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A Mixed-methods Investigation of Saudis' Attitudes towards and Experiences with Contemporary Saudi Arabic

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By

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Abstract

A Mixed-methods Investigation of Saudis' Attitudes towards and Experiences with Contemporary Saudi Arabic

Ahmed Yahya Mohammed Al-Hakami

This study is a mixed-methods investigation of language attitudes in Saudi Arabia. It investigates Saudis' attitudes towards three Saudi varieties, namely, Qassimi Arabic (spoken in Central Saudi Arabia), Hasawi Arabic (spoken in Eastern Saudi Arabia) and Jizani Arabic (spoken in Southern Saudi Arabia). While most previous studies focus on the *production* of Saudi varieties (Al-Rojaie 2021b, p.472; Alhazmi & Alfalig 2022, p.114), the present study focuses on the *perception* of such varieties. Language perception can lead to the formation of attitudes, which may cause linguistic prejudice or discrimination. Accordingly, this study investigates: *What are Saudis' attitudes towards and experiences with contemporary Saudi Arabic varieties, and what implications can be drawn from them?*

The study was conducted via three phases, namely, the *keywords task* (Garrett *et al.* 2005a) (Phase 1), the *verbal-guise task* (Dragojevic & Goatley-Soan 2022) (Phase 2) and the *semi-structured interviews* (Phase 3). Phase 1 elicited spontaneous impressions of the varieties under investigation ($N = 148$). Subsequently, attitudinal evaluations of the three varieties were elicited from socially-stratified respondents in Phase 2 ($N = 411$). Extending the study through Phase 3, respondents were interviewed about their attitudes, the factors underlying their attitudes and their experiences of linguistic discrimination ($N = 17$).

Although preliminary analysis indicated generally positive attitudes towards the varieties, there were significant differences in the attitudes. The respondents' attitudes were associated with their demographics. The older respondents, the highly-educated respondents and respondents from Central Saudi Arabia consistently expressed more negative attitudes, compared to their counterparts. Furthermore, Social, Personal and Linguistic attitude factors were identified. Finally, the study uncovered narrations of linguistic prejudice and discrimination in Saudi Arabia. The findings can be used to understand and work with the sociolinguistic significance of Saudi varieties. The study produced various theoretical, methodological and practical implications for different domains within Saudi Arabia.

Dedication

To those who have been there for me.

To those who have believed in me.

To those who could not do it.

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First and foremost, all praises and gratitude go to my God, Allah the Almighty, may He be exalted, for He has blessed me with His continued graciousness and blessings. Without His guidance, I am hopeless and lost.

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COVID-19 Impact Statement

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic has been inevitable for a variety of people, institutions and even countries as a whole. This pandemic has impacted, changed and subjugated the way people worked or studied within educational institutions. The work undertaken to complete this thesis, of course, was not an exception. In fact, the beginning of this research project in January 2020 coincides well with the beginning of the pandemic. The pandemic's impact was, therefore, suffered as early as the first steps of the project. This has placed uncertainty, stress and significant psychological effects on me as a researcher commencing his research project. The fact that most of the emails I received during my first few months in the PhD programme were all about COVID updates and advice was – though important and necessary at the time – somehow worrying, demotivating and "off-putting".

The ramifications of the pandemic have particularly hindered many of my research plans. While some online data collection activities were already planned in the project proposal, researching people in real-time and in real-situation was a key consideration of the project. Therefore, a particularly central limitation caused by the pandemic was the inability to conduct some aspects of the research in person. This was particularly the case when I had planned to conduct some in-person fieldwork data collection activities including questionnaire distribution and respondents interviewing. Some of the rationales to conduct fieldwork were to 1) increase the respondents recruitment rate, 2) ensure more population representativeness in the sample, 3) widen the study's scope and 4) diversify the implementation of the research methods. The pandemic prevented these (methodological) considerations, which could have enhanced accessibility to the respondents and data as well as solidified the study's methodology. Such prevention was, of course, due to the social (physical) distancing requirements and the travel restrictions. In sum, the present study was restricted to being conducted entirely online, which somewhat limited the scale of the data and the findings.

On a more personal level, the sudden restrictions caused by the pandemic impacted my working habits in several ways. For a start, because accessing research facilities and resources was usually prevented during the pandemic, I had to rely on materials that were only accessible online. This was an enormous challenge that seriously hampered my readings, notes, thinking and my workflow. Moreover, the closure of libraries and other study spaces was yet another issue. To me – and probably to most people –, "working from home" was an obstacle in and of itself. I needed much time to adjust into the new habit of remote working, which not only required a dedicated home-based study space but also higher-speed internet access, new furniture and other requirements. Meanwhile, the new work schedule as well as the irregularity of it were also issues that required much time to be adjusted into. These issues have caused delays and disruptions, especially with respect to the supervision arrangements and supervision outcomes. As such, the pandemic increased the – already existing – challenges and time constraints placed on completing a PhD thesis.

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List of Abbreviations

CA   Colloquial Arabic

LAs   language attitudes

LI   linguistic ideology

MGT   matched-guise task

MSA   Modern Standard Arabic

RQ   research question

StA   Standard Arabic

SAV   Saudi Arabic variety

SLI   standard language ideology

VGT   verbal-guise task

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and research context

Forming judgments and perceptions about people's linguistic production, be it a dialect, an accent, a style or a register (a *language variety* for short), is like forming judgments and perceptions about their looks, personality, ethnicity or geographic descent, for example. Relatedly, a recent trend in academic research has attempted to address *accentism* which, according to Orelus (2017, p.127), refers to a form of discrimination that is based on the way of speaking. More holistically though, an attitude held towards language could encompass various types of language-related judgments and perceptions. Such attitudes, Garrett (2010, pp.1-2) writes, 'permeate our daily lives', and are held towards language 'at all […] levels'. In the following, I will introduce the research focus of this thesis, that is, Saudis' attitudes towards language. Simultaneously, I will introduce elements of the present study's theoretical background and research context such as its position within sociolinguistics and its research site.

The study of language is not (and should not be) in isolation from other surroundings. Edwards commences his book on language and identity by emphasising that '[a]ny investigation of language that considers only language will be *deficient*, and inappropriate limitations and restrictions can cripple insights' (2009, p.1, emphasis added). This kind of understanding is a key requirement for many linguistic enquiries, including the present thesis. Adopting such a stance, the present study directs the focus onto the users of the Arabic language rather than the language alone, a tradition which has dominated the study of Arabic for a long time. In fact, in the present study, the hearer is given much weight and consideration compared to the speaker. Therefore, studying the attitudes of hearers would be the focal concern of the study, compared to studying the speakers' language use (see below). Based on these initial notions, the present thesis is conducted to unpack a relatively underresearched area of the sociolinguistics of Arabic in Saudi Arabia, that is, Saudis' attitudes and experiences regarding Arabic in Saudi Arabia. And while the present thesis may seem unorthodox to some (traditional) scholars of the Arabic language in that it investigates Arabic varieties attitudinally, it is hoped that the contributions made by it will still be relevant, credible and valuable.

Although some research on Saudi Arabic varieties (henceforth, SAVs) has been carried out, such research has mainly considered the *production* as opposed to the

perception of such varieties (Al-Rojaie 2021b, p.472; Alhazmi & Alfalig 2022, p.114). Typically, production studies are descriptive and deal with the phonological (e.g. phonemes alternations and extra vowel insertions), morphological (e.g. patterns in passive verbs) or syntactical (e.g. syntactic uses of *qad* reflexes) aspects of the SAVs in question (e.g. Al Taisan 2019; Alqahtani 2020; El Salman & Al Fridan 2021; Bosli & Cahill 2022; Alkhudair & Aljutaily 2022; Al-Azraqi & Alharbi 2022). That said, as noted by Al-Rojaie (2021b, p.476), very few studies have considered investigating SAVs from the perspective of attitudes and perceptions. Even in those few perception studies, it is observed that there is a limited coverage of the varieties wherein – understandably – the dialects investigated the most are those with dominance and familiarity within Saudi Arabia such as Najdi Arabic or Hijazi Arabic. It can, therefore, be maintained that most SAVs are relatively underresearched. This is especially so when it comes to *language attitudes* research, which is a core part of language perception research. (Perception studies are reviewed in sections 2.9.1 and 2.10.3).

Language attitudes (henceforth, LAs) are, in the most simplistic terms, the attitudes people hold towards a language, its variation and/or its variants (e.g. dialect or accent) or any linguistic concept (e.g. language learning or language policy) (a detailed account of LAs is provided in section 2.9). The study of LAs is interdisciplinary in nature, but it mainly falls between sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language. In fact, Giles and Billings (2004, p.188) highlight that LAs research is of importance and relevance to many fields, domains and contexts (the authors provide a comprehensive review and examples in their chapter). In this sense, the field of LAs draws on multiple disciplines methodologically. LAs as a product of language perception is, thus, the area of enquiry within which the present study is situated.

Saudi Arabia is the research context of the present study, and this research context can be characterised as being Saudi in focus. That is, the present study is concerned with Saudis, Saudi varieties, the sociolinguistics of Saudi society and some of the linguistic practices found in Saudi Arabia. This focus is determined as such to achieve precision in identifying and addressing the research problem underpinning the present study. Within this context, however, in terms of respondents, it is not my intention to focus on specific groups of respondents such as students, teachers, language learners, regions residents or tribe members. In the same vein, no actual locations (e.g. institution or university) are identified as a context of the study. Rather, it is aimed to cover a broad range of Saudi individuals who are not necessarily marked with a specific

characteristic or affiliation (see further details about the respondents in section 3.10). These characteristics are all attempts to depart from the contexts and traditions found in previous LAs research carried out in Saudi Arabia. Taking this approach in contextualising the present study, it is also aimed to achieve some novelty in the study's design and findings.

Within Saudi Arabia, there is generally an acute need for sociolinguistic research. While it was previously explained that there is a dearth of research in this area, the benefit of such research extends to encapsulate both the Arabic language and its Saudi speech community. More importantly, as pointed out by Al-Farsy (1990, p.203), speech (e.g. a dialect) is '[t]he most conspicuous' trait by which Saudi individuals perceive differences among one another. For this reason, a Saudi dialect can sometimes be conceived to be *the* and not only *a* marker of identity. This observation by Al-Farsy shows the relevance, prevalence and importance of dialects and accents to and in Saudi society. Thus, it seems vital to concentrate much of the (sociolinguistic) research on Saudis and the way they relate to SAVs. In this way, the language and the speech community could gain better representation in several domains. For instance, according to Al-Wer and Horesh (2019, p.5), 'a healthy approach' to studying language is one that 'allows the community [under investigation] to be heard in the context of the scholarly enterprise'. While this point is connected to good practice of doing sociolinguistic research in general, it can also represent a core rationale behind investigating people's attitudes towards language. Additionally, this rationale is particularly in line with the field of *folk-linguistics* which values and argues for the inclusion of folks' ideas, perceptions and opinions of language while studying language (see section 2.9.2 for a detailed account of folk-linguistics).

Language and language issues are topics of heated discussions in Saudi Arabia. For example, Almahmoud (2012, p.4) cites a number of newspaper articles published in 2010 in which the colloquial Arabic spoken in Saudi Arabia is condemned for being used more than Standard Arabic (henceforth, StA) (also termed *Fusha*). This phenomenon is deemed by the authors of those articles as a *threat* to the Arabic language. In fact, expressing concerns about the situation of Arabic in Arab societies is a constant phenomenon (Lian 2020, p.19). Such concerns may be explained as manifestations of what Milroy and Milroy (2012, p.30) call 'the complaint tradition'. More recently though, a forum on Data Science was held in March 2022 in Saudi Arabia. In the forum, it was announced that more than 50,000 Arabic phrases from 19

different Saudi dialects have been inserted into an open access database that can be used in multiple artificial intelligence applications (Al-Asmari 2022). The forum's initiative not only promoted the Saudi dialects, but it also clearly showed a tendency of change in the attitudes towards dialects in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the key point is that it is necessary to examine the situation of LAs in a community. As will be discussed at the end of this thesis, this is an overall recommendation based on which research should continue to investigate language attitudes in Saudi Arabia and document any attitude change (see section 7.6).

Admittedly, researching Colloquial Arabic (henceforth, CA) (also termed *Ammiyyah*) varieties has not always been on the agenda of the (traditional) linguistic studies of Arabic. Al-Wer and Horesh (2019, p.2) state that the attitudes towards *studying* spoken varieties of Arabic including dialects or accents in the Arab World 'had for a long time been negative'. *Pro-Ammiyyah* (i.e. pro-colloquial) is the slur sometimes directed at those who value, promote or even just research CA. This attitude is driven by a sentiment of protectiveness and guardianship of Arabic. In Morocco, for instance, there has been a public discourse demanding the 'valorisation', institutionalisation and recognition of the Moroccan Arabic *Ammiyyah* to be an official standard variety (Miller 2017, p.97). These demands, nonetheless, are often faced with *anti-Ammiyyah* movements (ibid., p.98). Therefore, the controversies around (researching) CA varieties seem to be persistent and widespread across several contexts in the Arab World.

While controversies regarding researching CA exist, the study of attitudes towards language is also not immune to criticism within the enterprise of the linguistic study of Arabic. One reason for this is the interdisciplinary orientation of attitudes research which usually involves investigating attitudes towards objects from different fields (e.g. language varieties in linguistics). The conceptualisation of attitudes as *psychological constructs* (Garrett 2010, p.20) may prompt some to question if researching attitudes is linguistic research at all. This concern, however, has long been addressed by Hoenigswald in his proposal of folk-linguistics research as follows

> we should be interested not only in (a) what goes on (language), but also in (b) how people react to what goes on (they are persuaded, they are put off, etc.) and in (c) what people say goes on (talk concerning language). It will not do to dismiss these secondary and tertiary modes of conduct merely as sources of error (Hoenigswald (1966) cited in Montgomery & Beal 2011, p.122)

Interestingly, Niedzielski and Preston (2000, p.2), while admitting that folk-linguistic research is 'much older', chose to date the interest in systematic folk-linguistics research to start with Hoenigswald's proposal in the 1960s. In any case, investigating the attitudes towards language or its variation has played a significant role in sociolinguistics as it can reveal the perceptions people hold about the speakers of a given language (Lasagabaster 2004, p.400). Consequently, it should be possible to detect various linguistic behaviours emanating from such perceptions, including communication effectiveness, prejudices, discrimination or favouritism. After all, as Giles (2003, p.388) stresses, such behaviours 'can be mediated by our […] language attitudes' (also see section 2.9 for further details about the significance of LAs).

It needs to be acknowledged, however, that any attitudes investigation needs to demonstrate an appropriate level of sensitivity to the people recruited. As mentioned, the present study is not typical nor conventional in (traditional) Arabic linguistics, particularly when compared to, say, Anglophonic and Francophonic contexts. Some sensitivity could also be generated from studying, reporting and publishing peoples' attitudes and personal experiences, which require an attention to the respondents' confidentiality. The discussion of respondents' attitudes and views needs to be accurate as well. That said, while the present study attempted to offer valuable insights into language attitudes in the context of Arabic, it did so while accounting for the ethics of research throughout the investigation. Consequently, the issue of sensitivity has been dealt with sensibly (see section 3.13 for details of the ethical considerations in the present study). Overall, it can be argued that the present study's aspects of unconventionality and sensitivity are, in actuality, points of strength, value, innovation and legitimacy.

1.2 Rationale for the present study

An overarching rationale for the present study is the need to investigate language-related social issues in Saudi Arabia. In theoretical terms, the elicitation of language attitudes can help to understand, elucidate and add to the sociolinguistic theory of a given context (Garrett 2001, p.630; McKenzie 2010, p.38). Little has been done to investigate how Saudis regard the Saudi regional varieties spoken in Saudi Arabia. More specifically, this sociolinguistic issue is unexplored in terms of Saudis' perceptional judgments of SAVs speakers, particularly concerning biases such as attitudes and prejudices or behavioural consequences such as discrimination practices.

As such, conducting a study in this area would be important as it addresses social issues of language varieties and their users. In other words, those users might be psychologically and behaviourally affected by the attitudes people hold towards their dialects or accents, and it is necessary to account for this problem.

By investigating the attitudes towards regional Saudi varieties, it is envisaged that the representativeness of those varieties in academic domains can be enhanced. Hence, the present study will urge scholars to conduct more enquiries of attitudes towards SAVs, especially through academic research (suggestions for future research are discussed in section 7.6). Therefore, a second rationale is what the upcoming literature review will reveal in that there is a lack of LAs research investigating SAVs. This rationale also represents the *knowledge gap* (also see section 2.12) that the present study attempts to fill. Relatedly, this rationale is in connection with the previous one as both of these are characterised as research-motivated rationales. In summary, these rationales are related to the theorisation more than the practices and applications concerning LAs.

The third rationale, in contrast, is concerned with some practicalities that surround LAs. The diversity of the Saudi dialects and accents is considered as a potential factor for some of the linguistic practices that Saudis experience or exercise in their daily lives. Precisely, the present study is motivated to expose – if any – practices of prejudice, discrimination, inequality and favouritism that are based on the language variety spoken in Saudi Arabia. This motivation is the core of the research problem underpinning the present study. Besides investigating the practices of individuals, the investigation is extended to include the practices of individuals inside official institutions (e.g. universities or governmental authorities). Consequently, and reflecting back on the point of encouraging more engagement with LAs in Saudi Arabia, this is intended to raise Saudis' linguistic awareness of such sociolinguistic issues and provide recommendations and remedies where needed.

Fourthly, researching Colloquial SAVs in and of itself is a major rationale for the present study. As already noted in section 1.1, researching SAVs within traditional Arabic linguistics is sometimes considered an unorthodox practice. Extensive efforts of research, description and authorship on Standard Arabic have been carried out for centuries, and it was always thought that Colloquial Arabic did not (and should not) have any research value. In addition, it is not uncommon that when (lay) Arabs say "the Arabic language", they often mean *Fusha*, reserving the label "the Arabic language" to

StA only, and thus excluding all CA varieties. The present study, hence, can be seen as a challenge to old scholarly research traditions as it not only exclusively uses CA varieties as grounds for the investigation, but also presents them as legitimate manifestations of Arabic speech that are equally worthy of research. In doing so, it also paves the way for other studies to investigate (the attitudes towards) other (Saudi) CA varieties as a means to study the sociolinguistics of Arabic and the Arab speech communities worldwide.

1.3 Aims, objectives and methods

A language attitudes study is the most succinct description of the present study. By investigating attitudes towards language in the Saudi context, I aim to shed light on various (socio)linguistic issues related to peoples' attitudes, perceptions and linguistic experiences. This study is essentially situated within the sociolinguistics of Arabic and Saudi Arabia. As such, the motives behind the study are generally sociolinguistically-driven, and, as Wolfram writes,

> [m]ost sociolinguists are do-gooders. Although a strong sense of social commitment is not a sociopolitical requisite for examining language in its social context, it certainly seems to characterize the lives of many sociolinguistic researchers (2000, p.19).

In more specific terms, some of the ultimate goals of sociolinguists are combating negative linguistic stereotyping and the acceptance of both language variation and the non-standard varieties in their respective communities (Holmes 2013, p.425). Such notions are in line with the general objectives of language attitudes studies. That is, based on the expressed attitudes, the LAs researcher arrives at conclusions about the sociolinguistic situation in the investigated community, informs audiences about the findings, proposes remedies for the linguistic issues and offers recommendations for policy-makers (or whomever is concerned with the output of the research).

In light of the previous remarks, this thesis has three primary objectives. First, it aims to elicit the attitudes held by Saudi individuals towards three regional Saudi Arabic varieties, namely, Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic (see section 3.2 for the rationale behind this selection). Through this objective, further perceptions regarding the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia are elicited. Second, it seeks to reveal the factors, reasons and justifications that stand behind the expressed attitudes. Along with widening the scope of the present study, this objective is yet motivated by two aims: 1) accounting for the attitudes comprehensively and 2) the understanding of

the language evaluation criteria underpinning Saudis' language attitudes. Third, this thesis intends to delve into the stories and experiences of Saudi individuals with respect to linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination practices in Saudi Arabia. This third objective is also a potential ground for more attitudes and perceptions revelations. To this end, in the following chapter, a survey of the literature is undertaken after which these objectives are operationalised and translated into research questions based on the identified research problem (see section 2.12).

In terms of methodology, the present study was conducted with a mixed-methods design which drew on both quantitative and qualitative approaches (see section 3.2). It consisted of three interlinked phases through which certain types of data and findings were obtained. Phase 1 is a preliminary task that elicits keywords from the respondents to help build evaluation scales in Phase 2. Phase 2 is the main task in which the respondents express their attitudes and perceptions regarding SAVs. Following up on Phase 2, Phase 3 includes interviewing some respondents about their expressed attitudes and experiences, adding more depth to the study's findings. The attitudes and perceptions were elicited through questionnaires and explored further through semi-structured interviews. In doing so, the present study employed several techniques from the various research approaches in the field of LAs. This is also manifested in the implementation of both indirect and direct techniques for attitudes elicitation and measurement.

The positionality of the present researcher has played a role in the present study. My familiarity with the sociolinguistic dynamics in Saudi Arabia as well as being a speaker of Jizani Arabic, one of the SAVs under investigation, are factors that have increased the awareness and appreciation of the research problem underpinning the present study. Methodologically, such factors may have impacted the analysis and interpretation of the data in the present study. My personal background may have also impacted the data collection process. Within the quantitative paradigm, the researcher being a Male, aged 26–36, Postgraduate and Southerner were characteristics that have influenced the present study's snowball sample of respondents in that high proportions of the recruited respondents match these characteristics (see section 3.10). Within the qualitative paradigm, working as an interviewer, my background could have also led the interviewees to respond in particular ways. For instance, a female respondent may be more inclined to adjust her answers than a male respondent due to the cultural conservativeness and the gender boundaries in the Saudi context.

1.4 Significance of the present study

Broadly speaking, the significance of the present study stems from the aspects of originality involved in it. To begin with, as will later be detailed in section 6.6, the present study has had a wider scope than most previous studies of LAs towards SAVs in Saudi Arabia. The number of respondents, the studied language varieties and the methods used to study them all have elements of novelty. Simply put, the present study is more comprehensive than most – if not all – previous research in the area. This is because it was conducted on a large sample of respondents, through multiple phases, and it used a rigorous mixed-methods approach. As will be argued throughout this thesis, an array of approaches, methods and techniques was utilised to investigate the respondents' LAs in a way that has – to my knowledge – never been done before in the Saudi context. It will also be argued that such diversification of research methods is crucial for a successful investigation of language attitudes. Overall, the present study's mixed-methods design is a methodological contribution to the field, which might be adopted in future studies of SAVs.

The present study is a contribution to the sociolinguistics of Saudi Arabia and the Arabic language. The findings revealed by the present study are expected to be helpful within several domains including the lay and academic communities (see sections 7.4 and 7.6 for details). The present study elicits attitudes and (re)investigates them further by considering the roots of the issue. In other words, not only does the present study reveal Saudis' language attitudes with regards to Saudi Arabic varieties, but it also contributes to the understanding of how such attitudes are formulated. It is argued that the present study represents a comprehensive treatment of its research problem concerning the holding of language attitudes and perceptional judgments. Moreover, the present study offers a novel contribution by uncovering – for the first time – Saudis' stories and experiences of (suffering from) linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination practices. It was also significant to find that such practices had taken place within unexpected settings such as Saudi universities or governmental authorities. Based on these findings, the present study offers several recommendations to tackle such issues (presented in section 7.4). It is hoped that the present study will inform and benefit policy-makers, social activists/workers, educators, researchers and the public, and thus pave the way for language planning and policy reforms as well as greater engagement with language attitudes in Saudi Arabia.

1.5 Note on the language and translation of the study's data and findings

The present study was conducted entirely through the medium of Arabic. The data, responses and information elicited from or provided by the respondents were all in Arabic. This is because, although using English could have been convenient to the researcher, it would have been redundant, difficult and unnatural for the respondents as the study is exclusively concerned with Arabic speakers and Arabic varieties. Additionally, using English could have excluded a large number of respondents. Overall, when referring to some aspects of the research within the thesis (e.g. questionnaire items or interview questions), I use English as the default language and occasionally refer to the translated Arabic text of the same information, or I signpost the information in the appendices. This is done for the purposes of clarity, thoroughness and accountability.

As for the translation of the data, it was handled entirely by the researcher. In doing so, I have relied on my academic and professional background in linguistics and my knowledge as both an Arabic speaker and a member of the Saudi community. The provided data and findings (especially in the interviews) were mostly in Colloquial Arabic which also facilitated the translation process because of my personal familiarity with CA, the everyday variety in Saudi Arabia. While doing the translation myself could be seen as relatively less objective than having translations by external translators, it still has entailed some advantages. One particular advantage was to increase my familiarity with the dataset, thus increasing the quality of the analysis. It was frequently possible to reflect on the analysis of the data during the translation process. This was particularly important in analysing the interview data, in which a close and repeated examination of the language and the content of the dataset was performed. To minimise errors, the translation of the dataset was double-checked and re-read by the present researcher multiple times, and the reported quotes were cross-checked with their transcriptions.

Another advantage of doing the translation myself was the ability to maintain and protect the respondents' confidentiality as much as possible. I sometimes had to omit some pieces of information from the dataset that were considered sensitive or potentially offensive such as mentioning some tribe names or regions in a negative manner. Although the negative comments regarding tribes or regions were rare, they were important to check for so as not to offend anyone. While this could have been

done before sending the interview transcripts to external translators to translate the dataset, it was still avoided to maximise protectiveness. Furthermore, because the interview excerpts (i.e. findings) were reported within the thesis in English translated from Arabic, I occasionally added explanatory details in brackets to increase the clarity of a given quote when necessary. Finally, some extracts from the translated interviews dataset can be found in Appendix 12.

1.6 Thesis outline

The thesis is organised under seven chapters. The current Introduction chapter has introduced the background, the context and the purpose of the present study. In Chapter 2, the relevant literature on some central areas including Arabic variation, sociolinguistics and language attitudes is surveyed and reviewed. Such a review will then shape the research questions that the present study asks. In Chapter 3, the methodology underpinning the present study is detailed with reference to the three phases of the study. In it, too, the research design, paradigms, approaches and instruments are presented and described in the light of the research questions and the mixed methodology. Chapter 3 also includes some preliminary findings from Phase 1 (i.e. the keywords task) which were essentially obtained to aid the design of Phase 2 of the study. Chapter 4 commences the reporting of the study's findings, specifically, the quantitative findings from Phase 2. This chapter includes mostly statistical analyses and a presentation of the findings wherein the respondents' attitudes are revealed. Following up on Chapter 4, Chapter 5 reports the reflective qualitative findings relevant to Phase 2. Chapter 5 further delves into the respondents' perceptions and experiences to constitute an independent qualitative findings chapter relevant to Phase 3. Chapter 6 brings all the findings together and discusses, assesses and interprets them in a way that addresses the research questions. In addition, the chapter produces several implications regarding the study's findings. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the whole thesis wherein the study's key findings, recommendations, limitations as well as the future research areas are identified.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss three key areas related to the present study in a top-down approach. These are: 1) variation in the Arabic language, 2) some sociolinguistic concepts and 3) (language) attitudes, which all represent the theoretical background shaping the present study. I begin by introducing the Arabic language and its varieties, and I also discuss Arabic's present status in the Arab World and in Saudi Arabia. These discussions will be fundamentally at a macro level and sociolinguistically-oriented. I then expand further on the sociolinguistic background of the present study which deals with theoretical concepts such as language varieties, the standard language and linguistic ideologies (section 2.7). I argue that these concepts are tied to the attitudes held towards language as these attitudes are interpreted differently by different people. The final part of the review is concerned with the concept of attitudes and how they relate to language (sections 2.8 and 2.9). Focusing on language attitudes, I discuss the theories, approaches and methods of investigation of LAs. Thereafter, I follow up with a review of LAs studies on Arabic, Arabs and Saudi Arabia (section 2.10). Subsequently, this review of the literature leads to the identification of the gap of knowledge and research questions underpinning the present study.

2.2 Arabic and its varieties

Arabic is the largest spoken Semitic language in the world (Al Alili & Hassan 2017, p.2). According to Owens (2013, p.2), the estimation of the total number of Arabic speakers is 360 million, 300 million of whom are first language (L1) speakers and 60 million are second language (L2) speakers, which makes it 'the fifth largest language in the world in terms of native speakers'. Arabic is the official language in all 23 countries of the Arab League and is 'one of the six official languages of the United Nations' (Albirini 2016, p.3).

As a starting point, as Cote (2009, pp.75-76) explains, three distinct categories encompass the Arabic language varieties: 1) Classical Arabic which is the language 'written in the Qur'an and centuries old literature', 2) Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth, MSA), 'the language of [contemporary] writing, education and administration' and 3) Colloquial Arabic, 'of which there are numerous varieties'. This type of classification, especially in terms of the standard Arabic variety, is influenced

by Western scholarship of Arabic as the Arabs themselves do not normally distinguish between Classical and Modern Standard Arabic (Al-Wer & Horesh 2019, p.5). Typically, Arabs would view the standard variety as a single variety without having the need to distinguish between the Classical and Modern variety. Relatedly, early attempts at standardising Arabic took place during the early periods of Islam, especially in the 6th and 7th centuries (Aboelezz 2018, p.505). Standardisation of Arabic was achieved by early grammarians of Arabic who attempted to compile a corpus which relied on language data from the Holy Qur'an, pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry as well as the spoken Arabic of some Arabian tribes in the Arabian Peninsula (Y. Suleiman 2012, pp.202-203). The variety associated with this old standardisation is the one now known as Classical Arabic as opposed to MSA, which is a contemporary standard variety found outside the three previously-mentioned sources of Classical Arabic (on MSA, see below). By extension, it is not uncommon to refer to either Classical Arabic or MSA as just Standard Arabic or *Fusha* (i.e. Arabic for eloquent), even by established scholars of the Arabic language (e.g. Haeri 2003; Albirini 2016).

The varieties in each of the categories of Arabic vary in domain and usage. Classical Arabic is mainly characterised by a religious (Islamic) influence in which it is that version of Arabic found in holy scriptures such as the Holy Qur'an and *Al-Hadith*, the reported words, teachings and deeds of The Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) (Towairesh 2020, p.90). Classical Arabic has also been the variety used in the authorship of several theological and old literary works. This factor has facilitated the recognition of Classical Arabic as a high-status Arabic variety and has also allowed for a larger usage of the variety not only within the Arabian Peninsula but also around the globe (Albirini 2016, p.11). MSA is the new standard variety emerging in the 19th century which is inspired by Classical Arabic (ibid., p.12) but represents the modern, re-standardised Arabic variety (Aboelezz 2018, p.505). An important point about MSA is that – as claimed by Arab nationalists – it is the means towards unity and solidarity of the Arabs and the Arab countries against any form of 'disintegration and corruption' (Bassiouney 2018, p.348). This idea is related to linguistic ideologies, which I will discuss in later parts of the chapter. Such an ideology is contrary to the actual linguistic diversity found within the Arabic language, particularly manifested in CA varieties.

In terms of CA, various regional and local Arabic varieties can be grouped under this category, particularly in terms of the varieties' functionality and usage. It, therefore, includes all the spoken varieties in day-to-day interaction in an Arab context,

where a context may be a country, a community and/or a situation. As Bassiouney (2009, p.16) notes, the main scope of the regional/national Arabic varieties (CA) is communication between Arabs in daily life affairs. Importantly, CA in Saudi Arabia has a cultural baggage tied to local literature and folklore (Towairesh 2020, p.101), which is likely to contribute to its prestige, given such awareness is established throughout the Saudi community. Overall, the juxtaposition of StA and CA in the Arab World entails a divide between the two variants, a phenomenon known as diglossia which is explained in the following.

An interrelated concept to the variation of Arabic is *diglossia*, a term introduced by Ferguson (1959) to describe the co-existence of two language varieties in a speech community wherein one is High (H) and the other is Low (L). According to Ferguson (ibid., p.327), in the most simplistic sense, the High reference means the 'superposed variety' whereas the Low reference means 'the regional dialects'. The High/Low dichotomy is based on several factors such as language domain, function and level of formality. The High language is 'utilized in conjunction with religion, education and other aspects of high culture, and the Low Language is 'utilized in conjunction with everyday pursuits of health, home and work' (Fishman 1967, p.30).

Ferguson used Arabic – among other languages – as an iconic example of diglossia. The High Arabic variety, thus, represents StA (Bassiouney 2009, p.26) whereas the Low variety refers to CA. An important implication of the diglossic situation of Arabic is that it contributes to the increase or decrease of the prestige allocated to the varieties. In this respect, S. M. Suleiman (1985, pp.7-8) lists three main factors behind the high prestige of StA: 1) the extensive codification of the variety (e.g. in the form of dictionaries and grammar guides), 2) its unification capability as a nationalist lingua franca and 3) the time and effort dedicated to learning it. Nevertheless, Bassiouney (2009, p.10) notes that 'there is usually at least one prestigious vernacular that is spoken in each country' in the Arab World. This notion makes the idea of prestige flexible, and thus applicable to various varieties and in various situations. On this note, Ibrahim (2010, p.24) argues that there is a spoken version of StA known as *Educated Spoken Arabic* which emerged to facilitate communication among the Arab nations. All in all, the diglossic dichotomy in Arabic may not be as clear-cut as when it was first theorised sixty years ago, yet diglossia remains to be an important factor in understanding the situation of Arabic. That is to say, a discussion on the Arabic varieties and their classification needs to flag diglossia,

but it also needs to acknowledge the contextual limitations of the concept. As will be explained in the coming sections, though there are signs of the High\Low distinction, the sociolinguistic situation in the Arab World is more complex and more flexible than merely being diglossic. In fact, the notion of diglossia itself has evolved and been extended within several bilingual and multilingual speech communities (see Fishman 1967).

After classifying the Arabic varieties, I want to clarify how the Arabic varieties will be treated in the present thesis. While current sociolinguists of Arabic – rightly – distinguish between the standard varieties of Arabic as Classical Arabic and MSA, this distinction will not be maintained in the discussions presented in this thesis. Similar to Y. Suleiman (2008) and Albirini (2016), I will, however, use the term Standard Arabic (StA) more generally (and freely) to refer to the standard variety of Arabic or *Fusha* as commonly known in the Arabic-speaking communities. This variety will be taken to refer to the formal variety used in several domains such as education, the media and religion. CA will also be treated in the general sense. The CA category will include all localised Arabic varieties spoken across the Arab World. In essence, this is a less rigid conceptualisation of the varieties of Arabic compared to the classifications of dialects, accents or registers. This conceptualisation is also adopted here because of its methodological appropriateness to the present study whenever discussing CA varieties. This stance in treating Arabic varieties is relatively distanced from the treatment found in *formal linguistics* wherein the focus is the micro, linguistic analysis of the varieties in question. In addition, the present study will be treating the Arabic varieties under investigation as *attitude objects* more than anything else, and hence, there would not be a need for narrow linguistic classifications or detailed descriptions of the Arabic varieties to be included.

2.3 Arabic varieties and their geographic classifications

There are several other classifications of Arabic varieties which have been proposed by the dialectologists of Arabic. A broad classification is that of '[t]he Eastern-Western, or Maghreb-Mashreq, divide' (Hachimi 2015, p.36) which mainly refers to the countries in North Africa (Maghreb) and the countries in the Middle East (Mashreq). Another geographic classification is based on five 'regional groupings' of the Arabic dialects named, 'North African, Egyptian, Levantine, and Gulf [Arabian and Mesopotamian]' (ibid.). As in Table 1, Bassiouney (2009, p.211) presents the 23 countries in the Arab

League and the languages used in them, highlighting the official language in each. It is noted that, in most of the listed countries, there is an Arabic-only policy for the official language. This official language is and has always been StA. Conversely, the *languages used* category has multiple languages that are used as spoken varieties, which reflects the actuality of the multilingual situation found within the Arab World.

Table 1. Languages in Arab countries.

Country	Official language	Languages used
Algeria	Arabic	Arabic, Chaouia, French, Kabyle, Tachelhit, Tamazight, Taznatit
Bahrain	Arabic	Arabic, English, Farsi, Urdu
Chad	French, Arabic	Arabic, Daza, French, Gulay, Kanuri, Maba, Sara, Zaghawa
Comoros	Shikomor, Arabic, French	Arabic, French, Shikomor
Djibouti	Arabic, French	Afar, Arabic, French, Somali
Egypt	Arabic	Arabic, Armenian, Domari, Greek, Nubian
Iraq	Arabic	Arabic, Azeri, Farsi, Kurdish, Turkmen
Jordan	Arabic	Arabic, Armenian, Chechen, Circassian
Kuwait	Arabic	Arabic, English
Lebanon	Arabic	Arabic, Armenian, English, French, Kurdish
Libya	Arabic	Arabic, Nefusi, Tamashek, Zuara
Mauritania	Arabic	Arabic, Fulfulde, Soninke, Tamashek, Wolof
Morocco	Arabic	Arabic, Draa, French, Spanish, Tachelhit, Tamazight, Tarifit,
Oman	Arabic	Arabic, Baluchi, English, Farsi, Swahili
Palestinian Territories	Arabic	Arabic, Domari
Qatar	Arabic	Arabic, English, Farsi
Saudi Arabia	Arabic	Arabic, English
Somalia	Somali, Arabic	Arabic, Gabre, Jiddu, Maay, Mushungulu, Somali, Swahili,
Sudan	Arabic	Arabic, Bedawi, Beja, Dinka, English, Fur, Nuer
Syria	Arabic	Arabic, Armenian, Assyrian, Azeri, Kurdish
Tunisia	Arabic	Arabic, Berber languages/dialects, French
United Arab Emirates	Arabic	Arabic, Baluchi, English, Farsi, Pashto, Somali
Yemen	Arabic	Arabic, Mehri, Somali

Reproduced from Bassiouney (2009, p.211).

Furthermore, as Saudi Arabia is the context of the present study, some points need to be mentioned. The first is that, though not officially stated, English can be seen as an emerging official language in Saudi Arabia. This is because, in Saudi Arabia,

English is 'an important subject for higher education, international communication and business and trade' (Rahman & Alhaisoni 2013, p.114). The second is that Mehri (mentioned in the category of Yemen) is also spoken in Saudi Arabia (Almakrami 2015), though limitedly in the South and with a relatively small distribution. To this end, I elaborate more on the sociolinguistics of Saudi Arabia in the coming section.

2.4 The sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia

Geographically, the divisions within Saudi Arabia can be broadly classified as the Centre, North, South, West and East. In each of these broad categories, there is a number of provinces, and the total number of the provinces in the country is thirteen. In terms of society, according to Al-Sultan (1988), Saudi society conforms to the classic class stratification: an upper, middle and working class in which each class represents different occupational categories. These occupational categories are stratified based on the occupations of each class. As such, the upper class represents the elites of society including the royal family, religious scholars and influential businessmen (ibid.). The middle class includes mainly educated employees and small business/shop owners whereas the working class have low – or no – educational background and is concerned with farming, fishing or industrial jobs (ibid.). The current estimation of the population in Saudi Arabia is around 35 million, around 20 million of whom are Saudi nationals and around 15 million are expatriate workers (General Authority for Statistics 2018; 2020).

For various reasons, Saudi Arabia has an important status both regionally and globally. Saudi Arabia is a large country with political and economic influence, particularly because of its oil industry. This particularly has resulted in not only recruiting labour from around the world, but also in activating business opportunities. Currently, the country has opened up more than ever wherein tourism and foreign investments have been encouraged. This consequently has attracted interest in the country and its people. Further, Saudi Arabia holds the responsibility of the Two Holy Mosques located in Makkah and Al-Madinah, which are the most sacred places to all Muslims in the world. This responsibility is very evident in the official title given to the Saudi King as the *Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques*. This honour has also contributed to creating a substantial status for the country among other nations.

Linguistically, Saudi society is generally monolingual wherein Arabic is the sole and official language of the country. However, this has not confined Saudis in their

linguistic repertoire or language use. To begin with, the spoken Saudi (regional) dialects and accents are highly diverse due to the variation of spoken Arabic within Saudi Arabia. Moreover, there exists a pidgin variety of Arabic, and there is a great use of English as a foreign language. Like most diglossic speech communities of Arabic, the Saudi sociolinguistic situation, to some extent, conforms to the High/Low dichotomy. StA, along with its dominance in the written medium, is used in formal settings such as religious discourse, education, governmental affairs and the official media. In this sense, StA represents the High variety in the Saudi context. In contrast, CA varieties are spoken in everyday relaxed situations and in informal domains with particular presence in oral and interactive communication situations. Consequently, CA dominates the spoken medium as opposed to the case of StA in writing.

In terms of the pidgin variety, as Alghamdi (2014, p.111) points out, it has emerged to facilitate communication between the nationals of the country and the labour force expatriates who come mainly from South and North Asian countries. In this case, the pidgin variety is acting as a local *lingua franca*, a term explained by Holmes (2013, p.84) as 'a language [variety] used for communication between people whose first languages differ'. A pidgin variety serving as a lingua franc is a unique situation in Saudi Arabia in the sense that a lingua franca other than English exists. However, English often becomes the lingua franca depending on the speakers' language proficiency. English is used in various contexts in Saudi Arabia. These include official contexts (e.g. governmental documentation and language code in the workplace), prestigious contexts (e.g. fancy stores and hotels) and educational contexts (e.g. using English as a medium of instruction). It can be concluded that the monolingualism found in the Saudi sociolinguistic situation is not – as many may think – very narrow. In effect, a speaker found in Saudi Arabia will typically be able to alternate between several languages and language varieties throughout the day. With that in mind, the next section will specifically shed light on the spoken Saudi varieties.

2.5 Saudi Arabic varieties

The focus of the present thesis is Saudi Arabic varieties which will be studied from an attitudinal perspective. For this reason, I want to provide a broad overview of the SAVs currently spoken in Saudi Arabia as well as the specific SAVs under investigation (these will be discussed in section 2.6). It, however, needs to be acknowledged that the literature on contemporary SAVs and their classifications is very scarce. Hence, two

approaches in presenting the discussions of the SAVs will be followed. Where possible, I will first rely on the – limited – available literature as a primary source of information. Second, I will use my own knowledge and analysis of the varieties as a native speaker and a member of the community throughout. This approach has the advantage of providing background information from the insider perspective, but it is exposed to the limitations of subjectivity as well as information scarcity.

There are few works that have covered SAVs. For a start, one of the most comprehensive works on SAVs was the work of Prochazka (1988) who attempted to study the morphology of several Saudi dialects. In doing so, Prochazka surveys a large number of spoken dialects. More generally, Prochazka divides Saudi dialects into 1) the dialects of the Southern Hijaz and the Tihimah and 2) The Najdi and Eastern Arabian dialects. These are rather broad categories that encompass numerous varieties within them. They also combine the South and West in one category and the North, Centre and East in another (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Map of Saudi Arabia.
Reproduced from Free World Maps (n.d.).

On this note, Prochazka (1988, p.11) remarks that the two groups differ, in that the Najdi and Eastern dialects 'appear on the whole uniform in morphological structure, if compared to the dialects of the Southern Hijaz and the Tihamah'. Using a different perspective based on domestic, geographic frontiers, the dialect groups within Saudi Arabia can be separated into four main groups: the Najdi dialect, spoken in Central and

North of Saudi Arabia; the Hijazi dialect, spoken in the West; the Eastern dialect, spoken in the East; and the Southern dialect, spoken in the South. In each of these broad groups, there are several varieties including both dialects and accents (see Al-Rojaie 2021b, pp.473-476, for an extended overview of Saudi dialects).

Saudi Arabia, like many other places, is characterised by the existence of prestigious spoken varieties. The Najdi dialect is probably the most prestigious spoken variety, and it is commonly referred to by non-linguists as the *white dialect*. Despite the fact that the white reference is meant to be equal to colourless, people seem to either ignore, forget or simply not be aware that Najdi Arabic is simply a variety spoken by a particular group of speakers just like any other variety. It is not without colour nor is it more special, yet it certainly has the prestige that allows for its wide acceptance, preference and adoption. This view is certainly in line with the 'growing realisation by a number of linguists that the 'standard' variety is not necessarily the same as the 'prestige' variety in Arab speech communities' (Bassiouney 2009, p.10, quotes in original). After all, Najdi Arabic is the variety spoken in the capital and by the powerful. Therefore, while StA is used in various (High) domains in Saudi Arabia and has the typical overt prestige, Najdi Arabic has a covert prestige at the national level of Saudi dialects. The difference between the two types of prestige is that overt prestige is derived from or imposed by the social power structures as in the case of the standard variety whereas covert prestige reflects the prestige entailed by identifying with a particular group or community (Guy 2011, p.173).

The prestige of some Saudi varieties can be derived from other sources, too. For instance, their linguistic prestige can be associated with religion, and this would not be a strange phenomenon in the Saudi context. This is because, as Ochsenwald (1981) states, '[i]n Saudi Arabia from its inception Islam has been the *omnipresent* and *dominant* factor in public life' (p.274, emphasis added). As such, Hijazi Arabic – as the present study will also demonstrate (see section 4.8) – can be considered in second place after Najdi Arabic in terms of status. Hijazi Arabic has some prestige which may be derived from the religiosity of the areas wherein the variety is commonly used. In Saudi Arabia, both the Najdi and Hijazi dialects are sometimes used in place of StA in contexts such as advertisements, billboards and automatic answering systems, to name a few. Nevertheless, the Najdi dialect in particular has dominated the scene to the extent that it has been associated with the Saudi identity as often shown in the media or when impersonating a Saudi character. The two varieties are also considered to have cultural

prominence in Saudi Arabia (Alhazmi & Alfaifi 2022, p.823). For these reasons, these two varieties have received most of the attention of researchers and specialists.

In terms of the two other groups of varieties, the situation is different. The Eastern Saudi varieties have several similar features to other Gulf-based Arabic varieties such as Bahraini or Kuwaiti Arabic. For example, speakers of Hasawi Arabic in the Eastern Province often alternate /ik/ with /š/ for the 2nd feminine singular pronoun at the end of the word as in *kitabish* instead of *kitabik* 'your book' (see Al-Azraqi 2007). This feature has been referred to as *kashkashah* (or *kaškašah*) by the old grammarians, and it is also realised in some Southern Saudi dialects. As for the Southern varieties, they also share similar features with other Arabic varieties such as Yemeni Arabic. One of the iconic features of some of the Southern Saudi varieties is the use of /ʔam/ as a definite article as opposed to the standard /ʔal/ realised in StA and the other dialects (see below). In sum, the Eastern and Southern varieties are influenced by language contact circumstances resulting from being closer to other countries. Both the Eastern and Southern varieties have relatively less popularity in the public sphere compared to the Najdi and Hijazi varieties.

2.6 Three key SAVs

In Saudi Arabia, there are three major dialect areas that are worthy of particular attention, but on which so far scant research has been produced. Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic are examples of such varieties towards which attitudes ought to be elicited. These varieties are all regional Arabic varieties spoken mainly in three provinces in Saudi Arabia. Qassimi Arabic is the variety spoken in Al-Qassim, a province in central Saudi Arabia whereas Hasawi Arabic is spoken in Al-Ahsa city which is located in the Eastern Province. Jizani Arabic is a dialect spoken in Jizan, a southern main province in Saudi Arabia. A map of the geographic locations of the regions is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Map of Saudi Arabia indicating the focal regions of Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic.
Adapted from Free World Maps (n.d.).

Each of these varieties belongs to a specific dialect group within Saudi Arabia. Along with the identification of the research gap mentioned earlier, a methodological justification of the selection of these three SAVs is given in section 3.2. To this end, I discuss each of the three studied SAVs in more detail in what follows.

Qassimi Arabic is a variety that belongs to the Najdi dialects group. Al-Rojaie (2020b, p.4) maintains that Qassimi Arabic has resulted and evolved from contact between several dialects in Al-Qassim such as the old Arabic dialects of Tay and Tamim and some of the Najdi dialects. In addition, Ingham (1994, p.4) classifies the origins of Qassimi Arabic to be from the speech of 'sedentary population' of the northern-central areas who are one of the subgroups of the Najdi dialects speakers. Currently, Saudi Arabia is very urbanised, and speakers of almost all Saudi dialects are not nomadic, hence live in urban conditions. Qassimi Arabic is also characterised by the linguistic feature known as *emalah* which translates to tilting. Similar to the case of *kashkashah*, another phonological feature in Qassimi Arabic is *kaskasah* which refers to the alternation of the ending sound /ik/ to be realised as /s/ or sometimes /ts/ as in *kitabi(t)s* instead of *kitabik* 'your book' (see Al-Azraqi 2007). This alternation also occurs when the /k/ sound is at the beginning of a word as in *(t)s'athab* instead of *k'athab* 'liar'. More generally, it is not very common for speakers of Qassimi Arabic to

accommodate or adjust their dialect, which implies a sense of pride in the dialect. Although sometimes ridiculed, Qassimi Arabic is still used by its speakers when interacting with speakers of other dialects or on social media.

As for Hasawi Arabic, it is a variety grouped under the Eastern Saudi dialects category. This variety is actually named after one particular town within the Eastern Province, Al-Ahsa. Yet, it is a regionally-dominant variety in the sense that it is overwhelmingly and stereotypically associated with the east and vice versa. Al-Mubarak (2016, p.113) remarks that there are inaccurate claims of some subdivisions of varieties within Hasawi Arabic, but there is no documentation or data to support such claims. As such, Hasawi Arabic is a well-recognised variety. One of the unique linguistic features of Hasawi Arabic is the use of *-ya* reflex of the 1st person singular possessive pronoun instead of the typical standard *-i* at the end of words as in *jaddat-ya* instead of *jaddit-i* 'my grandmother' (ibid., p.110). However, this feature is found in Classical Arabic, though not so commonly. In addition, as previously mentioned, the phonology of Hasawi Arabic exhibits features of *kashkashah* (i.e. /š/ in place of /ik/ for the 2nd feminine singular pronoun). Overall, as mentioned by El Salman and Al Fridan (2021, p.177), 'the emphatic and lengthening of some sounds in this dialect [i.e. Hasawi Arabic] could be considered the «marker»' linguistic feature of the variety.

Regarding Jizani Arabic, it is a southern Saudi variety and commonly referred to as *Janoubi* (i.e. Southern) dialect by non-linguists. This variety is exclusively spoken by people from Jizan, the southern province. Overall, Jizani Arabic is known to be influenced by language contact with Yemeni Arabic. Hamdi (2015) identifies three major distinguishing linguistic features of Jizani Arabic: 1) the deletion of the glottal stop /ʔ/ at the beginning of words (e.g. *ktub* instead of *auktub* 'write'), 2) the neutralisation of the 2nd person suffix /m/ to /n/ (e.g. *babakun* instead of *babakum* 'your door') and 3) the use of the definite article /ʔam/ in place of the more standard one /ʔal/ (e.g. *amkitab* instead of *alkitab* 'the book') (see ibid. for more examples). The sound replacement in /ʔal/ to be realised as /ʔam/ is referred to as *tamtamah* which is a phonological feature functionally similar to the previously-mentioned ones (i.e. *kaskasah* and *kashkashah*). A recent phonological study was conducted by Ruthan *et al.* (2019) which examined the syllabic structure of Jizani Arabic. In it, they provide a detailed, acoustic description of the syllable system in the variety. Moreover, I have noticed that speakers of Jizani Arabic tend to deviate from using their dialect when interacting with non-Jizanis. They frequently either accommodate to the speech of the

interlocutor or use another common dialect. Jizani Arabic carries some stigma, which is noticeable even among some of the variety's native speakers.

Some final notes about these varieties need to be addressed here. What may relate these three varieties to each other – other than their Saudi origins – is their potential vulnerability to socio-cultural circumstances. That is, these varieties, though fundamentally regional, are not strictly confined to their geographic origins or political boundaries but are common to the linguistic landscape within Saudi Arabia. However, the diffusion of these varieties usually occurs when their speakers move around the country. Though the previous discussions of the varieties under investigation included descriptions of some of the features associated with each one, it is not my intention to examine the linguistic features of each variety *per se*. Rather, I have tried to introduce the varieties to contextualise the work herein, bearing in mind the dearth of relevant literature. That said, as emphasised in both sections 1.1 and 2.12, the present study is more concerned with the perception rather than the production of these varieties.

It is also worth noting that there are certain stereotypes attached to each of these varieties, and their speakers are often talked about in certain ways. These varieties are found to trigger reactions in many contexts including everyday life situations, TV shows or social media. These reactions will be manifested throughout the findings of the present study (see section 3.3). A simple search of videos (and comments) about these varieties on YouTube, for example, will show some of these stereotypes and reactions. Of course, such a phenomenon is not exclusive to these varieties as it is not uncommon for regional varieties of most languages to be exposed to mockery, ridicule, stereotyping and social stigmatisation. Yet, the scope of the present study could only encompass these three varieties, and it would be recommended that future attitudinal studies consider the rest of the varieties. The next section will account for such language-based issues by reviewing some aspects of the sociolinguistic, theoretical background of the present study.

2.7 Sociolinguistic background

Several sociolinguistic concepts are fundamental to the investigation of LAs. One of the core concepts in the present study is the term *variety*, defined by Hudson (1996, p.22) as 'a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution'. According to this definition, the Arabic language, the Arabic spoken in Saudi Arabia (e.g. Saudi dialects) and the language used in religious speeches, for example, are all considered as

language varieties. Swann (2007, p.11) points out that the term *variety* is an umbrella term used by linguists who want to avoid the complex specification of linguistic terminology such as dialect, accent or register. In fact, Hudson (1996, p.23) maintains that there is no consistent basis for differentiating between such terms. This issue would depend on the nature of the enquiry wherein the distinction may or may not be of focal concern. That said, because the present study treats the investigated varieties as *attitude objects*, there is no need for strict differentiation of the varieties.

Broadly speaking, dialects and accents are variants or layers of a language. Dialects represent variation at the lexical and syntactical levels whereas accents represent variation at the level of pronunciation (Hughes *et al.* 2013, p.3). An accent reflects the salient and distinctive pronunciation features by which a speaker's geographic or social profile may be identified (Pennington & Rogerson-Revell 2019, p.33). From this perspective and because the determination of an accent entirely depends on the relative ubiquity of the standardised pronunciation, 'everyone has an accent' (ibid.). This is, however, contrary to folk beliefs of the unaccentedness of some varieties, and these beliefs result from the influence of language standardisation through which a variety is established as the norm which later becomes ubiquitous (see below). A manifestation of these beliefs is the notion of the *white dialect* in Saudi Arabia, which is meant to describe a widely intelligible Saudi variety that has no "impurities", and thus is "white". Overall, these concepts underpin the present study and will be used in the discussions and interpretations throughout.

Among the many language varieties of a language, there exists a standardised variety. This statement represents an equality-based understanding of language that involves the standard variety as merely one variety among many. This view is known as *descriptive* as opposed to the *prescriptive* view that considers the non-standard varieties as 'deviations' (Mesthrie 2009, p.21) from the standard. Jenkins (2015, p.21) defines *standard language* as 'the term used for that variety of a language that is considered to be the norm'. In addition, in his seminal work, Haugen (1966) identified four stages in the process of language standardisation which he described as 'selection', 'codification', 'elaboration' and 'acceptance'. To illustrate this, a variety is first selected to be the norm (selection) which is then used in dictionaries, literature and documentation of official institutions (codification). The variety is then expanded into multiple domains as well as implemented in the writing system (elaboration), and finally, it is accepted by an authority figure such as the government or even an

'influential group' (acceptance) (ibid., p.933). Consequently, a standard language results in 'minimal variation in form' and 'maximal variation in function' (ibid., p.931). Furthermore, what distinguishes the standard variety from the non-standard varieties is its prominent existence in the written form (J. Milroy 1999, p.18). The standard language is also believed by the public to be 'inherently good' though, in actuality, it is the variety spoken by the 'dominant classes' in a society (Guy 2011, p.162).

A final remark about accent as a variation of language needs to be stated. It is argued that, among all language varieties in LAs research, accent is 'the most studied, and perhaps the most socially significant' (Cargile 2000, p.166). This view is also noted by Pennington and Rogerson-Revell (2019, p.344) who argue that pronunciation in particular is a determinant of a person's linguistic proficiency and social status, and thus, it 'can have a considerable impact on a person's life'. For instance, it has been found (e.g. Rakić *et al.* 2011) that regional accents can be as powerful as faces in categorising individuals. Furthermore, because accents reflect identity (Beinhoff 2013, p.102; Moyer 2018, p.96), the attitudes expressed towards them could highly reveal how the speaker is socially perceived. Cavanaugh (2005, p.131) also mentions how the continual circulation of accent discussions in the media is influencing the perception and production of the accent. On this note, Clayton (2018, p.60) states that 'attitudes towards social and regional accents are strongly held and vehemently expressed'. This is probably why accents (and dialects) are often employed as attitude objects in language attitudes research much more than the labels of the languages as a whole.

2.7.1 Linguistic ideologies

An important sociolinguistic concept to be mentioned here is the notion of linguistic ideology (henceforth, LI) (also referred to as language ideology[1]). The term LI has been defined as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979, p.193). Closely similar, Kroskrity (2010, p.192) provides a more recent interpretation of the term as the 'beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use' and adds that these 'often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states'. The key point about LIs is that they are 'an ideational phenomenon' that are shaped by persuasive discourse in order for them to be

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[1] I am aware that the use of the term language ideology is more frequent than linguistic ideology. However, I prefer to use the term linguistic ideology as it – terminologically – renders language-based ideologies their *linguistic* aspect. It should also help in specifying what kind of ideologies are discussed.

reproducible (de Bres & Lovrits 2021, p.3). Further, LIs are significant as they contribute to the process of valuing or de-valuing certain varieties or speakers (Woolard 2020, p.2), thus resulting in the formation of both social and linguistic issues that are related – but not limited – to language (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994, p.55). In sum, ideas and language forms become valued when they are associated with the influential group that has a high socio-economic status and vice versa (Philips 2004, p.490).

While LIs exist in all communities (Woolard 2020, p.1), for the purpose of the present study, I will demonstrate examples of some LIs in the contexts of both English and Arabic. As an illustration, I briefly provide examples of broad ideologies such as language-based economic and nationalist ideologies in the cases of both English and Arabic. I choose to talk about the linguistic ideologies of English as it is a widely understood language wherein there are many instances that will help clarify the concept. For Arabic, the examples will be used to contextualise the present study in light of the concept of LIs. Nonetheless, by the end of the discussions on the provided examples of LIs, it should be clear that LIs can be universally similar in their re-occurrence among languages (English and Arabic here). Among these re-occurring ideologies is the standard language ideology which will be dealt with separately (discussed in section 2.7.2).

2.7.1.1 Linguistic ideologies in English

One common LI related to English is the notion (and promotion) of English as a global language. A particular way this ideology is channelised is via the discourse of trade, business communication and economic prosperity. This idea is the basis for Piller's and Cho's (2013, p.23) argument that the neoliberal economic ideology (Capitalism for short) is contributing to the spread of English as a global language and is pushing for more competitiveness in social life. Piller (2015, p.8) also stresses this point by arguing that '[t]he continuing rise in English language learning and in English language use around the world is evidence to the contemporary global salience of this particular language ideology'. Moreover, according to Wiley (2000, p.84), 'the ideology of English monolingualism' – as opposed to bilingualism/multilingualism – is another linguistic ideology enforced by the dominance of English over other languages which is also commonly associated with Americanisation. Simply put, 'English has been imposed on all groups, regardless of whether the ideological rationale was to "civilize", "domesticate", "raise", "tutor", or "assimilate"' (ibid., p.85, quotes in original). These

kinds of LIs can be considered as macro LIs in the sense that they reflect the view towards the language as a whole. Furthermore, they can also be interlinked with other aspects of social life beyond language itself such as economy and education as explained earlier.

The ideologies connected to English varieties have been documented in numerous studies. Garrett's (2010) book is a reference work that provides an extensive review of studies examining attitudes and ideologies concerning English. A well-cited study was conducted by Coupland and Bishop (2007) who reported the findings of a large-scale national survey of attitudes towards British accents known as the BBC Voices project. Coupland and Bishop observed ideological manifestations in the survey findings. For instance, the younger respondents' evaluations of British varieties were less negative than their counterparts, which signals 'a glimmer of liberal sentiment' (ibid., p.85). In the same vein, women tended to be less critical than men, and '[p]eople who declare more openness to linguistic diversity […] penalise accents less heavily' (ibid.). Overall, as commented by Garrett (2010, p.177), the BBC study provides snapshots of broad language-based ideological structures that surround accents in contemporary UK.

2.7.1.2 Linguistic ideologies in Arabic

As mentioned earlier, LIs are found in all societies, and hence, some LIs can be similar while existing in different contexts. After discussing some LIs of the English language, I now turn to Arabic.

Arabic is 'infused' with ideologies (Alsohaibani 2016, p.19). An iconic LI of Arabic is the association between Arab nationalism and the Arabic language. According to Walters (2018, p.478), the foundation of this ideology is the following understanding: an Arab is that individual who speaks Arabic and that all (native) speakers of Arabic constitute the Arab nation. A famous quote from the Arabic heritage is 'إنما العربية اللسان، فمن تكلم العربية فهو عربي' which translates into '*being Arab is a matter of tongue. He* [*sic*.] *who speaks Arabic is Arab*'. This quote also reflects the ideology of 'one nation, one language' (Bassiouney 2009, p.202) and also indicates the deep roots of the Arab nationalism ideology in the Arab culture and history and its close connection to language. Furthermore, the macro-driven LIs can also be found within the varieties of the language. For instance, Hachimi (2013, p.269) provides an account of the 'Maghreb-Mashreq [Arabic] language ideology'. Hachimi explains this LI as 'the

hierarchical relationship between Mashreqi (Middle Eastern) and Maghrebi (North African) vernacular Arabic varieties' (ibid.) in which Maghrebi Arabic varieties are seen as deficient (ibid., p.271) and Mashreqi Arabic varieties as more similar to Standard Arabic, thus more authentic (ibid., p.287).

A predominant linguistic ideology concerning the Arabic language is its proclaimed superiority over the other languages. Ferguson (1997[1959]) discusses this idea as part of his seminal work 'myths about Arabic'. This ideological superiority stems from three main types of sources: 'the aesthetic, the linguistic, and the religious' (Eisele 2003, p.44). The aesthetic aspect refers to the Arabs' belief of the inherent beauty of Arabic, its sounds and rhythms, especially those found in Classical Arabic scripts such as poetry. According to Ferguson (1997[1959], pp.251-252), the linguistic aspect is concerned with the view of Arabic's grammar as '*logical*' and its lexicon as enormously rich. In terms of the religious source of the superiority of Arabic, Ferguson (ibid., p.253) points to how Arabic is in close connection to Islam as it is the language spoken by God in the Holy Qur'an which is usually taken as an argument for the superiority and sacredness of Arabic. Notably, Y. Suleiman (2003, p.67) conceptualises these myths as uniform attitudes towards Arabic more than anything else.

The attitudes, ideologies and mythical views regarding Arabic are sometimes advocated by well-known Arab intellectuals and writers too, who are clearly biased in adopting such views. They are biased because of the inaccuracy of their claims and views. For instance, at the beginning of his book on "linguistic awareness", Mubaarak (1979, pp.17-22) provides a list of quotes (including some of his own) in which some ideologised views about the Arabic language are expressed and advocated. Mubaarak quoted Taha Hussein, nominee for the Nobel Prize in literature fourteen times (NobelPrize.org. 2021), stating that '[t]he intellectual Arabs who could not command their [Arabic] language not only are incomplete in their intellectuality but also in their masculinity' (quoted in Mubaarak 1979, p.21). Explaining Arabs' beliefs of the superiority of Arabic, Albirini (2016, p.81) referred to Taha Hussein's quote in addition to Mustafa Saadeq Al-Rafi'I, another famous Egyptian literary figure, who also states an admiration for Arabic in a rather extreme way. Such ideologies will exert an impact on individuals' wellbeing in that, as stated above, deviating from the standard or speaking in a community-based language in an Arab country could cause denigration, maltreatment or even denial of rights or opportunities (also see section 2.9 for a discussion of consequences). In sum, though critiqued (see Eisele 2003), the arguments

put forward by Ferguson about the (existence of) ideologies of Arabic's superiority are generally accurate, and the examples he provides are commonly heard in Arabic-speaking communities (Ibrahim 2000, p.23) in which LIs intersect with one another.

2.7.2 Standard language ideology: The case of Arabic

Standard language ideology is a featured example of LIs. SLI is defined as 'a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language' (Lippi-Green 2012, p.67). In actuality, language standardisation itself stems from an ideology of societal hierarchy (Armstrong & Mackenzie 2013, p.6), and thus is ideological from its inception. Moreover, there are two schools of thought under which linguists approach language: *prescriptivism* and *descriptivism*. Prescriptivism refers to the view of correct/incorrect language utterances, thus *prescribing* how language ought to be used (Straaijer 2016, p.233). On the contrary, the descriptive account is concerned with *how* language is actually used by the speakers. Since the standard variety is commonly referred to as 'the best language, proper ways of speaking and refined talk' (Coupland & Kristiansen 2011, p.12), it seems plausible to assume that SLI operates mainly within the prescriptive tradition. On this note, J. Milroy (2001, p.534) alerts that 'the standard/non-standard dichotomy is itself driven by an ideology'. In other words, what makes certain varieties *non-standard* is the existence of a *standard* one (ibid.). Indeed, the divide between prescriptivism and descriptivism makes them seem like two opposing ideologies in themselves.

There are several ways in which SLI is exerted. Milroy and Milroy (2012, p.30) argue that SLI is promoted and preserved by 'the complaint tradition' which they divide into two types. The first refers to those who seek correctness by attacking 'mis-use[s]' (i.e. wrong use) of language whereas the second is concerned with clarity and straightforwardness of expression (ibid., p.31). Lippi-Green (2012, p.68) also emphasises the role of education in fostering SLI wherein both standardisation and language correction are regularly exercised. Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003, p.456) argue the same point and add that the standardisation practices of language 'are acquired primarily through exposure to and imitation of model texts and model speakers'. This again emphasises the agency role played by not only prescriptive grammarians and linguists but also institutions and members of society in dealing with language that is seldom left in a vacuum.

Arabic is one of the languages in which SLI has been consistently exhibited. According to Hachimi (2013, p.272), 'Arabic provides a pristine example of standard language ideology' as the standard form of it dominates the writing medium and is not spoken in informal day-to-day situations. Another important feature of Standard Arabic that fosters SLI is its symbolic 'association with the holy book of Islam, the Qur'an, as well as other elite establishments' (ibid.). For a start, the very act of naming the Arabic standard variety as *Fusha* (i.e. eloquent) and the non-standard variety as *Ammiyyah* (i.e. non-elite language or colloquial) (Brustad 2017, p.46) is in itself ideological because it presupposes a hierarchical and discriminatory categorisation. Høigilt and Mejdell (2017, p.9) argue that Arabic varieties are often hierarchically ranked by Arabs in which not only is the standard 'always above them [i.e. Arabic varieties] all', but it also influences ranking the dialects in that the closest to the standard would be towards the top of the hierarchy. That said, it is possible to conclude that SLI is clearly manifested in the case of Arabic. Furthermore, such a phenomenon indicates a high potential for language attitudes manifestations in the Arabic-speaking world, a concept of focal concern to the present study.

However, the ideologies related to SLI are not exclusive to denoting the high status of StA – though they usually do – at the expense of CA. Sometimes, the case is reversed, and the linguistic ideology will favour a colloquial variety. This was found by Aboelezz (2017) who investigated ideologies about StA and Egyptian CA in Egypt by interviewing two pro-*Ammiyyah* Egyptian figures. From her interviews, she noted constructed beliefs and ideologies about the superiority of Egyptian CA and concluded that such ideologies are nurtured by 'enduring social and geopolitical concerns' (ibid., p.232). In the same fashion, Høigilt (2017) conducted a study on using the Egyptian Arabic dialect in print publications. He concluded that such language practices carry covert linguistic ideology to promote (using) Egyptian CA, particularly in writing. In a nutshell, the ideology of favouring the colloquial variety may be explained by Trudgill's (1972; 1974) notion of covert prestige, the prestige that underlies some socially-attractive or likeable colloquial varieties.

Further, there are ideologies that can be linked to (and resulting from) SLI. One of those is the ideological connection between standardisation and the principle (or slogan) '*wisdom of the Arabs*' (Y. Suleiman 2012, p.206, italics added). Y. Suleiman refers to some of the early language scholars of Arabic who used this conception as argumentation for studying Arabic (ibid.). Y. Suleiman (ibid., p.209) maintains that the

principle (i.e. wisdom of the Arabs) still exists, and it has been used by some thinkers to promote the Arab nationalism and its movement. This ideology can be seen as an extension of the previously-mentioned ideology of the superiority of Arabic, and thus the superiority of Arabs.

2.7.3 Linguistic ideologies and language attitudes

Language attitudes are in core relation to LIs. As introduced before, the term LAs fundamentally refers to the attitudes expressed when language is a central issue (I discuss language attitudes more thoroughly in section 2.9). According to Walters (2006, p.651), LAs can be seen as smaller segments of larger LIs. This is because not only may LIs influence LAs (Harrison 2021, p.2), but they also constitute the general sources from which LAs are formulated. Certain ideologies related to Arabic and its varieties indicate the language attitudes held by several groups. In many instances, the Arabic language (especially StA) has been admired by Arabs and also has been employed as a unification mechanism of the Arab nations in what has been known as the pan-Arab nationalism. In another example, the Arabic varieties spoken in the eastern part of the Middle East were seen to have higher status than those spoken in North Africa (Hachimi 2013). These ideologies, consequently, will have a role in shaping attitudes towards not only Arabic but also possibly other languages. In other words, positive and negative attitudes can be inferred and explained in the light of LIs.

Another way LIs and LAs are intertwined is observed in the idea of associating language with socio-economic advancement. This idea is particularly perpetuated through education and the language teaching tradition. For instance, English in Saudi Arabia has been 'eulogized' by educational bodies (Faruk 2013, p.78) which not only has made it prestigious, but has also resulted in highly positive attitudes towards it. In fact, Nouraldeen and Elyas (2014) found that one of the biggest motivating factors of learning English for Saudis is to be employable. This belief reveals the ideological connection between learning English and success to the Saudi individual which is similar to other communities. Holding such an ideology about English will inevitably lead to holding particular positive attitudes towards English. The inference of LAs from LIs shows the correlation between the two concepts.

Language-related ideologies and attitudes may be nourished by language-related myths and stereotypes. It was already noted in section 2.7.1.2 that Arabic is argued to have been mythologised. Schiffman (1996) mentions religion as a source of mythology

that contributes to the myths about some languages including Arabic. In this respect, Arabic's connection to Islam is undoubtedly influential with respect to the formation and maintenance of LIs and LAs. Related to the assumed inaccuracy of the mythical views about language (thus the label "myths") are stereotypes. The relationship between LAs, LIs and stereotypes is interconnected. Garrett (2010, p.33) points out that when ideologised beliefs or attitudes about language varieties are held, this can form stereotypical assumptions about the groups who speak in those varieties. Connectedly, the portrayal of certain groups of speakers in the media is known to be stereotypical such as portraying speakers of non-standard varieties in a negative way (Dragojevic *et al.* 2021, p.67). In sum, it can be concluded that language is socially significant and is surrounded by an array of issues that lie beyond sounds, letters and sentences.

Language attitudes and linguistic ideologies differ conceptionally and terminologically but can (and should) be studied in tandem. To this end, the next section will deal with the concepts of attitudes and language attitudes in more detail.

2.8 Attitudes: Definitions, structure and model

The notion of attitude is particularly well-established within the field of social psychology. It has been a central research theme in social psychology more than in any other field (Eagly & Chaiken 1993, p.1). This, however, is not very surprising considering that attitudes are, essentially, 'psychological constructs' (Garrett 2010, p.20). Several scholars (Burns & Dobson 1984, p.661; Aiken 2002, p.1; Nieswandt 2005, p.41; Garrett 2007, p.116; 2010, p.19) have maintained that an attitude is not an easily definable concept. In addition, various scholars from different disciplines have attempted to conceptualise attitude and offer their understanding of it. With that in mind, in what follows, I present and discuss a selection of key definitions of attitude.

Garrett cites Allport's definition of attitude as 'a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way' as it is a commonly-cited (and rather historic) definition (Allport (1954) cited in Garrett 2010, p.19). For Eagly and Chaiken (1993, p.1), an attitude is 'a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour'. Unlike Allport's description which does not mention *attitudinal evaluation*, Eagly and Chaiken's definition is more concise as it sets boundaries of favourability in the evaluation process. Their definition has also received wide agreement and acceptance

(Reid 2011, p.5). A more precise definition is given by the (APA) in the online *Dictionary of Psychology*. It defines attitude as a

> relatively enduring and general evaluation of an object, person, group, issue, or concept on a dimension ranging from negative to positive. Attitudes provide summary evaluations of target objects and are often assumed to be derived from specific beliefs, emotions, and past behaviors associated with those objects (American Psychological Association 2018).

The APA definition will be used as the conceptual definition of attitudes in the present study. This conception of attitude seems to encompass the three main aspects of an attitude: 1) the evaluative tendency, 2) the evaluative dimensions and 3) the structure (sources) of the attitudinal evaluations. The negative-positive evaluation referred to in the definition is also compatible with the contemporary interpretation of attitudes in LAs research. Overall, this definition should facilitate the theoretical conceptualisation of attitudes as well as the practical application for measuring them.

It has been argued (e.g. Baker 1992; Eagly & Chaiken 1993; Haddock & Huskinson 2004) that an attitude is composed of three components: Affect, Cognition and Behaviour. The Affect component refers to the emotional reaction stemming from the feelings towards an attitude object. Cognition is the internal beliefs, thoughts and ideologies linked to the attitude object (Huskinson & Haddock 2004, p.82). Lastly, as Fraser (2001, p.240) explains, the Behaviour component of attitude represents the 'intention to act in a certain way'. Behaviour serves as an indicator of the intended or habitual action by which an individual's disposition is reflected in the way he or she acts. In essence, intended actions can be a consequence of emotions and beliefs. In sum, an attitude is initially constructed as abstract 'feelings or thoughts' which 'will [eventually] tend to be reflected in what we say and do, and in how we react to what others say and do' (Eiser 1986, p.11). The three-component conceptualisation of attitude is largely cited in the literature (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.4). In fact, Maio and Haddock (2010, p.3) incorporate it in their definition of attitude. They consider attitude 'as an overall evaluation of an object that is based on cognitive, affective, and behavioural information' (ibid.). As can be seen from Figure 3, the structure of attitude has been conceptualised as a model in which the three components merge to constitute the attitude.
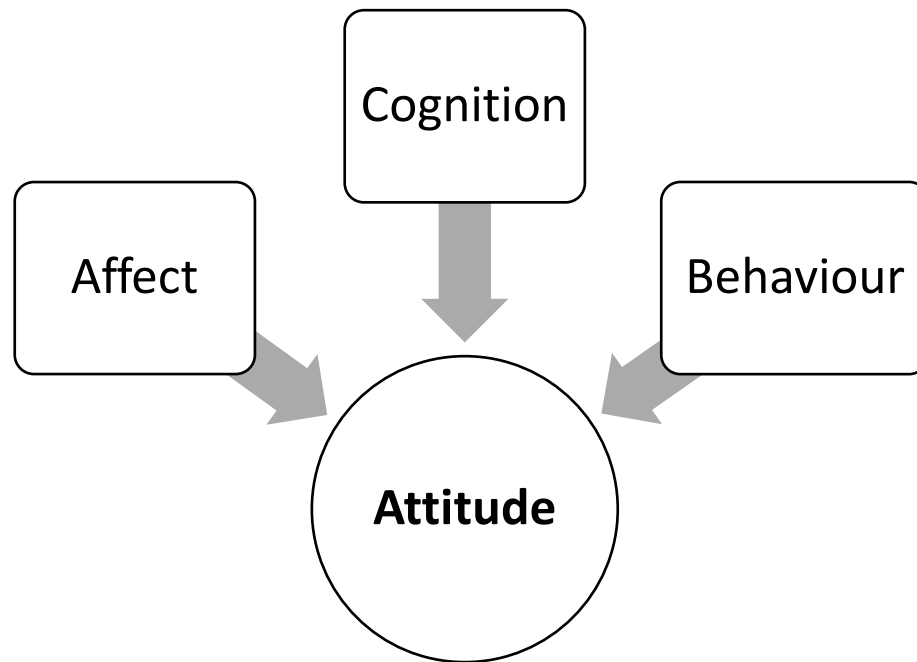
Figure 3. Attitude components.
Adapted from Baker (1992, p.13).

