manchester.
- Liman, B. M. (2015). Conflict and identity in Nigeria: an emerging culture of conflict in northern Nigeria. Doctoral dissertation. SOAS University of London.
- Llamas, C., Mullany, L., & Stockwell, P. (2006). *The Routledge companion to sociolinguistics*. Routledge.
- Lorimer, J. G. (1975). *Dalil al-khalij: al-Qism al-jughrafi [Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf: The geographical section] (Vol. 1)*. Doha: Maṭabi Ali ibn Ali.
- Loureiro-Rodríguez, V., Boggess, M. M., & Goldsmith, A. (2013). Language attitudes in Galicia: using the matched-guise test among high school students. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 34(2), 136–153.

- Luhman, R. (1990). Appalachian English stereotypes: language attitudes in Kentucky. *Language in Society*, 19(3), 331–348.
- Lukitz, L. (2005). *Iraq: the search for national identity*. Routledge.
- Maio, G. ., Olson, J. ., Bernard, M., & Luke, M. A. (2006). Ideologies, values, attitudes, and behavior. In *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 283–308). Madison, WI: Springer.
- Maio, G. R., & Olson, J. M. (1998). Values as truisms : Evidence and implications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(2), 294–311.
- Makoe, P. (2014). ‘Constructing Identities in a Linguistically Diverse Learning Context’, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 654-667.
- Marrakech, A. (1983). *al-Bayan al-Maghrib fi Akhbar Al-andalus wa al-maghrib [the statement of Moroccan in the history of Andalusia and Morocco]*. Beirut: House of Culture.
- Matthiesen, T. (2014). *The other Saudis: Shiism, dissent and sectarianism*. Cambridge University Press.
- May, S. (2006). ‘Language Policy and Minority Rights’. In Ricento, T. (Ed.). *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Pp. 255-272.
- McGuire, W. J. (1985). Attitudes and attitude change. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (Vol. 2). New York, NY: Random House.
- McKenzie, R. M. (2010). *The social psychology of English as a global language: Attitudes, awareness and identity in the Japanese context*. Springer: Science Business Media.
- Mensah, Eyo O. "Name this child: Religious identity and ideology in Tiv personal names." *Names* (2020): 1-15
- Milroy, J., & Milroy, L. (1985). Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. *Journal of Linguistics*, 21(2), 339–384.
- Milroy, J., & Milroy, L. (1998). Varieties and variation. In F. COULMAS (Ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. (33-45). Blackwell.
- Milroy, J., Milroy, L., Hartley, S., & Walshaw, D. (1994). Glottal stops and Tyneside glottalization: Competing patterns of variation and change in British English. *Language Variation and Change*,

6(3), 327–357.

Milroy, L. (1980). *Language and social networks*. Oxford, B. Blackwell.

Milroy, L. (1987). *Observing and analysing natural language: A critical account of sociolinguistic method*. Blackwell.

Milroy, L. (1987). *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, L., & Milroy, J. (1992). Social network and social class: Toward an integrated socio- linguistic model. *Language in society*, 21(01), 1–26.

Milroy, L., & Gordon, M. (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mohammed, F. (2018). *Social Network Integration and Language Change in Progress in Iraqi Arabic: A Sociophonetic Study of Dialect Levelling in the Hītī Dialect*. Doctoral thesis, University of Leeds.

Mol, H. (1979). The identity model of religion. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 6(1), pp.11-38.

Monroe, K. R., Hankin, J., & Vechten, R. B. V. (2000). The psychological foundations of identity politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3(1), 419-447.

Montgomery, C. (2012). The effect of proximity in perceptual dialectology. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 16(5), 638–668.

Montrul, S. (2013). ‘Bilingualism and The Heritage Language Speaker’. In Bhatia, T. and Ritchie, W. (Eds.). *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd. Pp. 168-190

Moscattelli, S., Hewstone, M., & Rubini, M. (2017). Different size, different language? Linguistic ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation by majority and minority groups. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 20(6), 757–769.

Muhsen, A. M. H. (2010). *The effect of teaching by using fluency and originality skills in the first secondary female students’ achievement in earth sciences and environment in fourth Amman educational district and their attitudes toward them*. Master thesis, Middle East University.

Nader, L. (1962). A note on attitudes and the use of language. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 4(6), 24–29.

Nash, J. C. (2008) Re-Thinking Intersectionality. *Feminist Review*, 89, pp. 1-15.

