Language and the negotiation of identity and belonging in Harub, Saudi Arabia

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Abstract

This is an ethnographic study investigating the negotiation of identity and belonging in Harūb, Saudi Arabia. This thesis addresses the question: how do people in Harūb use language to position themselves in relation to dominant power structures? This question is answered from three different angles using discourse analysis.

First, this thesis uses the concept of enregisterment to trace the development and construction of the *Badawi* dialect in Harūb. The analysis shows that salient linguistic features used in Harūb have become enregistered with *Badu* identity in terms of ideologies of linguistic differentiation. The historical and social processes of isolation, modernization and marginalization have given rise to discursive practices of naming and drawing boundaries around their way of speaking.

Second, this study looks at how place is used to define *Badu* identity. As the traditional lifestyle of subsistence farming and shepherding is being disrupted and residents of Harūb feel marginalized, place has become critical in the construction and maintenance of *Badu* identity. The analysis illustrates that through place-making, engaging in the 'politics of belonging', and constructing belongingness people in Harūb imbue the landscape with qualities of self-sufficiency and freedom. As individuals draw on these resources of place, they construct and maintain *Badu* identity, ultimately putting themselves back in the "center" giving themselves a place to belong.

Third, this study demonstrates how older women who have been marginalized in society use stancetaking to contest their position. Women's role in Harūb drastically changed when new power structures were instituted. This paper analyzes the accounts of the past and present as told by the younger and older generation of women using the concept of chronotope. Those born before the change in power narrate a *freedom to confinement* chronotope while those born after the change in power narrate an *ignorant*

to educated chronotope. Through the telling of these opposing accounts, these two generations of women engage in stancetaking, (dis)aligning with the Saudi state and with each other. Ultimately, as the younger women accept the new account and reject their mothers' perspective, the collective memory of the community is changed.

Additionally, as Arabic dialects in southwest Arabia exhibit rare features not found in other areas of the Arabic-speaking world, this thesis documents some of those linguistic features found in Harūb.

Keywords: Saudi Arabia, Harub, Jazan, identity, belonging, Arabic dialects, South Arabia, enregisterment, chronotopes, place-making, stancetaking, nation building

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I spent living there.

Phonetic Transcription

The main transcription conventions used in this thesis is from the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (EALL) (Versteegh et al. 2006). However, due to the guidelines of some of the journals where chapters of this thesis have been submitted, other transcription conventions were used. Those are noted at the beginning of the chapter where they differ. In quoting examples from previous studies I used the same symbols used by the authors.

EALL	IPA	Arabic Symbol	
ʾ	ʔ	أ	glottal stop *hamza*
b	b	ب	voiced bilabial stop *bāʾ*
t	t	ت	voiceless dento-alveolar stop *tāʾ*
ṯ	θ	ث	voiceless interdental fricative *ṯāʾ*
j	dʒ	ج	voiced palato-alveolar affricate *jīm*
ḥ	ħ	ح	voiceless pharyngeal fricative *ḥāʾ*
x	x	خ	voiceless velar fricative *xāʾ*
d	d	د	voiced dento-alveolar stop *dāl*
ḏ	ð	ذ	voiced interdental fricative *ḏāl*
r	r	ر	voiced alveolar trill *rāʾ*
z	z	ز	voiced alveolar fricative *zāy*
s	s	س	voiceless alveolar fricative *sīn*
š	ʃ	ش	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative *šīn*
ṣ	sˤ	ص	voiceless velarized alveolar fricative *ṣād*
ḍ	dˤ	ض	voiced velarized dento-alveolar stop *ḍād*
ṭ	tˤ	ط	voiceless velarized dento-alveolar stop *ṭāʾ*
ḏ̣	ðˤ	ظ	voiced velarized interdental fricative *ḏ̣āʾ*
ʿ	ʕ	ع	voiced pharyngeal fricative *ʿayn*
ġ	ɣ	غ	voiced uvular fricative *ġayn*
f	f	ف	voiceless labio-dental fricative *fāʾ*
q	q	ق	voiceless uvular stop *qāf*
k	k	ك	voiceless velar stop *kāf*
l	l	ل	voiced dental lateral *lām*
m	m	م	voiced bilabial nasal *mīm*
n	n	ن	voiced alveolar nasal *nūn*
h	h	ه	voiceless glottal fricative *hāʾ*
w	w	و	voiced labiovelar glide *wāw*
y	j	ي	voiced palatal glide *yāʾ*
č	tʃ		voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
g	g		voiced velor stop
ṯ̣	θˤ		voiceless emphatic interdental fricative

Vowels

a	a	́
e	e	̆
i	i	̆
o	o	
u	u	ʼ
ā	a:	
ē	e:	
ī	i:	
ō	o:	
ū	u:	

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Overview

The aim of this study is to shed light on the sociolinguistic situation of an understudied area of southern Saudi Arabia, the mountainous region of Jazan. Particularly, this study looks at the community of Harūb and takes an ethnographic approach to explore how language and culture are used in the process of meaning-making of the social world. The overall question I ask is: how do people use language and cultural resources to position themselves in relation to dominant power structures? This study answers this question from three different angles using discourse analysis to examine semiotic processes in situations of marginalization. Three issues related to marginalization and processes of belonging are examined: first, how language becomes enregistered with *Badu* identity; second, how place is used to define *Badu* identity; and third, how older women who have been marginalized in society use stancetaking to contest their position.

1.2 Research Location

Harūb is an interesting field site for sociolinguistic research because of its historical and current social conditions. Harūb is in the beginning stages of modernization. Until recently, Harūb was isolated because of its location in the rugged mountains and far from historical trade routes (Gingrich 2000). Traditionally people in Harūb lived independently and their livelihood was based on subsistence farming and shepherding. This isolation resulted in the development of a distinct way of speaking and distinct cultural practices. However, in the past 15 years, modernization has brought many changes to Harūb and it is in a state of rapid transition.

One of the biggest changes has been exposure and contact with the outside world. For the first time many people in Harūb are going to college and university outside of the area which is putting them in daily contact with people who speak differently and have different cultural traditions. Also the construction of new roads has made travel to and from the area easier and it is becoming more common for people to go shopping or on a day trip to the larger cities. Furthermore, the introduction of the internet has had a significant impact on the community as it has exposed people in Harūb to new ideas and ways of life. As the younger generation is becoming educated, they are abandoning their traditional subsistence farming and shepherding lifestyle. The distinct language and cultural practices that had developed over hundreds of years offer resources for identity and other meaning-making constructions as the people in Harūb come in contact with people outside the area.

The social and linguistic dynamics in Harūb are in the early stages of social change and potential dialect shift. Linguistic practices are starting to destabilize as the younger generation have gone to school and are now bidialectal and bicultural. Previous studies have shown that mobility and dialect contact are some of the key factors in the enregisterment of a dialect (Agha 2003; Beal 2009; Johnstone 2016), making Harūb an interesting research site for examining the processes of linguistic enregisterment.

Furthermore, Harūb is in a marginalized position in the country. Because Harūb has been in a difficult to access location, the government has not invested in the development of the area. Many people in Harūb expressed feelings of marginalization because of the lack of resources available to them. For example, at the time of this research it was a 11/2 - to 3 hour drive (depending on which part of Harūb one lived) to reach the nearest hospital, bank, or government services. There were still many unpaved roads and some areas without electricity. Additionally, residents in Harūb often experience language discrimination. They are told not to speak their language in most places outside of the mountain area and in the

schools. Marginalization and disruption in a community have been shown to heighten the importance of place and place identity (Hoffman 2008). In light of these dynamics, it is a critical time to investigate the process of place-making.

The late development of Harūb also makes it an interesting field site. Although it officially became part of Saudi Arabia in 1932, it was one of the last areas of the country to come under the governance of the Saudi state. The first road connecting Harūb to the Tihāmah was built in the 1990s, but even then it was not well maintained and it took 3 – 5 hours to drive to the closest city Ṣabyā. While the first school opened in 1963, it wasn't until the 1990s that education became a normal part of life. This is when roads were constructed and people began to own cars enabling them to travel more easily.

With development from the government came a new teaching of the interpretation of Islam. This changed the social structure of the community as women's role in society moved to the private sphere which required them to stop participating in many of the social and economic activities they had previously been a part of. As a result there is now a large cultural gap between the younger and older generation of women in Harūb. As the role of women has changed in Harūb, it is an opportune time to examine what language can tell us about these changes.

Although there have been a few linguistic studies conducted in the Jazan region, no sociolinguistic or anthropological study exists which can catch the social dynamics of language in relation to these changes. This is the first study that I am aware of in Harūb.

1.3 Significance of Research

The significance of this research is multifaceted. This research is important to the fields of Arabic sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology as well as studies of the Arabian Peninsula. This research contributes largely to the fields of sociolinguistics and linguistic

anthropology by looking at how speakers form and construct identity through social interaction. Specifically, this study adds scholarship on sociolinguistics from the margins (Cornips & Rooij 2018). It explores how marginalized people construct identity to position themselves against dominant power structures. It looks at how dialects are formed and become enregistered (Agha 2003; Johnstone 2017) to create solidarity for those who experience linguistic discrimination. It explores how speakers construct place (Basso 1996; Hoffman 2002) together with feelings of belongingness in response to feelings of marginalization and rejection. It adds to the theoretical concept of stancetaking (Du Bois 2007; Kiesling 2011) by analyzing how marginalized women subtly but powerfully use the construction of chronotopes to perform stance (Agha 2003).

In the field of Arabian Peninsula studies, it advances scholarship by producing research on an understudied area of the Arabian Peninsula, southern Saudi Arabia. More significantly this study adds to the few qualitative studies using third-wave sociolinguistic theories and methods in Arabic-speaking communities where the focus turns from traditional variationist studies that look at correlations between social categories and linguistic features to the "indexical nature of sociolinguistic variation .... and the construction of social distinctions" (Eckert 2016; Haeri and Cotter 2019). This study not only describes some of the salient linguistic and cultural resources that define *Badu* in Jazan, but also illustrates how individuals use these resources to construct their reality, enact their identity, and take stances resisting dominant power constellations.

There is much to gain about social dynamics in the Arabian Peninsula by looking at how language and cultural resources are used in the construction of identity, belonging and stancetaking. This study can give new insights into this field. These dynamics have been extensively studied in other parts of the world such as the United Kingdom, the United States, South America, Spain, and the Netherlands and has given us great insight about social

dynamics in these locations. However with the exception of Caton (1990) in Yemen, Haeri (2003) and Serreli (2016) in Egypt, Hoffman (2008) and Hachimi (2012; 2013) in Morocco, Hawker (2013) in Palestine, and Al-Wer et al.(2015) in Jordan, few third wave studies that examine language and identity have been done in the Arabic-speaking world and particularly the Arabian Peninsula.

This study also adds to scholarship in the field of reflective ethnography by reflecting on the status of being a mother while conducting ethnographic fieldwork with women. Brown and de Casanova (2009) argue that social science research can benefit from mother researchers reflecting on how motherhood effects their ethnographic fieldwork. In chapter 3, I reflect on how motherhood effected my research by helping me build rapport with my research participants.

1.4 Outline of Thesis

This is a thesis by paper and is therefore formatted differently from a traditional thesis. It includes four papers of publishable quality in addition to a chapter each for the introduction, literature review, methodology and conclusion totaling eight chapters. Chapters 4 – 7 are written as journal articles and are therefore formatted differently according to their respective journal requirements including referencing and transcription systems.

Chapter 1, this chapter, is the introduction chapter and gives an overview of the thesis, outlines the context of the research and sets the overarching, unifying question which the thesis addresses. Chapter 2 is a literature review expanding on the relevant literature used in the journal articles.

Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter and describes the ethnographic methods and techniques used in this study. It explains the theoretical premises of this study's research design including sampling techniques, location choice and data collection. The course of the

fieldwork is described including access to the community, the researcher's position, and problems encountered. It ends by describing data analysis and transcription techniques.

Chapter 4 is the journal article titled "Some Notes on the Language and People of Harūb, Saudi Arabia". This chapter describes some of the features of the dialect spoken in Harūb and presents some social and historical aspects of the Harūb and Jazan area.

Chapter 5 is the journal article titled "The Story of the *Badawi* Dialect in Jazan, Saudi Arabia". This article analyzes key components of the process of linguistic enregisterment of the *Badawi* dialect. It begins by defining enregisterment and then moves on to analyzing the linguistic features that are enregistered, to whom they are enregistered and by what they are enregistered. It outlines the language ideologies that connect the salient linguistic features with *Badu* identity. The paper concludes by tracing the social and historical processes of isolation, modernization and marginalization that have contributed to the formation of the *Badawi* dialect.

Chapter 6 is the journal article titled "A Place to Belong: the Social Construction of *Badu* Identity in Jazan, Saudi Arabia". This paper demonstrates how identity is constituted through the explicit naming of the social category *Badu*. It begins by defining the term "belonging" and then illustrates, with excerpts from interviews, how the *Badu* experience marginalization or unbelonging. Next it defines place-making and moves on to analyze how place and belonging are constructed in the everyday speech of people in Harūb.

Chapter 7 is the journal article titled "Chronotopes of *Zamān* 'the Past' and *Alħīn* 'Now' in Harūb, Saudi Arabia". In this article, the concept of chronotope is used to analyze the discourse of different generations of women to understand how they make sense of the changing role of women in society. First this article gives a brief history of the establishment of the Saudi state. It discusses women's education and Saudi nationalism. Next, definitions are given for chronotope and stancetaking. Then the analysis of the account of two

generations of women about the past and present is offered showing two contrasting chronotopes: *freedom to confinement* and *ignorance to educated*. The analysis reveals how through the retelling of these chronotopes, two generations of women in Harūb engage in stancetaking.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion. It summarizes the purpose and important findings that emerged from the study as well as implications of those findings. It restates the contributions which the study makes in the field. In addition, it outlines the limitations of this research and suggests areas of further inquiry.

1.5 Summary

This chapter presented an introduction and overview of the thesis and set the overarching, unifying question which the thesis addresses. It provided background information about the research site, Harūb, Saudi Arabia, as well as discussed the significance of the study. Chapter 2 contextualizes the study in the relevant literature.

2. Literature Review

This study explores identity and belonging in Harūb, Saudi Arabia and asks the question: how do people in Harūb use language to position themselves to dominant power structures? This thesis answers this question in the form of four different articles. Each article takes a different approach and looks at a different aspect of how individuals position themselves to others. Although the approach of each article is quite different from the others, the connecting theme is the construction of identity. This chapter discusses the relevant literature about identity as well as the theoretical concepts used in the study: enregisterment, place-making, chronotopes and stancetaking.

2.1 Identity

This thesis takes a constructionist approach which views identity as emerging from sociocultural processes. Language is seen as a means for constructing rather than reflecting identity. This view is in contrast to the essentialist approach which considers identity as a fixed state that exists within a person or social category that is reflected in a person's behavior and language. For the constructionist, identity emerges and circulates through social interaction (Bamberg, De Fina, & Schiffrin 2011; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Eckert, 2008; Ochs 1993; Silverstein 2003;). Along with others in the field of linguistic anthropology this study views "language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice" (Duranti 1997: 2).

Building on the assumption that language is "the single most important system of symbols for expressing and negotiating identity" (De Fina 2011: 268), Bucholtz and Hall (2010) propose a framework for analyzing identity as it is constructed in social interaction.

Bucholtz and Hall define identity as "the positioning of self to others"(Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 586). They point out that the process of positioning is complex and identity is multifaceted and abstracted at many levels. This study explores identity at some of these different abstractions. Their framework is built on five principles: emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness.

First, the emergence principle challenges the traditionally held essentialist view that identity is static and something to be discovered in an individual's mind. Instead it is based on the understanding that "identity emerges in social interaction" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 18) as people talk with each other. From this perspective identity is fluid and speakers perform identity using language that suits their context. As contexts and speakers' goals change, so does their performance of identity.

Second, the positionality principle challenges the notion that identity is made up of an assortment of general social categories. This principle highlights the importance of looking to locally defined social groups. Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 20) pointed out that studies that take an ethnographic approach have found that language users orient to local categories instead of the broad categories used by analysts such as age, gender, and social class. When local categories are used, they provide a more accurate account of linguistic practices. The positionality principle expands the traditional range of broad social categories to include locally constructed categories.

Third, the indexicality principle is based on the assumption that language constructs identity through indexicality (Ochs 1992; Silverstein 2003). Indexicality is the process by which a sign, in this case language, becomes associated with meaning by either co-occurring with it or pointing to it. Indexicality links language with social meaning. These connections are ideological. Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 21) define four indexical processes that construct speaker identity.

"Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including a) overt mention of identity and category labels; b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own and others' identity position; c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientation to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups."

(Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21)

The fourth principle is the relationality principle and it focuses on the relational aspect of language. In another paper, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) refer to this principle as *tactics of intersubjectivity*. With this principle Bucholtz and Hall point out that a crucial component of identity construction is the existence of others. It is not possible for identity to be constructed independently as it needs a point of reference to show similarity and difference, "genuineness" and artifice, and authority and "delegitimacy" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 23).

The last principle of the framework for studying identity is the partialness principle which is the acknowledgement that any given piece of research is only able to capture part of the process of identify construction. This is because identity is fundamentally relational and dependent on more than the individual self. Given that identity is constantly shifting and negotiated depending on many different factors, it is not possible to capture every aspect involved in the process. Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 25) sum up this principle as follows.

"Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts."

(Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 25)

2.1.1 A Note about Constructionism versus Essentialism

Although this study approaches identity as a social construct that is fluid and dependent upon

the social situation isn't to say that people do not essentialize identity. Joseph points out,

"constructing an identity is in fact constructing an essence."(2004: 90). He explains that

> "... essentialism versus constructionism is not as mutually exclusive a distinction as it
> is normally taken to be, when what is being constructed is, in effect, an essentialising
> myth. To reject essentialism in methodology is to say quite rightly that our analysis
> must not buy into the myth, but must stand aloof from it to try to see how it functions
> and why it might have come into being in the belief system or ideology of those who
> subscribe to it. Yet there must remain space for essentialism in our epistemology, or
> we can never comprehend the whole point for which identities are constructed."

Although the method I use to analyze how my research participants construct their identity is

a constructionism approach, does not mean my research participants have the same

understanding. On the contrary, it is for the very reason that identity is viewed as an essential

inherit part of someone that identities are constructed. Throughout this thesis I acknowledge

the construction of essentialist identities because this is typically how people view their

identities. However, from an analytical perspective I do not believe their identity is truly

essentialized. This thesis is interested in the process of how people come to establish and

constitute their identities and look at the forces and structures that have influenced people to

do so.

2.2 Language in Harūb

Harūb is located in southern Arabia, in the mountains of Jazan. Although no linguistic studies

have been conducted in Harūb previously, there have been linguistic studies in areas close by.

These studies reveal that the varieties spoken in this region exhibit interesting features not

widely attested in other parts of the Arabic-speaking world. This thesis focuses on the variety

spoken in Harūb. One of the earliest linguistic studies done in the mountains of Jazan was

done by Prochazka (1988) on the variety spoken in Al Qahabah, Bani Malik, approximately

60 kilometres from Harūb. In his book *Saudi Arabian Dialects* (1988: 11), he briefly

documents some key features of Al Qahabah and points out that the use of *č* for *k* as in *račib* 'he rode' and *ʾačal* 'he ate' is one of the most salient features of the Al Qahabah variety. One downside to Prochazka's work is that although he visited most of the dialectal areas covered in his book, he did not visit Al Qahabah in person and this may have had an impact on his data collection as he admits "ideally a dialect should be collected entirely in the area of the speakers, who should be unaffected by outside speech habits" (1988: 9).

A more recent study was done in the Jazan mountains by Alfaifi and Behnstedt (2010). Alfaifi is from Fayfa which is one of the most well known and populated areas of the Jazan mountains and about 50 kilometres from Harūb. In their paper they compared the unique features of the dialect of Fayfa (or sometimes called Faifi) with the dialect of Minabbih, another tribal area across the border in North Yemen. They argue that the Minabbih dialect is related to the dialects of the Jazan Highlands. Although Alfaifi and Behnstedt's paper was not a systematic study of the dialect of Fayfa, they draw attention to the need and importance of doing more research in southern Saudi Arabia with the following statement:

> "Arabists interested in the history of the Arabic language, dialectologists of Arabic and even Semitists should rush into the area of the Southwest of Saudi Arabia in order to study its dialects, of which Ğabal Fayfa is only one of the regions. It is together, with some parts of Yemen, the most archaic Arabic dialect region, a kind of museum of the Arabic language, and linguistically full of surprises (2010: 64)".

In recent years there has been a handful of new linguistic studies done on Faifi which describe different aspects of the language. Alaslani (2017) describes the syntax and morphology of Faifi. Alfaife (2018) wrote a partial comprehensive grammar of Faifi highlighting it's similarities and differences with Classical Arabic across 19 linguistic aspects. Alfaifi (2016) wrote one of the most in-depth descriptions of the syntax and morphology of Faifi. He also (2015) analyzed the functions and uses of *ba* from a descriptive perspective. Although each of these studies are valuable for their contribution to

understanding Faifi, they compare Faifi with Standard Arabic which is not beneficial for understanding how the dialects in the southern region of Saudi Arabia are related to each other.

Alfaifi (2014) conducted a study on the communication accommodation strategies of Faifi speakers. He found that those living in the Faifi mountains used convergence communication accommodation when speaking to those outside of the community. This means they chose to accommodate their speech to their interlocutors in order to minimize the differences between them. However, he also found that those living outside of the Faifi speech community used divergence strategies, emphasizing their salient linguistic features and he suggests they did this for the purpose of creating group solidarity.

Alaslani (2017) enters the debate on whether the variety spoken in the Jazan mountains is a form of Arabic or Himyaritic when she makes the bold claim "it is more accurate to say that Fifi is a form of Modern Himyaritic, perhaps a descendant of Proto-Himyaritic" (2017: 4). However, she admits that it is difficult to make this claim because little is known about Himyaritic.

Alfaife (2018: 28) proposes that Faifi could be a Sabiac dialect, Ancient South Arabian, for three reasons. First, he highlights the fact that Sabiac dialects were spoken in present day Fayfa and the surrounding areas. Second he points out that Sabiac was spoken for the longest period of time historically in southern Arabia (Rubin 2010). Third he notes that it was reported by Arabic grammarians that Sabiac was still spoken in their lifetime in southern Arabia (Ibn-Khaldun 2004). However, he also suggests that Faifi could be a descendant of Himyaritic because many elders he spoke with in Fayfa and modern history books about Fayfa (Althuwajee 2016) claim that Fayfa tribes trace their origins to Himyar, the ancient Yemen kingdom. He describes Himyaritic as "a stock of ancient south Arabian languages that includes Sabean, Minean, Oatabanian and Hadrammic" (Althuwajee 2016). However he also

acknowledges that the features of Sayhadic, the group of languages that Sabiac and Himyaritic belong to, are unknown so it is difficult to establish a link between Faifi and these old languages.

Alfaifi (2016: 2) takes the stand that Faifi is a dialect of Arabic for three reasons. First, he points out that the root words of Faifi are mostly the same as Modern Standard Arabic. Second he argues that speakers of Faifi and Arabic scholars have always referred to it as an Arabic dialect. Third, he says it shares linguistic features with other dialects in the area.

Watson (2018) suggests that it is possible that some of the varieties spoken in modern day southern Saudi Arabia and northern Yemen may be descendants of Ancient South Arabian. She comes to this conclusion after comparing phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic data of Faifi along with other modern varieties spoken in present day North Yemen and southern Saudi Arabia with Ancient South Arabian, Sabaic, Himyaritic, and Modern South Arabian languages.

The current study adds to this discussion by documenting some of the salient linguistic features found in Harūb and comparing them with studies done in the surrounding area (chapter 4).

2.3 Enregisterment

Enregisterment is a framework proposed by Agha (2003) for understanding how cultural forms, particularly linguistic features, become linked to cultural meaning. Asif uses Received Pronunciation (RP) as an example of a variety of British English that has been enregistered with social prestige. He traces the emergence and spread of RP and points out that the main mechanism for the creation and spread of cultural value in a population is social interaction and discursive practices. He illustrates a number of ways that discursive practices link

meaning to linguistic forms such as phonological rules, names of varieties, personifying terms, public sphere metadiscourse, and metapragmatic data.

Agha originally used the term enregisterment for what he refers to as 'accent', a folk term used to describe a repertoire of linguistic features. Johnstone (2017) builds on and expands Agha's framework by applying it to the folk concept of dialect. She specifically looks at the American dialect Pittsburghese and traces it's enregisterment development. She breaks down the process of enregisterment into five crucial aspects. She refers to them below as A, B, C, D and E:

- A (one or more linguistic forms or other potentially meaningful thing or act) is enregistered with
- B (a context; a culturally relevant category of action or identity)
- by C (someone experiencing the sign)
- in terms of D (some set of ideas in which linking A with B makes sense)
- because E (a set of social and historical exigencies that give rise to 'metapragmatic' practices, that is, practices by which people suggest how A is to be enregistered). (Johnstone 2017: 17)

Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson (2006) point out that the same conditions which can cause dialect leveling can also cause dialect enregisterment. In their study they join the concepts of enregisterment and orders of indexicality (Silverstein 2003) to examine and trace the different stages of the development of Pittsburghese.

The ideological constructs that are associated with ways of speaking are often social identities or personas such as Southern speech (Cramer 2013), Country (Hall-Lew and Stevens 2012) and Yooper (Remlinger 2009).) or places such as Pittsburghese (Johnstone et al 2006, Johnstone 2017) and Geordie and Sheffieldish (Beal 2009).

Beal (2009) demonstrates the importance of tourism and commodification in the process of enregisterment. In her study she traces the development of the awareness of two distinct urban dialects in north England, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Sheffield. Although both cities have a similar history, she found that the dialect in Newcastle, Geordie, was much farther ahead in the enregisterment process. She attributes the reason for an earlier

recognition of Geordie to tourism which led to 'talk about talk' and the commodification of Geordie in folk dictionaries and souvenirs.

Campbell-Kibler (2012) points out that not all linguistic forms and ways of speaking are enregistered and circulated throughout a community. She gives examples of how in the United States Southern, Boston, and New York, have been reified and circulated nationwide and some such as Pittsburghese have been enregistered locally within their region or city. However, she demonstrates that some "accents" have not been enregistered which is the focus of her study. She illustrates that Inland North variety has been partially enregistered and that although many people in Ohio recognize that there is a difference in ways of speaking between the North and central Ohio, many people discursively position themselves as not wanting northern speech to be socially meaningful.

Cramer (2013) uses the theoretical concepts of enregisterment, iconization and recursivity to show how speakers in the political boarder town Louisville, KY use linguistic resources to construct their identity. She demonstrates that certain linguistic features have become enregistered with Southern and the social features of "not wearing shoes" and "marrying cousins" have become iconic of Southern speech. She demonstrates recursivity in the speech of her participants by pointing out their perception that Southernness occurs on a continuum of "real" Southerness versus "nonreal" Southernness.

Hall-Lew and Stevens (2012) analyze the metalinguistic comments from their interviewees who are residents of a border town between Texas and Oklahoma. All interviewees identified themselves as speakers of Country Talk. They found that Country Talk is enregistered at the local level with a broader American ideology of "imaginings of particular rural personae, on one hand, and particular linguistic features of Southern and nonstandard varieties of U.S. English, on the other" (Hall-Lew and Stevens 2012: 256). Their

study emphasized the importance of examining the social meaning connected to linguistic variables and account for the sociohistorical context giving rise to its meaning.

Remlinger (2009) examines the enregisterment process of Cooper Country English which is often referred to as Yooper. She uses the language-ideology approach and traces the historical, economic, and ideological processes to metalinguistic comments from ethnographic and archival data. She found that Copper Country English has been connected to local identity which embodies cultural values and insider / outsider differences.

The current study takes up the view that naming a language or dialect is an ideological process, not a purely linguistic endeavor (Blommaert and Rampton 2016; Irvine and Gal 2000; Johnstone 2013; Jørgensen et al. 2011). Therefore, metapragmatic comments and discursive practices are important in the study of language and dialect formation (Irvine and Gal 2000; Johnstone 2013). In order to take all the historical, social and discursive factors into consideration, this study adopts the concept of enregisterment (chapter 5) to trace the development and construction of the *Badawi* dialect in Harūb, Saudi Arabia. It illustrates how historical and social processes of isolation, modernization and marginalization have been forces in linking salient linguistic features with *Badu* identity through ideologies of linguistic differentiation (Irvine and Gal 2000).

2.4 Place-making

Place and place-making have been studied in a number of disciplines such as psychology, environmental studies, anthropology, leisure studies, geography, and architecture. Within these disciplines different aspects of place have also been examined such as sense of place (Feld and Basso 1996 ; Gray 2003; Hay 1998; Hummon 1992; Jorgensen and Stedman 2001; Stedman 2003; Steele 1981), place attachment (Altman and Low 1992; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001; Williams 1995), and place dependence (Moore and Graefe 1994; Shumaker

and Taylor 1983; Smaldone 2005). The common thread throughout all these studies is that distinguishing space from place involves semiotic processes of meaning making through discourse, memories, and attachment.

Understanding place is to understand the relationship one has with the physical place and the people involved there. Place is more than the physical environment but includes all the different human activity and social and psychological processes that occur in that location (Steadman 2001). As Tuan (1991) explains, "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (p. 6).

Since place is a social and cultural construct instilled with personal, social and cultural meaning, place is a valuable resource for identity. The symbols people assign to the physical environment ultimately reflect how individuals define themselves (Basso 1996; Greider and Garkovich 1994; Hoffman 2008). From a discursive approach, place identity 1) emerges and is constructed through social interaction as people talk about their relationship with place, 2) is used to perform social and stylistic work in social interaction, and 3) defines person-place relationships drawing on global ideologies (Hall 2018; Di Masso et al. 2013).

Community is fundamental to the making of place and place attachment. Because semiotic processes happen as people interact through talking and practicing, it is in community, where social interaction takes place, that place-making and place attachment are formed. The feeling of community is often based on the relationships between people who live or are from the same location or place and kindle a sense of shared identity (Hummon 1992). Communities are often socially constructed symbols of place and consequently individuals are able to use the symbols that community is founded on to articulate themselves in social interaction (Wilkinson 1986). Places are filled with shared symbolic meaning that distinguish communities form other groups of people (Dominy 2001; Sampson and Goodrich 2009; Wilkinson 1986).

Places can be narrated in discourse and they can also be constructed in shared practice. Lived experiences that are shared by a community within a location infuse the physical environment with shared and individual meanings. This is similar to Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1990). Several studies have been conducted showing the connection between daily life routines and the making of place. Marshall and Foster (Marshall and Foster 2002) write about a small community's dependence on fishing for economic and social sustenance on Grand Manan Island, Canada. This dependence gave residents a seasonal rhythm of daily life involving the various tasks involved with the fisheries which governed their social life, behavior, and ultimately their identity.

Dominy (2001) gives an ethnographic description of how the shared experience of farming and raising sheep in the high-country of New Zealand is a resource for filling the landscape with meaning through narratives of belonging which creates a sense of identity and belonging with the physical environment.

Quin and Halfacre (2014) show how farmers often develop a deep attachment to their land through the activities they perform such as taking care of the animals and cultivating the land. "Through receiving, giving, and seeking security farmers act as both a caregiver to their land and one who receives care" (p. 127).

Gray (2003) shows that as shepherds in the Scottish border region live out their daily routines of walking and shepherding their sheep through the hillside they participate in the construction of local identity. Grubb (2005) shows how marginalized men construct and claim a sense of belonging to a place by participating in the collection of jade in rural Northern West Coast of the South Island of New Zealand. "Identity and belonging can thus be created, constructed, shaped, and maintained through engaging in practices and behaviors that connect individuals to particular landscapes" (Sampson and Goodrich 2009: 904). In discourse, individuals draw on the physical landscape to symbolically construct community.

In return, the constructed community is the mechanism whereby people develop a sense of belonging and identity (Idib).

Basso's (1996) study of place and place-making in Cibecue found that the Apache constructed place drawing on stories and images of tribal history. What was remembered and talked about a place didn't merely give place it's meaning but reached deeper into cultural spheres and place became a symbol of tribal and cultural values of wisdom, morality and politeness. Through the naming of places and remembering and telling stories about things that happened there, the Apache connected the past with present Apache identity.

Although there are many factors contributing to the semiotic process of place-making and identity, Hoffman found that "dislocation may be integral to the cultural process of rendering locations and identities meaningful" (2002: 930). Hoffman's research among the Tashalhit speakers living in the southwest plains and mountains of Morocco revealed that *tamazirt* 'homeland' was more than just their ancestral land of residence. It had become a symbol for their identity that was needed to preserve and spread the Tashelhit language "as an index of ethnic identity" (Hoffman 2002: 928). While the men migrated to the cities for work only returning a few times a year for holidays, *tamazirt* become an ideology of identity. The women who were left in the mountains bore the responsibility of maintaining place, identity and language.

Drawing on the above concepts related to place-making, this thesis explores how the residents of Harūb construct place as way of constructing belonging (chapter 6). The disruption of modernization has threatened the identity of those living in Harūb as their traditional subsistence farming and shepherding lifestyle is disappearing. In response, values connected to this way of life such as self-sufficiency and freedom are drawn on to imbue the mountains with these values. In turn, place becomes a symbol as well as a resource for defining *Badu* identity.

2.5 Chronotopes

The concept of chronotope was first used by Bakhtin (1981) to describe how time and place are referred to in literary narratives. The chronotope, or the time and place in which a story takes place, determines all the possible actions of the characters. For example, a novel set in the American west during the 1800s will have a different range of characters and possibilities for action compared to a novel set in ancient Greece. Recently, chronotope has been applied to the field of linguistic anthropology and Agha (2007) develops the concept showing that certain constellations of time and space are linked to personhood. Agha views chronotopes from a participation framework which allows people to resist or accept the the construct of place and time as "an official picture of the world (linked to canonical texts and institutions) ... or an object of derision (and sometimes rage)" (p. 321). In line with Agha's discussion, many studies have shown that chronotopes are often connected to ideology and stance (Britt 2018, Ennis 2019; Riskedahl 2007; Woolard 2013). Chronotopes are constructed as a way of making sense of changes that have happened over time (Sonnleitner 2018, Woolard 2013). Furthermore, counter-chronotopes can be constructed as ways of resisting ideology and presenting alternative time-space constructions (Britt 2018; Ennis 2019).

Woolard (2013) uses the concept of chronotope to analyze interviews of students from a previous study of hers in 1987. In her original study, she focused on Castilian speaking teenagers who were immigrants into Catalonia and were resistant to the Catalan language and identity. However, 20 years later she discovered that most of these students had developed positive attitudes to Catalan except for one who had developed more hostility towards it. She found chronotope was a useful concept in analyzing her informants accounts of their changed attitudes to Catalan. She identified three contrasting chronotopes in the interview data: *biographical*, *socio-historical* and *adventure time in everyday life*. Her analysis revealed that

chronotope did two things for her participants. First, it restrained their character development, and second, it framed their stance towards learning Catalan. Further, she found that "different ideologies of the authority of language accompany these different chronotopic frames and stances toward Catalan" (p. 222). The participants who developed positive attitude towards learning Catalan constructed chronotopes connected to ideology of personal growth while the participant who continued to have a negative attitude towards Catalan constructed a chronotope connected to a politicized language and an ideology of authenticity linked to origin.

Ennis (2019) also found ideology connected to chronotope and demonstrates how a radio program in lowland Quichua constructs a counter-chronotope of remembering to the chronotope of language endangerment. Standardized Quichua which is taught in schools is different than Quichua spoken in lowland Ecuador. Through interviews it was revealed that learning standard Quichua was another force causing Quichua language lose in the Napo Province. In a move to resist the ideology of language endangerment that is fueling language revitalization of a disappearing language, the ancestral *guayusa* drinking hours are reconstructed over the radio using sounds invoking the tradition which symbolizes remembering and learning from elders. In this way the focus is on cultural revival rather than language revitalization.

Britt (2018) found that residents of Flint constructed counter-chronotopes to resist externally produced negative discourses about Flint circulated through media. The negative discourses were chronotropic in that they portrayed a place, Flint, in a certain time period, post industrial, where certain kinds of people live, dangerous and impoverished. For individuals in Flint, these negative discourses delimited the types of identity they could undertake. She points out that through oral history interviews, residents of Flint constructed counter chronotopic representations of Flint portraying Flint positively. Through these

counter-chronotopic representations, "residents may gain agency through the ability to re-anchor their identities and possibly establish new subjectivities for themselves and their communities" (Britt 218: 253).