One of the important features of the concept of attitude is its interdisciplinarity (Oskamp & Schultz 2005, p.5). This feature has attracted researchers from different disciplines to investigate attitudes towards objects of their interest. Therefore, attitude objects vary depending on the nature of the enquiry. According to Eagly and Chaiken (1998, p.269), the term *attitude object* refers to an entity that is evaluated using some sort of stimuli which elicit attitudinal responses towards that object. In addition, researchers (e.g. Breckler 1984) have found that the three components of attitude are empirically distinguishable (Huskinson & Haddock 2004, p.83). Thus, Breckler (1984, p.1203) advises researchers to 'either measure each of the three components or to specify which of the three is of focal concern'. On this note, the Affect component has been conceptualised as having more primacy in the construction of attitude than the other components (Banaji & Heiphetz 2010, p.358). Overall, the research questions, objectives and aims of a study are what determine which attitude component(s) need to be investigated. The determination of both the attitude object and the means of measuring attitudes is broadly guided by the research questions under which researchers conduct their research. It is from this point that the following section starts wherein the focus is shifted to the *attitude object*, that is, language.

2.9 Language attitudes: Scope, significance and approaches

Language is a salient stimulus to people that is able to generate reactions and attitudinal manifestations. Language is also seen as a social phenomenon (Holtgraves 2002), especially by sociolinguists. It would, then, be essential to put emphasis on language speakers and hearers as individuals interacting in the social world when studying language and the attitudes towards it. This could also mean that language should not be studied without contextual considerations at all. Relatedly, several authors (Giles & Coupland 1991, p.58; Giles & Bradac 1994, p.4260; Cavallaro & Chin 2009, p.143; Crystal 2010, p.23) have pointed to the frequent stereotypical evaluation of language speakers on the basis of linguistic production, an observation that constitutes a major part in the theory and research of language attitudes. In other words, linguistic cues (e.g. accent) are found to facilitate the instant attribution of types of personalities and social characteristics attached to language speakers by the listeners. Furthermore, Fasold (1984, p.158) argues that studying LAs can determine 'the social importance of language'. Specifically, this occurs when peoples' perceptions about language speakers are revealed via their reactions to the language varieties (Edwards 1982, p.20). Fasold and Edwards' points are probably at the heart of LAs research and seem intriguing to be explored by researchers from multiple disciplines and contexts.

Similar to defining attitudes, defining language attitudes is not straightforward, especially, since 'there is no generally accepted definition of "language attitude"' (Grondelaers 2013, p.586). The word *attitudes* in *language attitudes* refers to a characterisation of the type of attitudes investigated, that is, attitudes that are connected to language. This would include anything from 'spelling and punctuation, words, grammar, accent and pronunciation, dialects and languages' (Garrett 2010, p.2) to 'language topics in general' (Niedzielski & Preston 2009, p.146). In explaining language attitudes, Giles and Bradac (1994, p.4260) refer to linguistic performances that evoke reactions from the hearers. It would seem obvious that such reactions are not necessarily the results of mere listening only. Indeed, the spoken forms of language are not the only available resources to generate attitudes. Nonetheless, it could be argued that listening to a particular spoken performance, as opposed to reading a written script, is the most effective way to explore attitudes. This is because the reaction is – usually – stimulated by an audio stimulus rather than abstract ideas such as questions of feeling or beliefs about language which make the attitude object vivid. In sum, inferring

attitudes via evaluating recorded speakers (see below for further explanation) has dominated LAs research (Cargile & Bradac 2001, p.349).

As theorists in the LAs field, Giles *et al.* (1979) have posited two hypotheses known as *the inherent value* and *the imposed norm* to explain the basis for language attitudes. *The inherent value* hypothesis refers to attitudinal evaluation of language being expressed in the light of 'intrinsic differences between language varieties, such as their linguistic or aesthetic superiority' (Dragojevic 2018, 2nd page). While the *inherent value* hypothesis has had its roots in history and is popular among lay individuals, it has been 'convincingly' refuted by linguists in the field (Edwards 1999, p.102). *The imposed norm* hypothesis, in comparison, suggests that the attitudes expressed towards certain speakers are the product of the social perceptions and connotations associated with those speakers (Edwards 1999, p.102; Dragojevic 2018, 3rd page). Therefore, a better term that clearly explains the essence of this hypothesis is the *social connotations* hypothesis[1], put forward by Trudgill and Giles (1978). To conclude, the *social connotations* hypothesis is 'the most likely' explanation underpinning language attitudes (Edwards 1999, p.102).

Historically, researching attitudes towards language started in the 1930s (Cargile 2000, p.165; Kircher & Zipp 2022, p.1). It was commenced by Pear (1931) who investigated how some speakers on the BBC radio were evaluated (Pear (1931) cited in Giles & Coupland 1991, p.33). In the 1960s onwards, researchers have adopted three main approaches in investigating LAs (Cargile & Bradac 2001, p.348). Those are: 1) 'the societal-treatment approach', 2) 'the direct approach' and 3) 'the indirect approach' (McKenzie 2010, p.41). (I will discuss these approaches in detail in later parts of the chapter [see section 2.9.1]). Moreover, according to Tamasi and Antieau (2015, p.47), researching LAs has become systematic since the work of Lambert and his colleagues in the 1960s (see Lambert *et al.* 1960). That is to say, since Lambert *et al.*'s seminal work, the attitudes of individuals were being elicited by means of experimentation procedures and instruments including voice stimuli and evaluative questionnaires. Since then, the 1970s witnessed 'much pioneering language attitudes work' in an intersection between social psychology and sociolinguistics (Garrett 2007, p.116).

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[1] I use this term throughout.

The term language attitudes has multiple manifestations and classifications. Baker (1992, p.29) describes language attitudes as 'an umbrella term' which has been used to refer to various aspects in which language is a central issue. Gardner (1985, p.41) proposes to discriminate between two main types of LAs: 1) educational attitudes and 2) social attitudes. The former is driven by an educational agenda such as the motivation for learning a language and the role of the language teacher. On the other hand, social attitudes revolve around the social role of the language (and its speakers) (Appel & Muysken 1987, p.12) which usually includes focusing on social groups in a community (e.g. Ianos 2014). To this end, it is *social attitudes* that the attitudes in the present study are classified under.

Moreover, it has been proposed to distinguish between the attitudes towards language and the attitudes towards the speakers of the language (see Schoel *et al.* 2012, p.22). What is worth noting from these various classifications of LAs is the interdisciplinarity of this kind of research enquiry (Dragojevic *et al.* 2021, p.69) where various fields (e.g. linguistics, social psychology and sociology, to name a few) are often intertwined to address research questions. In this sense, the present study will be interdisciplinary in nature, thus relevant to several contexts and audiences in various academic disciplines. This point certainly rationalises researching LAs extensively as the relevance of the ensuing findings would be extended to several fields. This in itself is a point of strength concerning the rationale for researching LAs which should encourage conducting further research in this area.

Studying LAs is known to be useful in a number of ways. Firstly, LAs can serve as an indicator of the evaluation of speech production (and producers). The critical point to make is that LAs reflect the way language speakers are perceived which may entail either privilege or inequality in society (Meyerhoff 2011, p.58). This is a major interest (or concern) of investigators of LAs. For instance, in their publication, Giles and Coupland (1991) attempted to show how and 'where language and social forces and inequalities intersect' (p.xii). In fact, Lambert (1980, p.415) argues that the most important role for researchers in this field is to contribute to solving 'social problems' that are based on language issues such as linguistic discrimination and inequality. In the same vein, Milroy and Milroy (2012, p.45) importantly note that LAs are only a 'proxy' of deeper attitudinal representations that are driven by social and political forces. Holmes (2013, p.410) also agrees with this view emphasising the impact of social and political factors on LAs. This understanding not only denotes the cruciality of LAs

enquiry, but also explains the motives of the long tradition of LAs researchers who have sought to understand how people are able to evaluate, judge and make inferences about different language varieties.

Two other benefits of researching LAs are worth noting. The first is still in close connection to the notion just mentioned, that researching LAs uncovers prejudices and inequalities. That is to say, investigating attitudes towards language could predict (linguistic) behavioural consequences of individuals who hold certain attitudes (McKenzie 2010, p.37). For example, Seligman *et al.* (1972) found that teachers' evaluations of pupils' capabilities were significantly influenced by the varieties spoken by the pupils. In Almegren's (2018) study on Saudi students' language attitudes, the accents of some teachers were also judged to be superior to other accents (see Giles & Billings 2004 for a comprehensive review on linguistic, social and political ramifications of LAs). LAs consequences could be significant since, as McGlone and Giles (2011, p.218) conclude, the identities of language speakers manifest in their voices, and consequently, 'listeners hearing their speech can, without training, do a remarkable job of decoding this identifying information'.

A further benefit of studying LAs is the revelation of the factors accounting for the attitudes. Garrett (2010, p.16) highlights that exploring LAs can help in determining the sources from which the expressed attitudes are learned. That is, when investigating LAs, not only can attitudes be elicited, but also reasons, factors and/or explanations of such attitudes. This way, LAs research can contribute to our understanding of differences within and across communities, particularly, in terms of cultural differences (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.14). Since language varieties represent, 'enshrine […] and […] constitute' communities (Garrett 2010, p.16), it is crucial to determine the reasoning behind individuals' held attitudes. In sum, LAs can reveal various issues in the social world (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.3) and is an important research area in sociolinguistics (Nuessel 2010, p.129). All in all, the different benefits and rationales of studying LAs could all intersect, which can be seen as a further sign of the significance, and yet, complex nature of LAs.

2.9.1 Approaches in LAs research

As mentioned earlier, the literature on LAs research methodology has been guided by three main approaches: 1) 'the societal-treatment approach', 2) 'the direct approach' and 3) 'the indirect approach' (Garrett *et al.* 2003, pp.14-15; Garrett 2010, p.37;

McKenzie 2010, p.41). To give an overview of the approaches, I discuss each approach in turn in the following.

The societal-treatment approach refers to the way 'languages or language varieties and their users are viewed in a given society' (Ishikawa & Panero 2016, p.79). Content analysis and observations are the primary methodological means used in this approach (Garrett 2005, p.1251). Unlike the other approaches, this approach lacks 'explicit requests to respondents for their views or reactions' (Ryan *et al.* 1982, p.7). However, the approach may include 'participant observation' (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.15) which then facilitates the inference of attitudes. Omar and Ilyas (2018), for instance, looked at Saudis' code-switching behaviour (i.e. the instant switch from one language to another) between English and Arabic in terms of usage and attitudes. They recruited 50 respondents (some were non-Saudi) in a focus group and interviews to collect data. The results showed that the respondents' attitudes signified in-group and out-group associations with the language used. For example, 'informal or personalized statements' were spoken in Arabic whereas English was used for 'formal and objective expressions' (ibid., p.88). This way, the attitudes were inferred from the respondents' discourse and discussions of the topic of code-switching itself.

Arguably, societal-treatment studies are considered less rigorous and less sufficient for researching LAs (McKenzie 2010, p.41). This is due to the limited reliance on respondents and the fact that the findings are somewhat speculative in such studies. Nevertheless, some researchers still apply some aspects of the societal-treatment approach in their investigation of LAs. Alshareef *et al.*'s (2018) study examined the attitudes of Saudi policy-makers by inferring attitudes through interviews. The researchers were exploring the respondents' perspectives on the choice of English and Arabic being used as the language of instruction in teaching medical courses in Saudi Arabia. The results revealed 'an overwhelming preference of choice for the English language over Arabic language' (ibid., p.308), but using Arabic was seen as advantageous for the improvement of the students' understanding and memorisation of information as well as communication with patients (ibid., p.313). In sum, it is clear that the language under investigation is studied at a highly macro level in the societal-treatment approach.

In terms of the direct approach, researchers rely entirely on the respondents' attitudinal responses about language. In such a case, the language varieties under investigation are deliberately evaluated by means of direct questions and/or statements.

This approach is, thus, contrary to the societal-treatment approach as the respondents are asked to report their attitudes themselves (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.24), which is a process of 'overt elicitation of attitudes' (Garrett 2010, p.39). Abed (2017) followed this approach while studying Saudis' attitudes towards a pidgin variety of Arabic, namely, Gulf Pidgin Arabic (GPA). To collect the data, Abed utilised a mixed methodology using semi-structured interviews and an online questionnaire involving a Likert (agreement) scale with direct questions. The findings revealed a negative attitude towards GPA, its usage and its spread (ibid., p.ii) which highlighted that the variety is socially marginalised in Saudi society. Another direct study was conducted by Alabdali (2017) to investigate Southerner Saudis' attitudes towards the Saudi Southern dialect. The author used a questionnaire containing 15 items on a Likert scale. She concludes that the attitudes are significantly positive among the 51 respondents of the study. Alahmadi (2016) also reports the attitudes of 80 Saudis from Western Saudi Arabia towards a Saudi western dialect. The respondents were all speakers of Urban Meccan Hijazi Arabic (UMHA), and the data was collected via a questionnaire. It was found that the respondents held a positive attitude towards the dialect. The social variables of the respondents (e.g. age) also had a role in determining the findings of the study.

In the indirect approach, the attitudes are elicited in a way that prevents the respondent 'from knowing that her [*sic.*] language attitudes were being investigated' (Fasold 1984, p.149). The techniques used in this approach are 'subtle' and sometimes 'deceptive' compared to the direct questions about attitudes (Garrett 2010, p.41). The most popular application of the indirect approach is the technique known as the matched-guise task (henceforth, MGT). In fact, 'the term 'indirect approach' is more or less synonymous with the MGT' (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.51). The birth of the MGT was in Lambert *et al.*'s seminal study investigating the attitudes towards English and French in Canada (see Lambert *et al.* 1960). In the MGT, a single speaker is typically recorded while performing the language varieties (e.g. accents) under investigation, deceiving listeners that those recordings are of different speakers (Garrett 2007, p.117). Another similar indirect technique in researching LAs is the verbal-guise task (henceforth, VGT) which is a modification of the MGT. The VGT differs from the MGT in that it involves different representative speakers to perform each of the investigated language varieties. In essence, both the MGT and VGT are employed to investigate what traits are attributed to the studied language varieties (and their respective speakers) (see section

3.5 for a full discussion of the MGT and the VGT). It is from these evaluations that attitudes are inferred to reveal people's perceptions regarding language.

There has been a number of indirect studies that investigated Saudis' LAs. One study was conducted by Al-Kahtany (1995) who adopted the VGT to investigate the attitudes towards speakers of three English varieties, namely, 'Standard American English (SAE), Black English (BE), and Indian English (IE)' (p.165). Data was collected from Saudis studying in the US using a questionnaire which involved a 7-point semantic-differential scale. The study highlighted a preference for SAE over the other varieties, which was linked to factors of exposure to standard English. There were also negative evaluations of BE and IE which were claimed to be resulting from American environmental influence. However, the study included a low number of respondents (i.e. 14), which may be inadequate for attitudinal research. Almahmoud (2012) incorporated the MGT to study the attitudes of 260 Saudi respondents towards Standard Arabic, Colloquial Arabic and English. Almahmoud worked with a mixed methodology and used direct and indirect questionnaires, in addition to focus groups to collect the data. The attitudes towards English were more positive than the two Arabic varieties in that English was typically perceived as prestigious and as entailing advantages (e.g. employability of its speakers) in Saudi Arabia. Nonetheless, both Standard and Colloquial Arabic were still evaluated positively. A notable finding in the study revealed that the respondents – subconsciously – believed that English was superior to Standard and Colloquial Arabic, though consciously admitting the superiority of Standard Arabic.

2.9.2 Folk-linguistics approach to LAs

Folk-linguistics was commenced as a field of enquiry during the 1960s (Niedzielski & Preston 2000, p.2). It is the branch of knowledge that takes into consideration what goes on in the minds of non-linguists, non-experts and non-language professionals (i.e. *the folk)* about language. In this sense, it is a deliberate attempt to gain knowledge about language from non-linguists (Preston 2005b, p.143). Such knowledge includes beliefs, feelings, attitudes and perceptions regarding language. Folk-linguistics has been conceptualised within the study of language in a triangle model (Niedzielski & Preston 2000, p.26) as shown in Figure 4.

a' — States and processes
which govern a

What people say

a

What people say about
1) What is said (a)
2) How it is done (a')
3) How they react to it (b)
4) Why they say what they say (b' & c')

c   b **How people react
to what is said**

b' & c' — Beliefs, attitudes, &
stagies which govern b & c

Figure 4. The place of folk-linguistics within the study of language.
Reproduced from Niedzielski and Preston (2000, p.26).

Though Preston revised the triangle into a dichotomy of unconscious (i.e. b)/conscious (i.e. c) territories (see Preston 2002, p.18), this model seems more transparent than the new one, and it still largely shows the situation of folk-linguistics. The conscious contribution of the folk is a rather salient feature of folk-linguistics as opposed to the implicit elicitation of responses – where respondents are unconscious of the real purposes of the tasks they are completing – in LAs research. That said, though folk-linguistics is mainly a direct-driven approach, categorising its research and methods in terms of attitudes investigation would not straightforwardly fit in the previously-mentioned approaches of LAs research (section 2.9.1). That is why it is now an established field independent from LAs research.

Advocates of folk-linguistics (e.g. Dennis Preston) view the ideas, perceptions and attitudes of the folk as an important resource for language research (Preston 2002, p.13). In fact, Preston (ibid., p.22) goes further to argue that 'a linguistics without folk linguistics does not explore the breadth and depth of language in communities'. Similarly, Y. Suleiman (2013, p.266) argues that 'folk linguistics is an important source of information in exploring the role of language in the life of a community'. Since the

linguistic data in folk-linguistics studies comes from research subjects, folk-linguistics pertains to the study of language attitudes. More importantly, the attitudes of the folk constitute a major part of interpreting and thoroughly understanding LAs. This emphasises the crucial role of respondents when it comes to LAs studies. In other words, the methodological design of attitudinal studies should always aim to recruit respondents on which attitudes elicitation tasks are performed. After all, the investigated attitudes – whether elicited from respondents or inferred from situations – are essentially part of the folk (linguistic) information.

Ladegaard (2001, p.37) argues that the role of folk-linguistics is 'destroying elitism in the academic world' by combating the assumption of the proclaimed superiority of the linguists' knowledge of language to the knowledge of the non-linguists. In the same vein, Niedzielski and Preston (2000, p.18) explain how non-linguists' linguistic knowledge works differently from professional linguists. For example, while (descriptive) linguists explain language phenomena (e.g. language status) in the light of external factors (e.g. being the language spoken by dominant groups in society), non-linguists would make comments about language that are based on internal factors and 'the underlying nature of language itself' such as the comment 'logical' and/or 'clear' (ibid.). Moreover, linguists are relatively a very small group compared to the folk. As such, there would be a wide range of implications of the folks' contribution to the study of language within multiple spheres. It is from such points that the folk-linguistics approach to language has been legitimised for the study of language in general and LAs in particular.

2.9.2.1 Perceptual dialectology

Perceptual dialectology is a specific method that is usually used in folk-linguistics studies. As its name indicates, perceptual dialectology is dialectology work delivered through investigating the perceptions of non-linguists. It generally asks non-linguists 'about how and where language varies' to contribute to the understanding of language variation and 'how language works' in general (Montgomery & Beal 2011, p.121). One featured characteristic of perceptual dialectology data is its subjectivity as opposed to the objectivity of traditional dialectology data. To exemplify, Watt (2018, p.17) points out that current dialectologists aim 'to describe and catalog linguistic phenomena' as well as 'to explain the genesis of these phenomena' while examining their transferability among speakers. In other words, a traditional dialectologist would

investigate speakers' linguistic production to understand, describe and document dialects in an attempt to eventually preserve them (i.e. the dialects) from disappearing. Conversely, in the perceptual dialectology tradition, the focus is shifted to the layperson to provide descriptions of the dialects, which makes the respondents relatively more active in the process compared to traditional dialectology. Furthermore, the subjectivity of perceptual dialectology data is most clearly manifested in the evaluative comments that are elicited from the respondents (see below). Therefore, perceptual dialectology provides a new dimension in understanding language in a given society. Perceptual dialectologists then put language variation at the heart of their investigation (Montgomery 2018, p.128) by attempting to understand it as well as the multiple layers found in language variation such as non-linguists' perceived reasoning for language variation, attitudes and beliefs. On the whole, the consistent focus on language variation in perceptual dialectology research is what distinguishes it from LAs research.

The methodology of perceptual dialectology utilises several methods in studying language. Montgomery and Cramer (2016, p.10) summarise the typical methods of perceptual dialectology as follows:

- Draw-a-map task.

- Degree-of-difference rating task in which each respondent is asked to rate how similar or different a language variety is in comparison to the respondent's variety.

- Evaluation task of a language variety on the dimensions of *pleasantness* and *correctness*.

- Voice identification task.

- Qualitative-driven elicitation of reactions, beliefs and attitudes regarding the variety in question.

It can be seen from the above list that the data in perceptual dialectology is gathered by a range of techniques that can reveal various types of information. For instance, the use of maps is intended to reveal the perceived linguistic territories of language varieties which can signal an *us* and *them* ideology. Another example would be in terms of the evaluative reactions of *pleasantness* and *correctness*. These two dimensions are quite relevant to MGT and VGT studies in which evaluations on different dimensions are obtained from respondents to infer their attitudes. The implication of evaluating speakers on such dimensions has been found to be influential in many contexts, especially in the social wellbeing sphere (see section 2.9).

When devising perceptual dialectology methods, Preston has criticised traditional LAs research in a number of ways. The first issue is related to the conceptualisation of LAs in itself. Niedzielski and Preston (2000, p.9) posit that a language attitude is not concerned with particular linguistic features (e.g. accent) only, rather, it is 'an awakening of a set of beliefs about individuals or sort of individuals through the filter of a linguistic performance'. In the same fashion, Preston has criticised the term *language attitudes* arguing that it does not qualify to represent what research on language attitudes actually seeks to investigate, and thus, he has proposed to rename the field as *language regard* (Preston 2018, p.3). The reason for this is that the ideas and beliefs that the folk hold about language cannot be easily categorised under one dimension (see ibid. for a full discussion of the concept). However, *language attitudes* is a more precise term than *language regard*, and it still receives wide acceptance today. A manifestation of this acceptance is reflected in Kircher and Zipp's (2022) recent volume *Research Methods in Language Attitudes*.

The second criticism that Preston has had for traditional LAs research is the lack of identification tasks, cues or information for the variety under investigation (Preston 1989; 1999b). That is, since most LAs studies assumed (or ignored) respondents' correct identification of the varieties, it has been recommended to always supplement LAs studies with an identification task related to the geographic location or distribution of the studied varieties (McKenzie 2010, p.51). Identification tasks can vary from direct questions about the speaker's country, origin or nationality to perceptual map labelling of the variety. The rationale for the identification task is to confirm that the respondents are actually evaluating those whom the researcher wants them to evaluate. That is why interpreting attitudinal findings could be difficult if the varieties are misidentified. Notwithstanding, it could be argued against this claim that even *misidentifications* can be valuable data. Instead of dismissing the responses of incorrect identification of the varieties, they can be analysed and interpreted from a different perspective. They can, for example, be interpreted as folks' level of awareness of language and place or the *perceived* linguistic landscape of the variety under investigation. Overall, from a methodological point of view, the responses of misidentifications could still be eliminated from the dataset, but they are better employed as tentative evidence in support of the attitudinal findings under the correct identification responses.

The third criticism is concerned with what Preston (2005a, p.1687) has observed in LAs studies, namely, that they only focus on the affective responses to draw

attitudinal conclusions. This critique of LAs studies could be legitimate because (over)generalised conclusions based on mere ratings of solidarity and status are sometimes drawn in such studies. However, if various methods are employed in investigating LAs, it can be possible to work with such potential limitations. Moreover, even investigating LAs through perceptual dialectology techniques can still influence the findings. For instance, according to Preston (2002, p.18), the evaluative comments and ratings in folk-linguistics studies are mainly resulting from conscious, and thus direct evaluations. While conscious reactions and comments may increase the transparency of the expressed attitudes, they may, however, put the collected responses at the risk of biases and distortion. One such example is the social-desirability bias, defined as 'the tendency of participants to provide responses that they believe are desirable from a social point of view (i.e., desirable in the eyes of others)' (Orcher 2017, p.127). Another bias is acquiescence bias which refers to the respondent's biased agreement with a statement or an idea thinking that it is the response that the researcher is after (Garrett 2005, p.1254). Garrett (2010, p.44) warns against such biases, especially in direct-oriented (e.g. folk-linguistics) approaches to LAs. In fact, eliminating these biases and shortcomings was the principal motivation for the creation of the MGT by Lambert *et al.* (see sections 2.9.1 and 3.5).

Although the rise of perceptual dialectology as a field to study language was 'a deliberate departure' from traditional LAs studies (Montgomery 2018, p.128), Preston (2010, p.91) suggests that the lines between perceptual dialectology and LAs have been blurred. Thus, a synthesis of research methods can be applied to meet the objectives of the conducted study. Several methods of investigation can complement each other, which should yield inspirational research strategies to be used in (future) studies of language. This understanding is particularly important for interdisciplinary (linguistic) research wherein language is approached via an array of theories and methods. To this end, Preston (1999b, p.xxxvii) has argued for 'refining the methodologies and applying them to new situations' when studying folk-linguistics topics such as LAs. After all, as Garrett *et al.* (2003, p.66) maintain, 'we need a complex of methods and of response options that is able to match the inherent complexity of language attitudes'.

2.9.2.2 Perceptual dialectology studies of Arabic

In general, perceptual dialectology studies on Arabic are relatively rare (Al-Rojaie 2020b, p.2) and are rarer still in the context of Saudi Arabia. Theodoropoulou and Tyler

(2014), for example, conducted a perceptual dialectology study to examine the dialectical variation of Arabic from the perceptional point of view of 42 female undergraduate students in Qatar. A major finding in the study is the participants' categorisation of the Arabic dialects into five categories: the Maghreb, Egypt and Sudan, the Levant, the Gulf, and Somalia. The authors also concluded that the labels (i.e. descriptions and comments) provided by the respondents stemmed from three hierarchical levels: the individual, the regional and the Arab World. Another perceptual dialectology study was conducted by Hachimi (2015) in Morocco. Using methods of perceptual dialectology, Hachimi aimed to investigate ideologised perceptions of 52 Moroccans' towards various Arabic varieties both in terms of Arabic's geo-linguistic boundaries as well as ideologies behind *good* and *bad* varieties of Arabic. In terms of the perceptional boundaries of Arabic, Hachimi's study's findings showed that the respondents' classification of Arabic varieties corresponded to the five Arabic dialect areas established and documented in Arabic dialectology. Another finding was that the evaluative labels used to describe the varieties revealed an ideologically-driven hierarchal conception of Arabic varieties.

As far as I have been able to determine, only two published perceptual dialectology studies have investigated Arabic in Saudi Arabia until now. The first study, conducted by Al-Rojaie (2020a), explores the perceptions and attitudes of Saudis regarding a hypothesised Saudi national koiné. The term koiné refers to the outcome of the mixing of language varieties in a given community which usually becomes the lingua franca for the speakers of the mixed varieties (Siegel 1985, p.363). In other words, the main reason for the appearance of a koiné variety is 'dialect contact' (Kerswill & Williams 2000, p.65). Therefore, focusing on the Saudi context, Al-Rojaie (2020a) examined if a potential Saudi Arabic koiné is emerging. Utilising perceptual dialectology methods (with some adaptations), he collected data from 674 Saudi respondents. Al-Rojaie's study concluded that a Saudi national koiné has been established across Saudi Arabia. Further, one of the noteworthy findings of the study is the association between the Saudi national identity and the dialect spoken in Riyadh as perceived by the majority of the respondents (ibid., pp.45-46). This point – at least to the lay Saudi individual – may ultimately lead to a discriminatory conflict of who is *more* and who is *less* Saudi considering that, as Edwards (2009, p.21) argues, language can 'certainly' serve as a marker of identity. As such, a series of political and/or socio-

economic consequences might result from such views about and attitudes towards language.

The second and most relevant study is a perceptual dialectology study on the Qassimi Saudi dialect also conducted by Al-Rojaie (2020b). Focusing exclusively on the community of Qassimi Arabic, the author sought to explore Qassimi speakers' perceptions about language variation in Al-Qassim (a central Saudi province) as well as the socio-cultural evaluation held in regards to Qassimi Arabic. Perceptual dialectology tasks such as the draw-a-map task and the labelling task were employed to elicit data from 240 respondents. The data in the study was analysed using a rather innovative analytical technique in perceptual dialectology studies. This technique is known as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software that produces heat maps which give a good illustration of the results. Content analysis was also performed on the collected data. The findings of the study revealed six categories that resulted from the evaluative comments: 'drawl, influences from other regional dialects, heavy accent, old vocabulary, fast, and [sound] affrication' (ibid., p.1).

It is worth mentioning that there is also a PhD thesis that has dealt with Saudi Arabic dialects using a perceptual dialectology approach. In it, Alhazmi (2018) studied the perceptions and attitudes of Saudi Hijazi people towards Arabic dialectal variation in Al-Hijaz (a regional area in Western Saudi Arabia). Alhazmi collected data from 649 Hijazi respondents via both paper-based and online questionnaires. She was able to recruit this high number of respondents by conducting fieldwork in a university and a secondary school in Saudi Arabia wherein access to large groups at the same time was possible. Three key findings are noteworthy here. The first was the significant impact of linguistic ideology on the perceptions of the respondents (ibid., p.283) which was evident in the dichotomous ideology of one dialect being dominant over the other in Al-Hijaz region. Second, a finding indicated different levels of linguistic security (i.e. the speaker's confidence in using a language variety) among the respondents (ibid., p.284). For example, speakers of the Urban Bedouin Hijazi dialect appeared to 'have the privilege of being linguistically secure' as their dialect was considered closer to Standard Arabic (ibid., p.203). Finally, a dichotomous attitudinal judgment was noted when comparing the two variants of Hijazi Arabic under investigation (ibid., p.284). The Bedouin dialect was associated with descriptions such as 'traditional' and 'serious' whereas the Hadari dialect was perceived as 'modern' and similar to other Arabic dialects (ibid.).

The above-reviewed perceptual dialectology studies would be relevant to compare findings with whether in terms of attitudes measurement or methodology. Such a comparison should result in a comprehensive understanding of Saudis' attitudes towards the various SAVs (see section 6.3.3 for a discussion). Meanwhile, it would also be possible to evaluate the approaches to LAs more critically (discussed in section 6.6).

2.9.3 Other approaches in researching LAs

There have been additional approaches to researching LAs. Contrary to the dominant quantitative, questionnaire-based approaches found in classic LAs studies, these other approaches emphasise the role of the qualitative paradigm. Three main approaches have been conceptualised in the literature which are grouped under the umbrella term *discourse-based approaches to language attitudes*: 'content-based, turn-internal semantic and pragmatic, and interactional approaches' (see Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2009, for a comprehensive review). Because these approaches 'are not just three different ways of viewing the data, but three different *levels of analysis*' (ibid., italics in original), and for the sake of succinctness, I briefly discuss them as one approach while citing the relevant studies.

The principal argument of the discourse-based approach to LAs is that interaction plays a major role in constructing attitudes towards language which then develop into ideologies circulated – again – through interaction (ibid., p.217). A recent study that relied on discourse(s) to explore attitudes towards some English accents was conducted by Waters (2020). Waters qualitatively examined online reviews of audiobooks – that focused on the narrators' accents – to investigate patterns and themes in the data. The findings revealed and pointed to language commodification processes used to promote the audiobooks. Another study was conducted by Palfreyman and Al-Bataineh (2018) on Emirati female university students' attitudes towards English and Arabic. The authors inferred attitudes from analysing both interviews and the language discourse(s) in their data. Not only were the attitudes towards English neutral, but also English was associated with educatedness, employability and social prestige. Arabic, conversely, though associated with the local identity, was seen 'as a sign of backwardness' (ibid., p.93).

A final methodological point about the approaches to LAs is the possibility to apply various methods in a single study. For instance, the discourse-based content analysis approach can be an accompanying method in the analysis of LAs. The

procedure of content analysis includes a systematic examination of 'qualitative unstructured data' to identify potential 'themes, characteristics, and patterns' (Crano *et al.* 2015, p.303). Further, as previously mentioned, this procedure can be used in the societal-treatment approach or in analysing discourse from an attitudinal perspective. Another application of content analysis can be in the keywords task in the study of LAs, which the present thesis incorporates (see section 3.3 for a full discussion of the keywords task). Garrett *et al.* (2003) report their empirical research wherein they incorporate 'content analytic procedure' (p.118) in their examination of LAs in Wales. Garrett *et al.* (2005b) also used a similar procedure of content analysis to study the keywords provided by their respondents towards the Englishes spoken in New Zealand, Australia, the USA and the UK. In conclusion, the various approaches to LAs need not be seen as contradictory, and rather, they can intersect to address the research questions and objectives at hand.

After conceptualising language attitudes as a field of enquiry, I will now turn to reviewing some attitudinal studies related to the present study. This review will involve studies that are related to Arabic and its varieties, Arabs' language attitudes and Saudis' language attitudes. By doing so, I take a top-down approach in my review in which studies on the attitudes towards the Arabic language are first reviewed (macro) as it is the subject matter of this thesis. This will be followed by a more contextualised examination of several studies on Arab study populations (meso). Finally, narrowing the scope of the review, I will focus on attitudinal studies conducted on Saudis as subjects or Saudi Arabia as a fieldwork site (micro) which represents the precise context of the present thesis.

2.10 Language attitudes studies on Arabic

Though they have been conducted for several decades, LAs studies that investigate Arabic have not been comprehensive in covering varieties and/or aspects of the Arabic language (e.g. general or specific language topics). A common theme in language attitudinal research is the comparison between the standard and non-standard language varieties. As explained in section 2.2, Arabic exhibits a diglossic situation where there exists a High variety (i.e. *Fusha*) and a Low variety (i.e. *Ammiyyah*). This situation resulted in an interest in examining, measuring and comparing the attitudes held towards the Arabic standard/non-standard dichotomy. This section will, therefore,

review some of the key LAs studies on Arabic and its varieties across various Arabic-speaking countries, communities and people.

2.10.1 Attitudes towards (varieties of) Arabic in Middle Eastern contexts

Many LAs studies on Arabic were conducted in Egypt. One of the early and well-cited works of LAs on Arabic was the study of El-Dash and Tucker (1975) on the attitudes of Egyptian university and high school students towards matched-guises of Standard Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Egyptian English, British English and American English. To their respondents, Standard Arabic was the most favoured variety, followed by Egyptian Arabic when used in the home domain. Interestingly, StA in the study surpassed not only the CA variety but also the English varieties in terms of positive attitudes. Herbolich (1979) conducted a matched-guise study on the attitudes of 80 female Egyptians towards Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi and Libyan Arabic. The researcher also – uncommonly at the time of this publication – included a variety identification task. The results indicated that the respondents preferred Egyptian Arabic the most, followed by Syrian, Saudi and Libyan varieties of Arabic respectively. Herbolich's study also pointed to the preference that speakers have for their own language variety. However, Herbolich (ibid., p.302) admitted that '[t]he evaluations […] were possibly influenced by […] incorrect perceptions of nationality'. Haeri (1991) studied Egyptians' attitudes towards StA and the dialect spoken in Cairo by means of direct-approach evaluations. A major finding in Haeri's study was that speakers of Cairene Arabic (i.e. the variety spoken in Cairo) reported very high positive attitudes towards their own dialect over StA. This finding is rather unusual given the continued overwhelming glorification of StA at the expense of colloquial Arabic in the Arab World. Nonetheless, a similar finding was also noted by Ibrahim (2000) who compared the attitudes of 70 Egyptians and 70 Moroccans towards their own Arabic dialect and other Arabic dialects. The Egyptian respondents in that study expressed higher dialect loyalty, and thus overwhelmingly preferred Egyptian Arabic. Interestingly, some Moroccan respondents also favoured Egyptian Arabic over their own dialect and other dialects.

Jourdan has also received attention in terms of LAs research. Using the MGT, Hussein and El-Ali (1989) investigated the attitudes of 303 university students towards Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and three local varieties of Arabic in Jordan. Their

finding showed MSA to be ranked the highest among the studied varieties. This finding was expected as the author articulated that their findings 'confirm what Arabs and scholars of Arabic linguistics already know' (ibid., p.52). In another study, Al-Haq (1998) measured the attitudes of 211 faculty members at a Jordanian university towards Standard, Colloquial Arabic and Arabicisation using Likert's agreement scales. The majority of respondents expressed that StA is prestigious, superior, beautiful and renders its speakers educatedness. On the other hand, CA was deemed as a functional variety helping to serve communicative purposes only. Al-Haq's findings may be particularly surprising considering that the respondents are university faculty staff who ought to be well-informed educators. As such, this finding again reveals the prevalence of linguistic ideologies in the context of Arabic, especially the standard language ideology. In fact, a further study conducted by Mizher and Al-Haq (2014) examined the attitudes held by academic staff members at another Jordanian university towards the use of StA in education and social interaction. They also concluded that their twenty-five respondents held 'the passion for Standard Arabic as a highly elevated language' (ibid., p.53).

In North Africa (Arabian Maghreb), LAs studies have been carried out continuously. Due to the presence and influence of French (as opposed to English), the context of North African countries is slightly distinctive from other Arab countries. Thus, this has intrigued LAs researchers who are interested in the general language situation and the attitudinal perspective on Arabic and French. Ennaji (2005) studied the attitudes of 124 Moroccans towards Berber, Arabic, French, English and Spanish by collecting data through questionnaires and interviews. Generally, StA was most favoured in his study while English followed by French were preferred as foreign languages. Ennaji suggests that the attitudes held by the respondents in his study reflect confusion, hesitation and ambivalence when it comes to language choice and language attitudes. This is because 'the language policies adopted [in Morocco] are impregnated with ideology, politics, nationalist feelings, and emotions' and they also 'often ignore the attitudes and needs of people' (ibid., p.197). Another study in Morocco was that of Chakrani (2010) who investigated the language attitudes towards StA, French and Moroccan Arabic. Chakrani collected data from respondents through the MGT ($N = 70$), a direct language attitudes questionnaire ($N = 454$), focus groups, and interviews. The findings contradicted assumptions of the association of High varieties with status and Low varieties with social attractiveness (solidarity). The study also pointed to 'a

stratified outlook of […] attitudes' (ibid., p.iii) which highlights the complexity of the language situation in Morocco.

2.10.2 Attitudes towards (varieties of) Arabic in the Gulf context

The Gulf countries are relatively underrepresented in terms of LAs research. Nonetheless, some studies either involve respondents from Gulf countries or are conducted in the country itself. In Kuwait, Akbar (2007) examined attitudes towards Kuwaiti Arabic by asking 417 school pupils and 88 teachers to evaluate speakers of spoken varieties in Kuwait. The findings showed some influence of the social variables such as school type, age and sex. Akbar found that governmental schools' pupils had positive attitudes towards Kuwaiti Arabic whereas English-medium schools' pupils deemed it as the language of 'others' (ibid., p.202). The teachers, in contrast, expressed more neutral attitudes towards the studied varieties. Another study in Kuwait was by Alrabah *et al*. (2016) who measured the attitudes of 60 English teachers towards using Arabic while teaching English. Using interviews and a questionnaire, their results indicated negative attitudes towards Arabic. Nevertheless, the use of Arabic in the classroom was bound to affective, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors.

In Qatar, Ellili-Cherif and Alkhateeb (2015) investigated the attitudes of 295 Qatari university students towards Arabic and English as a languages of instruction. The authors found favourable attitudes towards Arabic despite the respondents' awareness of English's high status in Qatar. This finding was further interpreted as ambivalence and contradiction of opinions. Al-Muntheriya (2018) measured the attitudes of 312 school teachers towards using StA for teaching in Oman. The author reported that the attitudes were generally positive in which the respondents linked using StA to the promotion of identity as well as personal and writing skills. In UAE, Altakhaineh and Rahrouh (2017) surveyed 40 randomly selected Emirati respondents to examine their attitudes towards Emirati Arabic, their own dialect. The findings indicated that the respondents hold positive attitudes, and they were deemed proud of their dialect. The authors also noted that the elicited language attitudes were influenced by social variables such as age and gender as demonstrated in their findings.

There is a patterned focus on Arab students and teachers in LAs studies. Hence, it seems necessary to go beyond educational attitudes and educational settings. That is, as noted in section 1.1, it is worthwhile eliciting attitudes from respondents who are not

marked with a particular attribute (e.g. students or teachers). Notwithstanding, such attributes can still be tested post-hoc (as will be the case in the present study).

2.10.3 Attitudes towards (varieties of) Arabic in Saudi Arabia

Within the Gulf region, Saudi Arabia is a – if not the – major Gulf country considering its religious, political and economic status in the world as well as its large space and population. In addition, the present study is contextualised within Saudi Arabia. As such, I will review the language attitudes work conducted in or on Saudi Arabia in which only the Arabic language is studied. Specifically, I will limit the review on Saudi Arabia to involve studies that mainly focus on the Saudi Arabic varieties. The following review under this section will, therefore, exclude those studies that either compared Saudis' attitudes with other populations or Saudis' attitudes towards languages other than Arabic (some of these studies will be reviewed separately in section 2.10.4). It should also be pointed out that some studies on Saudis' language attitudes have already been discussed while exemplifying for the approaches to LAs (see sections 2.9.1 and 2.9.2.2).

An attitudinal investigation towards accent and sound switches in Saudi Arabic was conducted by Ismail (2020). In particular, the study focused on the different realisations of the sound /k/ as [ts], [tʃ] or [ʃ] (previously discussed as *kaskasah* and *kashkashah* in sections 2.5 and 2.6) in Saudi speech. The data was elicited from 107 Saudi respondents through sociolinguistic interviews. One finding indicated that women tended to favour their local variety which would involve one of the non-standard variants of /k/ whereas men preferred the standard form [k]. However, the study did not address attitudes comprehensively as it was essentially concerned with the language produced by the respondents and only asked one question about attitudes (ibid., p.105). Al-Rojaie (2021a) attempted to test the effect of social characteristics of Qassimi speakers such as their age and gender on their perceptions (i.e. attitudes) of Qassimi Arabic. Data was collected from 240 respondents via draw-a-map and labelling tasks. The findings indicated that men showed more awareness of linguistic variation in Al-Qassim than women. Regarding age, the middle-aged respondents were also better than the older and younger respondents in identifying dialect areas. Al-Rojaie attributed these findings to exposure and mobility factors.

As claimed by the authors, Alhazmi and Alfalig (2022) were the first to conduct a keywords task (see section 3.3 for details of the task) study on Saudis' LAs towards

SAVs. 78 respondents took part in the study by filling out a questionnaire about the five (broad categories of) Saudi dialects: Central, Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western. The author concluded that their findings reflected 'vivid stereotypical suppositions of the dialects' as well as a common perception of the dominance of Najdi Arabic in Saudi Arabia (ibid., p.114). Another study that relied on the analysis of evaluative labels through the perceptual dialectology methodology was by Al-Rojaie (2021b). Al-Rojaie analysed the responses of 674 speakers of different Saudi dialects. The responses involved the identification of five major Saudi dialects, namely, Najdi dialect, Hijazi dialect, Southern dialect, Eastern dialect and Northern dialect. These dialect groups corresponded with the established linguistic classifications of the Saudi dialects. There were also comments, labels and ideologies about the dialect groups. The findings revealed ten categories of the elicited evaluative labels, among them, are *style*, *other dialects influence*, *speed* and *social media*. While these two studies are closely similar in nature, they differed in terms of the stimuli used to elicit the data. Alhazmi and Alfalig (2022) used only conceptual labels of the varieties such as *the Southern dialect* whereas Al-Rojaie (2021b) employed maps via the draw-a-map task.

In a study on the phonology of Jizani Arabic, Ruthan (2020) also investigated Saudis' attitudes towards the variety. Ruthan recruited and analysed data from 183 respondents via a questionnaire. The findings indicated variability in attitudes based on the respondent's own dialect and age. For example, 'Najdi respondents held more negative attitudes, whereas Southerners held more positive attitudes to JA [i.e. Jizani Arabic]' (ibid., p.141). A large-scale study on Saudis' ideologies on and attitudes towards Saudi spoken Arabic was conducted by Towairesh (2020). In the study, a total number of 2,227 respondents responded to an online questionnaire about their beliefs about spoken Arabic varieties and StA. By tapping into the attitudes and linguistic ideologies of Saudis, Towairesh concluded that 'Saudis do not want these varieties to compete with Fusʿħa [i.e. StA] in any form, including eligibility for research funding' and 'have shown robust condemnation of any use of such varieties in the press, in knowledge and information resources, or on internet forums' (ibid., p.100). Moreover, the age of the respondents in Towairesh's study was considered as an important factor in determining the intensity of attitudes. In particular, the younger respondents expressed more support for and less condemnation of spoken varieties than the older respondents.

2.10.4 Other language attitudes studies towards (varieties of) Arabic

In this section, I will discuss other LAs studies that have either included and compared the attitudes of respondents from various countries altogether or focused on specific contexts such as the classroom. Al-Kahtany (1997), for example, surveyed 40 male students both undergraduates and postgraduates from fourteen Arabic-speaking countries to elicit their attitudes towards the pre-conceived diglossic divide between MSA and CA. The findings revealed negative attitudes towards widening the scope of the use of CA varieties. Correspondingly, another finding demonstrated the respondents' satisfaction with Arabic being diglossic in the Arab World. There could be, however, a change in the attitudes held by Arabic speakers. This change was concluded by Albirini (2016, chapter 4) who investigated the attitudes held by 'Egyptian, Jordanian, Moroccan, and Saudi college students toward SA [StA], CA, English, French, and *Other* languages, such as Berber' (p.87, italics in original) through a questionnaire and interviews. The analysed questionnaire data was collected from 639 respondents whereas the number of interviewees was 76. In terms of the evaluation of the language varieties, the favourability of StA exceeded all the other varieties, especially on the affect scale criterion. However, English received competitive evaluations compared to StA in utility domains or constructs such as employability and technology. The attitudes towards CA in Albirini's study differed from prior findings in that the relationship between StA and CA has appeared to be 'less frictional and more complementary in nature' (ibid., p.95). This finding, Albirini argues, points to an attitude change regarding CA.

There are also studies that compared attitudes towards Arabic with other languages or attitudes towards Arabic's linguistic features. Bouhmama (2018) compared language attitudes and language use of multiple samples of students in UAE and Algeria in relation to MSA, English and French by means of MGT, questionnaires and interviews. Generally, the findings revealed very positive attitudes towards MSA. Nevertheless, students in UAE held more positive attitudes towards English compared to Arabic whereas students in Algeria expressed more positive attitudes towards Arabic. Moreover, Bouhmama's study showed that the educational, social variable of respondents influenced the attitudes. Another MGT study of language attitudes in Algeria was conducted by Benrabah (1994). Benrabah attempted to measure attitudes and predict linguistic change in pronunciation in an urban setting. The study concluded

that the 248 female respondents find urban Algerian speech prestigious, owing much of this attitude based on the respondents' gender (ibid., p.222).

In line with the studies that examine the attitudes towards using Arabic in the English classroom, Alshammari (2011) surveyed the purpose of and attitudes towards using Arabic in the English classroom among 13 teachers and 95 students who are all Saudi nationals. There was a mutual preference for using Arabic from both teachers and students, especially for clarification purposes. Similarly, Alzamil (2019) explored Saudi university English learners' attitudes towards the use of Arabic by their teachers and classmates. 149 male respondents were recruited to complete an attitudinal questionnaire. Generally, the students preferred using English more than Arabic with the latter used limitedly to convey important information. Moreover, 'a large majority [of respondents] (80.6%) opposed the constant use of Arabic', but teachers were exceptions from this (ibid., p.199). This finding reveals an influence of the social profile of the speaker when attitudes are expressed. While the findings of Alshammari's and Alzamil's studies confirmed previous findings that showed preference and permission for using L1 (i.e. first language) in L2 (i.e. second language) classrooms, both studies lacked inferential statistics to lend extra credibility to the findings.

2.11 Unjust linguistic practices

As has been detailed previously, LAs can have multiple ramifications that can sometimes be harmful. Relatedly, there are various ways in which language, the ideologies about it and the attitudes towards it can enact certain practices by individuals. Relevant to LAs are the practices of *linguistic prejudice*, *linguistic discrimination* and *language ridicule*. These practices could all be grouped under the umbrella idea: *unjust linguistic practices* or in Baugh's (2018, p.46) terms 'linguistic dimensions of injustice'. In the following, I will give an overview of these three practices with reference to the literature. It needs to be noted, however, that studies dealing with these issues from the perspective of respondents' experiences in Saudi Arabia are, to my knowledge, non-existent. This has actually informed the present study to attempt to account for this problem and to fill this very gap (also see section 2.12).

Linguistic prejudice and *linguistic discrimination* are generally interlinked. By definition, linguistic prejudice refers to the way a language/language variety speaker is perceived based on feelings and incorrect, 'irrational generalisations' whereas linguistic discrimination is the distinct – usually unfair – treatment resulting from the prejudices

held about a language/language variety speaker (O'Neill & Massini-Cagliari 2019, p.32). Linguistic prejudice, thus, refers to prejudices triggered by a linguistic performance either spoken or written which potentially results in linguistic discrimination. It is also possible that other types of prejudices such as tribal, regional, ethnic or national, to name a few, may actually influence and intervene in linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination. As for *language ridicule*, it is probably the most straightforward practice among the three practices. It is also probably the most socially-acceptable one as it is usually weaved into the act as a joke (see section 5.4.1 for further explanations and ridicule examples from the findings of the present study). In essence, language ridicule is taken to mean the act of mocking, patronising or belittling individuals for their way of speaking. It can be argued that language ridicule pertains to the practices of 'linguistic harassment' (Baugh 2018, p.134) by which the ridiculed speakers are deemed to be maltreated.

What could unite all of the three practices mentioned above is that they can be, to a large extent, simultaneous. For example, an individual may have prejudices about a speaker's variety which would lead him or her to ridicule and potentially discriminate against the speaker. Furthermore, all the three practices can ultimately be manifestations of particular attitudes held towards the variety itself. In this respect, the determination of attitudes can indicate the density of prejudices found in a given society (McKenzie & McNeill 2023, p.39). As such, it would be possible to uncover the various (prejudicial) ramifications of speaking in particular language varieties through the inferences of attitudes.

As mentioned, to date, no known published study has examined linguistic prejudice, linguistic discrimination or language ridicule in Saudi Arabia with regards to the Arabic language. It may be that such issues were intentionally overlooked by researchers either because of the sensitivity of the topic, the relative conservativeness of the community or both. This is assumed because, as the present study will demonstrate, such issues are still commonly practised, observed and accepted in the community. To sum up, unjust linguistic practices are usually a companion to language attitudes, but they mainly operate under the radar. For this reason, they need to be addressed when investigating language attitudes.

2.12 Gap of knowledge and research questions

After surveying the literature on language attitudes and their consequences in this chapter, three main remarks are noted. Firstly, the study of language attitudes in Arabic linguistics is still underexplored, especially when compared to studies on Indo-European languages such as English, Dutch or French. Many Arabic varieties (especially CA) are still underrepresented in the LAs literature. This, however, is not surprising considering where, when and how the field of LAs research commenced (see section 2.9). Secondly, in some of the findings of the previously-reviewed studies, there exist some linguistic ideologies that either enact or are enacted by language attitudes towards the Arabic language. This is clearly manifested in the continued favouring of StA, particularly when compared to other languages and language varieties. The favourability of StA points to an influence of both ideologies of and attitudes towards language, which is a rather motivating factor to conduct further research. However, it seemed that StA is predominantly present in attitudinal work, and while this is usually justified, it is probably worth examining attitudes towards Arabic varieties without focusing on the standard/non-standard dichotomy. This will mean excluding the standard variety as an attitude object which should help in reducing the bias towards StA and in obtaining meaningful and accurate findings related to the investigated (CA) varieties.

Considering the sociolinguistics of Saudi Arabia more broadly, there seems to be a gap of knowledge concerning the sociolinguistic situation in the country. As previously introduced in section 1.1, such a gap is related to the lack of research on perception as opposed to production of language in Saudi Arabia including studies of LAs and perceptions of dialectal diversity. This is most evident in the limited number of studies dealing with attitudes towards Saudi regional varieties or the language attitudes of Saudi individuals more generally. In fact, almost all of the authors of the previously-reviewed studies on attitudes towards SAVs have pointed to the dearth (and need) of research in this area. Prior studies have usually considered the attitudes of the *speakers* of the studied varieties only, as opposed to the general Saudi public. In summary, it is from these observations that the present study emerges to attempt to fill in the gaps found in: 1) the sociolinguistic context (i.e. Saudi Arabia), 2) the attitude objects (i.e. unresearched SAVs) and 3) the study population (i.e. Saudis).

Finally, and most importantly, a research gap exists in terms of documenting Saudis' experiences as speakers of regional SAVs. As this chapter has shown, there are no available studies focusing on the linguistic experiences of individuals as to how and why such individuals are treated once they use their regional varieties. By extension, investigating the unjust linguistic practices (see section 2.11) related to Saudis and SAVs seems to be overlooked. This observation is quite surprising considering the significance of (the ramifications of) such practices, but, this can be understandable in the light of a conservative society such as the Saudi society. It can, therefore, be acknowledged that exploring how individuals are (mal)treated for the way they speak may be private, sensitive or embarrassing. Nonetheless, considering that providing such information by respondents is consensual, it is very likely to be beneficial in terms of representing the voices of linguistically-oppressed groups, raising linguistic awareness and informing language planning and policy initiatives. On this note, examining linguistic practices can also be a valuable addition to the study of language attitudes and can provide a different and rich perspective. Overall, in the present study, this research gap will be conceptualised as a research problem from which an overarching research question was constructed (see below).

The identified gaps discussed previously are broadly intertwined. Therefore, they paved the way to formulate the research objectives of the present study. Furthermore, they inspired constructing the research questions which essentially consist of three main components: 1) Saudis, 2) SAVs and 3) attitudes and experiences. As such, the main overarching research question that the present study asks is *What are Saudis' attitudes towards and experiences with contemporary Saudi Arabic varieties, and what implications can be drawn from them?*. This research question will be explored further by asking the following sub-questions:

RQ1: What are Saudis' attitudes towards and perceptions of contemporary SAVs?

RQ2: Is there an association between the demographic/social characteristics of Saudis and their language attitudes?

RQ3: From the respondents' perspective, what factors underlie their language attitudes?

RQ4: To what extent do Saudis experience linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia?

To this end, these research questions will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 6 in which the study's findings are discussed, interpreted and compared with prior research.

2.13 Summary

This chapter has addressed the literature relevant to three key areas of the present study. All three areas contextualise the present study as well as locate it on the continuum of interdisciplinary research. First, the review focused on Arabic and how it varies across different communities and contexts. Arabic has an influential status and is the tongue of many nations and many more backgrounds. More specifically, as Saudi Arabic varieties are one of the core elements of this study, I sought to provide a linguistic as well as sociolinguistic overview of the varieties under investigation (i.e. Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic). This overview was important as these varieties are the attitude objects in the present study, and they are the varieties on which the conclusions are drawn. Second, to conceptualise the research, some sociolinguistic background was covered. The review included discussions of theoretical ideas about language classifications, linguistic ideologies including standard language ideology in both English and Arabic and, finally, the relevance of these to language attitudes. The last part of the chapter dealt with the attitudinal aspect of the theoretical background underpinning the present study. In this part, the review was extended to involve reviewing prior language attitudes studies across various contexts and the unjust linguistic practices emanating from LAs.

In Chapter 3, I will discuss the various language attitudes methods used in the context of the present study in more detail. I first discuss the keywords task (Phase 1) as a preliminary design which aided the design of the VGT (Phase 2) that was conducted afterwards. I finally provide an account for the semi-structured interviews (Phase 3) as a follow-up data collection technique.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an overview of the methodological paradigms, approaches and design underpinning the present study is discussed. The content of this chapter includes details of the methodological decisions deemed suitable to answer the study's research questions (previously presented in section 2.12). The chapter opens with a general synopsis of the study's research methodology in which three consecutive phases of data collection are introduced (section 3.2). The keywords task (Phase 1) and the preliminary findings associated with it follow with a description of their implementation in Phase 2. After reporting the preliminary keywords findings (sections 3.2 and 3.3), the quantitative-based method, namely, the VGT and the questionnaire are discussed (sections 3.6 and 3.7). The qualitative paradigm reflected in the semi-structured interviews is also introduced and discussed (section 3.9). The chapter concludes with a description of the respondents (section 3.10), the VGT pilot study (section 3.11) and the data analysis procedures (section 3.12).

3.2 Overview of the research design

Investigating language attitudes has been primarily dominated by quantitative approaches (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2017, p.1), and, indeed, this has been useful in obtaining a large number of important findings. Nevertheless, providing depth into such attitudes by investigating them qualitatively can also enhance the understanding and interpretation of the attitudes findings. As will be explained below, the research questions of the present study are actually best addressed via a mixed methodology. In other words, the application of a mixed methodology design was deemed as almost a prerequisite in conducting the present study.

To serve the purpose of attitudes examination, it was purposively decided to include a diverse selection of Saudi varieties. Three major reasons informed this very selection. Firstly, as stated in section 2.6, there is a dearth of research on attitudes towards Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic. Secondly, it is hoped that this selection should widen the scope of the study as well as allow for meaningful comparisons. The present study will attempt to investigate three main regions in Saudi Arabia, which are linguistically distinctive in their own way. The distinctiveness of these varieties is also an important factor in comparing attitudes as it makes it easier to

interpret the results. Thirdly, the present study should pave the way to conduct more studies on the rest of Saudi regions and Saudi varieties from an attitudinal perspective. In other words, sociolinguists interested in Saudi Arabic may find it plausible to compare the varieties spoken in each region. As mentioned before, this is particularly important in contributing to building the 'sociolinguistic theory' (Garrett 2001, p.630; McKenzie 2010, p.38) related to both the study of language attitudes and Saudi Arabia. In short, the selection of the varieties under investigation has intrinsic and extrinsic implications. The former is relevant to the present study while the latter exceeds it to the future perspective of further research needed.

Generally, the present study followed the 'Explanatory Design' in which 'qualitative findings are used to help explain, refine, clarify, or extend quantitative results' (Ivankova & Creswell 2009, p.139). In doing so, the qualitative analysis provided more information about the established quantitative findings (Morgan 2014, p.154). Therefore, the present study is fundamentally quantitative which also incorporates the qualitative paradigm as needed. This design is also commonly known as '*quantitative dominant* mixed methods research' (Johnson *et al.* 2007, p.124, italics in original). In addition, a combination of the indirect and direct approaches was followed while designing the research instruments (i.e. questionnaires and interviews). Integrating the two approaches enables 'triangulation' (Carranza 1982, p.81), that is, 'the use of more than one approach to the investigation of [...] research question[s] in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings' (Lewis-Beck *et al.* 2004, p.1142). Finally, as explained in section 1.5, the present study has been entirely conducted and designed using Arabic and later translated into English in all aspects related to the collected data.

Three major phases of data collection were planned for the present study. The first is referred to as *the keywords task* (Phase 1). This task is a technique that seeks to capture the immediate reactions of the respondents towards the attitude objects (i.e. language varieties under investigation) (Garrett *et al.* 2005a, p.37). Those reactions can be either words, phrases or sentences given by the respondents which are then referred to as keywords. In the present study, this was a preliminary stage in which the elicited keywords were selected to be used in the evaluation semantic-differential scale as these keywords would supposedly be most meaningful to the respondents (ibid., p.42). In other words, the most frequently occurring keywords categories were treated as a repertoire of adjectives that can later be used in the evaluation of the varieties. The

second phase was the attitudinal evaluation task (i.e. the VGT) wherein the respondents were asked to evaluate the varieties and their respective speakers on an evaluation scale (Phase 2). The evaluation scale includes a number of adjectives from the keywords task findings, the literature and my personal judgment as a member of the Saudi community. Phase 2 was the most salient and important part of the data collection as it constituted the main method within the research strategy of the present study. Both the first and second phases were conducted via an online questionnaire. Finally, follow-up semi-structured interviews were employed in the third phase of the data collection (Phase 3). The interviews were incorporated to provide more depth into the elicited attitudes in which the respondents can provide illustrative, detailed insights. After all, interviews are commonly used in survey research that investigates perceptions and attitudes (Mackey & Gass 2005, p.173).

As stated earlier that the study's research questions required a mixed-methods design, both quantitative and qualitative paradigms were adopted. The quantitative paradigm would handle the collected data in performing statistical analyses on the responses provided by the respondents. Such analyses are related to Phases 1 and 2 of the data collection, which can help address RQ1 and RQ2. In Phase 1, the data was essentially analysed quantitively as in Garrett *et al.* (2005b) and Alhazmi and Alfalig (2022). That is, the general patterns of the reported descriptions were sought, and then, the adjectives were pooled into particular categories (see section 3.3 for details). In Phase 2, the study fundamentally relied on the VGT. Calculations of the mean scores and measures of dispersion were performed on the obtained evaluation scores from the VGT. Further, inferential statistical tests were performed to explore the (statistical) significance of the evaluation scores which represent the attitudes. Finally, the qualitative paradigm was applied in the treatment of the interviews data in which thematic analysis (see Braun & Clarke 2006; Sigurvinsdottir & Riger 2016; Maguire & Delahunt 2017, for an overview) was incorporated to explore patterns in the data. The interviews analysis was performed through an inductive approach, as explained in section 3.12.3. More specifically, the qualitative paradigm involving the interviews was used to address RQ3 and RQ4.

Although this study is mainly driven by the indirect approach to LAs (discussed in section 2.9.1), an array of methods and techniques from both indirect and direct approaches to LAs and folk-linguistics were utilised in the present study. The present study adopts the indirect approach via conducting the VGT whereas the direct-oriented

approach was used in the keywords task and the direct types of questions in the questionnaire and the interviews. As explained in section 2.9.1, the central difference between the two approaches is found in the way the questions are asked. Unlike the indirect approach, in the direct approach, the respondent is usually aware of the information elicited (e.g. his or her attitudes). That said, the indirect approach has been generally recommended when investigating attitudes towards Arabic (Davies & Bentahila 2013, p.87). A potential reason for this recommendation is the prevailing influence of some (linguistic) ideologies on Arabic and Arabic speakers that could bias the expression of attitudes once the respondents are directly asked to report them (see section 2.7.1.2 for a discussion of linguistic ideologies about Arabic). Therefore, the present study mainly relied on the indirect VGT whereby attitudes were elicited in a subtle way. Following up on the responses in the VGT, the semi-structured interviews were employed to elicit extra details about the reasoning behind such responses. In sum, the methodology of this investigation was diverse in its methods, techniques and instruments. Such a methodology is argued by Garrett *et al.* (2003, p.66) to be the most fruitful one in coping with 'the inherent complexity of language attitudes'.

3.3 Phase 1: The keywords task

The keywords task was one of the techniques used to elicit attitudes in the present study. In this task, the respondents were asked to report their immediate impression of language speakers and language varieties using descriptions that may be either adjectives (e.g. 'confident') or statements (e.g. 'the language spoken by merchants'). This technique can be either implemented as a preliminary or primary design. In the preliminary design, the researcher incorporates the elicited comments into the design of the evaluation scale. In other words, the most frequent descriptions are selected to be placed on the semantic-differential scale that is subsequently used to evaluate the speakers in the VGT. The rationale for this step is to increase the meaningfulness of the evaluation criteria to the respondents as well as to indicate the ways in which such evaluations are formed (Garrett *et al.* 2005a, p.42). In the primary design, the keywords *are* the only data from which the attitudes are revealed (e.g. Garrett *et al.* 2005b). Indeed, the keywords are attitudinal expressions that can be included in the analysis of LAs. Most importantly, the integration of the keywords analysis and statistical analysis in LAs investigations is argued to increase the rigour of the conducted study (Garrett *et al.* 2005b, p.217), compared to non-keywords studies. In short, following the

preliminary design will mean exploring an initial base of the data, and thus ensuring and increasing the validity of the subsequent evaluation method (i.e. the VGT).

In the present study, the keywords task was initially conducted as Phase 1 of the data collection. It was conducted via an online questionnaire in which the respondents were asked two questions: 1) *What is your impression of a typical X speaker?* 2) *Please describe X accent with three to five adjectives* (see Appendix 1). That is, the respondents were asked to report descriptions of both the speaker and the variety separately. Moreover, while the design of the task was essentially preliminary, the reported keywords were also considered as attitudinal data as some comments were striking. It is also important to note that the varieties were presented to the respondents in terms of labels rather than audio stimuli. That is, the obtained keywords are seen as abstract attitudinal manifestations of the studied varieties which are rooted in the mindsets of the respondents.

The data from the keywords task was essentially analysed quantitatively. As in Garrett *et al.* (2005b) and Alhazmi and Alfalig (2022), I first conducted content analysis (i.e. semantic analysis) on the responses by which the meanings of the descriptions were examined and grouped together. This allowed to obtain categorical grouping of the descriptions given by the respondents. The responses were calculated and coded bottom-up to be pooled into overarching categories for each of the varieties. Each of the identified categories was then used as a general reference point from which the evaluation adjectives – whether positive or negative – were categorised. For example, descriptions such as 'not understandable', 'difficult', 'unclear', 'easy' and 'clear' are all grouped under the category *intelligibility* (see Appendix 2, Appendix 3 and Appendix 4 for the keywords dataset). Moreover, the overlapping categories were highlighted to show the most salient keywords for each of the three SAVs. Furthermore, the category that repeatedly appears across all the varieties was highlighted. Finally, no data normalisation was conducted on the categories' token counts as no statistical comparisons between the varieties were sought in the keywords task.

3.4 Findings of the keywords task

The findings of the keywords task are fundamentally straightforward in the sense that they were based on calculations of responses to the questionnaire. The adjectives reference categories generally coincided throughout the findings of the keywords for all the three varieties. Figure 5 illustrates the keywords categories and the description

tokens for each of the varieties elicited from 148 respondents (see Appendix 5 for the table version of the categories).
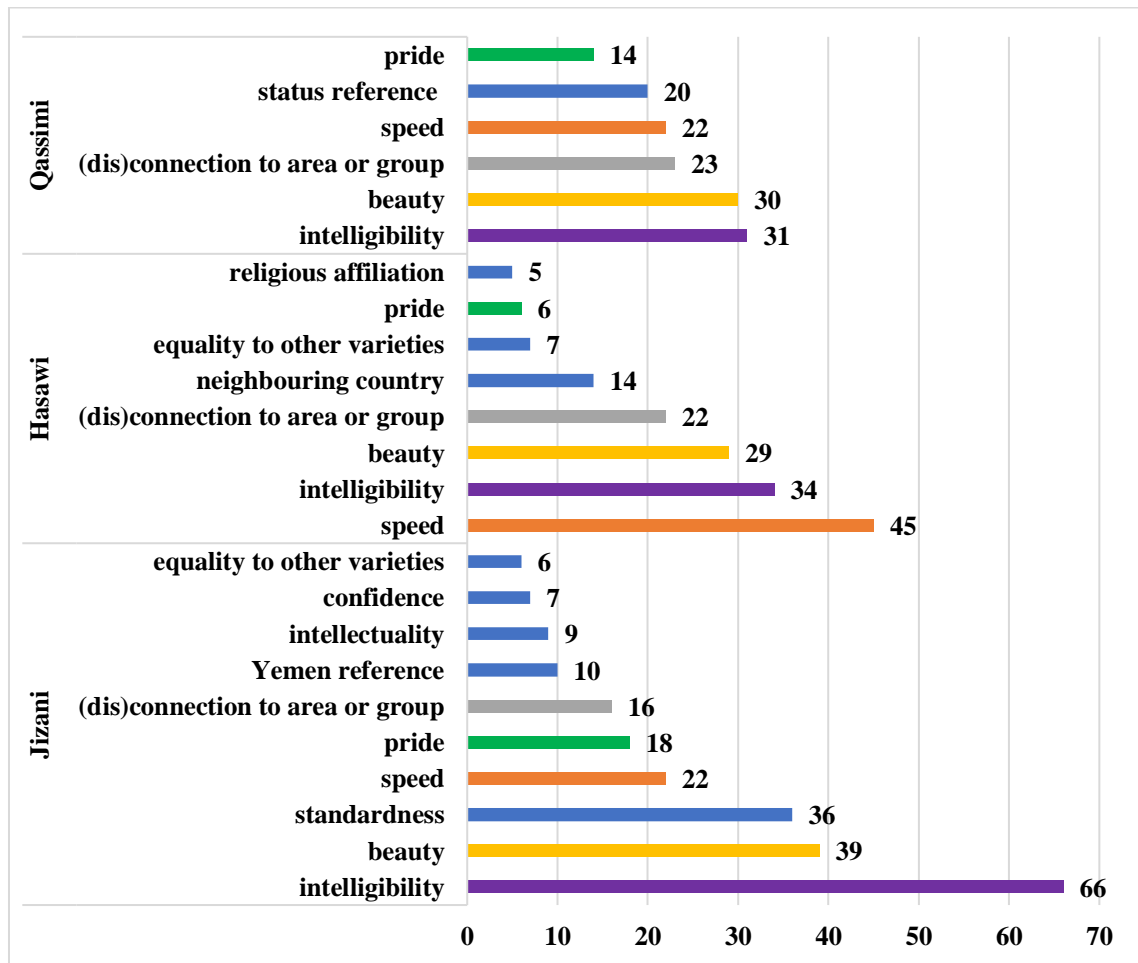
Figure 5. Token counts of keywords categories for each variety showing values of five and above occurrences (N = 148).

The minimum number of occurrences for the analysed keywords category was five. In general, there were overlapping categories within the findings for all the varieties. Those are *intelligibility*, *beauty*, *speed*, *(dis)connection to area or group* and *pride.* The descriptions under these categories were generally consistent throughout the findings. The overlapping of the categories is in itself a significant revelation as this will potentially increase confidence in the selection of adjectives to be used in the evaluation scale in Phase 2. In other words, these categories will represent the most salient descriptions of the studied varieties to the respondents which will, consequently, make the evaluation task meaningful. Furthermore, the elicited keywords can be seen as preliminary manifestations of the respondents' attitudes towards each variety. In section 6.2, the keywords findings are revisited by discussing the most salient keywords that show attitudinal orientation in relation to each variety.

3.5 Phase 2: The MGT and the VGT as methodological decisions

In this section, I will provide an overview and a critique of both the MGT and VGT as LAs research instruments. In the present study, I have made use of the VGT rather than the MGT (see section 3.6). As such, I will discuss and rationalise which of the two methods has been most suitable to the present study.

The MGT has defined, dominated and inspired the methodological decisions in LAs research. This is evident in the abundant number of studies in which researchers have been applying the MGT successfully for a period of more than forty years as indicated by Connor in 2008 (Connor 2008, p.102) and for more than fifty years now. According to Ball and Giles (1982, p.104), the MGT is an 'extremely powerful research tool', and they further go on to argue that it is 'the most fruitful technique' to investigate 'social evaluation through speech characteristics'. This is because the MGT can allow researchers to tap into people's private attitudes (Garrett 2010, p.57) that are either hidden or unreported. The argument of Ball and Giles puts emphasis on the *social evaluation* of members of society, a focal matter on the agenda of social psychology. Therefore, unless the researcher is specifically and only interested in the social evaluation of speakers – including features of solidarity, status and/or likeability –, this argument cannot be generalised to include all LAs studies in all contexts. Moreover, the core rationale of the MGT is to control for variables as much as possible by employing only one speaker to read the same passage in different guises (e.g. accents). This would help in reducing any comparability issues by which the vocal variables (e.g. speech rate or acoustic qualities) of the speaker are also controlled. Overall, there is no doubt of the rigour and elegance of the MGT in attitudinal research (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.57), but this is subject to critical evaluation of the method in light of the circumstances of any given study such as its aims, the language varieties and/or the availability of (the audio) resources.

The procedure of the MGT actually raises two central issues: 1) the authenticity issue and 2) the artificiality issue. Regarding authenticity, Garrett (2010, pp.58-59) points to two types of authenticity problems with the MGT. The first questions the speaker's ability to produce all the varieties under investigation in an authentic manner. This is a main limitation as it weakens the design of the method since the task relies on one speaker only. This limitation has the risk of the respondents finding that it is not different speakers performing the guises but the same person. This issue may be

amplified if some respondents (evaluators) are trained in language and linguistics, proficient in the investigated varieties or just people who obtain high familiarity rates of the varieties. In addition, the more varieties are investigated, the harder it becomes to obtain truly representative speech samples for attitudinal evaluation. In fact, Garrett (2007, p.117) mentions that LAs researchers occasionally rely on 'a professional actor' to deliver the audio stimuli. This further confirms the difficulty in achieving speech authenticity when using the MGT and again raises another issue of (un)accessibility. Overall, using one speaker is a rather serious issue that can cause the results to be distorted if the respondents were able to recognise that the speaker of the different varieties is actually the same person.

The second authenticity problem is about the content of the recordings. In the MGT, the speaker is asked to read aloud the same text in the varieties under investigation. The reading activity, consequently, imposes variation in style which is different from spontaneous speech (McKenzie 2010, p.49). Furthermore, a stimulus recording of a static and de-contextualised reading, as opposed to everyday natural language, is less likely to yield appropriate attitudinal data (ibid.). This is because the resemblance and representativeness of the variety may be affected. This could be the case when certain phonological features disappear once the speaker is restricted to read a fixed passage. Finally, more ethical considerations are to be maintained when using the MGT as there is some sort of manipulation in conducting the method. This is because the respondents in the MGT are deceived 'into thinking they are listening to different speakers saying similar things' (Garrett 2007, p.117). While this problem is sometimes overcome by debriefing the respondents of the true purpose of the study after the completion of the experiment (Muers *et al.* 2021, p.45), it may still result in refusal to consent or in offending the respondents. In sum, careful attention should be paid when considering employing the MGT in LAs investigations, and it is because of these limitations that the MGT was not used in the present study.

In response to the problems of the MGT, the verbal-guise task was developed (see Dragojevic & Goatley-Soan 2022 for a comprehensive overview). The VGT essentially employs different speakers (as opposed to only one) who are representative of the language varieties under investigation (Carrie & McKenzie 2018, p.315). The foundational idea behind this adaptation is to attain more legitimacy of the audio stimuli being used. In essence, the VGT is methodologically robust because of its higher speech-representation accuracy (Carrie 2017, p.433) as well as its ability 'to defend

research against the charge of artificiality' (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.54). Indeed, the jeopardy of the guises being exposed as being produced by a single person can cause serious distortion. As such, not only does the VGT eliminate such an issue, but also it is aided by an identification task that asks where the speaker is from. The identification task will, consequently, ensure that the evaluations are expressed towards the intended variety and also expose any violations, if any. The varieties under investigation in this study are all regional SAVs, and they are distinctive from each other in various ways. Hence, it has been advised to use multiple speakers when the studied varieties vary in several linguistic dimensions (Drager 2018, p.63) such as dialect phonological features, specific dialect lexical items or dialect grammar (see section 2.6). In sum, for the present study, the VGT seems more reliable to elicit Saudis' language attitudes.

3.6 The application of the VGT in the present study

The present study is categorised as a VGT study. As such, three audio stimuli of the Qassimi, Hasawi and Jizani varieties were played to the respondents to elicit their attitudes via an evaluation task. The VGT was delivered and executed wholly online. In the following, I elaborate more on the constituents of the task, including the audio stimuli and the evaluation adjectives.

3.6.1 The audio stimuli

The audio stimuli were collected from authentic speakers of the varieties which is in line with the VGT conditions. Garrett (2010, p.62) points out that '[u]sing 'authentic' speakers of each variety is likely to give more accurate representations' of the variety. At first, I selected two texts to be used as stimuli, but this was only a precautionary decision in case one text becomes inappropriate. However, the two texts were similar in a number of ways including the topic, length and source. The texts come from two articles published on Al-Arabiya website which were purposively selected as content for the stimuli. I finally decided to use the text in the article titled *Top 10 Best Food Items on Earth* (see Nazi 2021). The text was originally written in Standard Arabic but was modified to Colloquial Arabic. The speakers were asked to read aloud an extract passage from the article and then comment on a picture in that same article (see Appendix 6). This way, the content of the stimuli consisted of two parts: 1) a controlled passage and 2) an improvised, spontaneous commentary which are both spoken at the same time. In doing so, the respondents were given the opportunity to respond to two ways of using the same variety.