- Nassar, H. (1968). Yonus Bin Habeb. *Dar al-kutub al-arabiah* press
- Neuman, W. L. (2013). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Pearson education.
- Ngah, Mohd. Nor. (1985). Islamic worldview of man, society and nature among the Malays in Malaysia. In Mohd. Taib Osman (Eds.), *Malaysian Worldview* (pp. 6-45). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Niedzielski, N. (1999). The effect of social information on the perception of sociolinguistic variables. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 18(1), 62–85.
- Obiols, M. (2002). The Matched Guise Technique: A Critical Approximation to a Classic Test for Formal Measurement of Language Attitudes. *Noves SL. Revista de Sociolinguistica*, 1, 1–6.
- Olson, J. M., & Maio, G. R. (2003). Attitudes in social behavior. *Handbook of Psychology*, 299–325.
- Omoniyi, T., & Fishman, J. A. (2006). *Explorations in the Sociology of Language and Religion*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Oppenheim, B. (1982). An exercise in attitude measurement. In *Social psychology* (pp. 38–56). Springer.
- Orton, H. (1962). Survey of English dialects. A, Introduction. Leeds, Published for the University of Leeds by E.J. Arnold.
- Owji, Z. (2013). Translation Strategies. *Translation journal*, 17(1).
- Papapavlou, A. (1998). Attitudes toward the Greek Cypriot dialect: Sociocultural implications. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 1998(134), 15–28.
- Papapavlou, A., & Sophocleous, A. (2009). Relational Social Deixis and the Linguistic Construction of Identity. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 6(1), 1–16.
- Parekh, B. (2008). A new politics of identity: Political principles for an interdependent world. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Park, S & Sarkar, M. (2007). Parents' Attitudes Toward Heritage Language Maintenance for Their Children and Their Efforts to Help Their Children Maintain the Heritage Language: A Case Study of Korean Canadian Immigrants. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. 20 (3) 223 – 235.

- Peek, L. (2005). Becoming Muslim: The development of a religious identity. *Sociology of religion*, 66(3), 215-242.
- Petyt, K. M. (1980). *The study of dialect: an introduction to dialectology*. London, Andre Deutsch.
- Phakiti, A. (2015). *Experimental research methods in language learning*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Pole, C. J., & Lampard, R. (2002). *Practical social investigation: Qualitative and quantitative methods in social research*. Routledge.
- Polit, D. F., Beck, C. T., & Hungler, B. P. (2001). *Essentials of Nursing Research: Methods, Appraisal and Utilization* (5th Ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Pratkanis, A. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (1989). A sociocognitive model of attitude structure and function. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 2). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Preston, D. (1999). A language attitude approach to the perception of regional variety. In D. Preston (Ed.), *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (Vol. 1, 359–374). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Price, S., Fluck, M., & Giles, H. (1983). The effects of language of testing on bilingual pre-adolescents' attitudes towards welsh and varieties of English. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, 4(2–3), 149–161.
- Prochazka, T. (1988). *Saudi Arabian dialects*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Puah, Y. Y., & Ting, S. H. (2015). Malaysian Chinese speakers' attitudes towards Foochow, Hokkien and Mandarin. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(5), 451–467.
- Read, J. N. G. (2015). Gender, religious identity, and civic engagement among Arab Muslims in the United States. *Sociology of Religion*, 76(1), 30-48.
- Redinger, D. (2010). *Language attitudes and code-switching behaviour in a multilingual educational context: the case of Luxembourg*. Doctoral Thesis, University of York.
- Reilly, C. (2019) *Language in Malawian universities: an investigation into language use and language attitudes amongst students and staff*. (PhD thesis). The University of Glasgow.