For Sonnleitner (2018) the concept of chronotope is useful for analyzing how individuals make sense of the past and views it "as a model of agency and as a participation framework" (p. 32). She uses chronotope to analyze interview data from "born frees", those born after the apartheid in South Africa, and found as a model of agency, the chronotope limited the possible actions of the characters and enabled particular types of personhood. As a participation framework, she found that "alignment with certain chronotopes is an act of positioning" (p. 34) and therefore a form of stancetaking.

The construction of a chronotope about the past can be used by political parties to gain power in the present (Agha 2007; Riskedahl 2007). In Riskedahl's (2007) analysis of Lebanese political discourse, she found that "flashpoints" were used in political and individual discourse to mobilize people into certain stances. These flashpoints were chronotopic in that they evoked the harshness and vividness of violence of the Lebanese civil war, a specific time and place. Since chronotopes are experienced in a participant framework (Agha 2007), individuals were able to choose how to respond to these flashpoints. Riskedahl found three main discursive stances in response to the flashpoints: rejection, resignation, and retaliation. Rejection was the response of those who did not accept and align with the chronotope of the political party. They believed the past is not the present. The resignation and retaliation responses were based on the acceptance that the past is the present but for the later this invoked a need to retaliate and for the former, it invoked a sense of hopelessness.

In sum, for the current study, chronotope is used to analyze accounts of the past and present told by two generations of women in Harūb (chapter 7). Since one way to control the present is to control the past (Agha 2007, Riskedahl 2007), the state has constructed a

chronotope for the purpose of nation building. The past is portrayed negatively as a time of ignorance and immorality in order to persuade people of their need for a new and better present. Chronotopes are experienced in a participant framework (Agha 2007) which means people can choose to accept a chronotopic representation or they can construct a counter-chronotope as a way of resisting the ideologies underpinning it. Consequently, in Harūb two responses are seen regarding the state's chronotope. One is the response of many from the younger generation of women who accept the state's chronotopic representation of the past and continue to recirculate it. Second is the response of many from the older generation of women who construct a counter-chronotope of the past. Each chronotope that is told is connected with ideology and stance and are constructed to frame the actions of those subject to the chronotope. In other words the chronotope is seen to restrain and make possible the actions of the subjects.

2.6 Stancetaking

Jaffe (2009) points out that stance is built into the communication act; therefore, every time someone speaks they are taking a stance. For Du Bois (2007) the significance of stance is that it is social action. He argues that "stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value (p. 139). However, stance is complex and different scholars have focused on its different components and have categorized stance differently. Englebretson (2007) highlights three main notions that most conceptions of stance involve: subjectivity, evaluation, and interaction. Subjectivity can be defined as "self-expression in the use of language (Lyon 1994: 13). Evaluation can be thought of as "subjectivity with a focus" (Englebretson 2007).

Although scholars have categorized stance differently, most agree and define stance to include a combination of the following types: evaluation, affective and epistemic (Englebretson 2007). Jaffe (2009) makes a distinction between evaluation and affective stances but combines epistemic stance with affective stance. Kiesling (2011) divides stance into epistemic stance and affective stance. In his view evaluation falls under affective stance. However, instead of dividing stance into different categories, Du Bois (2007) talks about three stance functions: evaluation, positioning, and alignment.

Du Bois (2007) introduced the theoretical framework of the stance triangle as a way to evaluate the multifaceted dimensions of stancetaking. The stance triangle views stance as a single unified act with several components and processes. These processes include evaluation, positioning and alignment that take place in relations that are objective, subjective and intersubjective. For Du Bois, stancetaking happens at a number of levels. One level involves action which consists of three core acts that take place between two social actors: evaluation, positioning and alignment. Another level of analysis happens at the sociocognitive relational level. At this level through the phenomenon of alignment the stance triangle allows for an analysis for how people converge or diverge in relation to others.

Below is the diagram of the stance triangle. There are three nodes: 1) subject 1, 2) subject 2, and 3) the stance object. Each subject makes an evaluation of the stance object and in doing so positions themselves in relation to it. In that process they establish convergent or divergent alignment with each other.

Figure 1 Stance Triangle (Du Bois 2007)

An important aspect of the stance triangle that Du Bois points out is it's ability to capture how speaker's alignment is represented in the stance utterance. He argues there are two ways a person can show alignment in their utterance, or stance follow, which builds on the previous person's stance utterance. One is by the use of a word such as either, too, also. The other is by the use of the same structure which he calls resonance. In the following example alignment is seen in both the us of the word "too" and resonance, "I love" *stance object*.

(1)   Speaker 1: I love this song.

         Speaker 2: I love it too.

On the other hand speakers can also create a "stance differential". This happens when a person repeats the same word but with a different intonation or the commitment to the stance is downgraded by not using resonance in the stance follow as in the following example.

(2)   Speaker 1: I hate traveling.

         Speaker 2: I don't like it either.

Kiesling (2011) builds on Du Bois' stance triangle by adding another dimension, investment, which he defines as "epistemic modality – how strongly invested in the talk the

speaker is" (p. 5). He points out that evaluative utterances can be modified with different levels of investment for the purpose of alignment work.

(3)   Speaker 1: I love this song.

        Speaker 2: The song is ok.

Investment is lowered in the stance follow two ways in the above example. First, the evaluative word "ok" is weaker and indicates less investment or commitment to the stance than "love". Second, the structure of speaker 2's utterance distances the evaluative comment from the speaker by structuring it as an objective evaluation. In other words, using Goffman's participant framework (1981), the animator and principle are separated so that the speaker is no longer responsible for the evaluation.

The stance triangle can be combined with the theoretical concept of chronotope. Sonnleitner (2018) analyzed her interviewee's chronotopic accounts of the past from a participant framework (Agha 2007) and demonstrates how interlocutors have the ability to align with the chronotope and the range of action that the speaker creates or "they can distance themselves from these frames of action, contesting the chronotopic version of the past, the kind of agency it creates, and its underlying ideology" (p. 33).

Although Britt (2018) does not use the stance triangle in her analysis, she demonstrates that constructing a counter-chronotope is a way of taking an oppositional stance.

This study adopts the stance triangle because of it's ability to bring out the relational nature of stance. It is capable of revealing both convergent as well as divergent stance between people. Additionally, it can uncover subtle stancetaking that is not overtly stated which is important for the context in Harūb. It is necessary for the stance taken between the two generations of women in Harūb to be subtle because of the sensitive nature of the topic and the power dynamics involved.

By combining the stance triangle with the chronotope we can see a subtle but complex relationship between the older generation of women and the younger generation of women. As illustrated above in the previous section, chronotopes are connected to ideology and constructing a counter-chronotope is to take an opposing stance to ideology. As the older generation of women in Harūb construct a counter-chronotope to the nation state's depiction of the past, they are distancing themselves from the state's ideology. Telling a chronotope is a covert way of communicating opposition.

One question this study raises is does resonance or structural alignment always mean intersubjective convergence? My data shows an instance where a mother and daughter use structural alignment; however, from the context it is clear they are not in intersubjective alignment.

2.7 Summary

This study takes a range of approaches to analyze identity construction in Harūb, Saudi Arabia. In this chapter I contextualized the study in the relevant literature. It began by defining identity from a sociocultural perspective. Next the theoretical concepts of identity, enregisterment, place-making, chronotopes, and stancetaking were discussed. Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the methodology used in this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This thesis is a sociolinguistic investigation in Harūb, Saudi Arabia. This study takes an ethnographic approach to understand what the key sociolinguistic issues are in the community. It addresses the question of how people use language as a resource to make sense of the social world around them. This study also incorporates discourse analysis.

I began this study with a guided hypothesis that the people in Harūb have a distinct way of speaking from the rest of the country. At the beginning of my research, I had lived in Saudi Arabia for eleven years in the capital and one year in Harūb. Before moving to Harūb, I had visited Jazan a number of times for vacation and was familiar with the area. I had been told by people in Jazan that people living in the mountains had a different "language" or "dialect" that outsiders could not understand. When we moved to Jazan for my husband's job, I used it as an opportunity to do sociolinguistic research in an understudied area of the Arabian Peninsula.

3.1 Ethnography

Ethnography is a form of qualitative research and inquiry. It is distinct from other forms of qualitative research because of its dependence on the researcher's extended involvement in the research setting. This is gained through daily involvement in the research context. In ethnographic research, it is vital for the researcher to build trust and rapport with research participants in order to interpret and understand the complexity of the social world of the research context. I did this by moving to Harūb, integrating my life in the community and spending much time with neighbors and friends.

3.1.1 Ethnography as Practice

There is no standard definition of ethnography; therefore, it has been understood and defined in a number of different ways and used in a wide range of disciplines (Agar 2006; Blommaert 2018). For some, ethnography means comprehensive description (Malinowski 1922); for many, it refers to fieldwork and the process of gathering data (Duranti 1997; Emerson et al. 1995; Spradley 1979) and for others it involves telling and understanding stories from the perspective of the research participants (Fetterman 2010). Blommaert and Jie (2010) criticize the narrow view of ethnography which reduces it to simply a collection of tools for doing research or simply describing a context. Their view of ethnography is that it is "a 'full' intellectual program far richer than just a matter of description" (p. 5). Others have a similar view of ethnography and it has been described as a style of research (Brewer 2000), a way of seeing (Thissen 2018; Wolcott 1999), a kind of logic (Agar 2006) and a practice (O'Reilly 2012). This study views ethnography as a holistic approach to research with a number of methods researchers can choose from. It is especially helpful in conditions where little is known about a situation. Jazan, and particularly the mountain region, is an understudied area. Very little is written about this area and so ethnography was a crucial starting point to get an overall understanding of the social and linguistic situation. In linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics, ethnography sheds light on topics like domains of language use, salient linguistic features, language ideologies, language attitudes, marginalization, and power dynamics.

O'Reilly (2012) argues that ethnography is best understood as a practice which means there are theoretical assumptions that should shape how researchers go about conducting their research. After surveying a number of definitions of ethnography, she summarizes the following key theoretical standpoints that every ethnography should be based on.

"I propose that ethnography is best viewed using the concept of practice. By this I mean it should be informed by a theoretical perspective that:

• understands social life as the outcome of the interaction of structure and agency through the practice of everyday life;
• examines social life as it unfolds, including looking at how people feel, in the context of their communities, and with some analysis of wider structures, over time;
• examines, reflexively, one's own role in the construction of social life as ethnography unfolds;
• determines the methods on which to draw and how to apply them as part of the ongoing, reflexive practice of ethnography".

(O'Reilly 2012: 6)

The first assumption that O'Reilly argues should be a basis in the practice of ethnography is the understanding that everyday social life is the product of agency lived out in the context of social structures. This assumption draws on Giddens' idea that "structures are constituted through action and … action is constituted structurally" (Giddens 1976: 161). It also draws on Bourdieu's (1990) concept of *habitus* which is roughly defined as the socially engrained ways of doing things, ways of thinking, and ways of viewing the word that are acquired through socialization. From this perspective, there are two important components to consider when analyzing social life. There are the thoughts, feelings and rationale of agents on the one hand and "the context of constraints and opportunities of which people may not be conscious" (O'Reilly 2012:10).

This theoretical assumption pushed me to look past the surface of what people in Harūb said and did and to look not only at their thoughts, feelings and opinions, but to see what kind of structural restraints were imposed on them. This examination exposed particular power dynamics of discrimination and marginalization. However, within that constraint I found that individuals had agency to resist, comment on, and negotiate their position. This assumption became the basis for three of the articles in this thesis (see chapters 5, 6 and 7). These articles look at the action of agents and the wider structures that constrain them.

In chapter 5, titled "The Story of the *Badawi* Dialect in Jazan, Saudi Arabia," I look at the enregisterment of linguistic features of the dialect called *Badawi.* Enregisterment (Agha 2003; Johnstone 2017) is a semiotic process where indexical relationships are established

between linguistic features and social meaning. This paper traces the enregisterment of *Badawi* and identifies the social and political forces of isolation, modernization and marginalization as wider structures constraining the community. Agency is seen as people form language ideologies to make sense of these power dynamics resulting in the naturalization of linguistic features with *Badu* identity. Language ideologies are constructed, circulated, and reinforced in the everyday speech of people in Harūb.

In chapter 6, titled "A Place to Belong: The Social Construction of *Badu* Identity in Jazan, Saudi Arabia," I look at how place (Basso 1996; Hoffman 2008) is constructed by residents in Harūb. This analysis shows how the disruption of modernization as well as marginalization has increased the importance of place and place-identity in Harūb. As the traditional lifestyle of subsistence farming and animal herding is disappearing, residents of Harūb draw on cultural values from this way of life and connect these values to the landscape through the process of place-making. In turn, they draw on place to define and construct *Badu* identity.

In chapter 7, titled "Chronotopes of *Zamān* 'the Past' and *Alḥīn* 'Now' in Harūb, Saudi Arabia," I use the concept of chronotope (Agha 2007; Bakhtin 1981) to analyze accounts of the past and present told by two generations of women. This analysis demonstrates how the change in power structure in the community changed discourse about the past. The role of women in Harūb was drastically changed when new power structures were instituted. Before this change in power, women were equally a part of the public sphere of society with men, but now they are limited to private places. I demonstrate the agency of these two generations of women in Harūb in how they construct two different chronotopes to make sense of the drastically different role of women in the past and present. They both use subtle discourse strategies to engage in stancetaking, positioning themselves against each other and the ideologies they have accepted.

The second important theoretical component in the above definition is the need for the researcher to examine social life as it unfolds over time. Basso (1996) writes about the importance of time spent at the field site by the ethnographer to write an account which sufficiently expresses their understanding of another's worldview. He explains how ethnography involves a progression from "moments of anxious puzzlement ('What the devil is going on here?') to subsequent ones of cautious insight ('I think perhaps I see') ... it is a discomforting business in which loose ends abound and little is ever certain" (Basso 1996: 110). Time is needed to go beyond mere description of what is being observed in order to do what Agar (2006) points out as a critical step in ethnographic analysis which is to "shift from the organization of daily routine to the repeated themes that signal core concerns of an institution" (p. 28). This can only be done by observing social life over a period of time and not just taking a "snapshot" (Giddens 1976).

This aspect of ethnography was crucial in my research for seeing patterns and making sense of them. For example, the first time someone in Harūb told me they spoke *Badawi* it struck me as a strange way to describe their mountain dialect. *Badu* is typically associated with desert nomads, and the residents in Harūb in no way resemble that image. Harūb is a mountainous area where people have clearly been settled for hundreds of years evidenced by the sophisticated terraces that have been built on the steep mountain slopes and the rock houses that are reported to have been there for hundreds of years. Also their traditional dress was not something I had ever seen before. *Badu*, as referred to in most parts of the Arab world render images of men wearing a white *ṯōb* 'long white tunic'.and *šamāġ* 'headscarf'. However, here in the mountains of Jazan the traditional clothing for men is a colorful *wizira* 'cloth wrapped around the waist', a button down long sleeved shirt, an *ʾiṣāba* 'head band' made of flowers, and a *janbiyya* 'dagger' worn on the waist. The culture and lifestyle of the people in Harūb did not match my previous understanding of *Badu*, so I dismissed it as an

insignificant statement. However, over time, after about two years, I began to see the pattern of how the term *Badu* was used in a number of situations to describe places, people and things and I began to realize the significance of this term in the community.

This was also true with the significance of raising animals, particularly goats and sheep, and the way that older women talked about the past versus how the younger generation of women did. The first time I heard people talk and refer to these concepts, I didn't understand the significance of what they represented. Time is needed to see behaviors in context. It took time to learn what was significant in the community and to see how those topics related to larger contexts. Once I saw patterns, I was able to focus on analyzing them to find their significance.

The third theoretical assumption in the above definition is reflexivity. Reflexivity is the process where the researcher examines their own role, personality, and preferences in the research process. Ultimately it means reflecting on how the presence of the researcher affects their research. It is the understanding that the researcher is part of the research process. I had to ask myself, whose story is being told and whose voice is being heard? Mine or those I am researching? Being reflexive through the research process caused me to be aware of and transparent in my bias and attempt to minimize the effects of this bias on the research results. As I reflected on my personal interests, I realized I was interested in the past, traditions, and the local dialect more than most people in the community were. I found myself naturally asking questions about how things have changed and what the past was like. Personally, I felt sad that people were losing their traditions. Being aware and reflecting on my bias towards the past helped me be intentional about looking at all aspects of society and looking closely at what people were telling me and not just hearing what was interesting to me. Since the researcher is part of creating the research story, my interest in the past is what drew me to the topics I chose to write about.

The fourth theoretical assumption that O'Reilly says should inform the practice of ethnography emphasizes the need for flexibility and fluidity in choosing which methods to use in the research process. In the introduction chapter to their beginner's guide to ethnographic fieldwork, Blommaert and Jei (2010) caution that during fieldwork "everyday life will never adjust to your research plan; the only way forward is to adapt your plan and ways of going about things to the rules of everyday reality." This has implications for how research unfolds. Decisions about which methods to use can only be made after reflecting on the ongoing data collection. This aspect of ethnography was important in my research because there was little written about Harūb and Jazan. At the beginning of my research it was not clear where I needed to start. I experimented with a number of hypotheses about the linguistic issues in the community. It wasn't until the end of my research, after analyzing my compilation of recordings and filed notes, that the sociolinguistic issues became apparent. As I analyzed data, coded my data for themes (usually on my trips back to the university), I re-evaluated my research techniques and findings and made new plans. I will go into more detail about this later in this chapter.

3.1.2 Advantages of Ethnography

Ethnography helps identify and uncover unexpected issues which other methods would easily overlook because the right questions aren't asked or participants neglect to answer the questions fully. It is also good for understanding complex social phenomena and gaining insight into human behavior. Its goal is to understand cultural practices, human beliefs and behaviors, and social changes over time. It is useful to explore phenomena in depth. Ethnography is particularly useful for understanding the sociolinguistic situation of a community as it not only looks at what people say they do but what they actually do.

Hymes argues for the necessity of observation over simply asking questions when he warns us of

> "...the small portion of cultural behavior that people can be expected to report or describe, when asked, and the much smaller portion that an average person can be expected to manifest by doing on demand. (Some social research seems incredibly to assume that what there is to find out can be found out by asking)".
>
> (Hymes 1981: 84)

I found Hymes' statement accurate in my fieldwork experience. For example, after watching language use in homes versus formal institutions, I learned that conducting my interviews in formal settings would give me different data than in informal settings like homes or parks. Also, anyone who is not from Harūb is considered an outsider and the way people in Harūb speak to outsiders is different from how they speak to insiders. In addition, as I got familiar with the language variety *Badawi,* I knew whether or not someone was speaking it regardless of what they told me. Reported use of *Badawi* and actual use often differed. One particular example of this was with a lady named Washeila[1]. In an interview she told me that she didn't speak *Badawi* and subsequently she didn't use *Badawi* throughout my interview with her. However, when I visited her at her house and went to a wedding with her, I noticed she spoke *Badawi* the whole time. This contradiction between her reported behavior and her actual behavior caused me to look deeper into the meaning of *Badawi* and question why someone would speak *Badawi* but not want to admit to speaking it. If I had only interviewed her, I would not have seen this contradiction.

3.1.3 Disadvantages of Ethnography

Disadvantages of doing ethnographic research are that it consumes much time and energy. It is not always practical because of limitations on time and money. I was fortunate that in my

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[1] The real names of participants have been changed to protect anonymity.

situation, because this was our place of residence and my husband was working at a technical college close by, I had the time to invest in this ethnographic study.

3.2 Research Design

> "Ethnographic projects do not emerge in the form of pristine hypotheses to be tested later 'in the field' but require a fusion of knowing what is interesting, relevant and doable. Detailed research projects will eventually come together this way, but not without time, effort, imagination and, to mix metaphors, a willingness to see things – at least at the start – in a relatively soft focus.".
>
> (Crang and Cook 2007)

Ethnographic research is what O'Reilly calls iterative-inductive. This means it proceeds like a spiral and the research moves in between possible problems and theory that is grounded in data (Berg 2004; Blommaert and Jie 2010; Gobo 2008; Rubin and Rubin 1995). Researchers often begin in one place and end in another. The nature of ethnographic research is such that "it is not possible to predetermine what should be done and how in a given set of circumstances" (O'Reilly 2012: 11). Ethnographic research doesn't start with a clear hypothesis that the research tests. Instead it begins with a guided hypothesis that leads the direction of the research process and stays flexible and open. Because of this process of testing and retesting hypotheses as data is collected and analyzed, it is not until the end of the research that the researcher decides exactly what the focus will be. This means the research design evolves as the study progresses.

Ethnographic research design was ideal for the context of my research in Harūb as it was hard in the beginning to know exactly what questions to ask about the linguistic situation of the community since little was written in the literature. My original aim when I set out to do my PhD research was to do a sociolinguistic investigation of the way people spoke in Harūb with an emphasis on documenting the unique linguistic features of the community and comparing it to surrounding areas in Jazan. However, due to the conservative nature of the

community, I found that even though people were friendly, hospitable and wanted to help me in my data collection, people were not comfortable being recorded.

After one year of data collection, three families agreed to let me record interviews and conversations and I had about twenty-two hours of recordings. However, very little of it was of the variety spoken in Harūb. In almost all the recordings people had accommodated their speech. At this point I realized that it was not possible for me to do an in-depth study of the linguistic features used in Harūb.

Additionally, I found that interviews were awkward and uncomfortable experiences for my informants (which I will describe in more detail below), and I found some of the data I collected to be unnatural. For example, it was a common occurrence that once I turned on the recorder people's demeanor and voice changed. They were more serious, spoke with less emotion, and answered my questions with as few words as possible. I found when I was eliciting wordlists often people gave me the more popular Arabic word rather than the local word. They often answered my questions quickly, declared the interview was over and asked me to turn off the recorder.

One advantage of doing ethnographic research that proved useful in my situation is that ethnographic research design is flexible and open. It can be tailored to the needs of the community and researcher. When I realized that interviewing for the purpose of getting naturally occurring speech did not work, I was able to turn the focus of my research to other areas. This reminded me of what other linguistic anthropologists encountered. For example Ochs reports on her experience in the following excerpt.

> "When I first began recording Samoan children and their caregivers in the summer of 1978, I encountered a serious methodological problem. Instead of engaging in the usual range of everyday household activities and interactions, the children would sit very properly on mats near my own mat and either wait for me to tell them what to do or perform at the command of an older sibling, parent, or other relative. Worse for the poor researcher, instead of conversing in the register typical of most social interactions in the village (the register Samoans call "bad speech"), caregivers and children appeared to use only the register Samoans call "good speech," characteristic

of written Samoan and of Samoan spoken in school, church, and certain business settings and to foreigners who know Samoan. "Please," I would say over and over to members of the household, "just go on doing what you usually do and do not pay attention to me." I hoped somehow that this formula would magically create the context for the "spontaneous" talk of children and caregivers that is characteristic of longitudinal studies of child language in other societies. How else would I be able to bring back "comparable" data? The failure of my magic and the prospect of loss of face in the world of developmental research led me to a full scale analysis of the basis of this problem".

(Ochs 1988: 1)

Because of her difficulty in gathering the data she originally needed for her study, Ochs had to reevaluate her research interest and take into account how her presence affected the research process. She ended up expanding her research focus to include the social organization of space in the Samoan household.

Through getting to know the community, hearing life stories, listening to people talk about the past and present and their thoughts about their way of speaking, I found prominent themes related to language, identity and belonging. At this point I turned my research focus from a dialect description to one that explored concepts and themes found in my notes. These were the things that the people I spoke to in Harūb naturally talked about. It was what was important to them. They were not interested in having me write a description of the way they spoke. I spent the summer of 2016 analyzing my data for themes so when I returned to the community in August 2016 I was able to test the hypotheses I formulated in my analysis.

Another strength of ethnographic research that proved valuable in my situation is that it is not necessary to gather all the data at one time. It can be collected gradually, which meant I could go back to people I had already interviewed and ask more questions for clarification (Spradley 1979).

My research evolved over the three years I lived in Harūb and did not really take its final form until the last few months I was in the community. Once I had theorized a few hypotheses, I was able to explore them more during my last months and also on a return visit

in 2018. Ultimately, it was the accumulation of data that gave me the ability to see the patterns in my data.

3.3 Sampling

Sampling is a term that stems from quantitative research where it is important for research samples to be representative of the whole so that results can be generalized to the whole. Because qualitative research asks different questions and looks at different phenomena than quantitative studies, sampling is not viewed in the same way. Small (2009) warns qualitative researchers to not try and emulate approaches used by quantitative researchers in order to satisfy the demands of reviewers because this will lead to poor and non-representative results.

Despite the fact that ethnographic researchers understand sampling differently than quantitative researchers, it is still important to consider and make theoretically informed decisions about participants. Due to the nature of ethnographic research where the direction and details of research is not clear in the beginning, it is important to talk with a large number of people. At this beginning stage the focus is on gathering general information and building a varied network of potential contacts.

As the nature of ethnography is that it starts wide and narrows in as information is gathered and the researcher becomes more familiar with the locality being studied, decisions about who to spend time with become more focused towards the end of the research. I used three main sampling techniques over the course of my research: purposive, theoretical, and snowball.

In purposive sampling (Ritchie et al. 2013), sometimes referred to as judgmental sampling, the researcher selects participants based on their characteristics and ability to elucidate on a theme. In the beginning of my research I chose participants who lived and grew up in Harūb because I expected they would speak the mountain variety since Harūb was

located in the mountains where it was reported to be spoken. My assumption was confirmed when I started meeting my neighbors and asking them about their language. Everyone told me they spoke *Badawi*, which was the first time I had heard the name people used for it.

In theoretical sampling (Charmaz 2006) the sample is chosen for the purpose of generating and refining theory. It usually occurs as data collection progresses and specific characteristics are defined in the sample in order to develop theoretical explanations or check for contradictory cases. Relevant characteristics can be anything from people to settings to times or situations.

Towards the end of my research I used theoretical sampling as I saw patterns emerge in my data and I wanted to confirm that they were consistent. When I saw the significance of the social categories *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar*, I had my husband interview some of his male friends to talk about these categories to see if they were also significant among the men. Theoretical sampling was specifically helpful for my paper in chapter 7. Once I realized older and younger women were talking differently about the past, I looked for more women to interview about their life histories to see if the same patterns were in their accounts too.

In snowball sampling, the researcher asks participants to nominate further participants that they know, such as friends or relatives who would be willing to participate in the project. As the research progresses the sample gets bigger, like a snowball. The snowball technique is useful in situations where it is difficult to find research participants. Milroy and Gordon (2003:32) state, "The technique serves to reduce the rate at which potential subjects decline to participate. In this way, the investigator approaches a new subject not as a complete outsider but more in the role of a 'friend of a friend'". Although this techniques has proven to be a useful in many sociolinguistic studies, the usefulness of it in my study was limited. As I will discuss in more detail below, most of my participants did not want others to know they were being recorded for my research. Consequently, when I asked if they would recommend

someone I could interview, most would not. However, on occasion it did work within families. In some instances, when I was visiting with one of my participants and a close relative visited, my participant was comfortable asking them to participate.

3.4 Validity and Reliability

Validity in research is about making sure the findings truly measure what they claim to measure. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative and ethnographic research is not as straightforward in how validity is measured. Hammersley (1998) believes the validity of ethnographic research depends on whether the argument claimed has enough evidence and support. O'Reilly (2012) argues that because ethnographic research concentrates on the emic view, or view of research participants, it is especially capable of overcoming problems of validity. She goes on to say:

> "High-quality ethnography involves direct and sustained contact with human agents in the collaborative co-construction of an account; it is the result of a combination of rigorously applied scientific principles and artistic prose (Madden 2010). In this sense, our participants can tell us when we are misunderstanding a situation, are in danger of misrepresenting them, or when we are simply 'barking up the wrong tree'. Ethnographic research is iterative-inductive: it involves constantly moving forwards and backwards from our research questions to the data, and back to refine our questions or line of inquiry in light of what our participants share with us."
>
> (O'Reilly 2012: 226)

Throughout the research process I returned back to my participants to verify whether what I understood was accurate. I reviewed my recordings with participants to make sure I understood them correctly. I often received deeper insight and more detailed explanations after going over recordings with them.

Reliability in qualitative research is also accomplished differently than in quantitative research. In quantitative research reliability is dependent on whether the same test done over and over will have the same results. It is grounded in positivism with the assumption that there is a reality that can be discovered regardless of the method of inquiry. Because

qualitative and ethnographic research acknowledges the subjectivity of research and the effect the researcher has on the research results, part of reliability is being transparent about how the researcher impacted the research process. Another measure of reliability in qualitative research is seen in the consistency of its results. As researchers look for and find patterns of behavior and thought, these results can produce a reliable theoretical explanation (O'Reilly 2012: 228). Reliability in this thesis was attained by finding patterns in ways of thinking as expressed in the everyday speech of my research participants. These patterns in thinking and in ways of enacting identity were the basis of my analysis in chapters 5, 6 and 7. analysis.

3.5 Location choice

We moved to Harūb for my husband's job in Jazan in 2013. Although we could have chosen to live in one of the main cities of Jazan, we chose to live in Harūb so that I could do research there. We chose Harūb because of its easy access to my husband's job in the city of Baish and its location in the mountainous region of Jazan. The people in this area were known for their distinct way of speaking which I had been told about on my previous trips to Jazan.

3.6 Data Collection

Data for this study was collected between 2015 – 2018. I lived in Harūb from 2013 – 2017 with my family, and ethnographic data was collected over the last nineteen months while living there and on a return trip in January 2018. Data was collected in the form of fieldnotes, participant observation, and recordings of interviews and casual conversations. Although many people were welcoming and wanted to help me with my research, due to the conservativeness of the community, it was difficult to record interviews and conversations. Over the course of time three families consented to having our conversations and interviews

recorded. I spent most of my time between six families. Interviews and conversations were in Arabic and I reviewed recordings with local speakers to check for meaning of content. Sometimes I checked with the speaker herself or with someone in her family.

3.6.1 Ethnographic Techniques

The ethnographic techniques I used were participant observation, formal and informal conversations, and semi-structured and structured interviews. I used an audio recorder to record conversations and interviews. I took fieldnotes to record my observations of situations, settings, activities, interactions, language practices, conversations and my own self-reflections.

3.6.1.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation is the most common data collection tool in ethnography. With this technique the researcher shares in the activities of their research participants to help learn about various aspects of the people's lives from the people's own perspectives. I integrated my life with the community and spent much of my time in homes, at a local school with my children, at social events such as weekly gatherings and weddings, at parks, and at local festivals. It gave me time to build trust with people, to get a feel for daily rhythms of life, and to become familiar with salient features in the language. As I participated in daily life in Harūb, I became familiar with issues important to the community and was able to start asking questions related to their daily life experiences as I observed what was going on. Over the years, people got used to my presence and started acting naturally around me and I also began to empathize with the people around me.

3.6.1.2 Accessing the community

In order to do participant observation, it is necessary to gain access to the community. Ethnographers gain access to communities they are researching in a number of ways. Some gain access to communities because they are already members of that community, and at the other extreme others gain access to communities by traveling across the world to do research among people who are completely unknown. I gained access somewhere in between these two extremes. I was in a new community, as a foreigner, but I was not new to the country. I had lived in Saudi Arabia for twelve years before I started conducting research. My husband's job brought us to Jazan and so we lived in the community where his employment was. This gave me physical access to the community. However, although physical presence is necessary for accessing a community to do ethnographic fieldwork, there are other important aspects such as acceptance from the community and consent from participants.

I faced some common obstacles in gaining access to the community. One common obstacle researchers face falls under the category of personal attributes. For me this was my appearance. I am clearly not from Harūb in my appearance, way of talking and mannerisms. I was seen as an outsider and it was hard for people to talk to me in their dialect; they couldn't help but accommodate their speech for me. Another personal attribute that restricted my access was my gender as a woman. Because of the social segregation of men and women, I was not able to gain access to male gatherings and places. I was restricted to women's places, which were usually private places. My husband helped me get a male perspective by interviewing and asking his friends about topics for my research.

3.6.1.3 Recordings of Interviews, Formal and Informal Conversations

In my field research I made the mistake of trying to conduct formal interviews too soon. Ethnographers suggest it is best to try and take a "passive approach" (O'Reilly 2012: 116) so

that interviewing feels like a "series of friendly conversations" (Spradley 1979: 58). I faced a typical problem among ethnographers when asking questions and interviewing. "For some groups, an attempt at direct questioning might be completely futile. You may have to glean information in various ways" (O'Reilly 2012:116-117). I tried a number of techniques to get people to talk and relax. I tried asking questions that would cause participants to become emotionally involved in what they were talking about. I asked about memorable stories, personal experiences, childhood games and traditions. I asked one family to take the recorder to their house and turn it on while they sat together and talked. However, when they brought the recorder back to me, they said it was too awkward to have the recorder on while they were talking. When I played back the two minutes they had recorded, there were sounds of giggling and whispering. Most of the recommendations (Meyerhoff et al. 2015:47-49) for conducting sociolinguistic interviews weren't useful in this community.

What I found worked best was for people to tell me their life story. But even then, when my husband interviewed one young man, he started to tell his story but felt he wasn't saying it correctly so asked my husband to turn off the recorder so he could start again after he had time to organize his thoughts. Another topic people enjoyed talking about was the difference between the past and the present. In two of the families where I spent most of my time, sleeping over at their house on occasion, I was able to turn on the recorder with their permission to record naturally-occurring conversations between us for hours at a time.

After trial and error, I realized that the best way to learn about this community was to just spend time with people, which I did a lot. For example, many times I had asked if everyone in Harūb spoke the Harūb dialect or *Badawi*. I was always told yes. However, one day as we were talking about learning English versus learning Arabic we ended up talking about whether kids speak like their mothers or not. Somehow from this angle my research participants recalled a friend of theirs who does not speak *Badawi*. They gave me an

insightful explanation of this that I was able to record. This is an example of how just

hanging out with people gave me more insight than asking specific questions.

Over time I learned how to ask questions that complemented participant observation.
It required a lot of sitting around, listening and gently guiding the conversation in directions I
wanted to learn more about. One particular time that this worked well was when I was
visiting a family and they began watching a video of a group of men from their tribe
performing poetry. As I watched I noticed that there were no women. However, the mother in
this house loved poetry and often sang poetic songs for me because she knew I was interested
in learning about their traditions and culture. I was able to use this as an opportunity to ask
questions about what we were watching. From this I received one of my most insightful
recordings about the change in women's role in society. It was from this point on that I
started to notice the difference in the way the younger and older women talked about the past.

3.6.1.4 Fieldnotes

In the beginning I took fieldnotes by writing in a small notebook and my notes mainly

contained short notes about language. It was natural to ask about language and people were

happy to answer my questions and even help me write the notes. However, as I began to take

notes about the situations, language practices, settings, activities and interactions, I wanted to

be more discreet and not be constantly reminding people that I was doing research. Using my

phone to take notes was natural as everyone seemed to have a phone they were looking at. As

I took notes, it looked as though I was texting. I wrote my notes in a program called Evernote

which was easy to download to my computer and import into the qualitative data analysis

computer software program NVivo where I was able to code my fieldnotes for themes.

My fieldnotes were valuable as some people were not comfortable being recorded but they took me around and showed me things. At times, I felt this was more informative than just an interview and taking fieldnotes in these situations was imperative.

3.7 The Researcher / Reflexivity

In the 1980s ethnographies and the way they were written came under scrutiny in what is sometimes referred to as the discursive turn in the social sciences. Circumstances where there was an unequal power relation between the researcher and those being researched were particularly scrutinized and questioned during this time (Asad 1973; Clifford and Marcus 1986).

In response to these critiques, researchers began to engage in the process of reflexivity; researchers began to reflect upon their impact and role in the research process. Before these critiques, ethnographers used a number of techniques in their writing to validate their research (Clifford and Marcus 1986), all of which put the researcher outside of the research context, not acknowledging the impact the researcher had on the findings. Techniques included verisimilitude, or the appearance of being true where the ethnographer's writing is presented as fact and not interpretation. Writing this way ignored the fact that there is "no view from nowhere" (Nagel 1989) and that the act of writing involves interpretation and choosing what to write and what to ignore.

Another technique ethnographers used is what O'Reilly calls "being there". This strategy shows through descriptive writing that the researcher was present at the research site. In this strategy "ethnographic writing often attempts to claim authority simply by demonstrating the fact of the author 'being there'" (p. 216). However, this strategy also ignores the effect of the researcher on the research context and does not acknowledge the researcher's part in constructing the research story.