The audio stimuli were designed to consist of recordings of non-standard varieties only. In view of the comments made in section 2.12, unlike prior research, the standard/non-standard evaluation dichotomy will not be maintained in the present study. This was decided to reduce any potential bias or influence of the standard Arabic variety when used as a stimulus, especially since – as explained in section 2.7.2 – the standard language ideology is considerably prevalent in the Arab World. Thus, it can be argued that designing the evaluation task to be exclusively about Saudi regional varieties may elucidate the attitudes towards such varieties more precisely than an evaluation task with Standard Arabic. That said, this methodological decision is yet in line with Preston's (1999b, p.xxxvii) – previously-mentioned – advice of adapting and refining the methodologies in investigating attitudes towards and perception of language.

The selection of the stimuli content was based on a number of considerations. First of all, the topic of the text was generic, factual and bias-free, thus was highly neutral. The selected article generally describes the best food items a person should eat. No regional, cultural or ethnic associations resulting from the text content could have been signalled had this text been spoken by anyone. This same topic category has also been successfully implemented in designing the stimulus in a previous MGT study on Saudis' language attitudes (see Almahmoud 2012). Therefore, while increasing the comparability of findings with previous studies, the food category was deemed an appropriate methodological decision for the stimuli. Secondly, the spoken text combined two types of speech productions. The first was a careful and systematic read of the text whereas the second was a descriptive commentary of a picture. I chose to elicit picture-related speech as it has been found (e.g. Rossiter *et al.* 2008, p.325) that pictures can facilitate obtaining a 'relatively realistic sample' of speech. Using pictures subsequently yielded two other advantages which are 1) the control for content and 2) the speech spontaneity.

To provide more control over the variables, the text was also controlled for sex as all the speakers were males. Controlling the stimulus is an important step to execute the VGT as it helps to eliminate any biases in the evaluation of the speakers. This is why many researchers (e.g. Carranza 1982, p.82; Schilling 2014, p.105) have advised controlling the stimuli as much as possible. Furthermore, to show language variation and to mark the variety under investigation, each speaker was asked to read the text with some modifications such as substituting lexical items and accentuating their

speech. Finally, all the recordings were modified to remove any demographic or irrelevant information.

After designing the stimuli text, it was important to find suitable speakers to successfully conduct the VGT. I first circulated a general invitation to participate in the study as Qassimi, Hasawi and/or Jizani speakers by using text messages in WhatsApp and Telegram. The message asked potential speakers of the three varieties to contact me if they wished to participate in a study about Saudi dialects. I purposefully avoided contacting people from my personal network who may be potential respondents in the VGT and interviews. This is because there would be a chance for them to receive the questionnaire which contains the audio recordings. Consequently, this can either bias the results and, more dangerously, offend those very respondents once they read a question that asks whether they are kind or not!

In total, 27 audio recordings were collected from both men and women of different ages. I first reviewed them myself and chose the seven most appropriate ones in terms of sound and recording clarity, fluency, variety representativeness and sufficient commentary about the picture. In addition, the recordings I chose were played to three Saudi linguists who agreed that the recordings can be deemed representative speech samples. I then asked them to flag whom – among the speakers – they considered as the most representative of each variety in general. This procedure was done to validate the stimuli and to receive feedback from experts. Finally, the three selected recordings were provided within the questionnaire pages, each under the section of the respective speaker.

3.6.2 Adjectives selection and the evaluative dimensions

The attitudinal evaluations in the present study's VGT relied on adjectives (sometimes referred to as descriptors) by which the speakers are evaluated. Hence, the selection of adjectives was based on a combination of several strategies. According to Garrett (2010, p.56), there are three main strategies for selecting adjectives for LAs research. The first is to re-use previously-used adjectives in attitudinal research as such adjectives supposedly have yielded success in the measurement of attitudes. A reference work for selecting the adjectives has been the study of Zahn and Hopper (1985) who analysed the adjectives employed in many previous studies. By conducting factor analysis on the evaluations of their respondents on the same previously-used adjectives, Zahn and Hopper found that the evaluations loaded into three evaluative dimensions. As such, the

adjectives analysed in their study have been considered as 'the main three [*sic.*] ways in which people evaluate language and speakers' (Garrett 2010, p.55), and thus are valid and reliable in measuring language attitudes.

The second strategy in selecting the adjectives is to elicit them directly from the respondents which is usually conducted via the keywords task (discussed in section 3.3). Garrett (2010, p.74) also reminds us to stay open and consider the socio-cultural aspect of the study's population and context when selecting the adjectives. For instance, in Saudi Arabia, the descriptor *religious* may be more salient than in other communities due to the influence and importance of religion in Saudi Arabia. The third strategy is a mixture of both strategies in which some adjectives are re-used and some others are elicited prior to the main study. Finally, these adjectives are placed on some sort of bipolar scale (usually a semantic-differential scale) in which respondents evaluate the speaker (discussed further in section 3.7). All of these considerations were maintained in the present study to enhance the validity and reliability of the VGT.

It is important here to discuss the evaluative dimensions found in LAs studies. In general, the attitudinal evaluations of language speakers stem from two dimensions: Solidarity and Status (Beinhoff 2013, p.25). The solidarity adjective is about 'feelings of attachment and belonging' (Kircher & Fox 2019, p.849) that reflects '[a] vital social meaning [...] [of] the social group with which one identifies' (Ryan *et al.* 1982, p.9). In terms of the Status adjectives, they generally represent the speaker's perceived 'social status or power' (ibid., p.8). More importantly, these two dimensions have been found to 'account for most of the attitude variance' (McKenzie 2010, p.47), representing the patterns of attitudinal evaluation of language speakers. Moreover, they have been widely used in the LAs literature, and hence, relying on them is a legitimate methodological decision.

In the present study, I followed the third strategy in selecting the adjectives. That is, I have relied on the dimensions of Solidarity and Status but also have added a third dimension which is Aesthetics. The Aesthetics dimension was added due to its common presence in Saudis' everyday discussions of Saudi varieties, and because it was also used in prior studies (e.g. Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006). While Solidarity and Status are fundamentally related to the speaker *per se*, the Aesthetics dimension puts under consideration the language itself, thus adding more thoroughness in examining attitudes towards language. In addition, a keywords task was conducted to increase the

meaningfulness of the evaluation task (i.e. the VGT) as well as to elicit accurate evaluations from the respondents.

In some cases, I included some of the adjective categories that were collected in the keywords task into the evaluation scales even though they were not overlapping throughout the findings of all of the three varieties together (see section 3.3). This is because they were either found in previous research and/or deemed meaningful in the evaluation task. Conversely, three overlapping adjective categories (i.e. *(dis)connection to area or group*, *speed* and *pride*) were not included in the evaluation scales as they were considered less useful in eliciting evaluative reactions due to their ambiguity or irrelevance. The adjective categories selected from the keywords task were *intelligibility*, *beauty*, *wealth*, *confidence* and *standardness*. These are obviously centred within the Status and the Aesthetics dimensions (while I chose to classify *standardness* as an Aesthetics adjective, it could be argued, however, that *standardness* is a Status adjective. This was decided because the *standardness* category involved responses such as 'close to Standard Arabic' and 'has words from Standard Arabic'. Accordingly, it seems as though the respondents were referring to the variety's *correctness* and *linguistic* aesthetic qualities rather than the status of its speaker). It was then necessary to add Solidarity adjectives which I have retrieved from previous studies on Saudis' LAs (e.g. Almahmoud 2012; Alhazmi 2018). Table 2 shows the study's selected adjectives categories and their respective evaluative dimension.

Table 2. Selected adjectives and their respective evaluative dimension.

Solidarity	Status	Aesthetics
Generous	Brave	Eloquent
Humorous	Wealthy	Standard
Kind	Educated	Intelligible
Religious	Confident	Beautiful

Each questionnaire item was also headed with the – Arabic – noun form of the adjective (e.g. Generosity, Bravery, etc.) to make the task easier and clearer. To avoid biasing the evaluation towards a particular dimension, an equal distribution of the adjectives was sought with four adjectives under each dimension. An item labelled *Similarity to own variety* was also included as an item on the scale, and it will be used to determine how the respondents evaluate the studied varieties against their own. Additionally, I avoided using intensifiers (e.g. *very*, *highly* and *extremely*) before the

adjectives at the extreme points of the scale. This was to reduce thinking time, thus eliciting a spontaneous and natural response as well as to avoid neutral responses as much as possible. Figure 6 and Figure 7 are extracts from the original English and Arabic questionnaires. In each of these figures, an adjective from each dimension is shown.

The speaker is:

	1 Not generous	2	3	4	5	6	7 Generous
Generosity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

This part of the survey uses a table of questions, view as separate questions instead?

The speaker is:

	1 Not brave	2	3	4	5	6	7 Brave
Bravery	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

This part of the survey uses a table of questions, view as separate questions instead?

The speaker's accent is:

	1 Not beautiful	2	3	4	5	6	7 Beautiful
Beauty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Figure 6. Evaluation scale with English adjectives.

هذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليس 1 كريما	2	3	4	5	6	كريم 7
الكرم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

This part of the survey uses a table of questions, view as separate questions instead?

هذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليس 1 شجاعا	2	3	4	5	6	شجاع 7
الشجاعة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

This part of the survey uses a table of questions, view as separate questions instead?

لهجة هذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليست 1 جميلة	2	3	4	5	6	جميلة 7
جمال اللهجة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Figure 7. Evaluation scale with Arabic adjectives.

3.7 The main questionnaire, the VGT and the direct questions

The study's main questionnaire was designed, distributed and administered electronically (see Appendix 7 and Appendix 8). Questionnaires are a powerful research instrument for investigating attitudes (Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010, p.6). Questionnaires also tend to ensure respondents' ultimate anonymity, which is contrary to other methods such as interviews and focus groups (Wilson 2013, p.35). In addition, responding to a questionnaire – especially an electronic one – is more convenient to the respondents (Ruane 2016, p.183). This is important in minimising mental, psychological or situational factors that could bias the given response. The researcher's convenience can also be attained when using a questionnaire. This is particularly manifested in three advantages of the questionnaire instrument: 1) its low cost, 2) its straightforward administration and 3) its ability to reach the largest possible number of respondents (S. Jones *et al.* 2008, p.16). More importantly, questionnaires are the most common instrument for statistical analysis (Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010, p.1), and thus, are deemed appropriate for the present study. Consequently, comparisons of the responses can be facilitated through questionnaires (Mackey & Gass 2005, p.94). Finally, both quantitative and qualitative data can be obtained from questionnaires (ibid., p.96).

Of course, no method is ever entirely complete. Questionnaires have some limitations when used in collecting research data. Some of these limitations have been discussed by Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010, pp.7-9) as disadvantages of using questionnaires. Some of these limitations could have appeared in the present study's questionnaire, but I tried to minimise – if not eliminate – them as much as possible. The first is the issue of '[s]implicity and [s]uperficiality of [a]nswers' (ibid.) which accuses the data elicited via questionnaires of being less sufficient to address a research issue. Nonetheless, the questionnaire in the present study has been mainly used as a vehicle for the VGT, and hence, the obtained responses were predetermined. That is, the task requires the respondents to evaluate speakers by selecting a number on an evaluation scale, which means that the type of data sought had already been expected and decided. Furthermore, the design of the questionnaire was inspired by previous successful LAs studies (e.g. Zahn & Hopper 1985; Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006; Sykes 2010; Almahmoud 2012; Ianos 2014; Alhazmi 2018). The other limitation is '[u]nreliable and [u]nmotivated [r]espondents' as well as '[f]atigue [e]ffects' (Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010, pp.7-9). This issue is concerned with the unwillingness of respondents to be engaged

with a research study, for example, by not providing answers or by not returning the questionnaire (i.e. by post). To work with such issues, I designed an electronic, mobile-friendly questionnaire, made the questionnaire items mandatory and minimised the number of the open-ended items.

The questionnaire was the main instrument for collecting the data in the present study. It consisted of three major parts. The first is the VGT from which the evaluations of the three speakers were obtained. This way, the questionnaire has been used as a vehicle for the VGT. The second part contained items that asked about the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. These are direct-approach-oriented items that focus on the Saudi dialects and accents and their situation in Saudi Arabia (see pages 16–17 in the questionnaire). The final part of the questionnaire is related to the demographics of the respondents. As advised by Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010, p.48), the demographic questions were delayed to the end of the questionnaire to reduce any biasing effects. This is because, had the demographic questions been at the beginning, the respondents may have felt that they have been identified before they even start answering the questions, thus are more likely to adjust their answers. Moreover, I used the questionnaire to collect contact information for potential interview respondents. I asked them to leave their name and phone number (or any alternatives) if they were willing to take part in an audio-recorded interview to expand on their questionnaire answers.

As highlighted in section 1.5, the questionnaire version I distributed was in Arabic as the study is concerned with Arabic and investigates the attitudes of Arabic speakers. This language choice was deliberately opted for to eliminate misunderstandings or misinterpretations of the questionnaire, thus increasing the accuracy of the responses. Further, filling out a questionnaire in the first language is arguably easier, quicker and more straightforward than in a second language, which will also help to motivate more respondents to respond. To avoid any ordering effects and in line with previous studies (e.g. Bayard *et al.* 2001), I distributed three versions of the questionnaire with different ordering of the questionnaire items. This procedure, though sometimes overlooked, is important in LAs studies as the evaluations of speakers may differ as a result of the sequence of the audio stimuli.

Moreover, I took advantage of the first phase of data collection (i.e. the keywords task) to pilot the main questionnaire to test the questionnaire as an instrument designed using Jisc surveys service (https://www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/). I then piloted

the questionnaire by distributing it to Saudi respondents as well as Saudi linguists (see section 3.11). Generally, no issues appeared in the questionnaire. However, one suggestion was given by one of the respondents which is to add more options for the question *Which region do you classify yourself from in Saudi Arabia?*. As such, I included all the 13 regions of Saudi Arabia as well as an *other* option in the answer options of the question.

3.8 The semantic-differential scale

The use of an evaluation scale is a prerequisite for the measurement of attitudes. The evaluation scale constitutes 'an integral part of [LAs] questionnaires' (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.26) and is usually used for the questionnaire's closed-ended items (ibid., p.38). Two common types of scales are used in LAs research: 1) the Likert scale and 2) the semantic-differential scale. The Likert scale asks and measures the level of agreement with several statements that are related to a particular construct (Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010, p.27). Indicating a stance to a statement, the respondents are asked to select whether they *Strongly disagree*, *Disagree*, *Neither agree nor disagree*, *Agree* or *Strongly agree* (ibid.). The semantic-differential scale, conversely, consists of a bipolar scale in which two contrasting adjectives are placed at the beginning and end of the scale (Henerson *et al.* 1987, p.89). The most commonly employed scale in the indirect approach to LAs (i.e. the MGT and VGT) is the semantic-differential scale (Garrett 2010, p.55).

The present study relied on the semantic-differential scale in most aspects of the questionnaire. It was used in the VGT as well as in the questions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. The semantic-differential scale is 'considered to have good reliability and validity' (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.65) and is preferred over the Likert scale in measuring attitudes to language because it allows 'rapid completion' with less mental processing, hence reducing biases effects (Garrett 2010, pp.55-56). That is, the Likert agreement options mentioned above might seem abstract and less straightforward to some respondents. Unlike the semantic-differential scale, the Likert scale is also more likely to cause confusion and more thinking time as it forces indicating a stance. Moreover, the semantic-differential scale can elicit negative and positive evaluations (Henerson *et al.* 1987, p.89), which is the core type of data in LAs research.

In many LAs studies, the scale is a 5-point one, but I decided to extend the questionnaire's scale to a 7-point scale. This was to minimise any potential confinement

effects and to make the mid-point less enticing. In fact, there is some statistical evidence that, compared to the 5-point scale, the 7-point scale provides more accurate measures, is more representative of the respondent's evaluation and is easier to respond to (Finstad 2010; Taherdoost 2019). As was previously shown in Figure 6 and Figure 7, the scale starts with the negation of the adjective all the way to the affirmation of the adjective. To this end, in most cases, the scores on the scale will be interpreted as follows: 1–3.99 = negative evaluation, 4–4.10 = moderate evaluation and 4.11–7 = positive evaluation.

3.9 Phase 3: The semi-structured interviews

Follow-up semi-structured interviews were used as another research instrument to collect attitudinal data from the respondents. Semi-structured interviews, as the name implies, are interviews in which the topics and questions are predetermined, but they have less confinement to the direction they are going (Richards 2009, p.186). This way, the interviewer can go beyond the questions to elicit deeper, insightful data from the respondents by prompting and asking them follow-up questions. On the whole, as it has been pointed out by Brinkmann (2014, p.277), interviews have become 'a key method' of investigation in most fields of enquiry.

The interviews represent Phase 3 and the qualitative paradigm in the present study. Conducting the interviews sought to collect elaborations and interpretations of the VGT responses and the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia in which more attitudinal revelations generated by the respondents themselves will be obtained. This way, the interviews are a follow-up instrument to Phase 2 which is, as Ivankova and Creswell (2009, p.139) explain, a common and 'extensively' used technique within the mixed methodology tradition. The interviews were all online which have been quite common during the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, in the present study, online interviewing actually entailed three main benefits: 1) convenience, 2) relative low cost and, most importantly, 3) the recruitment of women (it is not religiously permissible nor culturally appropriate for men to meet or be seen with unrelated women in public in Saudi Arabia).

Though the interviews were semi-structured in nature, I designed a specific protocol to follow during each interview. The protocol included direct and indirect questions and prompts (see Appendix 9 and Appendix 10). By doing so, it was frequently possible to establish rapport and dialogue between the interviewer and

respondent while staying on the same subject. The interviews were in the audio format and lasted for around 25 minutes on average as they were very focused in nature. A benefit of conducting the interview in audio only is to allow the respondent to feel at ease during the interview whilst recording the interview. This is particularly important in the case of the female respondents who are usually not supposed to reveal the way they look to unrelated men. Finally, the interviews were conducted in Arabic to elicit the most appropriate and potentially complex data possible.

The interview questions consist of three parts, each asks about a particular concept. The first part is concerned with the VGT in which the respondents were asked for justifications, reasons and factors for their evaluations of the speakers. The first part was specifically planned to address RQ3 by examining what was the driving force behind the expressed attitudes. The second part of the interview asks some attitudinal questions about language variation within Saudi Arabia and its (un)importance. The respondents were asked to rationalise their answers too. This part falls under the direct approach to LAs and is related to the examination of the respondents' attitudes in general which is the aim of the overarching research question of the present study and RQ1. The third part was designed to ask about the concept of language prejudice in Saudi Arabia. In this part, the questions also directly discuss the possibility of linguistic discrimination resulting from prejudices in Saudi Arabia. The question in the third part specifically addresses RQ4 by delving into the experiences and stories of the respondents that are related to linguistic prejudices and discrimination. To this end, it needs to be noted that the interview questions have been designed both in light of the LAs literature (e.g. Sykes 2010; Almahmoud 2012) and the researcher's insider knowledge as a member of the community. Therefore, considering this selection of questions, it would be possible to engage the respondents productively in the interview and to obtain valid, meaningful and relevant data.

The questions sheet was sent to the respondents prior to the interview. However, the respondents' version of the questions did not include the VGT follow-up questions (i.e. reflections on the VGT) nor the prompt questions (as listed in Appendix 9 and Appendix 10). The respondents did not see the complete set of questions in advance, specifically, the questions relating to their evaluations in the VGT. Additionally, some of the questions that they saw were presented more generally and not in the precise form that they took during the interview. This was done to elicit spontaneous, unadjusted and honest answers from the respondents by which the influence of the

'interviewer's paradox' (Garrett 2010, p.45) is minimised. On the contrary, the other two parts of the interview may have required some preparation as they sometimes ask the respondent to narrate a story or an incident from the past. Looking at the questions before the interviews has also helped the respondents to provide meaningful answers and data. To sum up, combining the two approaches in asking the interview questions seemed to be the best option to conduct Phase 3 of the present study.

3.10 Respondents

The respondents in this study are all Saudis which represents the study population and the intended principal sampling criterion. As per the design of this study, there were three respondent-recruitment procedures for each phase of the data collection. Utilising the snowball technique (also known as the friend-of-a-friend technique) (Buchstaller & Khattab 2014, p.80), I used my personal network in the recruitment of the respondents in general. As such, this sampling technique was used in Phases 1 and 2 and has fitted well with the survey nature of the present study. Snowball sampling is effective in recruiting a reasonable sample size quite quickly (Denscombe 2017, p.43), and hence, it was possible to recruit a high number of respondents in the present study. On the other hand, the recruitment for Phase 3 was based on the respondents' questionnaire responses (see further below). In Phase 1, the evaluative keywords about the varieties and their respective speakers were collected from 148 Saudi respondents. As previously outlined, Phase 1 was a preliminary and exploratory phase that was intended to aid the design of the questionnaire of Phase 2 only. Hence, there was no need to run complex statistical analysis for Phase 1 as it was mainly conducted in support of the coming phases.

For Phase 2 (i.e. the VGT) and, again, as this study is of a survey kind, I aimed to recruit respondents with and from various backgrounds in terms of sex, age, education, field of study and other social variables. The sampling strategy for Phase 2 could be characterised as being 'pragmatic' in which 'non-probability sampling [is used] for a representative sample' (Denscombe 2017, p.47). The recruitment procedure was conducted online by circulating text messages carrying an invitation to participate in the study. Much time was spent to find and urge potential respondents to participate and recruit their contacts too. Finally, 433 responses were initially received after distributing the online questionnaire. After cleaning the data (details in section 3.12.1),

the analysis included data from 411 respondents[1]. Figure 8 and Figure 9 show the VGT respondents' distribution based on the demographic information provided.

   Recruiting respondents using the snowball technique was a key factor in extending the sample to include respondents who are not of immediate contact to the researcher, thus expanding the sample size and its stratification too. This is essentially important for the representativeness of the sample as a wide range of individuals with varying social characteristics were recruited to conduct the present study. In the quantitative tradition, the idea of representativeness is, actually, a key feature of any sample (Miyahara 2020, p.53). Although the sample in the present study could be classified as a non-probability one, some considerations and efforts (e.g. expanding the sample size) were maintained to achieve some form of relative representation of the wider population. In conclusion, this high, relatively stratified sample size was recruited to improve the generalisability of findings as well as to increase the rigour of the present study.

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[1] The number of respondents differ in some variables depending on other information. For example, the number of respondents in the variable *Length of Aboard Residence* ($N = 185$) depends on whether the respondent has lived abroad or not.
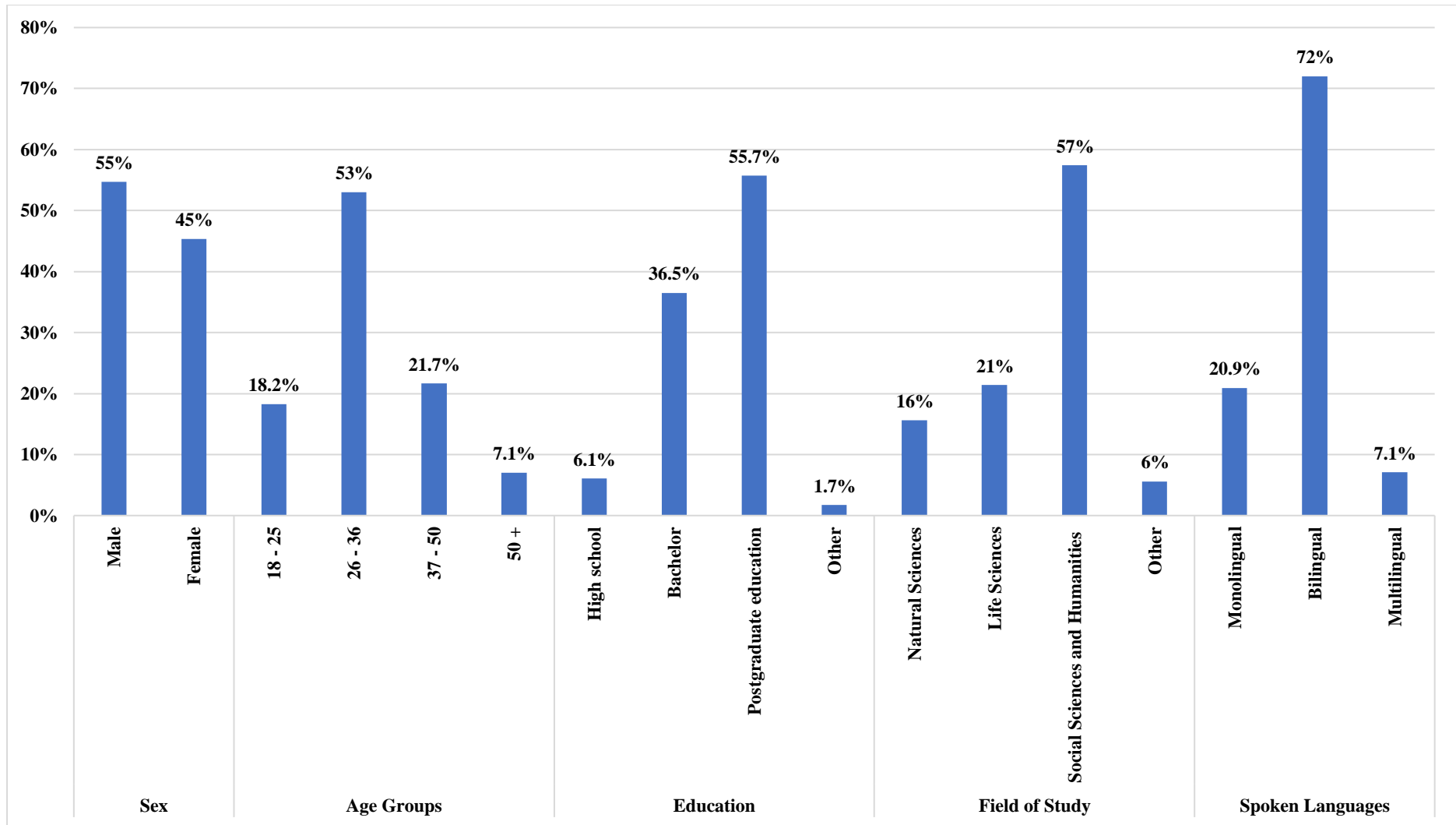
Figure 8. Social characteristics (demographics) of respondents (N = 411).
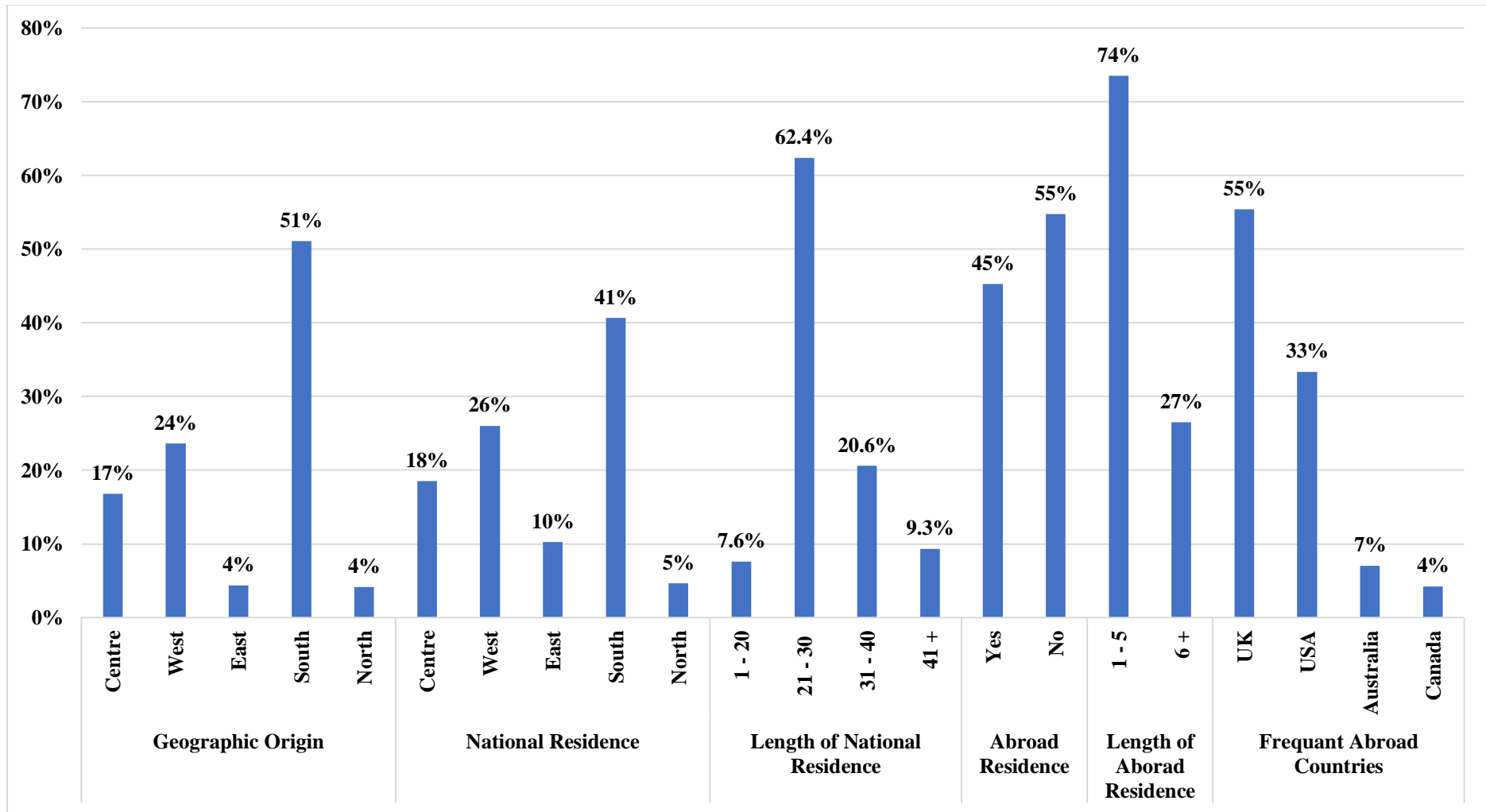
Figure 9. Provenance demographics of respondents (N = 411 except for Length of Abroad Residence [N = 185] and Frequent Abroad Countries [N = 212]).

From the data in Figure 8 and Figure 9, it is noted that there are varying degrees of balance within the sample. For example, the sample is most balanced within the Sex variable and least balanced within the Spoken Languages variable. Therefore, the sample has a relatively high representativeness rate in terms of the respondents' sex. Moreover, the Bilinguals category is based on the respondents' self-reporting and perception of themselves in which the responses in the category refer to the respondents' occasional use of English in Saudi Arabia. This would mean that the number of bilingual respondents will be far less if English is to be excluded. Also, fair proportionality rates are found within the age groups of the respondents. Although the majority of the respondents (53%) are between 26–36 ($n = 218$), there are enough cases in the other age groups to perform the analysis. The number of cases in the other age groups is as follows: 18–25 ($n = 75$, 18.2%), 37–50 ($n = 89$, 21.7%) and 50+ ($n = 29$, 7.1%).

Furthermore, within the Education variable, the respondents in the category of *other* education are very low, and thus, they were excluded from the analysis (see Table 8 for an example). Another ramification of the Education variable is the higher number of educated individuals manifested in the Postgraduates respondents. Thus, through the present study, it would be possible to trace the attitudes of the well-educated and socially-advanced Saudi individuals. In terms of the provenance demographics (i.e. Figure 9), some variables such as the Geographic Origin variable have a relatively higher number of respondents from the South ($n = 210$, 51%). This may be due to the snowball sampling technique which relied on the networks of the researcher and respondents. That is, the sample may have been influenced by the researcher being from and working in the South. Nonetheless, the distribution of the respondents within some of the other regions was still sufficient for the analysis. For example, 97 respondents were from the West (24%), and 69 respondents were from the Centre (17%).

It needs to be noted that, although I initially planned to perform fieldwork-oriented data collection for Phase 2, this was not possible due to the restrictions and risks of the COVID-19 pandemic. Hence, although the current sample size is deemed sufficient for statistical analysis, there is less distribution of responses in some of the subgroups within the social variables of the respondents. This issue was eventually dealt with by excluding the limited subgroup (e.g. respondents with *Other* education) from the analysis where needed, for example, when running statistical (parametric)

tests such as the F-test. Although this kind of exclusion would result in a lack of analysis for some groups within the sample, it, nonetheless, ensures and increases the validity of the conclusions. And while the F-test has been found to be robust even with a (sub)sample size of five (i.e. $n = 5$) (Blanca *et al.* 2017, p.554) (also see section 3.12.2 for details of data analysis), the analysed groups within the sample had – in all cases – more than five respondents.

To summarise, the sample of the 411 respondents recruited for Phase 2 of the present study reflects the efforts made to ensure having strong methodological grounds underpinning the present study. This sample can be argued to provide a reasonably comprehensive scope for the study of Saudis' language attitudes. In addition, while maintaining some level of social stratification of the respondents, the sample was not biased towards a particular group of individuals such as speakers of a particular dialect, students, teachers or certain professionals. This was an attempt to capture the attitudes of the *folk* as well as to sample eclectically. To this end, the recruited sample should help in increasing the validity and reliability of the present study (also see section 6.6 for more details of the significance of the study's sample in comparison to previous research).

The recruitment of respondents for Phase 3 (i.e. the semi-structured interviews) was conducted with a different strategy from Phases 1 and 2. That is, the interview sample was essentially a judgment/quota sample (Hoffman 2014, p.31) in which the respondents were selected based on their responses to the questionnaire. This sampling technique ensures 'representation of […] crucial categories in the sample in proportion to their existence in the wider population' (Denscombe 2017, p.41). Therefore, to achieve some level of representativeness of the respondents taking part in the study, the interview sample was recruited on the basis of the proportionality of the evaluation scores expressed in the VGT. To put it differently, I selected respondents based on their evaluation tendency (i.e. *negative*, *moderate* and *positive*) towards the varieties under investigation, and they were sampled in proportion to their number.

As will later be shown in the quantitative findings (Table 4), the evaluation scores of the three varieties on the three evaluative dimensions (i.e. Solidarity, Status and Aesthetics) tended to be generally around the mid-point (i.e. 4) (see section 4.3). Hence, the largest group of the interview respondents ($n = 10$) were those respondents who have expressed dominantly moderate evaluations ranging from 3–5 on the

evaluation scales of a given variety. The positive evaluators were the second largest group of the interview sample (*n* = 5). Those respondents were the ones that evaluated the varieties with scores of 6–7 on the evaluation scales. Conversely, only two negative evaluators (*n* = 2) were recruited representing the negative scores of 1–2 on the evaluation scales. To sum up, the respondents were selected based on their most dominant evaluation tendency.

The three groups of respondents reflect and represent the respondents in the VGT. This was done purposively as the interviews were a *follow-up* research instrument which means that they were designed to reflect on Phase 2. On this note, Dörnyei (2007, p.126) posits that rich and varied insights in qualitative data and analysis are best achieved by sampling purposively. Thus, the three groups were recruited based on the observation of the actual findings and the evaluation tendencies noted in the VGT. For example, as the quantitative findings will indicate, the respondents' attitudes were characterised by an overall positive evaluation tendency as opposed to a negative tendency. For this reason, the positive group was larger than the negative group. Finally, this sort of *descending* sample was based on the distribution of the evaluation tendencies noted in the VGT in which the highest proportion was the moderate respondents, followed by the positive and, lastly, the negative respondents (see Figure 10, Figure 11 and Figure 12).
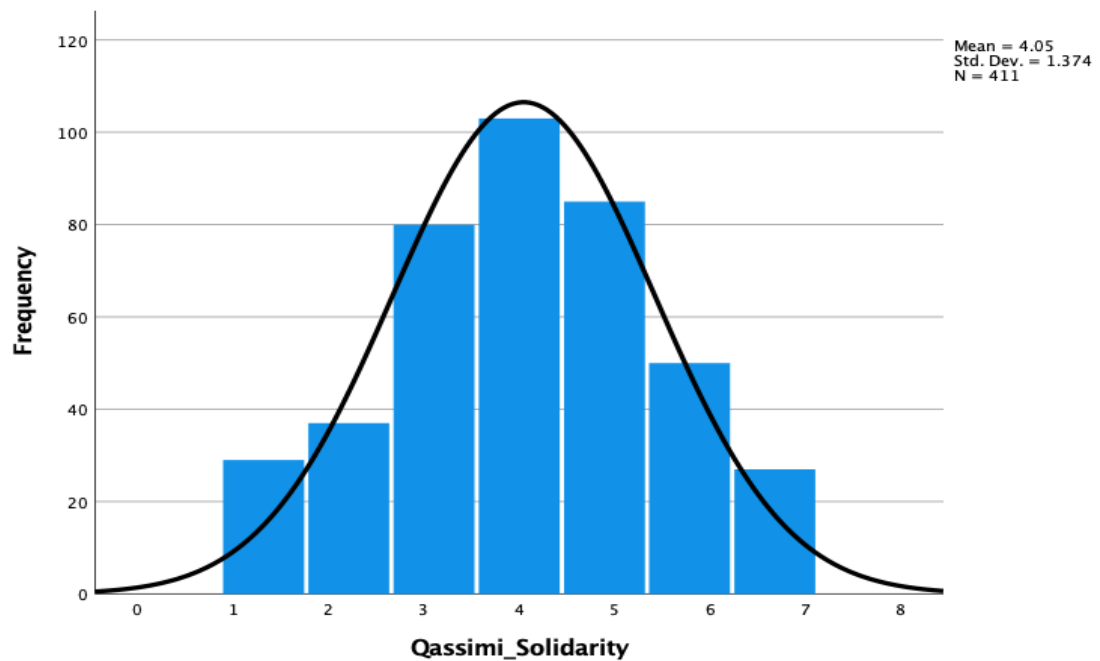
Figure 10. Distribution of the evaluations of Qassimi Arabic on the Solidarity scale.
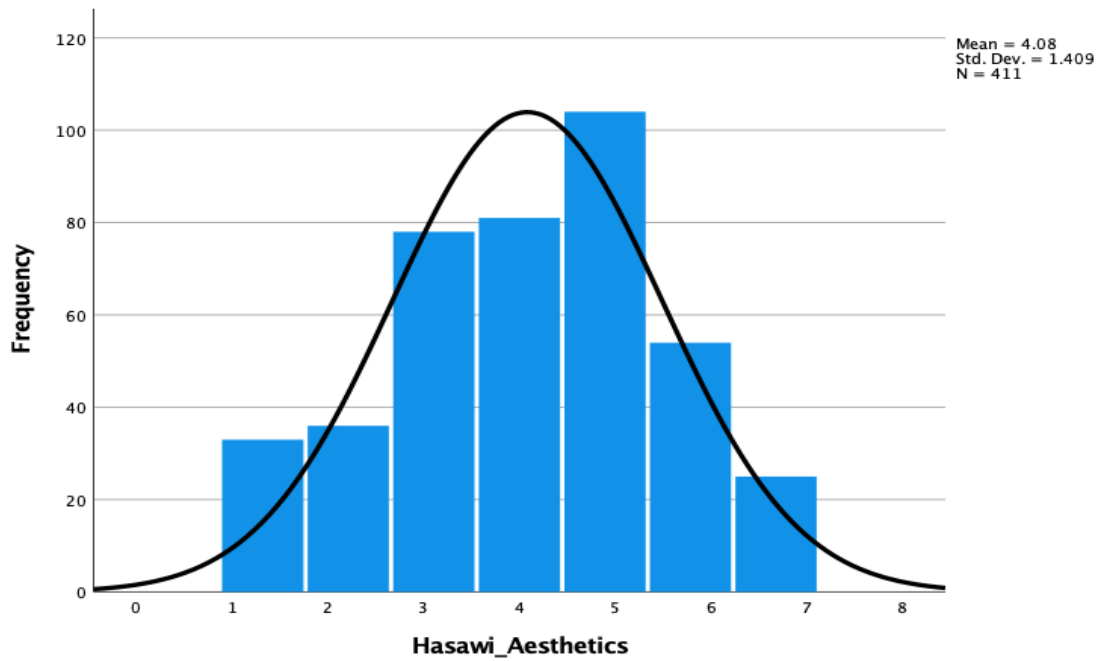
Figure 11. Distribution of the evaluations of Hasawi Arabic on the Aesthetics scale.
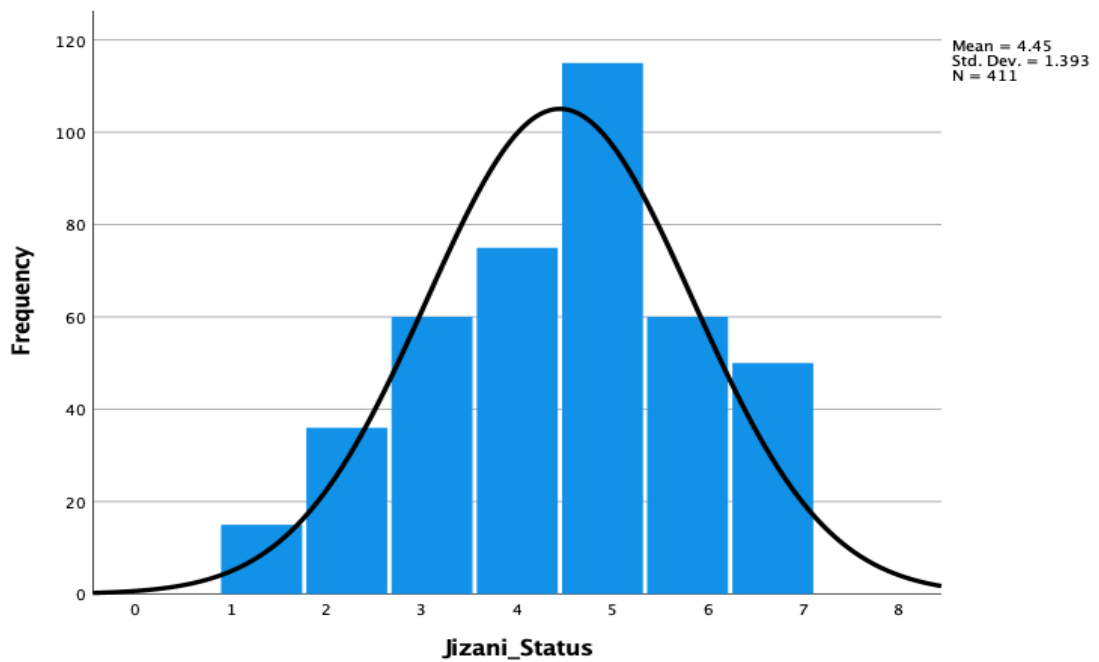
Figure 12. Distribution of the evaluations of Jizani Arabic on the Status scale.

The identification of each of the three groups was determined by the frequency with which the evaluations were observed. For example, a respondent would be selected once it is observed that he or she had an evaluation tendency (e.g. moderate) more frequently than the other tendencies (e.g. negative or positive) on all nine scales (three scales for each variety). A typical case of this would be when the respondent evaluates the speaker in the VGT with the same tendency score(s) (1–2 for negative, 3–5 for moderate and 6–7 for positive) four or more times (see Table 3). In

Table 3, the evaluation profile for each of the interview respondents is shown. The table presents a detailed illustration of the evaluations made towards the three varieties on the three dimensions. In the last column, an overall judgment of the respondent's category based on his or her evaluation scores is made. This way, the evaluation tendency was established as the primary recruitment criterion for the interview respondents.

Table 3. The interview respondents' detailed evaluation scores expressed in the VGT.

Respondent	Demographics	Qassimi Arabic			Hasawi Arabic			Jizani Arabic			Overall judgment
		Solidarity	Status	Aesthetics	Solidarity	Status	Aesthetics	Solidarity	Status	Aesthetics	
1	M/18/HS/South	3	3	4	3	5	3	5	5	4	**Moderate**
2	F/22/UG/South	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	**Moderate**
3	M/40/UG/South	7	7	5	7	6	2	6	6	4	**Positive**
4	M/42/HS/South	5	5	4	4	5	1	4	4	2	**Moderate**
5	M/37/OtherEd/South	5	4	5	7	5	6	7	4	5	**Moderate**
6	M/55/PG/South	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	**Negative**
7	M/34/PG/South	6	6	6	5	6	6	7	7	5	**Positive**
8	F/24/HS/South	6	7	7	4	7	5	6	5	4	**Positive**
9	F/18/HS/South	4	4	4	5	7	5	6	6	4	**Moderate**
10	F/24/HS/West	6	5	7	6	5	4	6	4	4	**Moderate**
11	F/24/PG/South	5	7	5	7	6	4	6	5	4	**Positive**
12	F/28/PG/West	3	3	2	2	1	1	6	3	1	**Negative**
13	F/40/PG/Centre	4	6	5	5	6	7	6	6	5	**Positive**
14	M/28/UG/South	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	**Moderate**
15	M/34/PG/South	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	**Moderate**
16	F/26/UG/West	4	4	4	5	5	3	5	6	3	**Moderate**
17	F/32/PG/West	4	4	4	5	4	3	5	4	2	**Moderate**

Notes. M = Male; F = Female; HS = High School; UG = Undergraduate; PG = Postgraduate.

Moreover, while maintaining the representativeness regarding the proportionality of the evaluation scores in the VGT, the interview sample was also representative of the social variables of the respondents. That is, the sample not only reflected a stratification in terms of the evaluation tendencies (i.e. negative, moderate and positive) but also in terms of the demographics of the respondents. For instance, because half of the VGT respondents are from the south (see Figure 9), more respondents from the south than from the other regions were recruited for the interviews. The interview sample was also almost equally balanced in terms of the sex of the respondent in which eight males and nine females were recruited. Overall, the interview sample was recruited systematically and representatively to solidify the methodology underpinning the present study.

The final number of the interview sample was seventeen respondents. The respondents were approached after they had provided their contact information in the questionnaire which indicated their willingness to be interviewed. I contacted the respondents prior to the interviews and agreed a day and a time at their convenience. This allowed the respondents to feel at ease during the interview and to provide high-quality data. After interviewing seventeen respondents, a sense of '*theoretical saturation*' (Glaser & Strauss 1967, p.61, italics in original) was achieved by which the data did not seem to indicate new types of responses anymore. This also became more noticeable when similar answers to the questions started to re-occur and coincide together with no novel ideas or views being articulated by the respondents during the interviews. Overall, the interview data was collected with such strategies to ensure that the dataset is suitable for the analysis and is potentially viable to generate findings.

3.11 The VGT pilot study

Before conducting the VGT, I conducted a pilot study that tested the questionnaire, its validity and reliability and the respondents' ability to provide sufficient data. Piloting the questionnaire was an essential procedure before conducting the main study. It helped to identify the type of data collected, how to best analyse it and how to best report its findings. The first purpose of the pilot study was to ascertain the reliability and validity of the questionnaire. In terms of reliability, I observed Cronbach Alpha coefficient test to measure the reliability of the questionnaire. Cronbach Alpha coefficient measures the internal consistency of the responses to a questionnaire and should be no less than a score of 0.70 for the questionnaire to be deemed reliable

(Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010, pp.94-95). As for validity, it was achieved by following established practices in the field of LAs that are related to designing questionnaires. These practices included the selection of the adjectives and the type of the evaluation scale.

The second purpose of the pilot study was to test the effectiveness of the research instruments. More specifically, one of the important aspects of the VGT that needed testing was the audio stimuli. According to Preston (1989; 1999b), in LAs research, it is vital that the respondents have some awareness of the varieties under investigation, and thus are evaluating those whom the researcher wants them to evaluate. As such, the audio stimuli in the present study needed to be tested, particularly in terms of their representativeness of the varieties under investigation and whether they could work as attitude objects towards which attitudes can be expressed.

17 respondents completed the pilot questionnaire from which the pilot data was collected and analysed. The questionnaire was reliable with a good Cronbach Alpha score (.75). While distributing the questionnaire, I asked the respondents to provide comments and feedback about anything in the questionnaire. I wanted to eliminate issues of difficulty, unclarity and/or lack of straightforwardness. After examining the pilot data, there was an issue with the variety identification question. The question was deemed less straightforward as it asked where the variety is most spoken. As such, the answers considered incorrect could have been interpreted as correct. For example, if the answer to the identification of Qassimi Arabic was Riyadh, this will then reflect the respondent's awareness of the variety's geographic distribution instead of the identification correctness. Therefore, it was thought that directing the question towards the speaker of the audio stimulus by asking where he is from is more appropriate. Overall, the pilot respondents did not express any difficulties, and no major issues appeared in the VGT questionnaire which facilitated the data collection process for the main study.

3.12 Data analysis procedures

The data in the present study was processed in a variety of ways. In terms of the questionnaire, quantitative analyses were carried out to obtain statistical information. The interviews were analysed qualitatively by adopting the thematic framework. In this section, I describe how the data for Phases 2 and 3 was handled. I begin by explaining the process of data cleaning for the VGT data, followed by a description of both the

descriptive and inferential statistical techniques used in analysing the data. I then describe the process of handling the interview data by drawing on the transcription technique and the analytical framework used in the analysis.

3.12.1 VGT data cleaning

Before conducting any statistical analysis on the VGT and questionnaire data, the data had to undergo some cleaning and checking. First, three respondents were immediately excluded from the dataset for they have not indicated full consent to participate in the study. Second, I ran Mahalanobis Distance test to precisely detect outliers in the dataset. Some multivariate outliers were detected which usually represented inappropriate responding (i.e. choosing the same value on the evaluation scale for all items). Visualising the data was also another technique to check for outliers. Using box plots, the outliers are shown located outside the range of the distribution of scores, which may (or may not) indicate an existent multivariate outlier (see Figure 13).
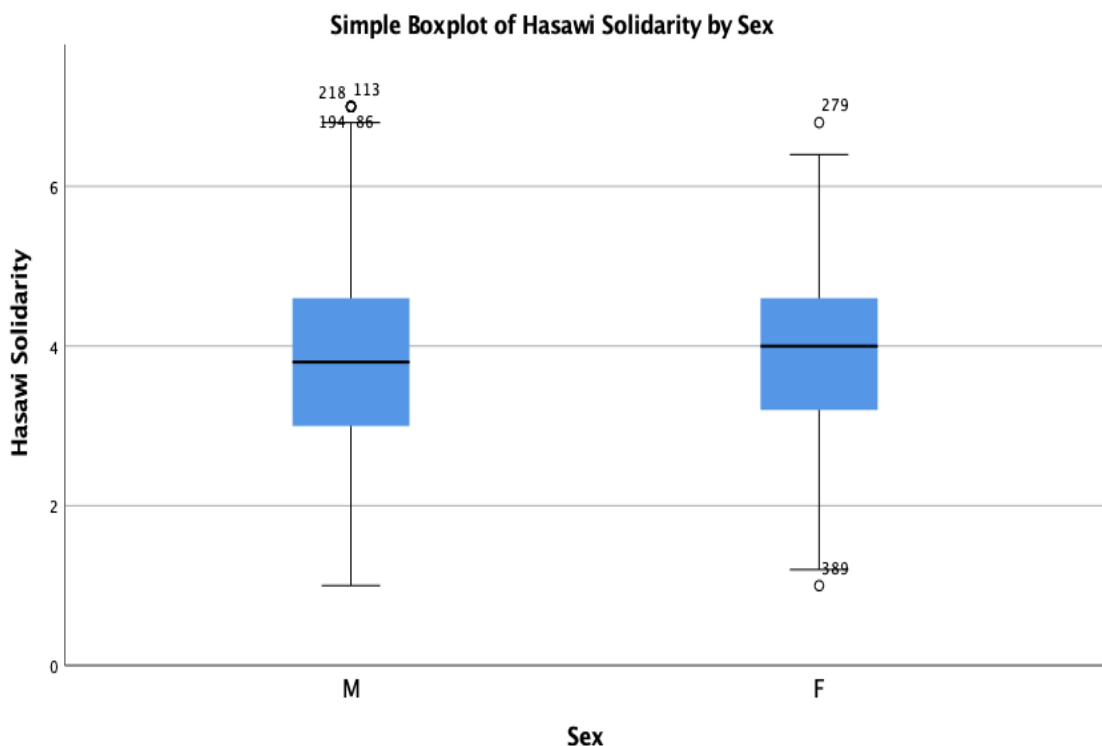
Figure 13. A box plot for a variety by a social variable of the respondents.

Once an outlier is detected, it would be reviewed to check if the outlier was remarkably deviant from the other respondents or was just a case of inappropriate responding. Consequently, the responses were kept in the former condition and excluded in the latter one. As such, nineteen respondents were considered as multivariate outliers who provided inappropriate responses. As per the recommendations in the literature (e.g.

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Pallant 2016, p.294), these multivariate outliers were entirely excluded from the dataset. Again, this was due to the procedural irregularity with which the responses of those outliers were submitted. This also means that the data elicited from these outliers is invalid. Finally, most of the essential questionnaire items were made mandatory to answer. This subsequently yielded two benefits: complete responding and reduction of missing values, thus making fewer adjustments or transformations to the dataset.

3.12.2 Statistical analysis of the quantitative data

Statistical analysis was performed on the data from Phase 2 as part of the quantitative treatment of data. The data was coded and entered into SPSS (version 26). Before conducting any calculations, some data needed to be recoded to represent new variables. As explained in section 3.6.2, twelve adjectives were used to evaluate the varieties, with every four adjectives falling under one evaluative dimension (i.e. Solidarity, Status and Aesthetics). After obtaining the evaluation scores for each adjective, I collapsed the combined scores for the four adjectives under one dimension to represent each of the evaluative dimensions. As in prior LAs studies (e.g. Stewart *et al.* 1985; Coupland & Bishop 2007; Carrie 2017), this was performed by calculating the mean of means. This transformation technique was based on the distinctiveness of each evaluative dimension. After that, as an initial step, descriptive statistical analysis was performed on the data to reveal the general patterns of the central tendency measures including the mean scores (i.e. averages) and the standard deviations. This was particularly important to illustrate and compare the responses in terms of the negative-positive evaluations of the varieties. Moreover, the descriptive analysis was also used in calculating the mean scores and standard deviations for the evaluation scales related to the similarity task and the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia.

After performing descriptive statistical analysis, the data was also analysed by means of inferential statistics. This was particularly the case when comparing the mean scores between groups. The compared means represent the evaluations of (attitudes towards) the varieties under investigation. Two statistical tests were performed on the data to investigate mean differences: 1) independent-samples t-test and 2) F-test (i.e. one-way analysis of variance, ANOVA). In doing so, both of these tests can indicate some sort of association between the social or demographic characteristics (variables) of respondents (e.g. age or geographic origin) and their attitudinal evaluations.

Following the statistical convention, the independent-samples t-test was performed when comparing only two groups (e.g. males vs females) whereas the F-test was used to compare more than two groups (Pallant 2016, p.109). It is also worth noting that formal normality tests (e.g. Kolmogorov-Smirnov or Shapiro-Wilk) are not recommended and are often warned against by statisticians for checks of data normality (D'Agostino *et al.* 2001, p.521; Erceg-Hurn & Mirosevich 2008, p.594). Normality tests can be 'fatally flawed' and inaccurate (Erceg-Hurn & Mirosevich 2008, p.594), and, if used, 'they should be interpreted with caution' (D'Agostino *et al.* 2001, p.521). That said, some assumptions of the present study's dataset were checked by other means. For example, when reporting either the t-test or F-test, Levene's test was observed in case equal variances was not assumed. Consequently, Welch's t-test and Welch's F-test were also performed and reported as a correction when variances were heterogenous and/or when the sample size of the compared groups was deemed highly unbalanced.

Although there is empirical evidence for the robustness of the classic t-test (Rasch & Guiard 2004; Wiedermann & Alexandrowicz 2007) and the classic F-test (Schmider *et al.* 2010; Blanca *et al.* 2017) against various assumptions violations, it has been argued that the Welch procedure should be used when comparing the mean scores *by default* (Delacre *et al.* 2019). Hence, to eliminate any potential Type I error (i.e. assuming statistical significance when the test result is not actually statistically significant), I eventually followed the Welch procedure for the entire analysis. In other words, all the reported *p*-values throughout the present study are based on the Welch procedure for both the classic t-test and F-test. Furthermore, in terms of the F-test, when the F-test revealed a statistically significant result (i.e. $p < .05$), the Games-Howell test was used as a post-hoc test to locate and compare the mean difference among the groups as per the recommendation and explanation of Toothaker (1993, pp.62-63). The Games-Howell post-hoc test is typically reported when equality of variances is not assumed, and thus, it is also a conservative statistical technique just like the Welch procedure. Similar to the Welch tests, the Games-Howell test reduces the Type I error rates.

3.12.3 Qualitative data analysis

The analysis of the interviews was conducted by transcribing and taking notes of the responses provided by the respondents in the interviews. I adopted a 'de-naturalistic' transcription approach (Aurini *et al.* 2016, p.112) as the ideational content of the

responses is the focal concern to the present study (see Appendix 12 for some extracts of the interviews transcripts). Because of the dependent and complementary nature of the interviews used in the present study, the interviews data was generally analysed in accordance with the relevance of the responses. This is, in fact, the convention when using interviews to investigate LAs (Karatsareas 2022, p.99). While some of the findings of the interviews (e.g. respondents' quotes) were reported as supportive evidence for Phase 2 findings, other findings were interpreted as qualitative findings independent from the quantitative ones. In particular, this is the case with the findings related to the respondents' perceptions and experiences regarding language in Saudi Arabia (sections 5.2 and 5.4).

The focus of the interviews was mainly the attitudes, perceptions and opinions of the respondents. Therefore, it needs to be acknowledged that transcribing and examining the paralinguistic features (e.g. audible breathing, crying, aspiration and laughter) (Kowal & O'Connell 2014, p.73) and the non-propositional features (e.g. hesitation markers, pauses, false starts and overlaps) within the responses could have been insightful and potentially important. While such features were avoided in the transcripts, they were only treated as such due to the sheer scale of the present study and out of expediency. Nevertheless, during the interviews, I observed some of the sentimental cues expressed by the respondents as much as possible, for example, once a respondent responds with anger, irony or sorrow. These sentimental cues are surly meaningful in the context of attitudes and perceptions interpretations.

The analysis of the interviews was initiated by coding the responses to each question in the interview. The functionality of the created codes lies in the process of 'patterning, classifying, and later reorganizing them into emergent categories' (Saldaña 2014, p.584). The coding strategy was inductive in nature in the sense that the codes emerge purely from the dataset. One of the rationales for this strategy is to enhance the validity of the codes by reducing the influence of the researcher. This influence would be exerted if the codes were predetermined wherein the coding becomes deductive. Potential inapplicability issues could also result when using deductive codes borrowed from previous research because contexts and circumstances vary from one study to another. Moreover, the data analysis was semi-manual in which a document management software (MS Word) was utilised as an analytical tool. I used some of the software functions including highlighting, underlining and the find function to assist the

analysis. This approach to qualitative analysis is known as 'computer-aided approach', and it is 'quite popular in qualitative data analysis' (Tracy 2013, p.188).

Eight major questions emerged from the interactions in the interviews under which the responses were grouped. I first grouped the responses to each question together so that they are examined at once. I avoided line-by-line coding (Charmaz 2006, p.50), and I coded *chunks* of the data transcripts instead. This is to avoid over-coding, especially since not all of the transcribed data was relevant and could be skipped. Each code reflected a specific point or idea to which other codes were connected, which then resulted in the generation of new codes. This strategy is known as *categorisation* by which similar codes are clustered together to form overarching codes (Saldaña 2014, p.587). After this, the final codes were revised and cleaned to initiate the thematic analysis framework.

The themes were identified after closely analysing and grouping the similar codes together within the dataset. According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p.82), a theme is the result of a 'patterned' identification of important information in the dataset that is relevant to the research question. The authors also add that, in qualitative analysis, quantification is not the ultimate means for the determination of a theme, and rather, it is the 'researcher judgement' (ibid.). Therefore, the themes in the interviews dataset in the present study were identified after considering the previous argument. That is, I began the analysis by quantifying the frequency of the (re)occurrences of each of the themes in the dataset. I then selected the most meaningful themes that can portray attitudinal and perceptional information.

The findings from both the quantitative and qualitative paradigms will sometimes be connected in addressing the research questions. For example, the qualitative analysis will extend the understanding of the respondents' attitudes by revisiting some of the quantitative findings such as the VGT and the perceptions findings. Another way of connecting the findings is by moving from the macro findings related to the study population (i.e. Saudis) as a whole to the micro findings related to specific Saudi individuals. This transition will be achieved by delving into the experiences and stories of individual respondents wherein it would be possible to retrieve detailed findings that might have been dissolved within the quantification procedures. It needs to be emphasised that addressing each research question has required a particular application of either the quantitative methodology (RQ1 and RQ2) or the qualitative methodology (RQ3 and RQ4). Nevertheless, while the analysis and

reporting of the findings are presented sequentially (quantitative findings in Chapter 4 and qualitative findings in Chapter 5), the discussion and interpretation of the findings are sometimes intertwined and presented simultaneously (Chapter 6). That is to say, as will be presented in the discussion chapter, the research questions will be the umbrella(s) under which both the quantitative and qualitative findings are discussed, interpreted, assessed and illuminated.

3.13 Ethical considerations

As the present study has required the participation of human respondents, some ethical considerations had to be observed. Prior to any data collection activity, it was necessary to gain ethical approval from my institution, the University of Leicester. Two requests for ethical approval were submitted. The first was ethical approval to conduct the keywords task (Phase 1)[1] whereas the second was to conduct the VGT (Phase 2) and the interviews (Phase 3) altogether[2].

The most critical ethical considerations in the present study were the respondents' consent and anonymity. Broadly, there were three groups of respondents in the present study: 1) questionnaires respondents, 2) interview respondents and 3) speakers of the audio stimuli, all of whom needed to be informed about the study differently. On the whole, yes-or-no items were used to indicate informed consent throughout the three groups. The questionnaire respondents – in both the keywords task and VGT – were informed about the study and asked for their consent to participate in the preliminary pages of the questionnaire (see Appendix 7). In terms of the interview respondents and the speakers of stimuli, each group was asked to read and complete an online form – specific to each task – that contains the information sheet and the informed consent items (see Appendix 13 and Appendix 14).

As for the respondents' anonymity, all the personal information of the respondents such as their names or contact information were not referred to within this thesis whatsoever. When referring to the questionnaire responses, the statistical calculations were performed in a way that prevents identifying individual responses. In case a specific respondent is quoted, he or she will be given a numeric value along with their demographic information only as in *Respondent 5* or (*Respondent 3/M/40/UG/South*) (also see Table 3). This way, total anonymity is ensured for all the

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[1] Ethics Reference: 26455-aymh2-ss/ar:english
[2] Ethics Reference: 24211-aymh2-ss/ar:english

respondents while still allowing individual respondents to be tracked across the study and its dataset.

Other ethical considerations were related to the speakers of the stimuli. To provide the best possible identity protection, no personal or biographical information that could identify the speakers was shown at all. The audio files will also be protected in a password-encrypted personal computer to which only I have access. The files are not shared publicly whatsoever and they are only accessible by the respondents through the questionnaire. Also, the recordings were removed from the questionnaire after the data collection. In the information sheet, the speakers were informed that their audio recordings will be stored securely on my computer system and not shared beyond the project, all to which they agreed by completing the form. On the whole, the individuals taking part in the present study (whether respondents or stimulus speakers) were informed that their participation is voluntary, and they were given the opportunity to withdraw from the study if they wish to. Finally, all the ethical requests were approved by the university's ethics committee and I was granted permission to collect the data (see Appendix 11).

The present study has, in effect, been found to be of interest and benefit to the respondents who took part in it. This was manifested in some of the positive comments I received in person about the questionnaire and also in the interviews. For example, at the end of the interview of Respondent 10, she commented '[b]y Allah, if your research is published or has free access, it would be very good because I feel the numbers in it are very rich'. She then explained her comment and said '[p]eople will be made aware of the effect of dialects because many people don't realise [the effect]'. Finally, she concluded 'I found the research very enjoyable, very very enjoyable! I mean, the findings will be very important'. In the same fashion, Respondent 15 expressed his thanks for selecting the topic (i.e. LAs) 'because it is a sensitive topic', thus important to be researched. It was also realised that the respondents were appreciative to have been listened to when sharing their experiences and views in the interviews. This way, the study (particularly the semi-structured interview) was a socio-cultural context of learning for both the researcher and the respondent.

3.14 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodology that has shaped the present study. The mixed methodology design along with the integration of the direct and indirect

approaches to LAs were deemed best situated to achieve triangulation. A preview of some findings was first outlined in the discussions of the keywords task, which were then implemented into the main questionnaire. The central method to investigate LAs in the present study was the VGT by which Saudis' attitudes were elicited. A questionnaire was the instrument used to deliver the VGT as well as some other questions related to the respondents' attitudes. The VGT represents the main body of data and findings in the present study. In addition, interviews were also conducted and used as a follow-up data collection instrument in order to gain rich insights into the respondents' attitudes that were not easily accessible through the VGT. Having explained the methodology of this study, the following two chapters will present the study's findings found via the application of the previously-discussed methods and instruments.

Chapter 4: Quantitative Findings

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I report the quantitative findings of Phase 2 manifested in three major parts. The first part is about the VGT – including the variety identification task as a priori – which represents the core element of the findings of this study (section 4.3). The second part is concerned with the similarity task in which the respondents are asked to report how similar or different their spoken variety is, compared to what they have listened to (section 4.6). The third part of the chapter is the findings of the respondents' perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia (section 4.8). For each of the three parts, the descriptive statistics are reported first, followed by the notable observations on significance. This way, the findings are transitioned from straightforward findings to more rigorous ones in a top-down manner.

Before reporting the inferential findings of the present study, it needs to be noted that some findings were not (statistically) significant due to the use of conservative and strict statistical procedures such as the Welch's test (see section 3.12 for details). In other words, had the classic parametric statistical tests (e.g. classic F-test and classic t-test) been reported, the findings could have been either highly statistically significant (e.g. $p < .001$) or highly evident in the post-hoc tests. Nonetheless, by adopting a conservative approach to data analysis, the study's statistical inferences, findings and conclusions can all be valid, reliable and trustworthy.

4.2 The variety identification task

In this study, the VGT is the key task from which the evaluations the varieties were obtained. However, before reporting the task's findings, the variety identification task will first be reported. This is intended to establish the validity and reliability of the responses in the VGT, indicating the meaningfulness of the whole task. As such, the identification findings are shown in Figure 14.
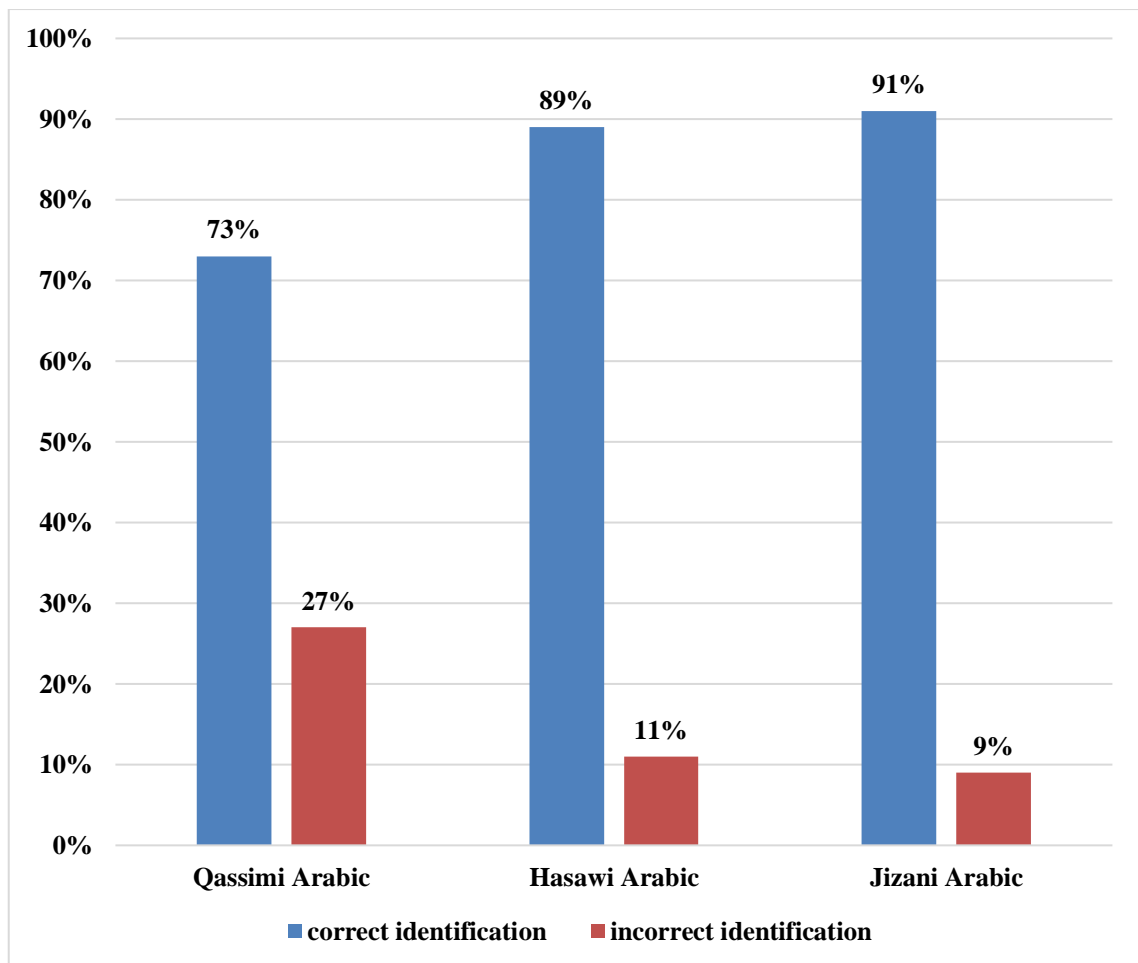
Figure 14. Correctness proportions of the identification task (N = 411).

The scores in the variety identification task show a high frequency of correct identification for all the varieties. Jizani Arabic (91%) and Hasawi Arabic (89%) were highly identifiable in the task. Though Qassimi Arabic was correctly identified relatively less often, its frequency is still deemed high at 73%. It is also suspected that some of the incorrect respondents about Qassimi Arabic know the variety but have chosen a region other than Al-Qassim in the questionnaire such as Riyadh to indicate it is also spoken there. This is probably the result of being confused about the speakers of the variety and the areas wherein the variety is commonly spoken. Overall, the identification findings give a strong basis for accepting the expressed attitudes in the VGT.

In the identification task, the respondents were also asked about what had helped them identify the variety correctly. To clarify the task and obtain relevant answers, the question specifically asks for features/cues that are related to the pronunciation of each speaker. The answers to this question expectedly varied for each variety due to the variation and diversity of the varieties. As such, Figure 15 lists the

identification features/cues noted by the respondents while listening to the speakers in the VGT.
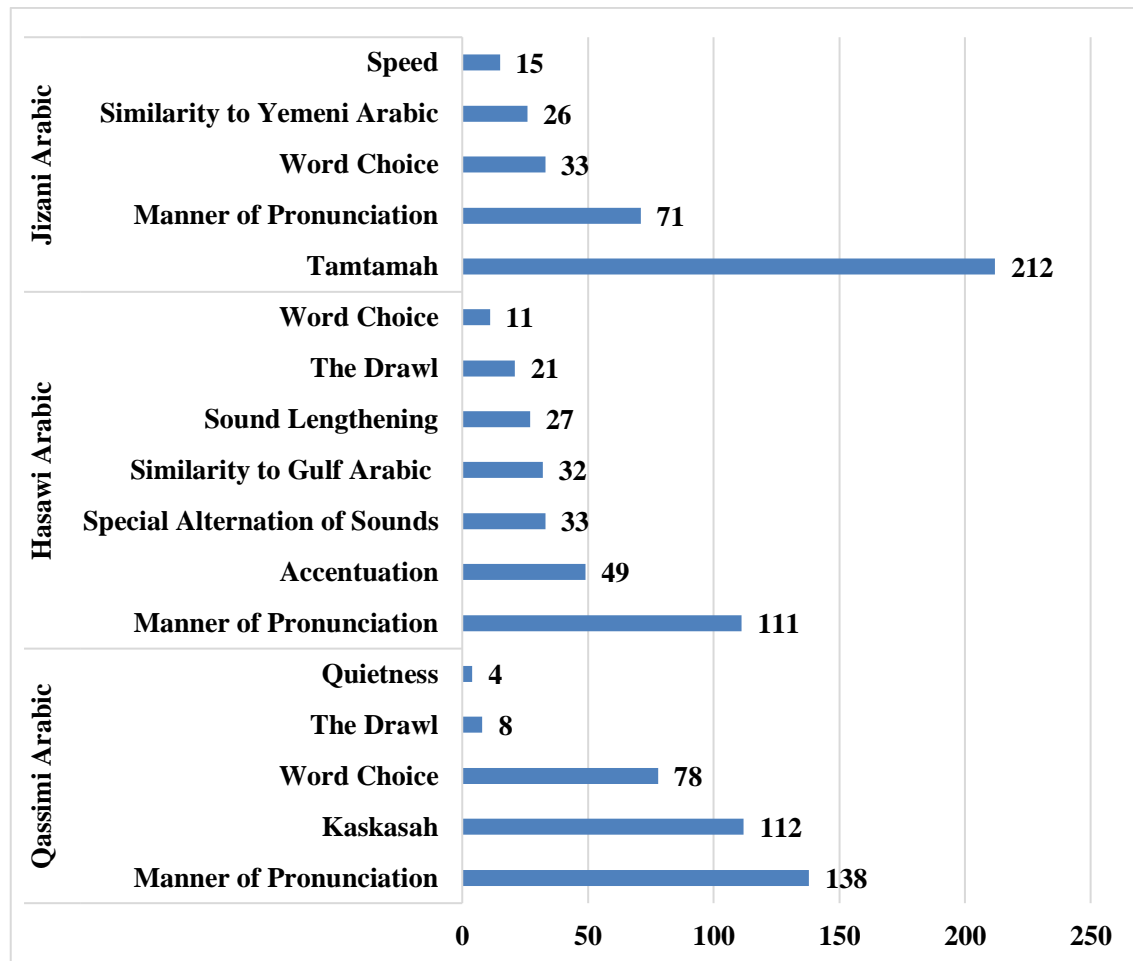
Figure 15. Token counts of the identification features/cues for the varieties.

On the whole, there is a consistent pattern of the cues Manner of Pronunciation and Word Choice across all three varieties. In fact, Manner of Pronunciation appears to be the most prominent feature in identifying the varieties. This is probably a result of the respondents' familiarity with the varieties by which they were able to identify the varieties simply from hearing the way they sounded. Overall, it seems that the identification features/cues in the findings are phonologically-driven. And as noted by Rogerson-Revell (2011, p.17), '[p]ronunciation, much more so than grammar and vocabulary, is inextricably bound up with identity and attitude'.

There were some overlaps of the cues within the identification findings. For example, The Drawl cue was assigned to both Qassimi Arabic and Hasawi Arabic, though more frequently to the latter. Drawl is taken here to refer to the slow, heavy manner of speech, a feature also noted by Saudis in previous research (see Al-Rojaie 2020b; 2021b). For Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic, their similarity to other Arabic

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varieties (i.e. Gulf and Yemeni respectively) was pointed as an identification cue. This was also noted by the respondents in the keywords task when asked to describe Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic (see section 3.3). Therefore, the similarity cue – based on geography and borders – is considered as a salient conceptualisation of these two varieties. As mentioned before, Word Choice was a common cue as the speakers had been urged to provide a realistic, authentic speech sample in the VGT. Regarding this cue, the stimuli speakers actually spontaneously implemented some localised vocabulary into their speech, which could have easily signified the variety used.

The respondents also reported some iconic features specific to each variety. For instance, the *Kaskasah* aspect in realising the /k/ as /ts/ (explained in section 2.6) by the Qassimi speaker acted as a good indicator of the variety's origin. In the same vein, *Tamtamah*, manifested in the alternation of the standard definite article /ʔal/ with the non-standard one /ʔam/, was the other phonological cue that helped the respondents identify Jizani Arabic correctly. Indeed, these two features can be considered as the most distinguishing identification cues for Qassimi Arabic and Jizani Arabic. This is because not only do very few SAVs exhibit *kaskasah* and *tamtamah*, but also they are highly and frequently associated with these particular varieties. Hasawi Arabic was assigned comparatively more identification cues, but the most salient one was Accentuation. The Accentuation cue referred to the exaggeration of sounds production and was mentioned very often by the respondents. Some comments described the production of /r/ and /d/ sounds by the Hasawi speaker as being accentuated and exaggerated. Closely similar, the Special Alternation of Sounds cue was frequently noticed by the respondents. This cue represents the various observations made by the respondents regarding the special sound alternations performed by the Hasawi speaker. Furthermore, although Sound Lengthening could also go under Special Alternation of Sounds, it mainly refers to a specific pronunciation manner rather than phonological alternations.