- Riagáin, P. Ó. (2007). Relationships between attitudes to Irish, social class, religion and national identity in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 10(4), 369–393.
- Ricento, T. (2006). *An introduction to language policy : theory and method*. Blackwell Pub.
- Richards, K. (2009). Interviews. In J. Heigham & R. A. Croker (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Applied Linguistics: A Practical Introduction*. (182-199). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rida, A. and Milton, M. (2001) The non-joiners: Why migrant Muslim women aren't accessing English language classes. *Prospect* 16(1): 35–62.
- Ridealgh, K. (2021). 'Talking to God: Conceptualizing an alternative politeness approach for the human/divine relationship': *Journal of Politeness Research*. 17(1): 61-78.
- Roald, A. S., & Nga Longva, A. (2011). *Religious Minorities in the Middle East*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Rosen, N., & Skriver, C. (2015). Vowel patterning of Mormons in southern Alberta, Canada. *Language & Communication*, 42, 104–115.
- Ross, T. (2019). Media and stereotypes. In S. Ratuva (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity* (397-413).
- Rovira, J. M. S. (2015). Attitudes towards state languages versus minority languages in the contemporary world: The case of Catalan in Sardinia. *New Diversities*, 17(2), 163–176.
- Roy, B. (1994) *Some Trouble with Cows: Making Sense of Social Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Russell, J. (1982). Networks and sociolinguistic variation in an African urban setting. In S. Romaine (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic variation in speech communities*. (1-19). London: Edward Arnold.
- Safran, W. (2008). Language, ethnicity and religion: A complex and persistent linkage. *Nations and Nationalism*. (14). 171–90.

- Samin, N. (2011). Internet bulletin boards in Saudi Arabia: analogues of change and resistance. In R. Bassiouney (Ed.), *Arabic and the Media*. (pp. 175-199). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill
- Saidat, A. (2010). Language attitude: The case of Jordan. *International Journal of Academic Research*, 2(2), 235–244.
- Salah, A. (2018). *A sociolinguistic investigation of language shift among Libyan Tuareg: the case of Ghat and Barkat*.
- Sankoff, D. (1988). Sociolinguistic and syntactic variation. In F. J. Newmeyer (Ed.), *Linguistics: The Cambridge survey*.(140–161). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sankoff, G. (1980). A Quantitative Paradigm for the Study of Communicative Competence. In G. Sankoff (Ed.), *The Social Life of Language*. (47-79). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sarnoff, I. (1970). Social attitudes and the resolution of motivational conflict. In M. Jahoda & N. Warren (Eds.). *Attitudes*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Saudi Geological Survey. (2012). *Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah As-Su’udiyyah: Haqa’iq wa arqam [The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Facts and numbers]*. Jeddah, Saudi Arabia: Saudi Geological Survey.
- Saville-Troike, M. (2003). *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schilling, N. (2013). *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork: Key Topics in Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schmidt, R. (1986). Applied sociolinguistics: The case of Arabic as a second language. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28(1), 55–72.
- Schmitz, A., Flemmen, M., & Rosenlund, L. (2018). Social class, symbolic domination, and Angst: The example of the Norwegian social space. *The Sociological Review*, 66(3), 623-644.
- Schwarzmantel, J. (1991), *Socialism and the Idea of Nation*. London: Harvester
- Seul, J. R. (1999). ‘Ours is the way of god’: Religion, identity, and intergroup conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 36(5), .553-569.
- Shaaban, K., & Ghaith, G. (2002). University students’ perceptions of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Arabic, French and English in Lebanon. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 6(4), 557–574.

- Sherif, M. (1936). *The psychology of social norms*. New York, NY: Harper.
- Shrigley, R. L. (1990). Attitude and behavior are correlates. *Journal for Research in Science Teaching*, 27, 97–113.
- Smith, A. D. (1991). *National identity* (Vol. 11). Reno: University of Nevada press.
- Somers, M. (1994). The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach. *Theory and Society*, 23(4), 5–49.
- Sophocleous, A. (2009). *Language attitudes towards the Greek-Cypriot dialect: social factors contributing to their development and maintenance*. Doctoral Thesis, Kingston University.
- Stein, D. (2006). Labov, William (b. 1927). Editor(s): Keith, B. *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (Second Edition) Elsevier, 298-299,
- Stewart, D. (2015). *Islam in Spain after the Reconquista*. Emory University.
- Stewart, F. (2009) Religion versus Ethnicity as a Source of Mobilisation: Are there differences? MICROCON Research Working paper 18
- Stewart, M. A., Ryan, E. B., & Giles, H. (1985). Accent and social class effects on status and solidarity evaluations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 11(1), 98–105.
- Suleiman, Y. (2004). *A war of words: Language and conflict in the Middle East* (Vol. 19). Cambridge University Press.
- Suny R.G. (2001) Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations. *Journal Modern History*. 73(4): 862- 896.
- Swann, J., Deumert, A., Lillis, T., & Mesthrie, R. (2004). *A dictionary of sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Tagliamonte, S. (2006). *Analysing sociolinguistic variation*. Cambridge University press.
- Tagliamonte, S. (2011). *Variationist sociolinguistics: Change, observation, interpretation*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tajfel, H. (1972). Social categorisation. In S. Moscovici (Ed.), *Introduction a la psychologie sociale* (Vol. 1). Paris, France: Larousse.

- Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information*, 13(2), 65–93.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Terrill, R. J. (2013). *World criminal justice systems: A comparative survey* (8th ed.). Waltham, MA: Anderson Publishing.
- Thomas, M. (2012) *Fifty key thinkers on language and linguistics*. Routledge
- Thompson, M. C. (2019). *Being young, male and Saudi: Identity and politics in a globalized kingdom*. Cambridge University Press.
- Thomsen, C. J., Lavine, H., & Kounios, J. (1996). Social value and attitude concepts in semantic memory: Relational structure, concept strength, and the fan effect. *Social Cognition*, 14, 191–225.
- Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language in Society*, 1(2), 179–195.
- Trudgill, P. (1974). *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trudgill, P. (1975). *Accent, Dialect and the School*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Trudgill, P. (1983). *On dialect : social and geographical perspectives*. Basil Blackwell.
- Trudgill, P. (1986). *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford and New York: Blackwell.
- Trudgill, P. (2003) *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trudgill, P. (2004). *New-dialect formation: The inevitability of colonial Englishes*. Oxford University Press.
- Tukachinsky, R., Mastro, D., & Yarchi, M. (2017). The effect of prime time television ethnic/racial stereotypes on Latino and Black Americans: A longitudinal national level study. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 61(3), 538–556.
- Turner, J. C. (1982). Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In H. Tajfe (Ed.), *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Turner, J. C. (2010). Social categorization and the self-concept: A social cognitive theory of group behavior. In T. Postmes & N. R. Branscombe (Eds.), *Rediscovering social identity* (pp. 243–272). Psychology Press.
- Tyree, T. (2011). African American stereotypes in reality television. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 22(4), 394–413.
- Van Den Heever, G. (2001). On how to be or not to be: Theoretical reflection on religion and identity in Africa. *Religion and Theology*, 8 1-25.
- Van Dijk, T. A. 2008. *Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach*.
- Van-Trieste, R. F. (1990). The relation between Puerto Rican university students' attitudes toward Americans and the students' achievement in English as a Second Language. *Homines*, 14(13), 94–112.
- Van Teijlingen, E., Rennie, A. M., Hundley, V., & Graham, W. (2001). The importance of conducting and reporting pilot studies: the example of the Scottish Births Survey. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 34(3), 289–295.
- Vidal, F. S. (1955). *The oasis of al-Hasa*. Dharhan: Arabian American Oil Comopany.
- Wadud-Muhsin, A. (1995). Gender, culture and religion: An Islamic perspective. In Norani Othman & Cecilia Ng (Eds.), *Gender, Culture and Religion: Equal Before God, Unequal Before Man*, (30-38).
- Wakelin, M. F. (1972). *Patterns in the folk speech of the British Isles*. London. Athlone Press.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2010). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Weimann, G. (2011). Cyber-fatwas and terrorism . *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 34(10), 765–781.
- Wengraf, T. (2001). *Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured methods*. Sage.
- Weston, M. (2008). *Prophets and princes: Saudi Arabia from Muhammad to the present*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Wicker, A. W. (1969). Attitude versus actions: The relationship of verbal and overt behavioral responses

- to attitude objects. *Journal of Social Issues*, 25(4), 41–78.
- Williams, A. & Kerswill, P. (1999). Dialect levelling: change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. In Foulkes, P. & Docherty, G. (eds.) *Urban Voices*. London: Arnold. 141-162.
- Wilson, B. (1990). *The Social Dimensions of sectarianism*. Oxford
- Wilson, J., & Bayard, D. (1992). Accent, gender, and the elderly listener: Evaluations of NZE and other English accents by rest home residents. *Te Reo*, 35(1), 19–56.
- Wilson, P. W., & Graham, D. F. (2016). *Saudi Arabia: The coming storm*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wolfram, W., & Schilling-Estes, N. (2006). *American English: Dialects and variation* (2nd ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwel.
- Wood, W. (2000). Attitude change: persuasion and social influence. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 70–539.
- Wright, R. B. (2001). *Sacred rage: The wrath of militant Islam* (2nd ed.). New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Yaeger-Dror, M. (2015). 2015. Religious choice, religious commitment, and linguistic variation: Religion as a factor in language variation. *Language and Communication*, 42, 69-74.
- Yaeger-Dror, M. (2014). Religion as a sociolinguistic variable. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 8(11), 577–589.
- Yilmaz, B. (2020). Language Attitudes and Religion: Kurdish Alevis in the UK. *Kurdish Studies*, 8(1), 133–161.
- Yin, X., & Li, G. (2021). Language solidarity, vitality and status: Sibe family language attitudes in North-western China. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 22(4), 446-465.
- Yonce, K. P. (2014). Attractiveness privilege: the unearned advantages of physical attractiveness.
- Yule, G. (2020). *The study of language*. Cambridge university press.
- Zanna, M. P., & Rempel, J. K. (1988). Attitudes: A new look at an old concept. In D. Bartal & W. A. Kruglanski (Eds.), *The social psychology of knowledge*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Zanna, M. P., & Rempel, J. K. (2008). Attitudes: A new look at an old concept. In R. H. Fazio & R. E.