Another common technique ethnographers used is called the ethnographic present where the community is portrayed as standing still through time. This strategy is accomplished through writing in the present tense. The problem with this technique is that history and social processes are ignored.

Post-modern ethnography is now characterized by reflexivity. The researcher is located honestly and openly in the study, and the personality and characteristics of the researcher are included in the write-up of research findings and results.

> "Social researchers are part of the world they study, not some sort of objective, detached research tool. Even your choice of topic is influenced by your own personal biography, by funding bodies (who are themselves influenced by internal and national politics), your academic institution, your academic and personal biography. Your age, gender, class, personality and nationality affect whom you gain access to and the type of access you gain. Your interpretations are affected by all of the above plus your foreshadowed problems, your theoretical orientation, your academic training. So you are not just experiencing and observing phenomena in their natural setting, you are interpreting, analysing, seeking, sorting, sifting, and even affecting outcomes by your own presence. Reflexivity means being aware of all these issues, but it does not mean abandoning your work because of them."
>
> (O'Reilly 2012:222)

In the next section I will discuss my roles and positioning as researcher and my impact on the research process.

3.7.1 Roles in Community

Neighbor, friend: My role in the community was first as a friend and neighbor. This was the key to gaining access to the community. I became a part of the community because I lived there and integrated my life into the community. Being a neighbor was an important relationship in the community. Neighbors were expected to look out for and visit each other regularly. I spent a lot of time with my neighbors and went to weddings, social gatherings and Eid visits. Through spending time with people and sharing my life with them, I gained the trust needed to record some of our conversations for my research. The disadvantages of being

a neighbor and friend was that sometimes it was awkward to switch into the role of researcher. I constantly felt a tension between spending time with people as a friend and neighbor and the pressure of collecting data. Often if I switched into researcher mode it changed the atmosphere in the room. I also struggled with feeling like I was using my friends to get data. To counter this, I would offer to help with college homework, teach English, or help a younger brother or sister with their homework.

Researcher: My second role was as a researcher. The researcher role gave me the ability to do research. Without having this role, I would not have been able to ask questions or get recordings. As a researcher I was able to collect data in a way that a friend or neighbor could not. However, this was one of the hardest roles for me because in this community research was a foreign concept to most people. Many could not understand the benefit of recording them talking or learning about their way of life, especially because higher education and research was a new concept for most of them.

As a researcher I was also in a privileged position. I had more education than most of my participants. Some of my participants had never gone to school, some had only finished middle school, some had finished high school and very few of them were in college. This put a barrier between me and my participants, especially when I would travel to the UK to study at the university. These were foreign experiences that they could not relate to.

3.7.2 Positioned as Outsider

Foreigner: As a foreigner I was an outsider. I am not Arab, nor Saudi, nor Harūbi. I was an American woman who was living in Harūb because her husband had a job at a technical college in the area. At times, this was a barrier to my research as I did not understand the local dialect and many local traditions and practices. The community felt responsible to

extend hospitality to me and my family. During the first month we lived in Harūb, our

landlord hosted a welcome dinner outside of our house. They set up carpets and lights,

brought large plates of meat and rice for dinner, and men from the area came to meet my

husband and welcome him to Harūb.

Additionally, foreigners are considered weak and vulnerable in this community and

seen as needing protection. My family and I were looked after well. People often gave us

gifts. As a foreigner I was also in a privileged position because of my husband's job. On the

other hand, being a foreigner gave me reason to ask a lot of questions and people enjoyed

sharing and explaining their way of life with me. Positioning myself as an outsider and

researcher gave me the opportunity to ask questions.

Non-Muslim: Because religion has a big impact on the life of people in Harūb, being a non-

Muslim added to my foreignness. Although people accepted me and welcomed me as a non-

Muslim, it was not uncommon for people to ask me why I was not Muslim and why I did not

want to convert. When we first moved into the community and I visited people, most people

did not realize I was not a Muslim and so I was often reminded to pray at the set prayer times

and expected to join them in prayer. Because prayer is a normal practice for me I decided to

pray but explained beforehand that I prayed in a different manner. During the few minutes I

prayed, the children and women in the room would curiously watch me. This made me seem

even more of an outsider.

3.7.3 Positioned as Insider

Woman: Because of the segregation between men and women, my interaction with men was

limited to nonexistent. I had already grown accustomed to a society where men and women

lived separate lives because I had spent the previous eleven years living in Riyadh where I

taught English at a woman's university. I was used to having a social life among women that was completely separate from my husband's. However, the segregation between men and women in Harūb was at a new level. I never spoke to men in Harūb unless it was my Indian driver, the Bangladeshi man in the *bagāla* 'mini market' or the men from the Tihāmah selling their things at the weekly market. When I visited women in their homes, I was always in the women's section of the house. Even as I walked up to the house, if there were men around, they would quickly disappear so that I could walk 'comfortably' to the house. Interestingly, this segregation had a positive aspect much like Abu-Lughod describes in her ethnography about Bedouin women in Egypt.

> "As a woman I often found myself confronted with difficulties not faced by male researchers, but I also enjoyed advantages of access and unexpected pleasures of intimacy in the women's world".   (Abu-Lughod 1986: 16)

Being a woman in the community brought solidarity with other women. Because of the clear boundaries between genders, performing female gender gave me a strong sense of camaraderie with other women. As a woman I was restricted to women's places. I performed gender by not talking to men, staying in women's designated areas, wearing dresses, and wearing a face veil when out in public. I found this strangely comforting as it gave me a position in the community where I felt I belonged. As a foreigner I was an outsider, but as a woman I was an insider with other women.

Wife, Mother:

One important aspect of my identity in the community that I didn't recognize until later in my research was my status as a wife and mother. Abu-Lughod writes about the importance of these roles and how it put her in an awkward position because of her unmarried status.

> "Being unmarried not only cast me in the role of daughter, but since I was far older than the unmarried Bedouin girls, it also placed me in an ambiguous position. I

> wished to be part of the women's world, but I did not have one of the most important defining characteristics of women: children".
>
> (Abu-Lughod 1986: 16-17)

Being a wife and mother gave me an insider position with other wives and mothers and helped in building rapport. My twin boys, who were five years old when I moved to Harūb and nine years old when I left, accompanied me during most of my field research. Although it was clear that my research participants enjoyed having my children around, I didn't realize the significance of this aspect of my identity until the end of my research when my husband's job had ended. Because my husband was at home, I started leaving my children with him when I went to visit people to collect data or go over previous recordings. I thought this would help me and my research participants to "focus" better. However, the response from those I visited without my children surprised me. They were shocked and seemed disturbed that I would visit them without my sons. It made me realize the important role my children had had in creating a sense of common ground.

My experience was similar to what other mother researchers have found: "motherhood is a key marker of mutual identification between women researchers and participants" (Warren 2001 as cited in Brown and de Casanova 2009:43). Tamara Brown and Erynn de Casanova highlight that one dimension of motherhood that can be advantageous to researchers is in building rapport with research participants (2009:43). Reflecting back on my fieldwork experience I realize that my status as mother put me in a social category my research participants could understand and gave us a place of common ground. We connected on a human level as we talked about children's vaccinations, language learning needs, discipline, eating problems, and whether they liked to be with their mothers or their fathers more. Additionally, my children played with their children. It helped bridge the divide and made it easier for them to relate to me.

3.8 Problems Encountered

Blommaert & Jie (2010) point out that ethnographic fieldwork is messy and chaotic and my experience was just as they described. I faced a number of problems while collecting data. Below is a brief summary of some of these problems illustrated with excerpts from my fieldnotes.

- Sometimes people seemed afraid to give their opinion as if they didn't have anything valuable to say.

    When it seemed the most appropriate so that I wouldn't affect the mood too much, I asked if I could ask each of them a question for my studies. I told them I would like to hear from each of them three words that describe Harūb. Fatima got a nervous look on her face and said "I don't know any words. I don't know what to say".
    (Fieldnotes 16.11.22)

- Formal questions and interviews rarely worked. People became uncomfortable and changed their way of talking. It was hard to get natural data in a formal interview.

    I had Shoqa translate questions for me into the local dialect. She enjoyed it. While translating she said sometimes they use jeem 'j' and sometimes sheen 'š' in place of k[2]. She often stopped to think about which one to write. I asked if she could interview one of her brothers. She was hesitant. I thought she didn't understand me so I pushed and asked again. This time she got a sheepish look on her face and asked if it would be ok if she interviewed Nora instead because her brothers are shy.... She interviewed Nora but it was fast and stilted. Nora hardly talked and gave very short answers.
    (Fieldnotes 16.2.2)

    As Jamila talked about the ʿĪdābī book to me, she spoke more standard Arabic than Salha did. She used the more formal word 'tannūr' for the clay oven instead of the local word 'mīfā'.
    (Fieldnotes 15.11.20)

- When I went over recordings with participants, they often wanted to change and edit their recordings and transcripts.

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[2] These are the names of the Standard Arabic sounds, IPA [ʤ] and [ʃ].

- One issue I hadn't considered before starting my research was the risk involved for women being recorded. After seeing the reaction of a number of women when I asked if I could record our conversation, I began to understand that they could have their reputation ruined. Many felt it was *ḥarām*, 'religiously taboo,' for a women to have her voice recorded. Once I realized this, I stopped asking women if I could record them unless they had already told me they were ok with it.

> *Zaraa continued talking about all the things she used to do. She was happy to talk about it. I started feeling anxious that I wouldn't remember everything she was saying. So, I decided to take the risk of making the situation awkward by asking if I could record her for my research. I told her I wanted to remember what she was saying and to write it correctly. I told her no one would listen to it but me and if she wanted, I would erase the recording after I wrote it out. She had a proud smile on her face. I could tell she wanted to but was hesitant. She looked at her sister-in-law who said "ḥarām" (that is, religiously taboo) and shook her head. Yet Zaraa didn't seem convinced. I reassured her that no one would listen except me. Then her niece walked in the room and sat next to her. When she realized what we were talking about she reassured her Aunt "ʿādī māfī muškila" (It's normal. There is no problem). With that Zaraa said ok. I stood up to get closer to her and her niece motioned for me to sit in her chair next to Zaraa. I put my recorder out and asked some questions to try to get her to repeat what she had just said. However, the atmosphere was different now. Her sister-in-law subtly shook her head and made it known she disapproved and thought religious guidelines were being broken. Zaraa was more reserved now. She was a little tense and was giving shorter answers and was less animated. After five minutes she said she was done. She told me to turn off the recorder. As I was turning it off, as if to clear herself of doing something wrong she said "I did nothing wrong. I didn't say anything wrong". I turned off the recorder and as I was putting it away in my purse, she wanted to make sure I turned it off. "Yes," I assured her and thought to myself that I would not do that again. Although sometimes people let me record them without any issues, most people are uncomfortable. It is not worth the resulting tension.*
>
> (Fieldnotes 16.11.22)

> *When she started talking about the history of her tribe I asked if I could record her. She said ok, but then she spoke formally and really fast. She finished quickly (she was clearly uncomfortable) and then said, "that is all" and turned off the recorder. Later I asked if I could record her because she was saying interesting things but she said let me tell you first and then you can record me. I never got around to recording her.*
>
> (Fieldnotes 16.2.6)

3.9 Ethics

While conducting fieldwork, there were a number of ethical considerations and decisions I needed to make. In the present study I received ethical approval from the Department of Language and Linguistics at the University of Essex. I informed all my research participants that I was conducting research. Because it was hard to find people who were comfortable participating in recordings, I spent extra time reassuring those who did participate that at any time they could end the recording, they didn't need to answer any questions they didn't want to, and I would erase anything afterwards if they wanted me to. They signed a consent form that was translated into Arabic. All participants were given pseudonyms which are used in all excerpts in this thesis and fieldnotes. All of the recordings were saved on an external hard drive and my laptop and I assured them that all recordings would be kept confidential and used for academic purposes only.

However, I faced some unexpected ethical challenges while conducting research in this community. In the beginning of my research my plan was to gather a number of recordings in the local dialect. However, as it became clear that being recorded made people feel uncomfortable, I was challenged with the questions "How will this research benefit my participants? Is it just benefitting me? Do I care more about my research or about the people?" As Crang and Cook (2007) point out, it is important to be careful not to exploit people for our own ends. After reflecting on these questions, I decided to change my research focus. Furthermore, in order to not be the only one benefiting from my presence in the community, I wanted to give something to the community in return. I often helped students with their homework. A few times I started teaching English, but this often dwindled.

Another ethical dilemma I faced was whether I should even ask if I could record someone or when was the appropriate time to ask. O'Reilly (2012:70) says:

> "Overall, our first concern should be that what we do is justified, and should cause no harm. When the UK Economic and Social Research Council gives funds for a project,

they insist that the research not 'give rise to distress or annoyance to individuals', and asks researchers to ensure honesty, confidentiality, independence and impartiality" (www.esrc.ac.uk).

The above examples under the section "Problems Encountered" describe some of the situations where asking to record someone caused distress and anxiety. I also became concerned about whether asking someone to be recorded affected their dignity as it seemed that sometimes it was viewed as shameful to be recorded. Therefore I stopped asking people if I could record them and started to depend more on my fieldnotes.

3.10 Analysis

Once I changed the topic of my research from focusing on the linguistic features of the Harūb dialect to qualitative research, I began sorting and coding my data. I listened to my recordings and read through my notes coding each line with a general topic or theme that was being expressed by the research participant. I looked for repeated themes, inconsistencies and startling facts. As themes emerged, I followed up with my research participants, asking them for clarification. I also began to look for concepts and theories which could help make sense of what I saw in my data. As I considered different theories and concepts, I again went back to research participants to fill in any gaps in my data.

After each recording, I imported it into the qualitative software program NVivo and over the following days I listened to it and coded it for themes. NVivo was useful because it allowed me to code themes in the recordings without having to transcribe them since it was not practical to transcribe everything. When I did a search for a certain theme, it brought me to the recording so I could hear the excerpt in the context of the recording. I also made notes on sections where I needed more clarification. I transcribed the recordings that were related to the main concepts and themes that emerged. As I found new themes in the new recordings, I went back to previous recordings and coded them again. Listening and re-listening to my

recordings helped me to continually have a big picture of the things people were talking about.

Following the steps of discourse analysis by Holmes and Hazen (2013: 203), as themes emerged, I developed hypotheses and asked the question, "What is going on here?" I was able to test these hypotheses by going back to research participants and finding new participants to ask. I checked my interpretations by triangulation "using the research literature, using ethnographic notes, using participants' feedback, using other students as a discussion group" (Holmes and Hazen 2013: 177-178).

Once I determined the salient excerpts that supported my theories and concepts, I transcribed these using Arabic script. I was able to go over most of the Arabic transcriptions with my research participants. For the recordings that I transcribed after moving from Harūb, I had colleagues at the university who were native Arabic speakers help me. Once I had selected the transcriptions to use in my thesis, I transcribed them using the *Encyclopedia of Arabic and Language and Linguistics* or the appropriate transliteration system required for the journal article. I had all my transcriptions checked by native Arabic speakers who were familiar with transcription practices.

I chose to use discourse analysis to analyze my data. One main reason for doing this was to give a voice to my research participants (Moree 2018) by using their own words.

3.10.1 Transcription of Discourse

A transcript is not a neutral written representation of recorded speech. Transcribing an audio recording is a process of interpretation where the researcher must make a number of decisions regarding what to include and how to depict it. This always results in a partial representation of what was actually said (Bucholtz 2000; Duranti 1997; Ochs 1979). The researcher is faced with questions such as where should the transcription begin and end? Should intonation and

pauses be included? How should nonstandard variants be represented? Should overlapping speech be represented? Including every aspect of the recording in the transcript may be overwhelming and distract from the purpose of the transcription. Therefore, researchers must filter these decisions through the focus of their analyses.

I had two different purposes in my analyses of recorded speech. One was to point out unique linguistic features of the variety of Arabic spoken in Harūb. This type of transcription was used in chapter 4 and it required a transcription that highlighted the pronunciation of words. The second purpose of my analysis was concerned with broad content themes, in chapters 5-7; therefore, my transcription in these chapters needed only to be a broad representation of the audio recordings and I did not include detailed pronunciation of words.

3.11 Summary

In this chapter I described in detail the ethnographic approach I used in this study. I discussed the research design, site location, position of the researcher, problems encountered, ethics and data analysis. The next four chapters will present the data analysis in the form of four different journal articles.

Chapter 4: Some Notes on the Language and People of Harūb, Saudi Arabia

This chapter has been submitted to a journal and is under review. It has been formatted according to the journal's guidelines. It uses the transcription system below.

ZAL	IPA	Arabic Symbol	
ʾ	ʔ	أ	glottal stop **hamza**
b	b	ب	voiced bilabial stop **bāʾ**
t	t	ت	voiceless dento-alveolar stop **tāʾ**
ṯ	θ	ث	voiceless interdental fricative **ṯāʾ**
ǧ	dʒ	ج	voiced palato-alveolar affricate **jīm**
ḥ	ħ	ح	voiceless pharyngeal fricative **ḥāʾ**
x	x	خ	voiceless velar fricative **xāʾ**
d	d	د	voiced dento-alveolar stop **dāl**
ḏ	ð	ذ	voiced interdental fricative **ḏāl**
r	r	ر	voiced alveolar trill **rāʾ**
z	z	ز	voiced alveolar fricative **zāy**
s	s	س	voiceless alveolar fricative **sīn**
š	ʃ	ش	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative **šīn**
ṣ	sˤ	ص	voiceless velarized alveolar fricative **ṣād**
ḍ	dˤ	ض	voiced velarized dento-alveolar stop **ḍād**
ṭ	tˤ	ط	voiceless velarized dento-alveolar stop **ṭāʾ**
ḏ̣	ðˤ	ظ	voiced velarized interdental fricative **ḏ̣āʾ**
ʿ	ʕ	ع	voiced pharyngeal fricative **ʿayn**
ġ	ɣ	غ	voiced uvular fricative **ġayn**
f	f	ف	voiceless labio-dental fricative **fāʾ**
q	q	ق	voiceless uvular stop **qāf**
k	k	ك	voiceless velar stop **kāf**
l	l	ل	voiced dental lateral **lām**
m	m	م	voiced bilabial nasal **mīm**
n	n	ن	voiced alveolar nasal **nūn**
h	h	ه	voiceless glottal fricative **hāʾ**
w	w	و	voiced labiovelar glide **wāw**
y	j	ي	voiced palatal glide **yāʾ**
č	tʃ		voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
g	g		voiced velor stop
ṱ	θˤ		voiceless emphatic interdental fricative

Vowels

a	a	´
e	e	ˏ
i	i	ˎ
o	o	
u	u	ˏ

ā	a:
ē	e:
ī	i:
ō	o:
ū	u:

Some Notes on the Language and People of Harūb, Saudi Arabia

Abstract

The Arabic dialects in southwest Arabia exhibit rare features not found in other areas of the Arabic-speaking world. This paper will add to the growing body of literature documenting these features. Based on notes and recordings collected during ethnographic fieldwork in the mountain region of Jazan, this paper documents initial observations about the dialect and people in Harūb, Saudi Arabia. This paper compares some of the unique linguistic features found in Harūb with those in the surrounding area.

1 Introduction

This paper aims to describe some features of the dialect spoken in Harūb, an area about 110 km northeast of Jizan City, the capital of the Jazan province in Saudi Arabia. The dialects in southwest Arabia have shown interesting features not widely attested in other parts of the Arabic-speaking world and this paper will add to this growing body of knowledge about southwest Arabian Arabic. Additionally, this paper will present some social and historical aspects of the area that includes Harūb and Jazan. The people living in the mountains of Jazan where Harūb is located often refer to themselves as *bedu*[3] and call their way of speaking *lahğa bedu* '*bedu* dialect' or *beduwi*. However, their lifestyle does not reflect the traditionally held notion of "Bedouin." The traditional characterization of *bedu* is challenged by the way it is understood in Jazan and this paper will attempt to expand on the concept. Data for this study was collected for PhD research.

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[3] The words *bedu* and *beduwi* are italicized in this paper to emphasize that the meaning of these words are different from their traditional use which refers to nomadic desert-dwelling groups.

2 Research Location

2.1 Jazan

Jazan is one of thirteen provinces in Saudi Arabia and is located on the southwestern tip of the country. It has a population of 1,365,110 (GENERAL AUTHORITY FOR STATISTICS 2017). It borders Yemen in the south, the Red Sea on the west, and the ʿAsīr region in the north and east. Jazan can be divided into two geological zones: the Tihāmah, or Red Sea coastal plains, and the Sarawāt mountain range. The major cities of the province are located in the Tihāmah coastal plain. The Sarawāt mountain range runs parallel to the Tihāmah from North Yemen through Jazan and into the ʿAsīr province. Traditionally Jazan has had an agrarian economy dependent on farming and animal husbandry because of its high annual rainfall and tropical climate.

2.2 Harūb

Harūb is located in the Sarawāt mountains and has a population of 29,064 (GENERAL AUTHORITY FOR STATISTICS 2017). The landscape is a mix of valleys, hills and steep mountain peaks reaching up to 2000 meters in altitude. Most houses are scattered throughout the area leaving enough space for families to raise goats and sheep. Ten major tribes live in the Harūb administration: Harūb, Bani Miğhīl, Bani ʾAḥmad, Bani ʾImšaix, Al Ṣahālīl, Al ʿAzīn, Al Ṣohaif, Al Salma, Al Maġfarah, and Banu Grād. Each tribe occupies its own mountain and valley. Marriage between these tribes is common.

3 The *Bedu* of Jazan

ṭabʿa-an ğāzān yimkin tuʿtabar ğarra bin-nisba l-lahğāt. kull garya aw kull muḥāfaẓa lahā lahğa muxtalifa ʿan al-muḥāfaẓa aṯ-ṯāniya, wa kull muḥāfaẓa ḥattā al-gurā illi

ḥawālihā lahğatum taxtalif (...) fi ğāzān ʿindanā al-bedu tuṭlag ʿalā ʾahal al-ğibāl.

lahğatahum mušafara. ma yafhamhā ʾilā hum.

In fact Jazan can be considered a continent of dialects. Every village and town has a different dialect than the other. Every town, even the villages around it have different dialects (...) In Jazan, we have the *bedu* who are the people of the mountains. Their dialect is a code. No one can understand it except them.

(BEDAYA TV 2017).

The above quote from a famous reality TV show *Zid Raṣīdik* 'Increase Your Balance', based in Riyadh, highlights the societal and language differences between those living in the Jazan mountains and those living in the Tihāmah plains. Those living in the mountains are called *bedu.* The concept of *bedu* in Jazan differs from the commonly held notion of *bedu* in the Middle East. From Islamic historiography we get the traditional distinction between *bedu*, who live nomadic lives in the deserts, and *ḥaḍar,* who live sedentary lives in the cities (HAFEZ and SLYOMOVICS 2013: 146). However, the *bedu* in Jazan do not fit the definition of nomadic desert dwellers. Instead, they have traditionally lived a sedentary lifestyle in the mountains.

The societal distinction between the communities living in the mountains and those living in the Tihāmah plains is significant in the study of dialectology and sociolinguistics as it has been established in the literature that language variation is often a reflection of social differences. Sociolinguistic studies have shown that linguistic segregation can be found along lines of social class, age groups, tribal affiliation, geographic location and religious groups.

Two factors contribute to the societal distinction between the mountains and plains: isolation of the mountain region and different climate and settlement patterns. First, the rugged terrain of the mountains has historically isolated the two areas. Until recently, the mountain tribes lived autonomously. Invading empires were intimidated by the mountains and high elevation

(ALFAIFI 2016). Unlike other mountains in the surrounding areas where trading routes cut through, the Jazan highlands were easily avoided and few routes transected the escarpment (GINGRICH 2000).

Even though modernization has brought a network of roads connecting the Tihāmah with the mountain region, the mountainous landscape has shaped the lifestyle of those living there and has resulted in a community with different traditions, culture and society from other parts of the Arabian Peninsula. This region differs from the rest of Saudi Arabia, comprised of the deserts of the Najd, the mountains of ʿAsīr, and the coastal areas of the West and East. It is even different from other parts of the Sarawāt mountain range in Yemen and ʿAsīr where "gentle hills often mark a gradual transition from the Tihāmah lowlands to the plateau highlands" (GINGRICH 2000: 78).

The difference in elevation between the Tihāmah and the mountains provides different weather, soil, water, and vegetation. These aspects along with economic and cultural factors have resulted in differing settlement and social structure patterns between the two areas which still affects society today.

In the Tihāmah, flooding from the mountain rains provided good conditions for irrigation which historically led to large rural settlements located close to one another around the major valleys where the rain water flows from the mountains to the Red Sea. As a result settlements on the plains were large and consisted of extended families that worked together as a whole economic unit, mostly engaged in agriculture. Villages were governed by one man known as the sheikh and every cluster of villages had a weekly market. Round hut dwellings were constructed from acacia and tamarisk trees and were built around the mosque which was the center of the village (ARISHI 1991).

In contrast, the Jazan mountains provide cooler temperatures, lower humidity and frequent rain. However, the soil fertility is much lower than that of the plains, limiting the amount of

arable land. Historically, this resulted in smaller settlements scattered throughout the region. Terraces were constructed on the steep mountain slopes to create more farming land, but each land plot could only support one family leading to isolated houses and a private lifestyle. Unlike the settlements in the plains, the mountain settlements had a local decentralized society. Traditionally their houses were made of rocks, with juniper wood for the roof, and were built on top of large rocks or elevated land. The foothills consisted of pastoral terrain used for goat, sheep, and cattle-rearing (ARISHI 1991).

The physical environment and societal differences has resulted in linguistic differences between those living in the mountains and those in the Tihāmah. Isolation resulting from living in the remote mountainous region not only led to a unique way of life and culture, but also to unique linguistic features. Physical isolation, tribal differences, lifestyle and societal differences have caused linguistic segregation between the two geographical areas.

4 The Language of the Jazan Mountains

Few linguistic studies have been done on the language varieties spoken in the Jazan mountains. Even in one of the most comprehensive books about the Arabic dialects in Saudi Arabia, *Saudi Arabian Dialects* (PROCHAZKA 1988), only one dialect from the Jazan mountain region is mentioned. This is from Al Qahabah in Bani Malik. However, in recent years there has been a handful of new studies done on the Fayfa dialect (ALASLANI 2017, ALFAIFI 2015, ALFAIFE 2018, ALFAIFI, 2016, ALFAIFI 2014). Many of my research participants reported that each tribe in the mountain region has its own unique variety, with distinguishing linguistic features. They reported that anyone from the mountain region could understand the other mountain dialects, whereas those who are not from the mountain region can't understand them. This suggests that the mountain dialects could be more closely related to each other than those in the non-mountainous Tihāmah; if not linguistically, at least ideologically. ALFAIFI, who is

from Fayfa, and BEHNSTEDT (2010) wrote a paper comparing the unique features of the dialect of Ğabal Fayfa with the dialect of Minabbih, another tribal area across the border in North Yemen. They argue that the Minabbih dialect is related to the dialects of the Jazan Highlands.

There are several names given to the way of speaking in the Jazan mountains. Most of my research participants referred to it as *beduwi*. Another popular name is Fīfī as most of the linguistic studies done in recent years have been by people from the Fayfā tribe who live on Fayfā mountain. A name that is becoming more popular is Xawlāniya (SEET KHAWLAN 2019). Xawlān refers to the major tribe that the mountain tribes identify with, Xawlān bin ʿAmer (AL-ṬĪYĀR 2010: 27, ALFAIFI 2016: 6). In addition to these names, the dialect is sometimes referred to as *ğabaliyya* which literally means 'mountainous'. Alternatively, tribal names such as Harūbi, Sahalūli, Fīfī, and Rāziḥi are sometimes used to name this way of speaking (ALASLANI 2017: 1).

My observation and ethnographic fieldnotes confirm the findings of Mofrih AL-HAROOBI (1997) who wrote in an undergraduate paper for his sociolinguistics course at King Khalid University reporting that young and old people speak this dialect the same way and that when speaking amongst themselves, people in Harūb prefer to use their local dialect. In almost every home I visited, I saw young children speaking the local dialect with their grandparents. This means that children first learn their local dialect in the home before they go to school. It was even reported to me that often children had a hard time their first few years of school because they couldn't understand the teachers who were required to speak Standard Arabic.

One important factor preserving the Harūb dialect is the dense and multiplex social network of the community. MILROY (1987) found that communities with dense and multiplex social networks preserve linguistic features and constrain linguistic innovation. The density of a social network refers to how many social ties someone has in the community. People living

in Harūb rarely travel outside the area unless they go to university, have outside employment, or have a relative in another city. This means few individuals have an external social network resulting in individuals having many interconnections within the community. Additionally, the social network in Harūb is multiplex meaning individuals interact in multiple social contexts. For example, it is not uncommon for someone to have a close friend who is also a cousin. Additionally this person is a classmate or colleague at work.

The linguistic status of the mountain dialect is not clear. Most scholars accept that Arabic replaced the pre-Islamic languages in the Arabian Peninsula and that the unique features that are found in southwest Arabia today are substrates of previous languages (HOLES 2006, AL-ṬĪYĀR 2010: 220, WATSON 2011). However, many people in the mountain region claim their language is a modern descendant of Himyaritic or another ancient Semitic language[4] (ALFAIFI 2014 in ALASLANI 2017: 2). WATSON, STALLS, AL-RAZIHI, and WEIR (2006) touch on this debate when they write about the language of Ǧabal Rāziḥ and compare it to Ancient South Arabian languages. There have been many speculations about the nature of the language of the Jazan mountains, but most linguistic scholars familiar with the area agree that not enough is known about Himyaritic or the mountain dialect to make such claims (ALFAIFI 2016: 2, ALASLANI 2017: 3, WATSON 2018). Nonetheless, it is an important and understudied area. ALFAIFI and BEHNSTEDT (2010: 64) emphasize the need for more research when they conclude their paper by saying:

> Arabists interested in the history of the Arabic language, dialectologists of Arabic and even Semitists should rush into the area of the Southwest of Saudi Arabia in order to study its dialects, of which Ǧabal Fayfa is only one of the regions. It is together, with

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[4] see Dr. Hassan Al-Madri Al-Faifi's Youtube channel
    https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCntvobHmPQEm7MMX2sfuuCg

some parts of Yemen, the most archaic Arabic dialect region, a kind of museum of the Arabic language, and linguistically full of surprises.

Although the focus of my research was not a dialect description, I found that the Harūb dialect had some similar features to other dialects spoken in the mountains of southwest Saudi Arabia and North Yemen. Below is a list of features I found in the data I collected while living in Harūb. The variety spoken in Harūb shares features with varieties spoken in Rijāl Almaʿ, Fayfa, Minnabih, Rāziḥ, Farsha, and Jazan. The following is not meant to be an exhaustive or systematic linguistic description of the dialect, but general notes from observations and recordings during my PhD fieldwork. It is important to note that most people in Harūb, especially the younger generation, are bi-dialectal. They speak their traditional dialect amongst themselves but with outsiders they speak a more standard form of Arabic. The notes below are written concerning the traditional dialect that they speak amongst themselves.

4.1 Voiced Alveolar Affricate /č/

The most salient feature of the variety spoken in Harūb is the use of /č/ in place of /k/. In the Jazan province, /č/ is used in the mountain dialects and /k/ is used in the Tihāmah. ALFAIFI and BEHNSTEDT (2010) also report this sound in lower Ǧabal Fayfa, which is located in the same mountain region of Jazan and Minnabih, directly across the border in North Yemen. Examples from Harūb are *čīf* 'how', *tarčib* 'you ride', and *ṯaḥača* 'he laughed'.

4.2 Assimilation of /n/

Total anticipatory assimilation of /n/ to a following obstruent is attested in the Harūb variety. This is similar to what WATSON (2011) found in Rāziḥ. This is an interesting feature as WATSON says "to my knowledge, no (other) recorded dialect of Arabic exhibits productive

total anticipatory assimilation of /n/" (WATSON 2011: 28). She points out that although assimilation of /n/ to a sonorant is a common process in languages including Arabic, it is not common for /n/ to assimilate to a following obstruent. Examples from Harūb are ʾatti ~ ʾanti 'you fsg', ʿiddana ~ ʿindana 'we have', and ǧibbiyya ~ ǧanbiyya 'daggar'.

4.3 The /im-/ Definite Article

In the traditional diaelct of Harūb, the definite article is realized as /im/ rather than the Arabic definite article /al/. This has been found in a number of dialects surrounding Harūb: Fayfa, Minnabih (ALFAIFI and BEHNSTEDT 2010), Rijāl Almaʿ (ASIRI 2009), Jizan (HAMDI 2015), and Farsha (AlQAHTANI 2015). In Harūb, as in these dialects, the definite article im- can occur before all sounds. Examples from Harūb are im-sūg 'the market', im-bēt 'the house', im-ǧabal 'the mountain'.

4.4 The /-n/ Perfect Ending (3rd feminine singular)

In Harūb, /-n/ perfect ending is sometimes used for the 3rd feminine singular instead of the /-t/ perfect ending which is used in most other Arabic dialects including Modern Standard Arabic. The same perfect ending is used in Fayfa and Minabbih (ALFAIFI and BEHNSTEDT 2010), Rijāl Almaʿ (ASIRI 2009), Balqarn (PROCHAZKA 1988: 27) and in the North of Yemen and the Yemeni Tihāmah (see map 7 in BEHNSTEDT 1987). The /-n/ perfect 3rd person singular ending is used interchangeably with the /-t/ perfect ending. Examples from Harūb are bint rāḥan ~ bint rāḥat 'a girl went', al-bint ṭalaʿan ~ al-bint ṭalaʿat 'the girl went out', hiya ġayyaran ~ hiya ġayyarat 'she changed', gaʿidan ~ gaʿidat 'she sat'.

4.5 Suffix -u

In Harūb, the suffix -u is used at the end of nouns, adjectives and numbers to indicate indefiniteness. This is similar to what ASIRI (2009) and ALQAHTANI (2015) found in neighboring areas in ʿAsīr. Example from Harūb are *ḥurma ḥurriyyatu* 'the woman is free', *waḥadu min im-ḥamrā* 'one of the donkeys', and *ʾiblu wa ġanamu wa bagaru wa ṯānu* 'camels and goats and cows and sheep'.

4.6 Deletion of Final Consonant

In Harūb, the final consonant is deleted in some words. However, it is not a common feature in the dialect. This is similar to what ALQAHTANI (2015) found in Farsha. Examples from Harūb are *taʿ ~ taʿl / taʿī ~ taʿlī* 'come 2msg / 2fsg' and *yasī ~ yasīr* 'walking, taking the animals out to eat and drink'.

4.7 Ḍād and Ḏ̣āʾ

Another interesting linguistic feature found in Harūb is the pronunciation of ḍād and ḏ̣āʾ which have merged into a voiceless interdental emphatic /ṯ/ and voiced interdental emphatic /ḏ/. However, more research is needed to see whether the emphatic lateral fricative [ɮˤ] and a non emphatic interdental /ṯ/ are also used. Additionally more research is needed to see if there is a systematic distribution of these sounds.

   ALFAIFI & BEHNSTEDT (2010) and ALFAIFE (2018) describe the merger of these two sounds to /ṯ/ in Fayfa. AlQAHTANI (2015) describes the merger of these two sounds in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān to a voiced emphatic interdental fricative /ḏ/ and the voiced emphatic lateral fricative [ɮˤ]. In an unpublished paper at King Khalid University, Mofrih AL-HAROOBI (1997), a resident of Harūb, wrote that one of the most important features of the Harūb dialect is the unique pronunciation of ḍād which he described as a velarized voiceless interdental fricative /ṯ/. Examples from Harūb of ḍād and ḏ̣aʾ realized in various ways is presented in the

table below. The word used for a hat worn by women can be pronounced with either /t̲/ or /d̲/ as in *mat̲alla ~ mad̲alla*.