4.3 Descriptive findings of the VGT

Under this section, I turn to report the VGT attitudinal findings. Table 4 illustrates the overall expressed attitudes towards the varieties based on the three evaluative dimensions.

Table 4. Overall attitudes towards the varieties (N = 411; 1 = lower evaluation on the adjective; 7 = higher evaluation on the adjective; SD = standard deviation).

Variety	Solidarity		Status		Aesthetics	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Qassimi	4.05	1.374	4.13	1.437	3.79	1.457
Hasawi	4.25	1.343	4.46	1.332	4.08	1.409
Jizani	4.64	1.480	4.45	1.393	3.90	1.575

Although it may be considered somewhat arbitrary, and as mentioned in section 3.8, I will treat scores of 1–3.99 to be negative, 4–4.10 to be moderate and 4.11–7 to be positive in most cases. Some positive evaluation patterns are clearly noted within these findings. The most positive evaluation was noted concerning Jizani Arabic's Solidarity (4.64) whereas Qassimi Arabic's Aesthetics received the most negative evaluation (3.79). In terms of Solidarity, the findings ranged from moderate (Qassimi) to positive (Hasawi and Jizani). All the varieties were evaluated positively on the Status dimension with Hasawi (4.46) and Jizani (4.45) scoring higher on the dimension. On the other hand, Qassimi Arabic consistently scored relatively less than the other varieties on all the dimensions. A contradiction is also observed within the evaluations of Jizani Arabic in which it received a comparatively low score on Aesthetics (3.90).

The positive evaluations in the descriptive findings of the VGT might indicate a celebration of SAVs and the Saudi national identity (although several responses by different groups of respondents did not indicate this, as will be evident in the inferential testing of the mean differences). For the Aesthetics dimension, however, an interesting pattern of low scores is noticed. In other words, contrary to all the scores related to Solidarity and Status, the scores of Aesthetics tended to range from negative to moderate. This lack of aesthetic qualities may be because of the regionality of these varieties. That is, as previously discussed in section 2.7.2, the Arabic language is heavily influenced by linguistic ideologies even in the – Arabic – naming of the categories of Arabic varieties (i.e. *Fusha* and *Ammiyyah*). This consequently reserves aesthetic qualities to Standard Arabic only. Another interesting evaluative pattern in the Aesthetics dimension was also observed. It seems that the two varieties that attract higher-ranked scores for status also attract higher-ranked scores for Aesthetics (even with the means for Aesthetics being low). This may be an instance of an exceptional overt prestige considering the non-standardness of the varieties. In sum, these findings

suggest a general tendency to evaluate the varieties positively, but some negative evaluations were also observable.

4.4 Inferential findings of the VGT: Saudis' attitudes towards SAVs

To check the generalisability of the VGT findings as well as to add greater depth to the findings, I now report the inferential statistical findings obtained from the VGT. In doing so, I begin by reporting the overall results of the performed statistical tests (i.e. t-tests and F-tests) in turn. I then interpret the findings relevant to each variety separately. Since all the inferential findings are related to testing the mean differences (i.e. the association between independent variables and the dependent variables) within the social variables of the respondents (e.g. age), all the mean scores related to the groups under investigation are reported before the statistical inference. In sum, the inferential findings represent the ultimate interpretations and conclusions that can be made about Saudis' attitudes towards SAVs.

4.4.1 Inferential findings of attitudes via t-tests

The t-test was performed when testing the mean difference for a variable consisting of two groups (e.g. sex). Table 5 illustrates the results of the t-test performed on the three varieties within the variables Sex, Abroad Residence and Length of Abroad Residence.

Table 5. Results of t-tests for attitudes towards SAVs by the social variable of respondents (N = 411).

Variety	Social variable of respondents		
Qassimi	Sex	Abroad Residence	Length of Abroad Residence
Solidarity	-	$t(406) = 2.05$ **$p = .041$**, $d = 0.20$	-
Status	-	-	-
Aesthetics	-	-	-
Hasawi			
Solidarity	-	-	-
Status	-	-	-
Aesthetics	-	-	-
Jizani			
Solidarity	-	$t(409) = 2.18$ **$p = .030$**, $d = 0.22$	-
Status	-	$t(408) = 2.45$ **$p = .015$**, $d = 0.25$	-
Aesthetics	-	-	-

Notes. Bold = significant at 0.05 level.

A statistically significant difference was noted regarding the Abroad Residence variable for Qassimi's Solidarity, Jizani's Solidarity and Status. On the contrary, Sex and the Length of Abroad Residence have not indicated an association with the expressed attitudes. In the Abroad Residence, it was noted that the respondents who have not travelled abroad consistently expressed more positive attitudes towards SAVs than the respondents who have travelled abroad (see Figure 16).
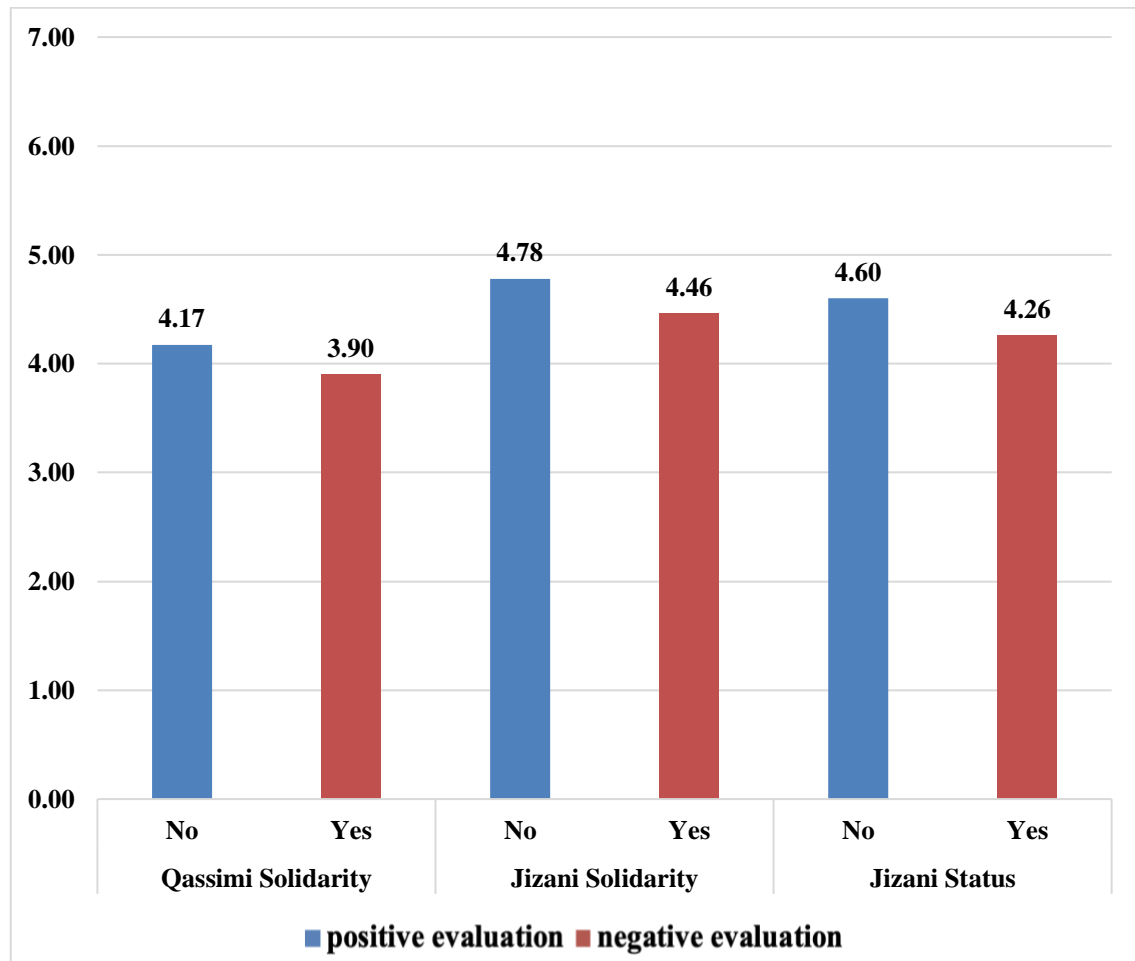
Figure 16. Pairwise comparisons of means for statistically significant groups across Respondents' Abroad Residence (Yes = abroad residence, No = no abroad residence).

In fact, when evaluating Qassimi Arabic, the attitudes of the travelled respondents were more negative (3.90) than the non-travellers (4.17). These findings may be considered unusual since it is commonly assumed that travelling, especially abroad, "widens one's perspective of the world" and "increases open-mindedness". Moreover, it is surprising that the t-tests for Length of Abroad Residence did not reveal statistically significant results. It seems as though the Saudis in this study had a *static* type of language attitudes. That is, once these attitudes were formulated, they may not be affected by time factors alone.

In the following, the attitudes towards the varieties were tested by means of the F-test, which revealed other meaningful group differences and attitude variation. The performed F-tests were considerably more illustrative than the t-tests in showing the association between the social variables of the respondents and their attitudes towards SAVs. This is because, as explained in section 3.12.2, the F-test is a very robust statistical technique when comparing more than two groups of respondents (Schmider *et al.* 2010; Blanca *et al.* 2017). As such, section 4.4.2 below will first introduce the overall F-tests results, followed by a focused presentation of the findings related to the attitudes towards each variety separately. On this note, when comparing the groups of the post-hoc tests related to the attitudes towards a variety on a particular dimension, a number (i.e. 1, 2 and 3) is assigned to the pair of the groups under comparison.

4.4.2 Inferential findings of attitudes via F-tests

The F-tests were performed to compare the attitudes of more than two groups within a single social variable of the respondents. This test is commonly known as the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) which tests the mean difference between groups to determine an association between the (social) variables and attitudes. Table 6 shows the results of all the performed F-tests on the three varieties by the social variables of the respondents. It is observed that Age and Education had a clear pattern of associations with the expressed attitudes as the F-tests were very often statistically significant. Geographic Origin was also considered as a salient variable for the expressed attitudes. Furthermore, despite testing National Residence was only statistically significant within Jizani Arabic, the *p*-values were highly statistically significant (e.g. $p < .000$), and the effect sizes tended to lean towards the medium effect. The statistical significance was also observable across the three evaluative dimensions (i.e. Solidarity, Status and Aesthetics) within the variable National Residence. Therefore, National Residence can still be considered as a fairly important variable concerning the Saudi respondents' attitudes in the present study. To this end, as will become clear, Table 6 is a key table for the interpretation of the subsequent statistical findings throughout.

Table 6. Results of F-tests for attitudes towards SAVs by the social variable of respondents (N = 411).

Variety	Social (factor) variable of respondents				
Qassimi	Age	Education[a]	Spoken Languages	Geographic Origin	National Residence
Solidarity	$F(3, 102) = 3.91$ $\boldsymbol{p = .011}$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$	$F(2, 64) = 3.18$ $\boldsymbol{p = .048}$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$	-	-	-
Status	$F(3, 104) = 5.94$ $\boldsymbol{p = .001}$, $\eta_p^2 = .043$	$F(2, 65) = 3.32$ $\boldsymbol{p = .043}$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$	-	-	-
Aesthetics	-	-	-	-	-
Hasawi					
Solidarity	$F(3, 100) = 4.67$ $\boldsymbol{p = .004}$, $\eta_p^2 = .041$	$F(2, 65) = 3.91$ $\boldsymbol{p = .025}$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$	$F(2, 66) = 3.69$ $\boldsymbol{p = .020}$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$	$F(4, 65) = 3.04$ $\boldsymbol{p = .023}$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$	-
Status	$F(3, 101) = 5.64$ $\boldsymbol{p = .001}$, $\eta_p^2 = .047$	$F(2, 64) = 5.41$ $\boldsymbol{p = .007}$, $\eta_p^2 = .029$	$F(2, 66) = 3.61$ $\boldsymbol{p = .033}$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$	$F(4, 65) = 2.70$ $\boldsymbol{p = .038}$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$	-
Aesthetics	-	-	-	-	-
Jizani					
Solidarity	$F(3, 101) = 3.10$ $\boldsymbol{p = .030}$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$	$F(2, 66) = 6.81$ $\boldsymbol{p = .002}$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$	-	$F(4, 62) = 5.27$ $\boldsymbol{p = .001}$, $\eta_p^2 = .049$	$F(4, 93) = 4.01$ $\boldsymbol{p = .005}$, $\eta_p^2 = .040$
Status	$F(3, 102) = 3.68$ $\boldsymbol{p = .015}$, $\eta_p^2 = .029$	$F(2, 65) = 9.23$ $\boldsymbol{p < .000}$, $\eta_p^2 = .047$	-	$F(4, 63) = 5.55$ $\boldsymbol{p = .001}$, $\eta_p^2 = .051$	$F(4, 95) = 4.41$ $\boldsymbol{p = .003}$, $\eta_p^2 = .043$
Aesthetics	-	-	-	$F(4, 66) = 7.46$ $\boldsymbol{p < .000}$, $\eta_p^2 = .066$	$F(4, 95) = 5.53$ $\boldsymbol{p < .000}$, $\eta_p^2 = .052$

Notes. Bold = significant at either 0.05 or .001 level.

[a] All respondents with *other* educational qualification were excluded from the education variable during the F-test analysis due to the arguably insufficient (sub)sample size in the group ($n = 7$).

4.4.2.1 Attitudes towards Qassimi Arabic

As mentioned in section 4.3, it appeared that Qassimi Arabic was evaluated negatively more often than the other varieties. By performing F-tests on the attitudes towards Qassimi Arabic by the social variables of the respondents, testing Age revealed statistically significant differences in relation to Qassimi's Solidarity and Status. This meant that the evaluation of the variety was potentially in association with the social characteristics related to some groups of respondents. The mean scores of all Age groups of respondents are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Evaluation of Qassimi Arabic by Age groups of respondents.

Age group of respondents	Qassimi Arabic			
	Solidarity		**Status**	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
18–25	4.38	1.467	4.57	1.421
26–36	4.07	1.308	4.16	1.419
37–50	3.93	1.373	3.96	1.383
50+	3.35	1.394	3.33	1.421

Descriptively, the table shows a clear regression pattern of the mean scores in which the older the respondents were, the lower their evaluation scores were. Interestingly, this type of regression was observable in the evaluations of Qassimi Arabic on both Solidarity and Status. Finally, the standard deviations are all relatively low, which can be taken as further evidence that affirms the noticed regression.

In terms of the inferential statistics regarding the evaluations of Qassimi Arabic, post-hoc analysis using the Games-Howell test indicated a pattern of negative evaluations of the variety by the older respondents compared to the younger ones. For example, respondents aged 50+ were more negative than those aged 18–25 towards Qassimi's Solidarity ($p = .008$). In terms of Qassimi's Status, three pairwise comparisons were noted. Both respondents aged 37–50 ($p = .028$) and those aged 50+ ($p = .001$) expressed more negative evaluations than those aged 18–25. Similarly, respondents aged 50+ were more negative than those in the 26–36 age band ($p = .027$). The mean comparisons for the compared post-hoc groups are shown in Figure 17.
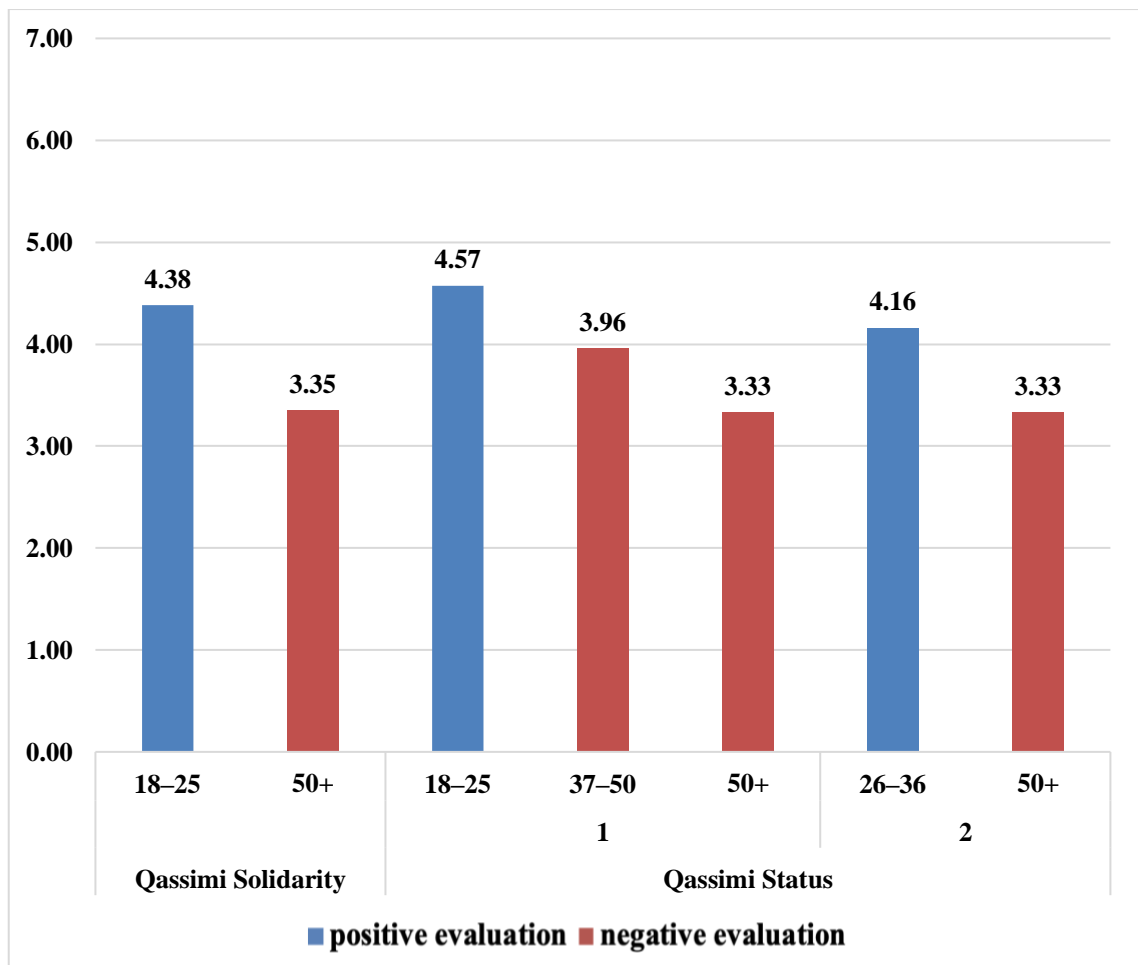
Figure 17. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons of means for Qassimi Arabic across Age groups of respondents.

Although testing the association of Education with the attitudes towards Qassimi Arabic has revealed statistically significant results for Solidarity ($p = .048$) and Status ($p = .043$), the post-hoc analysis has not detected any statistically significant differences between the groups. This is probably because of the conservative nature of both the Welch's ANOVA and the Games-Howell test as the p-values in the F-test were not highly statistically significant. Therefore, there would be a low probability for the post-hoc test to detect differences. Nonetheless, this will not be the case for the rest of the varieties, which can still aid the assumption of the role of education in influencing LAs towards Qassimi Arabic.

4.4.2.2 Attitudes towards Hasawi Arabic

Despite the fact that the overall attitudes towards Hasawi Arabic were positive, some groups of respondents expressed negative attitudes more than others. This was ascertained after performing F-tests factoring the social variables of respondents. As previously illustrated in Table 6, multiple social variables of respondents including

Age, Education and Geographic Origin were deemed to be in association with the attitudes. It is also observed that these variables consistently revealed such associations between the social variables and the evaluations on the Solidarity and Status dimensions. Table 8 presents the means and standard deviations within the statistically significant variables, detailing all the evaluations towards Hasawi Arabic made by the (sub)groups of respondents.

Table 8. Evaluation of Hasawi Arabic by statistically significant social variables of respondents.

Social variable of respondents	Solidarity		Status	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Hasawi Arabic				
Age group				
18–25	4.61	1.385	4.79	1.256
26–36	4.32	1.252	4.56	1.277
37–50	4.03	1.332	4.16	1.312
50+	3.52	1.591	3.73	1.599
Education				
High school	4.65	1.479	5.03	1.542
Bachelor	4.45	1.337	4.66	1.289
Postgraduate education	4.10	1.301	4.29	1.291
Geographic Origin				
Centre	3.88	1.265	3.67	1.278
West	4.21	1.330	4.11	1.369
East	4.81	1.552	4.47	1.140
South	4.34	1.352	4.17	1.478
North	4.62	0.839	4.38	1.132

Equivalent to the regression pattern found in the evaluations of Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic was evaluated as low by the older groups. It is notable that, among the Education variable, the more educated the respondent is, the lower evaluation he or she expressed. Nonetheless, except for the evaluation of Status by high-school-educated respondents, all the Education-based groups of respondents still expressed their evaluations within the moderate range (i.e. 4 out of 7). Considering the Geographic Origin-based evaluations, Hasawi Arabic received a quite negative evaluation by respondents from Central Saudi Arabia compared to the rest of the regions. Notably, the

respondents from the East – the variety's region – expressed the highest (positive) evaluations towards the variety. To this end, it is worth highlighting that these evaluation patterns are observed in terms of the two dimensions Solidarity and Status.

By means of inferential statistics, Figure 18 demonstrates the results of the Games-Howell post-hoc test of the statistically significant groups based on Age, Education and Geographic Origin in relation to the evaluations of Hasawi Arabic.
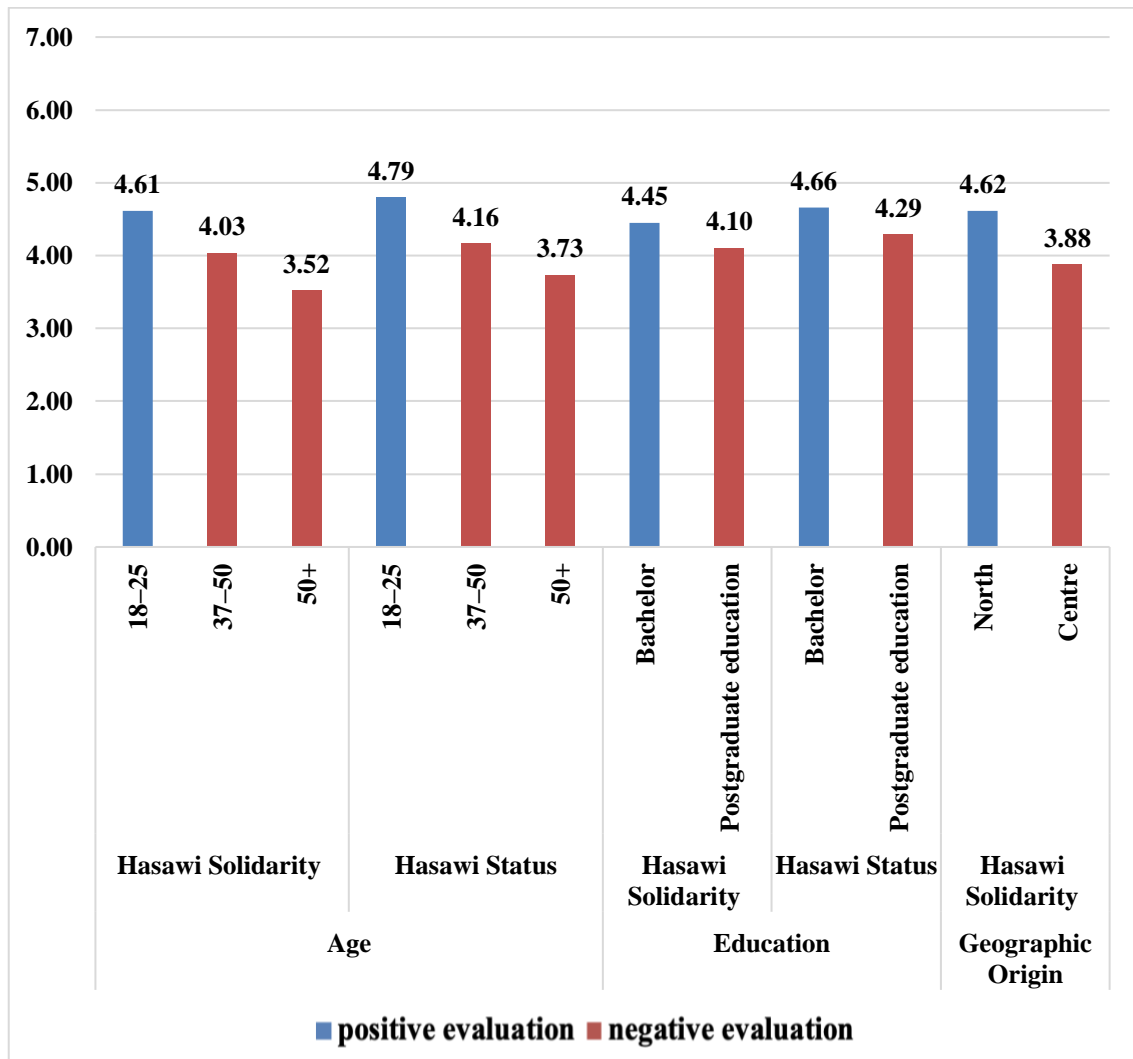
Figure 18. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons of means for Hasawi Arabic across statistically significant social variables of respondents.

For Age, Games-Howell post-hoc test revealed a quite similar pattern of mean difference wherein the younger respondents (18–25) evaluated Hasawi Arabic more positively than those aged 37–50 ($p = .038$) and 50+ ($p = .011$) on Solidarity. On Status, the same groups expressed the same pattern of evaluations ($p = .011$, $p = .013$ respectively). Regarding Education, Bachelor degree holders were more positive in their attitudes towards Hasawi Arabic than Postgraduates (either Master's or PhD) on

both Solidarity (p = .039) and Status (p = .019). Finally, in terms of Geographic Origin groups, respondents from the Centre evaluated Hasawi Arabic more negatively than Northerners on Solidarity (p = .045). On the other hand, no statistical significance was detected in the post-hoc test for Hasawi's Status by the variable Geographic Origin.

4.4.2.3 Attitudes towards Jizani Arabic

Several findings related to Jizani Arabic in this study have been unexpected and interesting. For instance, as previously noted in Table 4, the attitudes towards Jizani Arabic were relatively much more positive, especially on the Solidarity and Status dimensions. This finding is generally deemed unexpected considering the perceived stigma of Jizani Arabic, as previously explained in section 2.6 (for further discussion, see sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). Nevertheless, similar to the other SAVs under investigation, several groups of respondents varied in their attitudes towards Jizani Arabic. This was noticed within the same social variables of respondents such as Age, Education, Geographic Origin, in addition to National Residence. The attitude means and standard deviations for all the relevant groups are illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9. Evaluation of Jizani Arabic by statistically significant social variables of respondents.

Social variable of respondents	Jizani Arabic					
	Solidarity		Status		Aesthetics[a]	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age group						
18–25	4.93	1.399	4.84	1.333	-	-
26–36	4.71	1.443	4.45	1.394	-	-
37–50	4.43	1.465	4.28	1.278	-	-
50+	3.97	1.781	3.90	1.648	-	-
Education						
High school	4.97	1.521	5.11	1.529	-	-
Bachelor	4.93	1.440	4.72	1.368	-	-
Postgraduate education	4.40	1.453	4.20	1.325	-	-
Geographic Origin						
Centre	3.97	1.365	3.79	1.307	3.21	1.369
West	4.73	1.337	4.46	1.315	3.68	1.387
East	4.24	1.673	4.71	1.138	4.31	1.187
South	4.84	1.502	4.65	1.413	4.23	1.680
North	4.68	1.363	4.35	1.228	3.50	1.163
National Residence						
Centre	4.13	1.468	3.93	1.354	3.37	1.459
West	4.66	1.382	4.39	1.368	3.70	1.501
East	4.37	1.505	4.54	1.261	4.12	1.270
South	4.92	1.489	4.72	1.418	4.27	1.664
North	4.68	1.441	4.24	1.220	3.50	1.477

Notes. [a] Testing Age and Education did not indicate statistical significance for the Aesthetics dimension, thus (-) is used.

As can be seen from the table, the evaluation pattern of Jizani Arabic was again similar in nature to Qassimi Arabic and Hasawi Arabic. From a descriptive statistical analysis perspective, the scores in the table indicate a regression pattern. Again, this regression is found within Age and Education (*cf.* Table 7 and Table 8). This regression is also found in the evaluation scores of both Solidarity and Status. In addition, the evaluations made by the groups in Geographic Origin were once again replicated. That is, the

respondents from the Centre of Saudi Arabia – again – expressed the most negative evaluation, and the respondents from the South of Saudi Arabia – the variety's region – expressed the most positive evaluation. Likewise, this very evaluation pattern was similar across the groups of the social variable National Residence.

In the evaluation of Jizani Arabic, there was considerable variation of attitudes among the compared groups. Specifically, the number of social variables of respondents found to have statistical significance was higher compared to Qassimi Arabic and Hasawi Arabic (see Table 6). Hence, I will report the pairwise comparisons under the social variables of respondents in three separate figures. I will first start with Age and Education altogether, followed by Geographic Origin and then National Residence. All of these pairwise groups comparisons are based on the statistically significant results of the Games-Howell post-hoc tests.

In Figure 19 below, all the comparisons between groups that are based on Age and Education are presented.
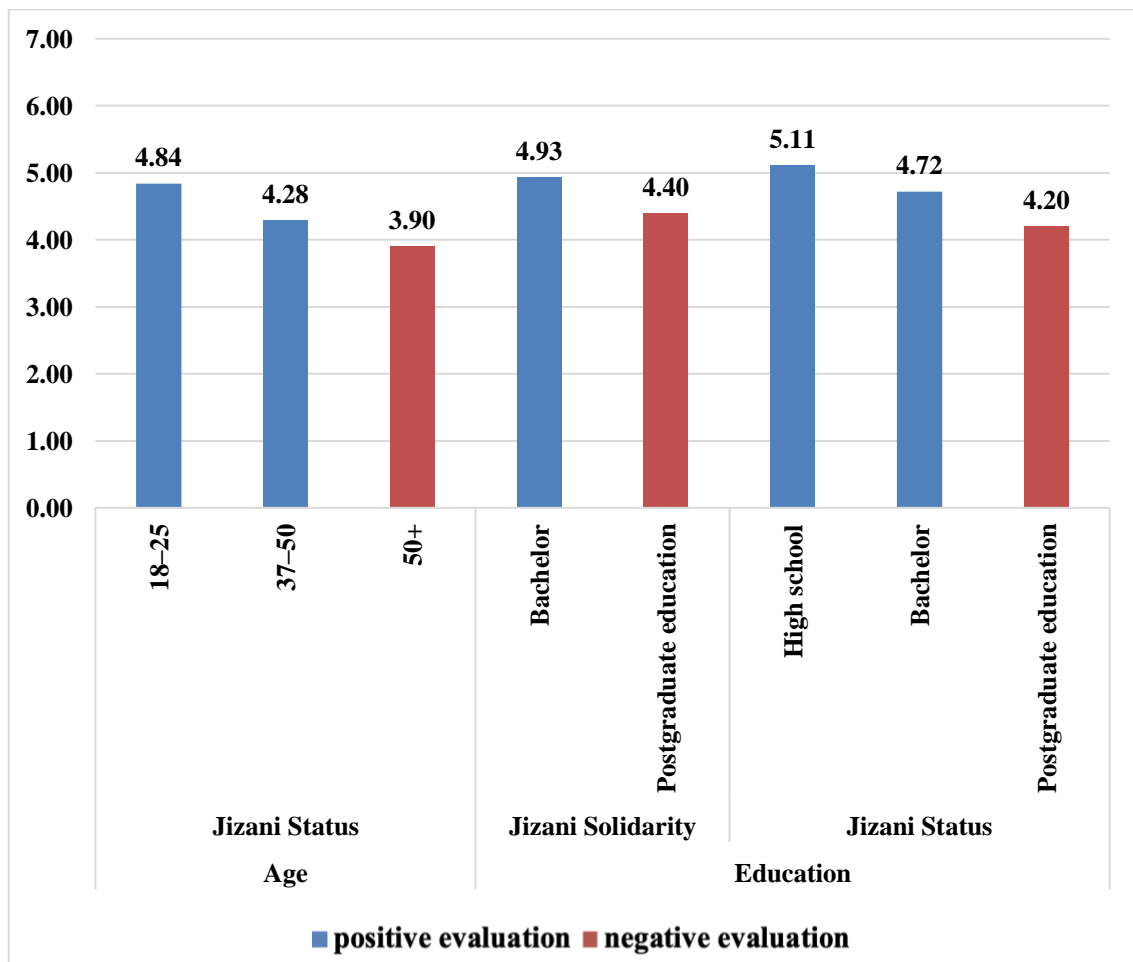
Figure 19. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons of means for Jizani Arabic across the Age and Education groups.

The same evaluation patterns of the age groups of the respondents reoccurred. That is, the younger respondents (18–25 in this case) were more positive towards Jizani Arabic than the older respondents both from the 37–50 band (p = .037) and the 50+ band (p = .041). This positive attitude was expressed towards Jizani Arabic for Status only whereas – though the F-test was statistically significant – no differences were found for Solidarity. In terms of Education, for both Jizani's Solidarity (p = .001) and Status (p = .001), the Bachelor group was more positive than the Postgraduates. In the same fashion, respondents with only a high school education evaluated Jizani Arabic on Status more positively than Postgraduates (p = .021). The findings of the association between education and the attitudes could also support the age-based conclusion that the younger respondents were more positive than older ones when evaluating SAVs.

As for the pairwise comparisons based on Geographic Origin, the post-hoc comparative results are illustrated in Figure 20.
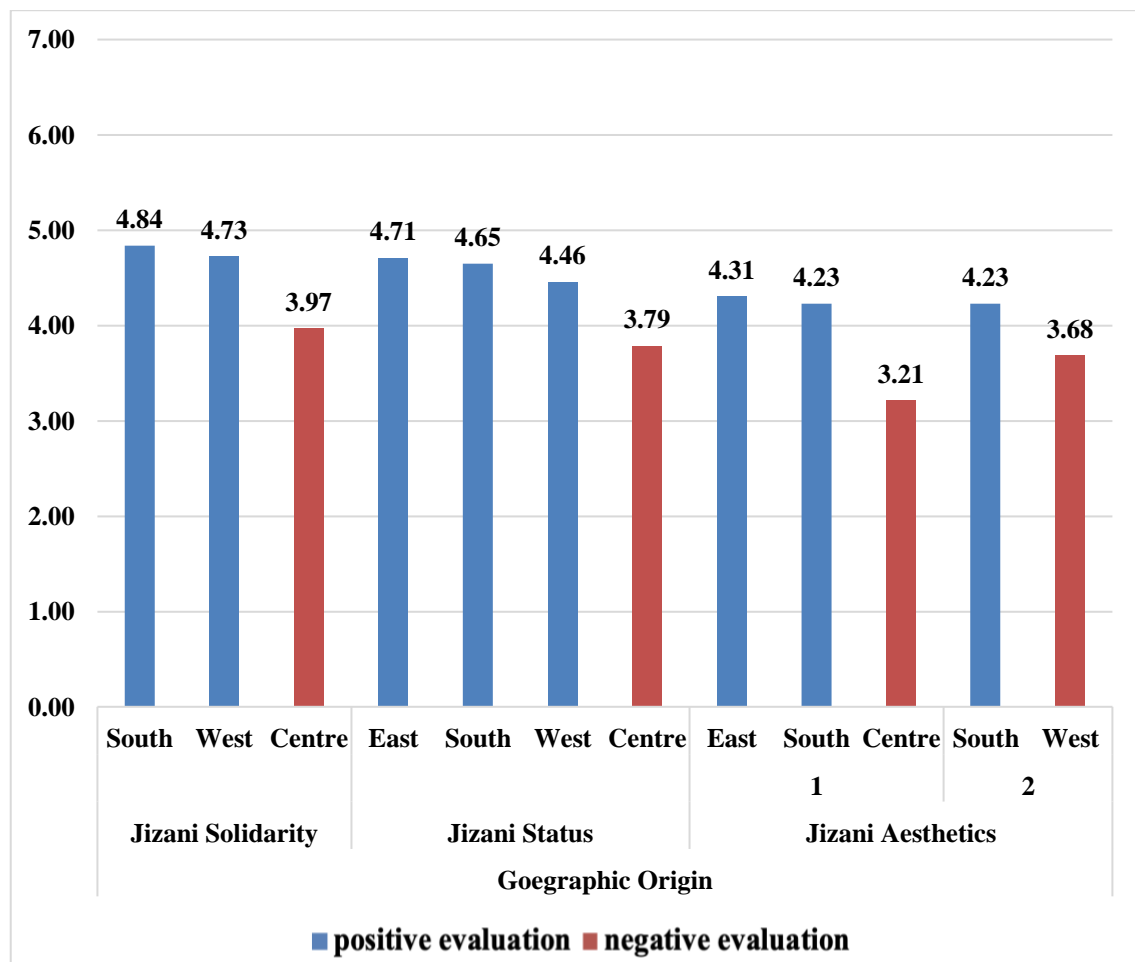
Figure 20. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons of means for Jizani Arabic across the Geographic Origin groups.

The Geographic Origin variable is distinguished from the rest of the social variables of respondents in that the means of the groups statistically significantly differed across the three evaluative dimensions for Jizani Arabic. Moreover, there are multiple pairs (minimum of two) within each dimension for Jizani Arabic (see Figure 20). The most notable result in this variable is the consistent negative evaluation of Jizani Arabic by respondents from Central Saudi Arabia. More specifically, respondents from Central Saudi Arabia were significantly more negative towards Jizani Arabic on Solidarity than respondents from the West ($p = .005$) and the South ($p < .000$). On Status, they also expressed negative attitudes more than respondents from the West ($p = .012$), East ($p = .043$) and South ($p < .000$). Regarding Aesthetics, the same evaluation pattern was noted with even lower mean scores. The Centre group's evaluation was more negative than respondents from the East ($p = .017$) and the South ($p < .000$). Other negative attitudes towards Jizani Arabic were also expressed by respondents from the West more than the South ($p = .029$). It can therefore be seen that the Southern respondents evaluated Jizani Arabic positively on all dimensions. These findings reveal a different type of attitudes towards Jizani Arabic as opposed to the positive attitudes denoted by the descriptive statistics reported in section 4.3. Such positive attitudes towards Jizani Arabic should not be considered conclusive, and that these positive attitudes stem from the fact that the positive evaluators may be speakers or – in many cases – regular hearers of the variety.

Another noteworthy finding about Jizani Arabic is the association between the respondents' residence region within Saudi Arabia (i.e. National Residence) and their attitudes. These findings indicate that Jizani Arabic was the only variety being evaluated with an association with the social variable National Residence. As presented in Figure 21, the results of the post-hoc pairwise comparisons support the findings of the association between the respondents' Geographic origin and their attitudes (previously presented) as quite similar evaluation patterns can be observed.
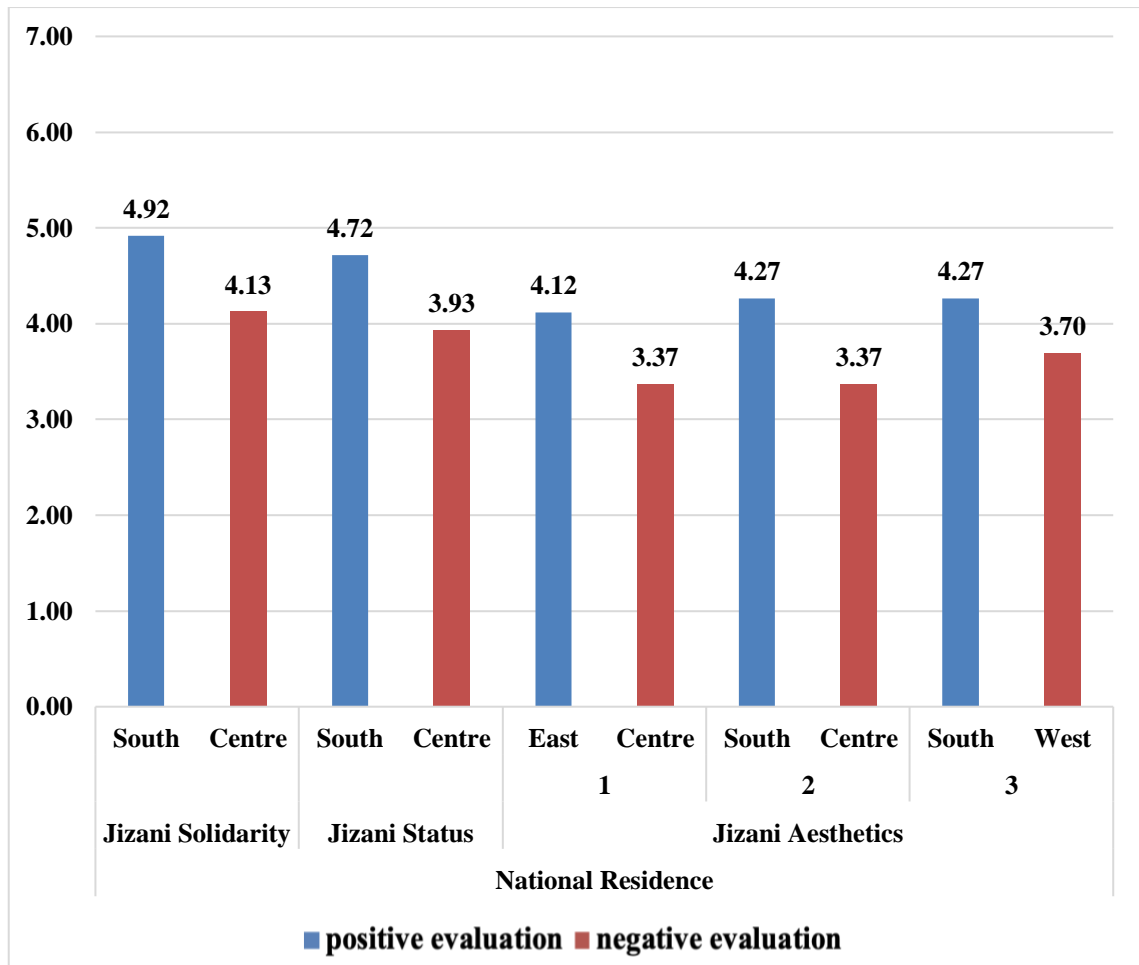
Figure 21. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons of means for Jizani Arabic across the National Residence groups.

For example, respondents who have resided in Central Saudi Arabia repeatedly evaluated Jizani Arabic lower compared to the South group on Solidarity ($p = .002$), Status ($p = .001$) and Aesthetics ($p < .000$). The Centre group also evaluated the variety on Status more negatively than the East group ($p = .037$). Finally, and similar to the findings of the Geographic Origin variable, residents in the West evaluated Jizani Arabic on Aesthetics more negatively than residents in the South ($p = .029$). Naturally, because of the sample distribution (see Figure 9), there could be an overlap between the findings of the associations of both National Residence and Geographic Origin with the expressed attitudes. Nevertheless, the statistical significance was noted in the findings related to Jizani Arabic *only*. In this case, the conclusions of the association between National Residence and attitudes will be legitimate as they were found in relation to one variety only, which further indicates that they are separate from the findings related to Geographic Origin.

4.5 Concluding remarks about the VGT findings

After presenting the findings of the VGT, some final remarks should be made. First, some findings tended to explain, support or confirm other findings within the present study. For instance, it was found that Postgraduate degree holders held more negative attitudes than the less well-educated groups. This finding can be confirmed by the findings of both of the Age and Aboard Residence variables being in association with the attitudes in which the older respondents and the respondents who *have* been aboard held more negative attitudes than their counterparts. This is because Saudis very often pursue higher education abroad and at an older age. As such, it can be concluded that the negative attitudes towards the SAVs under investigation may be more specifically associated with age and studying abroad.

The second remark about the VGT findings was the dominance of the association between *place*, as opposed to *time*, and the respondents' attitudes towards the SAVs. Both of the variables Geographic Origin and National Residence pointed to an environmental factor influencing the expressed language attitudes. In other words, whether the respondents come from or have resided in a particular region within Saudi Arabia seemed to be in relationship with the attitudes expressed towards SAVs. While being from or in a geographic region (*place*) indicated an association between demographics and attitudes, the length of residing in a geographic region (*time*) did not appear to be as relevant in terms of attitudes formulation. Therefore, it can be argued that once the study's respondents have formed an attitude, that attitude is more likely to remain static. This can also point to the potential strength of Saudis' attitudes and views concerning language. In sum, *place* in this study is considered more salient than *time* when LAs are examined.

Finally, and again related to *place*, the VGT findings in this study have revealed some regional biases. This was specifically manifested in the positive evaluations of some varieties by either their speakers or frequent hearers. As an example, Jizani Arabic was continuously positively evaluated by respondents from or in the South. This may represent a sense of loyalty to the variety despite its perceived stigma. Moreover, a negative bias was noted in the continuous negative evaluations of the varieties by respondents from the Centre of Saud Arabia. It is indeed very striking that whenever a pairwise groups comparison was made based on the geographic variables (i.e. Geographic Origin or National Residence), the evaluations expressed by respondents

from or in Central Saudi Arabia were consistently lower than those from or in the other Saudi regions.

4.6 Findings of the similarity task

In this part of the findings, I report the respondents' perceived similarity between their own variety and the varieties spoken by the speakers in the VGT. This task is based on the folk-linguistic task known as the *degree-of-difference* task (discussed in section 2.9.2.1) wherein a comparison is made in the light of the extent of similarity or difference between the respondents' varieties and the investigated varieties.

Table 10 shows the findings of the similarity task in which the mean scores represent the respondents' degree of convergence or divergence from the varieties.

Table 10. Similarity to own variety (N = 411; 1 = low; 7 = high; SD = standard deviation).

Variety	Similarity to own variety	
	Mean	**SD**
Qassimi	2.38	1.866
Hasawi	2.21	1.653
Jizani	3.15	2.425

On the whole, there is a tendency of low scores in the task with the standard deviations indicating higher variability of the responses. Hasawi Arabic was the variety with the most marked difference (2.21), followed by Qassimi Arabic (2.38) and Jizani Arabic (3.15). These findings suggest a general divergence from the studied SAVs by the respondents in this study. The scores of Jizani Arabic also support the divergence assumption as, although it has the highest mean score among the three varieties, the responses within it varied greatly (*SD* = 2.425). Of course, the distribution of the sample is another reason for these findings as these varieties are all regional varieties, and thus, some proportions of the respondents were not expected to speak in these varieties. Nevertheless, it can be observed that there is a pattern of difference rather than similarity in these findings.

Similar to the VGT, t-tests were performed to examine associations between the social variables of respondents and the scores in the similarity task. Table 11 presents the results of the t-test with respect to the similarity task for each variety.

Table 11. Results of t-tests for the similarity task by the social variable of respondents (N = 411).

Variety	Social variable of respondent	
	Sex	Abroad Residence
Similarity to Qassimi	-	-
Similarity to Hasawi	$t(409) = 2.19$ **$p = .029$**, $d = 0.21$	-
Similarity to Jizani	$t(409) = 5.95$ **$p < .000$**, $d = 0.58$	$t(409) = 4.22$ **$p < .000$**, $d = 0.41$

Notes. Bold = significant at either 0.05 or .001 level.

Sex and Abroad Residence are the social variables tested by the t-test. The statistically significant variables were Sex within Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic as well as Aboard Residence within Jizani Arabic. Therefore, the pairwise mean comparisons of these variables are presented in Figure 22.
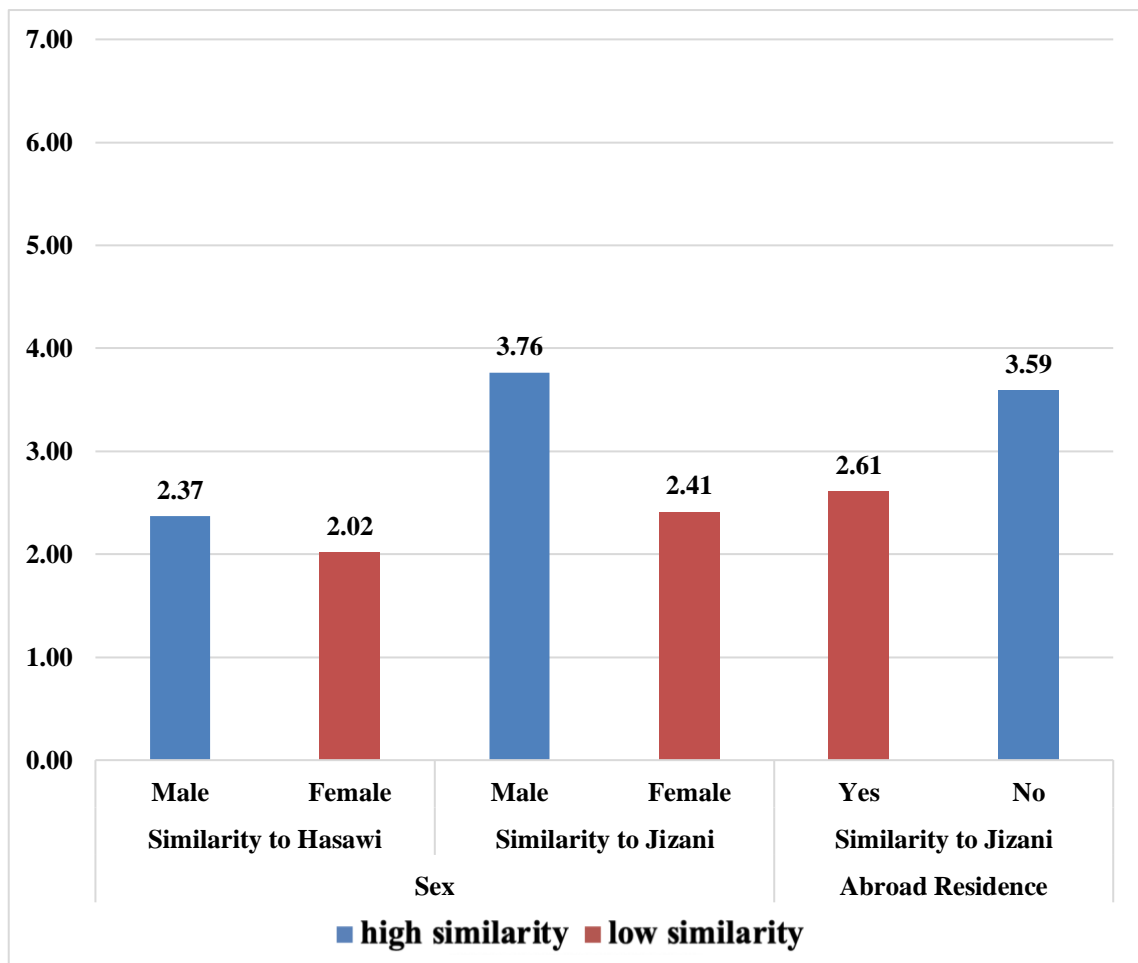
Figure 22. Similarity task's pairwise comparisons of the means of statistically significant Sex and Abroad Residence groups.

The findings of both Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic show very low scores for females (2.02, 2.41) compared to males (2.37, 3.76), which may be explained by the fact that the voices were all of males. Hence, since the varieties in this context are all regional, non-standard and colloquial varieties of Arabic, it may be possible to conclude that the Saudi women in this study feel less attached to such speech forms. This may be in line with the literature (e.g. Trudgill 1972) in which women have been found to have a stronger tendency than men to avoid non-standard language use as opposed to men's tendency to embrace the non-standard (see further discussion in section 6.3.4). Another expected finding was the low similarity score for Jizani Arabic from the respondents who have been aboard (2.61) compared to those who have not (3.59). This finding is likely to be the result of familiarity with and extensive exposure to Jizani Arabic.

4.7 F-tests for the similarity task

To closely examine the similarity task and the differences within it, several F-tests were performed on the task's scores for each variety while implementing the social variables of respondents as factor variables. Table 12 presents the F-test results for all the varieties and social variables of respondents.

Table 12. Results of F-tests for the similarity task by the social variable of respondents (N = 411).

Variety	Social variable of respondent	
	Geographic Origin	National Residence
Similarity to Qassimi	$F(4, 61) = 8.17$ $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .097$	$F(4, 91) = 6.35$ $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .065$
Similarity to Hasawi	$F(4, 63) = 7.56$ $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .095$	$F(4, 95) = 6.74$ $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .071$
Similarity to Jizani	$F(4, 71) = 68.94$ $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .394$	$F(4, 110) = 61.38$ $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .380$

Notes. Bold = significant at .001 level.

Geographic Origin and National Residence were the two most prominent social variables of respondents signifying their clear association with the similarity scores for all the varieties. It should be noted that all the results of these F-tests are highly statistically significant (i.e. $p < .000$) and have medium to large effect sizes. I will subsequently report the pairwise comparisons of the statistically significant groups for all the varieties by each social variable in the following.

The study's findings showed that the respondents *coming from* or *residing in* the areas wherein a variety is spoken consistently indicated higher scores of similarity to

that variety. This was evident after performing the post-hoc tests for the groups in the variables Geographic Origin and National Residence. In terms of Geographic Origin, Figure 23 shows the groups' scores of similarity to each variety after performing the Games-Howell post-hoc test.
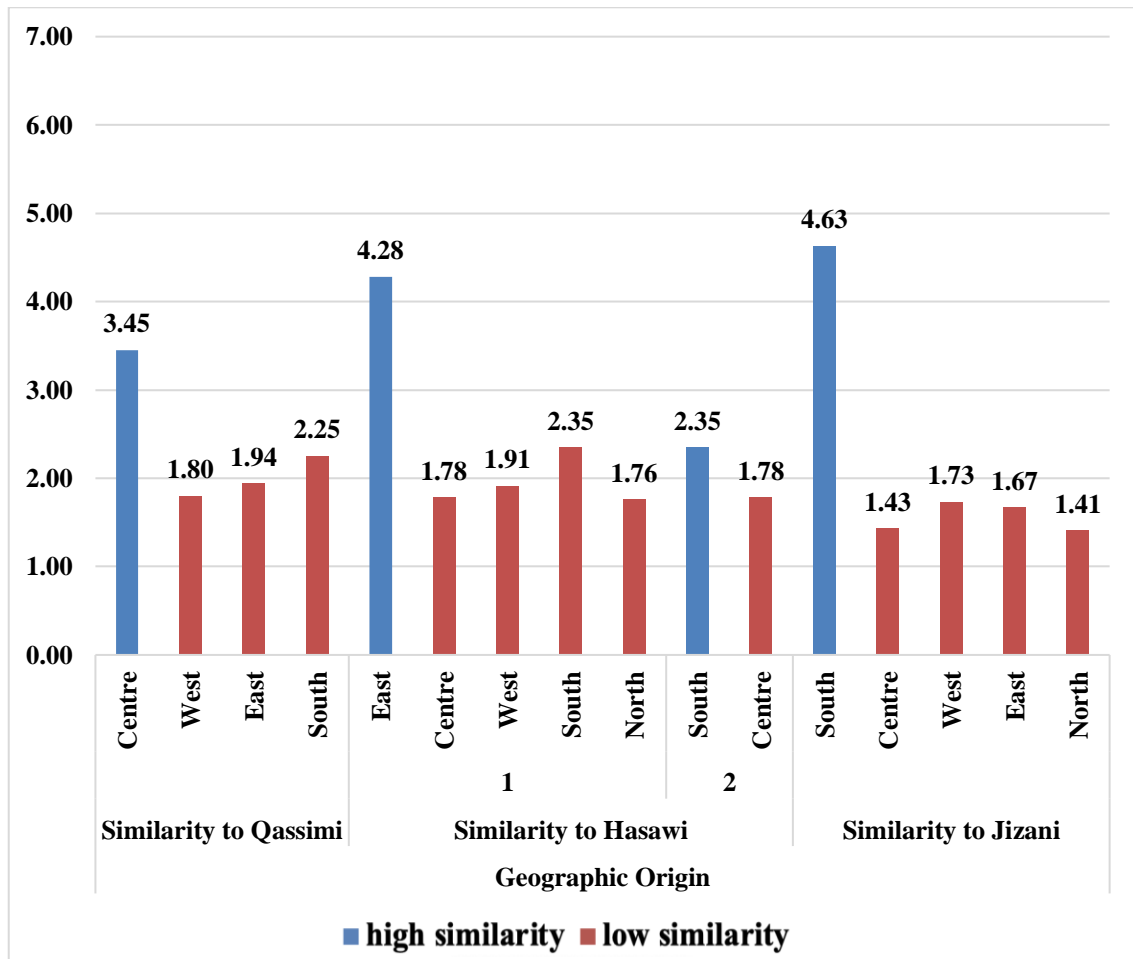
Figure 23. Similarity task's pairwise comparisons of the means of statistically significant Geographic Origin groups.

It is clear that there is a consistent pattern of *true* similarity scores in which the groups who are from the regions of the varieties were consistently indicating more similarity than the other groups. For instance, respondents from Eastern Saudi Arabia reported a much higher similarity score (4.28) to Hasawi Arabic than respondents from the Centre ($p = .001$), West ($p = .002$), South ($p = .012$) and North ($p = .002$). Similarly, respondents from Southern Saudi Arabia statistically significantly differed with a similarity score of 4.63 to Jizani Arabic, exceeding respondents from the Centre ($p < .000$), West ($p < .000$), East ($p < .000$) and North ($p < .000$). For Qassimi Arabic, though the respondents from the Centre of Saudi Arabia scored 3.45, it is still

statistically and numerically higher than respondents from the West ($p < .000$), East ($p = .026$) and South ($p = .001$).

As mentioned, the similarity scores were also associated with the National Residence variable. This association pattern was quite similar to the association patterns related to the Geographic Origin variable. That is, the respondents who have *resided in* the region wherein the variety is spoken were expressing higher similarity scores than the groups in the other regions (see Figure 24).
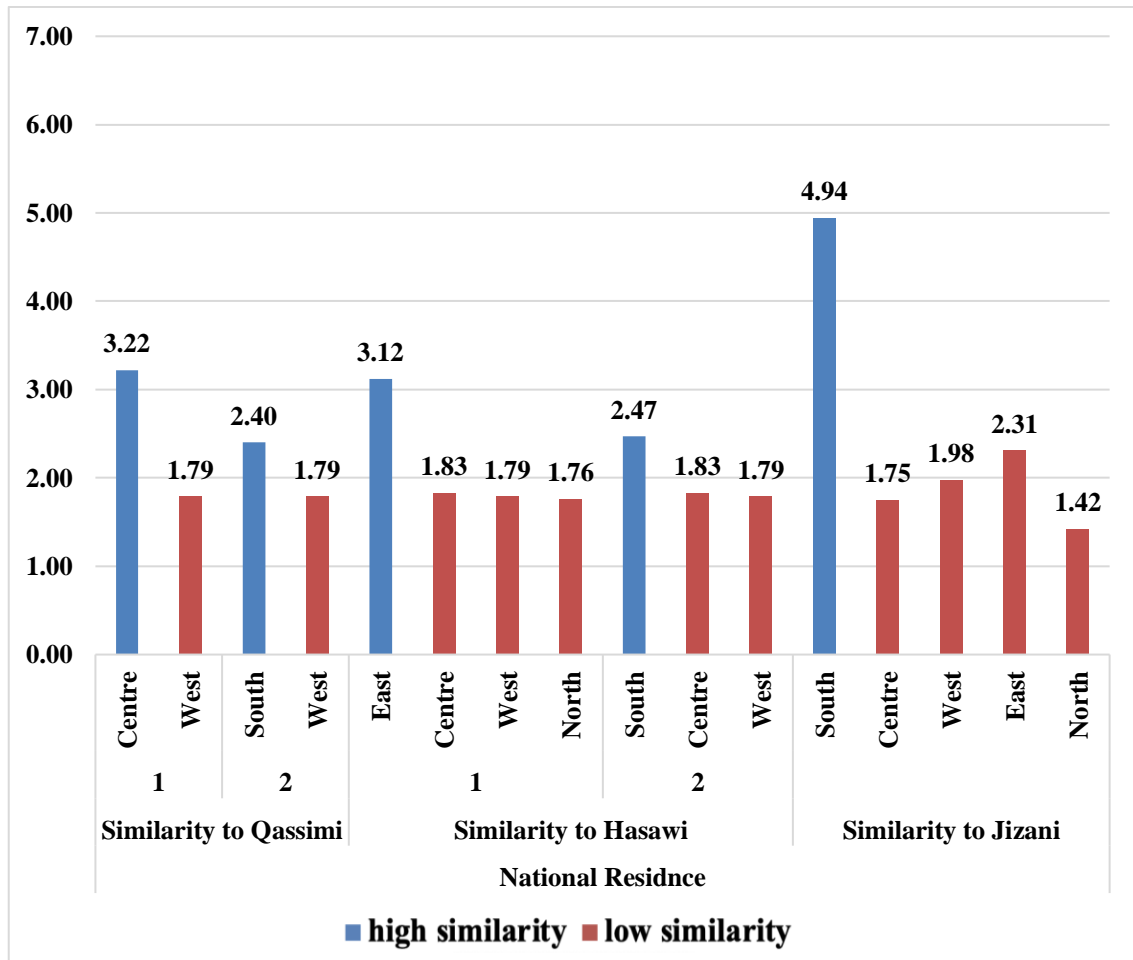
Figure 24. Similarity task's pairwise comparisons of the means of statistically significant National Residence groups.

The most evident example is South respondents' score of similarity to Jizani Arabic (4.94) which – based on the Games-Howell post-hoc test – statistically differed from the respondents in the Centre ($p < .000$), West ($p < .000$), East ($p < .000$) and North ($p < .000$). Again, though scoring low similarity score (3.12), respondents residing in the East exceeded respondents residing in the Centre ($p = .005$), West ($p = .003$) and North ($p = .020$) for the similarity to Hasawi Arabic. In the same vein, the Centre respondents'

– low – similarity score to Qassimi Arabic (3.22) statistically differed but only against residents in the West ($p < .000$).

It can be seen that the rates of the similarity/difference scores varied across the three varieties. This variation is likely to be influenced by the present study's sample and dataset. Through Figure 24, it is observed that the similarity score reported by the South respondents to Jizani Arabic (4.94) is relatively higher compared to the rest of the similarity scores. A possible explanation for this is the relatively high distribution of the respondents from Southern Saudi Arabia within the study's sample (see Figure 9). In the case of Qassimi Arabic, though the respondents from Central Saudi Arabia reported a high similarity score (3.22), it is still relatively low. This may be due to the categorisation of the Centre category as a broad geographical boundary which includes several regions and areas other than Al-Qassim. As such, in the present study's dataset, a *Centre* respondent is frequently a *Riyadh* respondent. The same idea applies to Hasawi Arabic which is mainly spoken in a particular city within the Eastern Province (i.e. Al-Ahsa, see section 2.6). To sum up, the reported similarity scores are in connection to the distribution and characteristics of the study's respondents.

Overall, the findings of the similarity task pointed to a major implication. This implication may be defined as the *authenticity of speech* of the speakers' audio stimuli employed in the present study. This implication, consequently, legitimises the use of these audio stimuli to examine SAVs, especially from an attitudinal perspective. Moreover, it validates, supports and confirms both findings of the variety identification task (see section 4.2) and the VGT. Although the audio stimuli of the varieties under investigation represented highly colloquial forms of speech, they were still familiar to the study's respondents. This implication might also denote the respondents' awareness of these highly regional SAVs.

4.8 Perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia

After presenting a set of indirect-oriented VGT findings, the chapter will now address the direct-oriented findings. One aspect of this study was to investigate attitudes via the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. This aimed to allow for LAs direct techniques to be employed in the investigation. Table 13 shows four questions about the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia and their respective mean and standard deviation scores.

Table 13. Perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia (N = 411).

	Mean	SD
1. How important is it to have people speaking in different dialects of Arabic in Saudi Arabia?[a]	5.01	2.146
2. How often do you speak in your own dialect of Arabic?[b]	5.06	1.830
3. In your opinion, how likely will people be treated differently because of their regional dialect in Saudi Arabia?[c]	4.72	2.056
4. Is having different Saudi dialects of Arabic in Saudi Arabia problematic?[c]	5.27	2.035

Notes. [a] 1 = not important; 7 = important.
[b] 1 = never; 7 = all the time.
[c] 1 = unlikely; 7 = likely.
[d] 1 = absolutely; 7 = not at all.

A clear pattern of positive answers is noticeable. Nevertheless, there is more variability of answers manifested in the high scores of standard deviations, thus pointing to mixed perceptions. The respondents considered the presence of language variation in Saudi Arabia to be important (5.01), which corresponds with the moderate perception of language variation to be unproblematic (5.27). Moreover, it was indicated that there is a higher frequency of own variety use (5.06), which points to dialect/accent loyalty and pride regarding SAVs. These findings are also in line with the positive attitudes expressed towards the SAVs in the VGT.

The third question of the perceptions questions, however, stood out in its scores. The respondents admitted that there is a potential for linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia by indicating a higher likelihood of different treatment based on language (4.72) (the term linguistic discrimination was avoided in the questionnaire as it may make the question loaded or leading). Thus, it can be concluded that the respondents had a variety of perceptions about the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia, and hence, no clear pattern within such perceptions was identified. As such, although the answers initially reveal a sense of positivity, it seems that this positivity is not clearly agreed upon. This will also be manifested in the inferential findings which revealed statistically significant mean differences between some groups of respondents based on their social characteristics.

The variation in perceptions and attitudes could indicate a differentiation between the individual and societal levels when it comes to valuing linguistic diversity. Attitudes can be indicative of the sociolinguistic situation in a given context, but they vary at many levels and are seldom conclusive. To this end, the exact determination and measurement of attitudes with absolute certainty have been argued to be impossible, which is a common limitation found in attitude research (see Oppenheim 1992, p.289).

This difficulty surrounding attitudes is also likely to increase when attitudes are self-reported by respondents themselves. For this reason, the present study has approached language attitudes from different angles in terms of methodology and elicitation techniques (e.g. keywords task, VGT and direct questioning, to name a few).

The inferential findings of the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia were noted after performing F-tests factoring the social variables of respondents. As manifested in Table 14, the social variables of respondents that have indicated an association with the perceptions were Age and Spoken Languages (i.e. Monolinguals, Bilinguals and Multilinguals).

Table 14. Results of F-tests for the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia by the social variable of respondents (N = 411).

Perceptional Construct	Social variable of respondent	
	Age	Spoken Languages
Importance of Language Variation	$F(3, 102) = 2.87$ **$p = .040$**, $\eta_p^2 = .026$	$F(2, 72) = 5.35$ **$p = .007$**, $\eta_p^2 = .022$
Regional Variety Use	$F(3, 103) = 5.76$ **$p = .001$**, $\eta_p^2 = .048$	-
Different Treatment Based on Variety	-	$F(2, 69) = 5.61$ **$p = .006$**, $\eta_p^2 = .028$
Problem of Language Variation	$F(3, 104) = 4.63$ **$p = .004$**, $\eta_p^2 = .039$	$F(2, 67) = 3.31$ **$p = .042$**, $\eta_p^2 = .018$

Notes. Bold = significant at either 0.05, 0.01 or .001 level.

There were statistically significant associations between both Age and Spoken Languages and the perceptional constructs except for the association between Age and the construct Different Treatment Based on Variety and the association between Spoken Languages and the construct Regional Variety Use (see above). Therefore, post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Games-Howell test were performed. The findings of the pairwise comparisons are presented in Figure 25.
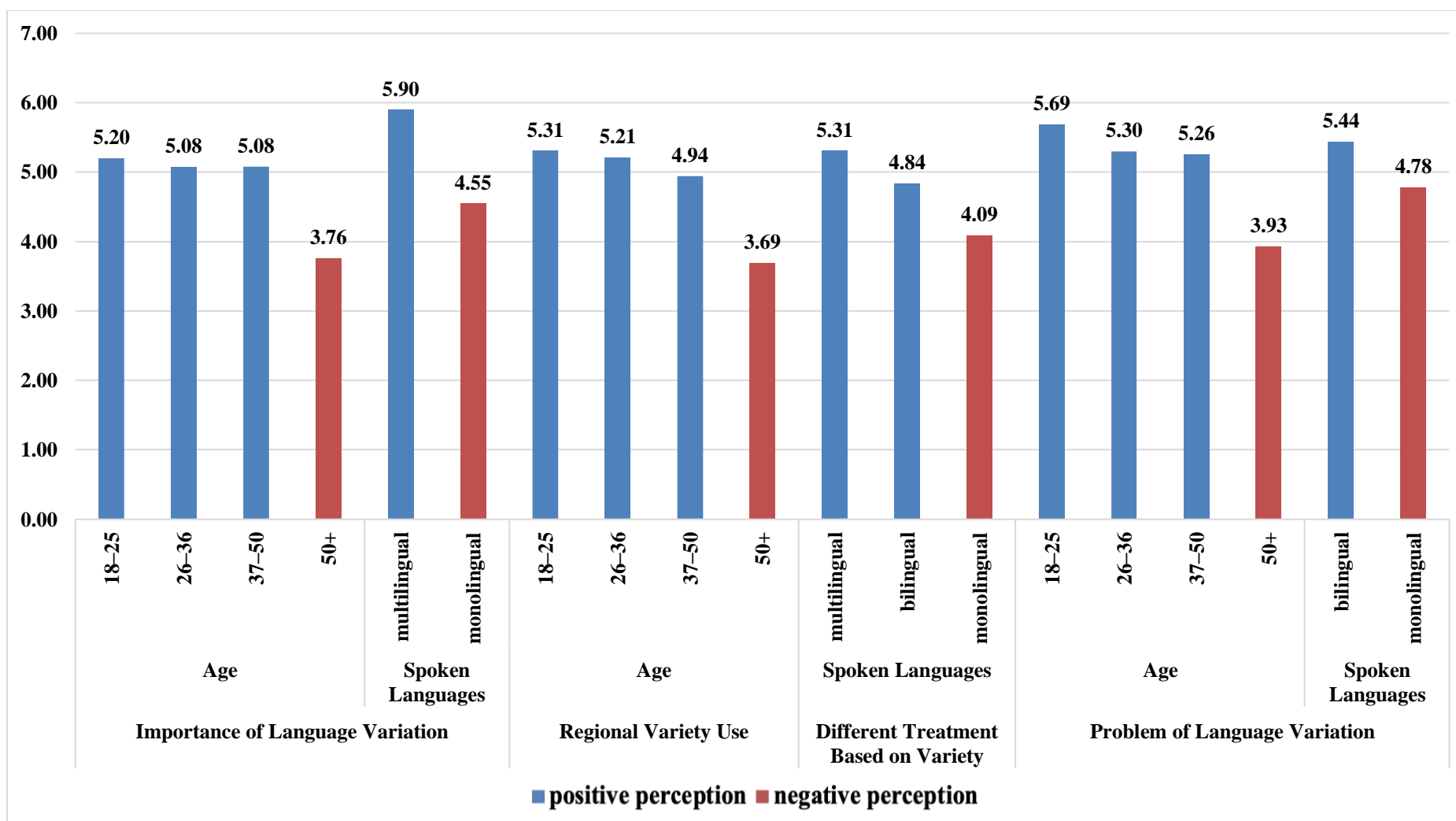
Figure 25. Pairwise comparisons of the means of statistically significant Age and Spoken Languages groups across the findings of the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia.

From Figure 25, a clear pattern of the association between Age and the scores is noticed in which the older respondents report negative responses. For example, respondents aged 50+ scored a low score (3.76) for the Importance of Language Variation as opposed to respondents who are aged 18–25 ($p = .036$) and 26–36 ($p = .038$). The respondents aged 50+ also reported a score which indicates language variation to be problematic (3.69) compared to respondents who are aged 18–25 ($p = .003$), 26–36 ($p = .019$) and 37–50 ($p = .034$). These findings also reveal a unidirectional regression pattern of the evaluation scores where each age group has a lower score than the preceding one (see Figure 25).

Another finding of the statistically significant associations related to Age lies in the responses to Regional Variety Use. The 50+ band reported a lower frequency use of their regional variety (3.69) when compared to 18–25 ($p = .002$), 26–36 ($p = .002$) and 37–50 ($p = .020$). This finding is rather strange and may be explained by an effect of the variable Geographic Origin as a confounding variable because a larger proportion of respondents in the 50+ group were from the South. Bearing this large proportion, Southerners also have a tendency to modify their regional speech or, at least, avoid admitting that they speak a localised regional variety. This type of reasoning could potentially explain the reported low frequency of regional variety use by respondents who are aged 50+ compared to other age groups. This is assumed since, unlike the reported scores, older individuals would normally speak in their regional variety more frequently than younger ones. On the whole, although the Welch analytical procedure was used (see section 3.12.2) and some potential explanations were put forward, the conclusion about the association between Age and Regional Variety Use remains obscure.

The other social variable of respondents that indicated associations with the respondents' perceptions was Spoken Languages (see Figure 25). For the construct Importance of Language Variation, Multilinguals' importance score was considerably high (5.90) against Monolinguals ($p = .005$). Similarly, Multilinguals expressed a higher tendency of different treatment because of the variety used in Saudi Arabia (5.31) against Monolinguals ($p = .023$). These two findings seem logical as multilingualism adheres to language variation, and multilingual speakers are exposed to different treatment – either positively or negatively – in different situations, arguably, more than monolinguals. It is also noted that Monolinguals indicated a lower score for Different Treatment Based on Variety (4.09) than Bilinguals ($p = .010$). For the

perceptions regarding the Problem of Language Variation, Bilinguals expressed a higher score (i.e. unproblematic) compared to Monolinguals who, though they were moderate, expressed a lower score ($p = .039$). These findings could mean that being a speaker of more than one language might entail different linguistic experiences and attitudes. In sum, Monolinguals tended to lean towards negativity in their perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation more than Bilinguals and Multilinguals.

In the final part of the questions of the sociolinguistic situation, there was an open-ended question that asked the respondents about their most liked and disliked SAVs (the word *dislike* was deliberately chosen over *not like* or *least like* to retrieve relatively straightforward answers from the respondents). This is clearly a direct, evaluative LAs question, hence operates within the direct approach tradition to LAs. The calculations of the likes and dislikes were from open-ended responses wherein the respondents typed their answers in the questionnaire items. The findings of both liked and disliked SAVs are shown in Figure 26 in which the scores represent the token count for each variety.
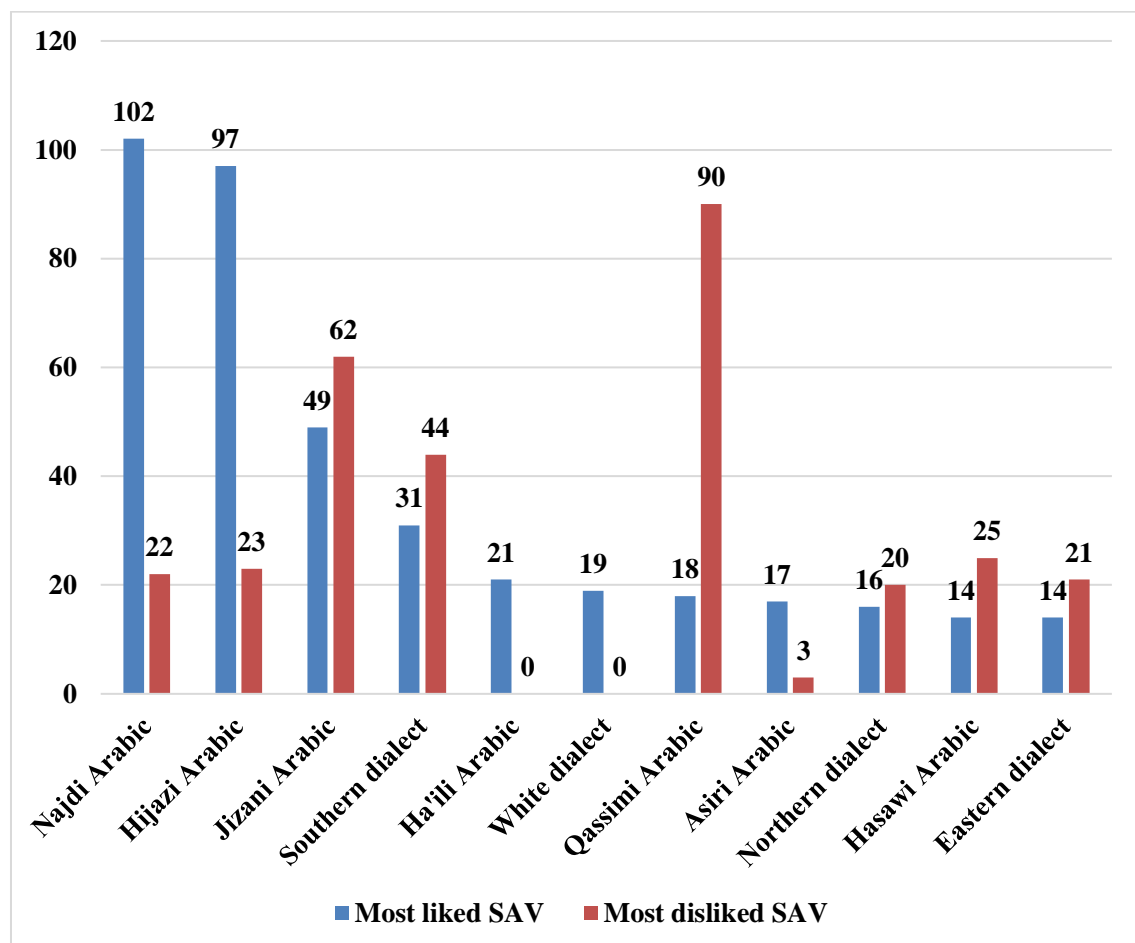
Figure 26. Token counts of respondents' most liked and disliked SAVs.