Petty (Eds.), *Attitudes: Their structure, function, and consequences* (pp. 7–15). Psychology Press.

Zuckermann, G. (2006). 'Etymythological othering' and the power of 'lexical engineering' in Judaism, Islam and Christianity. *Explorations in the Sociology of Language and Religion*, 20, 237.

Appendix

Appendix 1: the interview

مقابلة

المعلومات الشخصية

الاسم :

ذكر ..

أنثى ..

أعيش في المدينة ..

أعيش في الريف: ..

١. ما هو اسمك؟

٢. كم عمرك؟

٣. أين تعيش؟

٤. ما الذي تفعله عادة في أوقات فراغك؟

الأسئلة التمهيدية

أسئلة عامة (مقدمة)

٥. ما الذي تعرفه حول اللهجات السعودية؟

٦. ما هو وجه الاختلاف بين اللهجات السعودية؟ من أي منظور باللغة تحديداً؟

٧. هل تعتقد أن هناك لهجة عريقة في المملكة العربية السعودية؟

٨. ما رأيك حول لهجة أهل نجد، على سبيل المثال، ما الذي يميزها عن غيرها من اللهجات؟

الأسئلة المتعلقة باللهجة

٩. بالنسبة للشخص الحساوي؟ ما رأيك حول اللهجة الحساوية ومن يتكلمها؟ لماذا؟

١٠. ما الذي يميز اللهجة الحساوية؟

١١. ما هي ردة فعل السعوديين من مدن أخرى أو من يتحدث بلهجات أخرى عندما يسمعون أهالي الإحساء يتحدثون؟

١٢. هل تعتقد أن على أهل الإحساء تعديل أو تغيير طريقة كلامهم (وأقصد هنا الكلمات أو العبارات أو الأصوات) وذلك عندما يتحدثون مع الآخرين من غير أهل الإحساء؟ لماذا؟

١٣. هل تشعر بالراحة والثقة عندما تتكلم باللهجة أهل الإحساء مع شخص ليس من الإحساء عند الدخول معه في مناقشة مفتوحة غير رسمية؟ لماذا؟

الأسئلة المتعلقة بالدين (الطائفية)

١٤. يعيش في مدينة الإحساء طائفتين من المسلمين وهم السنة والشيعة، فهل تعتقد أن أهل كلا الطائفتين يتحدثون بنفس الطريقة أو بشكل مختلف؟ كيف؟

١٥. بصفتك من أهل الإحساء، هل تميز بين الشيعي والسني من خلال طريقة الحديث؟ كيف؟ (يتعين على المشارك ذكر مثال لما حدث في حال لم يقدم إجابة وافية)

١٦. ماذا عنك؟ هل تعتقد أن الناس تميز أنك شيعي أو سني؟ لماذا؟

Interview

Personal information: Name: _____

Male: ☐
female: ☐

Urban: ☐
rural: ☐

Warm up questions

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you live?
4. What do usually you do in your spare time?

General questions (preface):

5. What do you know about Saudi dialects?
6. What are the differences between Saudi dialects? In which aspects of language
7. Do you think there is a prestigious dialect in Saudi Arabia?
8. What do you think about Najdi, dialect, for example, what are its characteristics?