Pronunciation	Ḍād	Ḍāʾ
/t̲/	*t̲ān* 'sheep plural' *baʿt̲* 'some' (Haroobi 1997) *t̲ayf* 'guest' *maxat̲* 'churn' *baʿūt̲a* 'misquitos' *bayt̲* ,'egg'	*mat̲alla* 'hat worn by women' *ʿat̲m* 'bone'
/d̲/	*had̲ar* 'sedentary population' *aġrād̲* 'items' *ard̲* 'land'	*mad̲alla* 'hat worn by women' *wad̲āʾyf* 'job'

Table 1: Pronunciation of words with Ḍād and Ḍāʾ

4.8 Relative Pronoun

The relative pronouns used in the traditional dialect of Harūb are *d̲ā, d̲ī* and *tī*. More research is needed to determine the systematic distribution of these words. On first observation it seems *d̲ā* and *d̲ī* are used with masculine nouns and *tī* is used with feminine nouns. This is similar to what has been found in Fayfa (ALFAIFI & BEHNSTEDT 2010) and Tihāmat Qahṭān (AlQAHTANI 2015). Additionally, the relative pronoun *d̲ā* is also found in Rijāl Almaʿ (ASIRI 2008) and WATSON (2011) reports the use of d- as a relative pronoun in Rāziḥ. Examples from Harūb are *m-ḍaġt d̲ī wašīt* 'the floating weight valve (used on a pressure cooker) which rattled' and *m-ṣabiyya tī trūḥ* 'the girl who goes'.

4.9 Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns found in the Harūb dialect are displayed in table 2. Different variations of the 1st person singular and the feminine pronouns were found in my data. The 3rd person pronouns in Harūb are similar to those in Fayfa (ALFAIFE 2018), and Minnabih (ALFAIFI & BEHNSTEDT 2010). The 1st person plural ʾinḥin is used in Farsha (ALQAHTANI 2015) and ʾanḥin is used in Qahabah and Abha (PROCHAZKA 1988: 125).

	Sing	**Pl**
1	ʾani	ʾiḥna, aḥin, ʾinḥin, ʾanḥin, ḥina
2 masc	ʾattā	ʾattim
2 fem	ʾattī	ʾattin, ʾattinna
3 mas	ʾahā	ʾahim
3 fem	ʾahī, ʾahiya	ʾahin, ʾahinna

Table 2: Independent personal pronouns in Harūb

4.10 Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns in Harūb are similar to those used in Fayfa and Minnabih (ALFAIFI & BEHNSTEDT (2010).

	Sing	**Pl**
1	-ī	-nā
2 masc	-ča	-čim, -čum
2 fem	-či	-činna
3 mas	-hu	-him
3 fem	-ha	-hinna

Table 3: Possessive pronouns used in Harūb

4.11 Demonstrative Pronouns

	masc sing	**fem sing**
close	ḍāʾ	tāʾ
a little far	ḍīlah	tīlah
very far	ḍālīh	tālīh

Table 4: Demonstrative pronouns used in Harūb

4.12 Modal Verb *Mēd*

The traditional word used for 'want' in Harūb is the modal verb *mēd*, sometimes pronounced *mīd* or *mēt*. However, because of language contact, more common Arabic words from other parts of the country are also used for 'want' such as *ʾabġā* and *ʾurīd*. *Mēd* and different variations of it have been attested in many parts of southwest Arabia: Rijāl Almaʿ (ASIRI 2009), Fayfa (ALFAIFE 2018), Minnabih (ALFAIFI & BEHNSTEDT 2010), Farsha (ALQAHTANI), and Rāziḥ (WATSON 2011). Examples from Harūb are *ʾani mīd ahīš im-sūg* 'I want to go to the market', *mata mēd?* 'what do you (m.sg.) want'?

4.13 Verbs of going

In Harūb there are a number of different words used for 'going'. In addition to the general word *hāš* or the borrowed word *rāḥ* from other areas of Saudi Arabia, there are also words used that are dependent on the time of day the action is taking place: *saraḥ* 'go out in the morning with the animals taking them around to eat', *našar* 'go at the time of the afternoon prayer', *barraha* 'go in the morning', and *sara* 'go at night'. All these words are also used in Rijāl Almaʿ (ASIRI 2009) and North Yemen (BEHNSTEDT 1987).

4.14 Lexicon

Below is a list of other unique words used in Harūb.

4.14.1 Adverbs of Place

f̃õtu	far away
tala	close by but out of view
hin	here
ṯamm	there
hanāni	there, far away
ʿazā	under

Table 5: Adverbs of place used in Harūb

4.14.2 Question words

māhāḍā	what
mālo	why
yān	where
čīf	how

Table 6: Question words used in Harūb

4.14.3 Words related to weather

wašilan	light rain
naǧǧahan	rain stopped
zaːḥaːna	hot weather

Table 7: Words related to weather used in Harūb

4.14.4 Adverbs of Time

albāraḥ	last night
ġadiya	morning
haduwa	end of the night
ʿugba	tomorrow
adāriya	tomorrow night

Table 8: Adverbs of time used in Harūb

4.14.5 Words for Cattle

As most people in Harūb were traditionally subsistence farmers, cattle were an important part

of their livelihood. In addition to the general term for cow *bagar,* there are six words used for

cattle depending on size and whether it is male or female. *lāy* is also found in Fayfa (ALFAIFI & BEHNSTEDT 2010).

size	fem	mas
small	*bahama*	*tabīʿu*
medium	*xabaša*	*ṣaʿbu*
large	*lāyu*	*ṯawru*

Table 9: Words used for cattle in Harūb.

4.15 Summary of Linguistic Features

1 Harūb	2 Fayfa	3 Minnabih	4 Farsha	5 Rijāl Almaʿ	6 Rāziḥ	7 Jazan
č	X	X				
Assimilation of /n/					X	
/im-/ Definite Article	X	X	X	X		X
/-n/ Perfect Ending 3FSG	X	X		X		
Suffix -u			X	X		
Deletion of Final Consonant			X			
Ḍād and Ḏāʾ Merger	X	X	X			
Modal Verb Mēd	X	X	X	X	X	
Relative pronoun with d-	X	X	X	X	X	

Table 10: Summary of linguistic features found in Harūb and surrounding areas.

Figure 1 Map of the Jazan Province and North Yemen (GOOGLE MAPS 2020)

The above list of linguistic features plotted on the map suggest that the varieties spoken in the mountains are more similar to each other than with the variety spoken in the Tihāmah.

5 Conclusion

The dialect spoken in Harūb displays some interesting features not found widely in other Arabic dialects. However, as seen above, many of the unique features are similar to those found in other southwest Arabian vernaculars, particularly those in the mountain region. As this paper was written based on observations from ethnographic fieldwork, more research into the

language is needed to document these features. This will be important for the fields of Arabic linguistics, historical linguistics and sociolinguistics.

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Chapter 5: The Story of the *Badawi* Dialect in Jazan, Saudi Arabia

This chapter has been submitted to a journal and is under review. It has been formatted according to the journal's guidelines. It uses the transcription system below.

IJMES	IPA	Arabic Symbol	
ʾ	ʔ	أ	glottal stop *hamza*
b	b	ب	voiced bilabial stop *bāʾ*
t	t	ت	voiceless dento-alveolar stop *tāʾ*
th	θ	ث	voiceless interdental fricative *t̲āʾ*
j	dʒ	ج	voiced palato-alveolar affricate *jīm*
ḥ	ħ	ح	voiceless pharyngeal fricative *ḥāʾ*
kh	x	خ	voiceless velar fricative *xāʾ*
d	d	د	voiced dento-alveolar stop *dāl*
dh	ð	ذ	voiced interdental fricative *d̲āl*
r	r	ر	voiced alveolar trill *rāʾ*
z	z	ز	voiced alveolar fricative *zāy*
s	s	س	voiceless alveolar fricative *sīn*
sh	ʃ	ش	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative *šīn*
ṣ	sˤ	ص	voiceless velarized alveolar fricative *ṣād*
ḍ	dˤ	ض	voiced velarized dento-alveolar stop *ḍād*
ṭ	tˤ	ط	voiceless velarized dento-alveolar stop *ṭāʾ*
z̧	ðˤ	ظ	voiced velarized interdental fricative *d̲āʾ*
ʿ	ʕ	ع	voiced pharyngeal fricative *ʿayn*
ġ	ɣ	غ	voiced uvular fricative *ġayn*
f	f	ف	voiceless labio-dental fricative *fāʾ*
q	q	ق	voiceless uvular stop *qāf*
k	k	ك	voiceless velar stop *kāf*
l	l	ل	voiced dental lateral *lām*
m	m	م	voiced bilabial nasal *mīm*
n	n	ن	voiced alveolar nasal *nūn*
h	h	ه	voiceless glottal fricative *hāʾ*
w	w	و	voiced labiovelar glide *wāw*
y	j	ي	voiced palatal glide *yāʾ*
ch	tʃ		voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
g	g		voiced velor stop

Vowels

a	a	´
i	i	ˏ
u	u	ʾ
ā	a:	
ī	i:	
ū	u:	

The Story of the *Badawi* Dialect in Jazan, Saudi Arabia

Abstract

The people in the mountains of Jazan, Saudi Arabia, often refer to themselves as *Badu* and name their way of speaking *Badawi*. However, their understanding of the social category *Badu* is different than the more widely held understanding. This paper is an ethnographic study that explores the meaning of *Badu* in Jazan and how ways of speaking have become iconic of their identity. Taking a constructivist approach to identity and approaching dialects as ideological constructs, this paper explores the enregisterment of the *Badawi* dialect. I describe how certain linguistic features have become enregistered with *Badu* identity, by people living in the mountains of Jazan, in terms of language ideologies of linguistic differentiation, because of social and historical processes of isolation, modernization and marginalization.

Keywords: Arabic dialectology, dialect enregisterment, language ideologies, Saudi Arabia, Jazan

1 Introduction

The 'discursive turn' in the social sciences, which began in the 1970s, has challenged many of the traditional assumptions about the study of language, language communities and language use. The influence of social constructivism has changed the way we see the relation between language and identity. As non-essentialist views of identity have led to the denaturalization of language, it has become clear that naming a language or dialect, creating linguistic borders, requires semiotic processes connected to ideologies about social groups.[5]

From a purely linguistic approach, languages and dialects are not empirical objects of study. Linguistically, boundaries between languages and dialects are often hard to distinguish. What linguists are able to study are linguistic features, their distribution in a population, and

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[5] Johnstone, "Ideology and Discourse in the Enregisterment of Regional Variation", in *Space in Language and Linguistics: Geographical, Interactional, and Cognitive Perspectives*, ed. Auer et al. (2013), pp. 107–27; Blommaert and Rampton, "Language and Superdiversity", in Language and Superdiversity, ed. Arnaut et al. (2016), pp. 21–48; Jørgensen et al. "Polylanguaging in Superdiversity", Diversities 13.2 (December 2011), pp. 147–64; Irvine and Gal, "Language Ideologies".

the context of their use. In the study of dialects, often linguistic features are plotted on a map according to where they are observed in use. However, dialectologists admit there are often no clear geographical boundaries when classifying dialects[6]. Instead there is a range of linguistic variation as opposed to clearly defined borders.

Nevertheless, people label ways of speaking and draw linguistic boundaries with names like Southern speech, Country[7], Pittsburghese[8], and what I will be exploring in this paper, *Badawi*[9]. These ways of speaking are often linked with social identities, geographic regions or personas.

In order to draw clear-cut boundaries and name speech varieties Barbara Johnstone[10] explains:

> …we must abstract away from the facts we actually observe, generalize over them, and ignore the exceptions. We may want to do this, for one reason or another, but when we do we are not simply describing something but creating it, for some particular set of reasons. This is what it means to say that language varieties are socially constructed.

From this perspective, the study of dialects becomes the study of ideological constructs instead of linguistic facts[11]. However, ideologies, what people believe about language, can tell us much about the forces behind language change, variation and maintenance. Sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists are interested in studying language ideologies because language ideologies are never about language alone. People learn and form language ideologies to make sense of their experience with language variation and they reflect the prejudices and preferences of the people who construct them[12].

Therefore, this study shifts from a linguistic description and isogloss maps to the indexical relationship between social meaning and linguistic features. Enregisterment is a framework

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[6] Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology* (1998).; Francis, *Dialectology: An Introduction* (1983).

[7] Hall-Lew and Stephens, "Country Talk", *Journal of English Linguistics* 40.3 (2012), pp. 256–80.

[8] Johnstone; Andrus; and Danielson, "Mobility, Indexicality, and the Enregisterment of 'Pittsburghese'", *Journal of English Linguistics* 34.2 (2006), pp. 77–104.

[9] The words *Badu, Badawi,* and *Ḥaḍari* are italicized in this paper to highlight their use according to the way people in Jazan use these words rather than how they are defined in the dictionary.

[10] Johnstone, "Ideology and Discourse", p. 109.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Irvine and Gal, "Language Ideologies"; and Schieffelin et al. (eds), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (1988).

proposed by Asif Agha[13] for understanding how linguistic features become linked to social meaning. Johnstone[14] breaks the process of enregisterment down into five crucial aspects. She refers to them below as A, B, C, D and E:

- A (one or more linguistic forms or other potentially meaningful thing or act) is enregistered with

- B (a context; a culturally relevant category of action or identity)

- by C (someone experiencing the sign)

- in terms of D (some set of ideas in which linking A with B makes sense)

- because E (a set of social and historical exigencies that give rise to 'metapragmatic' practices, that is, practices by which people suggest how A is to be enregistered).

In this paper, I will examine the enregisterment process of *Badawi,* the name often given to the way the people in the mountains of Jazan speak. What are the salient linguistic forms being enregistered? What is *Badu* identity? To whom is *Badu* identity enregistered? What are the language ideologies that are connecting language to identity? What are the historical and social events giving rise to the enregisterment of *Badawi*?

2 Jazan *Badu*

(1)

ṭabʿa-an jāzān yimkin tuʿtabar gārra bin-nisba l-lahjāt. kull garya aw kull muḥāfaẓa lahā lahja muxtalifa ʿan al-muḥāfaẓa aṯ-ṯāniya, wa kull muḥāfaẓa ḥattā al-gurā illi ḥawālihā lahjatum taxtalif ... fi ǧāzān ʿindanā il-badu tuṭlag ʿalā ʾahal il-ǧibāl. lahǧatahum mušafara. ma yafhamhā ʾilā hum.

In fact Jazan can be considered a continent of dialects. Every village and town has a different dialect than the other. Every town even the villages around it have different dialects ... In Jazan, we have the *Badu* who are the people of the mountains. Their dialect is a code. No one can understand it except them.

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[13] Agha, "The Social Life of Cultural Value", *Language & Communication* 23.3–4 (July 2003), pp. 231–73.
[14] Johnstone, "Enregistering Dialect", p. 17.

The above excerpt was taken from *Zid Raṣīdik* 'Increase Your Balance'[15], a Saudi reality TV show produced in Riyadh. In this particular episode, two men from Jazan are guests on the program and this is part of their conversation about the different ways of speaking in Jazan. In the above excerpt, the man from Jazan defines *Badu* with place and language.

It is true that there are many ways of speaking in Jazan. However, it is interesting to note that only two ways of speaking are given names and defined in opposition to each other in Jazan. One is the way of speaking in the mountains and the other is the way of speaking in the cities. The mountain dialect is often called *Badu*, *Badawi, Jabaliyya, Khawlāniya* or the tribal name of the person speaking which connects the linguistic forms to the mountain region. The city dialect is often called *Ḥaḍar*, *Mudun* or the name of the city such as *Jazani*. In this paper I refer to the mountain dialect as *Badu* or *Badawi* since this is how most of my informants referred to it.

Linguistically defining the boundaries between the *Badawi* and city dialects is difficult. Many of the linguistic features that the people told me were *Badu* are also features shared by the varieties spoken in the city. For example, when I elicited examples of *Badawi* I was told a number of times that one of the distinctive features was the use of *m-* definite article instead of *al-*. However, this linguistic feature is used in the cities of Jazan[16], Ṣabya, and Ṣāmṭah as well as areas in the ʾAsīr region[17]. In addition, some of the lexical items that I was told were *Badu* are also used in the city: *fānūs* 'lantern', *tāʾ* 'this (msg)', and *baṭṭāniyya* 'blanket'. The *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* dialects in Jazan are classic examples of dialects as ideological constructs. Even though the boundary between the way of speaking in the city and the mountains is blurry, there are salient linguistic features that index the mountain variety.

There are a number of administrative areas in the mountains of Jazan where *Badawi* is spoken: al-Rayth, Harūb, Fayfa, al-Dāʾr, al-ʿAydābi, and al-ʿĀrḍah. I was told people from each area or tribe in the mountains speak a variation of *Badawi*. The estimated population for those who speak *Badawi* in Jazan is 220,000[18]. The data for this paper was collected in Harūb

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[15] Bedaya TV, *Zid Raṣīdik 95 Lahjāt Minṭaqat Jāzān* [Increase Your Balance 95 Dialects of the Jazan Area], (2017).

[16] Hamdi, "Phonological Aspects of Jizani Arabic", *International Journal of Language and Linugstics* 2 (2015), pp. 91–94.

[17] Alqahtani, *A Sociolinguistic Study of the Tihami Qahtani Dialect in Asir, Southern Arabia,* PhD diss. (2015).; and Asiri, "Remarks on the Dialect of Rijal Alma' (South-West Saudi Arabia)", *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Die Kunde Des Morgenlandes* 99 (2009), pp. 9–21.

[18] General Authority for Statistics, KSA, "Dalīl Al-Ḫadamāt as-Sādis ʿašar 2017m Minṭaqat Jāzān"[16th Directory of Services 2017 Jazan Region] (2017).

and therefore this paper describes *Badu* and the dialect of *Badu* from the perspective of people in Harūb.

Although the residents of the mountains in Jazan refer to themselves as *Badu*, their lifestyle is quite different than what is customarily thought of as a *Badu* lifestyle. From Islamic historiography we get the traditional distinction between *Badu*, who live nomadic lives in the deserts, and *Ḥaḍar*, who live sedentary lives in the cities[19]. However, in Jazan, *Badu* refers to people who live a lifestyle unique to the mountains of Jazan.

The lifestyle of the *Badu* of Jazan has been shaped by their environment. It is quite different from the rest of Saudi Arabia, which comprises the deserts of the Najd, the mountain plateau of ʿAsīr, and the coastal areas of the West and East. Traditionally the Jazan *Badu* have engaged in subsistence farming and a pastoral mountain lifestyle which continues to impact their life today even with the rise of modernization. In order to locate the Jazan *Badu* in their social and cultural context as compared to the rest of Saudi Arabia and Jazan, I will give a brief description of their environment.

2.1 Jazan

Jazan is one of thirteen provinces in Saudi Arabia and lies on the southwestern tip of Saudi Arabia with a population of 1,365,110[20]. It borders Yemen in the south, the Red Sea on the west, and the ʿAsīr region in the north and east. Jazan can be divided into two geological zones: the Tihāmah, or Red Sea coastal plains, and the Sarawāt mountain range which runs parallel to the Tihāmah from North Yemen through Jazan and into the ʿAsīr province.

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[19] Hafez and Slyomovics, *Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa: Into the New Millennium* (2013), p. 146.

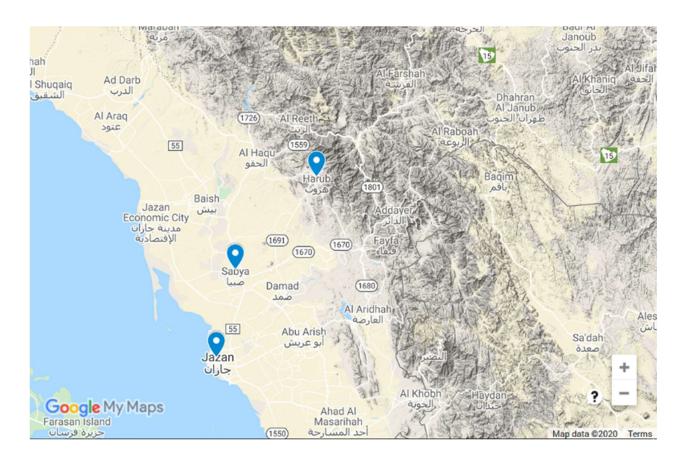[20] General Authority for Statistics, KSA.

Figure 2: Map of Jazan Province[21]

Jazan has a tropical climate and the region has traditionally had an agrarian economy dependent upon cereal crops and stock breeding. Until the 1990s, Jazan was one of the least developed regions in Saudi Arabia "characterized by underdeveloped resources, outmigration, low income, weak modern physical infrastructure, lack of institutions for higher education and technical training, and low investment rates"[22]. This meant that people have had to depend on traditional farming and animal husbandry until recently.

2.2 Harūb

Harūb is a large tribal area located in the Sarawāt mountains about 110 km from the capital city of Jazan. Harūb has a population of 29,064[23] scattered over 18,000 square km. The

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[21] Google Maps, "Map of Jazan Province".

[22] Habib, *Development of Agriculture in Tihama: Regional Growth and Development in the Jizan Region, Saudi Arabia*, PhD diss. (1988).

[23] General Authority for Statistics, KSA.

landscape of Harūb is a mix of valleys, hills and steep mountains. Most houses are distributed throughout the area with enough space for families to raise goats and sheep and maintain small gardens. Houses are more concentrated around the government center where the market was traditionally located and where people have relocated after leaving the isolated mountain tops. Although there is a higher average rainfall in the mountains and foothills than in the Tihāmah, the steep slopes and low soil fertility have limited the cultivable land. To create more farming land, networks of agricultural terraces have been built on the steep mountain sides.

3 Data, Method, and Analysis

Data for this study was collected as part of my PhD research. I lived in Harūb from 2013–7 with my family, and ethnographic data was collected in the form of fieldnotes, participant observation, and recordings of interviews and casual conversations. Although many people were welcoming and wanted to help me with my research, due to the conservativeness of the community it was difficult to record interviews and conversations. Over the course of time three families consented to having our conversations and interviews recorded. I spent most of my time with six families. Sixteen participants were recruited for the recordings. Interviews and conversations were in Arabic and I reviewed recordings with local speakers to check for meaning of content.

I integrated my life with the community and spent much of my time in homes, at a local school with my children, at social events such as weekly gatherings and weddings, at parks, and at local festivals. My role in the community was first as a friend and neighbor and second as a researcher. At times, it was awkward switching between the two roles. Although there were disadvantages to being a friend and a researcher, in this situation my friendship ended up being a key in collecting data since it was needed to build trust and enter the everyday lives of the community. It gave me time to build credibility with people, to get a feel for daily rhythms of life, and to become familiar with salient features in the language. Since this was a conservative area and people were self-conscious and suspicious of outsiders wanting to record them, seeing me as a friend made them more comfortable and they let down their guard more than if I had been seen just as a researcher. Because of the strict social separation of men and women, my husband conducted interviews for me with men.

Recorded interviews, casual conversations and fieldnotes were analyzed for recurring themes related to language and identity and I specifically looked for metapragmatic and metalinguistic comments. As I will expand on below, the enregisterment of ways of speaking requires that linguistic features be connected to ideologies about language. It is in the talk about language, the metapragmatics and metalinguistic discourse, where language ideologies can be seen[24]. For this reason, in this paper I focus on the metalinguistic and metapragmatic discourse of people in Jazan.

4 Enregisterment

Chambers and Trudgill[25] discuss the difficulty of defining dialect, accent, and language in the introduction to their book, *Dialectology*, and they acknowledge that "a 'language' is not a particularly linguistic notion at all". They continue that "the labels 'dialect' and 'accent' are used by linguists in an essentially ad hoc manner". Johnstone[26] expands on this idea that setting clear boundaries around dialects has always been a problem for dialectologists and agrees with other linguists that languages, dialects and accents are ideological constructs[27]. In essence, labeling dialects is labeling ideological constructs "that come into being in particular historical and material contexts, via particular sets of discursive practices"[28].

The ideological constructs that are associated with ways of speaking are often social identities, places, or personas. Enregisterment is a term first used by Agha Asif[29] to describe the processes of how cultural forms, in this case clusters of linguistic features, become imbued with social meaning. Using Received Pronunciation as an example of a variety of British English that has been enregistered with social prestige, Asif shows how through social

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[24] Agha, "The Social Life"; Irvine and Gal, "Language Ideologies"; Johnstone, "Ideology and Discourse"; and Silverstein, "Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life", *Language & Communication* 23.3–4 (2003), pp. 193–229.

[25] Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology*, pp. 4–5.

[26] Johnstone, "Language and Place", in *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. Mesthrie (2011), pp. 203–17.

[27] Agha, "The Social Life"; Blommaert and Rampton, "Language and Superdiversity"; and Johnstone, "Language and Place".

[28] Johnstone, "Language and Place", p. 109.

[29] Agha, "The Social Life".

processes of discursive interactions and institutions, cultural forms are given their value. The process of how dialects become enregistered has been studied by a number of linguists[30].

In the remainder of this paper I will draw on data from my fieldnotes and recorded conversations to show how A, linguistic features and lexical items, have become enregistered with B, *Badu* identity, by C, people living in the mountains of Jazan, in terms of D, language ideologies of linguistic differentiation, because of E, mobility, modernization and isolation.

5 Enregisterment of *Badawi*

Because enregisterment is a semiotic process and not exclusively linguistic, this paper will examine the interaction of linguistic ideologies with linguistic forms rather than present a description of the dialect. This paper is concerned with the salient linguistic features that carry social meaning. Indexicality is a concept that is helpful in examining the features that are socially meaningful, that index social identity. In my analysis I looked for the features that evoked *Badu* identity. Soon after I arrived in the community, I realized that the most salient linguistic feature indexing *Badu* identity is *ch*. I found that saying a word with *ch* in place of *k*, performs *Badu* identity.

For instance, a simple change to the greeting ʾakhbārik 'how are you 2FSG' to ʾakhbārchi 'how are you 2FSG' is a straightforward way of performing *Badu* identity. As an illustration, often when I was attending a gathering and guests entered the room and made the customary round of greetings, everyone in the room was greeted with ʾakhbārchi. However, I, someone who was clearly not from Harūb and not *Badu*, was greeted many times with ʾakhbārik. Moreover, sometimes I was asked if I understood the meaning of a word with the *ch* sound in place of *k*. If I replied with the correct meaning, I was told I had become *Badu*.

Ali[31], a man that my husband interviewed, commented on this phenomenon as he was describing the different ways he speaks with different people.

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[30] Beal, "Enregisterment, Commodification, and Historical Context: 'Geordie' Versus 'Sheffieldish'", *American Speech* 84.2 (2009), pp. 138–56.; Campbell-Kibler, "Contestation and Enregisterment in Ohio's Imagined Dialects", *Journal of English Linguistics* 40.3 (2012), pp. 281–305.; Cramer, "Styles, Stereotypes, and the South: Constructing Identities at the Linguistic Border", *American Speech* 88.2 (2013), pp. 144–67.; Hall-Lew and Stephens, "Country Talk"; Johnstone; Andrus; and Danielson, "Mobility"; and Remlinger, "Everyone up Here: Enregisterment and Identity in Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula", *American Speech* 84.2 (2009), pp. 118–37.

[31] Names have been changed to preserve anonymity.

(2)

I usually speak the dialect with my relatives, you know, the old people, old relatives, because they understand me. We still have for the greeting a certain process. We keep repeating words, like "how are you" in English, ok? Maybe sentences, you should say these, or if you fail to say them, you are not good, you are not *Badawi*.

The main greetings in Harūb that Ali is referring to above are ʾaḥuwālchi / ʾaḥuwālcha 'how are you 2FSG/2MSG (lit. what is your condition)', ʾakhbārchi / ʾakhbārcha 'how are you 2FSG/2MSG (lit. what is your news), ḥayyāchi āllah / ḥayyācha āllah 'you 2FSG/2MSG are welcome (lit. God greets you)'. These are similar to greetings that can be heard in other parts of the country, except what is pronounced with *ch* in Harūb is pronounced with *k* in the cities and other areas.

The *ch* sound in Jazan has reached what Silverstein[32] and Johnstone[33] call *third-order indexicality*, correlating with Labov's[34] definition of "stereotype" where a linguistic form can be taken out of its natural occurring context to be used to evoke a social identity. The *ch* sound alone can be used to evoke *Badu* identity as the following example shows from a conversation I had with my neighbors Nora and Shoqa.

(3)

N: fi ʿindi ṣadīga ʾamal. hiya harūbiyya wa ma: tatakallam harūbi. ʾakhwātha yatakallamūn harūbi wa ʾakhwānha yatakallamūn harūbi wa ʾabūha yatakallam harūbi bas idha jāt maʿāna ma: tatakallam harūbi.

I: laysh?

S: tasawi nafs il-ḥaḍariya

N: li-anna laysh? gālat ma: aʿjibnī lahjat harūb

(...)

N: tagūl (mimiking Amal) 'antum ch, wa cha, wa cha'. tastaḥī min lahjatna.

S: hiya tastaḥī jūlī

N: fi nafs ʿamal al-ḥīn jūlī mathalan agūl laha ʾakhbārik – (mimicking Amal) 'la: wish tsawīn, wa madri kidha', bas ma tatakallam mithlna bas tafham lahjatna bas ma:

[32] Silverstein, "Indexical Order".
[33] Johnstone; Andrus; and Danielson, "Mobility".
[34] Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (1972), p.180.

tatakallam nafsna ... Julie shūfi ṣadīgātha ḥaḍariyāt min ar-riyāḍ wa min aṭ-ṭāyif wa min hināk bas tastaḥī wa tagūl idha wāḥad yasālha min wayn anti. ma tagūl min harūb. tagūl min aṭ-ṭāyif min ar-riyāḍ, mā tagūl min harūb ʿashān harūb mū maʿrūfa ...

J: laysh ma: yabgha –

N: yaʿni jūlī ḥinna badawi –

S: ma: tabgha ṣārat badawi

N: hiya ma: tuḥib il-badu. hiya tuḥib il-ḥaḍāra wa ashiyāʾ al-mārka aw kidha aw kidha

N: I have a friend Amal. She is Harūbi but she doesn't speak Harūbi. Her sisters speak Harūbi and her brothers speak Harūbi and her father speaks Harūbi but if she comes to us she doesn't speak Harūbi.

J: Why?

(...)

S: She does the same as the *Ḥaḍariya*

N: Because why? She said "I don't like the Harūb dialect".

(...)

N: She says (mimicking Amal) "you (3PL) are *cha* and *cha* and *cha"*. She is embarrassed of our dialect…

S: She is embarrassed Julie.

N: For example, when I say *ʾakhbārik* 'how are you?' to this Amal [she says] (mimicking Amal with a high pitched voice) "No, what are you doing [speaking like this]. I don't know this etc…". She doesn't talk like us but she understands our dialect but she doesn't talk like us… Julie look, her friends are *Ḥaḍariyāt* 'people in the cities' from Riyadh and from Taif and from there but if someone asks where she is from, she is embarrassed and doesn't say Harūb. She says she is from Taif, from Riyadh. She doesn't say she is from Harūb because Harūb isn't known.

J: Why doesn't she want –

N: Julie, we are *Badawi*.

S: She doesn't want to become *Badawi.*

N: She doesn't like the *Badu*. She loves the *Ḥaḍāra* and brand names like that.

In the above excerpt, by mimicking the *ch* sound "you (3PL) are *cha* and *cha* and *cha*", Amal is showing that *ch* has reached third-order indexicality where this sound is consciously

connected with social meaning, and is used to invoke a stereotype. It has been enregistered with *Badu* identity.

5.1 Enregisterment with What?

Linguistic features can be enregistered with places, personas, activities, times and social identities. Above we saw how the salient linguistic feature *ch* is enregistered with being *Badu* or what I call *Badu* identity. Accordingly, this raises the question: what is *Badu* identity? *Badu*, according to the people I interacted with in Harūb, means a number of different things. It is referred to as a place, a lifestyle, and a social identity.

For the purposes of this paper, identity is understood from a constructivist approach as opposed to the essentialist understanding which considers identity as a fixed state that exists within a person or social category and is reflected in a person's behavior and language. The constructivist view approaches identity as a sociocultural and relational process. Identity emerges and circulates through social interaction[35]. Language is understood as a social practice, with speakers drawing on all kinds of linguistic resources for their own purpose. Language is a tool used to construct identity for the given social situation. In this way the agency of speakers and language as social action are accounted for[36].

The people in Harūb use language in different ways to construct their identity. One of the most straightforward ways that people in Harūb use language to constitute their identity is by explicitly referencing *Badu* as an identity and social category in discourse. Bucholtz and Hall[37] emphasize the importance of ethnography in uncovering local identity categories. In this case, the meaning of *Badu* in Jazan has departed from the traditional understanding of *Badu* to a local understanding that describes someone who lives a simple lifestyle in the rural mountains raising goats and sheep. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes illustrates how closely *Badu* identity is connected to place and shared lived experience.

(4)

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[35] Bucholtz and Hall, "Identity and Interaction: A Sociocultural Linguistic Approach", Discourse Studies 7.4–5 (2005), pp. 585–614.

[36] Duranti, "Agency in Language", in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Duranti (2007), pp. 449–73.

[37] Bucholtz and Hall, "Identity and Interaction".

One lady, seeing that I was clearly not from Harūb, turned to me and said, "here there are *Badu* there are no *Ḥaḍari*". "What is the difference?" I asked. She explained, "*Badu* have goats, sheep, and cows. People go out with their goats and sheep."[38]

The *Badu* in Harūb have a special relationship with their animals and their land. It is an identity formed out of practice, a pastoral and goat herding lifestyle. Khalid gave my husband an insightful summary in answer to the question "What does *Badu* mean?"

(5)

al-badu yaʿnī in-nās illī yaraʿūn im-ghanam wa yaraʿūn il-ʾibil wa baʿīdīn ʿan il-mudun wa ḥayātihim muktafī, iktifāʾ yaʿnī mā yaḥtājūn shay. ʿinduhum samin ʿinduhum ʿasal ʿinduhum naḥal ʿinduhum ghanim laḥam ʾakal, ʾakal yaʿnī ṭāzij min nafs il-bayt ma fi maṣāniʿ. ʿalā ṭūl min il-bayt. ḥayātihim basīṭah ... il- mabāni ḥaguhum basīṭah. ma: yabghūn mabāni kabīrah ... hādhā il-badu.... yaʿīshūn fī l-bādiya liḥālhum baʿīdīn ʿan il-mudun baʿīdīn ʿan il-ḍawḍāʾ wa al-ṣajah wa al-ṣurākh wa alshighāl ḥaq al-sīārāt wa alkhuṭūṭ ... makān baʿīd ʿan kull ḥājah muzʿijah, bas fī l-jibāl fī ʾamākin yaʿnī bāridah, kūwaysah, wa naẓīfah. wa hādha huwa il-badu.

The *Badu* are the people who shepherd goats[39] and shepherd camels and are far from the cities and their life is self-sufficient. They don't need things. They have clarified butter, they have honey, they have bees, they have goats, meat and fresh food straight from the house, not processed food. Their life is simple ... their houses are simple. They don't want a large house ... this is *Badu* ... they live in the *bādiya* by themselves far from the cities, far from loud annoying noise and the cars and traffic ... a place far from all annoying things, but in the mountains there are places cool, good and clean. This is the *Badu*.

The idea that *Badu* is opposed to a city lifestyle characterized by simplicity and self-sufficient, draws on the broader understanding of *Badu*; however, when Khalid describes the *bādiya* as the mountains, he is localizing the meaning of *Badu* because traditionally the *bādiya* meant the desert. Additionally, looking at example (14) below, in Fatima's

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[38] Personal Fieldnotes 16.4.24.
[39] *Ghanam* in Harūb means goats.

explanation of the difference between the *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* she says *arḍuhum milk lihum, il-Ḥaḍar lā, il-Ḥaḍar fi l-madīna* "they (the *Badu*) own their land, the *Ḥaḍar* no, the *Ḥaḍar* are in the city". The idea that the *Badu* own land is also a departure from the broader characterization of *Badu*.

Overall, *Badu* identity in Harūb is an ideological construct that draws on the macrolevel definition of *Badu* but also has been redefined to have local meaning. Bucholtz and Hall[40] emphasize the importance of not only looking at macro level social categories, but also using ethnography to look at locally defined social categories. According to the global definition, *Badu* is a social identity that is rooted in the ideological dichotomies of *Badu* versus *Ḥaḍar* or a nomadic versus sedentary lifestyle. However, looking locally, *Badu* has been redefined to mean a lifestyle unique to the mountains of Jazan.

Badu identity in Harūb is authenticated through dress and language. The *Badu* in Jazan are known for their unique colorful clothing and flower headband worn on their heads. It is indexed by traditional artifacts related to farming and goat herding, language, dress, landscape features and place. The term *Badu* is used to index a range of social meanings linked to rural agrarian and cultural practices. *Badu* identity emerges, circulates and recirculates through discourse as people talk and refer to *Badu* clothes, schools, areas, words, lifestyle, language, greetings, and people.