Expectedly, the respondents' most liked SAVs were Najdi Arabic (102) and Hijazi Arabic (97). This also corresponded with the low counts each variety received as most disliked (22, 23 respectively). As highlighted in section 2.5, these two varieties carry most of the linguistic prestige in Saudi Arabia.

An unusual finding was the preference of Jizani Arabic (49), which may be due to the biased answers provided by its speakers. This bias can be explained by two factors: 1) the fact that a good number of respondents are from the South and 2) the fact that the count score for disliking the variety is high (62) that it became the second most disliked SAV by the respondents. Furthermore, some respondents have used the term Southern dialect in their answers which varied between liking the variety (31) but disliking it more (44). Admittedly, *the Southern dialect* is a rather vague term that I later problematise (see section 6.3.3) as it does not render any specification of which variety it refers to. Nonetheless, the Southern dialect scores still show some attitudinal orientations towards the Saudi Southern varieties.

As for the most disliked SAVs, Qassimi Arabic was vehemently disliked by the respondents (90). This finding is rather striking and reveals a negative perception of the variety, especially so given that it coincided with the negative attitudinal evaluations of Qassimi Arabic in the VGT (see sections 4.3 and 4.4.2.1). As mentioned earlier, Jizani Arabic holds second place for being the most disliked SAV which, importantly, reflects a sort of stigma associated with this variety. Interestingly, Hasawi Arabic came in third place as the most disliked SAV (25). It can also be assumed that the disliking scores of the Eastern dialect – again used by the respondents – are directed towards Hasawi Arabic as it is spoken in the East and is commonly associated with it. On the whole, these findings point to an evaluation hierarchy that closely overlaps with the findings of the VGT. Overall, these findings reflect one of the rationales for the present study as uncovering the (negative) perceptions of language varieties is at the heart of LAs research.

4.9 Non-statistically significant social variables of respondents

A major feature of the findings of the present study is related to the differences between groups and the association between the social characteristics (e.g. sex, age, etc.) and the responses. Such social characteristics were determined as the social variables of the respondents and were previously shown in Figure 8 and Figure 9. Almost all of the social variables of respondents have been found to show statistically significant

associations with the responses. Nevertheless, there were some social variables that either had a slight association or have not shown an association with the responses whatsoever. One such variable is Field of Study which refers to the discipline of the respondents' education (e.g. Natural Sciences). Unlike the Education variable itself, this variable did not have a role while responding to the questionnaire. In other words, it seems that the level rather than the disciplinary character of education represented the salient role of education on the LAs of the Saudi respondents in this study.

As for the provenance demographic variables of respondents (see Figure 9), the length (time) of residence variables (i.e. Length of National Residence and Length of Abroad Residence) stand out. While the geographic variables of place (i.e. Geographic Origin, National Residence and Abroad Residence) have repeatedly indicated an association with the responses, the time spent in a particular geographic area has not. As mentioned earlier, this may suggest a fixation of the attitudes expressed by the respondents in this study. In other words, it seemed that the expressed attitudes were sometimes formulated instantly rather than being attitudes that developed over time.

4.10 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, the study's quantitative findings have been reported. Following up on the findings of Phase 1, the findings of the VGT and the main questionnaire have been presented. The findings demonstrated variable evaluation tendencies towards the SAVs under investigation. Specifically, both positive and negative attitudinal dispositions were noted, showing an array of responses and attitudes. On the whole, the descriptive scores of the evaluations suggest a positive tendency of attitudes towards the varieties under investigation. However, Qassimi Arabic and Jizani Arabic attracted more negative attitudes compared to Hasawi Arabic which attracted moderate attitudes. The overarching, key finding of attitudes, nevertheless, is the statistically significant and consistent associations between some of the social variables of the respondents (e.g. Age, Education and Geographic Origin) and the expressed attitudes towards the varieties under investigation. This finding provides some evidence for the direct relevance of the social characteristics of the respondents with the expressed attitudes (also see detailed summarisation of findings in section 7.2). Further, a set of perceptual principles regarding the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia was examined and reported in light of the expressed attitudes. Building on these quantitative findings, the follow-up qualitative findings will delve further into the nuanced perceptions and

experiences of Saudis regarding language and its variation in Saudi Arabia. Such findings represent the qualitative paradigm of the present study, which will be reported on in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Qualitative Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the findings of Phase 3 of the present study. Phase 3 was conducted with two primary objectives: obtaining 1) reflective follow-up data to the attitudinal findings in the VGT and 2) additional independent data. The chapter has been divided into three major parts which contain a mixture of both follow-up and additional data. With that in mind, the first part will involve reporting of qualitative findings on perceptions related to language variation in Saudi Arabia (section 5.2) which are conceptualised as directly-elicited language attitudes. This part will be a continuation of the elicitation of attitudes and perceptions regarding SAVs. Contrary to Phase 2, which is mainly under the indirect approach to LAs, the interviewed respondents were directly asked about their opinions to extract further details about their attitudes and perceptions (see section 2.9.1 for an overview of the different approaches to LAs). The second part of the chapter will explore the ways in which the respondents' attitudes were formulated. This will be attained by reporting on the respondents' factors and reasons underlying their evaluations in the VGT (section 5.3). In doing so, the respondents' evaluations of the speakers in the VGT are revisited, thus following up on the quantitative attitudinal findings specific to the VGT. In the final part of the chapter, the phenomena of linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia are explored (section 5.4). Such discriminatory issues will be explored through the experiences and lenses of the interview respondents.

5.2 Perceptions of language variation in Saudi Arabia

This section is complementary to the quantitative findings previously reported in section 4.8. Nevertheless, the perceptions reported here can also be considered as independent qualitative findings. This represents the mixed methodology design (see section 3.2) in which the study's aims are approached, investigated and addressed in several ways. Based on the analysis strategy detailed in section 3.12.3, the thematic analysis of the interviews revealed different themes that emerged inductively from the dataset after conducting a thematic coding procedure. To this end, in the following, I report the interview findings related to the respondents' views on language variation in Saudi Arabia.

One of the main interview objectives was to ask the respondents about their views on language variation in Saudi Arabia directly. As shown in Figure 27, the respondents' views about language variation in Saudi Arabia fell into eight emergent themes.
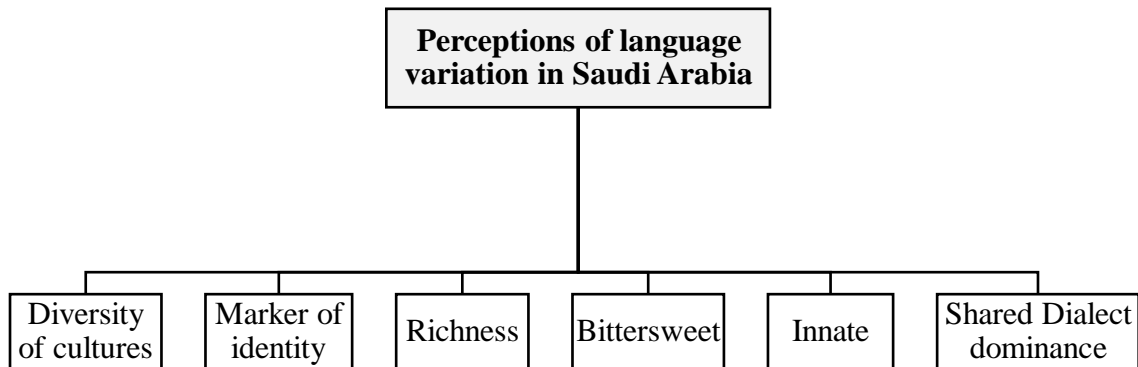
Figure 27. Themes of perceptions of language variation in Saudi Arabia.

The first of those is *Diversity of cultures*, which reflects the diversity of the SAVs themselves. The main reason for the comments under this theme is the respondents' perceived connection between Saudi varieties and cultural heritage. The following are extracts from the expressed views:

> Variation is considered as society's culture. Every region is proud of its culture, and that includes the dialect. Cultural matters are now celebrated in the kingdom and have become a symbol for each region. One of the cultural matters is now the dialect, which represents the region's culture (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

> I think it's very important that every region preserves its dialects and accents. It makes the person feel as if he has moved from one place to another, from one culture to another (Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South).

> It's good from the perspective of the diversity of cultures. You feel this country is rich. The more diverse cultures are, the more knowledge increases (Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West).

> A dialect reflects society's culture. If we remove dialects, we remove half of society's culture (Respondent 13/F/40/PG/Centre).

> It proves that there's a cultural, civilisational and historical variation for the region's residents (Respondent 16/F/26/UG/West).

The above responses clearly indicate a 'linguistic culture' where language and culture have a strong bond (Schiffman 1996, p.11). The respondents seemed to have a holistic view of SAVs that ties the Saudi dialect to several constructs, but more specifically to

culture. The overall outlook of this theme shows a positive attitude towards language variation in Saudi Arabia based on the positive ideas expressed regarding the diversity of cultures.

Another construct that was often signalled in the respondents' perceptions about language variation was identity. Such perceptions were grouped under the theme *Marker of identity*, that is, the view that SAVs mark one's identity. Some responses contained multiple references to the idea of language varieties marking one's identity. These references are shown in the following quotes:

> You know where a person is from by his dialect. Whenever I meet someone who speaks in a particular dialect, I know she's from region X. Dialects determine a person's place and identity (Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South).

> It's [i.e. language variation] beautiful. Like culture, it distinguishes every region. Every region should seek to preserve its dialect as much as possible because it's something that distinguishes them (Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South).

> I can distinguish [i.e. characterise] a person from his dialect (Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South).

Some of the earlier quotes about the diversity of cultures are quite relevant to this theme, too. This is because culture and identity intersect and are interchangeable in many contexts. Overall, it is quite significant for this idea to be expressed by respondents who are mostly *folks* and non-linguists.

Closely related is the theme *Richness*, which can be distinguished from comments about culture. It rather reveals a kind of appreciative perception of the variation of SAVs in their own right. Richness is taken here to refer to the number of and differences between dialects and sub-dialects found in Saudi Arabia. This is manifested in some of the responses about variation within small distances such as:

> Saudi dialects are rich, rich, rich. Saudi Arabia's regions, cities and villages are rich with dialects and accents variation. As we have the black gold [i.e. oil], we also have another treasure which is dialects variation (Respondent 7/M/34/PG/South).

However, Respondent 7 confessed that this opinion may be influenced by his academic background in Linguistics, a discipline that typically looks positively (or neutrally) on linguistic diversity and language variation. Thus, he notes that if others are asked about language variation, they may 'start differentiating between the high, the low and the middle, the accepted and the unaccepted' language varieties. Respondent 14 also talked about how language 'variation is with no doubt large [i.e. diverse] in Saudi Arabia and

even within the same region'. He then continued to confirm his point by stressing that '[i]n the south, [language] variation is very large [i.e. diverse]. Inside a single city in Jizan, [language] variation is very large [i.e. diverse]'. Another *Richness* point was made by Respondent 13 who said that 'accents and dialects variation enrich language' and 'add to the Saudi culture'. The *Richness* theme, therefore, includes an overall positive conception and consequence of language variation to the respondents.

Apart from the socially-driven perceptions, a conflicting theme has emerged in the interview findings. This theme is the respondents' description of language variation in Saudi Arabia as *Bittersweet*. The responses under this theme represent the respondents' expressions of language variation having 'advantages and disadvantages'. The previously-reported comments about culture, identity and richness can be treated as advantages. Conversely, an expressed disadvantage was that language variation may create comprehension difficulties among individuals who do not speak the same variety. Respondent 2 refers to the *Bittersweet* situation as in:

> It's [i.e. language variation] very, very impressive. Sometimes it's difficult because when someone comes from outside the region, it's difficult for him to understand your dialect. So, you become obliged to change your dialect [during a conversation] (Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South).

Respondent 2's idea can be explained by the Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles & Powesland 1975) which posits that a speaker converges to the speech of the interlocutor to 'gain social approval and/or increase communication effectiveness' (Coupland 2010, p.22). Respondent 9 also expressed a similar perception where she admitted feeling negatively about language variation, but she does not approve of deliberate 'dialect levelling' (see Kerswill 2003) of SAVs:

> There's a negative side to it, but this negative side shouldn't lead to obscuring every dialect to the point where dialects end [i.e. disappear] (Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South).

Further, another dimension of the *Bittersweet* theme is the very explicit viewpoint of Respondent 10 who thinks using the Shared Dialect safeguards its speaker from maltreatment:

> We have prejudice. It is possible if someone hears your dialect, it'll be a bad effect on you. So, we become biased towards [using] the Shared Dialect not because we couldn't understand each other but to avoid embarrassment and harm. So, it's bittersweet (Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West).

From the previous quotes, it can be noticed that there are different kinds of reasoning involved in perceiving language variation as *Bittersweet*. Such reasoning differed from one respondent to another in that language variation could result in speech accommodation or in increasing the tendency of self-protection.

Based on the above quotes, it seems that some of the respondents were ambivalent about the idea of variation in SAVs. Moreover, the negative perceptions noted in their views do not coincide with the current conceptualisation of language variation, especially within (socio)linguistics. (Socio)linguists have repeatedly established that language variation is inevitable, normal and desirable. This is why Lindemann (2005, p.210) suggests that (sociolinguistic) research should aim to educate the public about various consequential issues of language. Those issues include the mythical beliefs of the supremacy of some varieties, thus their speakers over others as well as the myth of the problematic nature of language variation, to name a few. Therefore, people should be made aware and encouraged to be more tolerant to variation and change (also see section 7.4 for further details about increasing awareness).

In another dimension of perceptions, some respondents perceived language variation in Saudi Arabia as an 'innate' and 'built-in' feature of language. This way, language variation is naturalised and considered as a default situation rather than being advantageous or disadvantageous. The following extracts illustrate this perception:

> It's something taken for granted, necessary and innate (Respondent 4/M/42/HS/South).

> Variation is taken for granted. I'd say it's positive, innate. It's something normal, natural (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

> Dialect variation is something innate, and that's been since forever. It results from contact between people. It's not only in the kingdom but also in all countries (Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South).

> It's an inevitable thing whether you respect it or not, whether you have an opinion about it or not […]. Dialect variation exists in any part of the world. There's no country with only a single dialect (Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South).

These findings indicate the relevance of consciousness in perceiving language. That is, it seems strange that some respondents were perceiving variation as 'natural' and 'normal' and yet, they evaluated the varieties negatively in Phase 2 (i.e. the VGT). This may reveal that language attitudes can be suppressed and that they are usually

expressed subconsciously. In fact, Almahmoud (2012) has found a similar divide between conscious and subconscious language attitudes held by his Saudi respondents.

The final theme that emerged from the respondents' perceptions of variation is the *Shared Dialect*[1] *dominance*. The Shared Dialect is a variety that can be considered as the Saudi lingua franca of speakers of different SAVs, which is typically opted for when Saudi speakers from various backgrounds communicate. This variety is largely influenced by Najdi and Hijazi Arabic, but more by the former. As such, this theme is rather unique as it is not related to attitudes towards variation *per se*, but it refers to another type of observations made by the respondents. The theme is also constituted by comments related to dealing with the perceived consequential difficulties of language variation in Saudi Arabia. For instance, as previously reported, Respondent 10 pointed out that Saudis tend to use the Shared Dialect to protect themselves from any form of prejudices or discrimination. In the same fashion, Respondent 5 made an interesting remark attributing being safe from linguistic bullying or discrimination to the use of the Shared Dialect:

> I'm from Jizan and I've worked in Riyadh for 10 years. I don't recall I've ever noticed bullying or regional discrimination or racism, maybe because I use the Shared Dialect which is close to Standard Arabic (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

It can be argued that through these remarks, Respondents 5 and 10 are expressing the main rationale behind speaking in the Shared Dialect in Saudi Arabia. This rationale, as noted before by Respondent 10, seems to be a mechanism for handling 'linguicism' (Phillipson 1992) (i.e. discriminatory or inequality practices based on language).

Some respondents expressed perceptions that signify how the Shared Dialect dominates the sociolinguistic scene in Saudi Arabia. Those respondents explicitly talked about the variety's dominance, as in:

> [Dialects variation] is good, though it started to vanish because the Shared Dialect has become popularised within the country or regions. When I speak in my Southern dialect in Jeddah, they either laugh…or think I'm joking although I'm being serious (Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South).

> We're supposed to consider that there're differences among people [when it comes to dialect use]. When I deal with someone from Al-Qassim or [a] Hasawi, surely, I wouldn't speak to him using my dialect. I

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[1] I use the term Shared Dialect instead of 'White Dialect' which is the expression used by the respondents.

must get back to the united dialect [i.e. Shared Dialect] (Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South).

Relatedly, Respondent 5 refers to the convenience of using the Shared Dialect whilst communicating:

> When I meet someone from Al-Qassim, I wouldn't speak in his dialect because I would look pretentious and I wouldn't be proficient in it, and the same will be for him, too. So, we speak in the Shared Dialect (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

Though less directly inferred, Respondent 5's reference to communicating well could also be taken as further evidence for the dominance of the Shared Dialect. This way, the Shared Dialect's presence extends to influence, and eventually, dominates the other SAVs.

Considering the previous findings and considering that the perception of the dominance of the Shared Dialect was found in previous research (i.e. Alhazmi & Alfalig 2022), the respondents' perception of the dominance of the Shared Dialect in the present study, I argue, reflects a linguistic ideology (also see section 6.5). The Shared Dialect in Saudi Arabia has been elevated considerably, especially by the media. This has entailed it prestige, value and power, which led to its dominance and continued preference as a shared, unifying dialect in Saudi Arabia. However, it is also possible that the views on the use of the Shared Dialect differ among individuals. The ubiquity of the Shared Dialect, for instance, might be another interpretation for its continued adoption by multiple speakers in the country. In short, based on such findings, the line between dominance and convenience can sometimes be blurred when interpreting people's linguistic behaviour.

To summarise, the respondents' perceptions of the language variation situation in Saudi Arabia seemed to be characterised by a mostly positive outlook. Evidently, most of the previously-reported themes show some positive orientation towards this sociolinguistic situation. Importantly though, the positivity found within the previous responses could be an extension of the positive attitudes found in the quantitative finding of Phase 2. Moreover, a particularly interesting finding in the interviews was the respondents' awareness and comments regarding the dominance of a particular variety in Saudi Arabia, that is, the Shared Dialect. The significance of this finding stems from the fact that it was unsolicited. Rather, it was an inductive finding that emerged from the respondents' answers unprompted by the researcher. Most of the features of this variety come mainly from Najdi Arabic, which provides an explanation

as to why Najdi Arabic is most dominant. That is to say, as explained in section 2.5, Najdi Arabic is the dialect spoken by individuals in the capital city, thus the people with power and high status, which facilitates its adoption as a dialectal franca (*cf.* lingua franca) variety across the country.

5.3 Factors underlying Saudis' language attitudes

One objective of the present study was to identify the reasons, factors and justifications underlying the respondents' expressed LAs towards SAVs. This objective reflects and adds a deeper perspective of attitudes, which was examined via the qualitative paradigm. As previously explained in section 3.9, the elicitation of the factors underlying the respondents' attitudes was achieved via interacting with respondents in the interviews. More specifically, seventeen respondents representing the three evaluation tendencies (i.e. negative, moderate and positive) were asked to justify some of their evaluations made towards the speakers in the VGT. After thematically coding and analysing the responses of the expressed factors (see section 3.12.3), six themes emerged as factors based on which the respondents expressed their attitudes in the VGT. Figure 28 shows a cluster of themes of the attitude factors that can be divided into Social, Personal and Linguistic categories.
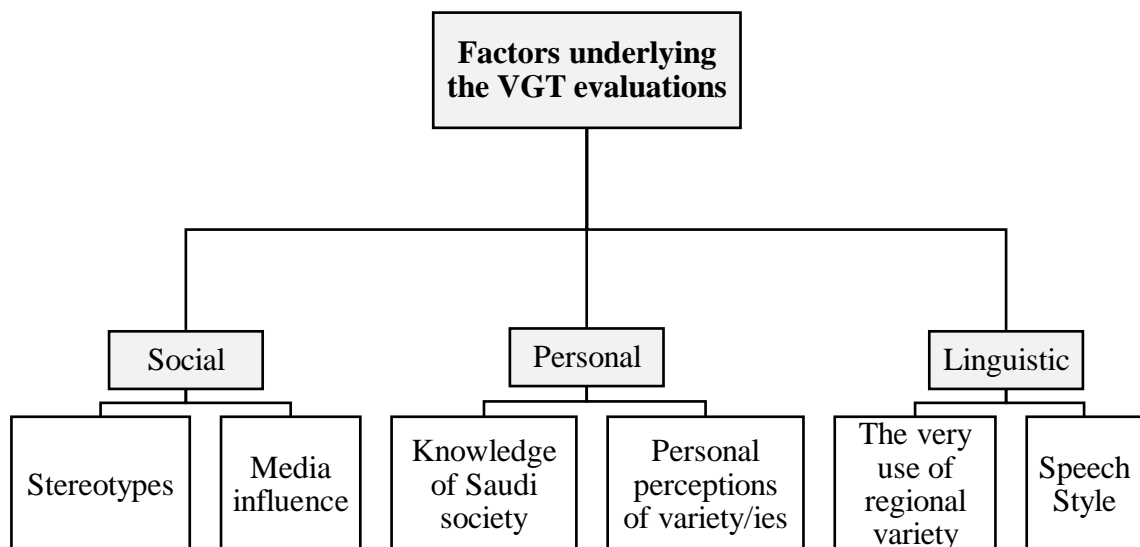
Figure 28. Factors and reasons underlying the evaluations in the VGT.

Under each of the three categories, are two themes that are similar in nature. To this end, in the following, I report the qualitative findings grouped under each theme of factors respectively.

5.3.1 Social factors underlying the attitudes

As a social factor shared and circulated within Saudi society, *stereotypes* was a key attitude factor in the present study. A stereotype is defined as 'an image or representation of a group of people that is widely known and shared within a particular community or group' (Haslam 2004, p.1002). *Stereotypes* was the most predominant factor reported by the respondents as it had the highest number of code tokens. Stereotypes 'feature large in the language attitudes field' (Garrett 2010, p.4), and thus, they are of direct relevance to the study's findings. Talking about *stereotypes* was actually explicitly articulated by some respondents when asked about their evaluation scores as in:

> Honestly, it's the stereotype that we have about some speakers (Respondent 13/F/40/PG/Centre).

> My evaluations were based on the first thing that came into my mind, meaning stereotypes. Any evaluation you have [in the dataset] is an evaluation without thinking. It's the first image in my head (Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South).

When asked about the low score of wealth for the Jizani speaker, Respondent 13 also mentioned 'TV' as the source for her evaluation to which she emphasised that she is 'certainly wrong in this impression'. As for Respondent 15, he also emphasised the stereotype factor when asked again about the other evaluations he made. Another interesting response was given by Respondent 10 who admitted that she evaluated the speakers based on stereotypes despite that they are 'not realistic at all'. For instance, when I asked her about the low score for the educatedness of the Jizani speaker, she commented the following:

> Honestly, what I always hear is that Jazan, Najran and the southern regions, which are close to Yemen, most of the individuals there may not have high [educational] degrees. That's why. Also, what I heard from my friends is the same thing, but I haven't been there and seen myself, so again, it's not realistic. It's only based on what people say and stereotypes (Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West).

The respondents' use of the word stereotypes was sometimes said in English and sometimes in Arabic. While the term stereotypes is borrowed from English into Arabic, it still has the same negative connotation when used by Arabic speakers. Importantly,

these responses were given without being prompted and before I even asked about the influence of stereotypes, which was usually my second question about factors to the respondents. This shows the high potential for stereotypes in forming attitudes towards language varieties to the point that people can still hold an attitude based on stereotypes, despite their awareness of the inaccuracy of such stereotypes.

As mentioned, asking whether stereotypes have influenced the respondents' evaluations was one of the interview questions. The majority of respondents ($N = 13$) confirmed that their evaluations were influenced by stereotypes. In addition, even though stereotypes were not mentioned explicitly, other respondents talked about the role of media when they were asked about stereotypes as in:

> Certainly, they [i.e. the evaluations] were influenced by watching and listening to the media. I mean, we must be influenced by this. The media has a role, a big role (Respondent 3/M/40/UG/South).

> Unfortunately, we find some people offending them [i.e. Jizani Arabic speakers] like the character *Koftah* in the TV show *Shabab Al Bomb* (Respondent 4/M/42/HS/South).

> Social media must've had a role (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

> TV shows have contributed to spreading stereotypes (Respondent 7/M/34/PG/South).

> When somebody on social media is from a particular region and he promotes this region as being very good and its people as good and educated, we will have an idea that this region is good (Respondent 16/F/26/UG/West).

These respondents were quite right in their remarks as it is argued (Cavanaugh 2005, p.131) that media is a fertile environment for the circulation of topics and views on both language varieties such as accents and stereotypes. Further, some of the interview responses indicate that stereotypes are 'structured by' (Respondent 7) and 'born into' society and that they 'have grown to become deeply rooted' (Respondent 13). Expectedly then, it can be concluded that the respondents in this study expressed their attitudes towards SAVs in the light of common stereotypes. In other words, the respondents' attitudinal evaluations of the SAVs under investigation were largely stereotypical.

In fact, the role of media as a factor underlying attitudes has exceeded forming and circulating stereotypes about language only. The interview findings showed that the factor *Media influence* is in itself a nurturing source for the respondents' language

attitudes. The following quotes indicate how the media has evoked the respondents' evaluation of the speakers:

> Maybe the idea [i.e. the evaluation] came from social media (Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South).

> On social media, they make fun of the dialect of Jeddah [i.e. Hijazi Arabic]. Every Eid, they laugh at [the way they say] the word dabihah [i.e. a ritual animal sacrifice]. Social media has an influence (Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South).

> The Qassimi dialect is distinctive rather than humorous. It's not humorous. For example, Snapchat users who speak in a particular way might use this dialect (Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West).

> The information we receive from social media and TV is that those people of the region [X] are this and that. Possibly social media in which TV shows promote [i.e. portray] that the region [X is] this and that (Respondent 16/F/26/UG/West).

Some of the previously-reported findings have also referred to the role of TV on their and the public's attitudes. While it has been claimed that TV in particular influences language attitudes to a point that leads to language changes (Stuart-Smith 2007, p.141), it is, in reality, only 'a contributory factor, working with other factors' (ibid., p.143). Nevertheless, the respondents' ideas about the influence of media on attitudes did not specify which type of media was more influential. That is to say, the respondents did not make any meaningful distinction between traditional broadcast and print media versus social media in their answers. In conclusion, based on the responses under the *Media influence* theme, it seems that the (re)presentation of SAVs in the media is not without consequences.

5.3.2 Personal factors underlying the attitudes

The second most influential factor in forming the attitudes in the present study based on the large number of code tokens was *Knowledge of Saudi society*. This factor is, in essence, opposite to *stereotypes* as it reflects the respondents' actual real-life knowledge and experiences as opposed to the stereotypical, presupposed ideas and perceptions. It can be explained by the words of some respondents such as:

> Our society is characterised by these noble characteristics such as bravery and generosity. I've lived in Riyadh, Jeddah and Abha…I know some of their characteristics (Respondent 3/M/40/UG/South).

> Because I have travelled outside of Jizan, I feel they're [i.e. non-Jizanis] more uptight. They're harsher than [people in] Jizan. Unlike other regions, Jizani people are more spontaneous, softer in their speech and are usually kind (Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South).

Because of the community around me and what I observe (Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West).

The following two responses about the Hasawi Arabic speaker clearly reflect the *Knowledge of Saudi society* factor:

The Hasawi person is generally likeable in the whole kingdom. Hasawis are famous for their humbleness and generosity. This has been known about them since ever. This is what we have heard and known about them (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

It's based on my previous perceptions and experience with Hasawi people who are usually highly educated. I also have dealt with them directly in my work. So, I [do] know this group of people (Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South).

Moreover, Respondent 15 mentioned his residence in Jizan and his Qassimi family connections as means for his evaluations of the speakers' generosity:

In Jizan, I've lived in this city and mixed [with] and learned from them [i.e. Jizanis]. I've found generosity in them whether [in the] material or moral [sense], meaning manners and hospitality. Also, I have family connections with Qassimis such as my cousins. So, I found this (Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South).

Such responses indicate some attitudinal variability as well as an influence of the personal experiences of the respondents on their attitudes. It seemed that the respondents recalled their life experiences while expressing their evaluations.

Further, it was observed that there was more hostility towards Qassimi and Jizani Arabic if compared to Hasawi Arabic. This observation has generally been realised in the interview findings. To give an example, Respondent 13 described the difficulties in dealing with Qassimi people from her experience as a justification for the low score she gave for the Qassimi speaker's kindness. Similarly, Respondent 17 expressed her 'grudge' against the Qassimi speaker when asked about the low evaluation given to the Qassimi speaker's sense of humour. As for Jizani Arabic, a strong negative comment about the speaker's sense of humour was also given:

The Jizani's sense of humour was silly, really. I say it and I am Jizani myself. I didn't like his sense of humour. He probably did bad, not good (Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South).

Respondent 12 also described how the speed of Jizani Arabic is 'fast fast fast to the point that you find it strange and sometimes you laugh because of its high speed'. This point was also mentioned by Respondent 9 who said that whenever she hears Jizani Arabic, 'it sounds funny even if the topic was not funny'. In sum, these experiences and

observations appear to explain some of the respondents' attitudinal orientations towards the varieties.

Relatedly, *Personal perceptions* is yet another internalised factor underlying the VGT evaluations. It differs from both *stereotypes* and *Knowledge of Saudi society* in that they are not shared nor agreed upon. Rather, they represent the respondents' individual beliefs or feelings rather than any shared knowledge or experience. Another distinctive feature of the theme *Personal perceptions* is that it is exclusively about the language as opposed to society and people. For instance, some respondents expressed their personal views explicitly as in 'this is my opinion on the dialects' (Respondent 4), '[j]ust a feeling. Maybe I felt there is roughness' (Respondent 10) and 'it may be a general characteristic of this region [i.e. Al-Qassim] […]. I don't think kindness is high over there' (Respondent 17). Moreover, the feelings towards the studied varieties were sometimes compared as in:

> Usually, whenever I hear someone speaking in the Jizani dialect, I feel it has a sense of humour. This is my impression. Contrary to whenever I hear the Hasawi dialect. I feel they are serious (Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South).

> My impression of the Jizani person, I would say, she's humble, kind. I get this feeling contrary to the Qassimi or Hasawi (Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West).

The above-expressed feelings are reflections of the perceptions held by the respondents regarding the varieties. Those feelings appeared to manifest in several ways that, despite varying in nature, were seen as similar in terms of being attitude factors.

Linking back to feelings, Respondent 15 and Respondent 16 stated that it is the feelings caused by the way the speakers sounded that led them to make some of their evaluations. To Respondent 15, the Hasawi speaker 'was very dull in speaking', and 'I felt he's being into seriousness more than the flexible style', he added. By the same token, the Hasawi speaker's 'voice didn't give me an impression of a sense of humour or anything like that. He made me feel he's serious', Respondent 16 said. These feelings are probably very salient in formulating attitudes as affect has been hypothesised to be one of the structuring components of an attitude (see section 2.8). In fact, the affect component, in particular, has been conceptualised as a primary component (Banaji & Heiphetz 2010, p.358), and hence, it is probably feelings that trigger attitudes the most. This may be because, as argued by Eiser (1986, p.11), an attitude is initially abstracted as feelings or thoughts which are later reflected as actions.

5.3.3 Linguistic factors underlying the attitudes

One of the striking factors underlying the attitudes was *The very use of regional variety*. This factor acts as a fixed conception of the varieties evaluations in the VGT. It refers to the immediate triggering of evaluations and reactions that are merely based on the fact that the speaker has spoken in the variety. One of the most vivid illustrations of this factor is the following quote:

> When the Jizani continues to speak in his dialect in the Eastern Province, Al-Qassim or Najd, people might not understand him, and this is evidence of his low education. If he was educated, he would've used more sophisticated expressions than the colloquial expressions he [normally] uses in his environment (Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South).

Respondent 6 emphasised this point and continued to criticise the Jizani speaker for his

> exaggerate[d] decline because he went down in his intellectuality to a point I wasn't happy with because he used words that may not be understood by the current generation (Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South).

As mentioned before, Respondent 6 has admitted that he feels this way about the Jizani speaker even though he is Jizani himself. This confirms the stigmatisation of Jizani Arabic even among its potential speakers (discussed in section 2.6). That said, disfavouring one's own language variety has been documented since the study of Lambert *et al.*, which they interpreted 'as evidence for a minority group reaction' (1960, pp.50-51).

Educatedness was also relevant to the discussion of regional variety use. There was a response given by Respondent 11 referring to an academic staff member whom she knew that was criticised for speaking in her regional dialect. Respondent 11 further noted that 'the higher a person's education or profession is, the more society requires him to speak in a dialect understood by everyone apart from his basic dialect' (Respondent 11). Likewise, Respondent 17 interpreted her high evaluation score of the Qassimi speaker's education as the following:

> the educated [individual] deviates from his dialect and speaks in a dialect close to Fusha [i.e. Standard Arabic] or the Shared Dialect, and so, I didn't sense his dialect [i.e. Qassimi Arabic] as clear as the other two samples (Respondent 17/F/32/PG/West).

Respondent 17's comment reflects an effect of the standard language ideology (SLI). What confirms this is that a similar idea reappeared after I asked the respondent about her views on language variation and its importance. Rejecting teaching language variation and regional varieties in schools, Respondent 17 said that it 'will cancel [تُلغي] Fusha [i.e. StA]' which is an ideologised concern rooted in the SLI tradition.

In contrast, speaking in a regional variety occasionally entailed positive perceptions within the responses. For instance, Respondent 8 reported that the speakers

> were committed to their dialect. To me, this is always connected to elderly people or kind people. This is what made me evaluate them on kindness (Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South).

Respondent 8 also mentioned the influence of accent use in her evaluation of the Hasawi speaker, attributing wealth to accents:

> For wealth, I based it on accent. You always feel that a wealthy person has a bit of a different accent. This is why I gave the Hasawi a much higher score [i.e. 7] (Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South).

Similarly, Respondent 16 broadly based some of her positive and negative evaluations on 'the dialect itself'. The comments made by Respondent 8 were linked to Solidarity and Status, the two dimensions of attitudes towards language. The comments also point to the distinction between Solidarity and Status in which the respondent inferred certain Solidarity and Status characteristics from speech, which underscores how LAs are formulated.

Moreover, as discussed before (section 2.6), the SAVs under investigation are all known to be localised regional Saudi varieties spoken in particular regions. Hence, the fact that the speakers in the VGT were evaluated just because of their use of the regional variety is not uncommon. This is because regional language varieties are usually a target for strong and vehement attitudes (Clayton 2018, p.60). These contrastive evaluations in the VGT are also in line with the literature in which speakers of nonstandard varieties have been found to be evaluated low on Status traits and high on Solidarity traits (Cargile & Bradac 2001, p.350) (see section 3.6.2 for an explanation of the Solidarity and Status dimensions).

The other Linguistic factor underlying the attitudes was *Speech style*, which encompasses descriptions and comments about the way the speakers sounded or spoke. In this sense, it is a broad category that involved various linguistic features noted by the interview respondents. Occasionally, the respondents' comments about speech style were straightforward, explicitly using the word 'style' to explain it. Examples of the evaluation reasons under the category *Speech style* are the following quotes:

> [His] speech style. His description wasn't good. It doesn't encourage you to listen to him. I evaluated him based on the voice (Respondent 4/M/42/HS/South).

> The dialect's style. The Hasawi dialect is always simple (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

> Their way of talking was relaxed. They weren't annoyed or speaking few words only. They were fluent and sounded welcoming (Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South).

> The very way of speaking, meanings, sentence structures, tone and speed (Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West).

> Their speech is clear, fluent. There's no stuttering (Respondent 16/F/26/UG/West).

> Possibly, it was the heaviness of the voice. The heaviness of the accent has a role (Respondent 17/F/32/PG/West).

These answers seem to reinforce the idea proposed by Giles and Bradac (1994, p.4260) and Giles (2003, p.388) that the various ways and features of speech produced by a speaker generate various inferences about him or her in the hearer's mind. On the whole, the above comments reflect linguistic remarks that are more directed towards the speakers. These remarks are based on speech characteristics produced by the speakers that the respondents found most salient.

The above-reported findings were in solid connection to the findings of Phase 2 (i.e. the VGT). Such findings have shed light on the factors and reasons why certain attitudinal evaluations were expressed by the respondents. Overall, three main types of factors were found: Social, Personal and Linguistic factors. Moreover, it was observed that there was a clear consistency in the pattern of the answers given by the respondents in the interviews. This can be taken as evidence for the achievement of saturation (see section 3.12.3) on which the validity of the reported qualitative findings is based.

While the attitude factors findings were follow-up findings related to the VGT findings, the next section will take a different approach in presenting the findings. Specifically, as briefly highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, the following section will report independent qualitative findings relevant to the respondents' linguistic experiences. In reality, these findings will help to address RQ4 which focuses on the respondents' experiences of linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia.

5.4 Linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia

All the previous qualitative findings (reported in sections 5.2 and 5.3) were mostly in core relation to Phase 2 and the main questionnaire wherein the responses were reflectively tied together. In this section, however, the chapter is redirected towards dealing with separate linguistic issues. Those issues are the respondents' perceptions and experiences of language ridicule, linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination.

As mentioned in section 3.9, the final part of the interview protocol specifically focused on linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia (see section 2.11 for an overview of these concepts). The respondents' experiences were identified by a series of semi-structured questions in which the respondents' answers to the questions illustrate their experiences. Accordingly, multiple questions dealing with linguistic discrimination from different angles were asked in the interviews. The analysis of the respondents' experiences was methodologically open, yet focused wherein the answers to the question tended to be straightforward and indicative of the issue at hand (i.e. linguistic discrimination). That is, instead of grouping the responses under particular themes (as in sections 5.2 and 5.3), the responses in this part were directly incorporated as evidence in the form of quotes stating discrimination perceptions or experiences.

5.4.1 Language ridicule

One of the questions directly asks the respondents about their views on the idea of ridiculing dialects and accents. For this question, there was a consensus ($N = 17$) that ridiculing language is 'wrong' (Respondent 1), 'very bad' (Respondent 2), 'unhealthy' (Respondent 7), 'unaccepted' (Respondent 8, Respondent 10), 'hurtful' (Respondent 11), 'disrespectful' (Respondent 14), 'horrible' (Respondent 17) and even 'forbidden in our religion' (Respondent 6). One of the salient rationales for such viewpoints is the link between language and one's culture and identity in which any attack on language may be deemed as an attack on those very concepts. Some respondents also considered language ridicule as a form of bullying. Respondent 12 and Respondent 13 also note that this type of bullying occurs frequently among youngsters, teenagers and the less educated:

> Bullying, ridicule usually occurs among middle and high school students because, unlike adults, university-educated, they're not aware of the importance of dialects and languages (Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West).

> It spreads more among teenagers and the less educated and the regions where there's more cultural diversity and big cities (Respondent 13/F/40/PG/Centre).

In contrast to these negative perceptions, some respondents tolerated ridicule if it was in the form of joking and between intimates. The following extracts illustrate this point:

> Sometimes, it's funny. Like when you joke with a friend (Respondent 1/M/18/HS/South).

> It's fun between close friends. It creates [a funny] atmosphere because the person doesn't intend to ridicule but just to have fun and pleasure (Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West).

> I remember saying […] [something] to someone in a […] [my] dialect. Suddenly, he started saying it back [to me] with the same tone [as an impression]. I knew he was joking, but it means he is being condescending. However, as a friend, you accept it [i.e. the joke] from him. No problem (Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South).

On the whole, it seemed as though the majority of the respondents were not in favour of the practice of ridiculing language use. Rather, they deemed it as a negative experience.

On the same construct, I also attempted to elicit answers that are based on personal experiences. Thus, I asked a follow-up question as to whether the respondent has ever been linguistically ridiculed in Saudi Arabia. The answers to this question revealed that the overwhelming majority of the respondents stated that they have been ridiculed ($N = 13$) whereas the rest of the respondents stated the opposite ($N = 4$). The following quotes are some of the narrations of the respondents who have been affected by ridicule:

> I was speaking naturally, and then [a classmate] asked me 'why are you being such a philosopher and not speaking in Jizani dialect and you're from Jizan?'. Why would she say this to me?! So, I replied 'this is the way I talk'. I was shocked and astonished. She's from the same region and speaks in a strong Jizani dialect and found it strange that I don't speak like her. Should I speak like her?! It's up to me [not her] (Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South).

Respondent 2 clearly felt strongly about this incident where she expressed her anger for being accused of not speaking in the native variety of her region. Similarly, Respondent 9 – another Jizani respondent – had an incident in school when she had heard certain words from Jizani Arabic that were unfamiliar to her at the time. When she had asked about the meaning of those words, the following happened:

> Suddenly, all the class is giving me strange looks as if I was "pretending not to be Jizani". I really don't know these words. Honestly, I felt bad which is evident from me not forgetting until now. It really affected me (Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South).

Both of the above experiences show a high potential for language ridicule, especially since the respondents were ridiculed in their hometowns and by their peers.

Respondents 7 and 10 also provided narrations of language ridicule experiences in Saudi Arabia. Respondent 7, though being more at ease with ridicule, mentioned the stereotypical images one might have when linguistically ridiculing others:

> I have been ridiculed. I studied in Riyadh and was with colleagues from Riyadh. When I talk, they make fun and say 'you Jizani'. I wasn't upset because they were my colleagues and were joking, but he doesn't say 'you Jizani' unless he's preoccupied with stereotypical ideas about this

Jizani and the Jizani dialect, and it's mostly a negative image (Respondent 7/M/34/PG/South).

Respondent 7's point about stereotypes is probably one of the most important reasons for language ridicule considering the influence of stereotypes on language perception (stereotypes' influence was previously discussed in section 5.3.1). As for Respondent 10, she narrated her suffering when she had visited a Saudi official authority and spoke in her dialect to 'a big director' in the authority:

I said to him 'I have lots of stuff to do' [with dialect words] and he got very upset. I forgot he might not understand me […], and so, he started to say bad things [to me]. I didn't respond and went to see someone else (Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West).

Surprisingly, Respondent 10 is from the West, thus speaks Hijazi Arabic which is, as mentioned before, a relatively prestigious SAV. Notwithstanding, this did not help to prevent the discrimination incident she experienced. These responses show a variety of ridicule and mockery experiences experienced by the interviewees in the present study. Though the reactions to such ridicule varied, the respondents still seemed to be generally displeased with the incidents.

Some of the interview answers touched on the subject of studying abroad and Saudis' use of Arabic dialects there. The overarching commentaries about this issue revolved around negativity. To give an example, while studying abroad, Respondent 13 expressed her surprise to have observed Saudi individuals modifying their Arabic speech to accommodate the speakers of Najdi Arabic. Those individuals did that 'because they wanted to be assimilated into the community [of Najdi speakers] so that they can feel more welcomed and accepted by the other party', Respondent 13 noticed. In another example, Respondent 15 indicated being ridiculed for his spoken variety by other Saudis even while residing abroad. He mentioned that '[w]hile studying abroad, you find lots of guys from Saudi Arabia. You find the Southerner, Easterner, Westerner, Najdi and Northerner, and so, a conflict between dialects occurs'. It is quite significant for language ridicule to occur in a non-national setting. Further, it is even more significant when it occurs among individuals who are mostly students with sponsorships – thus high-achieving and well-educated students – to pursue higher education abroad. The prevalence of such ridicule practices is probably a central reason as to why language ridicule still exists in Saudi society.

For some respondents, abandoning the native variety when speaking entailed negative perceptions from the hearers. Some respondents experienced either criticisms

or negative comments for speaking in a variety not their own. The previously-reported story by Respondent 2, who was criticised for speaking in a dialect different from that of the local region, is a typical and quite common example of this idea. Another incident was narrated by Respondent 11 as follows:

> Some people say your dialect has a Hijazi accent, and I say to them no. I haven't even lived in Al-Hijaz [i.e. Western Saudi Arabia]. So, I get criticisms [like] 'you don't nail the Hijazi dialect or accent' despite that I don't even [attempt to] speak in it (Respondent 11/F/24/PG/South).

It is interesting to note that the criticism Respondent 11 received occurred even when she did not intend to speak in the ridiculed variety, the *fake* Hijazi Arabic. This may indicate the high potentiality for language ridicule when it comes to Saudi dialects. It is also possible to infer that speaking – or being assumed to speak – in a variety different from one's own is occasionally perceived negatively as being *snobby*, thus causing commentary and ridicule by the hearers. In the case of Respondent 11, the variety thought to be imitated (i.e. Hijazi Arabic) carries some level of prestige and desirability (see details in section 2.5), and hence, adopting it may be perceived as *snobby*. Overall, the switching between language varieties made by the mentioned respondents seemed to attract negative perceptions from their interlocutors.

5.4.2 Views on linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination

In terms of linguistic discrimination, the interview question focused on the treatment of individuals based on the use of dialect or accent on both the individualistic and institutional levels. Therefore, the first question about linguistic discrimination was whether Saudis would – in general – treat each other differently based on language (variety). Overall, all the respondents ($N = 17$) have given an affirmative answer, confirming the potentiality of linguistic discrimination as well as language-based differentiation in Saudi Arabia. Below are some of the noteworthy interview comments about different treatments exercised or experienced by Saudi individuals:

> Of course! Of course! We notice this thing (Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South).

> Yes, it exists, but I don't like it. It's a bad habit or bad behaviour. [People] in our region are treated poorly by those with bad mindsets from other regions (Respondent 4/M/42/HS/South).

> Yes, there is. Dialects variation must cause…I mean, people's treatment will differ based on a person's dialect. When I see a person with a dialect similar to mine, I deal with him more. This will be positive [treatment] (Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South).

It depends on the dialect. We have some dialects that are very special like the Sothern, Hijazi, Hasawi dialect…It's impossible that these people will be treated normally. They're either highly accepted and welcomed or highly rejected… I found it's very rare that you're treated normally (Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West).

Possible. Yes. Through your dialect, the other person decides to include you in the circle or exclude you from the circle. I notice that some parties [i.e. individuals] don't accept some regions, and so, the relationship becomes very formal. It doesn't become a friendship, no. There's a barrier. This barrier is totally, totally based on the used dialect (Respondent 13/F/40/PG/Centre).

Possible. If a Jizani person works in Riyadh and he had [another] Jizani coming to him, he might lean to him and help him because he is from his [own] people and vice versa. Unfortunately, dialects have a role in people's treatment [in Saudi Arabia] (Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South).

Yes! Hundred per cent! Some regions have privilege [in the mind of] some people. If someone is from a particular region [and] speaks in a particular dialect, I'll [i.e. people will] revere him and vice versa like the big regions such as Riyadh, Jeddah [and] the Eastern Province (Respondent 17/F/32/PG/West).

It is noted that some of those comments (e.g. Respondents 2's and 17's) were said with some emotions, showing some sort of familiarity and relatedness. That is, it was observed that some respondents related to the issues discussed in the interviews either because they have experienced relevant incidents or because those issues are so widespread that they are very familiar to those respondents. In summary, these comments provide strong evidence of linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia. Also, these respondents seemed to be aware of the existence of such a phenomenon.

After asking about the treatment of Saudi individuals, I turned to ask about the situation within Saudi (official) institutions and whether people would be treated differently there. The answers were still confirmatory of discrimination practices based on language varieties from all respondents except for Respondents 3, 8 and 13 ($N = 14$). In fact, Respondent 10 stated that 'most of it [i.e. different treatment based on language] is *in* official institutions, universities, ministries, hospitals [and] banks' and added that 'the situation is never comfortable in these official institutions'. Though this comment may seem like an exaggeration, it still points to the significance of this issue from the perspective of the respondents. This can also be sensed from the words of Respondent 6 who expressed his deep sorrow for the treatment of people based on dialect or accent in such official places:

> Unfortunately, we still find it even in the strongholds of science and knowledge [*sic.*] and universities. We found it in the treatments in education settings. He [i.e. the discriminator] treats you based on your region or dialect or accent. He looks down on you even if you're more educated and knowledgeable than him (Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South).

These experiences clearly evidence some sort of suffering resulting from the unfair treatment an individual may receive because of the variety in which he or she speaks.

Linguistic discrimination in Saudi universities was also mentioned by two other respondents (a third respondent was Respondent 6, see further below). Within Saudi academia, Respondent 11 shared a thought about the perceived uneducatedness of academics who speak in regionally-marked accents or dialects in Saudi Arabia:

> It's undebatable that if someone in academia doesn't use scientific terminology or speaks in his dialect, he'll normally be criticised. In short, it doesn't reflect an academic persona (Respondent 11/F/24/PG/South).

Respondent 11 is an academic staff member – outside of Linguistics – and talks from an experience and an eyewitness perspective. While this may not be Respondent 11's way of thinking on the subject matter, it again indicates how linguistic discrimination can even affect individuals with higher social status in Saudi Arabia. The other example of linguistic discrimination within the educational setting occurred to Respondent 17. Respondent 17 claims that she 'had an evaluation [of her coursework] [by one of her university tutors] based on where' she is from. Respondent 17 believes that the tutor 'has racism [*sic*.] against' her region because 'during the lecture or any occasion, he criticises' that region and its people. That said, according to Lippi-Green (2012, p.74), linguistic discrimination can be 'found everywhere in our daily lives' and 'is so commonly accepted, so widely perceived as appropriate'. As will be later explained in section 6.4.2, Saudi official institutions (e.g. universities) do not necessarily safeguard individuals from experiencing linguistic discrimination. As such, the commonality of linguistic prejudice and discrimination referred to by Lippi-Green is likely to be a key reason for their (continued) occurrence in Saudi institutions.

In the interviews, linguistic discrimination was frequently attributed to stereotypes. As discussed in section 5.3.1 that stereotypes have had an influence, many interview respondents have referred to the influence of stereotypes in the treatment of others who differ linguistically. Respondent 1 talks of a perceived 'income' of some residents of some cities and how this may play a role in receiving different treatments. He explains his point by the following comment:

> The way of talking. He speaks firmly and with a deep voice, and so, he is treated as a wealthy and rich person who must be respected. Good treatment (Respondent 1/M/18/HS/South).

This comment seems to point to a wealthy-sounding variety, which is what Saudis usually take to refer to the speakers of Najdi Arabic. A similar viewpoint was echoed by Respondent 5 who exemplified the judgement of dialects as similar to the judgment of individuals' poverty and wealth:

> It's possible that someone may judge you based on your dialect the same way he judges you on your poverty or wealth. There's belittling or respect for the dialect, depending on the recipient's taste. There can be [belittling towards] the Jizani dialect because it's closer to the south and the Hasawi too (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

The stereotypical judgment upon language varieties and their speakers is a key issue in the understanding of and dealing with not only attitudes towards language but also the consequences of those attitudes such as linguistic discrimination. Finally, it is important to highlight the respondents' reiteration of the idea of stereotypes when talking about linguistic discrimination as well.

Some respondents linked linguistic discrimination to stereotypes more straightforwardly. After stating that treatment based on language variety exists in Saudi Arabia, Respondent 8 mentioned that the treatment of individuals could be negative if there are widely held ideas towards the dialect, the tribe or the region they belong to:

> There's a negative side. If someone generalises something about all those who speak X dialect or their tribe or their region, it'll be negative (Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South).

Respondent 15 was more explicit regarding which Saudi varieties are 'targeted' and 'looked down on', emphasising that 'the focus is always on the dialects of the people of the south'. 'They are the most ridiculed in terms of dialects', Respondent 15 added. To support his point, he gave the example of portraying speakers of some dialects such as Jizani Arabic as a 'security guard' in the media. Interestingly, the same example was also highlighted by Respondent 7 who suggested that a common stereotype of the Jizani-speaking individual is to be a 'soldier [or a] security guard, meaning things [i.e. jobs] you can get without [degrees] or with low certificates like elementary or middle school'.

The responses highlighting stereotypes show the salience of stereotypes, which seem to nurture linguistic behaviour and perceptions alike in Saudi Arabia. Most evidently though, as pointed out by E. E. Jones and Colman (1996, p.844), stereotypes

not only 'serve as a justification for hostile or prejudiced attitudes', but also 'to perpetuate social conflict and discrimination'. As such, the findings of the present study indicate that one of the triggers of linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia is stereotypes. Based on such findings, it can be posited that stereotypes are a considerably salient factor in and to the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia, which can determine attitude in its Affective, Cognitive and Behavioural aspects.

One theme that also emerged from the interviews while discussing linguistic discrimination was the supremacy of Najdi Arabic, which allows its speakers to receive different *positive* treatment. While I have not originally intended to ask about this, it seemed that several respondents were eager to talk about this alongside the issue of different treatment and linguistic discrimination. This issue is actually quite relevant as it was usually mentioned by the respondents to compare how various linguistic groups in Saudi Arabia are treated. The following viewpoints – though not necessarily adopted by the respondents – illustrate the respondents' awareness of this issue:

> Unfortunately, I think that there's a prevailing idea among Saudis that there's a dialect in Saudi Arabia that is the best one. It's the perfect, the "Saudi" and the correct dialect like when we talk about the dialect of Najd [i.e. Najdi Arabic] (Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South).

> Because the origin of our kingdom is Najd [i.e. the central area], the Najdi dialect is number one. It's powerful and has a powerful effect on the recipient (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

> We know that the dialect of Najd [i.e. Najdi Arabic] is usually classy, or it signals prestigious and classy families [e.g. the Royal family]. So, the treatment is definitely better. The dialect of Najd is usually treated differently [positively] from the other dialects (Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West).

When asked about the different treatments, Respondent 3 mentioned that those who receive better treatment in Saudi Arabia are the speakers of 'Standard Arabic and those who speak clearly and intelligibly such as the Najdi dialect'. These views confirm the prestige of Najdi Arabic (also discussed in section 2.5), which entails it and its speakers a supreme profile. While some of the study's respondents did not necessarily advocate the supremacy of Najdi Arabic, they appeared to recall it when talking about linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia. As such, introducing this idea by the respondents in these interviews was an astute observation.

5.4.3 Respondents' personal discrimination experiences

In the final part of the interview protocol, the respondents were asked whether they personally have been treated differently based on their dialect or accent use. For these interview questions, I sometimes had to mention that the treatment I ask about can be either positive or negative to investigate *positive discrimination*. Based on the answers to this question[1], most respondents answered with *yes* (*N* = 9) while some respondents answered with *no* (*N* = 7). Hence, the respondents' experiences seem to suggest that there is a high likelihood of linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia. To give an example, Respondent 6, who is from Jizan, said that he has had a university professor who used to ridicule him for his dialect and added '[u]nfortunately, we found it [i.e. different treatment]. We've been treated less than others'. He then stated that this negative treatment has negatively impacted his career. Another shocking incident of negative treatment occurred to Respondent 9's mother:

> When my mum travelled to Al-Hajj [i.e. Pilgrimage] and someone recognised that she's from Jizan, she started to be stricter with her. She treated her poorly. I think she was a preacher (Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South).

This unfortunate incident is probably the most atrocious one as it occurred during and in the most sacred time and place for all Muslims (i.e. Al-Hajj season).

Two more respondents shared their experiences of linguistic discrimination. Respondent 10 narrated a 'linguistic profiling' (Baugh 2007; 2017) incident in a Saudi governmental authority. She explained that while she was trying to make a complaint, an employee in that authority said to her, 'you people of Makkah [i.e. the region of the respondent's dialect] are cruel'. This comment from the employee was stimulated by the speaker's use of her regional variety. Another very unfortunate incident was the experience of Respondent 14 as a school pupil after his family had to move to another region:

> When I was in seventh grade in Dammam [i.e. in the Eastern Province], there was a teacher, though he [himself] was from the south, he used to say to the students [about me] 'don't pay attention to him. He's Jizani' whenever I spoke. Then, the students would laugh at me. This was discomforting and worrying for me, and it was causing me a daily headache that [I had] to attend this teacher's class because I felt unsafe and uncomfortable in the presence of this person (Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South).

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[1] No data was collected from Respondent 7 for this question.

In summary, the incidents narrated by these respondents evidently depict some of the linguistically-discriminatory practices and experiences found in Saudi Arabia. The contexts in which these incidents took place varied, but it is clear that they could potentially occur anywhere and to anyone. Overall, from the interactions with the interviewed respondents, it was quite obvious that they have been psychologically impacted when experiencing linguistic discrimination.

Other respondents mentioned some experiences of different positive treatments. For instance, Respondent 4 said '[p]ositively perhaps. Sometimes, when I speak and they recognise that I'm from the south, they look after us more'. Respondent 4 attributed this positive treatment to the idea that his region is somehow known as 'the hometown of [theology] knowledge and scholars'. In another incident of positive treatment based on dialect use, Respondent 11 expressed that her dialect was admired and sometimes requested by others:

> Positively, honestly, yes. When I speak in my basic dialect or an authentic […] [i.e. the respondent's tribe] word is produced, it was liked by those around me, particularly, those in Jeddah because they're a different community, different culture. It was requested. The girls around me used to say 'speak in your real dialect. We want to hear the […] [i.e. the respondent's tribe] dialect'. So, when a word or a term sometimes slips, they like it. I've never faced criticism (Respondent 11/F/24/PG/South).

Based on these experiences, the positive treatment of speakers of regional SAVs may reflect positive discrimination. Specifically, it seems that the Saudi regional varieties are sometimes conceived as minority varieties, and thus, they are – consciously or unconsciously – endorsed by Saudi individuals. This is evident in the case of Respondent 11 who said that the admiration of her dialect was from a community different from hers.

Although some respondents stated that they have not been treated differently, they, nonetheless, envisaged that the situation could have been different had they spoken in a particular variety or been out of their region. The following quotes clarify this point:

> No. because I haven't studied outside Jizan. But if I had a job somewhere else in the future, it's possible (Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South).

> My answer could've been different had I been speaking in my strong, pure basic dialect (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

> I grew up in the same region. Maybe if I was from a different region, […] I might get in situations like this [i.e. different treatment]. But since

my upbringing and my job are in the same region, I wouldn't imagine there'll be an incident whether positive or negative (Respondent 13/F/40/PG/Centre).

These findings appear to correlate with the confirmatory findings of different treatments presented earlier. This also – hypothetically – raises the number of the present study's respondents discriminated against based on language use in Saudi Arabia to be more than nine. Overall, according to the experiences, viewpoints and narratives of the respondents in this study, language-based discrimination exists in Saudi Arabia and can manifest not only among individuals but also within institutions.

To sum up, the findings of the interviews have indicated various negative experiences as well as instances of poor treatment that are based on or caused by language in Saudi Arabia. The interview respondents have provided their own views and stories of linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination. It was established that the majority of the respondents faced or predicted linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia, even inside official institutions. Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that the line between prejudice and discrimination could sometimes be blurred. Some of the views and experiences narrated by the respondents may have reflected prejudice more than discrimination. This would mean that there is a continuum of practices starting with mild ridicule of a variety, holding personal prejudices towards a variety to discriminating against the speaker of the variety. And while linguistic discrimination is arguably more impactful, albeit less frequent, than ridiculing or holding prejudices, it is not yet ascertained whether it is a prevalent phenomenon in Saudi Arabia. Overall, these findings will again be put under consideration when discussing the study's recommendations (section 7.4) as to how to combat issues of language-based ridicule, prejudice and discrimination in Saudi Arabia.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has dealt with the findings of Phase 3, which are under the qualitative paradigm of the present study. The method of investigation was the semi-structured interviews which acted as both follow-up and stand-alone research instrument. The obtained qualitative findings have helped to provide some answers to some of the study's research questions, especially, RQ3 and RQ4. For instance, as per the mixed methodology design, the qualitative findings of the views on language variation in Saudi Arabia and the factors underlying the expressed attitudes have revealed further insights into the respondents' expressed attitudes towards and perceptions of the studied

SAVs. The findings have also helped in illuminating some aspects of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia and the various negative and positive linguistic experiences that the Saudi individual may encounter in Saudi Arabia. The next chapter will connect the findings – both quantitative and qualitative – together to address the present study's research questions. This will be achieved by discussing, interpreting, comparing and theorising for such findings.

Chapter 6: Discussion of Findings

6.1 Introduction

As explained in section 1.2, the research problem underpinning the present study is concerned with the potential ramifications of holding language attitudes towards Saudi Arabic varieties. These ramifications would include forming perceptions about the speakers, and consequently, behaving on the basis of such perceptions. This chapter, therefore, provides the interpretation of the findings obtained from the present study in light of the research problem and research questions. The findings from Phase 1, Phase 2 and Phase 3 are discussed respectively. The study's research questions are also addressed, particularly whilst discussing the findings of Phases 2 and 3. The chapter focuses on the analysis of key quantitative and qualitative findings which are also explained and compared with reference to the literature. Specifically, the focus is on the discussion of 1) the respondents' attitudes, perceptions and experiences regarding SAVs, 2) the Saudi sociolinguistic situation and 3) the idea of linguistic prejudice and discrimination. The chapter finally concludes with a section on the implications of the discussed findings.

6.2 Discussion of Phase 1 findings: The keywords task revisited

In section 3.3, I presented the findings of Phase 1 which were obtained from the keywords task in a broader sense (see Figure 5). While Phase 1 was key to the design of the present study's VGT, it is not essentially used to address a research question *per se*. The findings of Phase 1 were reported as a preliminary design utilised for selecting adjectives in the VGT. There are, however, some attitudinal insights that can be gleaned in the keywords findings. Therefore, I will revisit these findings and elaborate more on some highlights in the obtained keywords. I will also link and compare these attitudinal findings to those in Phase 2, 3 or both. It needs to be noted, however, that some of the remarks I will put forward about the findings of the keywords task are partly informed and mainly driven by my own observations and experiences as a member of a community (i.e. a speaker of Jizani Arabic) or as member of the larger Saudi society, thus adding depth into the analysis. After all, as explained in section 3.2, the keywords task in the present study was only used as a preliminary technique and was not analysed fully attitudinally.

6.2.1 Highlights in the keywords of Qassimi Arabic

Some keywords for Qassimi Arabic represented a mildly prestigious conception of the variety, which subtly distinguishes it from the other varieties. These keywords were grouped under the category *status reference*. Examples of the comments were that speakers of Qassimi Arabic are 'rich', have 'minds of business and money', and seem to be 'businessmen'. There were also descriptions like 'high status', 'power' and 'authority' which fit well under the status category. This finding is particularly noteworthy as the status criterion has, in fact, been an established evaluative dimension in evaluating language in LAs literature (see Zahn & Hopper 1985). Another notable feature in Qassimi Arabic's keywords was the inconsistency of the *speed* comments wherein there were both 'slow' and 'fast' comments. This feature could be attributed to the respondents' familiarity with and exposure to SAVs.

The status of Qassimi Arabic, nevertheless, was not reflected clearly in the evaluations it received in the VGT. That is, the variety was evaluated lower than Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic on Status. This may be due to the effect of the respondents' consciousness when evaluating as the keywords task is a more direct and conscious task compared to the VGT, which is an indirect task (also see section 2.9.1 for approaches to LAs). This observation can further be taken as a sign of the variance between the direct and indirect approaches to LAs. More specifically, it appears that evaluating abstract labels of language varieties (e.g. Coupland & Bishop 2007; Alhazmi & Alfalig 2022), as opposed to the speaker evaluation paradigm (Giles & Billings 2004; Garrett 2010; Dragojevic & Goatley-Soan 2022), is likely to render more variability of attitudes in the Saudi context.

6.2.2 Highlights in the keywords of Hasawi Arabic

Descriptions of 'speed' were the most frequent descriptions in the keywords for Hasawi Arabic. These included 'heavy' and 'slow' but not 'fast', which all refer to features of drawl. In this respect, Al-Rojaie (2021b, p.501) points out that the drawl of Hasawi Arabic sounds similar to the drawl of Southern American English. The drawl of Hasawi Arabic is generally a negative trait that shows slowness and laziness, as also found in (ibid.). Another exclusive comment concerning Hasawi Arabic was about the assumed religious affiliation of the speakers of the variety. There were multiple descriptions of the speaker being a 'Shia' (i.e. a minority branch of Muslims adhering to a particular school of thought) which is clearly a stereotypical comment in regards to Hasawi

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Arabic. This is because the Saudi Shias are a very small minority group in Saudi Arabia and their population is around 5 to 7 per cent (Perazzo 2012). Thus, the Shia reference here can be seen as a stereotype associated with the speaker of Hasawi Arabic. In fact, this reference can also be considered xenophobic, demeaning and othering. This is because Saudi Arabia is a Sunni-majority country, and there are some socio-political tensions between it and other Shia-majority countries such as Iran. Similar to the keywords expressed about Jizani Arabic, Hasawi Arabic was seen as similar to other Gulf Arabic varieties, especially the Bahraini dialect. The same finding – for the Eastern dialect as a whole – was actually found in the keywords in Alhazmi and Alfalig's (2022) and Al-Rojaie's (2021b) studies. Again, the geographic discourse appeared to reflect a salient evaluative criterion of the studied SAVs.

6.2.3 Highlights in the keywords of Jizani Arabic

A prominent category for Jizani Arabic was *standardness* which included comments with references to StA such as 'standard', 'contains words from Standard Arabic' and 'close to Standard Arabic'. This category is attributed to Jizani Arabic much more than the other varieties, which is surprising as Jizani Arabic is, essentially, a regional variety. Moreover, it seems that the respondents' conception of a standard language does not reflect the actual situation of StA in Saudi Arabia. What may well explain this is that there is a distinction between the current StA and Classical Arabic (i.e. Arabic written in the Holy Qur'an and old literature) (Cote 2009, p.75) by which the respondents may be conflating the latter with the former in their descriptions. As detailed in section 2.2, there is an academic distinction between Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic, which tends not to be discussed outside academic circles. The standardness of Jizani Arabic is, thus, a speculative perception stemming from personal observations or common *folk* beliefs about the origins of Arabic dialects. In fact, the idea of standardness was used in the general sense by which the respondents were attributing standardness qualities to the varieties to render positivity. This conceptualisation of standardness reflects a folk-linguistic understanding of language, which people outside of linguistics normally have.

In contrast to the positive attachment of standardness to Jizani Arabic, there were some instances of associating Jizani Arabic with Yemen as in 'close to being Yemeni', 'a dialect mutual with Yemen' and 'mixture of Southern Saudi dialect and Yemeni dialect'. Admittedly, this is a minority view, though it is quite explicit and

noteworthy. Similar to Hasawi Arabic, the reference to Yemen may denote a detachment of the variety from other SAVs by othering its speakers considering the geographic location wherein Jizani Arabic is spoken (i.e. the southern border of Saudi Arabia). Again, the same reference was also provided by the respondents in both of Al-Rojaie' (2021b) and Alhazmi and Alfalig's (2022) studies, in which the reference was more salient for Jizani Arabic compared to the other Southern dialects. The same point was also mentioned in the present study's interviews (by Respondent 10) when talking about the variety at which the Yemen reference was recalled.

Although it has been explained that Jizani Arabic shares some linguistic features with Yemeni Arabic (section 2.5), the Yemen reference in the keywords findings could be interpreted differently from such a linguistic objectivity. This is because one of the xenophobic slurs among Saudis occurs through *de-Saudising* individuals and attributing them to other countries. This xenophobic attitude is somewhat similar to the ideology of White supremacy organisations in the west. Thus, this observation by some respondents may signal *us* and *them* ideology. What could support this claim is the expression of other negative keywords such as 'uncivilised', 'uneducated' and 'unintellectual in professional contexts'. Lastly, unlike the other varieties, the *speed* descriptions for Jizani Arabic were all expressed as 'fast', making this category stand out for Jizani Arabic. This description of the speed of the variety was also emphasised in the interview of Respondent 12.

6.2.4 Final remarks on the keywords task

Despite the scant number of keywords studies in Saudi Arabia, there was an overlap between the present study's keywords findings and the literature. Broadly, as mentioned, some of the keywords categories found in this study corresponded with some of the keywords categories in Al-Rojaie (2021b) and Alhazmi and Alfalig (2022). These were the keywords about *speed*, the *similarity/influence of Arabic varieties from the Gulf and Yemen* and *intelligibility*. Specifically, the findings were similar in that Jizani Arabic was perceived as being fast speech, similar to Yemeni Arabic and generally difficult to understand. For Hasawi Arabic, it was perceived as being slow and heavy speech (i.e. drawl), sharing features with Gulf regions (e.g. Bahrain) and causing intelligibility issues. Lastly, as in Al-Rojaie's (2021b) study, the respondents also expressed difficulty in understanding Qassimi Arabic due to its marked

grammatical features and lexicon. Therefore, it seems that Saudis' impressions of SAVs are widely shared and circulated in Saudi society.

Among all the keywords in Phase 1, *intelligibility* stood out (see Figure 5). The tokens of intelligibility in the keywords task were the highest in the cases of Qassimi Arabic (31 tokens) and Jizani Arabic (66 tokens) and were the second highest in Hasawi Arabic (34 tokens). As such, because of the salience of the intelligibility keyword, it was incorporated into the evaluation scale related to the Aesthetics dimension. It was thought that intelligibility falls under the Aesthetics dimension because the dimension already included similar adjectives such as *eloquent* and *standard* (see Table 2) which are all language-based descriptions. However, it needs to be acknowledged that there is some difficulty in employing intelligibility as an evaluation criterion used to measure language attitudes. The difficulty lies in the unclarity of the intelligibility description as to whether or not an attitude could be inferred from evaluating the intelligibility of speech. For this reason, in the present study, intelligibility is more relevant to the findings of the identification and similarity tasks, as opposed to the findings of the varieties evaluations, by which the respondents have demonstrated levels of familiarity and awareness regarding the SAVs under investigation (see further details in section 6.3.4).

Based on the keywords task findings, there was an overall association between language and geography in evaluating the SAVs. It goes without saying that language and place have a dynamic relationship. Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic are both varieties spoken in coastal and border areas of Saudi Arabia. They both received geography-based keywords in the sense of being similar to other neighbouring countries. As such, it may be that these geographic factors are a reason for the overlap between the keywords categories for the two varieties. In contrast, Qassimi Arabic is spoken in Najdi-Central areas with almost no geographic contact with neighbouring countries or non-Saudi language varieties (see Figure 2). Perhaps, it is for this reason that the respondents reported fewer keywords referring to Qassimi Arabic's similarity or difference to other varieties. In sum, the keywords findings pointed to a geographic discourse that was connected to the respondents' impressions of the varieties under investigation.

The keywords about place represent the idea of *language contact*, but probably with a non-linguistic perspective. Language contact refers to the situation in which linguistically and culturally different groups of people – for whatever reason – come

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into contact with each other (Walker 2010, p.114). A particularly common manifestation of language contact is *transfer* (ibid., p.115), which is observed in the situation of some SAVs including Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic. Specifically, as previously exemplified in section 2.5, these two varieties exhibit linguistic features that are also found in other Arabic varieties *in contact*. A prominent shared feature between Hasawi Arabic and Bahraini Arabic is the alternation of /ik/ with /š/ for the 2nd feminine singular pronoun. In terms of Jizani Arabic, the use of /ʔam/ as a definite article instead of /ʔal/ is a quite typical example of the shared features between Jizani Arabic and the South Arabian varieties (e.g. Asiri Arabic varieties or Yemeni Arabic).

Notwithstanding, Thomason (2020, p.34) posits that almost all languages must have been in contact with other languages at some point of their existence. Crucially then, as the influence of language contact on some SAVs seems indisputable, certain stereotypical and negative social connotations that are (perceptually) associated with the varieties in contact may also be transferred to SAVs. That said, the phenomenon of language contact is not always seen through the linguist's *objective* lenses. This was realised in some of the keywords attached to the SAVs under investigation such as the keywords about the Hasawi Arabic speaker being 'Shia' and the Jizani Arabic speaker being 'Yemeni'. In conclusion, as mentioned above, it could be argued that such keywords promote evaluative, as opposed to observational, (negative) judgments about the mentioned varieties.

6.3 Discussion of Phase 2 findings

The proposed answers to some of the research questions will be presented under this section. The findings from Phase 2 provide answers to RQ1 and RQ2. In Phase 2, the quantitative paradigm was adopted and the quantitative findings were obtained. Phase 2 represents the VGT and main questionnaire findings. In the following, I will present the answers relevant to each research question respectively, accompanied by interpretations of the findings.

6.3.1 RQ1: What are Saudis' attitudes towards and perceptions of contemporary SAVs?

The first research question aims to investigate Saudis' attitudes and perceptions of the given SAVs. The answer(s) to this question will address one of the core objectives of the present thesis, that is, the examination of Saudis' LAs. Taking a holistic and descriptive approach to the data (reported in section 4.3), the elicited attitudes towards

the Saudi varieties tended to be positive on the whole. This positivity was noticed for all the varieties on most of the evaluative dimensions. That said, Saudi Arabia's sociolinguistic situation has gone through changes influenced by multiple factors, which eventually resulted in a new national and social identity of its people (Al-Rojaie 2020a, p.31). This new identity has somewhat reduced Saudis' past identity affiliations such as tribal origin, ethnicity or former country. It would seem that the slogan all things Saudi is now promoted and celebrated more than before. Some Saudis have even started calling Saudi Arabia on social media platforms *Great Saudi Arabia* as in *Great Britain*, propagating the Saudi identity even more. As such, this may partly explain the positive attitudes towards the varieties.

Furthermore, some interview respondents have also indirectly referred to the changes in Saudi Arabia that could prevent ridiculing language varieties. For instance, when I asked the respondents about ridiculing language varieties in Saudi Arabia or treating individuals based on their dialect, they expressed the following:

> This topic [i.e. matter] used to exist before the cultural openness and social media. I suppose it started to vanish and disappear now. God willing, in the future, it will be zero (Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South).

> It exists, but it has decreased lately with people's awareness (Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South).

> I think the issue is more flexible. There's awareness about these matters [and about] differences (Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South).

Such views reveal the commonality of this sociolinguistic reality that is shared by the experts and the non-experts (i.e. respondents) alike. Meanwhile, these general positive attitudes and perceptions may as well indicate an increase of the acceptance of sociolinguistic diversity in Saudi Arabia. This acceptance seems to be closely tied to inclusivity based on national and ethnic pride.

In investigating the attitudes towards SAVs, some findings were related to the respondents' perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia (reported in section 4.8). The respondents' perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia were generally positive and supportive of the positive attitudes in the VGT. More specifically, language variation was deemed important and unproblematic, and in many instances, the mean scores for the constructs were relatively high (i.e. above 5) (see Table 13). The interview findings (reported in section 5.2) also support this finding

where multiple respondents expressed positive perceptions and comments about language variation.

Another area of examining attitudes was the direct elicitation of the respondents' preferences of SAVs. As in section 4.8 (see Figure 26), the respondents' preferences represented a hierarchy of the SAVs under investigation which also revealed an evaluative pattern that overlapped with the VGT findings. That is, Qassimi Arabic followed by Jizani Arabic and then Hasawi Arabic were chosen as the respondents' most *disliked* SAVs. In the interviews, some responses also contained negative comments and negative stereotypes about the speakers of the studied varieties (see section 5.3). Therefore, taken as a whole, there seems to be a consolidation between the quantitative and qualitative findings with respect to the positive and negative attitudes in the present study.