Dialect questions:

9. As a Hasawi person, what do you think about Hasawi dialect and its speakers? Why?
10. What are the characteristics of Hasawi dialect?
11. How do Saudi people from other cities or other dialect speakers react when they hear Hasawi people?
12. Do you think Hasawi people need to modify or change their way of speaking (e.g. words/ phrases/ sounds) when they speak with other people (non-Hasawi)? Way?
13. Do you feel comfortable and confident when you speak Hassawi dialect with non Hassawi people?

Religious (sectarianism) questions:

14. Alhasais a city involves two different Islamic sects (Sunni and Shiite), do you think both sects speak same or differently? How?

15 . As a Hasawi person, how do you recognise Shiite or Sunni in the way of speaking? How? (giving example happened to the participants if the participant did not give sufficient answer)

16. What about you, do you think people recognise that you are Shiite or Sunni? Why?

Appendix 2: permission of the university, where the data collection took place:

Ministry of Education
Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud
Islamic University
College of sharia and Islamic studies
In AL-AHSAA

وزارة التعليم
جامعة الإمام محمد بن سعود الإسلامية
كلية الشريعة والدراسات الإسلامية في الأحساء

المكرم المبتعث لدراسة الدكتوراه الأستاذ / فهد بن صالح العودة
المحترم

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته وبعد

إشارة الى رسالتكم البريدية الإلكترونية بتاريخ ٢٠١٨/١٠/٢٠ بشأن طلبكم الحصول على موافقة قسم اللغة الإنجليزية بفرع جامعة الإمام محمد بن سعود الإسلامية بالأحساء، لإجراء دراسة علمية وجمع بيانات على عينة من مدرسي اللغة الإنجليزية وطلاب القسم لإنهاء أطروحة الدكتوراه لبحثكم.

عليه، نفيدكم علما بأنه لا مانع لدى القسم من قيامكم بجمع البيانات ميدانيا في مقر الجامعة في مدينة الأحساء وذلك في الفصل الثاني العام الجامعي ١٤٣٩-١٤٤٠هـ من تاريخ ٢٠١٩/٢/١٦ وحتى ٢٠١٩/٤/٢١.

وقد تم إصدار هذا الخطاب بناء على طلبكم وذلك لتقديمه إلى الملحقة الثقافية السعودية في بريطانيا.

سائلين المولى لكم التوفيق والسداد

رئيس قسم اللغة الانجليزية
١٤٤٠/١٠/٢٠
فهد بن خليفة الملحم

قسم اللغة الإنجليزية
كلية الشريعة بالأحساء

العنوان : ص . ب : ١٧٣٠ - الأحساء ٣١٩٨٢ هاتف رقم (٠١٣٥٣٣١٣٠٩) فاكس رقم (٠١٣٥٣٣٠٢٦٩)



نموذج الموافقة

اسم الباحث: فهد صالح العوده
المؤسسة التعليمية: جامعة إيست أنجليا

1. أؤكد أنني أفهم إجراء هذه الدراسة وقد أتيحت لي الفرصة لطرح الأسئلة.

2. أدرك أن مشاركتي تطوعية وأتني حر في الانسحاب في أي وقت دون إبداء أي سبب.

3. أوافق على أن المقابلة التي أجريتها هي تسجيلات صوتية

4. أدرك أنه لن يتم إدراج اسمي في أي منشورات ناشئة عن البحث

5. أوافق / لا أتفق (احذف كما ينطبق) للمشاركة في الدراسة المذكورة أعلاه.

التوقيع

تاريخ

اسم المشارك

Appendix 4: Seven-point-Likert scale used in the MGT questionnaire

Speaker No:

Questionnaire: Please evaluate the speaker on the basis of his/her way of speaking by marking the number, whereas 1 means high and 7 means low. Then answer the following questions.

	High social class dialect							
High	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low
	Good pronunciation							
High	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low
	Attractive dialect							
High	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low
	pleasant dialect							
High	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low
	Fluent dialect							
High	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low
	Embarrassing linguistics features							
High	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low
	Rugged dialect							
High	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low

1. How old would you consider the speaker to be?

2. Where do you think the speaker comes from?

3. Where would you most expect to hear this speaker?

Appendix 5: Scripts of Speakers Narratives

شهر رمضان شهر مميز عند المسلمين وينتظرونه بكل شوق. ويصومون فيه عن الاكل والشرب طوال النهار. ويكثر فيه اعمال الخير كالصدقات وقراءة القرآن. توجد هناك عادات اجتماعية متميزة في هذا الشهر. فمثلا تجتمع العائلة على وجبة الإفطار. كذلك يقوم الاهل والأصدقاء بتبادل الزيارات ويهنون بعضهم بهذا الشهر الكريم. ومن العادات السائدة في رمضان يقوم الأهل والجيران بتبادل الأطباق فيما بينهم وخاصة قبل وجبة الإفطار. وفي نهاية الشهر يزداد الازدحام في الأسواق وذلك استعدادا لعيد الفطر المبارك