5.2 Enregisterment by and to whom?

Linguistic features do not have static or stable meaning. They change, are redefined and reinforced through discursive practices. Penelope Eckert[41] explains, "the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings – an indexical field, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable".

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Eckert, "Variation and the Indexical Field", *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12.4 (2008), p. 454.

Different people interpret linguistic features differently[42] depending on the ideological meaning they are drawing on. Judith Irvine[43] points out that "styles in speaking involve the ways speakers, as agents in social space, negotiate their positions and goals within a system of distinction and possibilities".

In Jazan, the *ch* sound means different things to different people depending on their place in society and their ambitions. For those in the cities and who are not from Harūb, the *Badu* dialect has negative connotations. I was told that historically the relationship between the people in the mountains and the people in the Tihāmah, where the cities are located, was not good. When the people in the mountains ran out of water, they would raid the people on the Tihāmah to take their food and water. There is a sense of fear towards the people in the mountains from the people in the Tihāmah. For those from the cities, the way of speaking associated with the mountains indexes a leftover sentiment of hostility.

To those in Harūb the *Badu* dialect can have positive or negative connotations. For most of the people I interacted with, the *Badu* dialect had positive connotations. Many were proud to tell me about their dialect and some were eager for me to learn and use it. Many of these people were not socially mobile. As in example (3) above, I found that for those who were more socially mobile, the *Badu* dialect was negative or the person had no desire to use it.

The following excerpt was taken from Salha, a woman who worked in the administration of a local school. The first time she agreed to have me record our interview she warned me that she didn't speak *Badawi*. During the interview I asked her about this.

(6)

yimkin bas ʿashān anī aṭlaʿ kathīr, al-kuliyyah min jamīʿ al-gabāʾil, zay fīfī wa ghazwānī. ʾanā zmīlātī wāḥida fīfiyya wa wāḥida ghazwānia; raghm ʾinnhum badu bas ma: yatakallamūn badawī, nihāʾiyyan yatakallamūn zay ma ʾanā ʾatakallam al-ḥīn, zay ʾahal ṣabyā, kalāmahum muṭwwar, wa mithaḍarīn. arūḥ mashghal, arūḥ ʾanā ʾakthar min makān ʿādī. ʾaiyywah yaʿnī taghaiyyar al-lahaja.

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[42] Eckert, "Variation"; Johnstone, "Enregistering Dialect" ; and Silverstein, "Indexical Order".

[43] Irvine, "'Style' as Distinctiveness: The Culture and Ideology of Linguistic Differentiation", in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, eds Eckert and Rickford (2001), pp. 23–24.

Maybe because I go out a lot, to college and meet with people from all the tribes, like Fīfī and Gazwānī. My colleagues, one is Fīfī and one is Gazwānī. Even though they are *Badu* they don't speak *Badu*. In the end, they speak what I am speaking now, like the people of Ṣabya. Their way of talking is developed, and civilized. I go to the salon, I go to many places and so the dialect changes.

Those who are more educated, more socially mobile and travel outside of the area for work or school are more aware of the negative connotations of their dialect. Those who had plans to succeed outside of the area wanted to distance themselves from it, much like the young girl my neighbor talked about in example (3) above. Ali also explained the negative associations of the dialect.

(7)
Sometimes I think they feel shame to speak the dialect with other people because there were no paved roads from Ṣabya, ok, but nowadays here in Harūb you can find people from all over the country. They feel shame maybe to speak in their dialect because they want to try to be modern.

5.3 Enregisterment According to What?

How do the people in Harūb connect their identity with their way of speaking? As discussed above, in order for linguistic features to have social meaning they must be connected to ideology. The process of linguistic differentiation, described by Irvine and Gal[44], is useful in understanding how linguistic features become linked to social meaning. In the situation in Jazan between the *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar*, local ideologies about social groups are projected onto sociolinguistic phenomena. Three semiotic processes work together in the formation of ideologies of linguistic differentiation: iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure.

Iconization is when "linguistic features that index social groups appear to be an iconic representation of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted a social group's inherent nature or essence"[45]. Fractal Recursivity "involves the projection of an opposition, salient at

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[44] Irvine and Gal, "Language Ideologies".
[45] Ibid., p.37

some level of relationship, onto some other level"[46]. Erasure is "the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible"[47]. All these processes work together to construct linguistic differentiation. The process of linguistic differentiation is not linear but each semiotic process is dependent on the other.

Drawing on metalinguistic comments from recorded interviews and fieldnotes, I will demonstrate how *Badawi* has become iconic of the social characteristics of its speakers. Additionally, as *Badu* is defined by the "other", the *Ḥaḍar,* fractal recursivity is seen when the oppositions made between these two social groups are recursively reproduced on a smaller scale in Harūb. The process of erasure takes place when all the variation that exists in the ways of speaking in the mountains is ignored and the variation between the cities is ignored.

5.3.1 Iconization

There are three characteristics that have been iconized with the speakers of *Badawi*: old-fashioned, resistant to modernization and difficult. In Agha's (2003) study of the enregisterment of Received Pronunciation, he found that the names used to describe Received Pronunciation was part of the enregisterment process. He describes this process below.

> A number of personifying terms are very widely known...These terms are not simply neutral descriptors. They imbue the phenomena they describe with specific characterological values. The class includes expressions like the *Queen's English*, *Public School Pronunciation*, the *U/non-U terminology*, phrases like *talking proper* and *talking posh*, and *Received Pronunciation* itself. Many of these terms anchor speech repertoires to named positions in social space but differ in the degree of explicitness with which they achieve the effect (2003: 236).

Names given to the way of speaking in Harūb also plays a part in the enregisterment of *Badawi*. The following excerpt is from an interview my husband had with Ali and

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[46] Ibid., p.38
[47] Ibid., p.38

demonstrates the process of how meaning is linked to ways of speaking through the discursive practice of naming. In this case the way of speaking is literally called "mountainous" connecting this way of speaking with living in the mountains.

(8)

Sometimes if I speak this dialect in Ṣabya they will ask you please don't speak in *Jabaliyya* 'mountainous'. This is the language of the mountainous region.

The name *Jabaliyya* indexes a lifestyle unique to the Jazan mountains which is a rural and rugged area with fewer resources than the cities. It invokes images of men who wear a *janbiyya* 'dagger' on their waist, an *ʾiṣāba* 'headband' made of flowers, .and a colorful *wizira* 'large piece of cloth wrapped around the waist'.

In the following passage the students at the university connect their way of speaking with *Mudun* which literally means cities.

(9)

fī ṣabyā, gālō lī lā tatakallam bi lughatchim, lā tatakallam bi lahjatchim fī ṣabyā, liʾanu mā yafhamūnhā. ṭulāb fī l-jāmiʿah gālō lā tatakallam ʿalīna bi-lahajatcha. hum yagūlūn y-ākhī ma tatakalim bi-lisān ḥagak, yaʿnī ma tatakallim bi-lahajah ḥag il-badu, faqaṭ ḥag il-mudun zay ṣabyā zay yaʿni jīzān, liʾanu mā yafham, mā yafhamnī.

In Ṣabya, they say to me don't speak your language, don't speak your dialect in Ṣabya, because they don't understand it. The students at the university say don't talk to us in your dialect. They say brother, don't speak your native tongue, don't speak the dialect of the *Badu*, only speak [the dialect of] *il-Mudun*, 'the cities', like Ṣabya, like Jizan. Because they don't understand, they don't understand me.

In the above excerpt when the students name their way of speaking *il-Mudun* 'the cities', they are connecting the salient linguistic features that distinguish their language with the city. *il-Mudun* is not a neutral name but it indexes a modern lifestyle. It is another example of how naming is part of the enregisterment process of a language or dialect. It is interesting to note that the cities of Jizan and Ṣabya have linguistic variation between them, but they are still merged together to form the dialect of the cities.

In the next passage, Shoqa, who is from Harūb, also links speech to images of persons when she uses the personifying name *Ḥaḍari* 'metropolitan, civilized, developed' to describe the way of speaking in the city.

(10)

ʾidhā yarūḥūn ṣabya, yaʿnī ma yafhamūn ʿaliyya bilahajatahum. fi l-mistashfā, ma yafhamūn, yukallimūn ḥaḍarī.

If they [people from Harūb] go to Ṣabya, they [people in Ṣabya] don't understand their dialect. In the hospital they don't understand [our dialect], they speak *Ḥaḍari*.

Overtime discursive practices such as using personifying names to describe ways of speaking lead to iconization of language with the personal characteristics of those who speak it. In Harūb I found evidence that *Badawi* has been iconized with old-fashioned, resistant to modernization, and being difficult.

5.3.1.1 Iconization with Old Fashioned

Returning to example (7) above, there is evidence that *Badawi* has been iconized with being "old-fashioned" when Ali says "they feel shame maybe to speak in their dialect because they want to try to be modern". Harūb which is located in the mountain region has not been privileged with government development like the rest of the country. Moreover, when the government began to develop the Jazan region, the focus was on the market towns in the Tihāmah plains as these were the most populated and easily accessible areas[48]. As government services such as hospitals, schools, universities, banks became available in these new centers, the divide between the urban and rural deepened. This divide is reflected in the language ideology that *Badawi* is old-fashioned, not modern or developed.

In example (6) above, Salha's belief that the *Badu* dialect is not modern and developed is implied when she explains that she speaks like the city which she describes as developed and modern. *zay ʾahal ṣabyā, kalāmahum muṭwwar, wa mitḥaḍarīn* 'like the

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[48] Arishi, *Towards a Development Strategy: The Role of Small Towns in Urbanization and Rural Development Planning in the Jizan Province, Saudi Arabia*, PhD diss. (1991).

people of Ṣabya, their way of talking is developed and civilized'. Ali also comments on this in the following excerpt.

(11)

Most of the people who travel outside Harūb, to Riyadh, to the Eastern region, they speak another dialect there, maybe classical Arabic, so when they come back to Harūb, they try to speak Classic Arabic. They say we should not speak our dialect, it is old-fashioned.

5.3.1.2 Iconization with Resistant to Modernization

The following two passages demonstrate how *Badawi* and the people who speak it are considered to be resistant to modernization. Both excerpts were taken from two different interviews with Fatima. The first time I met Fatima I visited her at her house. My husband had met her brother, Yahya, at a friend's wedding and he had invited our whole family to meet his family. On this day, we met Yahya at a gas station near our house and followed him for about twenty minutes on a windy two-lane road that weaved over hills and through valleys. When it rained, these valleys became dangerous swift rivers that blocked people from leaving the area. We turned off onto a dirt road and drove about one mile passing a valley about 300 feet deep on the left side of the road with some trees planted on recently constructed terraces. There was an area for sheep, goats, camels and cows on our right. As we turned a corner on the dirt road, a large newly built two-story house appeared in the distance. When we arrived I was taken to the woman's sitting room while my husband and boys were directed to the men's sitting room.

This was one of the largest and most modern houses I visited in Harūb. Entering the house from the woman's entrance on the side of the house, I could smell the freshly painted walls and new furniture. I felt an elaborate reception as I walked into the woman's sitting room with it's ornate red and gold painted walls and matching sofas lined against the walls. This was a drastic contrast from the dirt and rugged terrain I walked through to get to the house. During my conversation with Fatima I learned that her family had just moved into the house two months ago. As we were talking, she made an interesting comment in regards to her new house. "Our houses are *Ḥaḍari* but you go inside and you see the people aren't. The language isn't" (Fieldnotes 15.11.14). This statement revealed Fatima's belief that even though the outward appearance of their lives is becoming modern they are still *Badu* at heart and that

being *Badu* is connected to their language that is still not modern. This belief is expressed more clearly in excerpt (12) below taken from another conversation I had with her.

Towards the end of my research when I started to recognize that *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* were salient social categories in the community, I asked Fatima if she could summarize the differences between these two groups of people. Without hesitation she began to describe the *Ḥaḍar* and their modern lifestyle. However, I couldn't help but wonder, from my observations in Harūb, if the *Badu* were becoming *Ḥaḍar* because of the modernization taking place. During my time living in Harūb I had observed that people were starting to sell their goats and sheep in order to earn income from other sources like government jobs. Also traditional rock houses were being demolition to make way for modern cinderblock houses. People were becoming more dependent on imported goods instead of their own products from their animals and gardens. So, I asked her about this. Her answer is interesting in that she admitted that some of the *Badu* are living more of a modern, or *Ḥaḍar*, lifestyle, but she points out that the most important thing that determines whether one is *Badu* or *Ḥaḍar* isn't so much their lifestyle but their manners and dialect.

(12)

ayywa fi ḥaḍar bas galīl yaʿni huwa il-badu yaʿni mumkin yagillil il-ḥaḍar wa lakin fi lahajat wa aṭabaʿu mustaḥīl. mathalan lahjathim mustaḥīl l-taghayurha... [hum] badawi.

Yes there are some *Ḥaḍar* [in Harūb], but just a few, I mean it is possible the *Badu* are becoming less [*Badu* and like] the *Ḥaḍar* but in dialect and conduct, that is impossible. For example, it is impossible for their dialect to change. [They are] *Badawi*.

In the above excerpt, Fatima connects being *Badu* with their dialect and emphasized that it is impossible for their "dialect to change". In her mind, the *Badawi* dialect is iconized with the inability to change and become modern.

5.3.1.3 Iconization With Being Difficult

During my time living in Harūb, it was not uncommon for me to hear people comment on the difficulty of the variety spoken in the mountains. Sometimes when the mountain dialect is

discussed on TV programs it is called *lahjah saʿba* 'difficult dialect'. In the following excerpt there is evidence that *Badawi* has been iconized as a difficult language spoken by difficult people. Below Shoqa and Nora express their frustration with being described as difficult by mimicking the way the people in the cities talk about them.

(13)

N: ʾakthar shay il- ḥaḍar ma yaḥbūn il-badu yaʿni yagūlūn -

S: yaʿni hum shūfūn il-ḥayāt kull shay ṣaʿb ʿindna

N: ṣaʿb ṣaʿb ṣaʿb (mimicking how the people in the city talk about them)

N: The main reason is the *Ḥaḍar* don't like the *Badu*, I mean they say –

S: They think all our things are difficult -

N: difficult, difficult, difficult (mimicking how the people in the city talk about them)

Describing both the language of the mountains and the people who live in the mountains as difficult suggests an iconic relationship between the language and the people who speak it. As the linguistic forms or features of a language are made to be iconic of the characteristics of the speakers, opposition is constructed which creates and allows for the existence of "other", making way for fractal recursivity.

5.3.2 Fractal Recursivity

The process of fractal recursivity where an opposition made at one level is projected to another level is seen in Harūb when the oppositions made between *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* are projected on to those who live farther up the mountain and those that don't. Those living farther up the mountain are sometimes considered to be more *Badu*.

5.3.2.1 Oppositions Constructed Between *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar*

Some of the salient oppositions made between the *Badu* and the *Ḥaḍar* which are reproduced locally and mapped onto different places in Harūb are "us" versus "them", 'here' versus "there', more up the mountain versus not as high up the mountain, our way of speaking versus their way of speaking, not as developed versus developed, and more difficult versus

less difficult. Below are some examples of how these oppositions are expressed in everyday speech. The following excerpt is from an interview with Fatima where she is describing the differences between the social groups *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar*.

(14)

ḥaḍar u badu. ʾaysh yaʿnī ḥaḍar u ʾaysh yaʿnī badu? il-badu ʿinduhum il-māʿiz wa l-ghanam wa l-bagar wa l-ʾibil. yaʿnī hayātuhum ḥurriyyah wa arḍuhum milk lihum. il-ḥaḍar lā, il-ḥaḍar fī l-madīna, yaʿnī zay ṣabya wa jāzān, il-manāṭiq illi yisammūnaha ḥaḍar. ... il-badu mukhtalifīn fī l-libs u fī l-lahajah u fī t-taqālīd ... mathalan iz-zawāj, mathalan iz-ziyārāt, mathalan fī shay yaʿnī fī l-ḥaḍar hum yasawūnah iḥnā mā nisawīhā hinā, zay il-ʾiḥtifalāt il-kathīrah ha:dhi wa l-ʾazāym wa l-ʾaʿarās,...ʿanā ʿaqūl: ʾin al-badu akthar shay yemlikūnah il-ḥurriyya, ḥatta l- ḥaḍar yaʿni bas fī ykhtalif ... al-bayt ʿindhum ʾijār wa mā ʿindhum māʿiz, ykhtalif, yaʿnī ... ʾiḥnā aghrāḍanā zay hadhi farūsh ... il-ḥaḍar ʿindhum ka:nab, kurāsi, hadhi l-ḥaḍar.

Ḥaḍar and *Badu*. What is the meaning of *Ḥaḍar* and what is the meaning of *Badu*? The *Badu* have sheep, goats, cows, camels. Their life is free and they own their land. The *Ḥaḍar* no, the *Ḥaḍar* are in the city like Ṣabya and Jazan. These areas are called *Ḥaḍar*. ... The *Badu* are different in dress and in dialect and in traditions... For example marriage and visiting, for example, there are things the *Ḥaḍar* do that we don't do here, like a lot of parties and gatherings and weddings ... I say the thing the *Badu* have most is freedom. Even the *Ḥaḍar*, but there is a difference.... They rent the house and they don't have goats, they are different... our household things are like this furniture (pointing to the cot we are sitting on)… the *Ḥaḍar* have sofas and chairs, this is *Ḥaḍar*.

As seen in the above excerpt, there is an association constructed between places, the people who inhabit these places, and their traditions, lifestyle and language. Fatima reproduces the social categories that I heard in the everyday speech of many people in Harūb over the three years I lived there. Boundaries between places are constructed through the names *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* and by distinguishing between the activities that are performed in these places by certain people. She positions *Badu* identity in opposition to *Ḥaḍar*, living outside of the city in opposition to living in the city, owning goats in opposition to not owning goats, owning land versus renting a house, traditional furniture (cot) versus modern furniture (sofa and

chairs). All the things she uses to describe *Badu* represents freedom and by positioning *Ḥaḍar* in opposition to *Badu* she implies that the *Ḥaḍar* do not have freedom.

In addition to the oppositions Fatima makes in the above excerpt, others draw distinctions between the city and the mountains as in example (9) above, our dialect versus their dialect as in examples (15 and 16) below, and modern versus old fashioned as in example (6 and 7) above.

(15)

il-ḥaḍar yaqūlūn lahā namla, bas ʾiḥinā mā nigūl namla. ʾiḥinā niqūl lahā wāliya.

The *Ḥaḍar* say *namla* 'ant' for this, but we don't say *namla* 'ant', we say *wāliya* 'ant'.

(16)

dhil-ḥīn ʾanā ʾarūḥ ṣabya, hum mā yataḥākūn bi lahajatnā.... yaʿrifūn ʾin ḥinnā badu wa ḥinā niqūl hum fī l-madīnah, yaʿnī ḥaḍarīīn.

Now when I go to Ṣabya, they don't speak our dialect.... They know we are *Badu* and we say they are in the city, they are *Ḥaḍarīīn* 'city people'.

As seen in the above excerpts differentiation and boundaries are constructed with the word "we" and an implied "them" which is named *Ḥaḍar*. The *Ḥaḍar* way of speaking is positioned in opposition to "our" way of speaking. Place is also given significance. The city is situated in opposition to the implied mountains where the *Badu* live. Places, people and ways of speaking are associated with each other and then positioned in opposition to each other.

5.3.2.2 Fractal Recursivity in Harūb

Oppositions made between the *Ḥaḍar* and *Badu* are recursively reproduced in Harūb so that being *Badu* can be understood as being on a continuum. Some people and places in Harūb, usually those farther up the mountain, are considered to be more *Badu* than others. The following experts were taken from my fieldnotes.

(17)

When they saw the henna on my hands, they asked who did it. I said friends in ʿAzīn. I don't think they have been there. They asked if it was like Harūb with beautiful views and weather. I said yes and that it is not far from here. I also said that the women there wear the *wizira* 'large piece of material wrapped around waist to make a skirt' and *sidara* 'black long shirt made from a thick material and often decorated with embroidery'. I asked why. They said because they are more *Badu* there. Then they asked if I could understand them when they talked.   (Fieldnotes 16.11.23)

ʿAzīn is considered to be farther up the mountain although technically there are parts that are not higher than Harūb proper, but it is farther from the market and government offices. From the above conversation I had with my neighbors, it became clear that there were different degrees of being *Badu* and it is implied in their question that they expected them to speak differently, specifically they expected it to be more difficult for me to understand them. As I had heard on other occasions from different people regarding areas higher on the mountain "their language is more difficult" and as another research participant told me "the higher you go up the mountain the more different the language is" (Fieldnotes 15.11.19). The following diagram illustrates how the qualities that distinguish *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* are applied in Harūb between the *Badu* and the *Badu fōq* 'up', referring to the *Badu* higher on the mountain, through fractal recursivity.
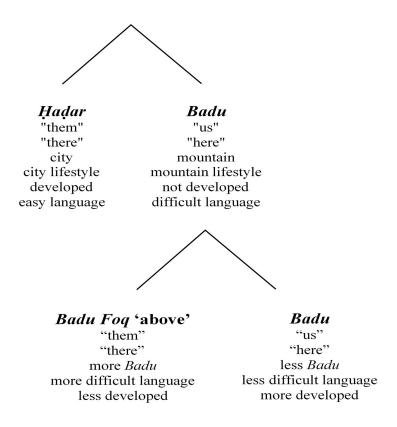
Ḥaḍar
"them"
"there"
city
city lifestyle
developed
easy language

Badu
"us"
"here"
mountain
mountain lifestyle
not developed
difficult language

Badu Foq 'above'
"them"
"there"
more *Badu*
more difficult language
less developed

Badu
"us"
"here"
less *Badu*
less difficult language
more developed

Figure 3: Fractal Recursivity In Jazan

5.3.3 Erasure

In the process of linguistic differentiation where linguistic features are essentialized with identity and defined in opposition to the "other" through fractal recursivity, erasure is the process where individuals and linguistic phenomenon which don't fit ideological schemes are "erased" or made invisible. In the above examples, the categories *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* are imagined as homogeneous and so complexity and linguistic variation within each category is ignored[49]. Bucholtz and Hall[50] call this same phenomenon adequation or the discursive construction of sameness. It is the process of obscuring differences among those with a common identity.

Erasure can be seen in many of the excerpts above. For example, whenever saying that people who live in the cities Jazan, Ṣabya, Abha and Riyadh speak *Ḥaḍari*, differences between these dialects are removed or ignored (see examples 9, 10, 11 above). Additionally,

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[49] Irvine and Gal, "Language Ideologies".
[50] Bucholtz and Hall, "Identity and Interaction".

as the people in Ṣabya are referred to as *Ḥaḍar*, implying they do not have goats and sheep, the many people who do still raise animals in Ṣabya are ignored. In the same way in example (4) above, the lady who explained to me that "*Badu* have goats, sheep, and cows. People go out with their goats and sheep", ignored the many people in Harūb who no longer own goats and sheep or those who have hired an expat worker to care for them.

6 Historical and Social Forces of Enregisterment

This paper has demonstrated how the linguistic feature *ch* has become enregistered with *Badu* identity. Linguistic features become enregistered through the phenomenon of indexicality and become associated with identity through metapragmatics[51]. As people interact, they explicitly talk about language. As seen throughout the examples in this paper, people in Harūb explicitly connected *Badu* identity with certain ways of speaking. As they talk about *Badu* schools, *Badu* clothing, *Badu* food, *Badu* lifestyle, *Badu* furniture, and *Badu* language they are linking these things with *Badu* identity. This paper illustrated how *Badawi* is conceptualized and constructed through the process of linguistic differentiation, namely iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure[52].

Silverstein[53] points out that indexical relationships have different levels of abstraction or indexical orders. At the first level, which he calls first-order indexicality, a linguistic feature is associated with a sociodemographic identity that only an outsider would notice. First-order indexicals are linguistic features that speakers are not aware of. Second order-indexicals are linguistic variables that are used according to different contexts because they have been assigned social meaning. Speakers vary the use of second-order indexicals depending on their context. A linguistic feature becomes a third-order indexical when it is consciously noticeable to speakers and is overtly talked about. A third-order indexical is often used to provoke a stereotype.

Indexical relationships between linguistic features and identity often emerge because of social and historical processes which correlate with the different levels of abstraction. In this section I will trace the historical and social progressions that have fostered the right

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[51] Agha, "The Social Life"; Johnstone, Enregistering Dialect"; and Silverstein, "Indexical Order".

[52] Irvine and Gal, "Language Ideologies".

[53] Silverstein, "Indexical Order".

conditions for the enregisterment of *Badawi*: isolation, modernization, and marginalization. The data contributes to a clearer understanding of how historical and social processes have contributed to the emergence of the indexical orders of the *Badawi* dialect.

6.1 Isolation: First-Order Indexicality

Isolation provided the context for unique linguistic features to develop or be preserved in the language of those living in the Jazan mountains. Due to the rugged terrain of the foothills and highlands, the mountain region of Jazan was historically isolated from the Tihāmah. Before a good road system was put into place, movement in the area was difficult because of the steep mountains which reach up to 2000 m. Furthermore, the mountain region of Jazan was not on the historical trading routes like those of ʿAsīr and North Yemen and was consequently protected from such influence[54]. Referring to the period before Jazan became part of the Saudi state, Habib[55] writes, "As for the mountainous communities of Jazan, each of these had its independent tribal government and lived in a state of semi-isolation from the Tihāmah". This isolation gave rise to distinct linguistic features to the communities living in the mountains. At this stage these unique linguistic features were at first-order indexicality as they were not noticeable because this is how everyone spoke. The older women I interacted with who grew up in Harūb in a time when there were no schools, paved roads, electricity and media had little to no contact with other ways of speaking, and they represent those who experience their language at first-order indexicality. Many of them were not able to change their dialect when they spoke with me.

6.2 Modernization: Second-Order Indexicality

Modernization brought language contact through mobility and influences of media. As people came into contact with others who spoke differently, differences in language became noticeable. Since 2010, Harūb has been in a rapid state of development and modernization. This has resulted in mobility and contact with outside influences because of easier travel to

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[54] Gingrich, "Trading Autonomy for Integration: Some Observations on Twentieth-Century Relations between the Rijāl Almaʾ Tribe and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia", *Études Rurales* 155/156 (2000), pp. 78–79.

[55] Habib, *Development of Agriculture*, p.144.

other cities through an improved road network, social media through mobile phones and internet access, school teachers from outside the area, travel for new job opportunities, and attending university. As Harūb is experiencing modernization, its people are coming in contact with other ways of speaking.

As people in Harūb began to notice and give meaning to these linguistic differences, their unique way of speaking has become a resource for identity performance. At this stage when individuals became aware of and start talking about the differences, their way of speaking reaches second-order indexicality. Sometimes at this stage, dialects will level, meaning people will stop using salient linguistic features. However, as Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson[56] point out, the same situation that causes dialect leveling can also have the opposite result, dialect enregisterment.

6.3 Marginalization: Third-Order Indexicality

Marginalization is felt by those living in the mountains of Jazan because of lack of development in the region and language discrimination. When people feel threatened and marginalized, they often turn inward and value group camaraderie. Language maintenance is a way of protecting cultural heritage. As everything in Harūb is changing rapidly, preserving ways of speaking that embody a lifestyle that is disappearing becomes vital. Although modernization began in Jazan in the 1970s, development didn't reach Harūb until the 1990s when the first asphalt road was built between Harūb and the closest urban center in the Tihāmah, Ṣabya.

However, development was slow partly because of the absence of a good road system. At that time, the road to Ṣabya was poor quality and it took three hours to drive. In addition, few people had cars. While the rest of Saudi Arabia developed, the mountain region in Jazan lagged behind. As people in Harūb see the services and resources available in other parts of the country and are told not to speak their dialect outside of the mountain area, they feel marginalized. In response, their unique way of speaking has become a resource for creating solidarity. As individuals use their way of speaking to perform *Badu* identity and build common ground with each other, their way of speaking has reached third-order indexicality.

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[56] Johnstone; Andrus; and Danielson, "Mobility".

7 Conclusion

Language variation and change is a product of social, political, and historical factors. In the case of *Badawi* in Jazan, the social and historical forces that often cause dialect leveling have had the opposite effect and have resulted in dialect enregisterment. The social processes of isolation, modernization, and marginalization have aided in the enregisterment of *Badawi*.

People draw boundaries and name languages or dialects for a number of reasons. The need for solidarity led people in Harūb to draw boundaries and name their way of speaking *Badawi*. *Badawi* is strengthened through increasing ideological opposition to the discrimination they feel as they are becoming more mobile and interacting with outsiders. In response to this, building solidarity with others who have a similar lived experience and language is important.

The question arises about what will happen to *Badawi* as social and political processes change. As the government is currently investing in the mountain region, and modernization takes root and transforms the area, and people continue to abandon their shepherding and farming lifestyle, will people still feel marginalized? As education, new jobs, and more services are available and people integrate into Saudi society, will there still be a need to create solidarity among the people in Harūb? As long as there is symbolic capital associated with *Badawi* and *Badu* identity, it will continue to be spoken.

If people in Harūb become integrated in Saudi society and there is no longer a need for cultivating solidarity, are there other forms of symbolic capital that could be associated with *Badawi*? In the past year as Saudi Arabia has opened up the country to tourists through the issuing of tourist visas, the Jazan mountains have become one of the top advertised tourist destinations because of its unique cultural traditions and beautiful landscape. Could this provide a new form of symbolic capital for *Badawi* and *Badu* identity? It would be worth investigating this in future years.

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Chapter 6: A Place to Belong: The Social Construction of *Badu* Identity in Jazan, Saudi Arabia

This chapter has been submitted to a journal and is under review. It has been formatted according to the journal's guidelines.

A Place to Belong: The Social Construction of *Badu* Identity in Jazan, Saudi Arabia

Abstract

This paper looks at the discursive construction of the social category *badu* as it is defined by people in Harūb, a marginalized rural mountain community in Jazan, Saudi Arabia. This paper explores how the residents of Harūb construct place and place-identity as a way of constructing belonging. As forces of modernization have dislocated the communities in the Jazan mountains and positioned them in the margins, place has become increasingly meaningful. In response, values connected to their traditional subsistence farming and shepherding lifestyle such as self-sufficiency and freedom are drawn on to imbue the mountains with these values. In turn place becomes a symbol as well as a resource for defining *Badu* identity. Through engaging in the 'politics of belonging', constructing belongingness, and place-making the people in Harūb put themselves back in the "center" giving themselves a place to belong.

Keywords: belonging, place-making, identity, Saudi Arabia, discourse analysis

1. Introduction

This paper explores the construction of *badu* identity through the process of place-making in Harūb, Saudi Arabia and brings together concepts about place and belonging from the fields of social phycology, geography, and anthropology. Previous studies on place and place-making have shown that "dislocation may be integral to the cultural process of rendering locations and identities meaningful" (Hoffman 2002: 930). This paper will illustrate that as modernization has disrupted the traditional subsistence farming and

shepherding lifestyle of Harūb, place has become an important aspect of *badu* identity. Similarly to what Basso (1996) found among the Apache, place reaches deep into cultural spheres and becomes a symbol of tribal and cultural value.

"To belong is to matter" (Lambert et al. 2013). This is the title of a study that found correlation between a sense of belonging and meaningfulness. Most studies in the field of social psychology are based on the theory that people have an innate need to belong. Studies have shown that there are a number of positive effects in the lives of people who feel they belong to a social group such as improved health, increased academic success, stability, and ability to create shared social identity (Walton 2011; Haslam et al. 2009; Abrams and Hogg 2010; Lewin 1997; Tajfel 1982). On the other hand, the sense of not belonging, or alienation and dis-placement, often lead to mental health and motivational problems (Menzies and Davidson 2002).

If belonging is a basic fundamental need as many psychologists suggest, how do communities deal with feelings of marginality? More specifically the question I address in this paper is "How does a rural mountain community in Jazan, Saudi Arabia, who refer to themselves as *badu*, deal with marginality?" With the rise of globalization studies, attention has been directed to metropolitan areas away from rural communities, which are less ethnically diverse. However, this study follows the assumption that "people are always and everywhere caught up in a 'politics of belonging' driven by a centralization-peripheralization dynamics" (Cornips and Rooij 2018:3). This study seeks to advance research in sociolinguistic studies from the margins by looking at a marginalized rural mountain community in Jazan, Saudi Arabia who refer to themselves as *badu*.

Belonging is unarguably an important aspect to one's sense of wellbeing. But what exactly does it mean to belong? Belonging is a term used in a number of fields in the social sciences. There is no agreed upon meaning of the concept. It is clear from the numerous

ways the term belonging is used in the literature that belonging is multidimensional and often the term is not well defined. To fill this gap in the literature, Antonsich (2010) developed a framework for studying belonging based on the work of Yuval-Davis (2006). Both argue that belonging must be analyzed at two levels. The first level is place-belongingness or the sense of feeling "at home" and the second is called the politics of belonging which is the discursive process of claiming, justifying and resisting socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion.

It is significant to note that the meaning of *badu* in Jazan is not the same as in other contexts. *Badu* has been redefined in Jazan to mean a lifestyle associated with the mountains instead of the more popular understanding referring to nomadic people living in the desert. One aim of this paper is to explore the meaning of *badu* from the perspective of people in Jazan.

Using discourse analysis, I will demonstrate the ways that the people in Harūb feel marginalized resulting in a sense of not belonging. I ask the question, how do the people in Harūb construct a sense of belonging in the margins of society? How do people in Harūb use place to construct, reinforce, and circulate *badu* identity? How do people in Harūb position themselves to dominant center-periphery orderings through discursive practices? To answer this question, I will use Antonsich's (2010) analytical framework of belonging and the social identity theory that states people get a sense of who they are from the groups they belong to. I propose that as the people in Harūb discursively reinforce and circulate *badu* identity and engage in the politics of belonging, they are constructing for themselves a place to belong. This study adds to the growing body of sociolinguistic research from the margins which demonstrates that those who have been marginalized and are in the periphery have ways of resisting and repositioning themselves to dominate center-periphery structures (Cornips and Rooij 2018).

2. Jazan, Saudi Arabia

Data for this research was collected in Harūb, an administrative area in the mountains of Jazan, Saudi Arabia. Jazan is one of thirteen provinces in Saudi Arabia. The Jazan province lies on the southwestern tip of Saudi Arabia. Its population is 1,365,110 (General Authority for Statistics Kingdom of Saudi Arabia 2017). It borders Yemen in the south, the Red Sea on the west, the ʾAsīr region in the north and east. Jazan can be divided into two geological zones: the Tihāmah, or Red Sea coastal plains, and the Sarawāt mountain range. The Tihāmah consists of the coastal plains and the area extending inland towards the mountainous zone. The major cities of the province are located in the Tihāmah. The Sarawāt mountain range runs parallel to the Tihāmah from North Yemen through Jazan and into the ʿAsīr province.

Jazan has a tropical climate and high average rainfall throughout the year. Consequently, the region has traditionally had an agrarian economy dependent upon cereal crops and stock breeding. Jazan is one of the main agricultural regions in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. However, because of the political economy of the country, agricultural development has declined and is almost nonexistent in many areas.

2.1 Harūb

Harūb is located in the Sarawāt mountains, 110 km from the capital city of Jazan. Harūb has a population of 29,064 (General Authority for Statistics Kingdom of Saudi Arabia 2017) and stretches over 18,000 square km. The landscape of Harūb is a mix of valleys, hills and steep mountain peaks reaching up to 2000 meters. Most houses are scattered throughout the area with enough space for families to raise goats and sheep. Houses are more concentrated around the government center where the market was traditionally located. Although there is a higher average rainfall in the mountains and foothills than in the Tihāmah, soil erosion from the steep slopes reduces the effects of large amounts of rainfall.

For this reason, farming can only be done on level areas where soil is not susceptible to erosion. To create more farming land, networks of agricultural terraces have been built on the steep mountain sides.

Due to the rugged terrain of the foothills and highlands, the mountain region was historically isolated from the Tihāmah. Furthermore, Harūb and the Jazan mountains were not on the trading route like other areas in the ʿAsīr region and North Yemen. This isolation has resulted in the people of Harūb and the mountainous area developing a unique way of speaking that is often not understood by outsiders. The people in Harūb refer to their way of speaking as *badu*, but sometimes it is also called by the name of the tribe which connects it to the mountains.

Although modernization began in Jazan in the 1970's, development didn't reach Harūb until the 1990's when the first asphalt road was built between Harūb and the closest urban center in the Tihāmah, Ṣabya. However, development was slow partly because of the absence of a good road system and the government's focus on centers around the markets. At that time, the road to Ṣabya was poor quality and it took three hours to drive. Moreover, few people had cars.

However, since 2010, Harūb has been in a rapid state of development and modernization. This has resulted in mobility and contact with outside influences by means of easier travel to other cities through an improved road network, social media through mobile phones and internet access, teachers from outside the area at schools, travel for new job opportunities and attending university.

Harūb is an interesting field for sociolinguistic research because of its historical and social conditions. Having been isolated and self-sufficient for hundreds of years allowing the area to develop distinct language and cultural practices, it has recently started experiencing a process of modernization triggered by the government's investment in the area. One result

has been growing contact with the outside world. Furthermore, modernization has placed

Harūb at the periphery as the capital of the country, the center of power, is in Riyadh.
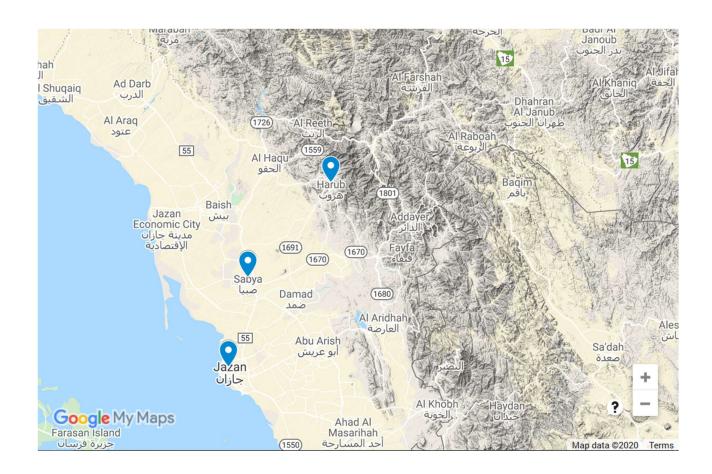

Figure 4 Map of Jazan Province (Google Maps 2020)

3. *Badu* Identity and the Social Identity Theory

Viewing identity from a social constructionist perspective, identity is understood as a

discursive construction. Identity emerges in social interaction, through everyday language

and discourse. "The focus on identity as 'doing' rather than 'being' and the de-

essentialization of the self are two central pieces of social constructionism" (Bamberg, De

Fina, & Schiffrin 2011:267). Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) define identity as "the social positioning of self to other".

This paper demonstrates how *badu* identity is constituted through the explicit naming of the social category *badu*, as well as through the use of "implicatures and presuppositions" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 594) positioning themselves, the *badu* in opposition to the "other", namely the *ħaðˤar* in the everyday speech of people in Harūb. *Badu* identity in Jazan, Saudi Arabia, is a model example of how identity is constructed, circulated and maintained through social interaction.

Badu identity in Jazan is an ideological construct that draws on the macrolevel definition of *badu* but also has been redefined to have local meaning unique to the setting. This paper aims to define the social category *badu* from a local perspective. Drawing on the global definition, *badu* is a social identity that is rooted in the ideological dichotomies of *badu* vs *ħaðˤar* or nomadic living vs sedentary living (Hafez and Slyomovics 2013). However, looking locally, *badu* has been redefined to mean a lifestyle unique to the mountains of Jazan.

The explicit reference to *badu* as an identity and social category in discourse is one of the most straightforward ways that people in Harūb constitute their identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Bamberg, De Fina, & Schiffrin 2011). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) emphasize the importance of looking at the context in which social and identity categories are talked about and how they are presented in relation to other categories to understand how identify is formed. From an ethnographic perspective, *badu* in Harūb describes someone who lives a simple lifestyle in the rural mountains raising goats and sheep. The *badu* in Harūb have a special relationship with their animals and their land. It is an identity formed out of practice, a pastoral and goat herding lifestyle. They eat simple food which usually consists of *bia:θˤa*

'sour milk', *saman* 'clarified butter', and bread cooked in the *mi:fa:* 'tandoor oven'. In some contexts, it is stigmatized with the meaning uneducated and stupid.

Badu identity is authenticated through dress and language. It is indexed by language, dress, landscape features and place, as well as traditional artifacts, mainly those used in relation to farming and goat herding. The term *badu* is used to index a range of social meaning linked to rural agrarian and cultural practices. *Badu* identity emerges, circulates and recirculates through discourse as people talk and refer to *badu* clothes, schools, areas, words, lifestyle, language, greetings, and people.

Badu identity is strengthened through increasing ideological opposition to the discrimination they feel as they are becoming more mobile and interacting with outsiders. This discrimination is most vividly experienced in relation to their way of speaking. They are told not to speak their dialect at school or when they are outside their area. In response to this, building solidarity with others who have a similar lived experience and dialect is important.

Henri Tejfel's (1978) social identity theory is useful in understanding the significance of categorizing social groups. The social identity theory states that people define who they are by the groups they are part of and belong to. When the people in Harūb construct and redefine *badu* as a social category which they belong to, they become agents in defining who they are.

4. Belonging

In Antonsich's (2010) analytical framework of belonging, he contends that any study of belonging needs to take into account two dimensions: place-belongingness and the politics of belonging. He defines place-belongingness as "feeling at home". It is an emotional attachment one has to a place. He lists five factors that feed into the feeling of place

attachment or place-belongingness: auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic, and legal.

Auto-biographical factors refer to a person's history with a place. Relational factors are the meaningful and significant relationships that connect someone to a place. Cultural factors are cultural expressions in the form of language and traditions. Economic factors are related to those things that contribute "to create a safe and stable material condition for the individual and her/his family" (Antonsich 2010:10). Legal factors are related to citizenship and residency.

However, even with all the right factors in place to enable someone to feel a sense of belonging, there is still another dimension to consider. That is related to the politics of belonging. One must be accepted in order to belong. "The 'sociology of emotions' should come to terms with the 'sociology of power'" (Antonsich 2010:12; Yuval-Davis 2005). In other words, if the people in the place where one strives to belong don't grant belonging, one will not have a sense of belonging.

Politics of belonging is the discursive practice of drawing boundaries between "us" and "them" (Yuval-Davis 2006). It is the process of constructing, claiming, justifying and resisting forms of inclusion and exclusion. There are two factors involved in the politics of belonging: membership of a group and ownership of a place (Crowley 1999:25). Antonsich (2010) adds that there are two sides of belonging: those that claim to belong and those that grant belonging.

Drawing on recorded interviews and conversations I will show how people in Harūb discursively construct feelings of place-belongingness and engage in politics of belonging.

5. Marginalization of the *Badu* in Jazan

Contact with the rest of the country as a result of modernization has brought the people of Harūb face to face with the differences between their lifestyle and those of the people living in the cities. They experience marginalization in three ways: peripheral geographic location, underdevelopment, and language discrimination. Geographically, Jazan is positioned within the periphery of the country. In addition to being over 1,000 km from the capital Riyadh, the high peaks of the Sarawāt mountains isolate the region by forming a barrier between Jazan and the rest of the country. The first highway between Jazan and Abha wasn't built until 1975. This peripheral location has resulted in Jazan being isolated from the direct social and economic influence of Riyadh. Until the last 15 years, Jazan was the most underdeveloped region in the country because of its lack of developed resources, poor physical infrastructure, and absence of institutions for higher education and technical training. Socially, because of Jazan's close proximity to Yemen, many people from other parts of the country look down on the people of Jazan because they do not consider them to be truly "Saudi" but rather Yemeni.

In addition to being located in the peripheral province of Jazan, Harūb is also located in a marginal position in the province. The mountainous terrain in the eastern area of Jazan is rugged and difficult to access. Historically the government has invested development in the cities and neglected the rural and mountainous areas. Although there has been rapid development in the rural and mountainous areas over the past ten years, the people in Harūb still lag behind the rest of the country. This underdevelopment has come to define who they are. The linguistic and cultural differences that have been shaped through lack of development have become resources for constructing *badu* identity. The following excerpt shows how marginalization and discrimination is played out and felt regarding lack of development. The following conversation took place with two sisters, aged 18 and 24 years

old. They were telling me the difference between the *ħaðˤar*, or people in the city, and *badu*, people in the mountains.

(1)   *N: ʔawwal ʃay ʕa:i:ʃu:n fi l-madi:na, ma jaxtalitˤo:n fi l-badu jaʕni ma jaʒlisu:n maʕa*

il-badu ħatta: wa iða: samʕu: kala:m il-badu, tˤannaʃu:n kala:m il-badu, jaʕni: ma:

jastaʃʃiru:n wiʃ maʕna: ði: l-kilmah. ði: l-kilamah wiʃ maʕna:ha:? la:, ma: jastafsiru:n.

S: Julie hum jaʕni il-ħaðˤari:n minʕazili:n ʕanna: minʕazili:n jaʕni ħa:ʒa:thum ɣai:rr

ʕanna:

I: layʃ

S: jaʕni: ma: jaħbu:n ʔiħna: badu

I: layʃ

S: hum ħaðˤari:n

I: layʃ ma -

N: ʔakθar ʃay il-ħaðˤar ma: jaħbu:n il-badu jaʕni jagu:lu:n -

S: jaʕni: hum ʃu:fu:n il-ħaya:t kull ʃay sˤaʕab ʕindna:

N: sˤaʕab, sˤaʕab, sˤaʕab (mimicking how the people in the city talk about them)

S: taʕrifi:n ʔe:ʃ maʕna: kalimat mitakabbir?

I: ʔei:wa

(...)

N: ʃay mu: ħilu:, il-badu mu: ħiluwi:n

I: aaa

S: ʔai:wa, hum jaʃu:fu:nna mu: ħilu: jaʃu:fu:n libsna ɣajɾ jaʃu:fu:n ʃakkalna ɣajɾ

jaʃu:fu:n ħa:ʒa:tna ɣajɾ jaʃu:fu:n ʔaklana: ɣajɾ ʕaʃa:n kiða: ma: jaxtiltˤo:n fi:na:

I: naʕam

S: kull ʃay ɣajr ʕindhum, kull ʃay min is-su:g hina: ʕindna: ɣajr

I: naʕam

N: ħaːʒaːt, dʒawalaːt

S: iħna: zamaːn ma: kaːn maʕaːy dʒawaːl, jimkin dʒawaːli: haːða: ma: sˤaːr lih miʕi: ħattaː xams sana. ma: kaːn dʒawaːl, ma: ʔaʕrif ajʃ dʒawaːl, nit, ma ʔaʕrif ʃay (...)

N: al-ʔaswaːg sˤaːru ʕindanaː, ʔawwal ma: kaːn fi ʔasˤwaːg kiða: haruːb ma: kaːn fi ʔaswaːg kiða. kaːn naːdiran suːg gahwa, suːg badʒaːjm haːdʒa basiːtˤa, bas il-ħiːn dʒaːbu: malaːbis ʕaːlija min fasaːtiːn kiða, ðahab, kull ʃay fi: haruːb, ʕatˤaːr kull ʃay dʒaːbu. titˤawaruː, titˤawaruː, wa ʔiħna: titˤawarnaː maʕaːhum: sajaraːt modiːlaːt, dʒawaːlaːt, nit (...) gabal sit sinuwaːt, ʕaʃr sinuwaːt, ma: kaːn kiða: mawjuːd kull ʃay.

N: The first thing is that they live in the city. They don't mingle with the *badu*; they don't sit with the *badu*. Even if they hear the *badu* speech, they ignore and look down on the *badu* speech. They don't ask what the meaning of this word is. "What is the meaning of this word?" No, they don't ask.

S: Julie, they, the *ħaðˤariːn*, stay away from us. I mean, they reproach us, their things are different than ours.

I: Why?

S: They don't like us, the *badu*.

I: Why?

S: They are *ħaðˤariːn*.

I: Why don't –

N: The main reason is the *ħaðˤariːn* don't like the *badu*, I mean they say –

S: They think all our things are difficult -

N: difficult, difficult, difficult (mimicking how the people in the city talk about them)

S: You know the meaning of the word *matakabar* 'conceited'?

I: Yes

(...)

N: Something that is not good, the *badu* are not good

I: Ahhh

S: Yes, they see us as not beautiful. They see our clothes are different, they see our style is different, they see our things are different, they see our food is different. Because of this they don't mingle with us.

I: Ok

S: All their things are different, all the things here from our market are different.

I: Yes

N: Things, phones

S: A long time ago I didn't have a phone. I got this phone maybe five years ago. I didn't know what phones or the internet were. I didn't know anything (...)

N: Before, we didn't have a market like this in Harūb. The market rarely had coffee, only simple house clothes. But now there are high fashion dresses, gold, perfume, everything is in Harūb now. It developed, it developed, we are as developed as them: cars, phones, internet (…) six or ten years ago all these things were not here.

In the above excerpt, two sisters, Nora and Shoqa, who consider themselves to be *badu*, draw a distinction between the *ħaðˤariːn* and the *badu* by defining the *ħaðˤariːn* in a number of ways. First, they define the *ħaðˤariːn* by place, specifically that they live in the city as opposed to the rural mountains. Nora and Shoqa construct the *ħaðˤar - badu* relationship by describing the discrimination they feel from the *ħaðˤar*. The *ħaðˤar* don't mingle with them, don't want or try to understand them, and don't like them. As they talk about the way they are treated by the *ħaðˤar*, they are reconstructing and circulating the sense

of not belonging and not feeling "at home" in the city. It is clear from the perspective of Nora and Shoqa that they are not accepted in the city. This relates to the politics of belonging. The *ħaðˤar* do not allow the *badu* to belong in the city as they are clearly not accepted in the city.

The city is a representation of development and all the resources that the country has to offer. As Nora explains at the end of the excerpt, this development is something they have missed out on only until recently. The explanation Nora and Shoqa give for the *ħaðˤariːn* not liking them is that the *badu* things are different than the *ħaðˤar* things. These cultural differences are a result of center-periphery dynamics. As the center was the priority of development for the government, the periphery was neglected. As Nora defends the *badu* in the end of the excerpt by saying that they didn't even know what a phone or the internet was five years ago, she is expressing a dynamic of powerlessness, of marginalization. It wasn't within their control to be different as they were left out of the development.

The lack of development in the area has resulted in stigmatization and discrimination as the *ħaðˤariːn* stay segregated from the *badu* and actually reproach them as Shoqa reported. Nora mimicked how the *ħaðˤariːn* describe all the things of the *badu* as "difficult, difficult, difficult". By labeling the *badu* things as difficult, the *ħaðˤariːn* construct a boundary between them and the *badu*. On another occasion one of the sisters told me about a time they recently went to a park in Ṣabya and her brothers were not able to play with the *ħaðˤariːn* kids.

Last week we visited friends in Ṣabya . We went to the park. My brothers were playing and saying things like *hiːʃ* 'go', *taːʔ* 'this', *ʃawwar* 'he ran'. The *ħaðˤari* kids looked at them like "What are you saying? What is this language?" So they (the *ħaðˤariːn*) didn't play with them.

(Fieldnotes 17.2.5)

The people of Harūb have become aware of their marginalized position as they see the lack of development in their area and feel the discrimination that is played out through language practices. Most of the people I interviewed talked about this discrimination as the following examples show.

(2)   *fiː sˤabjaː, gaːlo: li: la: tatakalam bi luɣattʃim, la: tatakalam bi lahdʒattʃim fiː sˤabia: liʔanu ma: jafhamuːnhaː. tˤulaːb fi: l-dʒaːmiʕah ga:lo: la: tatakalim ʕala:na bi-lahadʒattʃa . hum jaguːluːn j-aːxi ma: tatakalim bi-lisaːn ħagak, jaʕni ma: tatakalim bi-lahadʒa ħag il-badu, faqaṭ ħag il-mudun zay sˤabja: zay jaʕni dʒiːzaːn, liʔanu ma: jafham ma: jafhamniː.*

In Ṣabya, they say to me don't speak your language, don't speak your dialect in Ṣabya. Students at the university say don't talk to us in your dialect. They say, brother, don't speak with your native tongue meaning don't speak the *badu* dialect. Only speak the dialect of the cities like Ṣabya, like Jizan, because they don't understand, they don't understand me.

In the above example, Yahya recalls how the students at the university didn't want him to speak his dialect, even to the point that they told him not to speak it. Through linguistic practices, the people in the cities have defined who belongs and who doesn't. Only those who speak like the cities are accepted to belong. In the next example, Ali reports the same experience in the city of Ṣabya.

(3)   Sometimes if I speak this dialect in Ṣabya they will ask me please don't speak in

        jabaliyya. This is the language of the mountainous region.

A common phenomenon in center-periphery dynamics is the stigmatization of ways of speaking of marginalized or peripheralized people. Cornips and Rooij (2018:4) explain, "Because of the prestige of the national standard variety, speakers in the periphery are perceived not to speak 'the right way' and are often negatively stereotyped as backward when they speak 'dialect' or a 'minority language'". In the next example Ali talks about the negative stereotype associated with their way of speaking in Harūb.

(4)   Sometimes I think they feel shame to speak the dialect with other people because

        there were no paved roads from Ṣabya, ok, but nowadays here in Harūb you can find

        people from all over the country. They feel shame maybe to speak in their dialect

        because they want to try to be modern.

As cultural and linguistic differences become evident because of mobility, these "linguistic and cultural differences between the perceived center and periphery are never socially neutral but constitute rich resources for social meaning making in identity work" (Cornips and Rooij 2018: 4).

6. Place-Making

In line with Antonsich's analytical framework which points out that part of engaging in the politics of belonging is to claim ownership of a place, the people of Harūb view place as a critical aspect of *badu* identity. In fact, place is used to define *badu* identity. Place and

badu identity are inseparable. In this section I will discuss the semiotic process of place-making and how it informs *badu* identity.

There are several ways to think about place and space but what is consistent in the literature is that place and space are distinguishable in that place is space that has been given social meaning. As Tuan (1991:6) explains, "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value." For Relph (1976) place is experienced phenomenologically and space is changed to place as individuals and groups fill it with meaning.

Distinguishing space from place involves semiotic processes of meaning making through discourse, memories, and attachment. Understanding place is to understand the relationship one has with the physical place and the people involved there. Place is more than the physical environment but includes all the different human activity and social and psychological processes that occur in that location (Stedman 2003).

Places can be narrated in discourse and they can also be constructed in shared practice. Lived experiences that are shared by a community within a location infuse the physical environment with shared and individual meanings. One of the main ways that people in Harūb have developed place is through shared lived experiences. Several studies have been conducted showing the connection between daily life routines and the making of place. Marshall and Foster (2002) write about a small community's dependence on fishing for economic and social sustenance on Grand Manan Island, Canada. This dependence gave residents a seasonal rhythm of daily life involving the various tasks involved with the fisheries which governed their social life, behavior, and ultimately their identity.

Dominy (2001) gives an ethnographic description of how the shared experience of farming and raising sheep in the high-country of New Zealand is a resource for filling the

landscape with meaning through narratives of belonging which creates a sense of identity and belonging with the physical environment.

Quin and Halfacre (2014) show how farmers often develop a deep attachment to their land through the activities they perform such as taking care of the animals and cultivating the land. "Through receiving, giving, and seeking security farmers act as both a caregiver to their land and one who receives care".

Gray (2011) shows that as shepherds in the Scottish border region live out their daily routines of walking and shepherding their sheep through the hillside they participate in the construction of local identity. Grubb (2005) shows how marginalized men construct and claim a sense of belonging to a place by participating in the collection of jade in rural Northern West Coast of the South Island of New Zealand. "Identity and belonging can thus be created, constructed, shaped, and maintained through engaging in practices and behaviors that connect individuals to particular landscapes." (Sampson and Goodrich 2009:904). In discourse, individuals draw on the physical landscape to symbolically construct community. In return, the constructed community is the mechanism whereby people develop a sense of belonging and identity.

Place-making becomes especially important for communities who feel threatened. "Research has suggested that speakers confronted with social and economic change may use features associated with a traditional place identity as a way to resist change or reformulate its meaning" (Johnstone 2011:212). One aim of this paper is to show how the people in Harūb use the semiotic resource of place to define the social category *badu*.

7. Method

Data for this study was collected as part of my PhD research. I lived in Harūb from 2013 – 2017 with my family, and ethnographic data was collected over the last 19 months

while living there in the form of fieldnotes, participant observation, and recordings of interviews and casual conversations. Although many people were welcoming and wanted to help me with my research, due to the conservativeness of the community, it was difficult to record interviews and conversations. Over the course of time three families consented to having our conversations and interviews recorded. I spent most of my time between six families. Sixteen participants were recruited for the recordings. Interviews and conversations were in Arabic and I reviewed recordings with local speakers to check for meaning of content.

I integrated my life with the community and spent much of my time in homes, at school with my children, at social events such as weekly gatherings and weddings, at parks, and at local festivals. My role in the community was first as a friend and neighbor and second as a researcher. At times, it was awkward switching between the two roles. Although there were disadvantages to being a friend and a researcher, in this situation, my friendship ended up being a key in collecting data as it was needed to build trust and enter the everyday lives of the community. It gave me time to build trust with people, to get a feel for daily rhythms of life, and to become familiar with salient features in the language. Since this was a conservative area and people were self-conscious and suspicious of outsiders wanting to record them, seeing me as a friend made them more comfortable and they let down their guard more than if I had been seen just as a researcher. In addition, because of the strict social separation of men and women, my husband conducted interviews for me with men.

7.1 Data Analysis

Recorded interviews, casual conversations and fieldnotes were analyzed for ways people talked about place, belonging and identity. The categorization of *badu* and *ħaðˤar* as social groups emerged as a common theme. The results of the analysis show that people in

Harūb draw on the semiotic resources of place-making to inform *badu* identity. Additionally, the meaning given to place is drawn from a lifestyle of animal herding and subsistence farming and emphasizes self-sufficiency, independence and freedom. In the process of constructing *badu* identity, the people in Harūb discursively construct place-belongingness and engage in the politics of belonging.

7.1.1 Place-Belongingness

(5) *Y: wa ani: sa:kin ðil-ħi:n maʕa ʕammi:, gari:b min abi ɣari:b min bayt ħag abi: min –*

bisim jaʕni – maka:n nafs il-maka:n, wa lħamdulila ʕa:i:ʃi:n ʕala: l-ɣanam wa l-

ð ʕaʔ:n wa l-bagar wa l-ɣanam haðo:l fi: ħaja:t - nafs il-mintiqat il-ba:dija.

I: kayf il-ħaja:t fi: l-dʒiba:l

Y: naʕam naʕi:ʃ fi l-dʒiba:l. fi: haru:b dʒiba:l mirtafaʕa miθl abha:. jaʕni fi hawa:

zayna fi l-ba:dija wa bardu: bardu: bra:d wa bas wagt isʕ-sʕaif fi:ha za:ħa:na ʃuwaja

wagt isʕ-sʕaif, illi: jagu:lu: laha: ħara:ra wa iħna: nigu:l za:ħa:na. ha:ði bi-nissba ʕan

ħaja:ti: wa ʔaxuwa:ti: wa kull maɣa:ð ʕi:na min haru:b. wa iða: nibɣa: niʃtari: lil-bayt

maɣa:ð ʕi: wa nibɣa: na:xuð ħa:dʒa:t ʔakil, ʃurb, ʃay, xoð ʕra, na:xuðhim min haru:b,

nisu:g haru:b, naʃtari:ha: wa ruħ bilha: l-bayt. ma: niruħ sʕabja illa: li ħa:dʒa:

muhima. ʔiða fi: ʃay ma: mawʒu:d fi: haru:b naru:ħ sʕabija. kull ħaja:tna:

mawdʒu:di:n fi ad-di:ra jaʕni fi l-ba:dija fi l-badu.

Y: Now I live with my paternal uncle close to my father, close to my father's house - the name – it is the same place - and praise God the goats, baby goats, cows, goats live in the same *al-badija* 'land of the Bedouin'.

I: How is life on the mountain?

Y: Yes, we live on the mountain. In Harūb the mountains are as high as those in

Abha. The is good air in *al-badija* 'land of the Bedouin'. it is cool, cool, cool but in

the summer it is a little *zaːħaːna* 'hot'. In the summer they (those outside Harūb) say

it is *ħaraːra*, 'hot' and we say it is *zaːħaːna*, 'hot'. This is my life and my brothers

and sisters and all the house things are from Harūb. When we want to buy something

for the house we take it from Harūb, food, drinks, vegetables, we take it from Harūb.

We drive to Harūb, we buy it and we go to the house. We don't go to Ṣabya except

for important things if something isn't in Harūb, we go to Ṣabya. All of our life is in

our homeland, in the area of *al-badija* 'land of the Bedouin' where the *badu* are.

The above excerpt is taken from an interview my husband conducted with Yahya.

Yahya is married with three children. He studied and graduated from Jazan University. He

was offered a job outside of Harūb when he graduated but declined it because he didn't want

to live away from his family. In his response to the question "tell me about your life" there

are a number of ways Yahya discursively constructs a sense of belonging by referring to

some of the factors Antonsich (2010) offers as generating feelings of attachment and sense of

place.

Yahya focuses on auto-biographical factors related to place by pointing out that he

lives with his paternal uncle and close to his father's house. These are significant family

relationships that connect him and his life to the community where he is living. He names the

area where he lives *al-badija*, which refers to the place where the *badu* live, or the land of the

badu. Yahya self identifies as *badu* and so by calling the area where he lives *al-badija*, he is

making a statement that this is his and his family's land. He expands on this line of reasoning

when he says "all of our life is in our homeland meaning in the area of *al-badija* where the

badu are." As Antonsich points out, the place where one grew up and the "continued

presence of family members in that place" are powerful contributors to the sense of place-belongingness (Antonsich 2010:8). Yahya strengthens his strong sense of place in the above discourse.

Yahya reinforces a sense of belonging when he talks about the significant relationships he has where he lives. Researchers on place attachment have found that people feel more attached to a place when in that place they have meaningful caring personal and social relationships characterized as being significant, constant, and long lasting (Antonsich 2010). As Yahya points out the different family members who live near him, father, uncle, brothers and sisters, he is constructing feelings of place belongingness as these are the kind of relationships that are significant and necessary "to generate a sense of connectedness to others on which belonging relies" (Baumeister and Leary 1995:500; Sicakkan 2005:25-26).

Yahya continues to strengthen his sense of belonging when he refers to language, one of the most important cultural expressions (Buonfino and Thomson 2007). He uses the local word for "hot" *za:ħa:na* and then points out that "they", referring to those in the cities, say *ħara:ra*. Language can evoke a feeling of intimacy as it connects a person to their auto-biographical place and makes one feel at home (Ignatieff 1994). "It can also create a feeling of community (Hooks 2009:24).

Yahya continues to foster feelings of belonging when he refers to economic factors, pointing out that most everything they need, food, drinks, vegetables, are from Harūb and that they don't need to go to Ṣabya to get it.

7.1.2 Politics of Belonging

(6)   F: *ħaðˤar u badu, ʔayʃ jaˤni ħaðˤar u ʔayʃ jaˤni badu? il-badu ˤinduhum il-ma:ˤiz wa l-ɣanam wa l-bagar wa l-ʔibal jaˤni ħaja:tuhum ħurrijja wa arðˤuhum milk lihum. il-*

*ħaðˤar laː, il- ħaðˤar fi l-madiːna, jaʕniː zay sˤabja wa jaːzaːn, il-manaːṭiq illi
jisammuːnaha ħaðˤar. jaʕni maː ʕinduhum asˤħaːb al-waðˤaːif bas hinaː laː, il-badu
muxtalifiːn fi l-libs u fi l-lahadʒa u fi t-taqaːliːd ... maθalan iz-zawaːj, maθalan iz-
zijaːraːt, maθalan fiː ʃay jaʕni fi l- ħaðˤar hum jasawuːnah iħna maː nisawiːha hinaː.
zay il-ʔiħtifalaːt il-kaθiːra haːði wa l-ʔazaːjm wa l-ʔaʕaraːs, iħna hina fi l-badu maː
nisawiːha. iħtifalaːtanaː fi l-ʔaʕaraːs midʒarad ʔahal il-ʕaruːs wa ʔahal il-zauːdʒ
jadʒamaʕuːn wa jiswuːn ðabiːħa u xalaːsˤ. bas jaʕni kēf ʕala ħasab ʕala mazaːdʒhum
jaʕni ʔanaː ʔaguːl ʔin il-badu akθar ʃay jemlikuːnah il-ħurrijja, ħatta l-ħaðˤar jaʕni
bas fi jxtalif... il-bayt ʕindhum ʔidʒaːr wa maː ʕindhum maːʕiz - jxtalif jaʕni ... iħna
aɣraːðˤanaː zay haːði faruːʃ... il- ħaðˤar ʕindhum kaːnab, kuraːsi, haːði l- ħaðˤar.*

F: *ħaðˤar* and *badu*. What is the meaning of *ħaðˤar* and what is the meaning of *badu*?
The *badu* have goats, sheep, cows, camels. Their life is free and they own their land.
The *ħaðˤar* no, the *ħaðˤar* are in the city like Ṣabya and Jazan. These areas are called
ħaðˤar. They aren't self-employed. But here, no, the *badu* no, there is a difference in
celebrations, in clothing, in dialect and in traditions... For example marriage, for
example visiting, for example there are things the *ħaðˤar* do that we don't do here,
like a lot of parties, social gatherings and weddings. We the *badu* don't do that. For
example, for our weddings only the bride's family and the groom's family gather
together and make a sacrifice and that is it. It's as you like, depending on your desire.
I say the greatest thing the *badu* have is freedom. Even the *ħaðˤar*, but there is a
difference. They rent the house and they don't have goats, they are different, they
don't have the same household things like this furniture (pointing to the cot we were
sitting on), the *ħaðˤar* have sofas and chairs, this is *ħaðˤar*.

Fatima engages in politics of belonging as she names *ħaðˤar* and *badu* reinforcing the already constructed social categories. Throughout the excerpt she draws boundaries of "us" *badu* and "them" as she defines each group. She constructs place and uses it to define *badu* as she draws boundaries with the words "here", "there", "the city". *Badu* is defined in opposition to an imagined "other", the *ħaðˤar*. She constructs oppositions throughout her explanation defining what the different social categories do: own animals vs not, own their land vs renting a house, have a lot of celebrations vs simple traditions, and have modern household furniture vs none.

Ħaðˤar is not only people, but she defines it as a place when she says, "these areas are called *ħaðˤar*". This concept that a social category occupies not just a social space but a physical space as well is consistent with what other researchers of belonging have found. "Membership (to a group) and ownership (of a place) are the key factors in any politics of belonging" (Crowley 1999:25).

In addition to connecting the social categories *badu* and *ħaðˤar* with place, these social categories and places are also connected with language. In the following excerpt, Shoqa links language with place when she explains that people who live in the city speak like the city, even if they are from Harūb.

(7) S: *jaʕni illiː saːkiniːn fi l-madiːna tataɣijjar lahaʒathum - is-saːkiniːn fi l-madiːna jaʕni*

N: *ħattaː wa ʔiðaː kaːnuː haruːbijiːn*

S: *jaʕni bas saːkiniːn fi l-madiːna xalaːsˤ hum jisˤiruːn jatakalimuːn nafs illiː fi l-madiːna, laːkin ʔiðaː hum ʒaːlisiːn baynanaː kiðaː jasmaʕuːn lahadʒatnaː wa kalaːmanaː kalaːm il-badu, laː jitkalamuːn bi lahadʒatnaː, bas ʔiðaː sˤaːr lhum fatra tˤawiːla fi l-madiːna jitkalmuːn bi lahaʒat il-madiːna.*

S: Those (people from Harūb) who live in the city change their dialect – they live in the city -

N: Even if they were *Haru:bii:n* 'people from Harūb'

S: But they lived in the city and that settles it, they began to speak like the (people) in the city. But if they sit with us like this and hear our dialect and the *badu* language, they don't speak our dialect. If they live a long time in the city they will speak the city dialect.

Language is also used to construct opposition as people often made statements like "*ħaðˤari* say *moija* 'water' but we say *me:jo* 'water'", *"The ħaðˤari* say *namla* 'ant' for this, but we don't say *namla* 'ant', we say *wa:lija* 'ant'", *"My dialect and the ħaðˤar* dialect*"*, and from Yahya's excerpt above "they say it is *ħara:ra,* 'hot' and we say it is *za:ħa:na"*.

The above examples show some of the ways that people in Harūb engage in politics of belonging mainly by participating in "boundary discourses and practices which separate 'us' from 'them'" (Antonsich 2010; Lovell 1998:53; Bhambra 2006:39; Yuval-Davis 2006:204).

7.1.3 Place-Making

As the politics of belonging involves group membership as well as place ownership, "belonging to a place becomes one and the same as belonging to a group of people, i.e., belonging becomes synonymous with identity, both social and individual" (Antonsich 2010; Lovell 1998:1). The significance of the semiotic process of place-making is that the meaning given to place is also given to the group members who claim ownership of that place. Following Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory, individuals understand and define who they

are by the groups they are part of. So place making, group identity, and the defining of self

are interrelated. In this next section I will show the ways that meaning is infused into the

landscape of Harūb and how it feeds into and informs *badu* identity.

Above, Fatima and Yahya both draws on the symbol "goats and sheep" as they describe

the *badu*. Goats and sheep index a way of life that draws on a shared lived experience of the

residents in Harūb. The various tasks involved with raising goats and sheep has ordered their

social life and behavior to the point that it has become their very identity. This is similar to

what Dominy (2001), Quin and Halfacre (2014), Gray (2011), and Grubb (2005) found in

their studies on how shared lived experiences revolving around activities such as farming,

shepherding and fishing can connect people to the land and shape individual and group

identity.

The following excerpt from my fieldnotes illustrates how closely *badu* identity is

connected to place and shared lived experience.

> One lady, seeing that I was clearly not from Harūb, turned to me and said, "here there
>
> are *badu* there are no *ħaðˤari* ". "What is the difference?" I asked. She explained,
>
> "*Badu* have goats, sheep, and cows. People go out with their goats and sheep."
>
> (Fieldnotes 16.4.24)

Although the practice of shepherding has been in decline for the past 20 years or

more, it is still talked about and referenced throughout people's everyday speech. A majority

of households still have goats and sheep that they care for even though the practice of how

they care for them has changed. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes illustrates the

significance caring for goats and sheep has in the life of many people in Harūb. Jamila is

Fatima's mother who did not got to school and spent the first 20 years of her life as a shepherdess, spending her days out in the hills, valleys and mountains with her animals.

> The goats and sheep had been sick at their new house where they just moved about a year ago and their condition was only getting worse. So, the father took them back to the first house where there is less sun exposure and more places for the animals to walk around. However, Jamila missed them so much she bought new goats and sheep (40,000 riyals worth). As she explained how she bought new goats and sheep, she wrinkled her eyes and face and pretended to hold something to her face and kiss it. Then she exclaimed that she loves goats and sheep because her whole life has been taking care of them and that she needs them in her life.

> (Fieldnotes 16.11.14)

Returning to Fatima's discourse in example (6), she continues to draw on shared lived experience as she describes who the *badu* are by using traditions and lifestyle. The different traditions and lifestyle of the *badu* are an extension of a lifestyle that has been dictated by shepherding and subsistence farming. For example, she describes the *badu* weddings as "only the bride's family and the groom's family gather together." These kinds of simple traditions were necessary when their livelihood was dependent on their subsistence farming and pastoral lifestyle. She connects these traditions to place by using the word "here". The household things that the *ħaðˁar* have which the *badu* do not are things that one can't buy in Harūb (or at least at the time of this research).

Both Fatima and Yahya emphasize qualities of freedom and independence that come with a lifestyle of shepherding and subsistence farming. Fatima points out that the *badu* have a free life when she says "their life is free" and "they own their land. She also points out that

unlike the *ħaðˤar,* the *badu* work for themselves – drawing on lifestyle of shepherding. She defines *badu* as freer based on their lifestyle "I would say that the *badu* are freer". She implies that the *ħaðˤar,* on the other hand, are not self-sufficient because they "rent" their houses and don't have goats. In example (5), Yahya's mentioning of the goats and cows is drawing on the symbol of self-sufficiency. These animals provide food as he explains in another part of the interview "they (the *badu*) don't need anything, they have *saman* 'clarified butter', *honey*, *bees*, *goats* and *meat*."

In Fatima's example above we also see another example of how cultural differences are not neutral. They are imbued with meaning and can be used for identity construction. In example three above, Fatima uses the cultural differences of the *badu* to define and create solidary among the *badu*. The same resources that Shoqa and Nora said were used to discriminate against them are used here by Fatima to build solidarity among the *badu* when she uses them to define *badu* by saying "But here, no, the *badu* no, there is a difference in celebrations, clothing, dialect and traditions."

The meaning given to place in the above passages is tied to a shared lived experience by the people in Harūb. It is founded on the symbol of goats and sheep that reference a lifestyle revolving around shepherding. Fatima directly gives meaning of self-sufficiency and freedom to place. Yahya also implies self-sufficiency when he points out that most everything they need, food, drinks, vegetables, are from Harūb and that they don't need to go to Ṣabya, the closest city, to get it.

People in Harūb draw on the semiotic resources constructed through place-making to inform their identity. The symbols and meaning connected to place are qualities of self-sufficiency, independence and freedom.

8. Conclusion

In this paper I have shown how people in Harūb, a rural marginalized mountain community in Jazan, Saudi Arabia, are dealing with marginality resulting from modernization and rapid technological change. Driven by the need to belong, people in Harūb construct and reinforce *badu* identity as a way of resisting the marginal position imposed on them. *Badu* identity is an ideological construct that is formed, reinforced and circulated through discourse using the semiotic resources of place and language in Jazan.

Badu is defined by place and it is through social interaction that places are imbued with meaning. Dixon and Durrheim (2000) argue, "Language becomes the force that binds people to places. It is through language that everyday experiences of self-in-place form and mutate; moreover, itis through language that places themselves are imaginatively constituted in ways that carry implications for 'who we are'(or 'who we claim to be')"(Dixon and Durrheim 2000:32).

Furthermore, language has become a marker of (un)belonging in a place. Through language practices, the *badu* are not granted belonging in the city. In turn, in order to create solidarity, the very resources that have been used to discriminate against the people in Harūb, language and place, have become the resources they draw on to define *badu* identity. As Preston (2013:177) points out "speakers of devalued varieties (like prejudiced-against groups in general) derive solidarity from their distinctive behaviors".

The distinct landscape of the mountains has been infused with meaning associated with a way of life revolving around subsistence farming and the raising of livestock. Symbols which represent this lifestyle are drawn on to define *badu*. Even as the way of farming and animal husbandry has changed, the symbols that have been linked with place keep this way of life alive as individuals continue to use these symbols to define themselves.

Through the semiotic process of place-making, people in Harūb engage in the politics of belonging, construct place-belongingness and assign qualities of self-sufficiency and freedom to the distinct mountainous landscape. As the people in Harūb draw on these resources, constructing and maintaining *badu* identity, they put themselves back in the "center" giving themselves a place to belong.

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Chapter 7: Chronotopes of *Zamān* 'the Past' and *Alḥīn* 'Now' in Harūb, Saudi Arabia

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Chronotopes of *Zamān* 'the Past' and *Alḥīn* 'Now' in Harūb, Saudi Arabia

Abstract

Women's role in Harūb drastically changed when new power structures were instituted. This paper analyzes the accounts of the past and present as told by younger and older generation women using the concept of chronotope. Those born before the change in power narrate a *freedom to confinement* chronotope while those born after the change in power narrate an *ignorant to educated* chronotope. Through the telling of these opposing accounts, these two generations of women engage in stancetaking, (dis)aligning with the Saudi state and with each other. Ultimately, as the younger women accept the new account and reject their mother's perspective, the collective memory of the community is changed.

Keywords: collective memory, stancetaking, chronotope, nation building, Saudi Arabia

1. Introduction

It is *il-ʿaṣr*, the time between the late afternoon prayer and the sunset prayer, a typical time for visiting with friends and neighbors. Our car tires slip as my husband drives me up the steep gravel driveway. We stop at the house at the top of the ridge. On the right, there is a newly built concrete water tank that is filled every week by a water truck from the city. On the left, there is a small square rock building for the goats. A large cinderblock wall encircles the house. From each direction I look down into a large valley below, and across to distant hills and mountains reaching 1800 meters high. I get out of the car to the smell of manure and the bleating of goats and sheep as I walk the rest of the dusty road to the house. I approach the gate on the women's side of the house. Here there is a 3 x 6 meter walled cemented area. It is a safe place for women to sit outside without being seen by men.

Walking through the gate, I see Um Mohammad, who is about 44 years old, wearing a traditional colorful dress and large straw hat, in the outer courtyard feeding the goats and sheep. Her daughter, age 18, greets me and brings me to the woman's sitting room. In contrast she is wearing a western style skirt and top. She greets me and speaks to me in standard Arabic, which she learned in school, so that I can understand her. She brings me to the women's sitting room.

After half an hour Um Mohammad comes in. She apologizes for not coming sooner, but she explains she was out feeding her goats. She continues to explain that she loves her goats and has been taking care of them all her life since she was little. Her speech, in contrast to her daughter's, is hard for me to understand. She greets me with the traditional greetings ʾaḥuwālči 'how are you', ḥayyāči āllah 'welcome,' replacing the more common /k/ sound with /tʃ/. She is not able to accommodate her speech so that I can understand her as easily as her daughters can. She did not go to school. She has henna on her hands and feet. Her hair is parted down the middle with two braids, one on each side of her head. There is ṭīb, an orangish brown sweet smelling powder, in the middle part of her hair. The contrast between these two generations of women is drastic even though there is only 25 years difference in their ages.

During the three years I lived in Harūb, I went to numerous such houses and experienced this same scenario: two generations of women with drastically different lifestyles living in the same house. Modernization has happened quickly in Harūb; consequently, conversations often turned to the past and how life was zamān, 'in the past'. After collecting data through casual conversations, informal interviews, and participant observation, and analyzing it for themes, I found not only a difference in the lifestyle of these two generations of women, but also a difference in how they talk about the past and about life today. This

paper employs discourse analysis on the descriptions about the past and present told by the younger and older generations of women.

The role of women in Harūb was drastically changed when new power structures were instituted by the Saudi Arabian state through the education system and the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice, sometimes known as the religious police [57]. Before this change in power, women and men were both part of the public sphere of society. Women were the main keepers of the sheep and goats, leaving their houses early in the morning to roam the hills and valleys finding places for their animals to eat. They regularly went to the weekly market and also participated in *laʕba* 'poetry performed at special events'. However, 20 years later, there is an absence of women in public. They have been restricted to their homes and are only tolerated outside when necessary. How do the women in Harūb make sense of the drastic change of their role in society? How do the older women feel about being restricted to the private sphere? How do the younger women rationalize the difference between their lives and the lives of their mothers?

Although Harūb was officially part of Saudi Arabia in 1932, the government did not begin enforcing their administration and developing the area until the 1990s. These changes took place in the rest of the country earlier, but the rugged terrain of the mountains and political reasons slowed the change in the area around Harūb. Because of these delayed changes, during my field research in 2014-2018 I was able to hear stories from women who lived before the institution of the state and those who were born after it.

As a result of new power structures, two different accounts are told by the women I spent time with in Harūb about *zamān* 'the past' and *alḥīn* 'now'. In analyzing these

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[57] The Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice is the Saudi government religious authority tasked with implementing Islamic law by monitoring social behavior, including proper dress and gender segregation.

discourses I found the concept of chronotope, developed by literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) valuable. The women who were not educated and hence not subject to the power structure instituted in the educational system, construct a different chronotope about the past and present than do the younger women who attended school.

The aim of this paper is two-fold. First, it demonstrates how nation building can alter the collective memory of a community by silencing those memories that contradict the ideology of the nation state. Collective memory in this sense is understood as a collectively shared representation of the past (Halbwachs 1950). Second, it shows how two generations of women in Harūb use subtle discursive strategies of stancetaking to (dis)align with each other as they give an account describing the past and the present. The construction of chronotope is an act of stancetaking because of its ideological nature (Britt 2018; Ennis 2019; Riskedahl 2007; Woolard 2013). For the older women this happens as they tell of a life in the past that was free, good and better than now. Through stancetaking, positionality and evaluation, the older women distance themselves from and reject the chronotope narrated by the younger generation and its underlying ideology. On the other hand, the younger women take a stance by aligning with the state when they recirculate the chronotope that the past was a time of ignorance, and they accept the changed role of women in society. Through retelling this chronotope, they reject the account of their mothers and change the collective memory of the community.

2. Establishment of the Saudi State

"On September 23, 1932, the country was named the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, an Islamic state with Arabic as its national language and the Holy Qur'an as its constitution" (www.saudiembassy.net/history).

To understand how changes in power dynamics changed the lives of women and their understanding of the past, it is critical to understand how Saudi Arabia became a country. Before Saudi Arabia was conceived, the Arabian Peninsula consisted of fragmented territories and tribal areas. To bring unification among these tribes, Abdulaziz Al-Saud, the founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, needed a higher cause or entity greater than the tribe to rally around. Unlike the surrounding countries which were able to rally around anti-colonial national discourse, the Arabian Peninsula had no colonial rule to rally against and needed something different. In its place, solidarity was constructed around the call to return to a pure form of Islam, sometimes referred to as Wahhabi Islam, which was first preached by the early 18th century Muslim scholar and reformer Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab. Abdulaziz Al-Saud and Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab partnered together to create the current Saudi state.

> To unify a dispersed and culturally diverse population that had maintained its autonomy vis-à-vis foreign powers, the Saudi state relied on transforming Wahhabi Islam into religious nationalism. Wahhabi religious nationalism aspired to provide a common overarching Islamic identity in the absence of a common culture and the prevalence of deep-rooted local urban and tribal identities (Al-Rasheed 2015, 67).

Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab's interpretation of Islam was narrow and connected with a small community that practiced this form of religion in the Najd, central Arabia. Because these ideas were foreign to the rest of the country, scholars and religious leaders who specialized in this interpretation of Islam, the *ulama,* were sent from the central part of Saudi Arabia to the rest of the country. Through these scholars and leaders, they sought to build the nation under religious nationalism, requiring conformity to what has been known as Wahhabi Islam or Wahhabiyya.

Homogenising religion became a priority for the state after conquest. For this purpose, the state endeavoured to enforce uniformity through law and public appearances. Judges from the central Najdi heartland, preachers, vigilantes, and religious educators were the first to be sent out to distant regions. Their presence was an indicator of the subjugation of territories and the Islamisation of space (Al-Rasheed 2015, 70-71).

The two main ways the Saudi government spread the ideology of a unified religious nation was through the establishment of the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and Prohibition of Vice, sometimes called the *haya* for short, and through the newly established school system. However, these systems did not come into full force until the state received profits from oil revenue in the 1970s. This educational and political campaign began in the main cities of Riyadh, Dammam, and Jeddah and eventually spread to the rural areas. Due to poor roads and infrastructure, Jazan was one of the last places to be developed by the Saudi state. It was not until the 1990s and even as late as 2008 that schools and the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and Prohibition of Vice were established in many of the rural mountain areas of Jazan.

2.1 Women and Nationalism

In the history of nation building, women have often been used to symbolize the morals and norms of nations (Joseph 2000). For example, colonialization has been justified through discourse emphasizing the need to liberate oppressed women (Al-Rasheed 2013). Secular nationalists have used the education of women and their participation in the workforce as a symbol of modernization and progressive politics (Kandiyoti 1991; Al-Rasheed 2013, 3; Joseph 2006, 6). Other nations have imaged women as preserving a nation's traditional essence or authenticating "home" (Ismailbekova 2016; Joseph 2000). So, it is not unique that in the formation of the Saudi state "women were singled out as fundamental pillars of this

imagined religious community" (Al-Rasheed 2013, 15). This explains why women's public behavior has been vital to the image of the Saudi state. Doumato describes what she calls the *ideal Islamic woman* that is defined by the Saudi state as a woman veiled, not mixing with men, and staying at home with her family. This imagined *ideal Islamic woman* is officially promoted in state agencies and incorporated in public policy (Doumato 1992).

> Wahhabi religious nationalism is a project that goes beyond simple piety and conformity to Islamic teachings. It has been the main contributor to a persistent tradition whereby women have become symbols of national identity and authenticity. Like secular nationalism, Wahhabi religious nationalism seeks to preserve the family and women's status within this private domain in order to achieve the ultimate restoration of the pious religious community. Women become boundary markers that visibly and structurally distinguish this pious nation from other ungodly polities. Hence, the obsession with their bodies, appearance, segregation, purity, and sexuality tend to reflect the process whereby women have become signals marking the boundaries of the nation.   (Al-Rasheed 2013, 16-17)

2.2 Women and Education

King Saud gave the royal decree opening the first girls' school in 1960. The decree stated:

> In consultation with religious scholars, orders are given to establish schools to educate girls in religious matters (Quran, Creed, and Fiqh), and other sciences that are accepted in our religious tradition such as house management, bringing up children and disciplining them. We gave orders to set up a committee, *haya*, consisting of ulama of high rank who jealously guard religion, to supervise the matter under the guidance of sheikh Muhammad ibn Ibrahim. Teachers should be selected from the Kingdom and others who are known for good creed and faith.

(Al-Rasheed 2013, 91)

From the beginning the purpose for educating women was not to prepare them with skills for the workplace but for molding them into the *ideal Islamic woman* (Doumato 1992; Nevo 1998). One third of the national curriculum consists of religious studies (Nevo 1998).

2.3 How religious nationalism changed the lives of women in Harūb

The religious nationalism enforced through the education system completely changed women's way of life in Harūb. Many of the activities women participated in did not fit with the image of *the ideal Islamic woman* that the state was promoting. So, girls were taught in school and through the *haya* to stop participating in those activities. Throughout my fieldnotes and recordings I have firsthand accounts of how the education system and the *haya* changed the lives of people, especially women, in Harūb. In the following interview Salha talks about how she used to like listening to music but now she doesn't because in school there was a devoutly religious teacher who changed the girls' thinking from bad to good.

Salha

Salha is 30 years old and not married. She lives in her mother's house and graduated from university. She is an entrepreneur and has started and run a number of small businesses. She travels outside of Harūb regularly for work. She chooses not to speak the Harūb dialect because she has many friends and colleagues outside of the area. The following excerpt is from a formal interview with her at the beginning of my research. I met her at work and the interview took place in her office.

(Ex 1) *S: kān zamān yaʿjibni (.) ʾaġāni (.) mūsīqa (.) al-ḥīn laʾ*

    I: il-ḥīn lā?

    S: aywa

I: mita, mita tiġayyirat anti?

S: ḥayāti? mmm (.) ṯ-ṯāni mutawaṣṣiṭ taġayiran ḥayāti

I: lēš ġayir?

S: m: māfi šay bass ah: (.) yimkin mawqif aw zay kiḏa. aywa hī illi ġayyiran, aw kān fi muʿallimah mašāllāh multazimah

I: naʿm

S: hī fi l-madrasa nafsha ġayyirat tafkīr kille hāḏi. mašēna ʿalēha. kān awwal māfi aḥad yagūl hāḏa ṣaḥ hā ġalaṭ. ʿašān māma māfi taʿlīm māma. immī ummiyya mā tiʿrif fə umūr id-dīn w ḏa. bas yōm aḥna darasna w hāḏi muʿallimah, māšallāh, multazmah w dīn ġayyarat madrasa kiṯīr ṭālibāt min al-ʾaswaʾ lil-ʾaḥsan.

S: In the past I used to like (.) songs (.) music (.) now no.

I: Now no?

S: Yes

I: When, when did you change?

S: My life? m: (.) the second year of middle school my life changed.

I: Why did it change?

S: m: nothing but ah: (.) maybe an incident or like that. Yes it changed it, or there was a teacher mashallah, devoutly religious.

I: Yes

S: She, in the school itself, she changed the thinking of all [the students]. We followed her. Before no one said this is right and this is wrong. Because my mother, there was no education, my mother. My mother is illiterate. She doesn't know things of religion and that. But when we went to school and this teacher, mashallah, was observant and devoutly religious and the school changed many students from worse to better.

Often when women in Harūb compared the present with the past they referenced the *ʿabāya*, a black thin long coat. The *ʿabāya* was introduced with the new religious ideology of the *ideal Islamic woman*, and it became a symbol in Harūb of their new lifestyle. It marked the time when their lives changed. After attending a local festival with a friend where she was proud and eager to show me all the old traditional artifacts made by some older local women, on the way home in the car she turned to me and to my surprise said with a negative tone, "No one will buy any of that any more. No one goes out with their animals. We now have to wear the *ʿabāya.*" The contrast between her excitement to show off her traditional culture and at the same time her aversion to women selling these things in the festival revealed a tension between how women lived before and how they live now.

On another occasion my neighbor and I were on her roof looking out over the valley and she told me about how her sister used to go out in the fields with their mother. Then she paused and said, "But no one goes out anymore. It is *ḥarām* 'religiously forbidden'. We have to wear the *ʿabāya.*" From these anecdotes, it is clear that religious nationalism has had a big impact on the lives of women in Harūb.

3. Chronotope and Stancetaking

This study combines the theoretical concepts of chronotope (Bakhtin 1981) and the stance triangle (Du Bois 2007) to analyze the accounts of the past and present as told by two generations of women in Harūb. Chronotope was first used by Bakhtin to describe how time and place are referred to in literary narratives. The chronotope, or the time and place in which a story occurs, determines all the possible actions of the characters. For example, a novel set in the American west during the 1800s will have a different range of characters and possible actions compared to a novel set in ancient Greece. Recently, chronotope has been applied to

the field of linguistic anthropology and Agha (2007, 322) extends the definition to mean "a semiotic representation of time and place peopled by certain social types". A number of studies have recently used the notion of chronotope in their linguistic and discourse analysis (Britt 2018; Ennis 2019; Riskedahl 2007; Sonnleitner 2018; Woolard 2013).

Similar to what Woolard (2013) found, the chronotope helps individuals make sense of events and changes in their life since the chronotope enables and restricts the actions of its subjects. The women in Harūb rationalize that the freedom women had in the past was due to the time-space configuration in which they lived. The chronotope of the past was a time and place before Islam and therefore the people who lived in that era were not able to live according to Islamic law.

Another aspect of chronotope that is important in this study is its ability to reconstruct the past in order to control or influence the present. Agha (2007, 326) states "in a common view of political power, to control the past is effectively to control the present and the future. Controlling the past is of course only possible through representations of the past". Often representations of the past are chronotopic. Riskedahl (2007) found that political parties in Lebanon used chronotopes of the Lebanese war to motivate people into action in the present. Similarly, the Saudi state has reimaged the past in a negative light in order to convince people of the need for a new present.

From a participation framework perspective, (Agha 2007; Sonnleitner 2018), chronotopes can be contested which is what Britt (2018) found in oral history interviews about the portrayal of Flint. Outsiders had formed a negative picture of Flint from media representations of the city; however, residents of Flint resisted these images through counter-chronotopes portraying Flint positively. In the same way, the Saudi state portrays the past negatively which inevitably portrays the people who lived in that time negatively; however, the older generation of women construct a counter-chronotope as a form of resistance.

Furthermore, chronotopes are often connected to ideology (Agha 2007; Ennis 2019 Riskedahl 2007; Sonnleitner 2018; Woolard 2013), consequently, to contest a chronotope is often to contest the ideology underpinning it. For this reason chronotopes can be analyzed with a theoretical framework of stance, the positioning of oneself in relation to words, texts, interlocutors, audiences and contexts (Jaffe 2009). This study is particularly interested in stancetaking related to evaluation (Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2009; Kiesling 2011) since embedded in the chronotopes that women tell in Harūb about the past and present is assessment.

The emergent nature (Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009) of stance is also important in the current study. Although some stances are overt, often "stance is not transparent in either the linguist or sociolinguistic, but must be inferred from the empirical study of interactions in social and historical context" (Jaffe 2009, 4). Stancetaking for the women in Harūb is subtle because of the sensitive nature of the topic as well as the power dynamics involved.

Du Bois (2007) emphasizes the intersubjectivity of stance by developing the stance triangle. For Du Bois, stance is a single unified act with several components and processes. Stancetaking happens at a number of levels. One level involves action. There are three core acts that take place between two social actors: evaluation, positioning and alignment. Another level of analysis happens at the sociocognitive relational level. At this level through the phenomenon of alignment we can analyze how people converge or diverge in relation to each other.

Below is the diagram of the stance triangle. There are three nodes: 1) subject 1, 2) subject 2, and 3) the stance object. Each subject makes an evaluation of the stance object and in doing so positions themselves in a divergent or convergent alignment with each other.
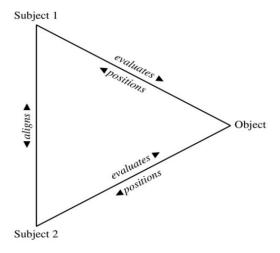
Figure 5 The Stance Triangle (Du Bois 2007)

By combining the theoretical concepts of the stance triangle and the chronotope we can see a subtle yet complex relationship between the older and younger generation of women in Harūb as they evaluate the past and present differently. From the view of the stance triangle their divergent alignment becomes apparent.

Kiesling (2011) builds on the stance triangle by adding the analytic dimension of investment. Investment is how committed a person is to the stance they are taking. This is an important aspect of stance in my data because it is difficult for the older generation to overtly speak negatively about the present. Through different levels of investment, the women are able to covertly express their opinion.

Although much of Du Bois' stance triangle is useful in this study, a question does arise about the simple association of structural alignment with intersubjective alignment. In one of the excerpts analyzed in this paper, there is resonance and structural alignment between two subjects. However, the context in which these utterances are spoken reveals that there is not intersubjective alignment between them as Du Bois argues is the case with structural alignment.

4. Method

Data for this study was collected as part of my PhD research between 2016 – 2018. I lived in Harūb from 2013 – 2017 with my family, and ethnographic data was collected over the last 19 months while living there, and on a return trip in January 2018, in the form of fieldnotes, participant observation, and recordings of interviews and casual conversations. Although many people were welcoming and wanted to help me with my research, due to the conservativeness of the community, it was difficult to record interviews and conversations. Over the course of time three families consented to having our conversations and interviews recorded. I spent most of my time with six families. For this paper, recordings from twelve participants were used: six from the younger generation of women who were educated and five from the older generation who were not educated. Interviews and conversations were in Arabic and I reviewed recordings with local speakers to check for meaning of content.

I integrated my life with the community and spent much of my time in homes, at school with my children, at social events such as weekly gatherings and weddings, at parks, and at local festivals. My role in the community was first as a friend and neighbor and second as a researcher. At times, it was awkward switching between the two roles. Although there were disadvantages to being a friend and a researcher, in this situation, my friendship ended up being a key to collecting data as it was needed to build trust and enter the everyday lives of the community. It gave me time to build trust with people and to get a feel for daily rhythms of life.

5. Analysis

In the recorded interviews and casual conversations, two chronotopes emerged about the past and present. I call these two chronotopes *ignorance to educated* and *freedom to confinement*. The *freedom to confinement* chronotope was constructed by the older generation and focused on the past as a time of freedom and moving from place to place. The younger generation, in

contrast, constructed a chronotope of the past as a time of ignorance and the present as a time of knowledge and development.

Ignorance to Educated

Many of the younger women who did not experience life before the Saudi state extended its power in Harūb constructed and reproduced the *ignorance to educated* chronotope. In this account, two themes are central. One theme is that the past was set in a time and place of ignorance. As one of my informants said, "There were no schools to tell people what was *ḥarām* 'religiously taboo'." This ignorance dictated their actions. Their mothers' freedom to move around is a rationalized consequence of not knowing better. The second theme is that the state is a liberator, bringing education, religion and knowledge. They are proud to be educated and developed even if it means a restricted lifestyle.

Freedom to confinement

Many of the mothers who were 40 years old and above told a different story than their daughters about the past. The chronotope many of them constructed focused on freedom of movement. Almost all of them told me the same story word for word with the same song in their voice: "*nisraḥ, nārid, nšīl l-ḥaṭab, nḥlib im-ġanam* 'we go out with the goats, we bring water, we carry wood, we milk the goats." They had mixed feelings about the past. It was a hard life without the modern conveniences of cars, electricity and air conditioning; but one thing was certain, they had freedom to move around. They contrast this movement with life now, a time when they don't go anywhere, they sit in their houses and must wear the *ʿabāya* 'long thin coat worn by women over their clothes'. I call this chronotope *freedom to confinement*.

In the following excerpts I explore the chronotopes of the past and present as constructed by the older and younger generations. In addition, I look at the ways the two generations diverge in alignment with each other by evaluation and constructing conflicting chronotopes.

5.1 Chronotope of *Ignorance to Educated*

Fatima

Fatima is 23 years old and is married and has two daughters. She studies at Jazan University. The following excerpt was taken from a conversation when I was visiting her family one evening. Her mother, daughter, and two sisters were sitting in the family room. We were watching poetry from a recent tribal gathering on television and I was asking her why there were no women. She was explaining to me that women used to do poetry with the men but not anymore. She started telling me about the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice. I stopped and asked her if I could record her talking about it. I recorded the following.

(Ex 2) *F: kān fi ixtilāṭ (.) ixtilāṭ. māfi ṣalā w māfi ṣawm. ad-dīn ḏaʿīf. jahal. baʿdīn fī šay id-dawla ratabanhu ismu hayʾit al-ʾamr bil-maʿrūf wa n-nahī ʿan il-munkar.*

J: naʿm

F: timnaʿ š-šay il-munkar yaʿni zay il-qatal w s-sariqah w ḏ-ḏabḥ. timnaʿ hāḏa š-šay, wil-ixtilāṭ yaʿni maṯalan ma yjūz inni r-rajill yrūḥ maʿa imraʾa ġarībah, lāzim maʿa imraʾa tkūn miḥram yaʿni ū miḥram ʿalēha. wil-marʾa kaḏālik. mā trūḥ maʿa rajjāl illa iḏā hū miḥram ʿalēha. maṯalan timši s-sūg lāzim il-ḥurma ykūn maʿāha zōjha aw axūha. amma r-rajil lā ʿādi.

J: yiji ila s-sūg?

F: aywa fi s-sūg fi zamān immī kān immī trūḥ s-sūg ʿādi. w kān hayʾat al-ʾamr bil-maʿrūf w l-munkar tājī timnaʿhum. tagūl la- yaʿni ygūlūn lahum xuḏū aġrāḏkum b-surʿa wa rūḥū ʿašān ir-rijāl, māfi ixtilāṭ

J: naʿm

F: baʿdēn axaḏaw w taʿwwadaw w taʿwwadaw, il-ḥīn lā alḥamdillāh, yaʿni yiʿrifūn ēš illi gaṣdahum fīh (.) w ēš illi yaʿni munkar manhī ʿanh fi d-dīn ʿindana

J: naʿm, kwais kawais

F: w ṣār il-ḥīn inna him lamma yilaʿbūn, a lamma tkūn ḥaflah, anni r-rajil, kullhim r-rijāl l-ḥālhum yiḥtafilōn. iḏa ʿindhum ʿazīma aw šay yifraḥūn fīh, yiḥtaflōn l-ḥālhum. w iḏa fī ḥaflah, lin-nisāʾ kull il-ḥarīm ysawwūnha l-ḥālhum. māfi rajil ġarīb lā ax wa lā āb

J: lākin gabiḷ [maʿ baʿḍ]?

F: [lākin] gabil gabil hayʾat l-ʾamr bil-maʿrūf, gabil kānū maʿa baʿḍ. ʿādi, yilʿabūn māfi šay. yaʿni kānū jahal, jahal

J: naʿm

F: bas ḏal-ḥīn lā. fī yaʿni kull šay lahu ḥdūd.

F: There was mixing (of men and women) (.) mixing. There was no prayer and there was no fasting. Religion was weak. Ignorance. Later the state organized something called the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice.

J: Yes

F: It prohibited evil things like killing, stealing and manslaughter. It prohibited this thing, and the mixing [of men and women]; for example it is not permitted for a man to go with an unknown woman. It is necessary a woman is with a *muḥaram* 'male relative chaperon' meaning he is her *muḥaram*. And a woman also. She doesn't go

with a man except if he is her *muḥaram*. For example walking to the market the

woman must have her husband or her brother whereas for a man it is ok [to walk

without a *muḥaram*].

J: It [the Committee] came to the market?

F: Yes, in the market, in the past it was normal for my mother to go to the market. The

Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice came and

prohibited them. It said-I mean it said to them take your things [you bought] quickly

and go, because of the men. There is no mixing [of men and women].

J: Yes (ok)

F: Later they took their things and slowly got used to it. Now no, praise God. Now

they know what it is meant for (.) and what evil is shunned upon by our religion.

J: Yes, ok, ok

F: And now when they do poetry and when there is a party [feast, celebration or

special occasion] the men celebrate by themselves. If there is a gathering or

something to celebrate, and if there is a party [celebration or special occasion] for

women, all the women do it by themselves. No male stranger [is allowed in, not even]

a brother nor a father.

J: But before they were [together]?

F: [But] before the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue they were together. It was

normal. They performed poetry and it was nothing. Ignorance, ignorance.

J: Ok

F: But now no, meaning, everything has limits.

I chose this excerpt because it is a good summary of many of the themes I heard from the

younger generation of women. This excerpt reproduces the *ignorance to educated*

chronotope. The past is portrayed as a time and place of ignorance which restrained the actions of the people who lived during this time-place construction. The subjects of the *ignorance* chronotope were immoral. They didn't pray, they did evil things and men and women mixed. This account presupposes that evil things such as "killing, stealing and manslaughter" were not prohibited which is a form of erasure. Also gender mixing is discursively grouped with murder and theft which creates a moral equality between them.

In contrast, the present is portrayed as a time of enlightenment. It's a new era, a place-time construction that enables its subjects to behave morally because the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice came and prohibited the evil things. It is interesting to note that the evil things that are no longer done are related to the behavior of women. Women no longer go out alone, they do not linger at the market, and men do not attend their gatherings. She commends the restrictions they are now subjected to because they symbolize moral living.

The chronotope of *ignorance to educated* does two things. First it is used by the government as a tool for nation building. Agha (2007) points out that "in a common view of political power, to control the past is effectively to control the present and the future. Controlling the past is of course possible through representations of the past" (p. 326). By portraying the past negatively and undesirable, the state convinces individuals to accept their interpretation of Islam, which is the foundation of the Saudi state. Their persuasion is strengthened by contrasting the ignorance of the past with the enlightenment of pious living today.

Second, the *ignorance* chronotope provides a reason for why those in the past lived a different lifestyle and relieves them of the responsibility for not living according to Islamic standards. In this sense the *ignorance* chronotope limits the subjects' actions so that they had

no choice. As one women whispered to me while her mother-in-law was describing how she used to walk outside every day, "they didn't know it was wrong".

Another interesting aspect in the above excerpt is the discourse marker *alḥamdillāh* 'praise God' at a strategic moment in the conversation. Fatima uses it in connection with the new religious ideology. This is similar to how Washeila uses the religious discourse marker *mašāllāh* 'what God has willed' in excerpt 1 when she begins talking about the devoutly religious teacher who brought religious awakening to the girls at her school. Additionally, these phrases can be considered religious speech acts, similar to what Caton (1986) found in the greetings in North Yemen, that construct the speaker as a pious Muslim.

As Fatima retells this chronotope which she learned in school, she is taking a stance by aligning with the nation state's version of the past. Using the stance triangle, we see that Fatima evaluates the past, the stance object, negatively. In so doing she disaligns with her mother who constructs a different chronotope of the past that portrays it positively (which I will discuss in the next section).

However, Fatima also uses the *ignorance* chronotope for another purpose besides stancetaking. When Fatima acknowledges that her mother used to mix with men she quickly asserts that ignorance was the reason. By doing this she takes the responsibility away from her mother for behaving immorally and protects her mother from being judged as defiant.

Nora

In the following excerpt Nora also tells a version of the *ignorance to educated* chronotope. Nora is 18 years old. She is in her last year of high school.

(Ex 3) *zamān im-rijāl w im-ḥarīm kānō sawa mā yiṯġaṭṭōn ʿan im-rijāl bass il-ḥīn l-ʿilim ʿašān tiṭawwar w darasna w ʿarafna w ṣār fī ḥijāb.*

In the past men and women were together they didn't cover in front of men but now

because education developed and we learned and came to know and [so] there is now

the *ḥijāb* 'Islamic covering'.

In this excerpt Nora recirculates the *ignorance to educated* chronotope by emphasizing that now is a time when people have been educated; therefore, women wear the *ḥijāb*. The implication is that in the past people were not educated and this is the reason women did not cover in front of men.

5.2 Chronotope of *Freedom to Confinement*

Um Salman

Um Salman is about 45 years old. She has eleven children. She lives farther up the mountain, farther from the center of Harūb and in an area that didn't have an official government office or schools until the 1990s. She and her daughters and granddaughters still wear the *wizra*, 'a long piece of material wrapped around the waist', which most men continue to wear but many women have stopped wearing. She did not go to school and spent much of her life taking out the goats and sheep and bringing water and wood for her family. She loves poetry and although she is not able to perform in public, she often recited poems and songs for me because she knew I liked hearing them. She has family that lives at the top of the mountain and she often goes to visit them. Her two daughters are married and they along with their husbands live with her.

The following excerpt was taken from and interview I had with her in which I asked her to tell me about her life.

(Ex 3) *US: kānat fi l-awwal il-ḥaya ʿiddana yaʿni kānat zaina illī mašat guddām guddām*

guddām kānat zaina kawayyisa. id-dinye amṭār ʿalāha weš zīn id-dinyē yaʿni nirūḥ.

nirūḥ zayy il-badu w kiḏa w nsīr w nhīš w nrūḥ. al-yawm ḏal-ḥīn lāʾ. kull wāḥid w

makānu w yijlis ṯim. mā ʾa yirūḥ. w nḥin šawayya [hinā] -

J: [yirūḥ] wain?

US: yirūḥ yaʿni nsīʾ nagūl laha nsīʾ. nrūḥ ʿīddana hōš narʿi. kunna ntanaggal bu w

nrūḥ hina w nrūḥ hina w nrūḥ hina. baʿdain hāḏi il-ḥayā ajatna. lā lā, mā ʾa nrūḥ.

bait (.) bait xalāṣ. mā ʾa nrūḥ (...) w hāḏē mašyatī f- ḥayāti, al-ḥamdilillāh. w ani ḏal-

ḥīn mirtāḥa ya uxti. māfi ayy muškila.

US: In the past our life was good one that moved [smoothly] forward forward

forward, it was good, good. There was lots of rain (expression meaning life was

wonderful), what a good world it was. I mean we used to move [freely]. We used to

go out like the *badu* and the like and we used to go and shepherd [our goats] and go

around. Today now no. Everyone with [in] their house and they stay there. They don't

go out [anymore]. And here, [we sort of] -

J: [Where] did they go?

US: They go meaning *nsīʾ* 'shepherding' we say *nsīʾ*. We go, and we have animals

[which] we shepherd. We used to roam around with them [the animals], we go here

and we go here and we go here. Later this [new] life came to us. No no, we don't go

out anymore. House (.) house, that is it. We don't go out (...) and this is the way of my

life, praise God. And now I am comfortable sister. There is no problem.

In the above excerpt Um Salman articulates the *freedom to confinement* chronotope

where the past is constructed positively. The women who lived in this chronotope were

enabled to move around freely and shepherd the goats. Unlike the *ignorance* chronotope of

the past where the emphasis is placed on the subjects inability to live morally, the *freedom*

chronotope enables her to "move freely", "go out" and "go around".

Analyzing this account with the stance triangle, the past is the stance object. Although

there is only one subject in this excerpt, stance is always performed in relation to something

(Du Bois 2007). Taking a macro view of the context, we can say the Saudi state is subject 1

and through telling a chronotope of *ignorance to educated*, it evaluates the past negatively

and as something undesirable. Um Salman is subject 2, and she evaluates the past positively

with the chronotope of *freedom to confinement*. These opposite evaluations position each

subject in divergent alignment.

Although at the end of this excerpt she seems to be evaluating the present in a positive

light too, at a closer look we can see that this is not the case. After passionately and poetically

expressing positive appraisal for the past, her tone changes when she says "later this new life

came to us." In this statement life is the subject while she is the object which expresses a lack

of agency. She is not the one who chose this life; life came to her. She did not choose it.

Then she contrasts the past with the present which is characterized by everyone

staying in their house and not going out. Um Salman does not explicitly say anything

negative about "now", but she communicates it implicitly. First, a change in footing is

signaled by a change in her voice. She speaks quieter with less emotion and her intonation

falls at the end of the sentence when she says the word "house". Second, there is less

investment in her positive evaluation of the present. She repeats ten times that the past was

good and five times that they used to "go" compared to only saying two positive things about

the present.

Furthermore, Um Salman uses double voicing at the end of this excerpt. Double-

voicing is when a person speaks with "a heightened awareness of, and responsiveness to, the

concerns and agendas of others, which is then reflected in the different ways they adjust their

language in response to interlocutors" (Baxter 2014, 3). Double-voicing is often used in situations where someone feels threatened. This shows her awareness of the possible conflict that criticism of the present could instigate.

The religious discourse marker "Praise God" is also placed strategically like in her daughter Fatima's account earlier. She says it when she begins to speak about the present positively. It comes when referring to the new life. Here is seems more dutiful than alignment with her daughter.

5.3 Mother – Daughter Interaction

Both the younger generation and the older generation of women perform acts of stancetaking; however, they do so differently. One way that the older generation performs stance is by evaluating the past as good and better than now. This distances themselves from the ideology that has changed the lifestyle of women. It shows discontent about the changes that have taken place.

Another way the older generation performs stancetaking is by constructing and circulating the chronotope that in the past they had the freedom to walk anywhere they wanted and there was no problem. They had freedom but now many of the things they used to do are *ḥarām,* 'forbidden'.

The way the younger generation performs stancetaking is by responding to their mothers' chronotope in conversation with statements about their ignorance and not knowing better. Through these stances they are showing disapproval of their mothers' previous free lifestyle. Additionally, by recirculating the *ignorance to educated* chronotope they are aligning themselves contrary to their mothers.

However, these younger women are also use the *ignorance* chronotope to protect their mothers. By explaining their freedom as a product of ignorance, they are removing the responsibility of bad behavior from them.

The following excerpts demonstrate some of the stancetaking techniques and discourse strategies used by these women to diverge their alignment with each other's ideologies.

Um Mohammad

Um Mohammad is in her early 40s and has nine children. She did not attend school and grew up helping her family with the goats and sheep, bringing water from the well, and bringing firewood for cooking. She lived in her mother's house and continued to live in her mother's house after she was married until she had five children. Then her husband was able to buy land about one mile down the mountain and build a house for them. All her children went to school. She still has goats and sheep that she takes care of in the yard. Every night she makes traditional bread, *xamīr* 'bread made from fermented sorghum flour', in the *mīfā*, 'tanour oven'. She doesn't like eating new foods introduced from north of Jazan such as the traditional meat and rice dish *kabsa* from the Najd region. She rarely leaves her house, only to go to the hospital or the market. When she leaves, she wears an *'abāya* 'long thin coat worn over clothing' and a *naqāb* 'veil that covers the face'. She doesn't like going out because she gets carsick easily. When we recorded the following conversation, she was self-conscious and spoke quietly to her daughter, Nora and Shoqa, so that they could speak on her behalf. However, later in the conversation she began to speak up as she became passionate about what she was telling us.

In the following excerpt, an American friend was visiting me and we went together to visit Um Mohammad. My friend was asking her about what her life was like when she was

growing up. She had just finished telling us about the hardships of the past, how there was no electricity or running water. My friend asked her which was better, now or the past. We were in the women's sitting room with Um Mohammad, two of her daughters, my American friend Rima, and myself.

(Ex 4)   *R: īš aḥsan? alān walla lamma kunt ṣaġīr?*

UM: zamān kwayyiss

R: bas ḥatta wa inti ṭaʿbatu wa kiḏa?

J: zamān kwayyis, aḥsan min il-ḥīn?

R: lēš

UM: nḥin il-ḥaṭab niṭlaʿ barrā w nšīl [l-ḥaṭab]

N: [fī ḏikriyāt] ḥilwa

UM: ḥilwa ḏikriyāt ṭufūlatna

R and J: aaww

UM: nšīl ḥaṭab w niḥṭub w (xx) (motions how she picked up wood)

J: aaa ḥalu naʿm wa barrā

R: aywa

N: w fī ajwāʾ miṯil al-ḥīn jamīla ajowāʿ (…) zaman jowwha jimīla (xx) kiḏa jimīla (xx)

UM: jamīl nisraḥ bim-ġanam (xx)

N: (xx) maṭar kull šay miṭar

S: w yiltigūn b-aṣḥābahum (…)

J: lēš ġayyirat

N: lanna ḥin taʿallamna w darasna inna ḥarām

S: w ṣār killi šay sahil

J: naʿm kulli šay sahil

N: sayyārāt w sfilt w ʾumāra w kiḏa kill šay tġayyar

UM: w kullu il-ḥīn ḥarām (xx)

N: mā yidrū ʿašān mā ʿindahum madāris mā ʿindahum taʿ- [taʿlīm]

R: kunti taxarji wa māfi muškila?

S: lā ʿādi mā kān bi muškila. Kull in-nās kānat ṭayyibīn

UM: māfi ʿabāya māfi ʿabāya māfi ʿabāya (xx) bim-ġiṭāʿiha kiḏa

J: māfi ʿabāya?

S: bas tiġaṭṭi ʿala šāriʿ

UM: kiḏaʾ kiḏaʾ kiḏaʾ (showing us how she wore her head covering)

R: What is better, now or when you were young?

UM: The past was good.

R: Even though it was tiring?

J: The past was good, better than now?

R: Why?

UM: We collect wood, we go out (of the house) to gather wood.

N: There are sweet memories.

UM: Sweet, the memories of our childhood.

J and R: Ah:

UM: We carry wood and we gather wood and (motions how she picked up wood)

J: Ah: nice yes outside?

R: Yes

N: And the weather like now, nice weather (xx) the weather of the past was beautiful

(xx) like this.

UM: Nice; we shepherd the goats (xx).

N: rain, everything was rain (local expression that life is wonderful)

S: And they meet their friends (...)

J: Why did it change?

N: Because we studied and we learned that it is *ḥarām* 'religious taboo'.

S: Everything became easy.

J: Yes everything became easy.

N: Cars, asphalt, buildings, like that everything changed.

UM: And now it is all *ḥarām* 'religious taboo' (xx)

N: They don't know because they didn't have schools, they didn't have edu-[cation]

R: [You] went outside with no problem?

S: No it was normal. There was not a problem. All the people were good.

UM: There wasn't the *'abāya*, there wasn't the *'abāyas*, there wasn't the *'abāya* (xx) the head covering like this.

J: There wasn't the *'abāya*?

S: She only covers her hair on the street.

UM: Like this. like this, like this (she shows us how she put her scarf on her head)

In the above excerpt both chronotopes of the past and present are formulated. Similar to Um Salman's account of the past, Um Mohammad constructs the *freedom to confinement* chronotope by saying the past was good and recounting how they went out to collect wood, shepherd the goats and meet friends. She contrasts the freedom of going out to "now", which she constructs as confined or restricted with the phrase "and now it is all *ḥarām*". In other words, it is forbidden to do the things which she just described. She also repeats three times that in the past "there wasn't the *'abāya*". As mentioned previously, the *'abāya* represents the new life that restricts women from going out with the goats. By pointing out that there wasn't the *'abāya*, she is contrasting the freedom of the "past" with the restrictions of "now".

Her daughter Nora articulates the *ignorance to educated* chronotope by framing the past as a time when there was no education because there were no schools. She uses the chronotope to explain why her mother went out in the past but doesn't go out now. The chronotope of *ignorance* allowed people to do things that are now considered *ḥarām* or forbidden. She portrays "now" positively as a time where people are educated and know what is wrong and therefore are enabled to act morally.

Analyzing the above excerpt with the stance triangle, we see the stance object is the past and present. Um Mohammad is subject 1 and she evaluates the past positively and the present negatively. Nora, who is subject 2, evaluates the past negatively and the present positively creating a disalignment between them.

It is important to note that the age difference between Shoqa and Nora is significant. Nora is the youngest daughter in the conversation and did not shepherd the goats and sheep with her mother like Shoqa did since her mother had already stopped shepherding by the time she was old enough to go out with her. Shoqa, who is 24 years old, is the only woman I spoke with who went to school but aligns herself with the older generation. This may be because part of her childhood was spent with her mother out in the fields with the goats and sheep. She aligns herself with her mother by affirming the people in the past were good. She also evaluates the past positively. Furthermore, when stating there wasn't a problem, she implies that there was no need for women to start wearing the *ʿabāya* and be restricted to the home.

The participant framework developed by Goffman (1981) is useful for capturing other dynamics in the above excerpt. Although by this time in the conversation Um Mohamad has begun talking for herself more, both of her daughters continue to take up the role of animator for their mother's words. However, Nora takes up the role of author at strategic points in the conversation. When I ask why things changed, Nora switches from animator of her mother's words to author and explains "because we studied and we learned that it is *ḥarām*". Then

again she takes on the role of author after her mother says "and now it is all *ḥarām*". Nora interjects the the *ignorant* chronotope by saying "they don't know because they didn't have schools, they didn't have edu-[cation]". I suggest Nora has inserted this statement not only for the purpose of taking a stance but also to protect her mother from being judged as morally defiant. By explaining that they were not educated she is taking the responsibility from her mother for acting immorally.

A further interesting point from the above conversation is that modernization and development has happened at the same time as the coming of the new nation state and its interpretation of Islam. For this reason the *ʿabāya* and the restrictions placed on women are sometimes seen as symbols of modernization.

Um Salman

The following passage shows an interesting exchange between a mother and daughter regarding the past and present. Fatima is educated and is studying at the University of Jazan. We were casually talking in the family sitting room the morning after I had spent the previous night in their home. Um Salman, two of her daughters, Fatima and Maha, my two young sons and I were sitting together. I was asking them about the difference between men and women in their community. After Um Salman told me that men had more freedom, I asked if in the past women had more freedom. The conversation continued as follows.

(Ex 5) *US: zamān ḥurma ḥurriyyatu (xx – speaking in local dialect)*

    F: ḥurriyya (translating what Um Salman says)

    US: [ḥurriyya]

    F: [māfi kiḏa]

    J: māfi kiḏa?

    US: ēwa

J: ʿindama ṣaġīra? ʿindama kunti [ṣaġīra]?

US: [aywa] yōm kina iṣġār w šwyayya min ṣ-ṣabā (xx)

F: gabl il-islām

J: gabl il-islām? ēš?

US: ī fi l-jāhiliyya

J: mita islām yiji?

US: [alḥamdilillāh mā (xx) illa gabl l-islām fīh (xx)]

F: [baʿdīn (.) lamma] ṭ-ṭawwuraw

J: aywa naʿm

US: ʿalimna w ʿarafna wa (xx) [ḥijāb kiḏa (.) lāzim ḥijab]

F: [(laughing)]

J: naʿm

US: kunna guddāmhum kašf zayy l-ḥirīm ʿādi

F: jāhlīn jāhlīn

US: jāhlīn

US: In the past women were free (xx– speaking in local dialect)

F: (translating what Um Salman says) freedom

US: [Freedom] (holding her scarf over her face)

F: [Not like this] (referring to how US is holding a scarf over her face)

J: Not like this?

US: Yes

J: When you were [little]?

US: [Yes] when we were small and little when I was a young girl.

F: Before Islam.

J: Before Islam? What?

US: In the *jāhiliyya* 'era of ignorance'.

J: When did Islam come?

US: [Praise God, we did not (xx) except before Islam there was (xx)]

F: [Later when they] developed.

J: Ok yes

US: We learned and we came to know and (xx) [the head covering like this (holding her scarf over her face, exaggerating how her face including her eyes are covered and she can't see). the *ḥijab* is a must.]

F: [(laughing)]

J: Yes

US: We used to uncover [our faces] in front of them [men] like women and it was normal.

F: [They were] ignorant, ignorant

US: Ignorant

In the above excerpt Um Salman retells both the *freedom to confinement* chronotope and the *ignorant to educated* chronotope. At first she says women had more freedom in the past when she was young. She contrasts this to now when she holds up the scarf over her face and her daughter speaks for her as animator saying "not like this". However, later in the conversation she also joins in with her daughter in repeating the *ignorance to educated* chronotope, which I will discuss in more detail below.

During this recording Um Salman is laying on her side and chewing tobacco. It is difficult to understand her. Consequently, her daughter Fatima takes on the role of animator for her mother's words. However, after a few lines, Fatima takes up the role of author by

interjecting the *ignorance to educated* chronotope saying "before Islam" when I asked Um Salman when she had more freedom.

Viewing this interaction with the stance triangle, the stance object is the past. Um Salman, subject 1, evaluates the past positively by saying that women had freedom in the past. Fatima, subject 2, evaluates the past negatively by saying it was before Islam. At this point in the conversation, through their evaluations, they position themselves in divergent alignment with each other.

However, just as Nora told the *ignorance* chronotope to protect her mother, I believe the same thing is happening here. Fatima uses the chronotope of *ignorance* to protect her mother from being judged as defiant. By telling the *ignorance* chronotope she is relieving her mother from the responsibility of her "bad behavior" of not covering her head properly as she points out that it was "before Islam" that her mother did not wear the *ḥijāb*.

When Fatima says "before Islam" I am shocked because it was my understanding that Islam had been in the area for centuries. Confused, I asked again to make sure I had heard her correctly. This time Um Salman offers a brief explanation by repeating part of the *ignorance to educated* chronotope. At this point in the conversation she takes up the role of animator but she is not the author or principle of the words she is speaking. She is the animator of the state sanctioned account of the past. I am still confused a this point and ask "when did Islam come?". She begins her answer with the religious discourse marker "Praise God", which was also used by Washeila in excerpt 1 and Fatima in excerpt 2 in connection to the new state ideology. Fatima talks over her mother so that I have difficulty understanding her, but she continues the *ignorant* chronotope by saying "later when they had become developed". After I acknowledge that I understand, Um Salman begins reciting the *ignorance to educated* chronotope almost word for word as I had heard it many times before "we learned and we came to know...". However, there are three clues that she is not speaking in order to align her

stance with her daughter. It is the opposite. She is mocking the *ignorant to educated* chronotope and using irony to distance herself from the words she is speaking. First, her daughter starts laughing. Her daughter recognizes that her mother does not actually agree with the stance she is taking. Second, Um Salman adds a phrase I had not heard before in the *ignorance to educated* chronotope, "the *ḥijab* is a must*"*. By using the word "must" she is expressing that the veil is not her choice but her duty. Third, Um Salman holds the headscarf over her face again to exaggerate that her face and eyes are covered and she can't see. She is mocking the ideology associated with this chronotope.

Looking at the stance lead and stance follow in the last two lines of the above excerpt, we see Fatima utters a stance lead, "ignorance, ignorance" and Um Salma utters a stance follow "ignorance". According to Du Bois, structural alignment, or resonance, indicates intersubjective alignment. However, as we saw in the analysis above, Um Salman is not aligning her stance by using structural aligngment. This challenges Du Bois simple association between structural alignment and intersubject or stance alignment. What Du Bois' theory does not take into consideration is the complex nature of power dynamics. In some situations, one is not able to express their true stance and they may need to revert to covert ways of expressing it through irony and mocking.

Um Jaber

Um Jaber and her niece Shoqa were some of my neighbors. Um Jaber is about 39 years old and Shoqa is 24 years old. Their extended family is very close and they spend every Friday night together. Um Jabar didn't go to school, but Shoqa did. However, Shoqa has vivid memories of living in her grandmother's house with her aunts and her mother. She experienced some of what is referred to as *zamān* in her childhood. When she was young, she went out with her mother to take care of the goats and sheep. She remembers not having

electricity and living in a stone house. I recorded the following excerpt on a return visit in 2018 after I had moved out of the area. I had not interviewed Um Jabar before, so I asked her to tell me her life story. Towards the end of the interview I asked her and her niece which was better, *zamān* or *alḥīn*. Um Jabar and Shoqa co-constructed the *freedom to confinement* chronotope together in the following passage.

(Ex 7)　*UJ: waḷḷa ʾaḥsan min il-ḥīn*

　　　J: lēš?

　　　UJ: ʿašān fī farg bēn ḥayāt il-ḥīn w ḥayāt zamān. ḥayāt zamān kānu ṭayyibīn n-nās. yitḥābbūn, w axlāghum kwayysa [(xx)]

　　　S: [māfi muškila] jūli l-ḥīn ana aṭlaʿ bārra w arūḥ bīr, n-nās titkallam

　　　UJ: tgūl irrūḥḥa hādi bint rāḥat bīr lēš yirūḥ bīr hāḏi bint ḥinna zamān banāt ruḥna bīr ʿādi maḥḥad yitkallam ʿalēna māfi muškila maḥḥad yitkallam ʿala l-banāt. yrūḥna bīr ʿādi. lākin il-ḥīn tiṭlaʿ [waḥda]

　　　S:[jūli], il-ḥīn xālti ʿindaha banāt, mā rāḥ txalīhum yrūḥūn l-bīr.

　　　UJ: mustaḥīl yiṭliʿūn bārra. ḥatta w f- hatta yiṭliʿūn barra yrūḥūn ʿind m-ḥōš bārra mā axalīhum.

　　　S: ʿayb

　　　UJ: ʿayb

　　　S: l-kalām kull šay ʿayb

　　　UJ: kull n-nās yagūlūn hāḏi [bint] -

　　　J: [lēš] ʿayb al-ḥīn – lēš al-ḥīn ʿayb lākin zamān mū ʿayb?

　　　UJ: zamān mā kānu yitkallimūn ʿala l-banāt. ʿādi yiṭlaʿna yrūḥna yjībna ḥaṭab yrūḥna ygābalna š-šabāb ʿādi māfi īy muškila yitjammaʿna šabāb banāt ʿala l-wādi ʿādi māfi īy muškila [yirūḥūn]-

S: [jūli], il-ḥīn fī tafkīr tġayyar. tafkir ṣār ġēr.

UJ: lākin il-ḥīn tafkīrhum marīḏ. iḏa rāw bint ṭaḷaʿan -

J: marīḏ (laughing)

UJ: waḷḷa marīḏ ḏa l-ḥīn tafkīrhum

J: min ēš?

UJ: iḏa šāfaw bint ṭaḷaʿan gālaw waḷḷa ṭalaʿan šāfan šabāb

S: hāḏi ygūlan kalām šabāb hāḏi yḥub šabāb hāḏi hāḏi. zamān māfi yiʿrif hāḏi l-

fikrah

UJ: zamān mā kān ʿindahum ay muškila. taṭḷaʿ bint aw (.) axwān lā banāt wa lā

awlād. yrūḥūn sawa. māfi muškila

S: yaʿni māfi aḥad yitkallam fī t̠-t̠āni

UJ: māfi aḥad yitkllam ʿan t̠-t̠āni

J: naʿm

UJ: mā ygūlūn bint rāḥan (xx)

J: naʿm

UJ: ʿādi māfi īy muškila yrūḥūn yjūn yrūḥūn sawa yaṭlaʿūn māfi muškila

J: naʿm

UJ: lākin il-ḥīn mā ʿād yxallūn l-waḥda tiṭalaʿ maʿ il-bāb

J: naʿm

UJ: (xx) l-muškila tiṭḷaʿīn barra yšūfūčīh jīrān

S: zāy jūli hāḏi kānat taṭlaʿ wa il-ḥīn timnaʿ banātha mā yrūḥūn

UJ: ʿašān muxtalif zamān, zamān zamanna ġēr w zamānhum ġēṛ. ḥinna zamānna

zamān ʿādi māfi īy muškila niṭlaʿ nrūḥ njīb ḥaṭab njīb mōya njīb, nrūḥ wara l-ḥōš

J: naʿm

UJ: nasraḥ ʿādi māfi ay muškila. [māfi ay muškila māfi muškila]

J: [waw aywa naʿm]

S: inti jūli il-ḥīn tšūfīn fi harūb. tšūfīn ġanam? lākin il-ʿāmil yrūḥ warāha, māfi ḥurma trūḥ.

J: aʿrif māfi ḥurma lakin afakkar lēš

UJ: zamān kullu ḥurma yrūḥ wara ġanam lākin il-ḥīn lā māfi ḥurma yrūḥ wara ġanam māfi-

UJ: By God the past is better than now.

J: Why?

UJ: Because there is a difference between the life now and the life in the past. Life in the past people were good. They loved each other, and they had good morals [(xx)]

S: [There was no problem]. Julie now I go outside to [the] well, the people will talk.

UJ: They would say this girl went to [the] well by herself! Why would the girl go to [the] well? In the past, we girls went to [the] well and it was normal. No one talked about us. There was no problem, nobody talked about the girls. It was normal for them to go to the well. But now, if a girl goes out, [someone] -

S: [Julie] now my aunt has girls. She doesn't let them go to the well.

UJ: It is impossible for them to go out. Even, even going outside to the yard, I wouldn't let them [do this].

S: Shame

UJ: Shame

S: The talk [of people]; Everything is a shame.

UJ: Everyone would say this [girl]-

J: [Why] is it shameful now, why now is it shameful but in the past it wasn't shameful?

UJ: In the past they didn't talk about the girls. It was normal for them to go out and bring wood and meet with the boys. It was normal. There was no problem. They came together the girls and boys in the valley. It was normal. There was no problem. [They would go]-

S: [Julie] now [their] thinking has change. [Their] thinking has become different

UJ: But now their thinking is sick. If they see a girl going out -

J: (laughing) Sick?

UJ: By God, nowadays their thinking is sick.

J: From what?

UJ: If they see the girl go out they say she went out to see a boy.

S: [They would say] this [girl] talks to boys, this loves boys, this, this (etc.). In the past, they didn't know this idea.

UJ: In the past they didn't have any problem. A girl and (.) [they were] siblings; not [strange] girls or boys. They went out together. There was no problem.

S: I mean no one talked about another.

UJ: No one talked about another.

J: Yes

UJ: No one said [this] girl went out (xx)

J: Yes

UJ: It was normal. There wasn't a problem. They go out together. There wasn't a problem.

J: Yes

UJ: But now they wouldn't let a girl go out of the door anymore.

J: yes

UJ: (xx) the problem is that you go out like this, the neighbors would see you.

S: Like Julie, this (Um Jaber) used to go out and now forbids her daughters [from going out], they don't go out.

UJ: Because the past was different, the past, our past, was different and their [her daughters'] past is different. Our past was a time when it was normal for us, there was no problem we go and we bring wood, we bring water, we shepherd the animals.

J: yes

UJ: We took the animals out it was normal and no problem, [it was no problem, it was no problem].

J: [wow, ok, yes]

S: You Julie, now do you see in Harūb, do you see goats? But the [hired] worker goes along with them, no women goes.

J: I know. There are no women but I think why?

UJ: In the past it was always women who went out with the goats? Now no, there are no women going out with the goats, none.

In the above conversation both Um Jabar and Shoqa construct the *freedom to confinement* chronotope by describing the past as a time when people were good, loved each other and had good morals. They didn't gossip, girls could go out without anyone questioning their intentions, girls and boys met each other and there was no problem. All the women were out with the goats and sheep.

They construct the present as a time when people's thinking has become sick. Now, people gossip about each other and girls can not go out because people think it is shameful. There are no women outside shepherding anymore.

Um Jabar makes a high investment in her stance when she answers my question by beginning with "By God". She uses the same phrase later in the conversation when saying

that people's thinking has become sick and taking a negative stance about the present. Additionally, they repeat twelve times that there was no problem in the past for girls to go outside, implying there was no need for the restrictions put on women because people were good.

In this excerpt Um Jabar and Shoqa both evaluate the stance object, the past, positively positioning them in convergent alignment with each other. They also evaluate the present negatively which also brings them into convergent intersubjective alignment. In two places they use structural alignment. Shoqa utters a stance lead "shame" and Um Jabar utters a stance follow "shame". Later in the conversation Shoqa utters a stance lead "no one talked about another" and Um Jabar echoes the exact same words, putting them in convergent alignment.

Stepping back to look at the excerpt from a macro level, Um Jabar and Shoqa are taking a stance that disaligns with the state sanctioned chronotope of the past which constructs the past negatively. These value statements distance themselves from the current ideology that women need to be restricted in their movement. Their construction of this chronotope is counter to the *ideal Islamic woman.*

6. Conclusion

Santos (2001, 164) states: "it is clear that the issue of collective memory has become deeply associated with the study of social identity, nation building, ideology and citizenship". Research has demonstrated that as "official" memory is defined by dominant power structures in accordance with their interests, memory discourses that do not fit with these ideologies are silenced (Conway, 2003; Epstein, 2001; Middleton & Edwards, 1990). In Harūb, as the younger generation of women chooses not to accept the account of the past and

present told by their mothers in favor of the rendition told by the new nation state, the memory of their mother's previous lifestyle will be forgotten.

The findings of this study are consistent with research that has shown the important role memory plays in constructing national identity (Kansteiner, 2002). Through the education system "students are repeatedly reminded what it means to belong to the nation by reasserting particular values, past memories, principles of patriotic responsibility and moral conceptions of right and wrong" (Zembylas and Bekerman 2008, 129). I propose that the quick and stringent acceptance of the imagined *ideal Islamic woman* by the younger generation is a desire to belong to the new Saudi state.

> Religious nationalism promoted a narrow definition of belonging to the pious community. Only those who adopted its jurisprudence, religious ritual practice, gender interpretations, and strict creed qualified to belong. This religious nationalism was based on a perpetual cosmic struggle between good and evil, which rejuvenated faith and ensured that practice conformed to the set principles of good religiosity. Above all, the struggle contributed to drawing strict boundaries between those who belonged to the pious nation and those who did not. The latter were branded enemies of Islam.
>
> (Al-Rasheed 2013:71)

Additionally, those who have been marginalized are left with few ways to resist the power dynamics they have been subjected to. Stancetaking through the telling of a different account can be a subtle yet powerful act of agency to contest these new ideologies in a context where the open criticism of the dominant power structure is forbidden. Through evaluation, the marginalized older generation of women position themselves against the dominant power's new ideology. As the younger generation draws on the chronotope of

ignorance to educated to explain why their mothers had freedom when they were young, they align with the Saudi state. In this chronotope they are proud of their education and development, which their mothers don't have. They are willing to exchange their freedom for this privileged position of being the *ideal Islamic woman*.

However, telling the ignorance chronotope accomplishes more than merely stancetaking. It also protects their mothers from being responsible for their immoral behavior in the past.

As the older generation constructs the *freedom to restricted* chronotope, they disalign with the Saudi state. Even though their freedom has been taken away, they are proud to talk about how they used to walk around and go wherever they wanted. They take stances by evaluating the past as good and better than now. These stances are powerful social acts that they participate in to exercise their agency in a situation where they have little power.

Notes:

1. All names were changed to preserve anonymity.

2. Arabic recordings were transcribed based on the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Versteegh et al. 2006) transcription protocol.

3. Transcription conventions: Normal font = English; italics = Arabic; [words] = overlap; [. . .] = material omitted; (()) = transcriber's comment; : = elongation; - = word breaks off; (.) = pause; (xx) = unintelligible. In the English gloss, words added to clarify the meaning that have no correspondents in the original are bracketed [ ]. Informants' first initials are used to identify their turns; 'J' refers to the researcher.

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Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Overview

The aim of this study was an ethnographic investigation into the sociolinguistic situation in Harūb, Jazan, Saudi Arabia. It revealed three important external historical and social processes affecting language use in Harūb: isolation, modernization and marginalization. Isolation brought about unique linguistic features and cultural practices. Modernization has disrupted the traditional lifestyle of subsistence farming and animal herding, brought education and development from the Saudi government, and put the people in Harūb in contact with people outside the area. Connection with people outside of Harūb has highlighted their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. For marginalized people, these differences are never neutral and become resources full of meaning which are useful for the performance, enactment and construction of identity (Cornips & Rooij, 2018:4).

In light of the dynamics of power relations and the marginalization that the people in Harūb experience, this research looked at the ways individuals in Harūb position themselves to others, particularly dominant power structures, using cultural and linguistic resources. Bucholtz and Hall (2010) define identity as "the social positioning of self to other," so in essence this thesis explored identity construction among the people in Harūb. It illustrated ways that individuals in Harūb construct identity in their everyday speech.

In this chapter, I offer a brief summary of the findings of this study. I also discuss the contribution, implications and limitations of the study and offer some suggestions for future research.

8.2 Summary of Findings

Below is a summary of the ways that people in Harūb position themselves to others at multiple indexical levels in their everyday speech. These findings are consistent with previous research done by Bucholtz and Hall (2010) who highlight four levels of abstraction in which people discursively construct identity in social interaction.

First, the most straightforward way that people in Harūb construct identity is through the overt labeling of social categories (Bucholtz and Hall 2010:21-22). The social categories *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* are salient categories around which people in Harūb organize their life. My recordings are full of boundaries being drawn around place, language, activities and things, in order to distinguish them as *Badu* or *Ḥaḍar*.In chapter 5, I demonstrated the process of enregisterment of the *Badawi* dialect in Harūb with *Badu* identity. Additionally in chapter 6, I illustrated how *Badu* identity is constructed through place-making. As the lifestyle of farming and animal herding is changing and disappearing, individuals in Harūb connect the cultural values associated with this way of life to the landscape through the process of place-making. In turn, the place of the mountains is used to define *Badu* and the place of the city is used to define *Ḥaḍar*.

My research results showed that a second way people in Harūb constitute their identity is through "implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010:21-22). Through everyday talk, people in Harūb position themselves, the *Badu*, in opposition to the other, *Ḥaḍar*. Consequently, whenever *Ḥaḍar* is defined, the *Badu* are implicitly defined in the opposite manner. This is done with ways of speaking (chapter 5), place and the activities and cultural values associated with place (chapter 6).

Third, this thesis analyzed the ways that women "displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010:21). In chapter 7, I illustrated how

position is constituted through stancetaking in the accounts about the past and present told by two generations of women. Through the construction of two different chronotopes, two generations of women use subtle discourse strategies to engage in stancetaking, positioning themselves against each other and the ideologies they have accepted. For the younger generation, they draw on the chronotope of *ignorance to educated* to explain why their mothers had freedom when they were young, but they do not have that freedom now. In this chronotope they are proud of their education and development, which their mothers do not have. The older generation constructs the *freedom to restricted* chronotope disaligning themselves with the ideology of the state sanctioned account of the past. They evaluate the past as good and better than now. These stances are powerful social acts that they participate in to exercise their agency in a situation where they have little power.

The fourth indexical level at which my research found identity construction by people in Harūb is through "the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010:21). In chapter 5, I traced the process of the enregisterment of the *Badawi* dialect with *Badu* identity. Using discourse analysis, I illustrated how the *č* sound has become enregistered with *Badu* identity by people living in the mountains of Jazan, in terms of language ideologies of linguistic differentiation (Irvine and Gal 2000), because of social and historical processes of isolation, modernization and marginalization (Johnstone 2017).

8.3 Contributions

This study contributes to identity studies in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Particularly, it considers "identity formation at multiple indexical levels rather than focusing on only one," which, as Bucholtz and Hall (2005:598) point out, gives us a more accurate and

holistic picture of the relational aspect of identity construction. Additionally, it contributes to studies that bring together concepts and theories developed within sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and social psychology. It adds to "the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice" (Duranti 1997:2). Furthermore, this study contributes to Arabic sociolinguistics by applying new methods and sociolinguistic theories to the Arabic-speaking world, giving us insight into identity construction and the forces behind language change and maintenance.

8.4 Implications

This thesis has theoretical implications for sociolinguistic research as well as practical implications. The theoretical implications are summarized below.

- This study demonstrated the importance of ethnography. Ethnography proved useful for discovering the locally-defined salient social categories *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar*. It helped uncover sociolinguistic issues of language discrimination and marginalization. It was essential for me in building rapport with my research participants as it required that I spend a significant amount of time with them. It also helped in revealing linguistic practices. For example, interviews in official locations such as a school or workplace, compared to interviews in informal locations such as homes, greatly affected the speech styles of the person being interviewed. The presence of someone from outside the area also affected speech styles.

- This study suggests that chronotope is a useful analysis tool in the study of stancetaking. The concept of chronotope allows for a nuanced analysis of discourse that captures time and space dimensions that other analyses do not. My study showed that analyzing the accounts of the past and present through the lens of chronotope can expose subtle yet powerful discourse strategies of stancetaking. By using Du Bois'

(2007) stance triangle, which can be glossed as "I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby (dis)align with you" (Du Bois 2007: 163), I illustrated how different generations of women evaluate the past and present in different ways ultimately positioning themselves with and against differing ideologies. Many girls from the younger generation positioned themselves in alignment with the Saudi state by retelling the *ignorant to educated* chronotope while many older women positioned themselves in opposition to the Saudi state by retelling the *freedom to confinement* chronotope.

- This study builds on existing evidence in reflexive ethnography indicating that having the status of mother while conducting ethnographic research can aid the researcher in building rapport and solidarity among women research participants. This result should encourage researchers who are mothers to explore "the effects of motherhood in the field" and how it "humanizes the researcher in ways that are not always disclosed in academic writing" (Brown and de Casanova 2009:43).

- This study emphasizes the importance of examining ways social categories are defined locally. Traditional categories such as education, class, gender and race were not significant social categories that people organized themselves around in Harūb. Instead the social categories *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* were constructed as meaningful ways for people in Harūb to organize themselves. Additionally, an interesting aspect of this particular labeling of *Badu* and *Ḥaḍar* is that the way *Badu* is defined challenges traditional definitions of *Badu*. By looking at locally-defined categories, new insight was gained about society in southwestern Saudi Arabia.

In addition to theoretical implications, this study has a number of practical implications which are summarized below.

- This study demonstrates that language is a powerful tool for social action used by those who are marginalized and powerless.

  o Place-making and linguistic enregisterment of a dialect that creates solidarity and feelings of belonging can provide a safe place for those who are marginalized. Through place-making, people create a place for themselves where they belong and gain a sense of identity. Through linguistic enregisterment, language can become a tool for solidarity. Both of these can alleviate feelings of marginalization from larger power structures.

  o The construction of counter-counter chronotopes can be a form of stancetaking and can give voice to those who are marginalized. Through evaluation embedded in discourse describing the past and present, marginalized individuals can position themselves in opposition to ideologies they could not openly and straightforwardly oppose.

- In line with other linguistic research in southern Arabia, the variety of Arabic spoken by people in Harūb exhibits rare linguistic features that have not been widely documented in other Arabic varieties. Some of these features may be "preserved very archaic pronunciations, morphology and lexicon" as Alfaifi & Behnstedt (2010: 53) point out and some may be new innovations. These interesting linguistic features need further investigation.

8.5 Limitations

This study has some limitations. First, recording interviews and conversations was difficult. As is typical with marginalized communities, people were suspicious and fearful when I asked if I could record them speaking. It wasn't until after I had lived in the community for

two years that trusted friends allowed me to record our conversations. I compensated for the lack of recordings with ethnographic notes, participant observation and being present in the community for 3 years instead of the average 6 – 12 months that most researchers are able to spend in a community. This impacted the nature of my research. Whereas originally I wanted to mix quantitative and qualitative methods and interview a larger number of people to get a broader perspective, I was limited to a few families. Therefore I only used qualitative ethnographic methods, which allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the lives of my research participants instead of a wider but more shallow understanding.

Another limitation of this study was my inability to speak *Badawi*. Although I learned words and phrases and was able to recognize *Badawi*, my understanding of it was limited. Additionally, I found that even as I tried to learn it, people would rarely speak it with me. Even those who were willing to be recorded struggled to speak *Badawi* because of the observer's paradox. For the few recordings I did get in *Badawi* , I reviewed them with my research participants to confirm I had understood them correctly. However, this was very time consuming and people did not have much patience for it. Most of my interactions with people were done in a more standard form of Arabic which many were accustomed to speaking with people from outside Harūb. This raises the question: would people have expressed the same ideas if speaking their mother tongue? My hope is that the amount of time I spent with people building rapport compensated for my inability to speak *Badawi*. This also pushed me to depend on my observations to confirm what people told me. My participants who went to school or university were accustomed to speaking with people who didn't speak *Badawi* and so our conversations and interviews were in a variety of Arabic that is used in school and official locations.

A third limitation of this study is that I am not a native Arabic speaker and the variety of Arabic spoken in Harūb was different than the variety I learned in Riyadh. I compensated

for this by reviewing important selected recordings with research participants to assure that I understood them correctly. This often gave me further and deeper insight into the issues that surfaced in the original recorded conversations.

8.6 Further Research

My hope is that this study will spark curiosity about the Jazan mountain region and that this will be the first of many more studies to come. Possible areas for further research and investigation include a more rigorous development of a dialect description, a variationist study looking at the use of salient linguistic features such as č, more comparative studies between the varieties spoken in the mountains, examination of how dialect contact is changing the Harūb dialect, and historical linguistic research to determine the origins of the mountain dialect.

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