The clarity of attitudinal trends varied between the direct and indirect approaches' findings. In the direct approach, the positive attitudes were – expectedly – slightly clearer than the indirect VGT findings. This clarity of positive attitudes may be due to the use of direct attitudes elicitation techniques whereas in the indirect approach, some respondents expressed some negative attitudes. Hence, there seems to be a slight inconsistency between Saudis' implicit and explicit language attitudes. This may be in line with the assumption of 'direct and indirect methods sometimes yield[ing] contrasting results' (Dragojevic & Goatley-Soan 2022, p.206). Overall, nonetheless, positive attitudes could be inferred from both approaches, and the evidence for the distinction between the implicit and the explicit attitudes remains sparse. As explained by Garrett (2010, p.43), the lack of evident difference between the findings of indirect and direct measures may sometimes be influenced by the context of the study being a 'much less highly charged environment linguistically and ethnically than' other contexts.

Though positivity of attitudes was noticed, some negative attitudes could be inferred from the findings. On the Aesthetics dimension, for example, the evaluation scores of all the SAVs were consistently low. This dimension focuses on the evaluation of the variety itself. That is, the adjectives used in this dimension refer to qualities such as *eloquence*, *standardness*, *intelligibility* and *beauty*. Though the evaluation of this dimension is performed via the speaker evaluation paradigm, the focus is shifted to the language variety rather than the speaker *per se* (see section 3.6.2). This focus may explain the contrast between the evaluation scores of the evaluative dimensions as it

seems that the respondents evaluated the *varieties* more negatively compared to the evaluation of the speakers' personal attributes (e.g. *generosity*, *confidence* and so on). Furthermore, it has been pointed out that Arabic is a typical example of standard language ideology (section 2.7.2), which provides a further interpretation of the low scores for aesthetic qualities. Such low evaluations on the Aesthetic dimension may be because the varieties are, in essence, Colloquial Arabic varieties.

To summarise, Saudis' attitudes and perceptions regarding the SAVs under investigation appeared to be generally favourable in the present study. Several findings from Phase 2 and Phase 3 indicate this favourability. For instance, the respondents' (initial) positive evaluations of the varieties in the VGT exceeded the negative ones (based on the descriptive statistical analysis). Additionally, in the interviews, various positive views were expressed concerning SAVs and the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. However, caution should be exercised regarding these interpretations. This is due to the other contrasting findings that were noted in the present study such as the consistent negative evaluations made by some groups of the respondents and the multiple negative experiences of linguistic discrimination narrated by the interview respondents (see sections 6.3.2 and 6.4.2).

As highlighted, the attitudinal findings discussed earlier are all based on the descriptive statistical analysis and some of the interview findings. In the following, I turn to the discussion of the inferential findings, which extends the quantitative findings previously discussed. As explained in section 4.4, the inferential analysis is centred around testing the association between the independent variables (e.g. Age) and the dependent variables (e.g. the VGT evaluations). As such, these findings provide answers for both RQ1 and RQ2 simultaneously. That is to say, the respondents' attitudes are inferred and discussed in light of the statistically significant results through the investigation of associations between the social variables and the attitudes of the respondents. In doing so, the respondents' attitudes towards the SAVs under investigation are revisited, clarified and interpreted further, with a particular focus on the role of the respondents' demographics.

6.3.2 RQ2: Is there an association between the demographic/social characteristics of Saudis and their language attitudes?

The findings of the present study suggest that the short answer to this question is yes. Various social variables of the respondents (i.e. social characteristics) seemed to be in

an association with the expressed attitudes. It is important to note that the findings of the social variables' associations are all based on statistically significant comparisons (see sections 3.12.2 and 4.4 for a full discussion of data analysis and quantitative findings). As was shown in Table 5, Table 6 and Table 14, the respondents' attitudes appeared to be in association with some of their social characteristics such as their age and education. Moreover, some social characteristics were more salient than others in showing associations with the attitudes. The three most salient social variables were Age, Education and Geographic Origin. They are salient due to their consistent and repeated occurrences among the VGT evaluation findings (see Table 6).

In terms of Age, the older respondents had a consistent pattern of negative attitudes towards the varieties. The pattern was clear and noticed among the evaluations of all the varieties and all the statistically significant dimensions (i.e. Solidarity, Status and Aesthetics). This was particularly the case for the respondents aged 50+ who consistently evaluated the varieties more negatively than the other respondents. In the same vein, the youngest respondents (18–25) were consistently found to hold positive attitudes towards the varieties. This attitudinal outcome is expected in which older individuals usually tend to be more linguistically prejudiced and tend to have stronger views about language than younger ones. This age-influenced outcome can also be supported by another finding in the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia in which the 50+ group – statistically significantly – perceived language variation as unimportant and problematic compared to the younger respondents (see Figure 25). Overall, the association between Age and the attitudes is noticeable among several findings in the present study, making it the respondents' most salient social variable in shaping their language attitudes.

The association between the respondents' level of education and their attitudes was yet another prevalent observation. There was a consistent evaluation pattern of the Postgraduate respondents (either Master's or PhD holders) to evaluate the varieties lower than the Bachelor degree holders. Though the Postgraduates' evaluation scores remained slightly positive (mean above 4), they were consistently lower than those given by their Bachelor counterparts. While it would seem unusual for the highly educated individual to be more negative towards the language variety than the less educated, it is possible to maintain that their negative perceptions of non-standard varieties have actually been nourished by their educatedness. That is, the more an individual climbs the social ladder, the more he or she is likely to think unfavourably of

non-standard varieties. It is also interesting to note that this very point was also mentioned in the interview responses of a PhD holder respondent in the present study (i.e. Respondent 6, see section 5.3.3).

Another aspect of interpreting the Postgraduates' evaluations could be that the more educated a person is, the more likely he or she will attempt to remain unbiased, well-adjusted and moderate. This is assumed because, although the Postgraduates' evaluations were considered negative when compared to the rest of the sample, their evaluation scores of the varieties under investigation were not substantially low. The scores were, in fact, mostly on the mid-level (i.e. 4 out of 7) (see Figure 18 and Figure 19 for examples), which could point to a relatively low intensity of attitudes. The negative evaluations tested on the basis of the respondents' education are relatively less intense than the negative evaluations tested on the basis of age. In short, this could point to the role of education in reducing and balancing the intensity of attitudes when it comes to evaluating language.

Moreover, as previously explained in section 4.5, the findings of the Education's associations can be supported by the findings of the association between the variable Aboard Residence and the expressed attitudes. When testing the Aboard Residence variable, it was noted that the respondents who have been abroad evaluated some of the varieties – statistically significantly – more negatively than those who have not (see section 4.4.1). That said, the number of Saudi postgraduates who study abroad is estimated to be 26,849 (Ministry of Education 2019) compared to 22,185 Saudi postgraduates studying in the country (General Authority for Statistics 2017). Therefore, the relationship between the two social variables (i.e. Education and Abroad Residence) can be considered correlated. Again, the implication of this correlation is the additional evidence of the association between the respondents' educations and their LAs towards SAVs.

It seems that studying abroad, in particular, may have a role in shaping the linguistic thinking of Saudis as mastering other languages and being regularly exposed to them may reflect a perceptional stigma towards the Saudi regional varieties. All in all, as far as the present study's findings indicate, it could be argued that the respondents' level of education appeared to be in clear association with the expressed attitudes. Of course, this is not to suggest that education in itself is the initiator of attitudes, but rather, it is a complex of factors determined by education that shape

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attitudes including social mobility, upbringing environment and privileges, to name a few.

Geographic Origin had the most striking, yet understandable, evaluation patterns. This variable represents where the respondent identifies to be from in Saudi Arabia (see section 3.10 for an overview of the social variables of respondents). After testing the variable's association with attitudes, two evident evaluation patterns were noticed in the evaluations of Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic (no statistical significance was found for Qassimi Arabic). The first is the observed tendency of respondents from Central areas (e.g. Riyadh) to evaluate the varieties consistently more negatively than any other geographic group (e.g. South) they are compared with. This was more clearly observed in the respondent's evaluations expressed towards Jizani Arabic. Respondents from Central Saudi Arabia evaluated Jizani Arabic negatively on all of the evaluative dimensions. They were also consistently – statistically significantly – more negative towards the variety than all the other geographic groups except for the Northern respondents (see Figure 20). Given the perceived stigma of Jizani Arabic, the findings of the present study suggest that respondents from Central Saudi Arabia look down on Jizani Arabic and its speakers. It is plausible to assume that such evaluations are influenced by the linguistic prestige reserved for Najdi Arabic, which is mainly spoken in Central Saudi Arabia. The prestige of Najdi Arabic is an *overt* one and is derived from the prestige of the capital city Riyadh, and this may have had a role in the negative attitudes expressed towards Jizani Arabic, which is a more localised regional variety.

The second evaluation pattern connected to the association between Geographic Origin with attitudes was the positive evaluations expressed towards a given variety by the respondents from the very region of that same variety. For instance, respondents from the South expressed – statistically significant – positive attitudes towards Jizani Arabic on all the evaluative dimensions. This may suggest dialect loyalty as well as a positive (linguistic) self-image. Despite the stigma of Jizani Arabic, the variety seemed to trigger a sense of identity by which the respondents were appreciating the variety. In Edwards' terms, '[a] language variety may lack social prestige but it is still *ours*' (2009, p.96, emphasis in original). The positive evaluations can also signal covert prestige (Giles & Edwards 2010, p.36) aspects of the variety such as social attractiveness qualities. Some positive evaluations by some respondents were also noted once compared with the respondents from Central Saudi Arabia (see Figure 20). To sum up,

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the present study's findings suggest that Jizani Arabic, in particular, seemed more controversial than the other two SAVs due to the conflicting, polarised attitudes held towards it.

LAs are known to be the product of social construction and experience (Kircher & Zipp 2022, p.3). Therefore, the factorial findings of the attitudes towards SAVs may be categorised under what Al-Rojaie (2020a, p.46) puts forward as 'the linguistic outcomes of the massive and rapid urbanization that reshaped the social landscape of Saudi dialects and identities'. This can be the case for both the positive and negative attitudes. For example, of relevance to the findings of the present study is the negative attitudes towards the regional SAVs such as the negative attitudes held by the respondents who come from Central Saudi Arabia and the highly educated respondents. As residents of the most urbanised areas (e.g. Riyadh), respondents from Central Saudi Arabia may have developed a narrow-minded view of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. This view seems to increase the positive attitudes towards Najdi Arabic and increase the negative attitudes towards the other regional SAVs. Also, those who are highly educated are usually members of urbanised communities, and hence, they also seemed to marginalise the studied regional SAVs by holding negative attitudes towards them. In short, urbanisation can be taken as an influential factor in holding attitudes towards language in Saudi Arabia.

6.3.3 Comparing attitudes with previous studies

As previously noted in sections 1.1 and 2.12, studies of Saudis' LAs towards SAVs are scarce, yet, I will rely on the available literature to compare the findings. Relatedly, as noted in section 2.12, most of these LAs studies have focused on the attitudes of the speakers of the SAVs under investigation instead of the general Saudi population. In any case, because Saudi society is considered homogenous to some extent, it is possible to compare the study's findings with prior studies even if the respondents in those studies do not resemble the respondents in the present study such as being exclusively speakers of a particular Saudi variety.

The first relevant finding is the positive attitudes towards the Saudi Southern dialect reported in Alabdali (2017). Similar to the positivity of attitudes noted in the present study, Alabdali, too, found 'significantly positive attitudes' (ibid., p.45) towards the Saudi dialect under investigation. It is important to note, nevertheless, that the variety investigated in Alabdali's study is ill-defined, vague and overly broad. For

example, Jizani Arabic is just one of many other Southern Saudi dialects. Hence, it is inappropriate to reduce the Saudi Southern varieties (category) to a single variety. Furthermore, the positive attitudes findings in the present study also corresponded with the findings of Alahmadi (2016) who found positive attitudes and 'a sense of responsibility towards' (p.249) a Saudi colloquial variety spoken in Western Saudi Arabia among its speakers. Positive attitudes towards the Saudi colloquial variety were also found by Almahmoud (2012). In sum, it seems that Saudis are generally positive towards SAVs, at least in the context of academic research.

However, apart from positivity, some negative attitudes have been expressed towards Qassimi Arabic and Jizani Arabic within the present study's findings. Admittedly, very few studies have been conducted to address LAs towards these two varieties. One of them was conducted by Ruthan (2020) who found negative attitudes expressed by Najdi (Saudi Central areas) respondents in his Saudi sample towards Jizani Arabic. Regarding Qassimi Arabic, no published study has explicitly identified negative attitudes towards the variety. To this end, the only relevant study is Al-Rojaie (2020b). As previously reviewed, although Al-Rojaie investigated Qassimi Arabic from a perceptual dialectology perspective, his findings did not specifically indicate negative attitudes *per se*. Rather, the study was inductive and exploratory in nature in which six evaluative categories about Qassimi Arabic emerged from the respondents' comments.

Moreover, on a generic level, Towairesh (2020) has demonstrated that Saudis hold negative attitudes towards Spoken Arabic (i.e. CA), and he has maintained that there is a generally negative attitude towards spoken varieties of Arabic. It, therefore, seems that there is an attitudinal ambivalence regarding the colloquial Arabic varieties in the Saudi context. This attitudinal ambivalence among Saudis' attitudes towards language was previously found by Al-Hakami (2020). That said, it is important to point out the need for more attitudinal studies that can elucidate the public's attitudes towards SAVs. Such studies ought to be conducted at the national level and with the support of research institutions and funding bodies (see section 7.4 for details of the recommendation of national language attitudes surveys).

As for the association between the social characteristics of the respondents and their attitudes, the present study's findings can be compared with a number of previous studies. For instance, in the findings of Towairesh (2020), the role of age in shaping linguistic ideologies and language attitudes was consistently observed. Specifically, Towairesh noted that, compared to the older respondents, the younger respondents were

generally more accepting of and tolerant towards Saudi colloquial Arabic. This is parallel to the findings of the association between age and the attitudes in the present study. Moreover, Ruthan's (2020) study found a similar pattern (to the present study) of the role of the respondents' social characteristics in the findings. This pattern is manifested in the attitudes being influenced by the respondents' regions and not being influenced by sex whatsoever. Regarding respondents' age, Ruthan also found a slight influence of age on the perceptions of the speaking speed of Jizani Arabic.

At a macro level, age is a focal variable for the measurement, analysis and documentation of language attitudes. This is because age can signal *change* or *change direction* of attitudes towards language varieties (McKenzie & McNeill 2023, pp.168-169). It is interesting to note that McKenzie and McNeill's (2023) recent work on LAs still detected some effects of age on attitudes towards British English varieties. The authors further concluded that attitudes change is mainly led by the younger generations of English nationals. The observation of age's association with attitude change can be equated with the established observation within variationist sociolinguistics in which innovation (i.e. change) in language usage is also frequently led by the youth (McKenzie & McNeill 2023, p.170). Relatedly, the examination of age in (socio)linguistics is quite important, especially when teasing out changes of both language use and language attitudes. And since the older respondents in the present study were – statistically significantly – responding negatively to the varieties under investigation, it could be concluded that the age-associated evaluations are an expected outcome. That is, the findings related to age may indicate some sort of resistance to contemporary Saudi speech by the older generations.

6.3.4 Further highlights in Phase 2 findings

After addressing the potential answers to some of the study's RQs, I will now comment on some of the other noteworthy findings obtained in Phase 2. These findings are, to a large extent, related to the voices of the speakers of the stimuli. The first finding is about the variety identification task (section 4.2) in which there were high scores of correct identification for all the varieties. This finding suggests a greater association between the varieties and the stimuli speakers. The identification rates for Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic were relatively higher than for Qassimi Arabic. This may indicate two remarks about these two varieties: 1) minimal geographic distribution and 2) extra distinctiveness. That is to say, there is probably a smaller chance of confusion

about Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic to the point that they are unlikely to be heard or spoken outside of their socio-geographic boundaries. This is contrary to Qassimi Arabic which, as explained in section 2.6, descends from the Saudi variety Najdi Arabic. Consequently, a lay listener of or a listener with less exposure to Qassimi Arabic might be confused into thinking it is just Najdi Arabic. This could explain the lower score of correct identification of Qassimi Arabic.

The VGT may have aided the high correct identification rates of the varieties. As explained in section 3.6.1, one of the features associated with the VGT is the spontaneity of speech when producing the audio stimulus. That said, the identification of the geographic origin of language varieties is typically facilitated by spontaneous speech (van Bezooijen & Gooskens 1999). It is suggested that spontaneous speech can 'contain a wide variety of cues related to […] geographic origin' (ibid., p.42). Some of such cues have been mentioned by the respondents, as reported in section 4.2. An evident example of an identifying cue in the present study was the vocabulary-based cue Word Choice (see Figure 15) in which the speakers of the stimuli were supplementing their descriptions with dialect words. Therefore, it can be concluded that the identifiability of the SAVs under investigation was bound up with the personal, dialectal cues manifested in the spontaneous speech of the speakers. This consequently strengthens the rationale for using the VGT instead of the MGT as well as illuminates the need for authentic, spontaneous speech in the investigation of LAs and probably in the whole study of language.

The second finding related to the voices was regarding the similarity task findings (section 4.6). The statistical analysis of the similarity task revealed two major statistically significant findings. The first is the higher scores of similarity to two of the stimuli speakers reported by the male respondents compared to the female respondents (see Figure 22). This was interesting because not only were the speakers males but also were speaking in non-standard varieties. These two features could explain the higher similarity scores reported by the male respondents in the similarity task. It can, therefore, be assumed that the male respondents identified with the speakers of the stimuli more than the female respondents. This kind of standard/non-standard language differentiation between men and women has been well documented and explained by Trudgill (1972; 1974) as *covert prestige* in which men tend to associate with non-standard speech whereas women tend to associate with standard speech. The other major finding within the similarity task is the consistent pattern of correct similarity

scores in which the respondents who are from the same region of that of the variety's report higher similarity scores than the other regions groups (e.g. East respondents reported statistically significant high similarity to Hasawi Arabic compared to respondents from the Centre, West, South and North). Again, the significance of these two findings stems from the statistically significant results noted after performing a t-test and an F-test (reported in sections 4.6 and 4.7) (also see below).

The findings of both the identification and similarity tasks point to certain observations about the respondents in this study. The high level of the respondents' familiarity with such regional varieties is the most notable one. The fact that Saudi Arabia is, to a large extent, a monolingual society and that Arabic is the dominant language in it can be reasons for such a high level of familiarity. The relative homogeneity of Saudi society – particularly in terms of ethnicity – is yet another factor for such an observation. Another observation concerns the very ability of the respondents to categorise SAVs correctly. The statistically significant findings of the association between the Geographic Origin of the respondents and their reported similarity scores (see section 4.7 and Figure 23) reflect an actual linguistic mapping of Saudi Arabia and a fair amount of language awareness from the respondents' side.

Nevertheless, the main implication of such findings is *in* the similarity task findings, and it is about the speakers of the stimuli rather than the respondents *per se*. The findings have confirmed the authenticity, representativeness and accuracy of the guises performed by the stimuli speakers with respect to the SAVs under investigation. As explained in section 4.7, this confirmation provides more confidence in the attitudinal findings discussed earlier as it is ascertained that the respondents expressed their attitudes towards the right attitude object. Importantly, it can be argued that the speakers' identities have been displayed quite well via their language use. This is in line with the long-standing argument of language (including dialects or accents) being a salient marker of identity (Edwards 1999, pp.101-102; 2009, p.21). Specifically, a speaker's identity is formed and manifested vividly by accents and pronunciation in particular (Setter & Jenkins 2005, p.5; Pennington & Rogerson-Revell 2019, p.8). In conclusion, there were some identity outcomes resulting from the speakers producing the stimuli, and this was observed through the findings of the similarity task.

The salient presence of identities of the stimuli speakers can actually be taken as supportive evidence for the respondents' perceptions of the SAVs under investigation. While it was explained that the identity findings legitimise the findings from a

methodological perspective, they can also elucidate the respondents' perceptions to be reflective of and applicable to real-life attitudes and situations. This means that the validity of the elicited attitudes is enhanced, hence amplifying the importance of the implications (section 6.6) as well as the recommendations (section 7.4) set out in the present study. Relatedly, as pointed out by Garrett (2010, p.16), the attitudes held towards language varieties resemble the attitudes held towards the individuals or groups using those language varieties. The present study's design accounted for any potential distinction between attitudes towards the speaker and attitudes towards the language by asking respondents to evaluate both in the VGT (see the adjectives used in the VGT in section 3.6.2 and Table 2). This was yet another purposeful attempt from which the attitudes and perceptions can be elucidated further. Based on the previous points, the attitudes and perceptions findings of the present study can be argued to have been reliable, significant and indicative of Saudis' attitudes.

6.4 Discussion of Phase 3 findings

The qualitative findings of Phase 3 – represented in the interviews findings – served two purposes. The first purpose was to extend, develop and explain some of the attitudinal quantitative findings. Particularly, this is the case with 1) the interview findings of the factors underlying the attitudes and 2) perceptions of language variation in Saudi Arabia. The second purpose of the qualitative findings was to provide stand-alone findings about the respondents' experiences of linguistic prejudice or discrimination. The interview findings were aimed to address RQ3 and RQ4. Overall, the following sections deal with the complementary findings of attitudes as well as the answers to RQ3 and RQ4.

6.4.1 RQ3: From the respondents' perspective, what factors underlie their language attitudes?

Eliciting the factors and reasons behind language attitudes is as important as eliciting the attitudes themselves, and it is from this argument that this research question was developed. To recapitulate, the analysis of the interviews revealed six major attitude factors in total (see Figure 28). Each set of factors was categorised as either Social, Personal or Linguistic. This categorisation was based on the conceptual nature of the factors (i.e. themes) and the responses (i.e. codes) constructing them.

As detailed in section 5.3, the interview findings related to the factors seemed to represent a three-dimensional framework of attitude factors: the macro (Social), meso

(Personal) and micro (Linguistic). As an example, a macro factor such as stereotypes is derived from the broader source (i.e. Social) whereas a meso factor lies in the respondent's knowledge or perception, bringing the factor closer to the individual (i.e. Personal) rather than society. The micro factors are shifted towards the linguistic properties found in the speech of the speakers of the stimuli. They are centred within the language used, thus labelled as Linguistic. The attitude factors also followed a hierarchy just as some of the evaluations of the varieties (reported in section 4.8, Figure 26). This factors hierarchy is based on the top-down three sources of the language evaluation factors explained here. Overall, this systematic conceptualisation of factors is significant and provides a holistic, systematic outlook of attitude factors, and hence, it is a valuable contribution accomplished by the present study.

The idea that the elicited attitude factors inductively conformed to a systematic hierarchy is a quite significant (methodological) revelation. For one thing, this finding solidifies and increases the validity of the attitude factors findings because of such systematicity. Simultaneously, it also touches upon several areas, providing a wide coverage of different attitude factors and perspectives. The factors undoubtedly differed in both frequency and nature, but they were often possible to be interconnected. Of course, some factors may not be exclusively grouped under a single dimension. For example, the factor *stereotypes* may overlap between the Social and Personal dimensions. Overall, although the factors were arrived at inductively after the interview data analysis, it can be argued that they emerged through a legitimate, evidence-based conceptualisation of language attitudes.

The data analysis of the interviews indicated that some factors were more salient than others in determining language attitude. *Stereotypes*, for example, stood out as a factor in the present study, and it was vividly signalled on several occasions throughout the interviews. This could suggest that there are several ways in which attitudes are influenced. Importantly, this points to a spectrum of influence intensity regarding attitude factors. Theoretically, stereotypical evaluation of language – whether favourably or unfavourably – is not uncommon. Dragojevic (2018, 2nd page) sums up this idea as follows:

> since the 1960s, hundreds of studies worldwide and cross-culturally have shown that people can and do express definite and consistent stereotypical judgments about different language varieties.

It is interesting to note that stereotypes – as Dragojevic remarked – globally lead the evaluation of language and that Saudis are not an exception. It seems as though the evaluation of language based on stereotypes is a universal, if not human, phenomenon.

While the factor *stereotypes* was salient due to its frequent reoccurrence in the dataset, some factors were salient because of their explicitness. This is the case with the Linguistic factor, *The very use of regional variety*. The attitudes and reactions influenced by this factor were directed towards the varieties themselves. This was a striking observation wherein the factor underlying the attitudes towards a variety is the *variety* itself. In a study by Purnell *et al.* (1999), starting with the word "hello" in a telephone conversation was found to be enough exposure to cause dialect identification and, consequently, discrimination against speakers. Nevertheless, the attribution of any characteristics to a speaker, of course, cannot be based solely on the language variety *per se*, but rather, it is the socio-cultural value of that language variety. This is the foundational idea underpinning the *social connotations* hypothesis as opposed to the *inherent value* hypothesis, the two hypotheses proposed to account for language attitudes (explained in section 2.9).

Stereotypes, in particular, are actually the basis for the *social connotations* hypothesis. In the present study, almost all of the interview respondents indicated an influence of stereotypes on their evaluation. That said, it is significant that the respondents in this study consciously evaluated the varieties based on stereotypes. That is, they admitted evaluating the speakers in the VGT based on stereotypes. In some instances, the respondents (e.g. Respondents 10, 13 and 15) mentioned stereotypes as the factor behind their evaluations unsolicitedly and without being prompted or asked about it. Relatedly, in Alhazmi and Alfalig's (2022) study, the respondents vividly expressed stereotypical keywords about Saudi dialects. The authors explained this finding by the potential influence of Saudi media on the perceptions of dialects in Saudi Arabia (ibid., p.120). Interestingly, this idea in itself was the other Social factor (i.e. *Media influence*) noted within the factors findings in the present study. Therefore, it is likely that stereotypes and the media intersect to shape attitudes towards SAVs. It is surely worth investigating whether the representations of some SAVs in the media are intentional or just a matter of coincidence. Overall, as noted by Edwards (1999, p.103), the evaluation of individual speakers stems from the stereotypical judgments cast on them as members of a particular group.

It is important to highlight that the influence of the Social factors has exceeded that of the Personal factors. While the Personal factors are based on the respondents' own knowledge or perception, it appears that Saudi society's shared perceptions and ideologies about language are relatively more influential to attitudes compared to the individual perception. This observation is plausible, considering that Saudi society is mainly a collectivist one. Although it is sometimes argued (e.g. Opoku 2012, p.176; Jiang *et al.* 2018, p.144) that such collectivism is being reduced in Saudi Arabia, Saudi society remains inherently collective. Even the social stratification of Saudi society sometimes conforms to a collectivistic classification such as tribes or family origin. To this end, it can be concluded that the stereotypical linguistic ideologies shared across Saudi Arabia about SAVs are more likely to nurture, drive and influence attitudes. Thus, it may be that the change (of attitudes) in this situation does not necessarily need to start from the individual but the institutions within society such as schools, universities, governmental administrations and within the workplace, to name a few.

Attitude factors are – understandably – overlooked in the literature of LAs towards Arabic varieties. This is usually because LAs research has mainly been concerned with the elicitation, analysis and examination of the attitudes *per se*. To my knowledge, only a single previous study has systematically looked at factors behind Saudis' LAs towards SAVs, which can be compared to the factors found in the present study. This is the study of Almahmoud (2012) who identified Social and Linguistic factors behind the attitudes too. However, Almahmoud's factors findings were not elicited in the light of his MGT (i.e. directly asking about the expressed evaluations in the task), but rather, they were elicited independently through a focus group. That is, the respondents in his study were not directly reflecting on their own evaluations of the speakers. It is significant for the present study to have noted overlapping attitude factors with Almahmoud's study considering the time gap between the two studies (i.e. over a decade). In conclusion, the attitude factors found in the present study are a novel contribution and provide a rich understanding of Saudis' attitudinal evaluations of language.

6.4.2 RQ4: To what extent do Saudis experience linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia?

As explained in section 3.9, some parts of the interview included questions about the respondents' perceptions and experiences of linguistic prejudice and linguistic

discrimination (see Appendix 10 for the full list of questions). The interview findings revealed insightful information about prejudicial and discriminatory experiences found in Saudi Arabia. There was almost a consensus by the respondents that Saudis treat each other differently based on the variety spoken. The potentiality of either prejudice or discrimination was clearly echoed in the findings of the study. As reported in section 5.4.3, most respondents witnessed, predicted and sometimes experienced discrimination incidents even within official settings in Saudi Arabia. It is significant to note that discussing linguistic discrimination in the interviews was relevant to multiple respondents in the present study.

Notwithstanding, interpreting the findings of linguistic discrimination in the present study should be done with some caution. This is because, as concluded in section 5.4.3, there are overlaps between the practices of prejudice and discrimination noted within the qualitative findings. Moreover, the findings of discrimination in the present study may be deemed broadly anecdotal, albeit serving as tentative evidence. It is also suggested that issues of language-based ridicule, prejudice and discrimination represent a continuum of linguistic practices. These linguistic practices are bound up with situational factors and circumstances such as whether the targeted variety is a language or a linguistic variant of a language (e.g. dialect), which may influence the consequential severity of such practices.

For language ridicule experiences, almost all of the interview respondents indicated being ridiculed for their dialect/accent use in Saudi Arabia. From the narrations of the respondents, school was the most frequently-mentioned place for the experience of language ridicule. This was the case for the respondents when they were children and school pupils. That said, Giles and Ryan (1982, p.208) posit that 'the social meanings attached to […] speech styles [i.e. taken to mean language varieties here] are fairly well developed for many children in early childhood'. Baugh (2018, p.46) also highlights that children worldwide are indiscreet when it comes to verbal ridicule and verbal abuse. Indeed, children's engagement with and attitudes towards language are complex, and the various consequences emanating from their linguistic practices are evident. In reality, childhood experiences typically shape, influence and contribute to the values and emotions in adulthood. Ridicule may be an unforgettable experience and its impact may extend to adulthood as well. This could especially be the case when the ridicule incident is not expected to occur as in being ridiculed or maltreated by teachers or relatives. This is an issue that I come back to when discussing

the study's (educational) recommendations with respect to negative language attitudes and unjust linguistic practices (see section 7.4).

It should not be thought that it is only in less-educated contexts do language ridicule, prejudice and discrimination occur. The higher education system and its institutions could also perpetuate these practices. In fact, as evidenced by the interviews findings, some of the linguistic experiences narrated by the respondents in the present study took place during the respondents' time in university. Meanwhile, several scholarly contributions have recently shed light on linguistic discrimination in higher education (see Clements & Petray 2021). As noted by one of the editors of this volume,

> [t]he fact that much language discrimination occurs in the very liberal, progressive environment, […] in which everything seems idealistic, is subversive and often undermines the diversity statements and missions of the exact universities where this discrimination takes place (Clements 2021, p.4).

It then seems that the continued reoccurrence and circulation of language ridicule, linguistic prejudice or linguistic discrimination is a factor for their persistent influence even within the most supposedly intellectual and tolerant environments.

Based on the findings of the interviews, it could be argued that, unfortunately, linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia often occur within educational settings. Educational settings are one of the fertile contexts wherein issues relating to linguistic stereotyping and the standard language ideology (discussed previously in section 2.7.2) exist (Dragojevic 2018, 8th page). Further, Kontra (2018, p.127) has argued that – in the context of Hungary – schools are the most important institution causing linguistic subordination or linguicism. Thus, the findings of the present study indicate that it is possible for Saudis in Saudi Arabia to be exposed to ridicule, prejudice or discrimination once they use linguistic forms that are deviant from the standard, the prestigious or even the shared variety. This is supported by the overwhelming proportion of respondents who said that they experienced language ridicule, linguistic prejudice or linguistic discrimination at some point of their lives in Saudi Arabia. To this end, linguistic discrimination is, in effect, an outcome of language standardisation (Petray & Clements 2021, p.190) which is often perpetuated by the educational system.

In more general terms, discriminatory practices – whether linguistic or non-linguistic – are not a strange or new phenomenon in Saudi Arabia. Regional bias is one of the most common discriminatory traits within the country. This type of

discrimination not only is caused by the regional belonging or the tribal origin of an individual, but also, connectedly, other factors such as the spoken varieties. However, it seems that linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia is practised and experienced subtly. In other words, neither the discriminator nor the discriminated against is fully conscious of the issue being a discriminatory practice during the incident. On the whole, issues of discrimination are universal and can be found in all human societies, and it is one of the early social ills of humankind.

Linguistic discrimination and holding attitudes towards language are, to a large extent, inseparable. Practices of linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination are justified by language attitudes (Tamasi & Antieau 2015, p.61). For example, when an individual is denied employment, service or admission because of the way he or she speaks or sounds, this would be a linguistically-discriminatory practice perpetuated by a language attitude. This shows the principal relationship between LAs and linguistic discrimination in that the latter is usually a consequence or a ramification of the former. This relationship can also be supported by the model of attitude structure (see Figure 3) in which behaviour (i.e. discriminating against speakers of a given variety) is theorised as a component that constitutes attitude. It can be argued, then, that language attitudes and linguistic discrimination should normally be examined in tandem.

6.4.3 Language attitudes and perceptions elicited in the interviews

In section 5.2, I have presented the findings obtained from the interviews with respect to the respondents' attitudes and perceptions regarding language variation in Saudi Arabia. These findings were elicited through the direct approach to LAs in which the respondents were directly asked about their attitudes. The interview responses generally supported and extended the questionnaire responses. For example, as was illustrated in Figure 27, most of the themes of the perceptions had a positive outlook. Talking about 'culture', 'identity', 'richness' and 'advantages', the respondents expressed their positive views on language variation in Saudi Arabia. The common ground for these findings was that language variation adds to both society and individuals.

Some of the views and perceptions elicited in the interviews also appeared in Almahmoud's (2012) attitudes findings, but they were conceptualised negatively. Almahmoud's – Saudi – respondents 'were worried about the effect of CA [Colloquial Arabic] on their identity' (ibid., p.158). This is contradictory to the present study's positive identity responses reported by the respondents. Of course, time might have

been a key factor in this situation as a whole generation has been born since Almahmoud's study. Moreover, Almahmoud was comparing Colloquial Arabic with Standard Arabic and English, two varieties with much prestige and status in Saudi Arabia. As previously noted in sections 2.12 and 3.6.1, it seems that the inclusion of StA as a stimulus in investigating language attitudes is likely to influence and bias the findings in the sense that the non-standard varieties may be evaluated more negatively compared to studies that do not include StA. Further, as was pointed out in section 6.3.1, a new Saudi national identity has been emerging (Al-Rojaie 2020a), which might have been recently promoted even more during the current rapid (socio-economic) transformations within the country. The impact of such a national identity is realised in the increased adoption of the Shared Dialect by Saudis which, in turn, may contribute to devaluing or diminishing regional varieties.

However, there was a small number of interview responses under which some negative perceptions were observable. The potential misunderstanding between speakers of different dialects was deemed as a 'disadvantage' of language variation. Although popular across multiple societies, this finding is surprising to appear in the present study. It is surprising because variation in SAVs is somewhat unlikely to cause severe intelligibility issues due to the multiple mutual similarities between the varieties and the fact that they all belong to the same language. As such, this worry seems mythical, and thus, it may be unjustified. Yet, language variation has not always been easily accepted or tolerated. Hence, the respondents' attitude towards variation seemed to encompass an unintelligibility disadvantage. Another sociolinguistic observation is the respondents' use of the term *dialect* rather than *accent* in almost all of the responses. This may suggest the salience of Saudi dialects as opposed to accents to Saudis. Although the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably (Hughes *et al.* 2013, p.3), the consequences of dialect use might be more significant than that of accent in Saudi Arabia. Perhaps, this is because of the higher degree of variation found in dialects compared to accents, in the sense of dialects including multiple linguistic levels of variation except for pronunciation, which can signal the speaker vividly.

The respondents in the interviews articulated the dominance of the Shared Dialect spoken in Saudi Arabia. This was a theme in the interview data, and it is a significantly important one because it was introduced by the respondents themselves without being promoted to talk about this issue. This correct observation mentioned by mostly non-expert respondents shows a clear pervasiveness of the Shared Dialect across

Saudi Arabia. This idea is referred to in the literature (e.g. Orelus 2021) as dialect/accent hegemony. As a result, speakers of the hegemonic variety are likely to gain hegemony and control over the speakers of the other varieties. This is particularly so since the Shared Dialect – being mostly influenced by Najdi Arabic – is similar to StA in terms of status and prestige in Saudi Arabia and is also associated with elite individuals. Finally, a recent finding of the dominance of the Shared Dialect in Saudi Arabia was also reported by Alhazmi and Alfalig (2022), which indicates that this is a current issue in the country. To this end, the sociolinguistic variation of Arabic in Saudi Arabia follows Abd-El-Jawad's (1987, p.359) convincing argument that the situation of the Arabic language is understood by the existence of 'not only one standard speech variety, MSA, but also other prestigious local or regional varieties which act as local spoken standards competing with MSA'.

Another generic commentary about the Shared Dialect in the interviews was its label. As mentioned before, the respondents usually referred to this variety as the *white dialect*. In the study of Al-Rojaie (2020a), the respondents used the same description of the *white dialect* to refer to the Saudi koiné (i.e. Shared Dialect). Al-Rojaie (ibid., pp.41-42) further notes that his respondents could not know the circumstances behind naming the variety as such, and that the term was used more often by the younger respondents in his study. Similarly, the term was frequently mentioned by the respondents in the present study, though it is unclear what such a label means exactly. A possible explanation is that the term *white dialect* is a folk-linguistic, everyday term used to describe the Saudi dialectal lingua franca. Nonetheless, the term *white dialect per se* is problematic, and I propose substituting it with the *Shared Dialect*. The issue of the *white* description lies in its ambiguity. It may be hypothesised that this description reflects a sense of self-Orientalisation by which the white privilege discourse is borrowed into the context of Arabic. However, this interpretation seems unlikely, especially in the context of Saudi Arabia. This is assumed because there is no White ethnicity in Saudi Arabia (except for a few working expatriates) nor has the country been ever colonised and/or occupied by European/American forces.

The Shared Dialect in Saudi Arabia seems to be, in Kerswill's (2003, p.223) terms, geographically diffusing across the country. Kerswill explains geographical diffusion as a process 'by which [linguistic] features spread out from a populous and economically and culturally *dominant centre*' (ibid., emphasis added). That said, the Shared Dialect borrows most of its features from Najdi Arabic which is, as highlighted

in section 2.5, the dialect of Central Saudi Arabia. For this reason, it appears that the diffusion of the Shared Dialect (and consequently Najdi Arabic) is a typical instance of geographical diffusion of language varieties. Notably, Najdi Arabic is a 'culturally prominent' variety (Alhazmi & Alfaifi 2022, p.823). Therefore, the diffusion phenomenon is now realised more than ever in the Saudi context due to the wide national dialectal contact resulting from urbanisation, the influence of (social) media and, more evidently, the presupposed prestige of the Shared Dialect.

By way of summary, the previous sections have dealt with the interpretations of the findings of the present study. Such findings have been interpreted in light of the literature by which they were explained in more detail, compared with previous studies and linked back to the theory of language attitudes. To this end, the next sections will shift the chapter towards a broader perspective of interpreting the findings. The following section will connect the findings to broader linguistic ideologies (section 6.5), followed by a section that highlights the theoretical and methodological implications that can be drawn from the findings (section 6.6).

6.5 The findings' connection to linguistic ideologies

As explained in section 2.7.3, language attitudes and linguistic ideologies (reviewed in section 2.7.1) intersect. A key feature the two phenomena share is that, as pointed out by Kircher and Zipp (2022, p.6), they 'are never about language alone'. Equally important, 'attitudes are very often *influenced* by ideologies' (Walsh 2022, p.20, italics in original). Ultimately, LAs research can be used as a methodological vehicle to investigate broader LIs (Garrett 2010, p.35). To this end, some findings from the present study can be considered as ideological manifestations to which attitudes can be linked. In this section, I will discuss some of these ideology-connected findings, broadening the scope of interpretation of the findings.

For a start, there appeared to be an ideological stance taken by the respondents upon expressing their attitudes and perceptions. This stance, in Coupland and Bishop's (2007) terms, is the position towards the 'sociolinguistic diversity' of Arabic in Saudi Arabia. As previously highlighted, the respondents seemed to look favourably on the SAVs and the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the positive ideological stance towards diversity seems as a plausible explanation of such favourable attitudinal trends in the findings. This ideology appears to be enacted by the respondents' positive language attitudes. Notably, as concluded by Cook and Sellitz

(1964, p.39), when people report their attitudes, they often intend to appear 'well-adjusted, unprejudiced, rational, open-minded and democratic'. Thus, it seems as though both the practice of the respondents attempting to '*look good*' (Paulhus 1991, p.17, emphasis added) and the social desirability effect pertain to attitudes expression, especially when attitudes are self-reported.

Another ideological manifestation could be inferred from Mugglestone's (2003) notion of *the rise of the regional*. This is particularly related to the positive elevation of the regional varieties in the present study even in terms of status. The cases of Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic may represent vivid examples of *the rise of the regional* in the present study. As illustrated in section 4.3 (Table 4), Hasawi Arabic received relatively the highest evaluation in terms of Status in the dataset ($M = 4.46$). Moreover, Jizani Arabic not only received a high positive evaluation on Status ($M = 4.45$), but it also received the highest evaluation in the dataset in terms of Solidarity ($M = 4.64$). As previously described in section 2.6, both Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic are typically highly localised regional varieties spoken in particular areas in Saudi Arabia, and yet, they were evaluated positively. In the context of Britain, Garrett (2010, p.176) interprets holding less-negative attitudes towards stigmatised varieties as signs of 'liberal sentiment', 'ideological shift' and a *rise of the regional*. This understanding may well be applicable to Saudi Arabia and SAVs, especially with today's globalisation of ideas and ideologies.

It can be argued that some of the present study's findings exhibited some elements of the standard language ideology (SLI) (explained in section 2.7.2). A piece of evidence for this assumption is the respondents' constant digression to talk about the Shared Dialect in the interviews (see section 5.2). It was previously argued in section 5.2 that the respondents' views indicated a dominance or ubiquity of the Shared Dialect in Saudi Arabia. While this observation may not always represent the respondents' own thinking, it yet entails an ideological atmosphere surrounding language and the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. The existence of SLI in Saudi Arabia is not strange, but it appears that it will persist. Interestingly, the present study purposively avoided the inclusion of a standard variety in the investigation (see section 2.12), and yet, there still seems to be an influence of SLI. However, as described in section 2.7.2, Arabic is submerged by ideologies (Alsohaibani 2016, p.19), is a typical case for SLI (Hachimi 2013, p.272) and its varieties are hierarchically ranked based on closeness to the standard (Høigilt & Mejdell 2017, p.9). These observations could provide some

interpretations as to why SLI can still exert an influence even when addressing non-standard varieties only.

It needs to be acknowledged that the analysis of LIs, while relevant and important to the analysis of LAs, is sophisticated enough that it requires its own research framework. Despite the inclusion of LI work in the present LAs study, it was meant to be complementary rather than exhaustive. This is particularly the case since, as noted by Fuller (2018, p.122), LAs and LIs differ methodologically in that LAs are elicited at the level of individuals through surveys, and LIs are explored at the level of community through discourse analysis. Overall, as will later be recommended in section 7.6, researching LIs – especially with respect to Arabic and SAVs – is highly encouraged as it is an underresearched topic.

6.6 Implications

I have until now attempted to put the study's findings under close analysis by means of interpretation, comparison and theorisation. I now turn to discuss the multiple implications entailed by the findings of the present study. Six main implications are listed and discussed whilst reflecting on both quantitative and qualitative findings.

The first implication is that the language attitudes elicited in the present study are a contribution to the sociolinguistic theory in several areas. The findings are relevant to areas ranging from sociolinguistics as a field of enquiry, the Arabic language as an attitude object to Saudi Arabia as a study context. Relatedly, the present study is novel in its documentation of attitudes towards non-standard varieties in Saudi Arabia. While the literature review has identified some LAs studies in Saudi Arabia (reviewed in sections 2.9.1, 2.9.2.2 and 2.10.3 respectively), the present study is the first of its kind to combine the attitudes towards Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic comparatively in a single study. Another novel contribution is the investigation of attitude factors by means of an audio stimulus (VGT) in the Saudi context. Furthermore, considering the dearth of research on attitudes towards SAVs, the present study paves the way for conducting more attitudinal work that encompasses other SAVs. This recommendation stems from the unrepresentativeness of empirical work on the sociolinguistics of Saudi Arabia more generally and the attitudes towards the Saudi dialects and accents more specifically.

The second implication of the present study is the observed tendency of positive attitudes towards regional, non-standard varieties. While the general attitudes towards

such language varieties – especially in terms of Status – have tended to be negative across several countries, communities and contexts, this assumption cannot be generalised to include the present study's findings. The absence of a standard variety (i.e. *Fusha*) from the inventory of the varieties used in the VGT may have had a role in obtaining such attitudes in the present study. In other words, had *Fusha* been included in the VGT, the evaluation of the speakers could have been different. Hence, it could be argued that such a positivity of attitudes is uncertain. This is because LAs research has repeatedly shown that standard varieties carry high prestige and non-standard varieties carry low prestige (Dragojevic *et al.* 2021, p.63), at least, in the overt sense of prestige. Nonetheless, as explained in sections 2.12 and 3.6.1, this is not to say that there was a flaw in the study's design. Rather, this was an attempt to innovate the design of the stimuli and the attitude objects by focusing solely on non-standard varieties. Admittedly, this is contrary to the established practice in the field as the focus in LAs studies is normally the attitudinal dichotomy between the standard and the non-standard. That said, the present study and its methodological philosophy have set an original framework for studying LAs towards Arabic varieties in Saudi Arabia.

The third implication is that the present study has yielded the first comprehensive and thorough account of Saudis' language attitudes towards the SAVs under investigation. This account is manifested in the integration of multiple approaches (i.e. indirect, direct and FL), multiple methods (i.e. questionnaires and interviews) and multiple techniques (i.e. the keywords task, the VGT and the follow-up interviews) to address the research questions of the present study. Garrett (2010, p.201) has observed that 'many language attitudes studies are relatively small-scale 'one-off' studies'. Therefore, the present study was planned and conducted to be more comprehensive than most previous studies on attitudes towards SAVs. One way that comprehensiveness was achieved was through the application of various methodological considerations revolving around the study, which has also facilitated achieving triangulation. More specifically, the respondents' attitudes were investigated by measuring and interpreting them quantitatively via the questionnaire and the VGT, and they were also qualitatively explored further in the interviews.

Another element of comprehensiveness lies in the study's sample of respondents in that it was relatively large and representative. The present study has recruited a relatively high number of respondents who not only are unmarked (i.e. they were not recruited as students or dialects speakers), but they also come from various

backgrounds and strata. This diversification of the sample was meant to recruit respondents in a natural way so as to avoid biases. In this sense, this is an important implication in relation to the representativeness of the study population (i.e. Saudis). It is not always feasible to recruit respondents in hundreds, especially when working as a sole researcher. While some counterpart studies (direct, keywords, MGT, VGT or perceptual dialectology studies) of Saudis' LAs towards SAVs have reached 51 respondents (Alabdali 2017), 78 respondents (Alhazmi & Alfalig 2022), 80 respondents (Alahmadi 2016), 183 respondents (Ruthan 2020), 240 respondents (Al-Rojaie 2020b), 260 respondents (Almahmoud 2012), building on such prior research, the present study has benefitted from a relatively large recruitment of 411 respondents. There exist two other studies with higher respondents recruitment rates, but the respondents in those studies were either only speakers of the dialect(s) under investigation (i.e. Alhazmi 2018) or investigated through a single approach of LAs research (i.e. Al-Rojaie 2021b). Overall – to use the terms of Dragojevic *et al.* (2021, p.63) –, the 'documentation' of the language attitudes of a large, diverse number of Saudi individuals with the implemented methodology is argued to be one of the most significant contributions the present study has to offer.

A fourth implication that has resulted from the present study is in terms of the conceptual basis underlying Saudis' evaluation tendency towards language. As mentioned earlier, eliciting factors that accounted for the respondents' attitudes was a major, significant contribution. Eliciting attitudes factors should help to improve our understanding of Saudis' LAs. It can explain how and why certain attitudes towards language are held or developed. Of course, it is crucially important to document attitudes, but it may be more important to document the factors underlying such attitudes. Discovering attitude factors not only would elucidate the attitudes further, but also facilitate conducting robust action plans in case attitude change is required. For this reason, this implication is fundamental for policy-making in Saudi Arabia (see detailed recommendations for policy in section 7.4).

The fifth implication is the detection of the respondents' attitudinal ambivalences. As was stated in section 6.3.3, there appeared to be some ambivalences and obscurity of some attitudes and perceptions. Moreover, the evaluations on the Aesthetics dimension (and the contrasting findings associated with it) can also be deemed as a sign of ambivalence. Although the design of the present study has

undergone careful planning to elicit attitudes in the most appropriate way possible (see Chapter 3 for details), some findings still appeared somehow ambivalent.

On a positive note, the evaluations within the Aesthetics dimension have provided further evidence for the validity and reliability of the evaluations on the Solidarity and Status dimensions. In other words, the inferential findings noted within the evaluation scores on Aesthetics were only statistically significant by two social variables of the respondents (i.e. Geographic Origin and National Residence). Moreover, these two variables were very close in nature. In contrast, testing the association between the social variables of the respondents and the evaluation scores among Solidarity and Status has been repeatedly and clearly identified (see Table 5 and Table 6). It appears, then, that the attitudes expressed on the Aesthetics dimension follow what Kircher and Zipp (2022, p.5) have remarked in that 'language attitudes do not indicate either linguistic or aesthetic quality per se'.

However, the Solidarity and Status dimensions were not immune to ambivalence either. This is assumed due to the closely similar evaluation scores allocated to the speakers on these dimensions in the VGT (see Table 4). The present study's findings seemed to indicate that the distinction between the two dimensions is blurred. In fact, in some prior LAs studies (e.g. Kristiansen 2001; Kircher & Fox 2019; Al-Hakami 2020), the distinction between the two dimensions was not clearly observable or even meaningful. Depending on the investigated languages or communities, it is not uncommon for a study to produce different findings from those usually reported in the LAs literature. Giles and Billings (2004, p.191) note that much of the work on language attitudes producing a consistent evaluation pattern towards standard and non-standard speakers 'has centered around the anglophone world and varieties of (frequently British) English'. Hence, it appears that some of the established conclusions regarding the field of LAs (and its research methodology) are subject to contextual considerations.

Lastly, the sixth implication is methodological, and it is concerned with the approaches to LAs (reviewed in section 2.9.1). Since some degree of ambivalence between the evaluations on Status and Solidarity has (repeatedly) been observed in prior research, the direct approach, as opposed to the indirect approach (i.e. the speaker evaluation paradigm), could be a potential final resort for attitudinal work in Saudi Arabia (but also see below). This is due to the straightforwardness of the direct approach. Recommending the direct approach could be supported by Preston's

conclusion that 'there is little or no difference in [language] evaluations when the stimulus is a category name [e.g. dialect label] or an actual speech sample' (Preston 1999a, p.369). A study that uses dialect labels is arguably more directly-oriented than one with random stimuli recordings, even if the study relies on evaluations based on adjectives. This is because the respondents have some awareness of what is being evaluated, that is, the language variety. The proper analysis of LAs is, nonetheless, largely dependent on the respondents' awareness and knowledge of the investigated varieties.

Of course, recommending the direct approach is not (and should not be) meant to suggest ruling out the indirect methods (e.g. MGT or VGT), but instead, to reflect critically on the methodological decisions involved in LAs research. While several attitudinal findings were obtained via the indirect approach (the VGT) in the present study, the ambivalence of attitudes noted earlier put the approach in question. From this perspective, it could be argued that the proclaimed methodological robustness of the indirect approach to (language) attitudes (see section 3.5) is relative and subject to the investigated language or community. That said, the recent trend in LAs investigation has been to employ completely implicit measures such as the implicit association test (IAT), devised by Greenwald *et al.* (1998) (McKenzie & McNeill 2023, p.31). The methodological issues related to using IAT in language attitudes will later be reflected on whilst discussing the recommendations for future research in section 7.6.

6.7 Summary

In this chapter, the findings of the present study have been discussed, explained and interpreted in light of the research questions. For each of the three phases of the study, the findings were summarised and compared with the literature where relevant. The present study illustrated the respondents' attitudes towards the varieties under investigation in which some of the attitudes were seen to be in association with certain social characteristics such as the respondents' age, educational level and geographic origin. Relatedly, based on some evidence from the interviews, it was established that stereotypes were a key factor that nourished the respondents' attitudes towards SAVs. It seems that Saudi individuals, similar to individuals in most modern societies, still lack much of the linguistic awareness that linguists and experts usually possess. Moreover, the findings have pointed to several problematic practices that Saudis encounter upon speaking in their regional varieties. Those practices include language ridicule, linguistic

prejudice and linguistic discrimination. Finally, the chapter has provided the theoretical and methodological implications that stemmed from the findings. The findings and their implications will be reflected upon throughout the next chapter, especially when discussing the study's policy recommendations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The present thesis has operated within a mixed-methods paradigm that was motivated by the research questions. Obtaining both quantitative and qualitative findings has eventually led to addressing such research questions and to fulfilling the present study's objectives (outlined in section 1.3). The current chapter brings all of the preceding chapters together, and it will include a number of sections that share a key function, that is, reflectiveness. It is structured to reflect on the thesis' aims, methods and findings altogether. Specifically, the chapter begins with an overview of the key findings emanating from the present study. Seven key findings related to the VGT evaluations, the attitudes factors and linguistic discrimination are discussed. The significance of the present study and the implications associated with such significance are highlighted in the section that follows (also see section 6.6 for details of the theoretical and methodological implications). Subsequently, several recommendations within the educational, social and legal spheres are presented. In essence, these recommendations represent the *practical* implications offered by the present study. A limitations section then follows, highlighting six main limitations detected in the present study. Various suggestions for future research are then discussed after which the chapter finally concludes with a chapter summary and a conclusion.

7.2 Overview of the key findings

The primary objective of the present thesis was the examination of Saudis' attitudes towards three varieties spoken in Saudi Arabia, Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic and the factors underlying such attitudes. Furthermore, some of the linguistic experiences and stories about language-based ridicule, prejudice and discrimination occurring among Saudis were explored. The findings related to these objectives were obtained in light of the mixed-methods design which involved questionnaires and interviews as research instruments. The quantitative and qualitative paradigms were complementary in nature, in which some findings were linked, extended or explored further. As such, in the following, I will list what seem to be the seven most important findings revealed by the present study.

1) Mixed attitudes towards SAVs

The first key finding is the discovery of a highly varied set of attitudes held by Saudis towards Arabic varieties. To recapitulate the attitudes findings, there was a slightly-positive tendency of attitudes towards the varieties under investigation as evidenced by some positive trends in the data. In addition, there were also various negative attitudes, and those, I have argued, were in association with the social variables of the respondents (see further below). Signs of both positive and negative attitudes and perceptions were discovered in the interviews as well. The comparability of these findings across the literature was also established. That is, both the positive and negative attitudes elicited in the present study corresponded to prior research (see details of the comparisons in section 6.3.3). It is, therefore, posited that the documentation of attitudes towards the SAVs under investigation in the present study was satisfactorily accomplished. Consequently, this accomplishment constitutes one of the significant and novel contributions to the field of LAs research with respect to Saudi Arabia. That said, the present study was also significant because of the novelty of its objectives, application of the methods and findings as previously detailed in section 6.6.

The attitudinal findings related to the three SAVs, Qassimi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic and Jizani Arabic can be summarised as follows (*cf.* section 4.4). Qassimi Arabic was the variety with the least variation of attitudes. For a start, the evaluations expressed towards the variety on two of the evaluative dimensions were relatively on or very close to the mid-point ($M = 4.05$ on Solidarity and $M = 4.13$ on Status). Compared to the other two varieties, these are the most moderate evaluations on the two dimensions (see Table 4). Yet, it also received the most entirely negative evaluation which was on the Aesthetics dimension ($M = 3.79$). In addition, Qassimi Arabic was the variety with the lowest number of statistically significant group comparisons (see Table 6), which means that the evaluation pattern of Qassimi Arabic is less obvious than the other varieties. On the whole, Age was the only social variable of respondents that showed a clear pattern of being in association with the evaluations of Qassimi Arabic. Nevertheless, Qassimi Arabic received the lowest Age-associated evaluations in the entire VGT dataset as well. Those are the evaluations of the respondents aged 50+ on Solidarity ($M = 3.35$) and Status ($M = 3.33$) (see Figure 17). In the interviews, there were also some explicit negative comments about the Qassimi speaker (e.g. Respondent 13 and Respondent 17 in section 5.3.2). Overall, a general negative trend seems to encompass the attitudes towards Qassimi Arabic.

The evaluations of Hasawi Arabic tended to be more variable than Qassimi Arabic. Notably, it is the only variety that did not receive any negative evaluation when measuring the descriptive central tendency of the whole sample of respondents (see Table 4). It also differed from the other two varieties in the evaluation it received on the Aesthetics dimension ($M = 4.08$). Hasawi Arabic's evaluation was moderate whereas both Qassimi Arabic ($M = 3.79$) and Jizani Arabic ($M = 3.90$) received a relatively negative evaluation on Aesthetics. Some interview findings (e.g. Respondent 5 and Respondent 14 in section 5.3.2) also complimented and spoke positively about the Hasawi individual. Thus, apart from the negative evaluations noted after testing the association between the social variables of respondents and the attitudes towards Hasawi Arabic, a relatively mild negative attitude pattern is concluded. This observation means that, although negative attitudes towards Hasawi Arabic were expressed by several (sub)groups of the respondents, the negative attitude was not as intense as the negative attitudes towards both Qassimi Arabic and Jizani Arabic. Due to these previous points and as briefly highlighted in section 5.3.2, Hasawi Arabic does not seem to evoke a conclusive pattern of hostile, thus negative attitudes.

Jizani Arabic was the most controversial variety among the three varieties in terms of the expressed attitudes. The attitudes towards it varied considerably and manifested to be relatively striking when compared to the other two varieties. Considering the overall aggregated mean scores, Jizani Arabic received quite positive evaluations, especially on Solidarity which received the highest score in the entire dataset ($M = 4.64$) (see Table 4). Conversely, throughout the groups comparisons (i.e. inferential statistics, reported in section 4.4.2.3), the variety received clear and consistent negative evaluations. This was particularly noticeable in the findings of the association between the social variables of the respondents including Age, Education and Geographic Origin and the evaluations of Jizani Arabic. For example, the lowest score of evaluation in the entire dataset was expressed by the respondents from Central Saudi Arabia towards Jizani Arabic on the Aesthetics dimension ($M = 3.21$). In fact, the same group consistently – statistically significantly – expressed negative attitudes towards Jizani Arabic on all three dimensions (see Figure 20). Interestingly, the association between the respondents' Geographic Origin and attitudes was most evident in the case of Jizani Arabic (see the fourth key finding below). Furthermore, in the interviews, the variety was heavily negatively perceived even by the respondents who are Jizani speakers themselves (e.g. Respondent 6 in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). To sum

up, the attitudes towards Jizani Arabic seemed to be conflicting, but evidently, the negative trend within its evaluations is clearer than within Qassimi Arabic and Hasawi Arabic.

2) Evaluation hierarchy

Based on the previous discussion of attitudes findings, it seemed as though the SAVs under investigation can be conceptualised in terms of an evaluation hierarchy. This in itself is a second key finding of the present study. As previously noted in section 4.8, an evaluation hierarchy was already observed after the respondents had directly expressed their most liked and most disliked SAVs. The evaluation hierarchy initially highlighted in section 4.8 puts Qassimi Arabic at the bottom of the hierarchy as the hierarchy was mainly based on the token counts of likes and dislikes shown in Figure 26. However, taking a holistic approach to all the data and findings in the present study, Jizani Arabic is probably the least favoured variety, and thus, it can be placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. Interestingly, based on the conclusions regarding Hasawi Arabic, Hasawi Arabic can still remain at the top of the hierarchy the same way it did in the initial hierarchy emanating from the likes and dislikes. Overall, despite the existence of an evaluation hierarchy of the SAVs under investigation, it is noted that all the varieties appeared to attract quite negative evaluations throughout the present study.

3) Implicit–explicit attitudinal discrepancy

After summarising the findings of the specific attitudes towards each of the SAVs under investigation, another overall attitudinal finding can be introduced here. Hence, the third key finding of the present study was that the findings revealed a very slight implicit–explicit attitudinal discrepancy (McKenzie & Carrie 2018; McKenzie & McNeill 2023). This means that the respondents' attitudes seemed to vary depending on the directness of the approaches, methods and questions related to attitudes elicitation. Whenever the respondents were directly asked about their attitudes – in both the questionnaire and interview – the reported attitudes were generally positive. In contrast, the expression of attitudes in the indirect tasks (i.e. the keywords task or the VGT) indicated relatively more negative attitudes. Nevertheless, it was highlighted that the distinction between the implicit and explicit language attitudes remained sparse in the present study. This claim is maintained due to 1) the overall positive attitudes that were elicited both directly and indirectly and 2) the negative attitudes expressed directly (e.g.

the findings of the most disliked SAVs and the negative comments about the VGT speakers in the interviews) (see section 6.3.1).

4) Association between social variables of the respondents and their attitudes

Fourthly, the findings have signalled potential associations between the social characteristics of the respondents (e.g. their age) and their expressed attitudes. The respondents' age appeared to be the most prominent social characteristic shaping attitudes. This is because its association with the attitudes was consistent and notable across several findings (e.g. the VGT evaluations and the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation). The respondents' level of education was also seen to be in association with attitudes. Strikingly, the highly-educated respondents (i.e. Postgraduates) consistently expressed more negative attitudes than the less-educated groups. In addition, the geographic origin of the study's respondents also appeared to be in association with their attitudes. This was manifested in the negative attitudes of respondents from Central Saudi Arabia being consistently more negative than the respondents from the other regions. Overall, these were important findings related to the generalisability of the findings and their correspondence to the literature.

Related to the association between the social variables of the respondents and the findings, there were also observable associations in the findings of the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia (section 4.8). The respondents' age was again noted to be in association with several perceptional constructs. As was illustrated in section 4.8, the older respondents held more negative perceptions, compared to the younger respondents. Notably, the older respondents (aged 50+) were observed to devalue language variation and perceive it as problematic. Therefore, and as stated above that age seemed to be the most prevalent social variable, it is recommended to draw a particular focus on age when conceptualising Saudis' language attitudes. This is especially so since the association between age and Saudis' LAs was also found in prior studies (highlighted in section 6.3.3).

In fact, social variables such as age and education play a key role as factors behind linguistic behaviours. Age, as Eckert (1997, p.167) explains, represents 'a composite of heterogeneous factors' evolving from one's life experiences that give age its meaning. In this respect, age is a significant factor in and for sociolinguistic studies as it could encompass multiple layers of factors. As demonstrated in the present study, age appears to be the most prevalent factor in shaping Saudis' attitudes overall. For

instance, because the most negative attitudes were mainly held by the oldest age band in the present study (i.e. 50+ band), it is assumed that this finding is parallel to the typical conservatism held by older individuals towards language use and language change. The association between ageing and conservatism towards language is a popular, consistent finding within sociolinguistics.

As for the educational level, it is a factor that is often subsumed under social class (Milroy & Milroy 1997, p.53), and, as explained in section 2.4, social class in Saudi Arabia is based on occupation and education. Therefore, the revelation of the attitudes of the educated Saudi individuals in the present study is an important aspect of the findings. This is maintained because such attitudes could reflect the attitudes held by a particular Saudi social class as well. In the present study, it is concluded that obtaining higher levels of education may nourish negative attitudes towards non-standard speech forms. Thus, the highly-educated respondents in the present study may have been – unconsciously – adhering to an opposition stance regarding the non-standard SAVs under investigation. Educated individuals are arguably engaged with Standard Arabic more frequently than less educated individuals in both the written and oral modalities, which may explain and contribute to such an opposition. These observations are likely to help in understanding the sociolinguistic dynamics of Saudi society more generally.

Interestingly, the role of the social variables of the respondents was also observed in other non-attitudinal findings. This was the case for the findings of the similarity task (reported in sections 4.6 and 4.7). Again, the respondents' geographic origin was a central variable by which the extent of similarity or difference to the VGT speakers' varieties was tested. Notably, the respondents from each of the geographic groups to which the VGT speakers belong reported – statistically significant – high similarity scores to the respective speaker. That is, respondents from Central Saudi Arabia reported high similarity scores to the Qassimi Arabic speaker; respondents from Eastern Saudi Arabia reported high similarity scores to the Hasawi Arabic speaker; and respondents from Southern Saudi Arabia reported high similarity scores to the Jizani Arabic speaker. In addition, the respondents' sex was also found to be connected to the similarity scores. This is because the male respondents reported statistically significant higher similarity scores to the VGT speakers than the female respondents. This finding is explained by the fact that the VGT speakers were males themselves. In conclusion,

the study's quantitative findings can be considered to have attained some aspects of findings generalisability.

5) Significance of the VGT audio stimuli

The fifth key finding is concerned with the audio stimuli used in the present study in that it was effective for its purpose. In this respect, the findings of the similarity task (section 4.6) yielded interesting observations regarding both the methodology of LAs research and the speakers of the stimuli. The audio stimuli have, therefore, two sides of significance. The first is the established methodological legitimacy of the audio stimuli to be implemented in the VGT. As was highlighted in section 6.3.4, the fact that the three speakers of the stimuli were highly correctly identified and were correctly assigned high scores of similarity to the variety by respondents who share a similar demographic profile to the speaker provides some evidence for this assertion. This legitimacy also extends to the legitimacy – thus the accuracy – of the attitudinal findings and conclusions obtained from the present study. The second side of significance regarding the audio stimuli is the manifestation of identity from auditory information. That is, the speakers' identities – including their various personal qualities such as gender and regional origin – were saliently present. Supporting this idea are the findings of the speakers' identifying cues noted by the respondents (section 4.2). Many of those cues were quite accurate (e.g. *Kaskasah* and *Tamtamah*) and also reflected (linguistic) identity presence. In short, the role of the stimuli speakers was not limited to the delivery of the VGT only, but rather, it revealed some noteworthy attitudinal and perceptual information too.

6) Saudis' underlying attitude factors

Through the qualitative analysis of the interviews, a sixth key finding about Saudis' evaluation criteria of the SAVs under investigation was revealed (section 5.3). This finding illuminated the expressed attitudes, and it provided answers to a crucial question: On what basis do Saudis choose to evaluate and perceive speakers of SAVs? Above all the identified factors, the factor *stereotypes* was taken as the most evident attitude factor on which the speakers of SAVs were evaluated. While this finding aligns with the literature, establishing it in the case of Arabic and in the context of Saudi Arabia is a novel contribution. With that in mind, to my knowledge, no published study on Saudis' LAs towards SAVs has used follow-up interviewing in which respondents

reflect on their LAs and attitude factors after an evaluation task (i.e. VGT). Moreover, not only was the *stereotypes* factor very frequently mentioned by the respondents, but also it was occasionally unsolicited. Therefore, the findings of the attitude factors in the present study are a significant contribution in relation to both the methodology and the understanding of Saudis' LAs.

7) Practices of language-based prejudice and discrimination in Saudi Arabia

Last but not least, the seventh key finding of the present study was the identification of personal experiences, stories and incidents of language-based prejudiced behaviours and discriminatory practices in Saudi Arabia. The interviews findings provide narratives and experiences of unjust linguistic practices found in Saudi Arabia. As far as I have been able to determine, this aspect – that is in core relation to language attitudes and linguistic ideologies – has never been investigated in the Saudi context, especially with the adopted methodological design. Hence, the obtained findings and information regarding linguistic prejudice and linguistic discrimination within Saudi Arabia are significant findings, and it can be argued that these findings are novel contributions to knowledge. Importantly, these findings indicate some vital consequences, and thus, they would require much attention and consideration. This is an area of policy recommendations that I come back to later in this chapter (see recommendations in section 7.4).

The previously-listed findings, though varied in nature, are categorised as sociolinguistic, attitudinal findings. They revolve around Saudis, the Arabic language and Saudi society. In reality, these were the three components constructing the research questions that the present study has sought to address (see section 2.12). Meanwhile, the study's findings provided answers to the research questions, and they also accounted for the study's rationale and research problem (explained in section 1.2). The findings have revealed: 1) the attitudes held by Saudis towards contemporary regional Saudi Arabic speech, 2) the potential factors why such attitudes are held and 3) the consequences of language attitudes and other linguistic practices in Saudi Arabia. The next section will reflect on these findings whilst highlighting the significance of some of the present study's implications.

7.3 Significance of the present study and related implications

According to Garrett (2010, p.225), 'language attitudes can affect people's wellbeing and social freedom'. This was a principle understanding which motivated conducting the present study. The present study has demonstrated that the effect of LAs was and could still be exerted on some individuals in Saudi Arabia. Attitudes towards language are a window to individuals' linguistic preferences and prejudices (McKenzie & McNeill 2023, p.36). By extension, the commonality of how language attitudes are perpetuated seems to be universal and intercultural across societies, speech communities and languages. That said, informing a wide range of audiences of what LAs mean and do was a key message to be communicated by the present study.

The present study was an attempt to contribute to the field of LAs by paving the way for attitudinal research on colloquial SAVs. Such research was undertaken with an enhanced methodological scrutiny (i.e. triangulation) (see below) based on which the trustworthiness of the present study has also been enhanced. The scale of the present study, while building on prior research, was comprehensive and insightful in its treatment of both the attitudes and experiences of the study population. The sample size, the selection of language varieties, the diverse data elicitation tasks, the data analysis and the findings are all argued to have elements of novelty and significance. In the same way, they are posited to have formed an original contribution to the field of LAs.

Language attitudes are inherently complex (Garrett *et al.* 2003, p.66) to the point that no two individuals, even those belonging to the same national or social group, would hold the same attitudes (Kircher & Zipp 2022, p.9). Therefore, it is through mixed methods that we can account for language attitudes satisfactorily (Soukup 2015, p.56). It needs to be emphasised that not only was the application of the (mixed) methodology underpinning the present study effective in the elicitation, analysis and interpretation of attitudes, but also it was a novel contribution in and of itself (also see details of methodological novelty in section 6.6). The novelty of this methodology lies in conducting three interlinked phases of data collection and analysis (i.e. keywords task, VGT and follow-up interviews) as an intact methodology to address a research question. In light of these arguments and despite the methodological controversies surrounding the mixed methodology, a mixed-methods design was deemed as almost a prerequisite to conducting the present study. Furthermore, to cope with the complexity

of the thesis' enquiry, three complementary phases of data collection were conducted (see Chapter 3). In essence, each of these phases could have stood on its own as a method of investigating LAs. Combining the phases is, therefore, argued to have increased the breadth and depth of the undertaken investigation of language attitudes. To sum up, the research questions and objectives of the present study necessitated the adopted methodology, which consequently facilitated addressing them sufficiently via the multiple methods at hand.

The methodology underpinning the present study is argued to have been efficiently honed and solidified to address the study's research questions. A particular step towards the enhancement of the methodology was the execution of three interlinked phases of data collection. This enabled the collection of a wide variety of responses and data both quantitative and qualitative which were often intertwined. To exemplify, eliciting keywords in Phase 1 was considerably beneficial to the design of the evaluation scales in Phase 2. In other words, the respondents were evaluating the VGT speaker based on clear, relevant and meaningful criteria (i.e. adjectives) that were contributed by respondents from the population itself. Another example is the reflective nature of Phase 3 in which the responses in Phase 2 (i.e. the VGT evaluations and the perceptions of the sociolinguistic situation in Saudi Arabia) are revisited, extended and elaborated further. To this end, conducting the present study via three phases, as previously noted in section 6.6, is a novel and valuable addition to studies of Saudis' LAs towards SAVs.

Another area of the methodological strength of the present study lies in the procedure with which the respondents were recruited. The study's sample size, especially in Phase 1 ($N = 148$) and Phase 2 ($N = 411$), was yet another attempt to maximise the scale of the study whilst increasing the reliability and trustworthiness of the study's findings. While it is usually agreed among scholars that a sample of 30 cases is the minimum size for sufficient statistical analysis (Cohen *et al.* 2007, p.101), the samples in both Phases 1 and 2 far exceeded this assumption. As explained in section 3.10, the main reasons for seeking high rates of respondents recruitment were to attain rigorousness and to enable testing the generalisability of findings. In terms of Phase 3, because of the focused nature of the interviews, the sample of interviewees ($N = 17$) need not be as comprehensive as the two phases. Notwithstanding, the interviews sample was relatively large, and, importantly, it was stratified based on the respondents' demographics, questionnaire responses and VGT evaluation tendencies by means of

judgment/quota sampling (see detailed illustration in Table 3). Sampling for the interviews has, thus, ensured a rate of representativeness of the respondents as well. Overall, as also highlighted in section 6.6 in that the present study's scope is large compared to prior research, the samples are part of the present study's significance.

The analytical procedures followed to analyse the data in the present study are also a part of its significance. This particularly pertains to the statistical analysis of the quantitative data (see details in section 3.12.2). For instance, the VGT data was analysed through the implementation of highly *conservative* statistical tests such as Welch's t-test, Welch's F-test and the Games-Howell post-hoc test. While these conservative tests are typically resorted to only when the sample is very small and/or there are issues in the dataset (e.g. severe violations of normality assumptions), they were deliberately performed as primary data analysis procedures in the present study. Following the Welch procedure was informed by the argument (e.g. Delacre *et al.* 2019) that it should actually be used by default. Though using conservative analytical procedures usually entails larger *p*-values due to the statistical tests' strict rules, it was thought that increasing the validity, reliability and trustworthiness of the present study's design and findings were the core considerations. Equally important, such statistical analyses are seldom used in prior similar research, and hence, there is a novelty in using them to analyse Saudis' language attitudes.

Regarding the qualitative data, the thematic analysis was also strategic, though, naturally, more flexible than the statistical analyses. After conducting the interviews, some aspects of *saturation* were achieved in two situations: 1) towards the end of the last interviews and 2) in the coding and analysis of the interviews transcripts (see section 3.12.3). Having achieved such saturation, especially with the adequate sample size in the interviews, it is argued that the analysis of the interviews was appropriate, sufficient and trustworthy. The analysis of both the factors underlying the respondents' attitudes and their personal experiences can also be characterised as being novel in the Saudi context as is the case for the qualitative findings in the present study in general. In sum, several considerations were maintained to maximise the analytical (statistical and thematic) and overall rigour of the present study and its ensuing findings.

Apart from methodological scrutiny, the present study demonstrated and documented a variety of (novel) attitudinal manifestations and implications related to Saudi individuals. It was frequently possible to establish statistical generalisations with respect to the pairwise comparisons between the attitudes of the different groups within

the sample of respondents (e.g. based on Age, Education and Geographic Origin). On top of that, the present study has elicited and interpreted the factors underlying the language attitudes expressed by the respondents. This holistic examination of attitudes is, therefore, argued to have produced a considerably comprehensive language attitudes study. Furthermore, as previously denoted in section 7.2, the elicitation and identification of the stories and experiences involving language-based ridicule, inequality, prejudice and discrimination in Saudi Arabia was an important, novel contribution to knowledge. Such findings consequently should give voice to those who are maltreated because of their linguistic behaviour and linguistic production. In doing so, the present study has shed light on the linguistic issues at play within Saudi society with rigorous, empirical investigation.

Having discussed some of the significant theoretical and methodological implications of the present study, I will now turn to some of the practical implications. These implications are presented as recommendations for policy based on which several spheres can benefit from the findings of the present study.

7.4 Recommendations

Broadly, there are three potential spheres in which the findings are most relevant. Those are the *educational*, *social* and *legal* spheres. While it may be possible that the recommendations discussed herein will overlap among the three spheres, I choose to discuss them separately for the sake of clarity and concision. In doing so, the presentation of such recommendations will take a top-down approach commencing from the school and school pupils, society and individuals all the way to the legal system and governmental bodies.

The educational sphere, especially at the school level, is undoubtedly an important area for recommendations based on language attitudes. To begin with, it is probably in the interest of both students and the general public to be engaged with topics that touch on the spoken varieties within Saudi Arabia. One way to approach this is to *normalise* SAVs and their existence in (Arabic) language subjects in schools' curricula (also see below). It need not much effort to observe that language variation is a universal phenomenon which can be in itself an argumentation strategy to explain and justify variation to pupils. It is too late for individuals to only learn about language variation at the university level. Even so, typically, only those who join linguistics courses are introduced to linguistic diversity. Meanwhile, Walters (2006, p.650) notes

that despite linguists' – cognitive – claim of the equality and logicality of all language varieties alike, they themselves 'often continue to cringe on hearing a socially stigmatized dialect'. Walters explains this observation as a result of the conflicting nature of the two (language) attitude components Affect and Cognition (see Figure 3) wherein cringing is an affective condition. The key point is that teaching issues of modern linguistics such as language variation and change should be introduced to pupils at early stages by which linguistic awareness becomes ingrained in them.

Besides language subjects, it would be possible to link and refer to linguistic materials and ideas inside the classroom within other subjects such as, say, geography or history. For example, apart from directly teaching pupils about language variation, various SAVs can be introduced as geographic information or detail related to an area within the country, as part of one's culture or identity or as historical consequences of the linguistic development and contact within the area. Of course, this will require efforts from curricula and materials designing specialists. Through this integrative approach to educating pupils of (and about) non-standard varieties, it would be possible to expect a shift into an enlightened conceptualisation of language variation in Saudi Arabia among school pupils. After all, as argued by Garrett (2010, p.224), '[l]anguage attitudes can drive change' in many areas including both linguistic (e.g. language planning and policy) and non-linguistic (e.g. social prejudices or discrimination).

The crucial role, nonetheless, is played by educators inside schools. Edwards (1982, pp.27-30) argues for the importance of focusing on teachers' evaluations and expatiations of speech, which could have a persistent impact on school pupils. It is known that one of the duties of school teachers and principals is to ensure the safety and protection of pupils from any harm, and yet, it is likely that this duty will become less demanding if a pupil experiences ridicule for his or her dialect in Saudi schools. This is assumed because language ridicule, thus linguistic maltreatment is usually ignored and overlooked. The unfortunate story narrated by Respondent 14 (see section 5.4.3) during his interview who was bullied for the way he talked by his own teacher inside the classroom and in front of his classmates is evidence for this. Therefore, it is suggested that the priority for raising awareness of the negative practices concerning language should be given to educators and education practitioners. Once this is achieved, the transferability of this awareness from the teacher to the pupil would be facilitated and, hopefully, accelerated. As emphasised in the literature (e.g. Orelus 2021), the teachers' role is key in dealing with negative linguistic practices such as

linguistic discrimination. By extension, as highlighted by Tamasi and Antieau (2015, p.63), 'an important goal of language attitude research is to show speakers that their voices are valid, no matter what dialects they speak or how others may perceive them'.

The principal rationale for these educational recommendations stems from the argument that some of the negative practices such as language ridicule, linguistic prejudice, linguistic discrimination, linguistic bullying or linguistic stereotyping become nourished inside educational settings (see section 6.4.2). That said, the practice of bullying inside Saudi schools is prevalent, as found around the globe (AlBuhairan *et al.* 2016, p.65). A recent school bullying incident that shook Saudi Arabia was the killing of a 15-years old student as a result of a brawl with another classmate wherein no teacher was inside the class (Al Sherbini 2022). Hence, combating such issues starts with and can be implemented through education. And as advised by Kontra (2018, pp.128-129), such negative practices should be tackled at three levels, two of which are concerned with education (i.e. 'public thinking, public education, and teacher education'). In short, the overall wellbeing of school pupils and their communities is at the heart of these recommendations.

The second sphere that could benefit from recommendations is the social sphere. Some contributions to this sphere have already begun recently in Saudi Arabia. For instance, Colloquial Saudi Arabic seems to be more visible in the public domain (e.g. advertisement boards) than before. In the Arab World, a similar pattern is also found in Moroccan streets and advertisement boards (Miller 2017, p.98). While the motive for this practice is usually marketing, it can still play a role in shaping attitudes. Towairesh (2020, p.97) maintains that his Saudi respondents 'condoned' the use of non-standard Saudi expressions in the domain of advertising 'far more' than other domains. Thus, this tolerance by the public can be employed to increase and justify the visibility of different SAVs. Media channels and TV commentators could also contribute to this visibility by making regional varieties heard by the public. Arguably, this could reduce the vehement opposition and the potential negative perceptions of non-standard varieties in Saudi Arabia.

In the social sphere, the process of normalisation of variation discussed earlier is also applicable and important. This is not to say, however, that we need to be *pro-Ammiyyah* and start adjusting the Arabic writing system (as argued by the Egyptian intellectuals in Aboelezz's [2017] previously-reviewed study). Rather, it is advisable to think of language variation as natural and even desirable. As Lippi-Green (2012, pp.7-

8) puts it, one of the 'linguistic facts of life' is that '[v]ariation is intrinsic to all spoken language at every level'. The projection and promotion of this linguistic fact – whether in a subtle or direct way – across society should yield fruitful results for both the prospect of language and the (social) wellbeing of individuals.

Another scope of recommendations within the social sphere lies in the engagement with language attitudes. Academics, social activists and (societal) institutions in Saudi Arabia should conduct projects, initiatives and campaigns that expose and fight dialect/accent bias and prejudice in the country. 'Accent Bias in Britain' is a recent exemplary project that was conducted in the UK (https://accentbiasbritain.org/). After conducting several surveys and research papers, the project's team produced a project report summing the main finding of contemporary attitudes towards British accents and the implications of such attitudes (see Levon *et al.* 2020). Another ongoing project is 'The Accentism Project' (https://accentism.org/) (Carrie & Drummond 2018) in which people are invited to submit their stories of suffering from language-based discrimination, thus creating a platform for discussions of and awareness about linguistic discrimination. Moreover, national surveys that measure the language attitudes held by the public will certainly aid such projects. Surveys of this scale will surely require institutional, financial and academic support for them to be conducted meticulously well. Three surveys of such kind were previously conducted in the British context: 1) the BBC's Voices (reported in Coupland & Bishop 2007), 2) ITV/ComRes (2013) and 3) YouGov (2014). It would certainly be beneficial to replicate these surveys in Saudi Arabia, bearing in mind the contextual considerations of Saudi society and culture.

The third sphere, the legislative, is a potentially important area for recommendations based on the present study. Laws and regulations in Saudi Arabia can consider some of the implications and findings noted in the present study. For example, the vital issues regarding language-based prejudices and discrimination in Saudi Arabia should be seriously addressed. Meanwhile, in 2017, the Shura Council has started studying an anti-discrimination draft Bill which criminalises discrimination based on skin colour, sex, ethnicity or religious affiliation (Obaid 2018). Nevertheless, the Bill is still under review, and it may not be passed completely. Also, if the Bill is passed to become an Act, it is highly unlikely that it will refer to discrimination based on language as this has not been referred to in the Council's statement.

Admittedly, the lack of laws against linguistic discrimination is a global issue, and Saudi Arabia is not the only country that – until now – does not have direct language-based anti-discrimination laws or regulations. In fact, McKenzie and McNeill (2023, p.50) state that 'legal safeguards against linguistic discrimination are seldom written into law'. Similarly, Piller (2016, p.5) notes that '[i]t is extremely rare for language to feature as a basis on which individuals, communities, or nations may be excluded'. Moreover, a review of Saudi Arabia's recent legislative efforts to fight racism and discrimination are discussed in Alharbi (2019), but there is no reference to issues of language. This is probably because issues of language usually go unnoticed. In a nutshell, discriminating against an individual on the basis of the way he or she speaks must be as unlawful as discriminating against him or her on the basis of any of the – traditional – discrimination stimulants (e.g. skin colour, ethnicity, age, sex, region or tribe, to name a few). This is a long-standing, logical and humanitarian argument that many (socio)linguists have sought to preach through their work, teaching and research.

Legislative processes in Saudi Arabia, of course, are in the hands of many relevant governmental authorities as well as the designated experts (e.g. the King, security officials, Islamic scholars, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Justice and social activists/workers, to name a few). While legislation by the government is a must, it is also crucial to involve members of the public in the process. The public should also be encouraged to engage with the legality of criminalising linguistic behaviours such as linguistic discrimination. This can be arranged, for example, through media coverage, public events or, again, through education. On this note, The Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) has taught us that

> there is no superiority for the Arab over the *A'jamie* [i.e. non-Arabic speaker, thus non-Arab], nor for the *A'jamie* over the Arab, nor for the red [i.e. white] over the black, nor for the black over the red except by piety (Al-Albani 2004, p.212).

This Islamic understanding is of direct relevance here as laws in Saudi Arabia are supposedly derived from Islam. In conclusion, as previously discussed in section 2.9, the principal aim of LAs research is to expose and combat language-based social wrongs, injustice and inequalities, and this should be extended to be reflected and enacted in laws, regulations and policies within the country.

As highlighted in section 1.2, the research problem underpinning the present study revolves around the attitudinal ramifications of the perceptions of regional SAVs and language variation in Saudi Arabia. In other words, the present study sought to

detect sociolinguistic issues that may potentially put some individual speakers at a disadvantage. Therefore, the previous recommendations are presented as remedies for the various sociolinguistic issues found in the present study in relation to Saudi society. More specifically, two key findings (see section 7.2) are crucially relevant here. The first is the fact that some negative attitudes were held and expressed by certain groups of respondents towards SAVs in the present study. For instance, the consistent expression of negative attitudes by respondents from Central Saudi Arabia is a focal issue to account for in terms of providing remedies. The second major finding requiring remedies is the potential for language-based discrimination in Saudi Arabia. As evidenced by the experiences of the majority of the interviewed respondents (see section 5.4.3), linguistic discrimination in Saudi Arabia is not uncommon, which is another area to consider applying some of these remedies on. In summary, the present study has offered multiple novel revelations with respect to Saudis' language attitudes and experiences (summarised in section 7.2), and several recommendations were mapped out based on such revelations.

Proposing recommendations is, actually, an integral part of conducting social research. The idea of solving problems through social research has already been articulated by multiple scholars, especially when discussing philosophical stances within the mixed-methods tradition. One of those stances is *pragmatism*, which is all about 'employing "what works," using diverse approaches, and valuing both objective and subjective knowledge' (Creswell & Clark 2018, p.39, quotes in original). Commonly, the idea of solving problems in the real world is rooted in the pragmatist philosophy within mixed-methods research. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.14), for example, argue for the pragmatist stance as being 'an attractive philosophical partner for mixed methods research'. They further provide a list of pragmatism's characteristics in which they emphasise the characteristic *solving problems* (ibid., p.18). That said, since the pragmatist research philosophy has inspired the present study, it can be argued that the pragmatist stance was well-situated for the purpose of the present study as well. The influence of such a stance has been clearly manifested in the previously-discussed recommendations, which were intended to deal with language-based social wrongs.

The generation of research-based findings and knowledge should not be in vain. It is from this understanding that an attempt at setting out recommendations for policy and practice was both an objective and a contribution of the present thesis. It seemed as

though it was crucial to re-evaluate the situations in which Saudis engage with both language and other Saudi speakers of colloquial, regional varieties. For this reason, the previous focused discussion of various recommendations within different spheres was provided. Proposing recommendations will also be extended to include recommendations for future academic research and for some of the issues involved in it (see section 7.6). Accordingly, the present thesis was situated to address its research problem, and proposing multifaceted recommendations was primarily a mechanism for this endeavour.

7.5 Limitations

While the present study is a novel contribution to the (socio)linguistics of Arabic in Saudi Arabia and the field of LAs, some limitations have been noted. According to Brause (2000, p.108), limitations in research are inevitable, and '[a]ll studies have limitations, since no inquiry can address every possible dimension'. As such, the first set of limitations was found in the present study's VGT. For a start, the VGT did not include '*practice voices*' (Kircher 2016, p.200, italics in original) which are occasionally used as fillers in the evaluation task. The rationale for this technique is to familiarise the respondents with the evaluation task and the content of the stimuli so that respondents are prepared to express evaluations solely based on the speaker of the stimulus (Lambert *et al.* 1965, p.85; Kircher 2016, p.200). In spite of the logicality of this technique, it was avoided in the present study because adding more stimuli would have made the task extremely time-consuming, and thus, it may have caused potential fatigue effects to the respondents. Consequently, there would be a risk of demotivating the respondents, if not stopping them from participating. Since all methods have limitations, the MGT, and consequently, the VGT has also been critiqued for not considering the conversational and interactive element of speech, as Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) have argued. Though the VGT is considerably less artificial than the MGT (see section 3.5), it still lacks some contextual considerations that could elevate the authenticity and spontaneity of the audio stimuli. The key point is that if attitudes are elicited based on speakers' interactions, the understanding of such attitudes would be increased (ibid., p.218).

A second limitation noted in the present study was regarding the transcription technique used to transcribe the interviews. As previously noted in section 3.12.3, the sheer scale of the present study limited the analysis of the non-linguistic features that

took place during the interviews. Focusing mainly on the content of the transcripts could potentially minimise achieving the full picture of the collected responses. Third, there was a potential limitation concerning the translation of the data and the findings. As highlighted in section 1.5, all of the translations were performed by the researcher. Consequently, it could be pointed out that the quality of the reported translations of the data and some of the findings could have been improved. The translation of the Arabic data and findings could have had more trustworthiness had they been performed by professional or expert translators. An external translation could arguably safeguard from biases or inadequate representation of meanings. Nevertheless, doing the translation myself allowed me to be *in* the data, and hence, it was possible to capture extra meanings and ideas while reflecting back on the analysis simultaneously. The fourth limitation is that the present study's sample was relatively limited in representing some of the groups of the social variables of the respondents. While the sample was generally large, it could have been improved by recruiting respondents based on other social strata of Saudi society such as socio-economic status and religious affiliation.

A fifth limitation lies in the choice of linguistic aesthetics qualities as an evaluative dimension of LAs. Though the inclusion of the Aesthetics dimension was intended to expand and innovate the VGT in the present study, it seemed to be less effective in measuring LAs, compared to the well-established dimensions of Solidarity and Status. Lastly, and more broadly, attitudes are characterised by being impossible to be identified with absolute certainty as determining which and how many respondents have a particular attitude is not always very clear or straightforward (Oppenheim 1992, p.289). This is claimed because, often, different questions and wording techniques are used to measure the attitudes towards the same object (ibid., p.288), as is the case in the present study. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the findings in the present study have illustrated some of the general trends and tendencies of the respondents' attitudes. Overall, along with the ideas that will be presented in the next section, future researchers can take into account these limitations when studying language attitudes.

7.6 Future directions

While the present study included a selection of three Saudi regional varieties, the plethora of other SAVs in Saudi Arabia still needs further research. In the introductory section of this thesis (section 1.1), it was suggested that research on language production, as opposed to perception, dominates the (socio)linguistic research of SAVs.

Hence, this calls for more efforts to approach these varieties not only in terms of research coverage but also in terms of the multiple conceptual and methodological angles and perspectives within sociolinguistics. All in all, research on SAVs is likely to have a high prospect for the social wellbeing of the speakers SAVs, and it also appears essential in informing research on the Arabic language and its speech communities.

In broader terms, I propose conducting independent, variety-specific LAs projects to study the speakers of each of the current studied varieties and the other SAVs. Specifically, it is recommended to investigate the life experiences, emotions and stories of the speakers of the regional and colloquial Saudi dialects. A study of this sort is Cavanaugh's (2005) study on language attitudes in Italy. Although the present study attempted to capture snapshots of these constructs (particularly through the interviews), they still require further, thorough research. For instance, the findings of the present study have detected narratives of negative experiences shared by some of the respondents who are speakers of different colloquial SAVs. Most likely then, a future scope of LAs studies in Saudi Arabia should take the shape of ethnographic studies.

Ethnographic LAs studies are considered to be under the direct approach (Shalaby 2020, p.122). Hence, conducting ethnographic LAs studies aligns with the general recommendation – noted in section 6.6 – to increase reliance on the direct approach in investigating Saudis' LAs. That said, as far as I have been able to determine, only one ethnographic study of this sort was conducted by Alsoqeer (2017) which was on the attitudes of Saudi Mehri speakers towards Mehri and Arabic in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, it appears that ethnographic LAs work in Saudi Arabia still lacks much research and is still a premature field that requires more attention.

Linking back to the independency of attitudinal research (and unless the research is funded and is carried out with institutional support), I recommend that research on Saudis' LAs is investigated based on geography and the respondents' own varieties. That is, it is probably more meticulous to focus the investigation of attitudes on specific segments of Saudi society such as specific regions, specific communities or specific tribes, as opposed to investigating different groups simultaneously. This has indeed been the case in many of the previously-reviewed studies in the present thesis. What remains is to widen the scope of language attitudes work to involve more underresearched SAVs and linguistic issues in Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, it would also be worth investigating attitudes towards SAVs from the perspective of expatriates in Saudi Arabia. This is due to the large number of expatriates in the country who

constitute a large portion of residents, representing – according to the last available census from the Saudi General Authority for Statistics (2018) – 38% of the country's total population.

As previously highlighted, the documentation of mixed and varied attitudes towards SAVs in the present study was a central finding in relation to the sociolinguistics of Arabic and Saudi Arabia. It was also posited that the attitudes appeared to be slightly changing (see section 6.4.3). This point was assumed after comparing the present study's finding of the positive connection between SAVs and identity with previous studies (e.g. Almahmoud 2012). In Almahmoud's (ibid.) study, Saudis' attitudes towards Colloquial Arabic were deemed less favourable because of the respondents' worry about the effect of Colloquial Arabic on identity. With that in mind, it would be interesting to conduct replication studies of LAs that tease out Saudis' attitudes towards SAVs. This step is important because, as noted by Stockwell (2002, p.29), it will help to document and elucidate the changes in attitudes towards language varieties.

The stimuli recordings used in LAs research are, indeed, an area for research on their own. For example, a comparative study of language attitudes could consider the registers of the audio stimuli. In the present study, two types of speech registers were employed in the VGT: 1) reading aloud (i.e. careful register) and 2) spontaneous speech. Hence, it may be worthwhile distinguishing between the two registers during the evaluation task. This can contribute to the field of LAs research in terms of attitudes investigation as well as the field's methodology. Another stimulus consideration is regarding the standard and non-standard dichotomy. As noted in section 6.4.3, the (extra) positive trend of attitudes towards the SAVs under investigation may have been increased because no direct comparison to Standard Arabic was made. As such, a future study could examine the effect of stimuli by comparing the respondents' attitudes when a standard variety is used and when it is not. In the same vein, another study could investigate the effect of a foreign language stimulus. Such studies can contribute to the methodological debates in the field.

Applying methodological innovations is in itself another area of suggestions for future LAs research in Saudi Arabia. There have been recent calls for measuring language attitudes in real-time, for example by prompting respondents to make evaluations while listening to the audio stimuli, as opposed to after they have finished listening (e.g. Montgomery & Moore 2018, p.633). Austen and Campbell-Kibler (2022)

concluded that each of the two approaches of measurement (i.e. during-listening versus after-listening) entails different types of response mechanisms that are cognition-dependent. However, these scholars were only working on English and English speakers. As such, it would be interesting to follow this path and test attitudinal results by running experiments to elicit real-time evaluations of SAVs. One way this could also be done is through the implicit association test (IAT) which some researchers (e.g. Campbell-Kibler 2012; McKenzie & Carrie 2018) have previously successfully implemented to measure LAs (see McKenzie & McNeill 2023, pp.18-21 for details of using IAT in measuring LAs). Such research is specifically devoted to understanding the cognitive processes underpinning the perceptions and social meanings of language. This motivation is closely similar to the analysis of language attitudes factors (previously reported in sections 5.3 and 6.4.1) and also the keywords task (previously reported in section 3.4). While this motivation was addressed in the present study, it is suggested that other technical methods ought to be attempted in the Saudi context.

Apart from the documentation of Saudis' language attitudes *per se*, more efforts should be made to go beyond attitudinal conclusions. A study can look more closely at the ideologies and reasons behind the representation of and the attitudes towards SAVs in, say, Saudi media in more detail. Future researchers are urged (to attempt) to uncover the reasons why certain Saudi dialects or accents (e.g. Jizani Arabic) are depicted the way they are in the media or within society. While the present study and some previous research (e.g. Alhazmi & Alfalig 2022) have provided some empirical interpretations for the social status of some SAVs, future studies should address ideologies related to such varieties more specifically. It is important to note that if future studies are relying on data elicited from respondents, it is of absolute necessity to ensure using methods that are powerful against biases. This is due to the level of sensitivity involved in such an enquiry. A discourse analysis study on linguistic ideologies in Saudi Arabia, for instance, is a viable option.

Research on language attitudes factors is another underresearched area in the Saudi context. As mentioned in section 6.4.1, only a single LAs study in Saudi Arabia has previously dealt with factors behind language attitudes (i.e. Almahmoud 2012). Even so, Almahmoud's study is now over a decade old, and it was not carried out to be reflective of the respondents' evaluations expressed in his study's MGT. It was from these observations that the present study sought to account for Saudis' attitude factors in relation to SAVs. However, there is still scope for future research, especially since

several Saudi dialects and accents have never been examined from the perspective of attitudes and perceptions (i.e. folk-linguistics).

Future research on attitude factors could be conducted either deductively or inductively. Since the present study and Almahmoud's study both – inductively – found similar categories of attitude factors (i.e. the Social and Linguistic factors, see section 6.4.1), further research could test these categories by means of deductive coding. That is, the data can be analysed bottom-up and in accordance with the themes or categories found in prior research. Of course, it is also possible to check if new categories might emerge through the inductive approach to coding. Either approach can validate or contradict previous findings, and this should advance the understanding of how and in what way Saudis evaluate language and speakers.

7.7 Summary and conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to provide some closing perspectives of this thesis. The chapter has commenced with a brief overview of seven key findings that emanated from the present study. Those key findings ranged between Saudis' attitudes and perceptions, LAs research methodology remarks and identified practices and experiences of language-based inequalities and unjust treatments in Saudi Arabia. Building on this summarisation of findings, the chapter moved to consider the recommendations that can be offered to account for the various issues revealed by the findings. The recommendations were set to be context-specific, focusing on the educational, social and legal spheres respectively. After discussing the contributions made by the present study, there was an overall assessment of the limitations and the potential methodological challenges noted in the present study. Issues of the VGT design, transcriptions, translation, the limitations of the sample, the relative ineffectiveness of the Aesthetics dimension and the difficulty in measuring attitudes were discussed as research limitations. The final part of the chapter has listed several areas, issues and topics that are believed to require further research and investigation. A variety of research projects were proposed as means to address other dimensions related to the present study in particular or the fields of LAs and Arabic sociolinguistics in general.

To conclude, the sociolinguistic dynamics among members of Saudi society are complex and multi-faceted, and the present study has shown that Saudis' attitudes and prejudices that are mediated by language are consistent. Connectedly, sociolinguistics

has demonstrated that language can be exploited as means of social differentiation, hegemony and discrimination (Coulmas 1997, p.9). Particularly, such social ramifications are of profound significance when it comes to speakers of regional varieties who are more likely to be affected by these issues. Since both language and language attitudes evolve and change, efforts must continue to cope with these dynamics to ultimately contribute to establishing a healthy society. From this perspective, it has been argued throughout this thesis that the methods and the findings of the present study are likely to be applicable and relevant to issues of dialect/accent perception at the theoretical and practical levels.

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Appendix 1: The keywords questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

لهجا ت اللغة العربية Saudi accents of Arabic في السعودية

Page 1: Welcome مرحبا

Thank you for taking time to participate. Before you start, if you're using a mobile phone, the vertical view is recommended.

Note: This questionnaire is intended for Saudis only.

شكرا لإبدائك الرغبة في المشاركة في الإستبيان.

قبل البدء،يُفضل استخدام وضع الرؤية الأفقي اذا كنت تستخدم الجوال.

ملاحظة: هذا الإستبيان يعنى بالسعوديين فقط.

الجنسية Nationality

○ سعودي Saudi
○ غير سعودي NOT Saudi

Page 2: Research Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form التعريف بالدراسة ونموذ ج الموافقة على المشار كة فيها

Research Information Sheet التعريف بالدراسة

You are kindly invited to participate in this questionnaire on 'Saudi accents of Arabic', which forms part of my PhD research project in Linguistics at the University of Leicester.

The information in this page outlines the nature of the study and sets out your rights as a respondent:

- You will be asked some questions about spoken accents in Saudi Arabia. *Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. There are no right or wrong answers.*

- The questionnaire will take approximately 5 - 8 minutes to complete.

- The collected data will be handled in accordance with the regulations of GDPR (2018).

- You will not incur any costs for your involvement in this study.

- Your participation is voluntary. You are free to stop completing the questionnaire if you wish so. However, once the responses have been submitted, they can no longer be withdrawn.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me.

You can contact me at:
aymh2@le.ac.uk
Ahmed Hakami

Otherwise, you can contact my supervisor at:
cw301@le.ac.uk
Dr Cathleen Waters

هذا الاستبيان هو جزء من دراسة معدة لنيل درجة الد كتوراه في تخصص اللغويا ت من جامعة ليستر.

تلخص المعلوما ت الواردة في هذه الصفحة طبيعة الدراسة وحقوقك كمشار ك:

- في هـذا الاستبيان، سيتم عرض بعض الأسئلة المتعلقة ببعض اللهجا ت المحـدّ ت الممل كة؛ *فضلاً آ مل منك الإجابة على الأسئلة ب كل صراحة حي ث أنه لا توجد إجابة صحيحة او خاطئة؛*
- قـد يستغرق هـذا الاستبيان ٥ ـ ٨ دقيقة للإجابة عليه. .
- سيتم التعامـل مع البيانا ت التي تجمع وفقا للنظام العام لحماية البيانا ت المعروف بـ (2018) GDPR.
- لـن تـكون هناك أي تـكلفة جراء مشار كتك في الـدراسة. .
- مشار كتك في الاستبيان هي اختيارية وبإم كانك التوقف عن الاجابة في أي وقـت، في حال تم ارسال الاجابا ت لـن يـكون من المم كن از التها. .

للإستفسار يم كنك التواصل معي عبر الإيميل
aymh2@le.ac.uk
أحمد الحـكمي

اوْ: يم كنك التواصل مع المشرفة
cw301@le.ac.uk
Dr Cathleen Waters

نموذ ج الموافقة على المشار كة بالـدراسة Informed Consent Form

Authrsiation: I understand that by completing and submitting this questionnaire, all the information and answers I provide will remain completely anonymous and will only be used for the purposes of research. They will also be secured and kept for a period not exceeding 7 years to be used for further research by the researcher.

اقرار: أقـر بأن ارسالي لهذا الاستبيان هو اقرار مني بفهمي بأن جميع المعلوماتوالاجابات التي سأدلي بها ستستخدم لأغراض البحـث العلمي فقـط و ستـكون محمية ومجهولة المصـدر. كما سيتم تخزينها بأمان لمـدة لا تتجاوز ٧ سنوات لاستخـدامها لأغراض البحـث العلمي من قبل الباحـث لاحقا. .

> ○ Yes, I understand and agree to the above اعلاه ورد ما على وموافقتي بفهمي أقر ،نعم
>
> ○ No, I don't want to be part of this study الـدراسة هذه بـ علاقة لي تـكون أن أريد لا ،لا

Authrsiation: I understand that by completing and submitting this questionnaire, extracts

from collected data may be anonymously included in the researcher's study, which will be seen by examiners and it may be included where the research is publicly accessible.

اقرار: أقر بأن ارسالي لهذا الاستبيان هو اقرار مني بفهمي بأنه قد يتدرج بعض من البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها في الدراسة قد تكون مجهولة المصليه والاطلاع عليها من قبل المختبرين وقد تكون متاحة في حالة كان البحث متاحا للعموم.

○ Yes, I understand and agree to the above نعم، أقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه
○ No, I don't want to be part of this study لا، لا اريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة

Authrsiation: I understand that by completing and submitting this questionnaire, I confirm that I am at least 18 years of age **and have** understood the nature of this study, and I am willing to participate in it.

اقرار: أقر بأن ارسالي لهذا الاستبيان هو اقرار مني بأن عمري ١٨ سنة فأكثر، مع فهمي لما سيترتب على مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة كما أقر برغبتي في المشاركة.

○ Yes, I understand and agree to the above نعم، أقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه
○ No, I don't want to be part of this study لا، لا اريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة

Page 3: Saudi Accents in Saudi Arabia اللهجا ت السعودية في المملكة

فضلا اختر أُوصافاً تصف بها اللهجا ت السعودية التالية ومن يتحد ث بها: ٠

Please describe how does the following Saudi accents and their speakers sound to you:

What is your impression of a typical Jizani speaker? ماهو انطباعك عن الشخص الذي يتحد ث باللهجة الجيزانية؟

```
┌────────────────────────────┐
│                            │
│                            │
│                            │
│                            │
└────────────────────────────┘
```

Please describe Jizani accent with three to five adjectvies. فضلاً صف اللهجة الجيزانية بثلا ث الى خمس صفا ت

```
┌────────────────────────────┐
│                            │
│                            │
│                            │
│                            │
└────────────────────────────┘
```

What is your impression of a typical Hasawi speaker? ماهو انطباعك عن الشخص الذي يتحد ث باللهجة الحساوية؟

```
┌────────────────────────────┐
│                            │
│                            │
│                            │
│                            │
└────────────────────────────┘
```

Please describe Hasawi accent with three to five adjectvies. فضلاً صف اللهجة الحساوية بثلا ث
الى خمس صفا ت

┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│   │
│   │
│   │
│   │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘

What is your impression of a typical Qassimi speaker? ماهو انطباعك عن الشخص الذي يتحد ث
باللهجة القصيمية؟

┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│   │
│   │
│   │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘

Please describe Qassimi accent with three to five adjectvies. فضلاً صف اللهجة القصيمية بثلا ث
الى خمس صفا ت

┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│   │
│   │
│   │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘

Page 4: Demographic information معلوما ت شخصية

Gender الجنس

- ○ Male ذ كر
- ○ Female انثى

Your age العمر

[   ]

Where do you classify yourself from in Saudi Arabia? من اُين تصنف نفسك في السعودية؟

- ○ Middle of Saudi Arabia وسط المملكة
- ○ North of Saudi Arabia شمال المملكة
- ○ South of Saudi Arabia جنوب المملكة
- ○ East of Saudi Arabia شرق المملكة
- ○ West of Saudi Arabia غرب المملكة

Highest educational qualification. اعلى مُوهل تعليمي

- ○ High school الثانوية
- ○ Bachelors البكالوريوس
- ○ Higher education (Masters or PhD) ٠(دراسات عليا (ماجستير او دكتوراه
- ○ Other اخرى

If you selected Other, please specify: فضلا بحدد نوع مُوهلك في حال كان الاختيار اخرى

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I'm interested in your opinions about Saudi accents of Arabic. Your thoughts are very important to this study and will contribute to our understanding of the linguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. If you wish to be contacted for further participation, please provide your name and contact details (e.g. phone number, Twitter or Snapchat account...etc.).

أُنا مهتم بالتعرف أُكثر على آرائك حول اللهجات السعودية فرأيك ذو أُهمية قصوى لموضوع الدراسة وسيسهم في زيادة وعي بالوضع اللغوي في المملكة. اذا كذت ترغب في المشاركة مجددا، فضلاً اذكر اسمك ووسيلة للتواصل معك (مثلا: رقم الجوال، معرف تويتر أو سناب تشات تيالخ). ٠

Page 5: Thank you! شكرا لك!

انتهى الاستبيان شكرا لمشاركتك

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your time.

Appendix 2: Extracts from the keywords task dataset for Qassimi Arabic

Qassimi Arabic SPEAKER keywords
اهل تجاره
.
..
A person from Al-Qassim
Always end the pronouns with an "s" sound
Authentic
Bf
Formal, street-wise, and distant.
Good
Rich
احب هذه اللهجة
احبها وجميله
احترمه
احسه راعي مخ تجاري وفلوس.
استمتع بحديثه
اظن هذا الشخص يتصنع الفكاهه ... يغضبني ذلك بشدة
اعتز به
افضل من اللهجة الجيزانيه رالحساويه
اكن للجميع في المملكة كل الحب والتقدير واعتز بمن يحافظ على لهجته ولا يغيرها مهما كانت الظروف
الاغلب متغطرس مصطلحات غير مفهومة
الثقة الاعتزاز المحبة للهجة
الشخص الذي يتكلم باللهجة القصيمية تميزه مباشرة بمنطقته التي ينتمي إليها بحيث بأن اهل القصيم توارثوا هذه اللهجة منذ بدايات توحيد السعودية
اللهجه القصيميه ليست صعبه ولكن لا احب سماعها
انسان متطور
انطباع جميل
انطباع عادي
انطباع عادي
انطباعي انه ابن عز
انطباعي عادي وكل ابن بيئته

انه حذر و قد يكون منغلق
انه يعتز بلهجته واصله هذا شي جميل
أصيل يقلد الآباء والأجداد ويترسم خطاهم
أقدر له انتماؤه للهجته ولكن أعلم أن الشخص القصيمي لا يقدر باقي اللهجات خصوصا الجنوبية
بارد
بكل صدق، لا احكم مسبقاً على شخص بسبب لهجه.. قد أعطي انطباع لمن يتصنع اللهجه
تاجر
تاجر
تاجر او رجل اعمال
تاجر وصاحب أموال طائلة
تراث
ثقيلة
جميل لحد ما
جميلة

Qassimi Arabic VARIETY keywords
جيده هادئة ممتعه
حرف السن مستخدم بكثره   وكلمة بوه
حلوه   متنوعه   جميله
رائعة جدا وممتعة
رنانه وطاربه ولذيذه
سريعه   جميله   غير مفهومه في بعض المصطلحات
سريعه وجميله
سريعه، خفيفه، صعبه الفهم على الناس اللي من خارج نجد
سلسلة ميسورة جميلة
سلهة
سهلة ، واضحة ، قوية
سهلة الفهم، صعبة التعلم
سهله
صعبة ، سريعة ، تدمج بعض الكلمات في كلمة واحدة
صعبة الفهم مختصره
صعبة بعض الشيء
صعبة، جهورية ، صحراوية
صعبة، سيئة ، ليست لطيفة على الإطلاق

صعبه، ممله، فوقيه
صوت مختلف
طبيعيه عادي
عادية فيها اخطاء
عاديه
عاديه غير مفهومه
عاديه،
عندهم مد بالواو كثير.
غالبا فيها حرف الواو في النهاية او حرف التاء مع الشين او السين مقرونا معاً
غثيثة صعبة   سامجة
غريبة ، غير مفهومة ، مخيفة .
غريبه بعض الشيء
غير ممتعه، بطيئة بعض الشي، بعضها غير مفهوم
غير واضحة ، تحذف بعض الحروف فيها ، جيدة
فريدة-رنانة-جميلة
فيها بعض المفاهيم صعبة -محببة
فيها تكلف فيها كلمات جديدة تحتاج للفهم
فيها من الاناء الكثير
قريبة من البدوي الاصيل وغلظة والشدة
قلب الكاف تس
قوة ، سلطة ، منصب
لا اتقنها
لا احبها
لا اعرف
لا اعرف
لا اعرف عنها الكثير
لا أعرف عنها

Appendix 3: Extracts from the keywords task dataset for Hasawi Arabic

Hasawi Arabic SPEAKER keywords
لا أعلم و لا اعرف حد يتكلم بها
لا باس به
لا شيء
لا يوجد
لا يوجد انطباع عن الشخص نفسه ولكن اللهجة نفسها استمتع للاستماع اليها
لااعرف
لااعرف
لاتعجبني خصوصا عندما يتحدث بها الرجال
لأعرفها جيدًا
لديه لهجة مميزه اكتسبها من طبيعة حياته وهي لهجة مشهورة في السعودية
لطيف
لغته الأم
لكل انسان ثقافته ولهجته وعلي ان احترمه واتقبله كما يتقبلني الاخرون
لم اسمع متحدث بها من قبل
لم يسبق لي وان سمعت احد يتحدث بهذه اللهجة .
له كل التقدير
لهجة بطيئة ولكن مفهومه
لهجة جيدة
لهجة ساحلية
لهجته جيدة ، ولكن قد يصعب فهمها والتحدث بها لغير سكانها لاختلاف بعض الحروف في اصل الكلمة وسرعتها
لهجته وهو حر
لهجه غير مفهومه
لهجه محليه
ليس عيباً ولكن اذا كان خارج المنطقه يستحسن ان يتكلم بلهجه تكون مفهومه للجميع
مااعرفها ابدا
متمسك بمنطقته
متواضع
مثل اي لهجة جديد..احترم جميع اللهجات
محايد

مدري👰‍♀️
معتز بلهجته
مغفل
ممتاز
ممتع
من اجمل اللهجات في المملكة
من المنطقة الشرقية
من أهل المنطقة الشرقية
نفس التعليق الاول
هذي انطباعهم وليسى لنا فيه دخل
واثق من نفسه
واثق من نفسه
واسع الصدر طيب ايضا يحافظ على لهجته
يتحدث بلهجته التي تعلمها من صغره وفيها جرس موسيقي
يظهر بعض جمال لهجته
يمط الكلام
ينحدر نحو الميوعة والنعومة

Hasawi Arabic VARIETY keywords
جميلة رائعة ممتازة
جميلة تطرب لها الاذان
جميلة ورقيقة
جميلة وملموسه جدا
جميلة وممتعة ومفهومة
جميلة-مفهومة -محبوبة
جميله
جميله سهله طبيعيه
جميله فكاهيه تبعث على السرور
جميله و ممدوده غربيبه بعض الشيء سهله
جيد
حلوه
خاصه مكتسبه متوارثة
خفيفة جميلة راقية
خفيفه جميلة سلسلة

خليجيه   مميزه
دايماً اشعر بانه يتحدث وهو باااارد
ذات لحن-جدية-مميزة
رخوة ثقيلة متقعرة نوعًا ما فيها نوع من الميوعة
رقيقه هادئه ألفاظها غريبه
سهلة ، واضحة ، موسيقية
سهله ، طويله
سهله وحلوه
شدعوة وش حقك أنزين
صعبة ـ ترنمية ـ ممتعة
صعبة التعلم، تتطلب مجهود لاتقانها
صعبة شيء ما يمكن اتقانها ثقيلة
صعبة، جهورية ، مختلفة
طوووويله وثقيله ع اللسان
طويله، فيها لحن جميل ، غير مبتذله
عندما تستمع للمتحدث بها تستمتع بنبرات الصوت النادرة
غريبه وتميل الى دولة البحرين الشقيقه
غير مفهومة ، سريعة ، تحذف بعض الحروف من اصل الكلمة ، تتغير بعض الحروف من اصل الكلمة
غير مفهومه، ثقيلة
فصحاء، متناسقه، بطيئة
فيه بعض النعومة التي لا تناسبني شخصيًا
فيها تمديد للكلمات + تلحين غريب عند خروج الكلمه + بخلاف الصفات السابقه اعتقد انها تشبه قليلا لهجة اهل الشرقية
فيها رعونة بطيئة متأثرة بالدول المجاورة
فيها مط
فيها مطططه وصعوبة في الفهم
قد تكون كوميدية
قريبة من لهجات الخليج لها اصل من اللغة العربية تشعر أنه يتكلف
كرم ، اصالة ، تاريخ ، تراث ، ارث
كسوله مدلعة ناعمة
لا اتقنها
لا احبها

Appendix 4: Extracts from the keywords task dataset for Jizani Arabic

Jizani Arabic SPEAKER keywords
normal person. Some words are deep
one of the dialects of the kingdom
لهجة الأجداد
لهجة جيدة
لهجة سريعه
مُعتز باللهجة وفخور بها
ما تتوقع منه شيء واو
مندفع، سريع الحديث، يبحث عن مشاكل
لهجة الأجداد
proud of his local dialect
proud to be from the south
proud, confident
speak fast compared to non Jizani people
stronger than those who hide their Jizani identity
stubborn, great, confident
uncivilised
uncivilised
uneducated
unpretentious
very good
very natrual
very normal
Yemni
احترم لهجته طالما هو متمسك بعاداته وتقاليده ولكن لا افضل استخدامها مع الذي لا يفهم معناها. وانتقد من يتكلم بلهجته الخاصه مع من لا يتكلم بنفس اللهجه
احترمه لكونه يحافظ على إرث ثقافي
اعرف انه من جيزان واميز الفرق
افتخر واتشرف بهذا الشيئ لانها لهجتي وافتخر اذا توسعه لبقيه الناس
اللغه الجيزانيه تختلف من قريه لقريه اخرى وبعض القرى لابد ان يتحسنوا من ناحيه الكلام. وانطباعي بشكل عام غير جيده

انا جيزاني وفي كثير من الأحيان لو سافرت الى أي مكان في السعوديه اجد صعوبه وأحاول أتكلم بلهجة اهل المنطقه
انطباع انه شخص مرن ومحبوب ويحب البساطة
انطباع جميل
انطباع طبيعي جداً، بحكم اني منها
انطباعي عن الشخص الذي يتكلم باللهجة الجيزانية هو بأنه لديه مفردات و مقومات للغة العربية الفصحى اكتسبها من خلال معيشته مع الواقع الدراسي أو في حياته وهو ما لم يطلب منه التحدث بالفصحى سيتحدث بعد تمارين بسيطة.
أشعر بالارتياح عند التحدث مع شخص يتحدث باللهجة الجيزانية وذلك لأني جيزانية الأصل والمنشأ كما وأستطيع التعبير عن رأيي وأفكاري بحرية أكبر ولا أخشى سوء الفهم منه لبعض الكلمات في لهجتنا
أصيل
أنا جازاني 😐
تتخيل ان الشخص الذي امامك من اهل الجنوب وانه قد يكون اقرب لان يكون يمني الجنسية.
تعتبر لهجة من اللهجات
جميله
جيد قريب من الحدود اليمنية
ربما يريد الحفاظ على تلك اللهجة والبعض يستخدمها للضحك على من هم خارج المنطقة.
سهل التخاطب مع الاخرين
شعور بالفخر عند التكلم باللهجة المحلية
عادي
عادي جداً احترمه كأي شخص يتحدث لهجته "الأم"

Jizani Arabic VARIETY keywords
تجد كثير من كلماتها لغة عربية فصحى
تغلب على لهجة الجيزاني أم التعريف مثل امحجر ، امقلم، امكتاب
سريعة سهلة واضحة
وصوتيه لها جذور عربيه وخفيفه لها اشتاق معنوي
وضوح في - سهلة النطق - تحدث بها الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم - أغلب كلماتها من العربية الفصحى - يتحدث بها عدد كبير - المعنى
٣،أصيلة قديمة ـ٢ لغوية ـ١
اللهجة ـ٤ لهجة حدودية (مشتركة) مع دولة اليمن-٣ مختلفة عن معظم لهجات المملكة ـ٢ سريعة-١ الحيزانية لها لهجات مختلفة تختلف باختلاف القرى
Bg
Different from most accents, the pronunciation is fast mostly, hard to understand sometimes
Diverse, special, and authentic
Fast, close to Yemeni accent, difficult

musical, figurative, creative
Old nation, from jizan
Sweet and funny
احيان صعبه الفهم ، حلوه ، مختلفه
اقرب إلى العربية، سهلة سريعة الفهم
التحدث بالغه العربيه
السهوله الاختصار العفويه الفطره الدلاله
اللهجة الجيزانيه هي لهجه ممعته للسامع ومزيج بين لهجه الجنوب السعوديه واللهجه اليمنيه ولكن للاسف الصوره النمطيه بانها يمنيه بحته
اللهجة عادات وتقاليد لكل لهجه
جميلة حميرية بها بعض الكلمات الفصيحة
جميلة سريعه ، اوقات مُضحكه
جميلة وعفوية
جميلة، فيها من الفصحى العربية، لطيفة، اصيلة
جميله
جميله عفويه   فكاهيه
جميله شتمله لطيفه اصيله تاريخيه
جميله ، عفويه ، غير متكلفة، غريبه
جميله-صعبه نوعاً ما في الفهم-مرحه
جميله،ممتعه، بسيطة و سريعة لحد ماء
جيد
جيدة سريعة فصحى تراثية عاميّة
جيده متميزه   فيها بعض من الكلمات الفصيحه
حلوه، سهله، مفهومه
حميرية جميلة رائعة لهجة أم
رائع جميل طبيعي
رائع متميزه
رائعه سهلة الحفظ ممتعه
ساحليه ، صعبه ، تهاميه
سريعة صعبه
سريعة مصطلحات جديدة تبديل ال.. ب ام
سريعة مفرادتها صعبة الفهم نوعا ما خفيفة
سريعة مقاربة للهجة اليمنية تمتلك مفردات كثيرة جداً مختلفة عن باقي اللهجات السعودية

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Appendix 5: Table version of the keywords task findings

Table 15. Tabulated keywords task findings (N = 148).

Variety	Keyword	Tokens
Qassimi	intelligibility	31
	beauty	30
	(dis)connection to area or group	23
	speed	22
	status ref + wealth	19
	pride	14
	equality to other varieties	2
Hasawi	speed	44
	intelligibility	34
	beauty	29
	(dis)connection to area or group	22
	neighbouring country	14
	equality to other varieties	7
	pride	6
	religious affiliation	5
Jizani	intelligibility	66
	beauty	39
	standardness	36
	speed	22
	pride	18
	(dis)connection to area or group	16
	Yemen reference	10
	intellectuality	9
	confidence	7
	equality to other varieties	6

Appendix 6: Stimuli text

هذه أفضل 10 أطعمة على وجه الأرض

Top 10 Best Food Items on Earth

https://www.alarabiya.net/science/2021/02/03/-الطعام-من-أنواع-10-أفضل-هذه
الأرض-كوكب-على-

النص الأصلي:

تصنف منظمة الصحة العالمية الأطعمة والمنتجات الغذائية حسب تركيبتها الغذائية. حيث أن هناك أطعمة غنية بالعناصر الغذائية ولكنها منخفضة نسبيًا في السعرات الحرارية. تشمل أمثلة الأطعمة الغنية بالعناصر الغذائية الفواكه والخضراوات والحبوب الكاملة ومنتجات الألبان قليلة الدسم أو الخالية من الدسم والمأكولات البحرية واللحوم الخالية من الدهون والبيض والبازلاء والفاصوليا والمكسرات. لا يوجد سوى عدد محدود من السعرات الحرارية أو الطعام الذي يمكن للشخص استهلاكه في اليوم. لذا يرى الخبراء أنه من الحكمة ملء هذه الحصة من السعرات الحرارية بالكثير من الأطعمة الغنية بالمغذيات لتلبية متطلبات الجسم الغذائية [حيث أن] الوجبة المتوازنة ينبغي أن تشتمل على الأطعمة من المجموعات الغذائية الخمس، وهي: الكربوهيدرات والبروتينات والدهون والفيتامينات والمعادن.

النص المعدل للعامية:

منظمة الصحة العالمية تصنف الأكل على حسب التركيبة الغذائية. فيه أكل فيه عناصر غذائية*كثيرة* ولكن فيها *شوي* سعرات حرارية زي الفواكه *والخضروات* والحبوب ومنتجات الحليب قليلة الدسم أو اللي ما*فيها* دسم وزي الأكل البحري واللحم اللي ما *فيه* دهون والبيض *والبازلاء* والفاصوليا والمكسرات. كمية الأكل اللي يقدر الواحد ياكلها في اليوم محددة، عشان كذا الخبراء يقولون إن أحسن شي إن الشخص ياكل أكل فيه كثير عناصر غذائية عشان الجسم يأخذ احتياجه منها، والوجبة المتوازنة يكون فيها أكل من المجموعات الغذائية الخمس، اللي هي: الكربوهيدرات والبروتينات والدهون والفيتامينات والمعادن.

النص المعدل للعامية (مع أمثلة لكلمات من اللهجات السعودية):

منظمة الصحة العالمية تصنف الأكل على حسب التركيبة الغذائية. فيه أكل فيه عناصر غذائية*كثيرة* (واجد/باسل/مليان) بس فيها*شوي* (شوية/قليل) سعرات حرارية زي الفواكه *والخضروات* (الخضار/الخضرة/امخضار) والحبوب ومنتجات الحليب قليلة الدسم أو اللي ما*فيها* (مابها/ مابوه فيها/ماشي فيها) دسم وزي الأكل البحري واللحم اللي ما *فيه* دهون والبيض *والبازلاء* (البازاليا) والفاصوليا والمكسرات. كمية الأكل اللي يقدر الواحد ياكلها في اليوم محددة، عشان كذا الخبراء يقولون إن أحسن شيء إن الشخص ياكل

أكل فيه كثير عناصر غذائية عشان الجسم يأخذ احتياجه منها، والوجبة المتوازنة يكون فيها أكل من المجموعات الغذائية الخمس، اللي هي: الكربوهيدرات والبروتينات والدهون والفيتامينات والمعادن.

English text:

World Health Organisation categorises foods based on nutrients. There are lots of food items that are highly nutritious yet low in calories. Those include fruits, vegetables, whole seeds, low-fat or fat-free dairy, seafood, fat-free meat, eggs, peas, beans and nuts. There are only certain amounts of calories or food a person can consume during the day. So, experts suggest that it is best to fuel the body with calories from highly nutritious food items to meet the body's nutrition requirements. A balanced meal should contain food items from the five nutrient categories: carbohydrates, protein, fat, vitamins and iron.

سؤال النص العفوي:

فضلا صف الصورة التالية وانت تتحدث بلهجتك وبشكل طبيعي.

Spontaneous text question:

Please describe the following picture using your dialect spontaneously.

Appendix 7: The VGT questionnaire – Arabic version

استبيان المتحدثين السعوديين

Page 1: مرحبا! ٠

شكرا لإبدائك الرغبة في المشاركة في الإستبيان.

قبل البدء، يُفضل استخدام وضع الرؤية الأفقي اذا كنت تستخدم الجوال.

ملحوظة: هذا الإستبيان يعنى بالسعوديين فقط.

الجنسية ✱ *Required*

⊙ سعودي
⊙ غير سعودي

التعريف بالدراسة ونموذج الموافقة على المشاركة فيها: Page 2

التعريف بالدراسة

هذا الاستبيان هو جزء من دراسة عن المتحدثين السعوديين وهي معدة لنيل درجة الدكتوراه في تخصص اللغويات من جامعة ليستر.

تلخص المعلومات الواردة في هذه الصفحة طبيعة الدراسة وحقوقك كمشارك:

- سُيطلب منك الاستماع الى تسجيلات صوتية لبعض المتحدثين ومن ثم اكمال بعض الاسئلة المتعلقة بالمتحدثين والوضع اللغوي في السعودية. *فضلاً أمل منك الإجابة على الاسئلة بكل صراحة حيث انه لا توجد اجابة صحيحة او خاطئة؛*

- قد يستغرق هذا الاستبيان ٨ - ١٣ دقيقة للإجابة عليه.

- سيتم حفظ وتخزين البيانات التي تجمع في كومبيوتر محمي بكلمة سر، كما سيتم نقل البيانات للمملكة المتحدة ليتم تخزينها بأمان وسرية على سيرفر جامعة ليستر.

- سيتم التعامل مع البيانات التي تجمع وفقا للنظام العام لحماية البيانات المعروف بـ GDPR (2018)

- لن تكون هناك أي تكلفة جراء مشاركتك في الدراسة

- مشاركتك في الاستبيان هي اختيارية وبإمكانك التوقف عن الاجابة في أي وقت، في حال تم ارسال الاجابات لن يكون من الممكن ازالتها.

للإستفسار يمكنك التواصل معي عبر الإيميل
aymh2@leicester.ac.uk
احمد الحكمي

او يمكنك التواصل مع المشرفة:
cw301@leicester.ac.uk
Dr Cathleen Waters

نموذج الموافقة على المشاركة في الدراسة

اقرار: أقر بأن ارسالي لهذا الاستبيان هو اقرار مني بفهمي بأن جميع المعلومات والاجابات التي سأدلي بها ستستخدم لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط وستكون محمية ومجهولة المصدر، كما سيتم تخزينها بأمان لمدة لا تتجاوز ٧ سنوات

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لا استخدامها لاغراض البحث العلمي من قبل الباحث لاحقا.

نعم، أُقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه ⊙
لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة ⊙

اقرار: أقر بأن إرسالي لهذا الاستبيان هو اقرار مني بفهمي بأنه قد يندرج بعض من البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها في الدراسة قد تكون مجهولة المصدر ويتم الاطلاع عليها من قبل المختبرين وقد تكون متاحة في حالة كان البحث متاحا للعموم.

نعم، أُقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه ⊙
لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة ⊙

اقرار: أقر بأن إرسالي لهذا الاستبيان هو اقرار مني بأن عمري ١٨ سنة فأكثر، مع فهمي لما سيترتب على مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة، كما أقر برغبتي في المشاركة.

نعم، أُقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه ⊙
لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة ⊙

Page 3: المتحد ث ١

بالإمكان أحيانا ان تتكون لدينا بعض الانطباعات عن الناس أثناء سماعنا لحديثهم فضلاً اذكر انطباعاتك من خلال الاستماع للمتحدث الأول ثم الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية بناءً على الصوت فقط:٠

للإستماع للتسجيل مباشرة اختر Listen in browser

Ahmed Al-Hakami · AB

في رأيك من أي مناطق الممل كة هذا المتحدث؟

- ○ عسير
- ○ الباحة
- ○ المنطقة الشرقية
- ○ مكة
- ○ المدينة المنورة
- ○ نجران
- ○ الحدود الشمالية

○ القصيم
○ الرياض
○ تبوك
○ الجوف
○ جازان
○ حائل
○ أُخرى

فضلًا حدد في حال كان الاختيار أُخرى: ○

[   ]

ماهي المميزات/الصفات في طريقة حديث المتحدث التي ساعدتك على تحديد منطقة هذا المتحدث؟

[   ]

هذا المتحدث ... ○

	ليس 1 كريما	2	3	4	5	6	كريم 7
الكرم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ○

	ليس 1 شجاعا	2	3	4	5	6	شجاع 7
الشجاعة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

لهجة هذا المتحدث ... ○

	ليس ت 1 جميلة	2	3	4	5	6	جميلة 7
جمال اللهجة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس لديه 1 حس فكاهي	2	3	4	5	6	لديه حس 7 فكاهي
حس الفكاهة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس ثريا 1	2	3	4	5	6	ثري 7
الثراء	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

لهجة هذا المتحدث ... اللغة العربية الفصحى

	لا تشابه 1	2	3	4	5	6	تشابه 7
مشابهة اللغة العربية الفصحى	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس طيبا 1	2	3	4	5	6	طيب 7
الطيبة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس 1 متعلما	2	3	4	5	6	متعلم 7
التعليم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هـ ذا المتحد ث ... ٠

	ليس 1 سهل الفهم	2	3	4	5	6	سهل 7 الفهم
سهولة الفهم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هـ ذا المتحد ث ... ٠

	ليس 1 متديّنا	2	3	4	5	6	متديّن 7
التديّن	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هـ ذا المتحد ث ... ٠

	ليس واثقا 1 من نفسه	2	3	4	5	6	واثق من 7 نفسه
الثقة بالنفس	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هـ ذا المتحد ث ... ٠

	ليس 1 فصيحا	2	3	4	5	6	فصيح 7
الفصاحة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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هل **لهجة** هذا المتحدث مشابهة للهجتك ؟

مشابهة اللهجة للهجتك	ليس ت 1 مشابهة	2	3	4	5	6	مشابهة 7
مشابهة اللهجة للهجتك	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

بالإمه كان أحيانا ان تت كون لدينا بعض الانطباعات عن الناس أثناء سماعنا لحديثهم فضلا اذ كر انطباعاتك من خلال الاستماع للمتحدث الثاني ثم الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية بناءً على الصوت فقط: ٠

للإستماع للتسجيل مباشرة اختر Listen in browser

Ahmed Al-Hakami · MG

في رأيك من أي مناطق المملكة هذا المتحدث؟

- ○ عسير
- ○ الباحة
- ○ المنطقة الشرقية
- ○ مكة
- ○ المدينة المنورة
- ○ نجران
- ○ الحدود الشمالية

○ القصيم

○ الرياض

○ تبوك

○ الجوف

○ جازان

○ حائل

○ أُخرى

فضلا حدد في حال كان الاختيار أُخرى:٠

[   ]

ماهي المميزا ت/الصفا ت في طريقة حدي ث المتحد ث التي ساعدتك على تحديد منطقة هذا المتحد ث؟

[   ]

هذا المتحد ث ...٠

	ليس 1 كريما	2	3	4	5	6	كريم 7
ال كرم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحد ث ...٠

	ليس 1 شجاعا	2	3	4	5	6	شجاع 7
الشجاعة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

لهجة هذا المتحد ث ...٠

	ليس ت 1 جميلة	2	3	4	5	6	جميلة 7
جمال اللهجة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليس لديه 1 حس فكاهي	2	3	4	5	6	لديه حس 7 فكاهي
حس الفكاهة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليس ثريا 1	2	3	4	5	6	ثري 7
الثراء	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

لهجة هذا المتحدث ... اللغة العربية الفصحى

	لا تشابه 1	2	3	4	5	6	تشابه 7
مشابهة اللغة العربية الفصحى	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليس طيبا 1	2	3	4	5	6	طيب 7
الطيبة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ...٠

التعليم	ليس 1 متعلما	2	3	4	5	6	متعلم 7
التعليم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس 1 سهل الفهم	2	3	4	5	6	سهل 7 الفهم
سهولة الفهم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس 1 متديّنا	2	3	4	5	6	متديّن 7
التديُّن	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس واثقا 1 من نفسه	2	3	4	5	6	واثق من 7 نفسه
الثقة بالنفس	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس 1 فصيح	2	3	4	5	6	فصيح 7
الفصاحة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هل **لهجة** هذا المتحدث مشابهة للهجتك ؟

	ليس ت 1 مشابهة	2	3	4	5	6	مشابهة 7
مشابهة اللهجة للهجتك	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Page 5: المتحدث ٣

بالإمكان أحيانًا ان تتكون لدينا بعض الانطباعات عن الناس أثناء سماعنا لحديثهم فضلاً اذكر انطباعاتك من خلال الاستماع للمتحدث الثالث ثم الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية بناءً على الصوت فقط: ٠

للاستماع للتسجيل مباشرة اختر Listen in browser

Ahmed Al-Hakami · AK

في رأيك من أي مناطق المملكة هذا المتحدث؟

- ○ عسير
- ○ الباحة
- ○ المنطقة الشرقية
- ○ مكة
- ○ المدينة المنورة
- ○ نجران
- ○ الحدود الشمالية
- ○ القصيم

○ الرياض

○ تبوك

○ الجوف

○ جازان

○ حائل

○ أُخرى

فضلاً حدد في حال كان الاختيار أُخرى:

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│                             │
└─────────────────────────────┘
```

ماهي المميزات/الصفات في طريقة حديث المتحدث التي ساعدتك على تحديد منطقة هذا المتحدث؟

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│                             │
└─────────────────────────────┘
```

هذا المتحدث ...

	ليس 1 كريما	2	3	4	5	6	كريم 7
الكرم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا المتحدث ...

	ليس 1 شجاعا	2	3	4	5	6	شجاع 7
الشجاعة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

لهجة هذا المتحدث ...

جميلة 7	6	5	4	3	2	ليـست 1 جميلة	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	جمال اللهجة

هـذا المتحـد د ث ... ٠

لـديه حس 7 فكاهي	6	5	4	3	2	ليس لـديه 1 حس فـكاهي	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	حس الفكاهة

هـذا المتحـد د ث ... ٠

ثري 7	6	5	4	3	2	ليـس ثريا 1	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	الثراء

لهجة هـذا المتحـد ث ... اللغة العربية الفصحى

تشابه 7	6	5	4	3	2	لا تشابه 1	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	مشابهة اللغة العربية الفصحى

هـذا المتحـد د ث ... ٠

طيـب 7	6	5	4	3	2	ليـس طيبا 1	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	الطيبة

هـذا المتحـد د ث ... ٠

	ليس 1 متعلما	2	3	4	5	6	متعلم 7
التعليم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هـذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليس 1 سهل الفهم	2	3	4	5	6	سهل 7 الفهم
سهولة الفهم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هـذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليس 1 متديّنا	2	3	4	5	6	متديّن 7
التديُّن	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هـذا المتحدث ...٠

	ليس واثقا 1 من نفسه	2	3	4	5	6	واثق من 7 نفسه
الثقة بالنفس	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هـذا المتحدث ... ٠

	ليس 1 فصيح	2	3	4	5	6	فصيح 7
الفصاحة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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هل **لهجة** هذا المتحدث مشابهة للهجتك ؟

	ليست 1 مشابهة	2	3	4	5	6	مشابهة 7
مشابهة اللهجة للهجتك	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هذا هو المحور الأخير في الاستبيان فضلاً أجب على الأسئلة من منظورك الشخصي.

ماهي أكثر لهجة سعودية تعجبك؟

```
[                                    ]
```

ماهي أكثر لهجة سعودية لا تعجبك؟

```
[                                    ]
```

ما مدى أهمية تعدد اللهجات السعودية في المملكة؟

	غير مهم 1	2	3	4	5	6	مهم 7
أهمية تعددية اللهجات	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

لماذا؟

```
[                                    ]
```

ما مدى كثرة تحدثك بلهجتك المحلية؟

	مطلقا 1	2	3	4	5	6	دائما 7
استخدام اللهجة المحلية	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

في رأيك، ماهي احتمالية ان يُعامل الناس في السعودية بطريقة مختلفة لتحدثهم بلهجات محلية مختلفة ؟

	غير 1 محتمل	2	3	4	5	6	محتمل 7
المعاملة المختلفة	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

هل يُعد وجود لهجات سعودية مختلفة في المملكة مشكلةً؟

	بالتأكيد 1	2	3	4	5	6	مطلقا 7
اشكالية تعددية اللهجات في السعودية	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

معلوما ت شخصية :Page 7

الجنس

ⓞ ذ كر
ⓞ أنثى

العمر

[   ]

من اي مناطق السعودية تصنف نفسك؟

ⓞ عسير
ⓞ الباحة
ⓞ المنطقة الشرقية
ⓞ م كة
ⓞ الم دينة المنورة
ⓞ نجران
ⓞ الح دود الشمالية
ⓞ القصيم
ⓞ الرياض
ⓞ تبو ك
ⓞ الجوف
ⓞ جازان
ⓞ حائل
ⓞ أخرى

فضلا حدد في حال كان الاختيار آخرى: .

[   ]

في اي مناطق المملكة سكنت معظم وقتك؟

- ○ عسير
- ○ الباحة
- ○ المنطقة الشرقية
- ○ مكة
- ○ المدينة المنورة
- ○ نجران
- ○ الحدود الشمالية
- ○ القصيم
- ○ الرياض
- ○ تبوك
- ○ الجوف
- ○ جازان
- ○ حائل
- ○ أخرى

فضلا حدد في حال كان الاختيار أخرى: .

[   ]

كم سنة كانت مدة اقامتك هناك؟

[   ]

كم لغةً تتحدث؟

○ 1
○ 2
○ 3 فأكثُر

. أعلى مؤُهل تعليمي.

○ ثانوي
○ بكالوريوس
○ تعليم عالي (ماجستير أو دكتوراه) ٠
○ أخرى

فضلا حدد نوع المؤُهل اذا كان الاختيار أخرى: ٠

[   ]

ماهو مجال مؤُهلك التعليمي؟

○ العلوم الطبيعية (كالكيمياء، الرياضيات..الخ) ٠
○ علوم الحياة (كالتمريض، الهندسة..الخ) ٠
○ العلوم الاجتماعية والإنسانية (كإدارة الأعمال، اللغات..الخ) ٠
○ أخرى

فضلا حدد نوع المجال اذا كان الاختيار أخرى: ٠

[   ]

هل أقمت خارج المملكة لمدة تزيد عن سنة؟

نعم ○

لا ○

فضلاً حدد في أيُّ دولة كانت الاقامة

كم سنة كانت مدة اقامتك هناك؟

أنا مهتمّ بالتعرّف أكثر على آرائك حول اللهجات السعودية فرأيك ذو أهمية قصوى لموضوع الدراسة وسيسهم في زيادة الوعي بالوضع اللغوي في المملكةّ اذا كنت ترغب في المشاركة مجددا في مقابلة شخصية، فضلاً اذكر اسمك ورقّم الجوال (اذا لم ترغب بترك رقم الجوال فيمكنك ذكر معرّف في وسائل التواصل الإجتماعي مثل تويتّر أو سناب شات تّالخ). •

```

```

اذا كنت تعرّف شخصا يمكنه المشاركة فضلاً اذكر اسمه ووسيلة للتواصل معهِ •

```

```

Page 9: ٠شكرالك!

انتهى الاستبيان شكرا لمشاركتك.

Appendix 8: The VGT questionnaire – English version

UNIVERSITY OF
LEICESTER

Saudi speakers questionnaire

Page 1: Before you start

Thank you for taking time to participate. Before you start, if you're using a mobile phone, the vertical view is recommended.

Note: This questionnaire is intended for Saudis only.

I'm... ✱ *Required*

○ Saudi
○ NOT Saudi

Page 2: Research Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form

Research Information Sheet

You are kindly invited to participate in this questionnaire on 'Saudi speakers of Arabic', which forms part of my PhD research project in Linguistics at the University of Leicester.

The information in this page outlines the nature of the study and sets out your rights as a respondent:

- You will be asked to listen to voices of some speakers and complete a series of items. Then, you'll be asked some general questions about the linguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. *Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. There are no right or wrong answers.*

- The questionnaire will take approximately 8 - 13 minutes to complete.

- The collected data will be stored and secured on a password-encrypted computer. The collected data will be transferred to the UK for safe and confidential storage on the University of Leicester shared hard drive.

- The collected data will be handled in accordance with the regulations of GDPR (2018).

- You will not incur any costs for your involvement in this study.

- Your participation is voluntary. You are free to stop completing the questionnaire if you wish so. However, once the responses have been submitted, they can no longer be withdrawn.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me.

You can contact me at:
aymh2@leicester.ac.uk
Ahmed Al-Hakami

Otherwise, you can contact my supervisor at:
cw301@leicester.ac.uk
Dr Cathleen Waters

Informed Consent Form

Authorisation: I understand that by completing and submitting this questionnaire, all the information and answers I provide will remain completely anonymous and will only be used for the purposes of research. They will also be secured and kept for a period not exceeding 7 years to be used for further research by the researcher.

○ Yes, I understand and agree to the above

○ No, I don't want to be part of this study

Authorisation: I understand that by completing and submitting this questionnaire, extracts from collected data may be anonymously included in the researcher's study, which will be seen by examiners and it may be included where the research is publicly accessible.

○ Yes, I understand and agree to the above

○ No, I don't want to be part of this study

Authorisation: I understand that by completing and submitting this questionnaire, I confirm that I am at least 18 years of age and have understood the nature of this study, and I am willing to participate in it.

○ Yes, I understand and agree to the above

○ No, I don't want to be part of this study

Page 3: Speaker 1

Sometimes we are able to form impressions of people becuse of the way they sound. Please try to form your impressions by listening to the first speaker and then answer the following questions based on voice only:

Tap in Listen in browser to play directly
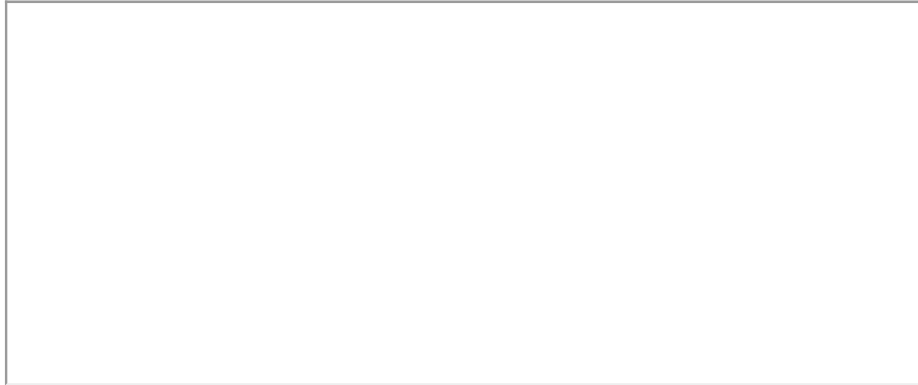
Ahmed Al-Hakami · AB

Where do you think is the speaker from in Saudi Arabia?

○ Asir
○ Baha
○ Eastern Province
○ Makkah
○ Madinah
○ Najran
○ Northern Borders
○ Qassim
○ Riyadh
○ Tabuk
○ Jawf
○ Jazan

○ Ha'il

○ Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

[   ]

What features/characteristics about the speaker's way of speaking helped you identify where the speaker is from?

[   ]

The speaker is:

	1 Not generous	2	3	4	5	6	7 Generous
Generosity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not brave	2	3	4	5	6	7 Brave
Bravery	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker's dialect is:

	1 Not beautiful	2	3	4	5	6	7 Beautiful
Beauty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not funny	2	3	4	5	6	7 Funny
Sense of humour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not rich	2	3	4	5	6	7 Rich
Wealth	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker's dialect is ..... to Standard Arabic.

	1 Not similar	2	3	4	5	6	7 Similar
Similarity to Standard Arabic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not kind	2	3	4	5	6	7 Kind
Kindness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not educated	2	3	4	5	6	7 Educated
Education	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not understandable	2	3	4	5	6	7 Understandable

Intelligibility	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not religious	2	3	4	5	6	7 Religious
Religiousness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not confident	2	3	4	5	6	7 Confident
Confidence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not eloquent	2	3	4	5	6	7 Eloquent
Eloquence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Is the speaker's dialect similar to yours?

	1 Not similar	2	3	4	5	6	7 Similar
Similarity to own accent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Page 4: Speaker 2

Sometimes we are able to form impressions of people becuse of the way they sound. Please try to form your impressions by listening to the second speaker and then answer the following questions based on voice only:

Tap in Listen in browser to play directly
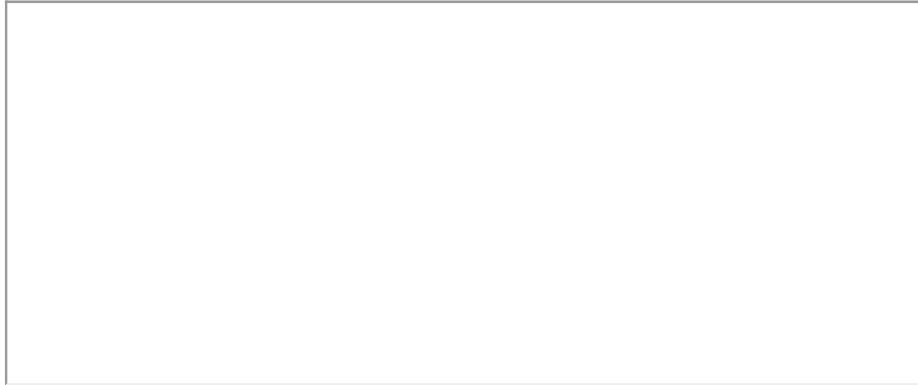
Ahmed Al-Hakami · MG

Where do you think is the speaker from in Saudi Arabia?

- ○ Asir
- ○ Baha
- ○ Eastern Province
- ○ Makkah
- ○ Madinah
- ○ Najran
- ○ Northern Borders
- ○ Qassim
- ○ Riyadh
- ○ Tabuk
- ○ Jawf
- ○ Jazan

○ Ha'il

○ Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

What features/characteristics about the speaker's way of speaking helped you identify where the speaker is from?

The speaker is:

	1 Not generous	2	3	4	5	6	7 Generous
Generosity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not brave	2	3	4	5	6	7 Brave
Bravery	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker's dialect is:

	1 Not beautiful	2	3	4	5	6	7 Beautiful
Beauty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not funny	2	3	4	5	6	7 Funny
Sense of humour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not rich	2	3	4	5	6	7 Rich
Wealth	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker's dialect is ..... to Standard Arabic.

	1 Not similar	2	3	4	5	6	7 Similar
Similarity to Standard Arabic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not kind	2	3	4	5	6	7 Kind
Kindness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not educated	2	3	4	5	6	7 Educated
Education	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not understandable	2	3	4	5	6	7 Understandable

| Intelligibility | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

The speaker is:

	1 Not religious	2	3	4	5	6	7 Religious
Religiousness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not confident	2	3	4	5	6	7 Confident
Confidence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not eloquent	2	3	4	5	6	7 Eloquent
Eloquence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Is the speaker's dialect similar to yours?

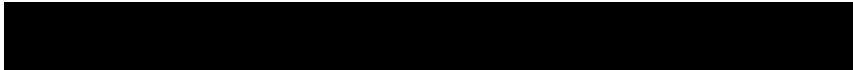|	1 Not similar	2	3	4	5	6	7 Similar
Similarity to own accent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Page 5: Speaker 3

Sometimes we are able to form impressions of people becuse of the way they sound. Please try to form your impressions by listening to the third speaker and then answer the following questions based on voice only:

Tap in Listen in browser to play directly
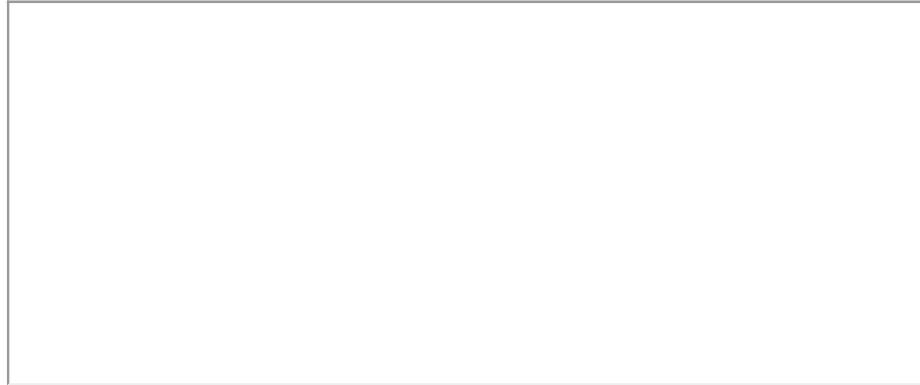
Ahmed Al-Hakami · AK

Where would you most hear this dialect spoken within Saudi Arabia?

- ○ Asir
- ○ Eastern Province
- ○ Makkah
- ○ Madinah
- ○ Najran
- ○ Baha
- ○ Northern Borders
- ○ Qassim
- ○ Riyadh
- ○ Tabuk
- ○ Jawf
- ○ Jazan

12 / 23

○ Ha'il

○ Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

[   ]

What features/characteristics about the speaker's way of speaking helped you identify where the speaker is from?

[   ]

The speaker is:

	1 Not generous	2	3	4	5	6	7 Generous
Generosity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not brave	2	3	4	5	6	7 Brave
Bravery	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker's dialect is:

	1 Not beautiful	2	3	4	5	6	7 Beautiful
Beauty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not funny	2	3	4	5	6	7 Funny
Sense of humour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not rich	2	3	4	5	6	7 Rich
Wealth	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker's dialect is ..... to Standard Arabic.

	1 Not similar	2	3	4	5	6	7 Similar
Similarity to Standard Arabic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not kind	2	3	4	5	6	7 Kind
Kindness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not educated	2	3	4	5	6	7 Educated
Education	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not understandable	2	3	4	5	6	7 Understandable

| Intelligibility | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

The speaker is:

	1 Not religious	2	3	4	5	6	7 Religious
Religiousness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not confident	2	3	4	5	6	7 Confident
Confidence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The speaker is:

	1 Not eloquent	2	3	4	5	6	7 Eloquent
Eloquence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Is the speaker's dialect similar to yours?

	1 Not similar	2	3	4	5	6	7 Similar
Similarity to own accent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Page 6: The linguistic situation in Saudi Arabia

This is the last section in the questionnaire. Please answer the questions based on your personal perspective.

Which Saudi dialect do you like the most?

Which Saudi dialect do you dislike the most?

How important is it to have people speaking with different dialects of Arabic in Saudi Arabai?

	1 Not important	2	3	4	5	6	7 Important
Importance of dialects variation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Why?

How often do you speak with your own dialect of Arabic?

	1 Never	2	3	4	5	6	7 All the time
Regional dialect usage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

In your opinion, how likely will people be treated differently because of their regional dialect in Saudi Arabia?

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5	6	7 Likely
Different treatment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Is having different Saudi dialects of Arabic in Saudi Arabia problematic?

	1 Absolutely	2	3	4	5	6	7 Not at all
Problem of dialects variation in Saudi Arabia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Page 7: Demographic information

Your sex.

- ○ Male
- ○ Female

Your age.

[   ]

Where do you classify yourself from in Saudi Arabia?

- ○ Asir
- ○ Baha
- ○ Eastern Province
- ○ Makkah
- ○ Madinah
- ○ Najran
- ○ Northern Borders
- ○ Qassim
- ○ Riyadh
- ○ Tabuk
- ○ Jawf
- ○ Jazan
- ○ Ha'il
- ○ Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

[   ]

In which region in Saudi Arabia have you resided the most?

- ○ Asir
- ○ Baha
- ○ Eastern Province
- ○ Makkah
- ○ Madinah
- ○ Najran
- ○ Northern Borders
- ○ Qassim
- ○ Riyadh
- ○ Tabuk
- ○ Jawf
- ○ Jazan
- ○ Ha'il
- ○ Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

How many years have you lived there?

How many languages can you speak?

- ○ 1
- ○ 2
- ○ 3 or more

Highest educational qualification.

○ High school

○ Bachelors

○ Higher education (Masters, PhD, etc)

○ Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

What is the field of study of your highest educational qualification?

○ Natural Sciences (e.g. Chemistry, Mathematics, etc.)

○ Life Sciences (e.g. Nursing, Engineering, etc.)

○ Social Sciences and Humanities (Business Administration, Languages, etc.)

○ Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

Have you ever resided outside Saudi Arabia for more than a year?

○ Yes

○ No

Please specify which country was it.

How many years have you lived there?

Page 8: Would you like to expand on your answers?

I'm interested to know more about your answers. So, if you would like to take part in an interview to elaborate on your answers please provide your full name and phone number (or any alternative e.g. Snapchat or Twitter account). The interview will be a recorded audio-call. All the information you provide will be protected and anonymous.

Do you know anyone else who may be able to particpate? If so, please leave their name and contatct information.

Page 9: Thank you!

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your time.

Appendix 9: Interview protocol and questions – Arabic version

<div dir="rtl">

اسئلة المقابلة

- **اسئلة متعلقة بإختبار VGT (مع التركيز على التقييمات المتطرفة للمتحدثين)**

1. السؤال عن تبرير للتقييم المتطرف (مثلا ١، ٢ أو ٦، ٧):

   a. لماذا تعتقد أن المتحدث كريم، شجاع، فصيح الخ...؟

   أو عن الطريق النفي:

   b. اشرح لي كيف ظهر لك المتحدث أنه بخيل، جبان، غير فصيح الخ...؟

2. هل تعتقد أن اجاباتك تأثرت بالصور النمطية التي يتم تداولها بين الناس أو قد تظهر في الاعلام لهذه اللهجات والتي قد تظهر في الاعلام مثلا؟ إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، كيف تأثرت اجاباتك؟

- **اسئلة مواقفية عن تنوع اللغة العربية في السعودية**

1. ما رأيك في تنوع اللهجات واللكنات في السعودية؟ (**توضيح**: هل هو شيء جيد أم سيء؟ مفيد اجتماعيا أو ضار؟)

   a. **برومت:** هل تظنه شيئا مهما؟ لماذا؟

- **أسئلة عن التحييز اللغوي language prejudice في السعودية**

1. ما رأيك في السخرية من اللهجات؟ (**توضيح**: هل هو شيء جيد أم سيء؟)

2. هل تعرضت للسخرية من لهجتك السعودية في السعودية؟

3. هل تذكر موقفا معينا تعرضت فيه للسخرية من لهجتك في السعودية؟ من كان الشخص الذي سخر منك (صديق، زميل أو معلم)؟ أين كان المكان؟ كيف كانت مشاعرك في تلك اللحظات؟ كيف كانت ردت فعلك؟

4. هل تعتقد أن السعوديين قد يُعامِلون بعضهم البعض بشكل مختلف بناء على اللهجة أو اللكنة أحيانا؟ (**مثال**: الذين يتحدثون باللهجة (س) يُعامَلون باحترام أكثر من المتحدثين باللهجة (ص))).

   a. **برومت:** هل تعتقد أن هذه الظاهرة قد تحدث في جهات رسمية كالجهات الحكومية أو الجامعات؟

   b. هل عاملك شخص بشكل مختلف بناء على لهجتك أو لكنتك سلبا أو إيجابا في السعودية؟ فضلا اذكر موقفا من هذا القبيل.

هل لديك أي شيء تود أن تضيفه؟

شكرا لك !

</div>

Appendix 10: Interview protocol and questions – English version

Interview Questions

- **Reflections on the verbal guises (potential questions depending on the ratings given to each speaker)**

  1. Ask for justification of extreme ratings (e.g. 1 & 2 or 6 & 7).
     a. What made you think that the speaker is generous?
     or
     b. What is it that made the speaker cowered to you?
  2. Do you think your judgment was influenced by the stereotypical representation of the speakers (varieties) say, in the media? If yes, in what way?

- **Attitudinal questions about Arabic language variation in Saudi Arabia**

  1. What do you think of language variation in Saudi Arabia (**illustration**: good or bad? important for social welfare or not?)?
     a. **Prompt**: Do you think it's important? Why?

- **Language prejudice in Saudi Arabia**

  1. What do you think of mocking/ridiculing dialects/accents (**illustration**: good or bad?)?
  2. Have you been mocked for your dialect/accent of Arabic in Saudi Arabia?
  3. Can you tell me more details of one particular incident where you have been mocked for your dialect/accent (for example, when, where and why did it happen? How did you feel about it?)?
  4. Do you think Saudi individuals treat each other differently based on dialect/accent (**illustration**: Those who speak X accent are preferred over others)?
     a. **Prompt**: Do you think this might happen in official/governmental institutions (e.g. universities)?
     b. Has this ever happened to you? Can you tell me more details of one particular incident?

Anything else you would like to add?

Thank you!

Appendix 11: Ethical approvals

Science & Engineering, Arts, Humanities and Law Research Ethics Committee

03/07/2020

Ethics Reference: 26455-aymh2-ss/ar:english

TO:
Name of Researcher Applicant: Ahmed Hakami
Department: English
Research Project Title: Saudis Attitudes towards Saudi Accents of Arabic - the
adjectives elicitation task

Dear Ahmed Hakami,

RE: Ethics review of Research Study application

The Science & Engineering, Arts, Humanities and Law Research Ethics Committee
has reviewed and discussed the above application.

1.   Ethical opinion

The Committee grants ethical approval to the above research project on the basis
described in the application form and supporting documentation, subject to the
conditions specified below.

2.   Summary of ethics review discussion

The Committee noted the following issues:
Thank you for your application which is in order.

3.   General conditions of the ethical approval

The ethics approval is subject to the following general conditions being met prior to
the start of the project:

As the Principal Investigator, you are expected to deliver the research project in
accordance with the University's policies and procedures, which includes the
University's Research Code of Conduct and the University's Research Ethics Policy.

If relevant, management permission or approval (gate keeper role) must be obtained
from host organisation prior to the start of the study at the site concerned.

4.   Reporting requirements after ethical approval

You are expected to notify the Committee about:
*   Significant amendments to the project
*   Serious breaches of the protocol
*   Annual progress reports
*   Notifying the end of the study

5.   Use of application information

Details from your ethics application will be stored on the University Ethics Online System. With your permission, the Committee may wish to use parts of the application in an anonymised format for training or sharing best practice. Please let me know if you do not want the application details to be used in this manner.

Best wishes for the success of this research project.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Elizabeth Hurren
Chair

Science & Engineering, Arts, Humanities and Law Research Ethics Committee

20/04/2021

Ethics Reference: 24211-aymh2-ss/ar:english

TO:
Name of Researcher Applicant: Ahmed Hakami
Department: English
Research Project Title: An Investigation of Saudis Language Attitudes towards Three
Saudi Varieties of Arabic

Dear Ahmed Hakami,

RE: Ethics review of Research Study application

The Science & Engineering, Arts, Humanities and Law Research Ethics Committee
has reviewed and discussed the above application.

1.   Ethical opinion

The Committee grants ethical approval to the above research project on the basis
described in the application form and supporting documentation, subject to the
conditions specified below.

2.   Summary of ethics review discussion

The Committee noted the following issues:
This study has been given ethical approval. If your study circumstances change and
you are in a position to conduct face-to-face interviews then this will require an
amendment to your ethics application and a College Risk Assessment form
completing before another phase of the research was permitted. In the meantime, we
wish you all the best with the research study, Professor Elizabeth Hurren, CSSAH
Research Ethics Committee Chair

3.   General conditions of the ethical approval

The ethics approval is subject to the following general conditions being met prior to
the start of the project:

As the Principal Investigator, you are expected to deliver the research project in
accordance with the University's policies and procedures, which includes the
University's Research Code of Conduct and the University's Research Ethics Policy.

If relevant, management permission or approval (gate keeper role) must be obtained
from host organisation prior to the start of the study at the site concerned.

4.   Reporting requirements after ethical approval

You are expected to notify the Committee about:
- Significant amendments to the project
- Serious breaches of the protocol
- Annual progress reports
- Notifying the end of the study

5.   Use of application information

Details from your ethics application will be stored on the University Ethics Online System. With your permission, the Committee may wish to use parts of the application in an anonymised format for training or sharing best practice. Please let me know if you do not want the application details to be used in this manner.

Best wishes for the success of this research project.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Elizabeth Hurren
Chair

Appendix 12: Extracts from interviews transcripts

Transcription key:

1\١ = Interviewer

2\٢ = Respondent

Underlined = Salient comment in relation to language attitudes

Bold = A focused question about language attitudes

Q1: What are the reasons for the evaluations?

☐ **Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South**

۲: حس الفكاهة (القصيمي ١ الحساوي ٥ والجيزاني ٤): أسلوب اللهجة. دائما الحسى لهجتهم فيها سهالة [بساطة].

۲: (الجيزاني ٧ في الكرم التدين والطيبة): أولا انا من جيزان. ممكن اقرب واحد لي الجيزاني لاني اشوفه قدامي أشوف الطبائع أشوف الطيبة. الجيزاني أتكلم عنه بحكم حياتي معاه. القصيمي أتكلم عنه ما اسمع ما أرى. [الحكم متأثر] بالبيئة اللي انا عايش فيها المكان او المنطقة.

۲: تقييمي للتدين بسبب ان الشباب في المملكة ملتزم ويصلي والخ يعني ماله علاقة بالتشدد. ماله علاقة اذا عطيته ٧ معناته over.

☐ **Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South**

۲: الكرم (القصيمي ٢ الحساوي والجيزاني ١): من خلال المحادثة والكلام الذي قيل، وجدت الكرم ليس كريما هذا الشخص. استمعت للحديث ولما قيل واستشفيت من خلاله على أنه ليس كريما. ربما نبرة الصوت لها دخل. بعضهم عندما يعزم او يلح عليك، من خلال نبرة صوته تعرفه أنه كريم ام انه مجرد كلام فقط لا تجده منه الكرم الفعلي.

۲: حس الفكاهة (الجميع ٣): بالنسبة للمتحدث القصيمي ما عنده حس فكاهة. عنده شوية ثقل. كذلك الحساوي ربما لم أفهم فكاهته. أما الجيزاني فكانت فكاهته ساذجة حقيقة. أنا أقولها وانا جيزاني. ما راقت لي فكاهته. ربما أنه أساء ولم يحسن.

۲: التعليم (القصيمي ٣ الحساوي ٢ الجيزاني ١): الجيزاني لكنته أو لهجته عندما يخرج خارج المنطقة لا تفهم لكثير من الناس فاذا كان متعلما يستطيع انه يصل الي الناس بأسلوب أرقى أو بلهجة أرقى. الحساوي ربما تكون لهجته أقرب الى منطقة أخرى. يفهم عندي أنا كشخص متعلم لكن لا يفهم عند شخص غير متعلم. القصيمي نفس الانطباع [مثل الحساوي]. لكن للأسف، الجيزاني عندما يستمر بالتحدث بلهجته عندما يكون في الشرقية، القصيم أو نجد قد لا يفهموه، وهذا دليل على تدني تعليمه ولكن لو كان متعلم يستخدم ألفاظ أرقى من الألفاظ العامية اللي يستخدمها في بيئته.

۱: تقصد اذا لم يستخدم الشخص اللهجة المشتركة أو البيضاء قد يظهر بمشهر الغير متعلم؟

۲: نعم. نعم.

۲: الثقة بالنفس (الجميع ١): أثناء حديثهم تجد عندهم تردد، تجد عندهم مبالغة. بعضهم يبالغ في لكنته او في لهجته. مثلا الجيزاني يبالغ للنزول، لانه نزل في مستواه الثقافي الى درجة أنا ما رضيتوها عنه. لانه استخدم ألفاظ ربما لا يفهمها حتى بعض الجيل الحالي. أنا لاحظت عليهم جميعا. من خلال الحديث حكمت.

۱: نقد نقول أن اختيار المفردات جعلك تشعر بأن ثقتهم كانت قليلة؟

۲: نعم. نعم.

 ▢ **Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South**

2: Humour (Qassimi 1, Hasawi 5 and Jizani 4): The style of the dialect. The dialect of Al-Ahsa always has easiness [simplicity].

2: (7 for Jizani's generosity, religiousness and kindness): First, I'm from Jizan. Possibly, the Jizani is the closest to me because I see him in front of me. I see the manners. I see the kindness. I speak about the Jizani based on my life with him. I speak about the Qassimi based on what I hear [and] see. [The judgment] is influenced by the environment, place or region I live in. My evaluation of religiousness is because the youth in the kingdom are committed and prey etc. It's not because of extremism or anything. It doesn't mean that, if I gave him 7, it means it's over [the limit].

 ▢ **Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South**

2: Generosity (Qassimi 2, Hasawi and Jizani 1): From the conversation and what was said, I found the person not generous. I listened to what was said, and I discerned that he's not generous. Maybe it's the voice tone. When some people invite you and insist on it, you know from his voice tone whether he's being for real or just saying it and you don't get generosity from.

2: Humour (All 3s): The Qassimi speaker doesn't have a sense of humour. He's a bit slow and the Hasawi as well. Maybe I didn't get his sense of humour. The Jizani's sense of humour, however, was really silly. I say this and I'm Jizani myself. I didn't like his sense of humour. He did bad not good.

2: Education (Qassimi 3, Hasawi 2 and Jizani 1): the Jizani's accent or dialect is not understood outside of his region to many people, and so, if he was educated, he would connect to people in more sophisticated style or dialect. The Hasawi's dialect is closer to another region. He's understood to me as an educated person, but he may not be understood to an uneducated person. The Qassimi same impression [as the Hasawi]. However, unfortunately, when the Jizani continues to speak with his dialect in the Eastern Province, Al-Qassim or Najd, people might not understand him, and this is evidence of his low education. If he was educated, he would've used more sophisticated expressions than the colloquial expressions he uses in his environment.

1: You mean if a person doesn't use the shared or white dialect, he come across as uneducated?
2: Yes. Yes.

2: Confidence (all 1s): There's hesitation when in their speech. You find exaggeration. Some of them exaggerate his accent or dialect. For example, the Jizani exaggerate to decline because he went down in his intellectuality to a point I wasn't happy with because he used words that may not be understood by the current generation. I noticed this for all of them. I made my judgment based on the talk.

1: Can we say it's word choice which made you feel that their confidence is low?
2: Yes. Yes.

2

Respondent 7/M/34/PG/South

٢: الكرم (الجيزاني ٧): بحكم اللي نسمعه عن اهل جيزان من ناس خارج المنطقة من الكرم والجود. السبب الاخر ان احنا في المنطقة نكرم الاهل او الأقرب او الجيران ونتوصى فيهم. هي كأنها عادة لا زالت متوارثة وتورث التقرب ما بين الأفراد. ولعلنا في جيزان لازلنا نحرص على التجمع والاجتماعية وهي من أهم وسائلها وطرق الوصول إليها هو الكرم بأنواعه سواء كان كرم معنوي او عيني، مادي كالعزايم والهدايا. أول ما سمعت <u>وعرفت ان اللهجة جنوبية جيزانية، ارتبطت اللهجة مباشرة بما يقوله الناس عننا وما نشاهده من اوضاعنا وتعاملاتنا في منطقتنا.</u>

٢: حس الفكاهة، الطيبة، الثراء والتعليم (الجيزاني ٧): [نفس الأسباب] قد قابلت ناس من دول عربية يذكروا بأن أهل جيزان لهم لمسات خاصة سواء في الكرم او في الفكاهة او التعاملات الاجتماعية. يعني سهلين في التعامل.
٢: أول ما اسمع اللهجة، عندي تصورات مخزنة في عقلي بحكم التجارب اللي مرت علي، لمن بس اسمع اللهجة <u>تسوي triggering للأمور هذه.</u>

١: هل نفس الشي للقصيمي التدين والتعليم (القصيمي ٧):
٢: نرجع للتصورات، انا في background تبعي نعرف ان القصيم وأهلها <u>stereotypically speaking</u> مشهورين بالتدين ومنهم علماء. أكبر سبب اني حكمت على اللهجة القصيمية بالتدين انه أغلب public figures سواء هيئة كبار العلماء او في الوزارات الإسلامية ومكاتب الشؤون الإسلامية مرتبطة بالقصيم ومن حوليها. هذا الارتباط طرأ في بالي ولذلك حطيت التدين للقصيمي ٧. اول ما ينسمع لهجة قصيمية ولهجة جيزاني، القصيمية بتجي مرتفع في التعليم والجيزانية من النص وأقل؛ لأنه أصلا المجتمع ونسيجه في السعودية متعود انه الجيزاني عسكري، حارس أمن يعني حاجات ممكن تحصلها بدون شهادات او شهادات دنيا زي الابتدائي والكفاءة وهذا طبعا stereotypes ولكنها هذه الصورة موجودة.

Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South

٢: الكرم (الجميع ٧ الحساوي ٥): طريقتهم في الكلام شرحة. ما كانوا منز عجين او يكون كلمة وغطاها. سلسين في الكلام. وتحسهم اشخاص مرحبين welcoming بالآخرين.

١: الطيبة (الجميع ٧ الحساوي ٤) ، نفس التقييمات للقصيمي والجيزاني، ليش حسيتي انهم طيبين؟
٢: برضه نفس الشي، تحس لهجتهم متداولة وقريبة مو قاعدين يستعملوا مصطلحات بيضاء، كانوا بالعكس متمسكين بلهجتهم، دايما هذا الشي عندي مرتبط يعني يا انه كبار السن أو الأشخاص الطيبين ... فهذا الشي اللي خلاني اعطيهم صفة الطيبة.

٢: الثراء (الحساوي ٧ الجيزاني ٣): بالنسبة للثراء، حسيتها <u>على لكنة الشخص،</u> دايما عندنا الشخص الثري <u>تحس عنده لكنة مختلفة شوي</u>، هذا اللي خلاني اعطي الحساوي أعلا بكثير من الجيزاني،

١: يعني تميز اللهجة الحساوية قصدك أو عدم ظهورها؟
٢: ايوة بالضبط ايوة.

١: والجيزاني ليش قليلة؟ ليش ٣؟
٢: ماعرف بس انه حسيته يعني <u>بناء على ثقافتهم، هويتهم، الشي المتعارف عليه هنا عندنا في السعودية ما نقدر نقارنهم بوسط المملكة من ناحية الثراء، طبعا فيه ولكن النسب مختلفة بين جنوب المملكة ووسط المملكة.</u>

١: التعليم (القصيمي والحساوي ٧ والجيزاني ٤) في أسباب؟
٢: برضه على نفس الشي، على المصطلحات اللي كانوا يستعملونها، طريقتهم بالكلام، تحس إنه شخص ما نقول مثقف، يعني ما كان يلكلك في الكلام، كان الكلام متسلسل و على طول يسرد الحدث = [الطلاقة]. الجيزاني كان لانه المصطلحات شوية مبهمة بالنسبة لي بعكس القصيمي والحساوي ... فهمت كلامهم أكثر من الجيزاني. حسيت انه الكلمات اللي استعملوها أوضح وأسهل في الفهم من الجيزاني.

١: صفة الثقة (الجميع ٧): وهي ملفتة:
٢: بالنسبة لي أشوف أن أي شخص متمسك بلهجته ومصطلحاته وثقافته، أشوفه شخص واثق من نفسه، مو شخص يتزعزع على طول، أي شيء يصير حوله يغيره، هذا اللي خلاني أعطيهم ثقة عالية.

3

٢: الكرم (الجميع ٥): لان ماشوف الكرم متعلق بمنطقة معينة أو مكان معين. يعتمد على الشخص بحد ذاته. صح ان جيزان معروفه بالكرم أكثر من غيرها والمنطقة الجنوبية أيضا، لكن انا كنت في جيزان اشوف في مجتمعي ناس بخيلين. حبيت اخلي الإجابة عامة. كلهم ٥ عشان مابغا اعطي أحد أعلى من أحد.

٢: حس الفكاهة (القصيمي والحساوي ١ والجيزاني ٥)؟: القصيمي عنده حس فكاهي لكن مو قد الجيزاني. عادة لما اسمع احد يتكلم بلهجة جيزان <u>حتى لو الموضوع جدي</u>، غالبا اللهجة احس فيها حس فكاهي. هذا انطباعي لما اسمع هذه اللهجة. عكس لما أسمع لهجة الحسا أو أهل الشرقية احسهم جديين لهجتهم ثقيلة. فيها انطباع ثقيل للشخص. عكس الجيزانية لينة، فيها الحس الفكاهي. وغالبا لما اسمع احد يتكلم يكون عفوي بزيادة لدرجة انه <u>يضحك حتى لو الموضوع ما يضحك</u>. الحساوي جدي أكثر.

٢: الطيبة (القصيمي ٥ والحساوي ٦ الجيزاني ٧) انا عندي ذي النظرة صراحة. أشوف أهل جيزان متواضعين أكثر من غيرهم، بحكم اني قد سافرت برا جيزان احسهم شديدين أكثر من هنا. فيهم قساوة أكثر من جيزان. أهل جيزان عفويين اكثر لينين في كلامهم طيبين بالمعتاد، نادر لو لقينا احد شديد في أسلوبه أو كلامه مع شخص غريب عكس المناطق الثانية.

٢: الشجاعة (القصيمي ٣ الحساوي ٧ والحيزاني ٧): يمكن <u>الفكرة جاية من السوشل ميديا غاليا</u>، أحس أهل القصيم ما يحبون يتكلمون بلهجتهم عادة لو جو يتكلمون بمواضيع عامة أو كان الحديث خارج منطقتهم ما راح يتكلمون بلهجتهم، راح يتكلمون بلهجة الرياض اللهجة الأقرب لهم.

١: قصدك عدم تحدث الشخص بلهجته قد يعطي انطباع انه مش شجاع؟
٢: ايوة. بتكلم عن نفسي: أنا ما احب أتكلم في الأماكن العامة أو لو رحت منطقة ثانية ماحب أتكلم بلهجتي، ماعرف ليش ما عندي سبب محدد لكن ماحب. ماحب استخدم مصطلحاتي العامة اللي بزيادة يعني عامية بزيادة مو واضحة في الكلام. مو تقليل لمنطقتي أو شيء بس ماحب مارتاح ماحس براحة بكلامي.

١: التعليم (الحساوي ٧ والقصيمي ٦ والجيزاني ٦) عامة كلهم متعلمين ليش؟
٢: أفضل لما يكون الشخص في مكان عمل، ما يستخدم لهجته العامية، يستخدمها بين أهله. أعرف ان ممكن ذا التفكير يكون غلط بس يصير شكله شوي أقل ثقافة من غيره لو تكلم بلهجته العامة وكان في مكان عمل.

١: ٦ او ٧ يعتبر متعلم فليش؟
٢: الاحظ لو أروح اجتماع أو مكان ما يستخدمون لهجتهم الرائجة، يستخدمون مصطلحات عامة عادية كل السعودية تعرفها. ما يتكلمون بلهجتهم. الا لو حديث جانبي بس بشكل عام لو في احد يعرض برزينتيشن .. غالبا ما يتكلم بلهجته الدراجة بينه وبين أهله.

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Q2: Were the evaluation reasons influenced by any stereotypes?

☐ **Respondent 3/M/40/UG/South**

٢: أكيد تتأثر شوية. من متابعتي للإعلام واستماعي لهذا في جدة وهذا في الرياض وهذا. يعني لازم نتأثر بهذا. الإعلام له دور. نعم له دور كبير أي والله. أكيد حقيقية. لأن كل جهة في المملكة لها لهجة معينة. اذا كان عندنا في جيزان تختلف اللهجة من مكان لمكان، فما بالك بالمملكة كلها؟! تختلف اللهجات.

☐ **Respondent 4/M/42/HS/South**

٢: للأسف نجد بعض الناس يسيء لهم بتقليد لهجاتهم مثل هذا القصيمي اللي اسمه كوفته في برنامج شباب البومب. يتسمح كذا. أنا ما أسمح لأحد يبالغ في اللهجة الجيزانية، يوصلها لمستوى رديئ. بعضهم يبالغون في الكلام يعني كأنه حرمة تتكلم. بعض اللهجات كنها حرمة تكلمن. يوجد تأثير سلبي [من الاعلام]. فيه تأثير سلبي جدا.

☐ **Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West**

٢: ايوة. صراحة ايوة. لأن دائما عندنا فكرة ان اللهجة القصيمية يغلب عليها انها تتأثر وتؤثر. فالقصيمية هي كأنها من النجدية وهنا فيه تمَيّز [للهجة]. العامل الجغرافي يميزها أكثر وكان لها انطباع إيجابي أكثر. بعكس الجيزاني والحساوية ما ننطرق لها كثير ما يكون لها أي تأثير فعشان كذا نقدر نقول تأثيرها سلبي. يكون لها تأثير سلبي. دائما لما اللهجة متداولة تكثر حولنا احنا نحس بميول لها وانطباع عادي او إيجابي او مافيه أي انطباع بعكس لما تكون لهجة غير متداولة بيننا او بعيدة ما نسمعها كثير، هنا نستغرب ونشوف انها مالها أي تأثير او حتى تأثير سلبي.

☐ **Respondent 13/F/40/PG/Centre**

٢: نعم. احنا عندنا أفكار معينة عن مناطق معينة. هالافكار تولدت من المجتمع اللي احنا عايشين فيه. والصور النمطية في بعض المناطق كبرت لحد ما وصلت صورة راسخة عن هذه المدينة، فأي احد ينتمي لها هذه الصفة تنطبق عليهم. احنا عندنا هذا موجود. نعم نحاول ان نتخطاه وتكون نظرتنا محايدة ولكن هذه موجودة حتى لو حاولنا انه نتخطاها تظل موجودة حتى يثبت العكس.

☐ **Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South**

٢: بلا شك اكيد نعم. بالنسبة لي، القصيمي في تصوري هذه الفئة غير فكاهية ا لديها الحس الفكاهي منخفض. هذه صورة نمطية بلا شك certainly.

١: كيف تكونت الصور النمطية؟

٢: تجارب. عندنا صورة في جيزان عن هؤلاء الفئة فيهم ثقل في الدم او لهجتهم ثقيلة ما نتقبلها كلهجة من اللهجات الفكاهية، أتوقع هذا السبب.

☐ **Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South**

٢: نعم. اكيد. مية في المية.

☐ **Respondent 16/F/26/UG/West**

٢: طبعا تتأثر. لما يجينا احد من السوشل ميديا من منطقة معينة ويروج لهذه المنطقة انها جدا كويسة وناس المنطقة كويسين ومتعلمين، حيصير عندنا فكرة انه هذه المنطقة كويسة. حتى لو مستقبلا نفكر نروح لها او احد تعين فيها نقول هذه المنطقة كويسة.

☐ **Respondent 17/F/32/PG/West**

٢: أفكار مسبقة مو في الاعلام، معي انا شخصيا، تجربتي الخاصة يعني. من خلال ما اسمع اللهجات هذه تكون عندي فكرة معينة عن شخصيات هذه المنطقة. بنيت فكرة عنهم بالتالي استمرت معي. ممكن تتغير اذا صادفت نماذج ثانية من نفس المناطق هذه، ممكن ربما. [التجارب الشخصية] [personal experience]

Q3: What do you think of language variation in Saudi Arabia?

☐ **Respondent 1/M/18/HS/South**

٢: تعدد اللهجات ممكن يعطي إيجابية، يعني يعطي جمالية للغة. ممكن تنال اعجاب الزائرين انه دولة وحدة متشعبة لهجاتها كثيرا. ممكن يكون شيء إيجابي بس ممكن يكون شيء سلبي، انك ما تقدر تفهم ايش قاعد يقول الطرف لثاني. الصراحة شيء حلو يكون فيه لهجات كثير. مو مهم. عادي. وظيفة اللغة انك تتواصل مع الطرف الثاني. أهم شيء التواصل هذا أول شيء بعدها تجي الأشياء الثانية.

☐ **Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South**

٢: جدا جدا مبهر، لان في المنطقة الوحدة، فيه مئات اللهجات، أحيانا يكون الموضوع طبعا صعب لانه لما يجي واحد من خارج المنطقة صعب عليه أنه يفهم لهجتك فتضطر انك تغير اللهجة شوية وتتكلم باللهجة الواضحة والمفهومة عند كل السعوديين، فممكن يكون مبهر أحيانا يكون صعب. إيجابي لكنه صعب. يعني سلبيات وايجابيات. يعني حلو لكن ممكن يكون صعب على أغلب الناس. شيء خاص منطقة معينة. انت تعرف الشخص من فين عن طريق لهجته. لمن أنا لمن اقابل وحدة وتتكلم بلهجة معينة أعرف انها من المنطقة الفلانية، فإلى الان في السعودية كل منطقة متمسكة لهجتها، بس للأسف يعني فيه أحيانا يتم التعامل معك بشكل جيد او بناء على لهجتك، وهذا شيء سيء سيء جدا. التنوع شيء طبيعي أصلا، [بس ممكن] يؤدي لسوء الفهم وسوء المعاملة. اللهجات تحدد مكان الشخص وهوية الشخص. تعددية في الشخصيات والأنماط وطرق التربية. الان فيه اختلاف بين الناس. اللي في الشمال غير عن الجنوب، العادات مختلفة، اللهجات مختلفة. كل شيء مختلف. حلو التنوع صراحة.

☐ **Respondent 7/M/34/PG/South**

٢: اللهجات السعودية شيء rich rich rich، فعلا السعودية بمناطقها، بمدنها، بقراها غنية بتنوع اللهجات اللكنات. أي باحث سعودي او اجنبي سيجد صندوق، كنز مليئ. زي ما عندنا الذهب الأسود البترول احنا لغويا في السعودية مليانين بكنز آخر وهو تنوع اللهجات. انا متخصص في اللغويات الاجتماعية فممكن background الاكاديمي حقي معطيني قوة التنوع هذا قوة وغني. لكن ممكن يجيك واحد تعليمه ضعيف او استاذ او حتى دكتور اكاديمي في الفيزياء، الكيمياء او الطب وللأسف تقوله لهجات وكذا يبدأ يفرق الأعلى والأدنى والأقل واللي في النص واللي مقبول واللي مو مقبول. لكن أنا اقولك اللهجات كلها سواسية. هي عندي ظاهرة صحية وإيجابية.

٢: أكيد. التنوع مهم لانه دراسته تبين لنا أصل اللهجات وكيف تحولت وتمددت للي نجده حاليا. التنوع اللهجي يوضح لك الظروف الاجتماعية - وهذا اهم شي - اللي مر به مجتمع. مثلا، عندنا حقين فيفا والداير والعارضة، لما يجونا بلهجاتهم ولكناتهم، نعرف من أهم الظروف الاجتماعية اللي مروا بها isolation العزلة فتعرف انهم كانوا معزولين. لهجتهم العزلة معششه فيها. تجي لجيزان فتعرف انه اللهجة هي خليط ما بين لهجات يمنية من حيث المصطلحات vocab والاصوات sounds لانه تاريخيا مدينة جيزان كانت بقعة تجارية يلتقي فيها أهل اليمن والشام وغيرهم سابقا زمان. ففيه ناس من خلال التجارة استقروا في المدينة وأحيوا المدينة وورثوا في المدينة هذا التراث اللغوي او اللهجي واللي مستخدم الى يومنا الحاضر. جيزان فيها خليط من اليمن والهند والدول المحيطة لانها كانت بقعة للتجارة. تجي لأهل صامطة وانا منهم، كلامنا جدا قريب لتهامة اليمن؛ السبب contact بيننا وبين اليمن أو احنا أصلا كنا جزء من اليمن في عهود سابقة ومشت الأمور وجالسة اللهجات تحيى contact مع الحدود اليمنية. والا فيه إمكانية انه تمنع هذه اللهجة وتمنهج مناهج خاصة لادخال لهجات أخرى وبعد كم جيل لن تجد أحد يتكلم لهجة صامطية. يتكلمون نجدي او قصيمي. التنوع اللغوي يعكس أمور تاريخية، اقتصادية، اجتماعية وحتى سياسية.

☐ **Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South**

٢: جيدة وكويسة ولو إنها بدأت تتدثر لأنه صارت اللهجة البيضاء هي العامة على الدولة أو المناطق. فصار الشخص لما يتكلم بلهجته... لما أتكلم بلهجتي الجنوبية في جدة، يا اما انه يضحكوا على مصطلحاتي أو يشوفوا إني أمزح أو استهبل مع إني أتكلم بجدية. حلو انه يكون فيه تنوع، بس مشكلته إنه مو كل الناس تتقبله او تتعايش معه. بس صرنا نتوجه للهجة البيضاء والعامة المعروفة عند الكل عشان الواحد يتجنب انه يشرح كلامه ومصطلحاته.

١: بس هذه ممكن تكون مشكلة في الناس مو التنوع، والا ايش رايك؟

٢: ايوة صح ممكن.

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١: تحسين كأنه فيه نوع من الدفع تجاه اللهجة المشتركة؟

٢: ايوة.

٢: ايوة مره مهم. الحين جالسة حاول ما اتخلى عن كل المصطلحات اللي ماخذتها خصوصا اني كنت بنجران وبعدين الباحة وجدة فاختلاف لهجات كثير الا اني احاول أخذ لهجات كل منطقة واخليها في راسي، ما اتجاهلها أو أسخر من مصطلحاتهم. أشوف انه مره مهم ان كل منطقة محافظة على لهجاتها ولكناتها. يحسس الشخص انه نقل من مكان لمكان، يعني راح من ثقافة لثقافة. بعكس لو كان الكل يتكلم بنفس اللهجة، تحس إنه أنا ماستفدت شي لما رحت من هنا لهنا.

١: يعني أهمية التنوع في ابراز الثقافة؟

٢: ايوة.

١: كل شخص يتحدث بلهجته كأنه يتحدث عن ثقافته؟

٢: بالضبط. ايوة.

☐ **Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West**

٢: هو حلو من ناحية تنوع وثقافات وكل ما زادت الثقافات تحس انه الدولة هذه ثرية. كل ما تنوعت الثقافات كلما زاد... knowledge. الاختلاف هو اللي يخلينا أشخاص رائعين هو اللي يخلينا متكاتفين ونستفيد من بعض سواء كانت لهجات او ثقافات أو whatever ولكن الله يهدينا فينا عنصرية فممكن أحد لمن يسمع لهجتك يكون bad effect لك فممكن نتحيز كلنا للهجة البيضاء، مو عشان ما نفهم بعض لا عشان لا تصير لنا مواقف محرجة ولا نتضرر. يعني حلو وسيئ في نفس الوقت. تميل للإيجابية أكثر.

٢: لا ما نلغيه لان هذا يمثل الشخص ويمثل المنطقة اللي جا منها فهذا يسهل علينا انه نعرف بعض أكثر وأكثر. نلغي اللهجة لا صعبة.

☐ **Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South**

٢: التنوع بلا شك انه كبير في السعودية وحتى في الإقليم الواحد. في الجنوب عندنا التنوع جدا كبير. داخل المدينة الوحدة في جيزان التنوع جدا كبير [richness]. أقدر أميز الشخص من لهجته. أمر جميل في النهاية.

١: أهمية التنوع؟

٢: نترك زي ما هو. كل يحافظ على لهجته بنفسه. في التعاملات ما بيننا المفروض نراعي انه في اختلاف بين الناس. لما اتعامل مع واحد من القصيم او حساوي، بالطبع مأراح أتكلم معاه بنفس لهجتي. لابد ارجع للهجة الموحدة عندنا العامة.

☐ **Respondent 16/F/26/UG/West**

٢: يدل انه فيه تنوع ثقافي وحضاري وتاريخي لسكان المنطقة. طبعا شيء جيد لما يكون فيه تنوع هذا الشيء سيجذب مثلا ناس حابه تعرف عن البلد، سياح، ناس تبغى تشتغل [potential job candidates].

١: أهمية التنوع؟

٢: مهم. لو ما حافظنا عليه سيندثر.

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Q4: What do you think of mocking/ridiculing dialects/accents?

☐ **Respondent 1/M/18/HS/South**

٢: السخرية أكيد شي خاطئ. سيئة يعني وممكن يكون جارح لبعض الناس، لكن مرات يكون مضحك يعني. زي لما تمزح مع صديق، لكن مو تتمر يكون في اطار المزح بس ما يكون مزح جارح زي ما يسمى تتمر يعني. عادي مرات مو دايما. كنوع من المزح.

☐ **Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South**

٢: أكيد انه شيء سيء. وسيء جدا. لأنه أحيانا يتم التعامل مع الانسان الان بناء على لهجته فذا شيء سيء جدا. انه نتعامل مع انسان بعيدا عن العقل والعلم والشخصية بس نركز على اللهجة. ليش؟! ليش؟! لا تعاملني بشكل سيء فقط لأن لهجتي لهجة معينة ما تعجبك. ليش ما يتم المساواة في موضوع اللهجات. يعني شخص عالم وشخص جاهل ويكون الجاهل أفضل لأنه يتكلم بلهجة معينة؟! ماشوف ذا انصاف.

☐ **Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South**

٢: هذا أمر غير محمود. عندما تسخر من لهجة أي قبيلة أو منطقة. السخرية حُرمت في ديننا لإنها تسبب الضغينة حقيقة. تجعل منْ يُسخر منه يحقد على الذي يسخر منه. أنا لا أحبذ السخرية، ولا أحبذ انْ يُسخر من لهجتي ولا أسخر من لهجة أخرى.

☐ **Respondent 7/M/34/PG/South**

٢: أمر غير صحي البتة ويورث العدائية ولما تسخر من أحد بيحسب لك الف حساب وبتتكون مواقف عند الذي تسخر منه

☐ **Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South**

٢: أنا انسانه مره واجهت سخرية من لهجتي. بس كنت متعايشة ومتمسكة بمصطلحاتي. اوك أحب الفصحى وكل شيء، لكن برضه اللهجات العامية من النوع اللي أتمسك. واجهت سخرية بعد انتقالي من نجران للغربية كانت مصطلحاتي لازلت على مصطلحات نجران. كانوا يستغربون أو يضحكون أو يطلبون إني أفسر ايش قاعدة أقول. مافيه شي يستحق السخرية. ماشوفه موضوع مسموح للناس انهم يسخرون منه. تهز ثقة الشخص بنفسه. بيشوف انه سخروا مني معناته انا جايه من مكان أقل من مكانهم. يبدأ الشخص يفكر ان المصطلحات [اللهجة] بتؤثر عليه شخصيا.

☐ **Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South**

٢: أكره الشيء ذا حتى لو من باب المزح. كثير نشوف بالسوشل ميديا انه مزح، نمزح ومادري ايش وترا كله مزح. انا ماحب السخرية بالنهاية ذي ثقافة وشيء يميز كل منطقة. فأحس ماله داعي. السخرية ذي مره أكرهها. يمكن السبب ان حصل لي موقف قبل. فأكره الشيء ذا مره أكره الشيء ذا. ولا بأي جانب أدعمه ولا اتفق مع أي انسان يتبرق بلهجة منطقة معينة حتى لو كان من باب المزح.

☐ **Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West**

٢: لا لا غير مقبول إطلاقا. بس بين الأصدقاء القريبين من بعض حلو يعطي جو، لانه يكون الشخص مو قصده سخرية بس لتحريك الجو وللمتعة مو انه يسخر من شخصك او من المكان اللي انت جيت منه ومن نفس اللهجة. فمقبول عند المقربين ومرفوض من العامة. لا لا ما يصير كذا.

☐ **Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South**

٢: اكيد السخرية امر سلبي. لانه هذا شيء فطري في الانسان. بشكل عام طبيعة البشرية سواء الخلقية او اللغوية هو موضوع لا يمكن السخرية منه لانه اللهجة او الخلق البشري زي اللي يسخر من اللون الأسود في بعض الاجناس او يسخر من العيون الضيقة لأهل شرق آسيا. انت تسخر من شيء عجيب. هو لم يكن خطأ منه. فهذه السخرية ان دلت على رؤية النفس. لانه شيء من خلق الله للناس. حاجة طبيعية innate ما اكتسبوها. هي شيء معاه على طول. باختصار السخرية حاجة غير مرحب فيها وسلبية تماما.

١: بعض المشاركين قال عادي من باب المزح بين الأصدقاء.

٢: انا اسميها منطقة ضبابية لأنه المزح موجود وتمزح في لهجته معناته انك لو ما كان صاحبك، بيخرج من دائرة المزح الى دائرة السخرية والجد. احنا نقول هذه الأشياء لنلمع اننا ما نتمسخر. هو لو ما كان صاحبك مجرد يمشي من عندك بتتمسخر في لهجته. السخرية والمزح عندي منطقة ضبابية يحددها ايش العلاقة اللي مع الشخص. لو زالت العلاقة الاجتماعية تحولت الى سخرية مباشرة.

□ **Respondent 16/F/26/UG/West**

٢: نوع من انواع التنمر. غالبا تلاقيه عند المراهقين ١٣-١٩ او الناس اللي فكرها ضيق او العنصريين. اللي يصنف الناس مثلا حضر بدو، ناس دخلهم كويس ناس دخلهم مو كويس، متعلمين ناس غير متعلمين.

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Q5: Have you been ridiculed for your dialect/accent of Arabic in Saudi Arabia?

☐ **Respondent 2/F/22/UG/South**

٢: زميلة في المدرسة هي من جيزان وانا من جيزان، وهي تتكلم بلهجة جيزانية جدا وأنا أصلاً لهجتي تقدر تقول شوية مخلوطة لهجة جيزانية إضافة الى اللهجة الواضحة لدى الجميع اللهجة المشتركة. كنت أتكلم بشكل جداً طبيعي فسألتني ليش جالسة تتفلسفين وما تتكلمين لهجة أهل جيزان وانتي من جيزان؟! فليش تقولي كذا؟! فرديت عليها ان انا كلامي كذا. صح انا من جيزان واتكلم باللهجة الجيزانية بس مش باللهجة الجيزانية اللي مافيها ولا كلمة عادية، لأن انا أصلاً من يوم ما بديت أتكلم في حياتي وفي البيئة اللي كنت أتكلم فيها كلنا انا و عائلتي كنا نتكلم كذا باللهجة المشتركة. [السخرية اللي صارت لي] بشكل معكوس، فذا الشيء نادر انه يصير. انا انصدمت واستغربت. هي من نفس منطقتي وتتكلم بلهجة جيزانية جداً ومستغربة ليش انا ما أتكلم زيها. هل المفروض ان انا أتكلم زيها؟! شيء راجع لي.

☐ **Respondent 3/M/40/UG/South**

٢: أبدا أبدا لم أتعرض الا عن طريق المزاح. أنا امزح معه بلهجتي، هو يمزح معي بلهجته. فهذا لم يحصل لي أبدا.

☐ **Respondent 7/M/34/PG/South**

٢: قد تعرضت. انا درست في الرياض وسافرت من جيزان للرياض مباشرة ورحت مع زملاء من الرياض وما حولها. أتكلم فيتنتريقوا ويقولوا بالجيزاني، ما كنت ازعل منها كثير لانهم زملائي ويمزحون، ولكن هو ما يقول جيزاني الا انه he's preoccupied with stereotypical ideas عن هذا الجيزاني واللهجة الجيزاني وهي بالغالب صورة سلبية. نعم تعرضت لسخرية في الجامعة وفي الابتعاث، ونفس الموضوع. انا انسان اتسمع وأمشي let go . تحس ببعض الحزازة في النفس يعني زعل بسيط. ممكن يقولي يا جيزاني ممكن أحيانا ارد بس هي ما تنقالي بشكل وقح. ممكن لو اروح عند موظف جوازات في الرياض وما بيننا أي علاقة ويقولي يا جيزاني بأكون حار نار شرار ولكن لما تكون من زميل دراسة فالعلاقات الشخصية تؤثر على ردة الفعل. على حسب الموقف، فيها ما فهيا ما يقع في القلب.

☐ **Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West**

٢: عد واغلط ايوة. مره رحت وكالة البعثات [في وزارة التعليم] في الرياض وصراحة كانت عندي مشكلة مرة طويلة. وكان المسؤول شخص كبير مستشار مدير البرامج مابغا أقول اسمه. جيت قلتله طلبي وقالي ايش السبب وزي كذا وهو عقد الموضوع قالي روحي هناك وهنا كان باقي لي كم يوم على deadline فقلت له والله عندي أشغال كثيرة متلتلة، قلت كلمة متلتلة فزعل مرة راح انا عن بالي انه ممكن ما يفهم أو شي فقالي وش تلتلته بعدين بدأ الصراحة يقول كلام كذا بايخ شوية فزعلت شوية صراحة. فيه بعض المناطق لما تروحها وتتكلم بلهجتك البعض يستنفر شوي ويقفل الشغله عليك على طول بس مجرد ما يسمع كلامك فمرات يفضل انك تكتب الموضوع كتابيا زي ايميل. فيه ناس ترا صعب عليهم يتكلموا باللهجة العامة زيي انا شويا صعب أتكلم لهجة عامة ما أقدر . [ردة الفعل] صراحة صمت لثواني وقلتله جزاك الله خير وخرجت. ماردیت عليه ماكملت معاه رحت اشوف مع أحد ثاني أحاول. يعني صعب ايش أرد عليه ايش أقوله؟. مهما أتكلم هو زعل أصلا اتضايق يعني مهما أتكلم مافي فايدة.

☐ **Respondent 11/F/24/PG/South**

٢: بعض الناس يقولون في لهجتك لكنة حجازية وأقول لهم لا، ما عشت أساسا بالحجاز . فممكن أتعرض لانتقاد انتي ما تزبطين اللهجة أو اللكنة الحجازية. بس أنا أساسا ما أتكلم بها. كان فيه نقاش والطرف الآخر ما قبل فيه، وكنوع من التملك أو السيطرة بيجي ينتقد فما حصل ينتقد الا الأسلوب واللهجة. زميلة عمل Level . الثقة عندي مرتفع ولذلك ما عطيت الموضوع اهتمام. عادي ضحكت عرفت ان أسلوبي حلو لانهم افيه شي‮ينتقد في الشكل أو أي شيء.

☐ **Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South**

٢: في الدمام في أولى متوسط. كان فيه أستاذ مع انه جنوبي من الباحة كان فيه يقول للطلاب لمن أتكلم يقول للطلاب ؛ما عليكم منه هذا جيزاني؛ ويضحكون علي الطلاب. فكان الموضوع غير مريح ومقلق ومسبب لي صداع يومي اني اروح احضر عند هذا الأستاذ لاني كنت اشعر بعدم الأمان والراحة في وجود هذا الشخص. ولمن أتكلم.

٢: في الدمام في المدرسة. كان المدرسة فيها تنوع كبير والطلاب من جميع انحاء المملكة. كان فيه سلوك سيء عند الطلاب هناك، تحزبات داخل المدرسة. اذكر كان في طالب ثانوي فواحد قال لطالب "يا جيزاني". وانا كنت احسب انه جيزاني [فعلا]، تكلمت معاه قلت له "انت جيزاني؟" عرفت انه هذاك يقوله جيزاني من باب السخرية والسب والشتيمة

وكان يبغى يضربني يعني. هذه المواقف تبقى في الذاكرة. <u>بس أتوقع ان الموضوع الان اصبح اكثر مرونة، صار فيه وعي في الأمور هذه والاختلاف.</u>

☐ **Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South**

٢: طبيعي. خصوصا أي شخص هاجر مكانه وراح أماكن مختلفة زي اللي يطلع من الجنوب للرياض. منطقة التقاء اللهجات. اكيد بتتعرض للمنطقة الضبابية اللي واحد بيقولك "لا امزح معك" وهو لو هو ما يعرفك ما صارت مزح صارت سخرية. يعني أكيد اتعرض لها. في فترة الابتعاث، تواجه الكثير من الشباب من السعودية، تحصل الجنوبي والشرقي والغربي والنجدي والشمالي فيحصل تصادم في اللهجات مثلا تقول كلمة بطريقة او tone تجد اللي قدامك <u>يقلدك.</u> أتذكر واحد، قلته "قسم با • انك خبل!" باللهجة القحطانية. شويه الا هو يردها بنفس ال tone فعرفت انه يمزح <u>لكن معناته انه عنده نظرة دونية بس كصديق تقبلها منه مافيه مشكلة.</u>

١: مجرد المحاكاة حسيت انه سخرية.
٢: المنطقة الضبابية عن السخرية والمزح.

☐ **Respondent 17/F/32/PG/West**

٢: ايوة. علما بأن لهجتي بيضاء أو أقرب للهجة البيضاء لكن حصل اني استخدمت كلمات بدوية فواجهت سخرية منها. هوجمت على كلمة بدوية سمعتها من ابوي وأمي وجداتي وهكذا. ماني فكرة الكلمة بالضبط لكن. الانتقاد اللي جاني "ايش هذه الكلمة؟!" "من أي عصر انتي جاية؟؟!" "فين عايشة؟؟!" زي كذا. كانت صديقة من منطقة ثانية في الجامعة.

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Q6: Do you think Saudi individuals treat each other differently based on dialect/accent?

☐ **Respondent 1/M/18/HS/South**

٢: شيء وارد. شيء محتمل. يعني طبعا فيه ناس سيئين فيه ناس جيدين. ما نعمم جميع السعوديين بس ممكن يحدث. موجودة الظاهرة ممكن شخص يعامل بطريقة اسوء من شخص ثاني بناء على اللهجة. ممكن بسبب المال. فيه بعض المدن تكون الدخل المادي عادي وبعض مدن الدخل المادي أعلى فيُعاملون باحترام أكثر. طريقة الكلام، يتكلم برساوة وبصوت ضخم فيعامل انه بشخص ثري وغني لازم نحترمه. معاملة جيدة.

☐ **Respondent 3/M/40/UG/South**

٢: لا. لا أظن ذلك. لا أبدا ... بصفة عامة، ولكن قد تجده في أفراد .. فردين .. عدد بسيط أما بصفة عامة لا أظن. ظاهرة عامة لا. أبدا لا أرى هذا، لإني قد شفت الشيخ أحمد نجمي الله يرحمه والشيخ زيد الله يرحمه يتحدثون بلهجتهم [الجيزانية] ويقابلون بالاحترام من قبل شيوخ أهل نجد وأهل الحجاز.

☐ **Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South**

٢: أتمنى ان يكون لا. اثق انه المجتمع السعودي مثقف لدرجة انه يكون أعلى من هذه الأفعال، انه يعاملك على لهجتك، لكن أيضا لكل قاعدة شواذ. ممكن تحصل، ممكن أحد يحكم عليك من لهجتك زي لما يحكم عليك من فقرك او غناك. في استنقاص او احترام للهجة، من ذوق المتلقي والأذواق تختلف. ممكن يكون [استنقاص من] اللهجة الجيزانية لانها اقرب للجنوب أيضا الحساوية. كون مملكتنا أصلها من نجد يعني اللهجة النجدية رقم. تكون قوية ومردودها قوي على المتلقي. الجنوبية لهجة بسيطة دائما اللي يتكلمها يكون بسيط، اذا استمعت له تحسه بسيط حتى لو ما كان بسيط غير اللهجة النجدية. الان يوجد انفتاح وانفجار ثقافي فما اتوقع احد ينظر للهجات في الآونة الأخيرة بسبب الانخراط الثقافي.

☐ **Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South**

٢: هذا هو الملموس حقيقة. مو بس اللكنة أو اللهجة، تجد التعامل بناء على القبيلة. هذا الأمر موجود ولكن أصبح في الآونة الأخيرة يخف قليلا مع وعي الناس. لكنه موجود للأسف وأنا اعتقد أنه أمر فطري. عندما تجد شخص من قبيلتك قد تتعامل معه بطريقة تختلف عن الطريقة التي تتعامل بها مع شخص آخر، وهذا غير محمود حقيقة يعني، لأنه ليس فيه من العدالة ومن الانصاف. there's something different.

☐ **Respondent 8/F/24/HS/South**

٢: ايوة فيه. لابد اختلاف اللهجات يسبب.. يعني انه بيختلف تعامل الناس على حسب لهجة الشخص. ممكن اذا شفت شخص لهجته قريبة مني اصير اتعامل معاه اكثر فهذا شيء بيكون إيجابي. فيه جانب سلبي لو كان شخص مثلا معمم شيء على كل اللي هذه لهجتهم او قبيلتهم او منطقتهم بيكون شيء سلبي بس انه اشوف [التعامل] الإيجابي بيكون أكثر.

☐ **Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South**

٢: يمكن مو باللهجة بالضبط. قبل أسبوع نزلت صورة عن جيزان جا شخص علق وقال جيزان محد درى عنها خارج السعودية. الكلمة ذي استفزتني جدا جدا. أرى ان بعض الناس وهم صاروا قلة حاليا زمان ممكن كان أكثر ممكن ينظرون لشخص أقل من غيره لو كان من منطقة معينة يعني مازالت ذي النظرة موجودة حتى لو انها بنسبة قليلة لكن هي موجودة يعني مازال فيه ناس ينظرون للشخص أقل من غيره عشان من منطقة معينة. يشوفونه أقل ثقافة أو ذكاء من غيره أو انه يستحق احترام اقل من غيره بحكم انه من ذي المنطقة [س]. جيزان من المناطق اللي اعتز فيها صراحة مو لانه منطقتي لكن والله متميزة.

١: يعني الجوازنة يعاملون بشكل أقل احتراما يعني من السعوديين الآخرين بناء على اللهجة؟

٢: ايوة. لإني صادفت مواقف. واسمع من أهلي. انه مثلا لو راحوا الحج لما يلاحظوا انهم من جيزان يتغير الأسلوب مثلا. أو لو أحد من أهلي سافر منطقة وتكلم بلهجته، لو بعرفون انه من جيزان يتغير الأسلوب يصير فيه شيء مختلف. انا برضه صادفت الشي ذا. ما كنت مصدقة بصراحة الى ان صادفت انه فعلا فيه ناس يشوفون جيزان خارج السعودية، أو انها أقل من المناطق الثانية ماعرف ليش مع انها مدينة كبيرة.

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☐ **Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West**

٢ **:** عندنا حسب اللهجة، عندنا لهجات في السعودية مرة مميزة مثلا الجنوبية، الحجازية لهجة الأحساء. الناس يحبوا يسمعوها أو نركب عليها مقاطع زي كذا لانها مره special. أظن هذا هو السبب. هذولي الناس مستحيل يكون التعامل معاهم عادي اما انهم يتقبلوهم الناس بشكل زائد أو يرحبوا فيهم يا مرة يترفضوا. يا مرة أوفر قبول يا مرة اوفر رفض. قليلة جدا اللي صادفت ناس يعاملوك عادي او منت مختلف سواء إيجابا او سلبا.

☐ **Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West**

٢ **:** ايوة، ايوة، فعلا يعاملون بعض بسبب اللهجة. مو كسبب رئيسي اللهجة بس كعامل. أنا معاملتي لك حسب لهجتك. يعني ماقدر أقول لا. كلما كانت اللهجة من... ــ احنا نعرف انه لهجة أهل نجد غالبا تكون راقية او توحي بالعائلات المرموقة والراقية ــ فيكون التعامل أكيد أفضل علي التعامل وبيختلف. غالبا لما تكون لهجة أهل نجد تعاملها مختلف عن اللهجات الأخرى.

☐ **Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South**

٢ **:** وارد. شخص جيزاني شغال في الرياض ودخل عليه جيزاني. قد يميل اليه ويساعده بحكم انه هذا من ربعنا او العكس بشكل سلبي. تدخل على واحد مشخصنها مع فئة معينة للهجة. نعم، اللهجات للأسف لها دور في التعامل مع الناس. كيف تتغير معاملاتهم هو واقع ممكن تشوفه بعينك أحيانا.

Q7: Do you think different treatment might happen in official/governmental institutions (e.g. universities)?

☐ **Respondent 9/F/18/HS/South**

٢: ايوة أتوقع انها تحصل. انا كان نفسي ادرس خارج جيزان لان في بالي جامعة معينة. وطول ما كان أقول لأهلي، كان يقولون ترا مراح يتقبلون كونك من جيزان، فأقول ليش طيب ما علي منهم أنا، يقولون ترا إحنا عاشوا في الرياض فترة – قالوا احنا رحنا وعشنا وجربنا لما يعرفون ان احنا من جيزان، وخالتي عايشة بالرياض قالت لي "ترا لو رحتي للرياض مراح يعاملونك زي أهل الرياض، لو يعرفون انك من جيزان بتصير لك نظرة دونية عن الباقي"، فقالت "في الثانوي والمتوسط لما درست هناك صادفت ذي النظرة الدونية اني مو من أهل الرياض"، فكان زي التحذير "لا تروحين لا تروحين!!". بيئة الدراسة ممكن يحصل فيها.

☐ **Respondent 10/F/24/HS/West**

٢: ايوة. هي أغلبها <u>في الجهات الرسمية</u>. الجامعات، الوزارات، مستفشيات، البنوك. لكن صراحة لما تجد تكلم عامة الناس كذا ما تواجه كثير بس في الجهات الرسمية مش مريح الوضع أبدا.

☐ **Respondent 11/F/24/PG/South**

٢: ما نختلف ان في البيئة الأكاديمية اذا الشخص ما تكلم بمصطلحات علمية وأدرج لهجته، طبيعي انه يتعرض لانتقاد. ما يعكس شخصية أكاديمي باختصار. فعلا فعلا. تابعت مقطع في تيك توك، كان الانتقاد الموجه لها "انتي كيف اكاديمية وتتكلمين بلهجتك؟!" كلما زادت مكانة الشخص العلمية والمهنية كلما طلب منه المجتمع أن يتحدث بلهجة يدركها الجميع بعيدا عن لهجته الأساسية.

☐ **Respondent 12/F/28/PG/West**

٢: بصراحة ايوة. قد صارت وتصير بسبب اللهجة يؤخذ انطباع أول وهذا الانطباع ينعكس وممكن يحد من قبول الشخص.

☐ **Respondent 13/F/40/PG/Centre**

٢: أتمنى لا. ماتوقع لا. ما يوصل لجهة العمل لا. بشكل غير رسمي موجود ولكن بشكل رسمي ماتدري عن الناس ولكن تصوري لا.

☐ **Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South**

٢: نعم بلا شك. مو شرط يكون سلبي.

١ موقف آخر سلبي لمعاملة مختلفة؟
٢: من افراد تكون غالبا. يعني لما تدخل علي مدير في عملك وانت تكون من الفئة غير اللي ينتمي لها، وتكون تحتاجه يوقف معاك في موقف معين أو مشكلة ممكن ما يتحمس معاك لانك مختلف، ما يتحمس معاك وما يساعدك لانك مختلف عنه. وانا واثق تماما لو راح له شخص من الفئة اللي ينتمي اليها ممكن يساعده ويوقف معاه كل الوقوف.

☐ **Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South**

٢: نعم وارد. شخص لان الطبيعة البشرية يحب من يشبهه في طباعه وصفاته. ومهما سوينا يبقى الميل. أتذكر اثناء الابتعاث تجد النجود مع النجود والغربية مع الغربية. ولو انهم يجتمعون في النادي السعودي وصحبة لكن انا أتكلم عن الصحبة الخاصة. تجد كل الناس يميل للناس اللي نفس طبعه واسلوبه وثقافته. انا وجدتها ولو ان هذا لا يعني كره للناس الثانيين لكن الواحد يعني وجودي ماك لا يعني اني اكره فلان بس انه انت اقرب لي في طباعي وشخصيتي وتعاملي ولهجتي. هي تحدد نعم ما ننكرها ابدا هي تحدد تعاملاتنا مع الناس. لما أتكلم بلهجتي اقدر اخذ كامل راحتي مو لازم ارجع للهجة البيضاء أحاول ما استخدم مصطلحات اللي قدامي ما يعرفها فتسبب راحة نفسية. اللي يتصنع لهجة تحس انه مضغوط شوية عكس لما يجلس مع عيال عمه او اخوانه تجد اللسان ينطلق يأخذ راحته. زي اللي لابس رسمي جدا ما يقدر يتحرك كثير يرجع البيت يلبس قميص النوم يتمدد ويستلقي وياخد راحته. اللهجة نفس الموضوع تقريبا.

٢: نعم. وحصلت معي شخصيا. صار تقييم لي بناء على المكان اللي انا منه. كان أستاذ في الجامعة، هو من القصيم
وفي مكة. كان عنده عنصرية تجاه الطائف. فكان في المحاضرة او أي مناسبة ينتقد الطائف وأهل الطائف، فأخذت تقييم
سيء في مادته فقط عشان انا من الطائف.

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Q8: Have you been treated differently based on your Saudi dialect/accent?

☐ **Respondent 4/M/42/HS/South**

٢: بالإيجاب، ربما في بعض الأحيان. اذا تكلمت وعرفوا اني من الجنوب، يهتمون فينا أكثر، [يقولون] "انتم ما شاء الله من بلد العلم والعلماء".

١: [يعني فيه معاملة جيدة للهجة الجيزانية لكون اللهجة الجيزانية تعبر عن منطقة يكثر في العلماء وفي الأدباء؟].

٢: ايوة بالضبط.

☐ **Respondent 5/M/37/OtherEd/South**

٢: لا. في المنطقة الوسطى ماظن ان اللهجة كانت عائق [لي] في أي مكان. على مستوى الأفراد ماقد مر علي موقف وقابلت ردة فعل سلبية خاصة اني استخدم اللهجة البيضاء. ممكن هذا أحد الأسباب. قد يكون جوابي مختلفة اذا كنت أتلكم بلهجتي الأساسية القحة القوية. ممكن أجوبتي مختلفة. ممكن اذا غيري يستخدم اللهجة الجيزانية او يبالغ فيها.

☐ **Respondent 6/M/55/PG/South**

٢: أنا مر علي أحد الأساتذة وكان فيه شيء من السخرية، وكان نرد عليه مع انه أستاذ ودكتور، ولكن نرد عليه بالحقائق ويقبلها. وهو يقول انا لا أقصد الإساءة أنا أقصد الدعابة. ولكن في التعاملات للأسف وجدناها. عوملنا معاملة أقل من غيرنا. توجد، وتوجد في معاقل العلم والمعرفة. ما بالك بالمجتمع. أنا أعيب وجودها في معاقل العلم كالجامعات ومن قبل من هم مفترض أن يعيب هذا الأمر أو لا يتطرق له.

١: عوملت بشكل سلبي في أحد الجامعات؟

٢: نعم. سلبي جدا وكأن له تأثير على مسيرتي لكن الحمد ٠. وجدنا من ينصفنا أخيرا.

☐ **Respondent 13/F/40/PG/Centre**

٢: ما يخطر في بالي حادثة. لكن انا نشأت وتربيت في نفس المنطقة. يمكن لو انا من منطقة مختلفة يمكن يظهر لي اختلافات وراح انحط في مواقف زي كذا. لكن لما أكون نشأتي وعلمي في نفس المنطقة ماتخيل حاكون في موقف سواء سلبا او اجابا.

☐ **Respondent 14/M/28/UG/South**

قبل كم شهر كنت داخل العمل وفيه حرس. واحد وقفني، اعتقدت انه فيه مشكلة. بعدين اتضح انه تعرف على لهجتي وعرف اني جيزاني فنشأت بيننا علاقة ود واصبحنا نلتقي شهريا في المدينة. هذا اختلاف وانا عارف لو اطلب منه شيء مراح يرفض. تعرف على لهجتي وطلع من نفس المدينة، ونشأت بيننا علاقة.

☐ **Respondent 15/M/34/PG/South**

٢: ماذكر ان قد صار لي حاجة. واقع بحكم التخصص ننظر له ونعرفه ونشوفه، لكن انا ما صار لي. فيه لهجات مستهدفة هي اللي دايما ينظر لها بدونية. التركيز دايما على لهجات اهل الجنوب. هم اكثر ناس يتعرضون للسخرية في اللهجات. هم اكثر ناس عرضة للسخرية. وهذا يرجع [بسبب] للإعلام لانه احنا في هذا القرن ما يوجه الناس الا الاعلام فكريا وثقافيا. التركيبة الثقافية السعودية تشبه ما يحاكى في الاعلام. انا عندي تحفظ مره على الاعلام. زي طاش ماطاش ناصر القصبي يطلع يمثل اللكنة العسيرية. شخصية أبو علي. بالغ جدا. انا من عسير. هو بالغ جدا جدا في اللهجة. نعم فيه ناس تتكلم بالطريقة اللي هو سواها. لكن الشخصية اللي أبرزوها لهذه اللكنة تسبب ارتباط ذهني للناس في العقل الباطن وهي اللي تحدد قراراتهم. الناس ما يعرفون قوة الاعلام وسلاح الاعلام لانه يحدد توجهاتك وانت لاشعوريا لا تدري. مثلا، اللكنة الجيزانية في الاعلام تجدهم دائما نسبة ٨٠٪ يربطونها بيسيكورتي. دائما تحصل السيكيورتي جيزاني ولهجة جيزانية. تحس انهم يشوهون اللهجة بزيادة ويربطونها بالفقر والموظف المسكين السيكيورتي والا الجيزاني تجدهم يحطونه انه الموظف اللي راسه يابس ولا يعرف يتعامل مع احد. الصورة النمطية اللي يصنعونها في رؤوس البشر وهو يمثل ٩٠٪ من تعامل الناس.

٢: الصور النمطية يحددها الاعلام. على العكس كيف يطلعون الشخصية النجدية او اللهجة النجدية انه هي اللهجة المرموقة او اللي معها فلوس الاتكيت. تجد كثير من اهل الجنوب اللي يبغى يسوي فيها اني كاش تجدها يقلد اللهجة النجدية مباشرة والا يحاول انه يتقمص هذه الشخصية. اللهجات سلاح عظيم لكن الناس يستهينون في قدرته.

☐ **Respondent 17/F/32/PG/West**

٢: أتوقع انه حاصل لكن وصفت لك الموقف اللي حصل معي، لكن ممكن يحصل مع الناس الثانية. محتمل جدا بما انه صار من اشخاص ذو درجة علمية عالية فيصحل من الناس العاديين أكيد.

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Appendix 13: Interview information sheet and informed consent form

Participation in the interview المشاركة في المقابلة

Welcome!

Please read the following information and submit the form if you are willing to participate in the study.

Thank you!

مرحبا!٠

فضلا اقرأ المعلومات الآتية ثم قم بإرسال النموذج في حال رغبتك المشاركة في الدراسة. ٠

شكرا لك!٠

*Required

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Research Information Sheet (the interview) •(المقابلة) التعريف بالدراسة

You are kindly invited to participate in a study on 'Saudi speakers of Arabic', which forms part of my PhD research project in Linguistics at the University of Leicester.

The information in this form outlines the nature of the study and sets out your rights as a respondent:

You will participate in a recorded interview where you will be asked some questions about your responses in the questionnaire. Then, you will be asked some general questions about the linguistic situation in Saudi Arabia. The interview will be audio-recorded. The recording will be anonymous to the listener.

Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. There are no right or wrong answers.

You will not incur any costs for your involvement in this study.

The collected data will be stored and secured on a password-encrypted computer. The collected data will be transferred to the UK for safe and confidential storage on the University of Leicester shared hard drive.

The data will be handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act and GDPR (2018).

Your participation is voluntary. You are free to stop at anytime. However, once the data has been collected, it will no longer be withdrawn and it will be used in research.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me.

You can contact me at:
aymh2@leicester.ac.uk
Ahmed Al-Hakami

Otherwise, you can contact my supervisor at:
ns359@leicester.ac.uk
Dr Nick Smith

أنت/ي مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة عن المتحدثين السعوديين وهي دراسة معدة لنيل درجة الدكتوراه في تخصص اللغويات من جامعة ليستر.•

تلخص المعلومات الواردة في هذا النموذج طبيعة الدراسة وحقوقك كمشارك/ة:•

سيطلب منك المشاركة في مقابلة مسجلة حيث سيتم طرح بعض الاسئلة عليك عن أجوبتك في الإستبيان. بعد ذلك سيتم طرح بعض الأسئلة العامة عليك عن الوضع اللغوي في   السعودية. سيتم تسجيل المقابلة صوتيًا. سيكون التسجيل مجهول المصدر للمستمع.•

فضلا آمل منك الإجابة على الأسئلة بكل صراحة حيث أنه لا توجد اجابة صحيحة او خاطئة.

لن تكون هناك أي تكلفة جراء مشاركتك في الدراسة.•

سيتم حفظ وتخزين البيانات التي تجمع في كومبيوتر محمي بكلمة سر. كما سيتم نقل البيانات للمملكة المتحدة ليتم تخزينها بأمان وسرية على سيرفر جامعة ليستر.•

سيتم التعامل مع البيانات التي تجمع وفقا للنظام العام لحماية البيانات المعروف بـ (2018) GDPR

مشاركتك في الدراسة هي اختيارية وبإمكانك التوقف في أي وقت. ولكن في حالة تم جمع البيانات لن يتم الإستغناء عنها وستستخدم لأغراض البحث.•

للإستفسار يمكنك التواصل معي عبر الإيميل:•
aymh2@leicester.ac.uk
احمد الحكمي

او يمكنك التواصل مع المشرف:•
ns359@leicester.ac.uk
Dr Nick Smith

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Informed Consent Form (the interview) (المقابلة) نموذج الموافقة على المشاركة بالدراسة ٠

1. Authorisation: I understand that by participating in this study and submitting this
   form, all the information I provide will remain completely anonymous and will only
   be used for the purposes of research. They will also be secured and kept for a
   period not exceeding 7 years to be used for further research by the researcher.
   اقرار: أقر بأن مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة وارسالي لهذا النموذج هو اقرار مني بفهمي بأن جميع المعلومات التي سأدلي
   بها ستستخدم لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط وستكون محمية ومجهولة المصدر. كما سيتم تخزينها بأمان لمدة لا تتجاوز ٧
   سنوات لإستخدامها لأغراض البحث العلمي من قبل الباحث لاحقا. ٠ *

   Mark only one oval.

   ⬭ نعم، أقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه Yes, I understand and agree to the above
   ⬭ لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة No, I don't want to be part of this study

2. Authorisation: I understand that by participating in this study and submitting this
   form, extracts from collected data may be anonymously included in the
   researcher's study, which will be seen by examiners and it may be included where
   the research is publicly accessible. اقرار: أقر بأن مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة وارسالي لهذا النموذج هو
   اقرار مني بفهمي بأنه قد تُدرج بعض من البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها في الدراسة وستكون مجهولة المصدر ليتم
   الاطلاع عليها من قبل المختبِرين وقد تكون متاحة في حالة كان البحث متاحا للعموم. ٠ *

   Mark only one oval.

   ⬭ نعم، أقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه Yes, I understand and agree to the above
   ⬭ لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة No, I don't want to be part of this study

3. Authorisation: I understand that by participating in this study and submitting this
   form, I confirm that I am at least 18 years of age and have understood the nature
   of this study, and I am willing to participate in it. اقرار: أقر بأن مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة
   وارسالي لهذا النموذج هو اقرار مني بأن عمري ١٨ سنة فأكثر، مع فهمي لما سيترتب على مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة.
   كما أقر برغبتي في المشاركة. ٠ *

   Mark only one oval.

   ⬭ نعم، أقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه Yes, I understand and agree to the above
   ⬭ لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة No, I don't want to be part of this study

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4.   Please state your full name. فضلا اكتب اسمك الكامل *

_____

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Appendix 14: Stimuli collection information sheet and informed consent form

Participation with audio recordings from Saudi speakers المشاركة بتسجيلات صوتية لمتحدثين سعوديين

Welcome!

Please read the following information and submit the form if you are willing to participate in the study.

Thank you!

مرحبا!•

فضلا اقرأ المعلومات الآتية ثم قم بإرسال النموذج في حال رغبتك المشاركة في الدراسة.•

شكرا لك!•

*Required

Research Information Sheet (the audio recordings) ٠(التسجيلات الصوتية) التعريف بالدراسة

You are kindly invited to participate in a study on 'Saudi speakers of Arabic', which forms part of my PhD research project in Linguistics at the University of Leicester.

The information in this form outlines the nature of the study and sets out your rights as a participant:

You will be asked to provide an audio recording of you reading a passage in your own dialect. The recording you provide will be used in a research experiment related to Saudi dialects. The recording will be made and played to other participants in the study. The recording will be anonymous to the listener.

You will not incur any costs for your involvement in this study.

The collected data will be stored and secured on a password-encrypted computer. The collected data will be transferred to the UK for safe and confidential storage on the University of Leicester shared hard drive.

The data will be handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act and GDPR (2018).

Your participation is voluntary. You are free to stop at anytime. However, once the recording has been received, it will no longer be withdrawn and it will be used in research.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me.

You can contact me at:
aymh2@leicester.ac.uk
Ahmed Al-Hakami

Otherwise, you can contact my supervisor at:
cw301@leicester.ac.uk
Dr Cathleen Waters

أنت/ي مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة عن المتحدثين السعوديين وهي دراسة معدة لنيل درجة الدكتوراه في تخصص اللغويات من جامعة ليستر.٠

تلخص المعلومات الواردة في هذا النموذج طبيعة الدراسة وحقوقك كمشارك/ة:٠

سيطلب منك المشاركة بإرسال تسجيل صوتي لك أثناء قراءتك لقطعة نصية بلهجتك المحلية. سيستخدم هذا التسجيل الصوتي في تجربة بحثية ذات صلة باللهجات السعودية. كما سيتم تشغيل التسجيل الصوتي لمشاركين آخرين في الدراسة. سيكون التسجيل مجهول المصدر للمستمع.٠

لن تكون هناك أي تكلفة جراء مشاركتك في الدراسة.٠

سيتم حفظ وتخزين البيانات التي تجمع في كومبيوتر محمي بكلمة سر. كما سيتم نقل البيانات للمملكة المتحدة ليتم تخزينها بأمان وسرية على سيرفر جامعة ليستر.٠

سيتم التعامل مع البيانات التي تجمع وفقا للنظام العام لحماية البيانات المعروف بـ (2018) GDPR

مشاركتك في الدراسة هي اختيارية وبإمكانك التوقف في أي وقت. ولكن في حالة تم ارسال التسجيل لن يتم ازالته وسيستخدم لأغراض البحث.٠

للإستفسار يمكنك التواصل معي عبر الإيميل:٠
aymh2@leicester.ac.uk
احمد الحكمي

او يمكنك التواصل مع المشرفة:٠
cw301@leicester.ac.uk
Dr Cathleen Waters

Informed Consent Form (the audio recordings) نموذج الموافقة على المشاركة بالدراسة (التسجيلات الصوتية)٠

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1. Authorisation: I understand that by participating in this study and submitting this form, all the information I provide will remain completely anonymous and will only be used for the purposes of research. They will also be secured and kept for a period not exceeding 7 years to be used for further research by the researcher. اقرار: أقر بأن مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة وارسالي لهذا النموذج هو اقرار مني بفهمي بأن جميع المعلومات التي سأدلي بها ستستخدم لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط وستكون محمية ومجهولة المصدر. كما سيتم تخزينها بأمان لمدة لا تتجاوز ٧ سنوات لإستخدامها لأغراض البحث العلمي من قبل الباحث لاحقا. *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Yes, I understand and agree to the above نعم، أقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه

( ) No, I don't want to be part of this study لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة

2. Authorisation: I understand that by participating in this study and submitting this form, extracts from collected data may be anonymously included in the researcher's study, which will be seen by examiners and it may be included where the research is publicly accessible. اقرار: أقر بأن مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة وارسالي لهذا النموذج هو اقرار مني بفهمي بأنه قد تُدرج بعض من البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها في الدراسة وستكون مجهولة المصدر ليتم الاطلاع عليها من قبل المختبِرين وقد تكون متاحة في حالة كان البحث متاحا للعموم. *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Yes, I understand and agree to the above نعم، أقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه

( ) No, I don't want to be part of this study لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة

3. Authorisation: I understand that by participating in this study and submitting this form, I confirm that I am at least 18 years of age and have understood the nature of this study, and I am willing to participate in it. اقرار: أقر بأن مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة وارسالي لهذا النموذج هو اقرار مني بأن عمري ١٨ سنة فأكثر، مع فهمي لما سيترتب على مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة. كما أقر برغبتي في المشاركة. *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Yes, I understand and agree to the above نعم، أقر بفهمي وموافقتي على ما ورد أعلاه

( ) No, I don't want to be part of this study لا، لا أريد أن تكون لي علاقة بهذه الدراسة

4. Your age. عمرك *

_____

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5.   Please state your full name. فضلا اكتب اسمك الكامل *

_____

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