Ramadan is a holy month for Muslims, and they eagerly await it. Muslims abstain from food and drink during the day. There are many good deeds such as almsgiving and Qur'an reading. This month is marked by distinct social customs. For instance, the family congregate for breakfast. Additionally, family and friends visit one another to wish each other a happy holy month. Among the prevalent Ramadan customs is the exchange of dishes between family and neighbours, especially before Iftar (breakfast). At the end of the month, markets become more crowded as people prepare for the blessed Eid al-Fitr.

Appendix 6: Ethical Approval



Research and Innovation Services

University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0) 1603 591574

Email: grec@uea.ac.uk

<https://portal.uea.ac.uk/ren/research-integrity>

Fahad Al Owdah
School of Politics, Philosophy, Languages & Communication Studies UEA

21st May 2018

Dear Fahad,
Our reference: GREC 17-894

I am writing to you on behalf of the University of East Anglia's General Research Ethics Committee, in response to your request for ethical approval for your project '*Exploring Attitudes to dialects: A case study of Hasawi in Saudi Arabia*'.

Having considered the information that you have provided in your correspondence I am pleased to confirm that your project has been approved on behalf of the Committee.

You should let us know if there are any significant changes to the proposal which raise any further ethical issues.

Please let us have a brief final report to confirm the research has been completed. Yours sincerely,
Victoria Hamilton

pp. Polly Harrison, Secretary General Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 7: gatekeeper protocol document.



Gatekeeper protocol

This study aims to explore Hasawi people's perspectives toward their local dialect from both sects' (i.e. Sunni and Shiite) views. In order to achieve this aim, there are several issues that should be taken into consideration, for example, following the sequenced blocks of the interview and questions, and creating real conversation. In terms of following blocks and questions order, this interview is divided into three main blocks:

1. The first block concerns participants' perspectives about other Saudi variations in general; what they think about these dialects and which dialect they think is the most prestigious one, clarifying the reasons.
2. The second block of the interview will specifically concern their views about the local dialect that they speak, namely the Hasawi dialect, and discovering the factors that make them adopt this negative or positive perspective.
3. The third block of the interview will be about a more precise issue, which is sectarianism and the local dialect. Each participant will express their perceptions from their sect's view and reveal reasons for this perception.

In addition to following the block order, gatekeepers must follow the order of the questions within the blocks. They must start with Question 1, then Question 2, and so forth, since following the order from general questions to specific ones is essential in ensuring the participants become more comfortable and thus talk freely. Gatekeepers can repeat the questions in different ways if a participant does not understand

them. Also, the gatekeepers can add questions if they think these added questions are relevant to the aim of project and may help the researcher to discover more perspectives. With regard to real conversation, gatekeepers should create a convenient and friendly atmosphere in order for the participants to be more confident and relaxed, not like a police interrogation, through listening to the participants and giving indications that he/she is following what they say by nodding or saying words like ‘yes’ or ‘great’.

Procedures

- Greet the participant and thank him/her for participating in the research;
- The participants fill in the consent form;
- Make sure the recorder machine is switched to the ON mode, that there is enough space for recording, and that the batteries are full;
- Explain the aims of the interview to the participants; ask them about issues related to dialects in general and Hasawi in particular and state that all given information will be confidential and for research purposes;
- Explain to the participants that there are no true or false answers, and that their responses will not be marked or affect their academic performance;
- Start with preface questions in order to create a real conversation;
- Take into consideration the order of the questions, starting with the first block, then the second block, and finally the third block;
- Add questions in two cases: first, for more details, and second, to show that they are listening;
- In case of misunderstanding any question or talking about other topics such as differences in performing worships, gatekeepers have to redirect him/her to main topic (dialect);
- If the participant attempts to avoid answering specific questions, gatekeepers can repeat the questions in different ways or move on and then return to the avoided question at the end of the block, but not at the end of interview, to keep the sequences of the questions;

- Thank the participant for being a part of the research and reassure him/her again that all information is confidential and for research purposes.

Appendix 8: Obtained permission from the tweeter:

