Investigating Religious Identity in Family Discourse in Saudi Arabia: A Study of Moral Order, Narratives, Power and Solidarity

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has been submitted for the PhD degree from the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University, UK. I also declare that it has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

ABSTRACT

A wide range of research on language and identity has focused on areas such as ethnicity, nationalism and gender. However, work on the construction of religious identity and Muslim identity in particular remains limited. Thus, this research aims to shed more light on a specific aspect of religious identity, namely, the construction of Muslim identity in family interaction in Saudi Arabia.

The analysis of moment-to-moment interactions in this research is based on several bodies of work stemming mainly from Interactional Sociolinguistic research including framing (Goffman, 1974), positioning (Davies and Harre, 1990), stance-making (Du Bois, 2007), and alignment (Goffman, 1959) to uncover the various practices by which Muslim identity is (co-)constructed and negotiated. It also draws on narrative analysis (Blum-Kulka, 1997) as it pertains to identity construction in family interaction (Tannen, Kendall and Gordon, 2007).

This study identifies several strategies by which religious identity is individually and collaboratively (co-)constructed and negotiated by investigating family interaction. For example, it demonstrates how moment-to-moment analysis of interactions involving parental socialising frames and collaborative arguing frames among family members reflect how daily life is organized according to religious rituals and practices and how this is reflected within the domains of space and time. This, in turn, demonstrates how a sense of moral order is created among family members.

Another strategy revealed by this analysis is the use of storytelling, using narratives of a religious nature in the (co-)construction of Muslim identity for the purposes of sociability and/or socialisation.

This study also investigates moment-to-moment interactions concerning religious rituals that reflect the negotiation of religious identity through different power and connection manoeuvres. These practices include questioning, guilting and critical argumentation. It also highlights that these interactions sometimes result in shifts in the power hierarchy among family members due to the loss of face.

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The aim of this introductory chapter is to introduce the topic under examination and to provide a context for the setting in which this research was conducted. The chapter begins by identifying the research problem that forms the focus of this thesis and then presenting the main research questions to be addressed in this study. This is followed by a discussion highlighting the importance of the research which also outlines the reasons why it was undertaken. The focus then shifts to provide a brief overview of the relevant aspects pertaining to the socio-cultural and linguistic context that formed the setting for this research, namely, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In this overview, particular attention is paid to the role of religion (Islam) and to the status of the family, both of which are considered to be of central importance in the Saudi context. The chapter concludes with an outline of the content of the seven chapters that form this thesis.

1.1 Research Problem and Research Questions

This research focuses primarily on the construction of religious identity in family discourse in Saudi Arabia, an Arab Islamic country. The role that language plays in the construction of identity has received a great deal of academic attention since interest in this area was initially sparked off in the 1970s. Since then, studies on language and identity have examined a wide variety of aspects of identity, including ethnicity, nationality and particularly gender, and have also explored the ways in which these are interconnected (Labov,1966, 1972; Tannen, 1994a, 1994b). However, as the review of existing literature shows (Chapter Two), work focusing on the construction of religious identity through language remains relatively limited. Moreover, much of the existing work has investigated Muslim identity in minority communities or diasporic groups in the European or North American context. Very few studies have chosen to examine the construction of religious identity in Islamic countries. Thus, the aim of this research is to shed light on a specific aspect of the study of language and identity that merits more detailed investigation, that is, the construction of Muslim identity in family interaction in Saudi Arabia.

This study has been built around the following themes: the spatial and temporal dimensions of identity; the use of narratives in identity construction; and power and solidarity manoeuvres in identity negotiation. These themes have been explored in a vast

body of research on language and identity (including Goffman, 1974; Tannen, 2014; De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006) and will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. They have also influenced the framing of the research questions to be explored in this study which are:

1. How is the concept of time framed according to religion and religious activities within the family setting?
2. How does religion contribute to participants' construction of a sense of space within the family setting?
3. In which ways do participants employ narratives to construct their religious identity?
4. What role do power and solidarity manoeuvres play in indexing religious identity within the family setting?

1.2 Importance of this Research

This research was initially motivated by two principal reasons. The first of these stems from my personal interest in the topic of the construction of religious identity or, to be more specific, Muslim identity. While the concept of identity has been the subject of a large amount of both theoretical inquiry and empirical studies, the concept of religious identity has often been overlooked by major contributors within the field of identity theory studies (Peek, 2005). Peek (2005) notes, for example, that religion is not considered to be an identity category by Cerulo (1997), Frable (1997) or Howard (2000), all of whom point to the importance of a range of other identity dimensions including gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, age, physical and mental ability, and class. This seems to be a glaring omission, particularly since it is possible to cite multiple examples, in both historical and contemporary contexts, where religion would be considered to be "a much more significant marker of identity than ethnicity" (Monshipouri, 2011, p.4).

It is true that there are numerous examples of studies that have investigated how group identity can be maintained through religious practice, but these have focused principally on immigrant or diasporic communities (for example, Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2000; Min and Kim, 2002), or have adopted a more sociological approach. The contributions to the edited volume by Omoniyi and Fishman (2006) constitute a good example of this. Many of these studies were more interested in exploring the links between religion and ethnic

and cultural identities rather than investigating the construction of religious identities per se. According to Peek (2005), one of the reasons why religious identity merits interest in its own right is to provide insights into how religion functions within societies, and the role that it plays in meeting adherents' needs—both spiritual and non-spiritual—by offering them social, psychological, economic and educational support.

The second reason that motivated my interest in conducting this research is the context in which it takes place. Although there was a significant increase in investigating the religious identities of Muslims in the wake of the events of 9/11 and the London bombings of 7 July 2005, most of these studies concentrated on Muslim minorities in European countries (Samers, 2003; Mandaville, 2009), particularly in the British context (Ahmad and Evergeti, 2010; Francis and McKenna, 2017). However, the research reported here was carried out in Saudi Arabia, the country that has been described as "the most theocratic state in the contemporary Sunni Muslim world" (Nevo, 1998, p.35).

In one of the first and very few articles to examine the concept of identity in Saudi Arabia, Nevo observes:

> By definition, a non-Muslim cannot be a Saudi citizen. The idea of religious pluralism has neither meaning nor support in many segments of the population, and religious norms and practices are encouraged, promoted and even enforced by the state (1998, p.35).

In Nevo's article the relationship between identity and religion is linked to the concept of nationality in the Saudi context. Along similar lines, Pharaon (2004, p.349) states that "Islam is totally ingrained in the fabric of contemporary Saudi life. All Saudis are Muslims, with a vast majority as true believers or practitioners". The fact that the first of these articles was published some four years before the events of 9/11 and the second some three years after them highlights the continuing significance of religion in the lives of Saudi citizens.

More recently, however, debates about the nature of religious identity have begun to emerge in the Saudi context. Thus, this research was motivated by an interest in investigating whether Muslim identity in the allegedly 'homogenous' monotheistic society of Saudi Arabia is as fixed and taken for granted as official public discourse suggests or whether, like all identities, it is constructed and subject to negotiation. The decision was taken to concentrate on the private sphere of the family since it was considered that the intimate nature of this setting was more likely to provide discourse

data relevant to this topic. The sociocultural nature of contemporary Saudi society and the role played by religion in the largest of the Gulf States will be discussed in more detail in the next section which examines whether Saudi Arabia can in fact be considered to be an essentially 'homogenous' Islamic theocracy.

1.3 Saudi Arabia: The Socio-Cultural and Religious Context

The data for this study were collected in Saudi Arabia, which is my home country. Located in the Middle East, the modern nation of Saudi Arabia was founded in 1932 by King Abdul-Aziz Al-Saud (1875-1953). It is constituted as a monarchy in which the ruling King must comply with *sharia* i.e. the canonical law of Sunni Islam which is based on the Qur'an (the holy book of Islam) and the Sunnah (the name given to the collected teachings, sayings and deeds of the Prophet Mohammed). In Saudi Arabia, power is handed down to the descendants of the late King Abdul-Aziz with the support of the religious leaders of the country who are referred to as the *'Ulama* (usually translated as the Council of Senior Scholars) (Alzahrani, 2013).

According to the most recent official statistics, in 2010 the Saudi population numbered 29,195,895 million (Saudi Statistics Institute), its indigenous population being what Stalker (2010) describes as almost entirely of Arab ethnicity with a 'black' population based alongside the Red Sea coast [i.e. Saudis of African ancestry as a result of migration and slavery in the past]. While Saudi society is often perceived to consist of a largely Bedouin population that was once nomadic, a study by Al-Tuwaijri (2001) (the most recent statistics available) found that, in fact, this group now makes up just 21.77% of the country's inhabitants. By far the greatest percentage of the Saudi population is currently to be found living in the Kingdom's urban centres and this group makes up over half its inhabitants (51.36%). The final category is the rural population which accounts for the remaining 26.87% of the country's inhabitants.

Saudi Arabia is often portrayed as a homogenous state in which all Muslims adhere to the strictly orthodox Wahhabi interpretation of Sunni Islam, originally promulgated by Muhammed Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792), which advocates the alleged form of early Islam (Wright, 2015). However, Lacroix (2011, p.6), for example, points out that analyses of Saudi Islamism using a cultural approach "do not take into account Saudi social complexity", instead treating "the Saudi cultural corpus as a homogeneous and coherent whole, reducible to a Wahhabism with well-defined characteristics"; on the other hand,

those researchers following a socio-psychological approach have a tendency to view "the [Saudi] social arena as a unified entity affected by uniform dynamic forces" (ibid., p. 6).

In reality, the religious dimension of life in Saudi Arabia is considerably more complex than is generally assumed since Saudis follow a wide spectrum of schools of Islamic thought and different Sunni schools of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) known as *Madhahib*.[1] These schools include Hanbali, Hanafi, Shafi'i and Maliki. There is also a Shia Muslim minority that makes up some 10-15% of the entire Saudi population. In addition to this, Saudi Arabia plays host to millions of foreign workers who come from a broad range of religious backgrounds including Muslim, Christian and Hindu. While there are no official statistics that can be said to accurately capture the religious diversity of Saudi Arabia, it is possible to provide an overview of some of the varieties of Islam that can be found in the different regions of Saudi Arabia. This is based on information provided in the work of Al-Mulla (1994), Al-Hasan (2004) and Al-Shaib (2013):

1. Hijaz or Western Province: Mainly Maliki and Shafi'i Sunni with a Ja'fari Shia minority. There are also a few groups of Sufis.
2. Southern Province: A variety of most Muslim schools of thought are to be found there, including Maliki and Shafi'i Sunni as well as Ismaili Shia.
3. Najd (Central Region) and the Northern Region: This area is characterized by its Salafi Wahhabi majority who follow the Hanbali Sunni *fiqh*. This is considered to be the official *Madhhab* of Saudi Arabia.
4. Eastern Province: Historically, this area has been known for its Islamic diversity and has groups of Hanafi, Shafi'i, Maliki, and Hanbali Sunni together with Sufis. It is also where most of the Shia minority live in Saudi Arabia. This study was conducted in this region.

In order to better understand the status of religion and religiosity within contemporary Saudi society, especially their significance to Sunni Muslims, it is important to present this in the context of the religious and ideological movement popularly known as *Al-Sahwah* (literally, the awakening) that came to dominate Saudi society in the 1980s and 1990s. *Al-Sahwah,* together with the two earlier ideological movements of Wahhabism and Salafism, can be said to represent the three mainstays of Saudi religiosity and all of

[1] According to Esposito (2003), the Arabic term *madhhab* (plural, *madhahib*) literally denotes 'a way of going'. By extension it has come to mean 'a manner followed', and is also used to refer to an ideology or a movement.

them have contributed to shaping the intellectual space in Saudi Arabia (Al-Ghamdi, 2015). Accordingly, the influence of these three movements is responsible for creating the existing socio-cultural norms by which Sunni Saudis in particular live and which condition every aspect of their everyday lives. The outcome of the struggle to Islamicise society has resulted in religion effectively becoming the 'cultural brand' of Saudi Arabia (Al-Ghamdi, 2015).

As a movement, *Al-Sahwah* took advantage of an extremely supportive political climate that led to it becoming a central element of the social and cultural fabric of the Kingdom, and making its influence felt socially, politically and behaviourally in all domains of society, including that of the family and the domestic sphere. As a result of its success, religious practice became much more proscribed and *fatwas* (religious rulings given by religious scholars) that offered alternative interpretations vanished.

1.4 The Status of the Family in Saudi Society

According to Al-Tuwaijri (2001), the nuclear family characterises familial groups in Saudi Arabia, especially in the large urban conurbations of the Kingdom. This can be attributed to the transformation of Saudi Arabia that started in the 1970s when large areas of the country that had previously been rural rapidly became urbanised (Al-Khidir, 2010). This transformation, and the sweeping economic changes that came along with it, led to many Saudis shifting towards the nuclear family model, in contrast to the more traditional extended family model, with the aim of providing a better upbringing for their offspring (Al-Tuwaijri, 2001). These changes in the form of the family brought about by the urbanization of Saudi society were not only supported by the state but also governed by political and religious criteria (Al-Khidir, 2010). All the Kingdom's developmental plans, for example, have contained one constant principle: "the commitment of the state to the principles of the Islamic *sharia* and the maintenance of the cultural and moral values and traditions that are linked to it" (Al-Saif, 2003, p.13).

According to Al-Saif (2003), Saudi kinship relationships are governed by three key characteristics:

1. They are underpinned by religion and tradition.
2. The family represents the main unit for the construction of kinship relationships since traditional tribal systems per se no longer exist within Saudi society.

3. The interactions in kinship relationships are based on a set of social and religious criteria that are passed on from one generation to the next. These criteria are protected by social policies that play a role in exercising a form of social control that serves to prohibit these from being undermined, attacked or contested.

Arguing along similar lines, Al-Tuwaijri (2001, p.68) maintains that the construction of familial relationships in Saudi Arabia is based on "the Islamic religion which urges its followers to practice cooperation and intimacy in all aspects of their familial lives".

The *Sahwah* movement had a major influence on family life in the Kingdom that was welcomed by many Saudis. The male figure, for example, gained prominence as he was considered to be the undisputed religious authority within the domestic sphere. However, some families made attempts to resist what they saw as the negative influence of this religious trend (Al-Gathami, 2015).

A review of sociological studies of the Saudi family reveals that religion plays a major role in the upbringing and socialisation of children (Al-Gathami, 2015, Al-Ghamdi, 2015, Al-Saif, 2003, Al-Tuwaihri, 2001, Al-Guwaib, 2003a, 2003b). In all these studies, it is argued that one of the family's main functions is to make sure that children are socialised into following a religious belief as a means of maintaining social control and exercising moral authority. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of recent studies examining the role of the family in Saudi society, especially those documenting the sweeping social changes that have taken place over the course of recent decades.

1.5 My Personal Research Journey

This research has not been merely an academic endeavour of mine, but rather a personal journey whose planning, designing, and researching stems from two personal interests. First, as an Eighties child from Saudi Arabia, I spent my childhood in my home country at the height of Al-Sahwa Al-Islamiyah (the Islamic Awakening) movement. Coming from a less traditional Saudi family where many social constraints and ultra-conservative interpretations of Islam did not apply, I have always been fascinated by religion and how it informs and is informed by people's world views, relationships and behaviours. This enabled me to carry out this research with consistently challenging my own assumptions about what the participants mean and what they are trying to achieve when they interact, especially when liturgical language is used in interaction.

The other reason that motivated me to do this research comes from my academic background. My BA and MA degrees are in Linguistics. I often found myself getting intrigued by how language is intertwined with how people present themselves to the world and how that, in turn, influences how they are perceived by others. So I embarked on reading a wide range of literature, guided by my supervisor, relating language to the concept of identity.

Over the course of doing this research, I realised how religion and religious convictions are sometimes displayed in often the most subtle ways through linguistic and non-linguistic means. Reinforced with the research skills necessary for this study, I found myself making connections between the two and other concepts often discussed in sociolinguistic research such as socialisation and sociability, story-telling, power and solidarity. I also need to point out that my personal acquaintance with the participants has often helped play a significant role in interpreting what they intend to convey in interactions.

Going forward, I hope that my research will help to shed light on the complex issues of identity, language and religion and how these three elements are displayed in daily family interaction under different themes such as maintaining moral order, talk about divine interventions and moral guardianship.

1.6 Outline of the Research

In this section, a summary of the outline of the thesis is provided along with a brief description of the contents of each chapter. The purpose of **Chapter One,** as the title indicates, is to provide a brief introduction to the topic of this thesis. Thus it outlines the nature of the research problem and presents the research questions to be addressed in this study. After explaining the academic significance of the topic investigated in this thesis, the gap in existing research in this field is established and discussed. Finally, a brief overview of the socio-cultural and religious context in which the study takes place is provided, followed by a discussion of the status of the family in contemporary Saudi society.

In **Chapter Two**, a detailed literature review of recent and relevant research is provided. This review is intended to identify and examine the main themes in identity research, explaining how conversation became an area of investigation in face-to-face interaction

and why family discourse merits analysis. **Chapter Three** is composed of two main parts. The first of these is intended to provide a theoretical basis and justification for selecting Interactional Sociolinguistics as the analytical approach for this research while the second part provides a detailed description of the methods used in this study for data selection, collection and analysis.

Chapters Four, Five and **Six** present the results of the analysis of the data, dividing this up on the basis of the themes addressed in the research questions. These three data analysis chapters are followed by a concluding chapter, **Chapter Seven,** that considers the implications of the research findings, identifies the limitations of the current study and provides suggestions for further research directions.

2 CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 An Overview of Identity Research

> Just now everybody wants to talk about identity. As a key word in contemporary politics it has taken on so many different connotations that sometimes it is obvious that people are not even talking about the same thing. One thing at least is clear—identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty. From this angle, the eagerness to talk about identity is symptomatic of the postmodern predicament of contemporary politics.
>
> Mercer (1990:43)

Identity has long been a 'hot topic' in the contemporary academic world of social sciences and has been theorized within a number of fields including anthropology, linguistics, psychology, sociology, history, literature, gender studies, and social theory. In all these cases, the aim is to understand the power of this concept and the role that it plays and to determine how different processes and strategies contribute to the negotiation and construction of power (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006). One important aspect of identity which has been investigated is language.

As Harrison (1998:248) argues:

> Identity is generated through culture—especially language—and it can invest itself in various meanings: an individual can have an identity as a woman, a Briton, a Black, a Muslim. Herein lies the facility of identity politics: it is dynamic, contested, and complex.

In this chapter, the aim is to briefly review some of the approaches and concepts that have influenced the study of identity and language and to examine some of the theoretical perspectives underpinning the study of identity in this thesis.

One of the key theoretical frameworks that has influenced the way identity is currently understood is social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Hall, 1996; Kroskrity, 2000). When this idea first emerged, it challenged older essentialist conceptualizations of identity (such as those drawn on in Labov, 1966 and Trudgill, 1974) that were based on the notion of there being fixed relationships between linguistic and social variables. The study of identity was revolutionized by this shift to a more liberating assumption that identity is fluid, unstable and fragmented (Block, 2006). It is now viewed as a process of

negotiation and entextualization (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) expressed through language and moderated by different social variables in a range of interactional occasions (Omoniyi and White, 2006; De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006). Social constructionism also maintains that it is not one single identity that is articulated in a given social context but rather a constellation of identities and these inform social relationships and require dynamic management (Omoniyi and White, 2006) and discursive work (Zimmerman and Weider, 1970).

Since the social constructionist movement became the dominant paradigm in identity research, a great deal of sociolinguistic research has been generated that has helped to shape the study of identity including concepts such as 'acts of identity' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985), styling the other (Rampton, 1999) and performativity (Butler, 1997; Pennycook, 2003). All of these concepts share the common viewpoint that identity is an active process.

Versluys (2007) has identified a number of difficulties in identity research, the first of which relates to the notion of the multiplicity of identity. She explains that while this area has greatly developed as an area of academic interest, there are still debates concerning the nature of identity since some research continues to view identity as unified and knowable and fails to encapsulate the notion of multiplicity. Versluys points to another problem that stems from seeing identity as a construction, namely, that the terminology associated with this concept (for example, the individual, the subject, the self, social realities and group membership) could be considered confusing. Moreover, Versluys agrees with Hall's (1996) observations that the deconstructionist movement has not exchanged the essentialist concepts it has rejected for ones that can be considered any 'truer'. She argues that "it is as if the observation that identity is constructed has become a mantra that is in no need of further investigation or questioning. The mantra is even so vaguely expressed that many confusions and contradictions arise" (ibid., p.93).

De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg (2006) note that further discrepancies in identity research approaches have arisen partly due to the conflicting methodological perspectives adopted by these studies because they view the relationship between language and social life in different ways. On the one hand, Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) argue that Conversation Analysis (CA) advocates the investigation of identity categories that are exclusively relevant to the local context. Thus, the researcher's role is to reconstruct the ways in which these are displayed and negotiated. On the other hand, Critical Discourse Analysis

(CDA) claims that in order to understand the ways in which dominant discourse practices and ideologies are enforced on individuals and groups the researcher must pay close attention to the role that political and ideological contexts play in the formation of identities (Billig, 1999).

This research, however, will explore the issue of identity using an Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) framework. IS attempts to combine the methodological approaches that favour a macro-societal analysis of communicative practices with those which espouse a context-bound style of analysis like CA (Stubbe et al., 2003). This means that IS takes into consideration how interaction is influenced by broader social and cultural factors.

Goffman's (1959) notion of the 'presentation of self' suggests that different acts of identity may be displayed in a given piece of interaction. Thus, as Omoniyi (2006, p.18) notes:

> [t]he situating of identity within social action reaffirms the significance of the relational factor. This breaking up of identity into contexts, acts and moments facilitates the conceptualization and articulation of multiple roles and identities that may not have equal salience.

From an IS perspective, participants involved in interaction may resort to performing different acts that display various identities according to "the demands and the needs within particular moments of identification" (Omoniyi, 2006, p.18). By combining a micro-analytical approach with a consideration of sociocultural context, IS has the ability to shed light on the role that participants' implicit assumptions play in the interpretation of the interaction (Stubbe et al., 2003). I will not elaborate here on IS since Chapter Three is dedicated to providing a detailed explanation of this approach; instead, the focus here now shifts to explore other aspects of identity research including identity types and processes, followed by a discussion of religious identities, in particular, Muslim identities.

2.1.1 Identity types and processes

One of the striking features that illustrates the complexity of the topic of identity is the number of different classifications of identity types that are found in this research area. According to Joseph (2004), the 'fundamental' identity types are arranged in the following pairs: real vs. fictional, self vs. other, and individual vs. group. De Fina (2011), however, approaches this topic differently, noting that individual identity is responsible

for the way in which a person chooses to project himself/herself to others while collective identity concerns how an individual belongs to a group. De Fina also distinguishes between a concrete identity and an abstract one. The former has a clear referent, while the latter is based on different types of affiliation including race, gender and religion. In addition, there are personal and social identities. Personal identities can be thought of as "constructs that may include not only sets of membership categories, but also moral and physical characteristics that distinguish one person from another" (De Fina, 2011, p. 268) while social identities are related to larger groups of belonging.

De Fina (2011) argues that the distinction between identity types is sometimes blurred. For example, in the case of social identity categories, these often influence the construction of personal identities, while it is also possible to personalize collective identities. Another problem with attempting to establish neat classifications in relation to social identities is the fact that new identities are continuously being created and challenging "well-defined macro-social categories" (ibid., p.269). Conversely, other types of identity such as those based on religious affiliation or nationality may become more stable over the course of time as a result of undergoing complex historical processes.

Zimmerman (1998, p.90) proposes another classification of identity types, differentiating between discourse identities, situated identities and transportable identities. Discourse identities are those that individuals assume in "the moment-by-moment organization" of interaction, whereas situated identities are "brought into being and sustained by participants engaging in activities and respecting agendas that display an orientation to, and an alignment of, particular identity sets". Zimmerman's third identity type, transportable identities, "travel with the individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any space of interaction". These identities include race, gender and religion. The data analysis in Chapters Four, Five and Six of this thesis draws upon these identity classifications proposed by De Fina (2011) and Zimmerman (1998).

Along with her classification of identity types, De Fina (2011) also identifies a number of processes by which identities can be communicated. One of these is indexicality, which refers to the process by which different elements in social situations are pointed to or indexed by participants. Repetition or circulation, for example, involves using various expressions to summon aspects or traits that might be perceived to be consistent with certain social identities. Indexicality, then, can be used to construct identity indirectly by creating 'meaning associations' between different expressions and ideas, situations,

shared social representations and even ideological systems. However, these associations are subject to being openly challenged and re-evaluated during the continuous process of meaning creation.

De Fina also highlights the dynamic nature of identity. The identity process of local occasioning, a term borrowed from CA, means that identity presentation and ascription is not only context-dependant, but also shapes the context. De Fina (2011, p.271) also notes that "the same social identity category may be used to identify someone, but this category will have different meanings according to different aspects of the context".

The relational processes known as positioning and dialogicality are the third identity processes to be briefly outlined here. According to Davies and Harré (1990:47), positioning can be defined as "the discursive production of a diversity of selves" and refers to the different ways in which individuals may position themselves, be positioned by others and, in turn, position those others during the course of interaction. (The concept of positioning will be discussed in further detail in the methodology chapter section 3.4.5.) Dialogicality can be described as a relational process and refers to the ways by means of which different identities may emerge in interaction. The similarities between dialogicality and Goffman's (1981) notion of footing will be discussed later (see section 3.4.4).

The last identity process that De Fina (2011) discusses is categorization. This term is used to signify the inventory of identities that are available not only to participants in the local context of interaction but are also more widely available within society in general. This identity process highlights the conceptual disagreement between the approaches underpinning CA and CDA, as previously mentioned. While CA advocates the investigation of the local context in order to understand how identities are constructed, favouring a Member Categorization type of analysis (Hester and Eglin, 1997; Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998), CDA views identity in part in terms of social structures (Van Dijk, 1998; 2010). As an attempt to balance the two contrasting views, interactionists can be said to be:

> addressing the importance of finding out which categories people use for identification, in which contexts, how these are negotiated, and what they mean to people, more than they are rejecting a cognitive basis whose exact nature is in any case far from clear (De Fina, 2011, p.275).

This section has provided an overview of some of the key concepts, themes and trends in contemporary identity research. The following section discusses the concept of religious identity, the topic which constitutes the main focus of this research.

2.1.2 Religious identity

As previously noted in the introductory chapter, Peek (2005) argues that the topic of religious identity has not been considered as a distinct category in many studies focusing on identity theory. He notes, for example, that religion does not feature as an identity category in the works by Appiah and Gates (1995), Cerulo (1997), Frable (1997) or Howard (2000), unlike gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, age, physical and mental ability, and class, all of which are considered. Like Peek, Safran (2008) considers religion and language to be important markers of ethno-national identity that are connected to each other in both psychological and social ways, and sees these as markers of group identity.

One of the earliest conceptualisations of religious identity can be found in the work of Mol (1979:15) who argued that "religion in any of its forms favours the identity side of the dialectic". In his model, religion serves as a means of stabilising individual and group identity since constant change is often resisted by religious traditions and institutions. Seul (1999) later claimed that:

> Religious meaning systems define the contours of the broadest possible range of relationships—to self; to others near and distant, friendly and unfriendly; to the non-human world; to the universe; and to God, or that which one considers ultimately real or true (p.558)

Seul (1999) also highlighted the role of religion in promoting the stabilization of individual and group identity and argued that it accomplishes this by means of:

> favouring the preservation of old content (in the form of doctrine, ritual, moral frameworks, role expectations, symbols, and the like), offering individuals a basis for reconstructing their identities within a stable or very slowly changing universe of shared meaning (p.558).

In his article, Seul (1999) makes a number of important points in relation to religious identity. Firstly, he argues that one of the functions of religion is to maintain the psychological stability that its adherents require by providing them with "a world-view that assures their place in a meaningful and orderly universe" (ibid., p.559). Secondly, he

draws attention to the role that religious texts play in religious identity construction, stating that they serve as part of "the community memory" (ibid., p.561) and help to give religious group members a "cross-generational sense of belonging in time, as well as a sense of belonging with others in distant places" (ibid., p.561). In addition, according to Seul (1999), these texts "have clear socializing effects, promoting order (which serves the need for psychological stability) and enhancing the group's sense of specialness or purpose (which may serve the needs for belonging, self-esteem, and self-actualization)" (p.561). Both articles make the case that beliefs stemming from shared religious traditions can have a major impact on how individuals form perceptions of themselves and of the world.

Along similar lines, Joseph (2004, p.165) observed that:

> Religious identities are like ethnic ones in that they concern where we come from and where we are going—our entire existence, not just the moment-to-moment. It is these identities above all that, for most people, give profound meaning to the names we identify ourselves by, both as individuals and as groups, and are bound up with our deepest beliefs about life, the universe and everything.

As with the field of identity studies in general, those researching religious identity have been influenced by a range of discipline and research traditions including psychology or cultural anthropology and interactionalism (Francis, 1988; 2009). The latter influenced the development of ideas about role-performance (Goffman, 1959; Moulin, 2013) and boundary maintenance (Barth, 1969). Studies such as those by Jacobson (1997), Östberg (2000), Zine (2001) and Peek (2005) have highlighted the flexible nature of religious identities. They emphasise the role that socio-cultural contexts play in shaping religious identities, focusing in particular on how cultural and social processes influence their construction. In adopting this approach, these authors eschewed essentialist psychological conceptions of religious identity that are built on the assumptions of individuals' commitment to fixed beliefs and practices.

Omoniyi and Fishman (2006) edited a collection of studies that provide some useful insights into the relationship between language, identity and religion. Some of the contributions in the collection examine the influence of religion on language such as Bolkvadze's (2006) study of the impact of the Eastern-Christian tradition on the Georgian language. Other articles in the collection focus more directly on how language helps to shape aspects of religious identity such as Chruszczweski's (2006) analysis of Jewish

religious discourse that reveals how community incorporation can be facilitated by certain types of prayers. Rosowsky's (2006) contribution to the collection examines the links between language, religious identity and liturgical literacy in Muslim communities in the UK, demonstrating how Qur'anic Arabic is given a higher status than the Pakistani community's own vernacular languages, Mirpuri-Punjabi and Urdu.

Power (2010) argues that religious identity can be seen as a "transportable identity" (Zimmerman, 1998, pp.90-91) which is accomplished by "talk-in-interaction" (Schegloff, 1987, p.207). Power used Membership Categorization Analysis (Hester and Eglin, 1997; Lepper, 2000, Sacks, 1979, 1992) and Stance Analysis (Du Bois, 2007; Englebreston, 2007, Jaffe, 2009; Kockelman, 2004) to investigate religious identity in the town of Claresholm in rural Canada. She found that religious identities are produced in this community either directly by residents categorizing themselves as "belonging to" or "separate from" particular religious groups, or indirectly "by projecting attitudinal stances on multiculturalism, as it relates to religion" (Power, 2010, p. viii see section 3.4.5 for further discussion of the concept of stance).

The research described above shows that research on language, religion and identity can be found in a number of fields and covers a wide variety of topics. What all of these studies share in common is that they all demonstrate that religious traditions and the group relationships amongst adherents of those traditions are able to produce a deep and lasting influence on the individual's worldview, lifestyle, beliefs, practices, and actions.

2.1.3 Muslims, Arabic and identity

The terrorist attacks that took place on September 11th, 2001 in New York and elsewhere in the United States, together with the attacks by Islamist terrorists that have followed in different parts of the world seem to have sparked renewed interest in research about all-things-Muslim, particularly in the west. Due to the horrifying nature of the events of 9/11 and the feelings of shock, fear and anger that followed in their wake (Flint, 2001), many Muslims became "the victims of discrimination, harassment, racial and religious profiling, and verbal and physical assault" (Peek, 2003, p.271). Halliday (2002, p.31), for example, noted:

> The crisis unleashed by the events of 11 September is one that is global and all-encompassing. It is global in the sense that it binds many different countries into conflict, most obviously the USA and parts of the Muslim world. It is all-encompassing in that, more than any other international

> crisis yet seen, it affects a multiplicity of life's levels, political, economic, cultural and psychological.

Halliday (1999, p.897) observed that because "Islam may vary greatly", individuals who refer to themselves as adherents of this religion will not necessarily choose to live and see the world in the same way. Reflecting on the diversity and heterogeneity of the category 'Muslim', Modood (2003, p.100) wrote:

> Muslims are not […] a homogenous group. Some Muslims are devout but apolitical; some are political but do not see their politics as being 'Islamic' (indeed, may even be anti-Islamic). Some identify more with a nationality of origin, such as Turkish; others with the nationality of settlement and perhaps citizenship, such as French. Some prioritise fundraising for mosques, others campaign against discrimination, unemployment or Zionism. For some, Ayatollah Khomeini is a hero and Osama bin Laden an inspiration; for others, the same may be said of Kemal Ataturk or Margaret Thatcher, who created a swathe of Asian millionaires in Britain, brought in Arab capital and was one of the first to call for NATO action to protect Muslims in Kosovo. The category 'Muslim', then, is as internally diverse as 'Christian' or 'Belgian' or 'middle-class', or any other category helpful in ordering our understanding.

With regard to Muslim identity and language, Spolsky (2003:85) emphasized that "Islam is basically and strictly associated with Classical Arabic. Arab countries generally include in their Constitution a statement that the state follows Islam and uses Arabic". He noted that Classical Arabic dominates the religion linguistically even among its non-Arab followers. The recitation of the Qur'an and the performance of daily prayers is done through the medium of Classical Arabic. However, Friday sermons are sometimes carried out in the local vernacular in non-Arabic communities (Mattock, 2001). Spolsky (2003) also provided a historical account of the relationship between Islam and Arabic, explaining how Islam spread from Abyssinia, Egypt, and North Africa to Africa and Asia by commercial exchanges and jihad which, according to *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia* (2017), is defined as "the central doctrine that calls on believers to combat the enemies of their religion. According to the Quran and the Hadith, jihad is a duty that may be fulfilled in four ways: by the heart, the tongue, the hand, or the sword". In all these Muslim communities, the supremacy of Classical or Qur'anic Arabic as the language of Islam was emphasized.

In his comparative study of Muslim and Christian Lebanese identities, Joseph (2004) dealt with the mutual relationship between language and religion and concluded that the

use of Classical Arabic could be considered to be strongly correlated with Muslim identity in this community.

Other studies that highlight the close links between Muslim identity and Arabic include Le Blanc's (1999) analysis of the emergence of new religious practices in Côte d'Ivoire which led to the production of new definitions of Islam as a result of changes that occurred in Islamic institutions. Le Blanc found that Islamic practices among young Muslims in this African state reflected divisions between Wahhabiyya (those following the Wahhabi school)[2] and non-Wahhabiyya, as well as between 'syncretic' and 'Arabized' versions of Islam, with the latter placing emphasis on the need for formal acquisition of Classical Arabic among adherents and asserting the importance of the ability to read and understand the Qur'an.

In his ethnographic study, Rosowsky (2008) emphasizes the importance of the acquisition of Qur'anic Arabic to Muslims of different origins and explores the role that this linguistic variant plays within a particular British Muslim community in northern England. He focuses specifically on the topic of liturgical literacy which he defines as "that use of reading, more rarely of writing, which is essential to ritual and other devotional practices connected with an established religion" (Rosowsky, 2008, p.6), examining the various settings in which liturgical literacy is usually acquired by Muslims in the UK, namely, the mosque, school and the family home. With respect to the last of these, Rosowsky argues that this setting "reflects and helps shape the nature of liturgical literacy as it is practised within the community" (2008, p.157).

For adherents of Islam, liturgical literacy is acquired mainly for the performance of obligatory prayers, the recitation of the Qur'an and for participating in various religious ceremonies and Rosowsky (2008, p.163) notes that "many Muslim homes will contain texts and textual artefacts that are considered to have properties of protection for those living there". However, he also explains that liturgical texts in Classical Arabic may sometimes be used for "esoteric purposes beyond that of their literal or figurative meaning"[3] describing the practice that is occasionally used of employing Classical Arabic phrases written on small pieces of paper kept in metal or leather pouches as amulets. The

[2] As previously noted, Wahhabism is "[a]n Islamic movement which developed during the eighteenth century in central Arabia, providing a rigorous, puritanical interpretation of Sunni teaching" (Palmowski, 2008).

[3] Rosowsky (2008) cites as an example the use of religious texts "as a means of warding off evil and misfortune" (p. 163) by imams among Mende Muslims in Sierra Leone.

liturgical inscriptions that are used for this purpose "usually consist of verses from the Qur'an and other Arabic prayers and formulations" (Rosowsky, 2008, p.164) and their wording often remains unknown to the wearer of the amulet. These linguistic amulets are "designed to perform particular spiritual or worldly functions. These range from seeking protection from evil spirits to seeking success in school or university examinations" (ibid.). He does make it clear, however, that a practice of this kind might be considered as superstitious rather than religious by some adherents of Islam.

The present study, however, distinguishes itself from all of those discussed above both in terms of the context it examines and the approach that it adopts. Moreover, it does not claim that its findings can be considered to be representative of the religious identities of Muslims in Saudi Arabia or indeed in other parts of the Islamic world. Rather, it is intended to provide a close and detailed analysis of religious identities in a particular family setting in a way that may or may not reflect how Muslim identity is constructed, re-constructed and negotiated in broader settings. Thus, drawing on socio-linguistic techniques, this research aims to shed light on the discursive formation of Muslim identity in family interaction in Saudi Arabia, a topic to which little, if any, attention has been given to date.

2.2 Family Discourse

> [F]amilies are the cradle of language, the original site of everyday discourse, and a touchstone for talk in other contexts. Families are created in part through talk: the daily management of a household, the intimate conversations that forge and maintain relationships, the site for the negotiation of values and beliefs.
>
> Kendall (2007b:3)

As a domain, family discourse has attracted the attention of a number of researchers who have conducted studies that are usually based on data collected in the form of audio- or video-recorded transcribed interactions occurring in the family setting. In turn, these data are analysed systematically drawing on a variety of theories and employing a range of discourse analysis methods which have included CA, IS, the ethnography of communication, and pragmatics. Reflecting on the importance of studying family discourse, Gordon (2012) argues that this not only provides insights into how everyday family life is created through discourse but also sheds light on human interaction using language in general. Gordon (2012:1) adds that:

> [S]cholars in this area analyse the form conversation takes as well as its functions, which means that they consider not only what is said when family members talk

to one another, but also how it is said, by and to whom, at what moment, for what purposes, and with what outcomes.

In her work, Tannen emphasised that every family can be said to constitute "a small community of speech, an organic unit that shapes and maintains itself linguistically" (2001, p.xvii). Thus, family discourse research is interested not only in the construction of identity at the level of the individual but also focuses on the creation of the shared identity of the family as group (Gordon, 2012). Research on family discourse carried out by Blum-Kulka (1997) and Tulviste et al. (2002) has also examined how cultural identity is constructed, negotiated and reinforced within the familial context.

Moreover, as this review of work in this field will illustrate, the study of family discourse has contributed to our understanding of different concepts in DA such as positioning (see section 3.4.5), framing (see section 3.4.4) and repetition, and processes such as pragmatic socialization, belief and value socialization, relationship negotiation and construction of gendered identity. This review also studies some of the ways in which family relationships and identities are created and negotiated by means of a range of social, cultural and linguistic processes which include story-telling, arguments, apologies and requests. The following sections discuss some of the key themes in family discourse research that relate to the social processes that have been found to take place within the family setting and the connections that have been established between them.

2.2.1 Language socialization within family discourse

The notion of language socialization, as it relates to the study of social and linguistic competence within social groups, draws on different sociological, anthropological, and psychological approaches. According to Ochs (1986), language socialization is "an interactional display (covert or overt) to a novice of expected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting" (Ochs, 1986, p.2). This definition draws attention to two distinct but interrelated ideas, namely, those of socialization *through* language and socialization *to use* language (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2001). Over a decade later, Blum-Kulka coined a new term "pragmatic socialisation" (1997, p.3) which she used to refer to "the ways in which children are socialized to use language in context in socially and culturally appropriate ways", and she further noted that this is influenced by "culturally complex rules for what is said and how it is said relative to goals, interactants, context and culture" (Blum-Kulka, 1997, p.13). Later, Gordon (2012) argued that within the family setting it is possible to identify linguistic patterns that indicate how familial discourse is used to

socialize children into broader culturally accepted practices of language use and that this socialisation through discourse can be observed to occur on a moment-by-moment basis during family conversations.

Tovares (2007) illustrated how within a family setting family members can make use of a combination of public and private texts to create unity. This process involved incorporating intertextual repetition of words and phrases borrowed from television programmes into their daily interaction, thus establishing a link between public and private texts. Family members then added their own voices to these public texts for the purposes of achieving various goals which included educating children, expressing a range of personal feelings, and discussing values and attitudes. Moore (2011, p.221) investigated the role of language play and of different repetition strategies, such as revoicing, prompting, and guided repetition, in socialisation and concluded that "repetition in care-givers' speech to and for children gives us insights into the culture because such speech highlights (implicitly or explicitly) identities, acts, texts, stances, and/or relationships that are valued in the community".

In their study, Tulviste et al. (2002) compared what they refer to as "regulatory comments" in Estonian, Swedish, and Finnish, and found that discourse in the Swedish family was more symmetrical than in the other two groups, meaning that Swedish adolescents commented more on the behaviour of other family members than was the case for their Finnish and Estonian counterparts. An earlier study by Ochs and Taylor (1995) had reported that there was a lack of symmetry in the discourse of American families since parents tend to comment on or problematize the behaviour of their offspring while children were found to rarely engage in this type of discourse.

With regard to the socialisation of attitudes and beliefs, Gordon (2012) cited the study by Ochs et al. (1996) that compared how children learn food preferences and attitudes by means of familial discourse in white American and Italian families. Gordon (2012) summarises the conclusions of their study thus:

> [W]hile across both groups food is depicted as nutrition, a reward, pleasure, and a material good, in American families low priority was given to food as pleasure, while Italians saw food primarily as pleasure. In addition, whereas American families made distinctions between children's food and adults' food, Italian families emphasized the development of individual food preferences (p.4).

Other studies (such as those by Gordon, 2007b; LeVine, 2007; Tovares, 2007) have chosen to explore the kinds of discourse strategies that can be employed to negotiate and reinforce family values and beliefs. Gordon (2007b) examined how a family's shared political identity is co-constructed simultaneously in interaction by using a number of linguistic devices. These include terms of reference, repetition, narratives and laughter. She found that the alignments and stances (see section 3.4.5) created by these linguistic devices are used to help to forge both individual and group identities, observing that: "in collaboratively constructing the shared family identity, family members simultaneously—and necessarily— socialize one another and themselves into it by employing linguistic practices that accomplish 'cultural reproduction'". Her analysis also provided evidence of the ways in which family identity could be reaffirmed and publically displayed by means of conversations with participants from outside the family.

LeVine (2007) analysed how discourse between a father and a son talking about the people who live in their neighbourhood can serve as a means of creating, sharing and confirming family values. LeVine concluded that "talk about place reflects an impulse for orientation: the desire to situate oneself within a physical and social landscape" (p.278) adding that "Places take on significance and bear lasting traces of the talk that goes on within them and about them and are also a resource for talk, providing the medium through which interlocutors share perceptions" (ibid.).

In another study, Blum-Kulka (1997) compared how meal-time discourse among three families from Jewish-American, American-Israeli and Israeli backgrounds respectively is used as a way of teaching children how to use language in socially and culturally approved ways, achieving pragmatic socialization that is compatible with their particular cultural ideologies and norms. This includes learning how to respond to interlocutors, raise a new topic in a conversation, tell stories, or understand how conversational turns work (Blum-Kulka, 1997). The study also demonstrated that cultural differences may take the form of patterns of rituals that are found in some communities but not others. Thus, for example, the "telling your day" ritual was found in both the Jewish-American and American-Israeli families but not in the Israeli one. Differences were also apparent in the ways in which narratives are told within the family setting. Thus, in the Israeli family different individuals were given the opportunity for active participation in story-telling whereas in their American counterparts the focus tended to be on children as narrators.

In a recent study, Said and Zhu (2017) examined the creative use of multiple and developing language choices among children in multilingual and transnational families in the UK. They concluded that children are aware of the language preferences of their father and mother respectively and are able to manipulate this knowledge in order to achieve different interactional goals with their parents.

The findings from these studies allow us to conclude that socialisation, whether linguistic or pragmatic, plays an important role in family interaction. There is evidence that this can be achieved through a range of discourse strategies which include different types of repetition, comments and narratives. Socialisation also plays an important role in creating different types of identities and helping children to acquire what is seen as the desired social or cultural behaviour. This research has also revealed that socialisation within family discourse takes varying forms among families depending on their cultural backgrounds. The concept of language socialisation will manifest itself repeatedly throughout the analysis of the data in this research since numerous examples showing how the adult participants are socialised into incorporating the topic of religion and religious language in their family discourse and how they in turn socialise their own children into the same religious practices and language and shaping the religious identity of their families accordingly are provided.

2.2.2 Relationship management and negotiation

As previously noted, family discourse studies view the family as an ideal site for examining the creation, recreation and negotiation of interactional relationships including those between couples, and parents and children. Relationship management is usually achieved through a number of interaction strategies such as power, framing and positioning. Each of these concepts and its respective relevance to this research is briefly considered in the following sections. However, all of these are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three (see sections 3.4.3, 3.4.4 and 3.4.5 respectively).

2.2.2.1 Power

The concept of power is viewed as central to the negotiation of relationships in linguistics. One of the classic definitions of power is that proposed by Weber (1947:152) who states that "Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests". This understanding of power is reflected in the way in which the

discipline of linguistics has studied the role that this concept plays in language use. According to Brown and Gilman (1960, p.255) "one person may be said to have power over another in the degree that he is able to control the behaviour of the other." Arguing along similar lines, Fowler (1985, p.61) later defined power as "the ability of people and institutions to control the behaviour and material life of others". All three of these definitions emphasise that power is concerned with how people's actions and beliefs are influenced by other agents who have the ability to exert power over them due to their access to resources. In this context, resources can refer to social position, power attributed by others, age, expert knowledge, possession of information, economic resources, and a host of others. Giddens (1981) made an important observation in relation to how we think about power, noting that it should not simply be thought of as an "inherent component" of social interaction but rather that it has a dynamic quality that allows it to be created, recreated and negotiated in social interaction.

In the mid-1970s, in their work *Power in the Familial Context*, Cromwell and Olson (1975) proposed a model in which power is seen as a generic construct composed of three distinct but interrelated domains. The first of these they labelled the power base and this referred to an individual's potential to affect social outcomes. This capacity is seen to be primarily dependent on the resources that any individual is able to bring to any specific context of social interaction. The second element in their model is the power process, and the authors stress the importance of the dynamics of power within any interaction, arguing at the same time that attempts to exert control over an individual may be accepted or resisted by him/her. Finally, the third component in the model relates to power outcomes, and focuses on the actual result of the interaction. They further argued that all three of these domains should be seen as being closely interconnected. Thus, an individual's assumed level of influence will affect the process of social interaction. This process, in turn, will impact on the outcome of this interaction. Moreover, an individual's on-going record of success or failure in achieving desired outcomes will also have a tendency to determine his/her potential to influence.

Another model of power was proposed by Linell and Luckmann (1991) who distinguished two different types of asymmetry in social interaction which they refer to as exogenous and endogenous. They also consider these two elements to be distinct but mutually dependent. As the adjective suggests, exogenous asymmetry arises from factors that are external to the interaction itself. These are the pre-existing social or structural conditions that can be said to influence an individual's social power and which also

impose particular constraints on interaction. However, these asymmetries in power can also be described as endogenous, in the sense that they can be the product of the dialogue itself. In this case, an asymmetrical relationship is created by the dialogue participants themselves, in and through the dynamics of their discursive interaction.

These models of power show that in order to understand fully the interactive dynamics of power in discourse, it is essential to pay attention to a range of contextual factors. These include the personal and socio-cultural background of discourse participants and the nature of their social roles together with any rights and obligations that these may entail. In addition, it is also necessary to have detailed information not only about the ongoing interaction between the individuals who are involved in a specific interaction but also to know about the outcomes of previous interactions in which they have been involved. Crucially, then, this points to the fact that in discourse analysis, power must be viewed as essentially a joint accomplishment, since it is effectively the result of dynamic interaction between participants. Furthermore, the balance of power is not only achieved and maintained both in and through discursive interaction, but there is also the potential for this to be transformed by the same means. Individuals have the ability to influence each other and to shape social outcomes by utilising any of the resources to which they have access, whether these are seen as intrinsic or extrinsic to the interaction itself. The (re)construction and negotiation of power relationships is most clearly manifested during those interactions that involve an element of conflict, at those moments when there is an overt clash between participants due to attempts at control by one being met with resistance by another.

The earliest study of power relations within familial discourse is that of Watts (1991) who analysed the ways in which power can be claimed, distributed, and contested within family interaction. Gorden (2012) notes that shortly afterwards this was followed by work by Varenne and Hill (1992) that focused on the issue of parent-offspring power struggles. However, it was not until nearly a decade later when Tannen (2003, 2007a) argued that is was time to revisit the study of power relations in family discourse, suggesting that it was useful to see these as instances of connection or solidarity. She later argued (2014) that although discursive interaction within the family context can be viewed as a struggle for power (control), this is not the only way it should be understood. She observed that discursive interaction "is also—and equally—a struggle for connection. Indeed, the family is a prime example—perhaps *the* prime example—of the nexus of power and connection in human relationships" (ibid., p.492).

Tannen (2003, 2007a) proposed that rather than solely focusing on power, studies of family discourse also needed to take into consideration the dimensions of intimacy and connection. Consequently, she devised a model underpinned by the idea that the relationship between power (or hierarchy) and solidarity (or connection) is better represented as a multidimensional grid consisting of two intersecting axes. The vertical axis in this grid (power) represents hierarchy versus equality while the horizontal one (connection) represents closeness versus distance. In Tannen's (2007a) study, she compares discursive interaction in American and Japanese cultures by mapping her findings onto this grid and looking at relationships in both the business and the family context. She concluded that while business relationships in America tend to emphasise hierarchy and distance, family relationships, such as those between siblings, focus instead on equality and closeness. In Japan, on the other hand, relationships within the family setting tend to be extremely hierarchical but also close, whereas business relationships are more egalitarian but also remain respectful by maintaining distance between individuals.

Tannen (2001) contends that within the family setting two types of discursive frames are usually employed. In the egalitarian "socialization frame" all the members of the family are considered to be on equal footing (see section 3.4.4) and enjoy one another's company, and connection is emphasised. However, in the case of the hierarchical "care-taking frame", control is seen to be exercised, with parents adopting the twin attitudes of both caring for their offspring and also instructing them. Discursive interaction within the family exposes the workings of this intricate and subtle relationship and provides insights into the continual negotiation between power manoeuvres (hierarchy versus solidarity) and connection manoeuvres (closeness versus distance). In her later book entitled *Family Talk* (2007), Tannen analysed three extended pieces of interaction that took place among members of two families, using this to show how the utterances of speakers reflect these complex and subtle negotiations involving power and connection. In her contribution to *Family Talk*, Marinova (2007) focused on the multiple dimensions (closeness versus distance, similarity versus difference) that she found reflected in narrative discourse between sisters (2008). In her contribution to the same book, Marinova (2007) used Tannen's model as a means of exploring the challenges that a parent (in this case the father) experiences as he attempts to balance the dimensions of connection and control as his children grow older.

Kendall's (2006) study examined how alignments (see section 3.4.5) can shift moment

by moment within family communication. Analysing a scenario in which one parent arrives home from work while the other has been at home caring for the child, she concludes that alignments can be manipulated by parents for the purposes of (re)establishing harmony within the family. Gordon (2009) also focused on alignments in family discourse, examining the role played by repetition and intertextuality in attempts by family members to negotiate solidarity, in the context of criticism, teasing, and play.

This research will draw on Tannen's body of work using her concepts of power manoeuvres and connection manoeuvres to analyse the significance of the role which both of these play specifically in the construction of religious identity in family discourse (see section 3.4.3 for a further discussion of power).

2.2.2.2 Framing

The concept of framing has also been used in a number of studies relating to family discourse. Framing was originally introduced by Bateson (1972) who argued that any communicative move, whether verbal or non-verbal, is dependent upon participants understanding the meta-message of what is happening in that move. Working within the field of sociology, Goffman (1974, 1981, 1997) later developed this concept further, describing framing as the answer to the question: "What is going on in the interactional situation?" Goffman suggested that the 'frame' of an activity can be thought of as the organizational structure within which participants fit their actions and he proposed that 'frame analysis' could be used to offer a means of understanding this "organization of experience" (1997, p.155). He also described how everyday activities could be organized into differently framed episodes that are the result of quickly changing frames during interaction. Goffman analysed verbal interaction with the aim of illustrating how spoken language is influenced by various social presuppositions that govern "who can say what to whom, in what circumstances, with what preamble, in what surface form" (1997, p.189) (see section 3.4.4 for a further discussion of framing).

Moreover, Goffman (1974) argued that linguistics offered the means of accounting for the variety of ways in which everyday interactions are framed in multiple layers, on the grounds that this discipline "provides us with the cues and markers through which such footings become manifest, helping us to find our way to a structural basis for analysing them" (p.157). In 1974, Goffman developed the levels and types of framing that constitute everyday interaction and then later linked these ideas to the concept of footings (1981) as

a means of detecting shifts in the multiple layers of framing that exist in everyday life (see section 3.4.4).

Tannen (1993) argued that Goffman's concepts underpinned one of the most comprehensive and coherent theoretical paradigms in Interactional Sociolinguistics, namely, Gumperz's (1982) theory of conversational inference. According to Tannen (1993, p.4):

> Gumperz shows that conversational inference, a process requisite for conversational involvement, is made possible by contextualization cues that signal the speech activity in which participants perceive themselves to be engaged. Gumperz's notion of speech activity is thus a type of frame.

Tannen (1993) demonstrated how the term 'frame' is related to concepts such as 'script' and 'schema' and argued that frames could be seen as one of the structures of expectation associated with situations, people, objects and so on. She coined the term "interactive frame" in order to refer to people's understanding of what they think they are doing when they talk to each other.

Tannen conducted a study that was intended to explore how interactive frames relate to speaker expectations. A small group of women were asked to watch a film and then describe what they had seen in the film. When Tannen analysed their discourse, she was able to classify the speakers' expectations about the content of the film into a number of categories. She found that the ways in which the two participants described the film revealed their own general expectations about the nature of films (for example, since they expected the characters in the film to speak, both mentioned the lack of dialogue). Moreover, their discourse also suggested that they had expectations about what the listener would expect from their account of the film, and consequently they included phrases that reflected their judgments on the actions of the film's protagonists.

A framing approach together with related concepts such as footing and alignment has been used in several studies of family discourse and further details about footing and alignment can be found in sections 3.4.4 and 3.4.5 of this thesis. Blum-Kulka (1997) examined frames within frames in family talk over dinner. She posited that within this familial setting topics of discussion function as local frames within macro-level thematic frames, each of which has its own specific topic, roles and procedural rules. Three major thematic frames emerged from the analysis that she conducted. The first frame covered situational concerns emerging in family talk over dinner which included context-based

interactions, such as asking for more food. The second related to the immediate familial concerns, typically comprising family news or accounts of what had happened to participants over the course of the day. Thirdly there was the non-immediate frame containing such items as stories about the past, or references to the weather. Within these thematic frames, Blum-Kulka's analysis revealed differences that appeared to depend on the cultural background of the participants. Some participants were allowed to talk more than others; participants employed different discourse genres, and expectations concerning the level of politeness required also varied. According to Blum-Kulka all these reasons pointed to the existence of local frames within the macro frames.

Gordon's (2002) study examined the interaction between a mother (referred to as Janet) and her two-year-old daughter (referred to as Natalie) which took place during role-play situations, and used analysis to identify embedded frames within this. In the parent-child interaction, Natalie initiates the role-playing with her mother, an activity which involves repeating earlier conversations that the pair have had together but this time with the original roles reversed. This interaction begins with Natalie announcing to Janet that she is going to play 'Mommy' while her mother is going to take the role of the daughter. Gordon (2002) found that the frames of the interaction in this case were embedded within meta-messages conveyed by both the mother's and daughter's utterances and that these were situated "both inside and outside the play frames themselves" (p.689). Gordon's findings illustrated that the relationship between frames in discursive interaction is a complex one and can be simultaneous, overlapping, shifting and multilayered.

Tannen's *Family Talk* (2007) includes several chapters which demonstrate how particular linguistic resources can be used to achieve different framing shifts for the purposes of negotiating a shared family identity. In the chapter entitled "Talking the Dog", Tannen presented an analysis of several examples of family members talking as, to, or about the family pet and demonstrated how this form of discourse can be employed to create constant shifts in framing and footing. In the same volume, Marinova (2007) combines framing together with the concepts of power and solidarity to analyse how a parent (in this case, the father) constructs his identity as a parent in interaction with his adult daughter's discourse (see section 3.4.3 for a discussion of power manoeuvres).

Gordon (2007a, p.76) notes that the "creation of alignments and stances has been linked to the linguistic construction of socio-culturally meaningful identities of all types, including both gender and parental identities". Her analysis of the interaction between a

mother and her babysitter explores how the creation of alignments can be used to construct a maternal identity. The interaction that she focused on takes the form of the mother making requests to the babysitter for details about her young daughter's day while also providing details about her child's life. According to Gordon, this display of interest in details can be used to construct involvement (see section 3.4.2) or intimacy within the interaction. She argues that "taking up the stance as an interlocutor interested in the details of children's lives is related to the identity of 'mother'" (ibid., p.97). This maternal identity can be also constructed by invoking what Ochs and Taylor (1995) referred to as the 'parental panopticon'. They coined this term to refer to parents' right to monitor and judge the behaviour of their children, by giving assessments of both the child's behaviour and that of the care-giver.

The analysis chapters in this research (Chapters Four, Five and Six) will demonstrate how the concept of frames can be used to understand how participants construct their own religious identity and also in their roles as parents, grandparents and siblings socialise other family members into constructing the religious identity of the family as a unit as well.

2.2.2.3 Positioning

Davies and Harré (1990, p.48) describe positioning as "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines". They argue furthermore that "an individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate" (1990, p.46). Davies and Harré identify two different categories of positioning on the basis of how individuals both locate themselves and are located within a conversation. Thus, positioning can be labelled as interactive when "what one person says positions another" participant in the interaction while in the case of reflexive positioning "one positions oneself" (1990, p.46). However, the authors make it clear that this process of positioning is not necessarily an intentional choice.

Drawing on Davies and Harré's (1999) understanding of positioning, Kendall (2007a, p.125) refers to how participants in discursive interaction can be seen to "take up, resist, and assign positions" and argues that this also involves how they choose to locate themselves and other participants in terms of "values or characteristics" (ibid.).

Positioning can also be a feature of interactions that occur among "types of people in social category formations" (p.125) and it can be reflected in different forms of discourse including "ways of speaking and behaviour that occur at the disciplinary, the political, the cultural and the small group level" (p.125). Finally, Kendall notes that positioning can also "develop around a specific topic, such as gender or class" (p.125). Like Davies and Harré (1990), Kendall (2007a, p.125) highlights the fact that positioning is also intrinsically linked to the creation of identities in the sense that "speakers create identities by selecting from a range of discourses that have developed around a sphere of social practice".

She also points to the fact that because discourse is "ideologically invested" (Kendall (2007a, p.126) individuals may sometimes experience what Billig et al. (1988) referred to as "ideological dilemmas", in other words, tensions created by conflicting cultural ideals or perspectives. Dilemmas of this kind in discourse may lead to "transformations in the identities of individuals over time" (ibid., p.126).

Kendall links this idea to Tappan's (2000) argument about the development of moral identity or to what Bakhtin (1981) had referred to as 'ideological becoming'. According to Tappan (2000, p.101), when an individual encounters "externally authoritative" discourses when engaging in dialogue with others and/or when reading texts, these discourses can become "internally persuasive". The development of identity can thus be viewed as a series of recurring shifts as individuals choose to reject and/or reconcile conflicting discourses.

Kendall (2007a, p.127) argues that although Davies and Harré (1990) presented positioning theory as an alternative to Goffman's concept of framing, in reality their concept of the 'story line' has the same characteristics as a frame, since it refers to an individual's cognitive understanding of what is taking place. In Kendall's opinion, Davies and Harré use the concepts of 'story line' and 'narrative' as metaphors which serve "to relate the individual's discursively constructed self within a current interaction to other selves they have created over time" (ibid., p.127). As a result, the notion of story line can said to have two conceptual meanings: "the participant's understanding of what is taking place in an interaction and the ongoing discursive construction of identity" (p.127). For these reasons, Kendall suggests that positioning theory on its own is insufficient to "account for the complex dynamics of interaction" (p.127). However, "a framing

approach benefits from positioning theory based on the elaboration of social indexicals (e.g., social category formations)" (p.127).

The concept of positioning in family discourse underpinned Dedaic's (2001) analysis of conversations over family dinner between a father, a stepmother and their teenage daughter and was used to provide insights into the use of discursive strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Findings showed that the stepmother's identity was defined by positioning undertaken through her stepdaughter's discourse.

Kendall's (2007a) study of interaction between husbands and wives in dual-income families (i.e. where both have jobs outside the home) highlighted the complexities of positioning in interaction. Her analysis revealed how individuals negotiate their social identities though discourses that have ideological implications. Kendall (2007a, p.154) concludes:

> The women position themselves and their husbands in non-traditional roles: they [the wives] position themselves as workers, and they position their husbands as care-givers. However, both women attach different meanings to their own and their husband's employment. Although they actively display work identities, they construct these identities in ways consistent with an ideology of 'intensive mothering' by positioning their husbands, but not themselves, as breadwinners.

Johnston (2007) also investigated a dual-income couple but focused on parental gate-keeping, analysing how the husband and wife who participated in the study positioned the female as the gate-keeper or primary decision maker in issues relating to caring for their child while the male was positioned as the financial gatekeeper and decision maker for financially related issues.

Tannen, Kendall and Gordon (2007) explored how one individual constitutes himself as a "working father" through his use of discourse about his family in the workplace. The study identified three patterns that shaped the conversations in the study, all of which revolved around how talk about family can be used as a way of socializing with others. The study also showed how the domains of work and family life can intersect. In addition, analysis revealed that when the man participating in the study talked about his family at work, he created a parental identity in which he positioned himself as an "equal member of a parenting team, a parenting expert, and at times even the more competent member of this team" (ibid., p.226).

In the analysis chapters in this thesis, the concept of positioning will be used to examine how participants can position themselves in family discourse in ways that help them to assume different religious roles and/or in other ways that contribute to the construction of their religious identities (see section 3.4.5 for further discussion on the concept of positioning).

2.2.2.4 Narratives

Commenting on the significance of the role that narratives play in the construction of identity, Miller et al. (2011: 192) observe that they

> do far more than depict the past; they have the power to perform identities. With the perspective of narrative as communicative practice, one can see self and social identity as emergent in interaction, rather than as an internal psychological essence or substratum. Storytelling is multifunctional, involving complex relations between the referential and the pragmatic, or talk that 'describes' there-and-then events and talk that performs actions in the 'here and now.'

The study of narratives as a form of discourse is a vast academic field where the definition of what constitutes a narrative is often challenging. Gordon (2015, p.311) notes the different meanings of narratives since "the term is used to refer to the process of storytelling, the stories produced, and the abstract cognitive schemata that shape such stories".

The study of narratives can be traced back to Labov (1972) who emphasised the importance of the reportability of narratives and developed a structural organization of narratives, proposing that these consisted of abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. However, Labov's understanding of narratives could be said to be more applicable to the study of narratives *about* families; research on narrative that is conducted in the family context generally adopts a different approach (Gordon, 2015). This is illustrated by the results of Blum-Kulka's (1993, 1997) study that showed that the highly interactive nature of narratives adopted by families participating in her studies, particularly those of the Israeli families, went beyond the Labovian notion of narrative. She argued that this discourse highlighted the role of the narrative event and pointed to the need to consider other important factors in the study of narratives in addition to what is said. According to her, other important considerations include how something is said, who says it and to whom, who responds and how, and so on. Gordon (2015) argued that the kind of narratives that arise in and constitute daily familial

discourse can be usefully compared to what has become known as the small stories paradigm (Bamberg, 2004, Georgakopoulou, 2007), which includes narratives that are "highly collaborative, minimally developed, oriented to the future, in reference to habitual events, or even merely alluded to" (Gordon, 2015, p.312).

One of the findings to emerge from Blum-Kulka's (1997) cross-cultural study of family discourse over dinner was that in this setting narratives serve the function of accomplishing socialisation, and she noted the extent to which parents use these occasions to acculturate their children into culturally acceptable patterns of story-telling. Blum-Kulka also found that narratives could serve as a means of accomplishing sociability as families attempt to negotiate relationships to balance issues of power and solidarity. The setting of the family dinner as a speech event and, in particular, the narratives which are told at this time are intended to act as a means of enhancing family solidarity. Thus, one participant in Blum-Kulka's study (1997) explicitly commented on the fact that engaging in dinner-table talk served to "strengthen the sense of family" (1997, p.144).

Prior to Blum-Kulka's work, Erickson (1990) had also studied dinner-table talk within an Italian-American family in order to explore the organization of coherence strategies in discursive interaction. The results from Erickson's analysis suggested that the family's hierarchical structure, the identities of its individual members (in this case, father, son, and daughter) and their roles and relationships within the family were made manifest in the patterns of storytelling and reception during interaction. Thus, to cite one example, one of the storytelling episodes in Erickson's data focused on biking accidents. Re-creating and displaying the family hierarchy, the longest, most serious, solo narrative was found to be that of the father. The two oldest male siblings in the family then collaboratively told a story that was shorter and had a lighter tone. However, when the youngest daughter made an attempt to participate in the discourse, her story was ignored completely by the other members of the family.

Further study of narratives in the family setting was carried out by Georgakopoulou (2002) who analyzed stories involving children as (co-)tellers, addressees, or story characters with the aim of demonstrating how children are socialized into cultural norms of narrative according to their tellability and also into the norms of self-presentation. She observed that narratives are used as a means of teaching children the types of stories that are considered to be worth sharing while simultaneously conveying messages to them about culturally approved family roles. These findings suggest that narrative work within

the family contributes to the formulation of children's thinking and reasoning processes. Thus, it can be usefully compared with the work of Ochs and Taylor (1992) who previously found that dinnertime narratives can be used to teach children how to solve problems and engage in the kind of critical thinking skills that they are likely to encounter in formal schooling, since this requires them to critically consider and reinterpret narrative facts and ideas that are presented to them. Along similar lines, Blum-Kulka (2000) demonstrated that 'gossipy' narratives about a child's teacher could help to create family ethics. Gordon (2007b) drew attention to how a child's story about a US Republican presidential candidate was repeatedly retold by the mother in order to socialize younger members of the family into their shared Democratic political affiliation and to create solidarity concerning this position among them all.

More recently, research has also shown how children can be socialized into ideologies concerning future work and practices in the workplace by means of narratives. Paugh (2012) investigated future-oriented work narratives in a sample of 16 middle-class dual-earner families in Los Angeles, California. The findings of the study emphasised the importance of investigating narratives referring to past events and future experiences as a means of uncovering the role of discourse in negotiation and socialization of professional expectations.

Drawing on the studies mentioned above, this research analyses the ways in which the participants in this Saudi-based study make use of narratives to construct their own religious identity and also how they employ these as a means of fulfilling the functions of both socialisation and sociability. Moreover, close attention is also paid to understanding how the negotiation of narratives can be used to influence the thinking and reasoning of the participants in family interaction (see section 3.4.6 for a further discussion of narrative.

2.2.2.5 Group vs. individual identities in family discourse

It is important to distinguish between the role that an individual plays within the family setting and his or her identity as an individual. Discourse research originally displayed a tendency to focus predominantly on individual family roles and identities. However, considerable attention was also given to the study of the identity construction of the family as a group. For the most part, researchers have tended to concentrate for the most part on three main roles or identities within the family setting, namely, mothers, fathers,

and children. Clearly, within each of these designated categories, the individuals within a family may play more than one role and have more than one identity simultaneously; thus, a wife may also be a mother, and a husband a father, while a child may also be a sister or brother to one or more siblings. In addition, researchers have shown increasing interest in understanding how interaction between and among family members serves to create a family identity or display this to others.

2.2.2.5.1 Family identity within family discourse

Family members can be said to co-construct their own particular concept of how the family should behave in the privacy of the domestic sphere. They also jointly determine the image that they wish to portray as a family to others in public. This 'family identity' is often based on particular ideas about morality and on the societal norms regarding the types of responsibilities families have within society at large.

Research suggests that families can create their own family identity through discourse in multiple ways. According to Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik (2007), one of the universally accepted functions of the family is "to raise children to think and feel in ways that resonate with notions of morality that relate to social situations, specifically to expected and preferred modes of participation in these situations" (p.5). One of the ways in which the members of a family unit collaboratively construct their image is by sharing ideas about their understanding of the concept of morality. It can be argued that, in its simplest form, the construction of morality consists of understanding what it means to be 'good'. However, this also covers a broad spectrum of learning that relates to children's affective and cognitive development, and ranges from building healthy relationships with others to cultivating openness to new ideas (Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik, 2007).

Discourse can also collaboratively reflect and create a family's political identity as Gordon (2007b) showed. In her data, she identified a variety of discursive strategies used by the parents to socialize their four-year old son into their political beliefs. Gordon found that in addition to explicitly labelling themselves as Democrats, during interactions with their son the parents also made clear distinctions between their preferred candidate, Gore (referring to him as "our guy" and "the guy we like") and Bush (who was labelled as someone "Daddy doesn't like"). Both parents also used negative evaluation, repeatedly discussing the fact that Bush had been arrested for drink-driving, and applying negative terms to Bush and to his associates. Gordon demonstrated how these parents socialized

their son into becoming a Democrat, by creating a shared political identity within the family, one that was intended to transcend the individual identities of mother, father and son.

Franceschelli and O'Brien (2014) drew on the Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital to develop what they referred to as 'Islamic capital'. In their study, they conducted 52 semi-structured interviews with 15 individuals from South Asian Muslim communities in the UK for the purposes of examining how parents pass on values to their children and concluded that parents often mobilise Islamic teachings in an attempt to transmit a sense of morality, support children's education and reinforce family ties. In this case, the family value system was based on these Islamic teachings which were also viewed as way of making clear and controlling any kinds of behaviour perceived as un-Islamic practices.

After analysing dinner narrative events in several Italian families, Sterponi (2003) concluded that these families made use of a strategy of accountability in order to help construct a sense of morality in their younger members. In this context, Sterponi defined accountability as the requirement for an interactant to provide an explanation for any actions that were considered unusual or unexpected by participants. Usually this was seen to involve parents teaching children to take responsibility by requiring them to offer explanations or justifications for this type of action (p.80). Children were asked by parents reflect on their behaviour in front of other family members over dinner, facing questions such as "How come you scratched Ivan today?" (p.84) or "Why are you pulling such a long face now?" (p.85), and were expected to account for their actions.

The role played by alignment and teams in constructing family identity has also merited the attention of researchers. In a study that examined interaction within her own stepfamily, Gordon found that family members can form different alignments and teams by cooperating and joining together with other allies, on the basis of their shared knowledge of a particular topic. Gordon (2003) created the term 'supportive alignment' to refer specifically to a type of alignment "in which one participant ratifies and supports another's turns at talk and what he or she has to say, creating ties of cooperation, collaboration, and agreement" (p.397). She discusses examples of how these alignments and teams within the family setting can shift depending on an individual's knowledge of the topical frame, or on the basis of the role they were playing within the interaction.

Coates (2003) also illustrated how alignment can take place along gender lines within

family discourse and can be used as a strategy to challenge the traditional dominant male role of the family patriarch. In the example she analysed, the father attempted to tell a story but the flow of his narrative was frequently interrupted by teasing comments from the mother and daughter who align themselves "in a way that gently undermines [his] authority" (p.168) (see section 3.4.5 for further details on alignments).

2.2.2.5.2 Mothers, identity and family discourse

There are a number of studies that were concerned with examining the construction of the identity of mothers in family discourse. For example, Ochs (1992) found cultural differences between mother-child discursive interaction and how mothers constructed their role in Samoa and America. Samoan mothers were found to prefer to maintain a strict power hierarchy in their relationship with their children. White middle-class American mothers, on the other hand, made concerted efforts to reduce the hierarchical distance between themselves and their offspring. Ochs concluded that Samoan women accorded more importance to their role as mothers while the American women participating in the study displayed a tendency to minimize their role as mothers, even to the extent of becoming 'invisible' in discourse (see section 3.4.3 for a further discussion of power).

Schiffrin (2002) examined mother-daughter identities in a study based on an interview with a female Holocaust survivor (referred to as Ilse), who discussed her relationship with her own mother, looking back over 70 years. Identifying as a daughter and reflecting on her mother's decision to abandon her during the Second World War, Ilse's discourse is one in which she expresses negative feelings of blame towards her mother but ultimately absolves her for acting in this way. When reflecting on her own identity as a mother, Ilse was unable to understand her mother's actions from this stance. Ilse's critical stance towards her mother is underpinned by the expectation that the role of the mother is to remain with her children and protect them, rather than abandoning them.

Tannen (2014) argues that, within the family setting, studies of the role of the mother such as that by Ervin-Tripp et al. (1984) clearly illustrate the power versus connection (solidarity) dilemma (see section 3.4.3) that women may experience, when they struggle to create closeness among family members. Their study concluded that mothers were often expected to comply with the wishes of their offspring when performing their role as care-giver, and Tannen debates whether these results suggest that children have less

respect for their mothers, or that they may feel closer to them, or possibly both these things at once (Tannen 2014).

Kendall (2007a) observed that when the study of gender in linguistics emerged in the mid-1970s (with Lakoff in 1973), the women's movement was focused on the need for women to have the right to take on roles that were not limited to being wives and mothers. Thus, work on gendered discourse tended to be oriented towards interaction in the workplace, such as the studies conducted by Ainsworth-Vaughn (1998), Kendall (2004) and Tannen (1994) to name but a few. As a result, for many years, gender in family discourse was not included in work on institutional language, even though sociologists, anthropologists and feminists themselves considered the family to be a key social institution, and in particular there was a dearth of substantial studies dealing with the construction of the identity of the mother (Kendall, 2007a).

2.2.2.5.3 Fathers, identity and family discourse

A very limited number of discourse analysis studies have focused on the role and identity of fathers in the family context. One of the few discourse analysis studies examining the construction of identity of the father was conducted by Marinova (2007). Her discussion of the construction of a father's identity was based on tape-recorded, naturally occurring conversations which took place among the members of one family, together with their interactions with non-family members. Marinova explored how a father constructed his identity within the family as a parent and care-giver while his daughter was making preparations to spend a semester studying abroad. Marinova argued that his adoption of a concerned parent stance was reflected in three distinct forms of his discursive interaction with his daughter. These were (1) giving her directives, (2) providing warnings and reasons, and (3) asking her for information and giving her advice (p.107). Marinova also found that in addition, he also expressed these concerns about his daughter during his discussions with others within the family.

Although Goodwin's (2007) study was not intended to focus specifically on the identity of the father, it did nonetheless provide some useful insights into how a father can position himself when interacting with his children as a teacher of critical thinking, constructing himself as both a possessor and giver of knowledge. During discussions with his young children on their daily walks which take place after he returns home from work, this father becomes the instigator of what Goodwin refers to as 'occasioned knowledge exploration',

encouraging his young offspring to engage in word play and verbal exploration.

2.2.2.5.4 Children, identity and family discourse

For many parents, family interaction is viewed as part of the process of socializing children. Participation in interaction helps children to understand the concept of politeness and to put this into practice by having to wait for their turn. Interaction also teaches children how to stay focused on topic during conversations, by making relevant contributions, and how to assert themselves (Blum-Kulka, 1994; Sterponi, 2003; O'Reilly, 2006).

Hierarchically, in most societies children rank below parents in terms of participation in most decision-making processes. Moreover, they can sometimes find themselves in marginalized roles in interaction among family members. Blum-Kulka's (1994) cross-cultural study of Israeli, American-Israeli, and Jewish-American family interaction over dinner demonstrated that the extent to which adults dominated talk at the dinner table or were willing to tolerate children's participation in conversation varied across cultures. Children in the American families were found to participate more in conversation than their Israeli counterparts. In general, she observed that power among family members appeared to be correlated with age since younger children contributed less to family conversation than their older siblings across all the cultures represented in the study. However, the amount of talk time that was allowed to younger versus older children did vary across the different cultures.

2.3 Conclusion

As this literature review has shown, one of the key assumptions underpinning identity research is that identity itself is understood to be fluid, unstable and fragmented. Identity research has also made various attempts to categorise identities into different types and processes. However, the study of religious identity as a category has long been overlooked by researchers. Furthermore, those few studies that have explored religious identity have concluded that religious tradition and religious group affiliations can play an important role in shaping the worldview, lifestyle, beliefs, practices, and actions of the individual. More recently, the study of Muslim identity has increasingly begun to attract attention especially in western societies.

After considering the topic of identity, this chapter then provided a review of work that

focused on family discourse since this is the context in which this study of Muslim identity is taking place. To date, research examining the topic of family discourse has shown that the familial setting is an important site for the construction and negotiation of different kinds of identities. In addition, family discourse also functions as a means of achieving the socialization of family members into what are deemed to be acceptable values and behaviours. It has also identified that in the setting of the family, relationships among members are negotiated and managed by means of different strategies which include power and connection manoeuvres, positioning, framing, and storytelling. There is also evidence from the study of family discourse that this can provide a context in which both individual as well as group identities are negotiated and constructed. This review has identified that a number of key themes that dominate family discourse studies are closely linked and these will be considered when analysing the data collected for the present study.

3 CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO THE METHODOLOGY AND DATA SELECTION AND ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

3.1 Introduction

After reviewing the relevant existing literature in Chapter Two, Chapter Three will focus on the theoretical basis of Interactional Sociolinguistics as an approach to discourse and will describe the methodological procedures used in this research. Combining these two elements within one chapter will help to clarify the connections between the theoretical framework underpinning this study and the methodological procedures employed here for data collection, transcription and analysis. This chapter, therefore, begins by discussing the theoretical basis of Interactional Sociolinguistics and then describes in detail the methodological procedures that were followed in this research.

3.2 Interactional Sociolinguistics as an Approach to Discourse

Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) is an interpretative approach to the study of language use in interaction which draws on the disciplines of linguistics, anthropology and sociology (Gordon, 2010). The foundation of IS and its central principles can be attributed to the work of two key individuals: Erving Goffman (1967) and John. J. Gumperz (1982; 2001). It also has links to Dell H. Hymes' (1962) work on the ethnography of speaking and communication.

The IS approach, which can be described as qualitative in nature, is based on "the search for replicable methods of qualitative analysis that account for our ability to interpret what participants intend to convey in everyday communicative practice" (Gumperz, 2001, p.215). The principal contribution of IS as an approach to discourse analysis is that it aims to account for speaking not only as a "process of encoding and decoding messages drawing exclusively on grammatical parameters and denotational meaning of lexical items" (Bijeikienė and Tamošiūnaitė, 2013, p.146), but also as "an ongoing process of negotiation, both to infer what others intend to convey and to monitor how one's own contributions are received" (Gumperz, 2001, p.218). Thus, IS provides a particularly useful methodological framework for analysing face-to-face interaction and for exploring a range of cultural, societal and linguistic phenomena (Schiffrin, 2006). These include accounting for linguistic and cultural diversity in daily interaction and investigating the

ways in which macrosocial factors and culturally shared knowledge play a role in shaping our communicative practices (Pan, 2013). This is accomplished by looking closely at how language operates and examining the social processes by which relationships among people are established and maintained, paying particular attention to how power relations are exercised, how identities are maintained and communities created (Schiffrin, 2006).

Along similar lines, Tannen (2005) argued that the theoretical basis of IS serves to demonstrate the extent to which "expectations and conventions regarding ways of signalling meaning are automatic and culturally relative" (p.205). Thus, IS is not limited solely to investigating how meaning is created in interaction but also considers how intercultural encounters can be influenced by various linguistic processes that may also result in outcomes such as social inequality and stereotyping.

One of the most important early contributions made by IS to the study of sociolinguistics was its introduction of the concepts of 'contextualization cues' and 'conversational inferencing'. According to Gumperz (1982, p. 131), "a contextualization cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presupposition" and includes "signalling mechanisms such as intonation, speech rhythm, the choice among lexical, phonetic, and syntactic options […] said to affect the expressive quality of a message but not its basic meaning" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 16). Conversational inference is "the situated or context-bound process of interpretation, by means of which participants in an exchange assess other's intentions, and on which they base their response" (Yang, 2009: 136).

Gumperz (1982) proposed these concepts in an attempt to account for the extent to which meaning, structure and language use are culturally relative. He also highlighted how social and cultural elements may influence both language and cognition, leading him to formulate a theory of meaning that could account for the ways in which grammar, culture and conversational conventions are used, his aim being to better understand how communication difficulties that may occur in interaction can result in misunderstandings, the creation of stereotypes and of inequality (Pan, 2013). The same points are emphasised by Schiffrin (2006) who argued that the IS approach can help to provide useful insights into why, even though individuals may share a common knowledge of grammar, there are still differences among them in terms of how they contextualise what is being said. This suggests that language has the ability to shape meaning and structure within interaction.

In order to achieve its objectives, IS makes use of a wide range of data collection and analysis tools and methods, mainly those that have an underlying ethnographic perspective. These include the observation of speakers in natural settings and participant observation of interaction, using audio and/or video recordings of conversations, making meticulous linguistic transcription of recorded dialogues, carrying out in-depth micro-analysis of different aspects of these recorded conversations and, occasionally, conducting interviews with participants after recording interactions (Gordon, 2010). Although the main focus of this approach is on the analysis of day-to-day conversations, it is also suitable for use in the study of other forms of interaction such as interviews, public lectures and classroom discourse (Tannen, 1992).

3.3 IS across Different Disciplines

It is important to note that one of the distinctive features of IS can be found in the fact that it offers an integrated approach to discourse analysis (Pan, 2013) as it is underpinned and influenced by several different academic disciplines. This section outlines the main theories that IS has drawn upon and that have contributed to its development as an approach to analysing discourse. This section also serves to illustrate the different fields of linguistic research from which some of the key analytical items used in this research originated.

3.3.1 Structural linguistics

Despite the major differences between structural linguistics and IS, Gumperz takes the credit for reviving the notion of speech communities that was originally proposed by the structuralist linguist Bloomfield ([1933]1984, p.42) whose influence had declined as a result of the influence of Chomskyan linguistics (Baquedano-López and Kattan, 2009). Bloomfield's original definition of a speech community as "a group of people who interact by means of speech" was refined by Gumperz, who suggested that the term should be used to refer to "the socially defined universe" (1968, p.381) through which linguistic phenomena should be analysed. According to Baquedano-López and Kattan (2009), this helped to remedy the shortcomings of Bloomfield's earlier postulation of the concept of the speech community, by acknowledging that speakers who share the same language are not necessarily members of the same speech community (Baquedano-López and Kattan, 2009, p.72).

Prevignano and di Luzio (2003, p.20) highlight the fact that Gumperz still believed in the usefulness of some of the fundamental notions espoused by structuralist linguists (namely, phonological and syntactic competence) together with their approach to speaking that viewed this as a partly subconscious process; however, at the same time he recognised their limitations. As a result, Gumperz was able to extend these structuralist notions for use in the analysis of social and cultural phenomena (Gordon, 2010).

3.3.2 Anthropology: the contributions of Hymes and Gumperz

Anthropology in general, and the ethnography of communication in particular, represents another academic field that had a major influence on the development of IS. According to Gordon (2010), it was Gumperz's collaboration with Hymes, who was working on the ethnography of communication at the time, which was partly responsible for prompting the former to direct his attention towards the use of anthropological techniques in his research. As Gumperz (2001, p.215) himself noted:

> Hymes's key insight was that instead of seeking to explain talk as directly reflecting the beliefs and values of communities, structuralist abstractions that are notoriously difficult to operationalize, it should be more fruitful to concentrate on situations of speaking or, to use Roman Jakobson's term, speech events.

The techniques adopted by Gumperz from the field of ethnography of communication require researchers to immerse themselves in the community they have chosen to study. This means that the study population must usually be observed over long periods of time in order to reach a better understanding of the ways in which its members make use of language (Gordon, 2010). According to Tannen (1992:9):

> The backbone of IS is the detailed transcription of audio- or video-taped interaction. Transcription systems vary, depending on conventions established in particular disciplines and the requirements of particular theoretical assumptions and methodological practices. However, most interactional sociolinguists attempt to represent intonational and prosodic contours in the transcription, since these are often crucial for analysis.

It can be argued that in this way, IS researchers are able to go beyond the analysis of the formal units in language found in structuralist research (such as phonological elements or sentence structures), looking instead at communication patterns in the light of cultural knowledge and behaviour (Schiffrin, 2006).

3.3.3 Sociology: the contributions of Goffman and Garfinkel

As an approach, IS has also benefitted greatly from the research of the sociologist Erving Goffman, including his concept of 'interaction order' which is "the order that exists in socially situated interactions among copresent parties" (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2015, p. 83) and is "predicated on a large base of shared cognitive presuppositions, if not normative ones, and self-sustained restraints" (Goffman, 1983, p. 5). According to Gumperz (2001), as a unit of analysis for investigating interaction structures, this concept serves as a means of bringing together the linguistic and the social. Moreover, a range of phenomena that occur in daily interactions can be analysed using Goffman's notion of the self as an interactive construct which is, in turn, linked to his notion of face (Schiffrin, 2006).

According to Goffman (1967, p.5), face can be defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact". Moreover, he adds, face is "something that is diffusely located in the flow of events in the encounter and becomes manifest only when these events are read and interpreted for the appraisals expressed in them" (Goffman, 1967, p.5).

Schiffrin (2006) observes that the maintenance of face is dependent on what Goffman referred to as interpersonal rituals which he further categorises as being either avoidance or presentational rituals. Goffman coined the term 'avoidance rituals' to describe forms of deference whereby no closeness is established between the agent and the receiver in an interaction. Presentational rituals was the phase he used to refer to the actions whereby particular attestations are conveyed by the agent to the receiver regarding how the former perceives the latter.

The concept of inferencing, which is widely applied in IS research to signal the process by which individuals interpret various utterances, is also partly reliant on another concept of framing originally identified by Goffman (1974 (see section 2.2.2.2). He also introduced the notion of footing, which refers to the alignments that are adopted by individuals for themselves and for others, and Goffman argued that this is reflected in how the manner in which an utterance is generated or received is dealt with. The concept of footing is dealt in greater detail below (see section 3.4.4).

Gordon (2010) notes that the work of the sociologist Garfinkel (1967) also contributed to the development of IS. In a series of experiments, he attempted to flout social norms using

techniques known as ‘breaching’ (Garfinkel, 1967) or ‘Garfinkeling’, in order to try and identify social rules that were frequently unspecified and to examine what individuals knew about a particular situation and expected from it.

3.3.4 Pragmatics

Another field that has made a valuable contribution to the development of IS is that of pragmatics, as Gumperz (2001, p. 216) himself acknowledges:

> It is the philosopher Paul Grice (1989) who lays the foundations for a truly social perspective on speaking, with his emphasis on conversational cooperation as a precondition for understanding. Arguing that communicating is by its very nature an intentional process, Grice goes on to develop a theory of meaning that brackets the traditional semanticists’ concern with word-to-world relationships or denotation, to focus not on utterance interpretation as such, but on *implicature* — roughly, what a speaker intends to convey by means of a message. Grice coined the verb *implicate* to suggest that our interpretations, although often not closely related to context-free lexical meaning, are ultimately grounded in surface form. They are derived from what is perceptibly said through inference via processes of implicatures, processes that in turn rest on a finite set of general, essentially social *principles of conversational cooperation.* Grice cites a number of conversational examples, which show that situated implicatures often bear little denotational likeness to propositional or, loosely speaking, literal meaning. Exactly how Gricean principles of conversational implicature can be formulated more precisely is still a matter of dispute (emphases in original).

The above quotation highlights the link between the conversational inference theory proposed by Gumperz, which deals with how individuals evaluate utterances made by others to generate meaning in conversation, and Grice’s notion of implicature and his principles of conversational cooperation. However, while IS and pragmatics can both be said to emphasise the study of language in context, researchers adopting IS rely on transcribed data of naturally occurring talk in their work whereas researchers working in the field of pragmatics conventionally use pre-constructed samples of language use (Pan, 2013).

3.3.5 Conversation analysis

Another field with which IS research intersects is that of Conversation Analysis. Gumperz (2015) notes that Conversation Analysis, similar to the work by Goffman and Garfinkel, has emerged as an attempt to study everyday talk by investigating the methods by which individuals manage the verbal exchanges that constitute order in talk, such as turns.

Gordon (2010) argues that IS and Conversation Analysis share a further similarity in that they are both concerned with the investigation of real-life social encounters by employing tools such as recording, meticulous linguistic transcription, and turn-by-turn sequential analysis. However, according to Gumperz, one important difference between them is that IS, unlike Conversation Analysis, employs turn-by-turn sequential analysis as merely a single element within a much bigger process of inferencing. As Gumperz explains (2015, p.312):

> Assessments of communicative intent at any one point in an exchange take the form of hypotheses that are either confirmed or rejected in the course of the exchange. That is, I adopt the conversational analysts' focus on members' procedures but apply it to inferencing. The analytical problem then becomes not just to determine what is meant, but to discover how interpretive assessments relate to the linguistic signalling processes through which they are negotiated.

This means that while interaction is perceived from a structural perspective by conversation analysts (Schiffrin, 2006), IS takes this a step further and also considers the social and cultural perspective, thus adding a macro-dimensional level to the study of interaction.

3.3.6 Broader influences of IS work

According to Gordon (2010), work in the field of IS has been extended to influence other approaches in discourse analysis. Since IS and CDA, for instance, both share the view that studying language can offer a means of addressing social phenomena, IS is one of the approaches employed by CDA researchers to provide insights into dominance and inequality. Moreover, both IS and CDA aim to establish meaningful correlations between micro and macro levels by making it possible to provide micro-analysis of interactions while simultaneously taking into account macro-societal perspectives, using IS tools found in CDA studies.

After reviewing the interdisciplinary nature of the theoretical bases underpinning IS as an approach to discourse, it is useful to point out that a number of areas of linguistic research which have chosen to incorporate the research of Goffman and Gumperz have emerged. Pan (2013) argues that the influence of work by Goffman and Gumperz respectively can be seen in three distinct areas of linguistics research, namely, linguistic politeness theory, coherence in discourse and conversational style. Thus, for example, the notion of face was used by Brown and Levinson (1987) when they devised their now famous model of

politeness which was responsible for sparking a great deal of interest in studying politeness in numerous cultures. Another area which can be seen to have incorporated IS ideas is Schiffrin's (1987) work on discourse markers in which the researcher demonstrated how coherence in context is achieved by participants not only through their use of language but also through other aspects of their interaction. By demonstrating how discourse markers function on referential, social, and expressive levels of discourse, Schiffrin suggests that there is an interplay between these three levels that achieves cohesion in discourse. The use of IS techniques can also be found in the work of Tannen (2005[1984]) who demonstrated the ways in which conversational style can be influenced by the use of different linguistic strategies and contextualization cues. However, it is important to note that work within the IS paradigm is not limited solely to linguistic areas but has also extended to investigations of sociolinguistic concepts such as power and inequality and even the process of socialization as discussed in the previous chapter.

3.4 Key Analytical Terms

In this section, the main analytical concepts that are to be applied in this study are identified and clarified.

3.4.1 Identity (co-)construction

Research related to identity (co-)construction has three key objectives. Firstly, to identify the different linguistic approaches underpinning the development of identities; secondly, to establish correlations that may exist between linguistic features and wider ideologies and, thirdly, to enhance our knowledge about the manner in which language is employed by individuals for the purposes of achieving specific social objectives. IS has been successfully applied in a variety of settings, including the workplace (Kendall, 2003; Holmes and Stubbe, 2004), education (Bailey, 2000; Wortham, 2006), the family (Tannen, Kendall and Gordon, 2007), and with other social groups (Hamilton, 1998; Kiesling, 2001). This study focuses on the (co-)construction and negotiation of religious identity, using this to gain insights into the development and negotiation of identities within a particular setting, namely, the family.

3.4.2 Conversational style

According to Tannen (2005 [1984]), conversational style is the mode of speaking adopted by an individual in an interaction. It covers the choices that he or she makes with regard

to the frequency, pitch and amplitude of speech used, as well as the various other decisions that can have an impact on how an utterance is interpreted by an interlocutor. More generally, conversational style refers to the manner in which contextualisation cues are employed by an individual. According to Tannen, a variety of factors can shape the conversational style of individuals, such as the place where they spent their childhood, their cultural background, race, ethnicity, gender, and/or sexual orientation. She argued that there are two points that were originally raised by Sapir (1927) that still need to be taken into consideration in relation to the discussion of conversational style. The first is that the way in which any individual talks will have an influence on how he or she is judged and the second is that it is essential to take into consideration individual versus social differences when considering conversational style.

In order to ensure that both of these points are given due attention, Tannen (2005 [1984]) put forward the idea of investigating what she referred to as "stylistic strategies", i.e. "conventionalized ways of serving identifiable universal human needs" (p.17). Tannen connected this notion of stylistic strategies to a number of theoretical bases including Lakoff's (1979) 'logic of politeness'. Lakoff argued that the perceived need to be polite makes speakers avoid saying what they actually mean and, on the basis of this premise, she devised her three principles or 'rules of rapport' that according to her govern linguistic choices: 1. Don't impose (distance); 2. Give options (deference) and 3. Be friendly (camaraderie).

Within her discussion of conversational style, Tannen (2005[1984]) also emphasised the importance of investigating interpersonal involvement in interaction and the ways in which participants in interaction try to cater for the needs of both speakers and listeners in terms of their involvement. She argued that there are several features that can be said to characterise strategies that encourage a high involvement style (2005 [1984], p.40):

1. Topic

   a. Prefer personal topics
   b. Shift topics abruptly
   c. Introduce topics without hesitation
   d. Persist (if a new topic is not immediately picked up, reintroduce it, repeatedly if necessary)

2. Pacing

a. Faster rate of speech
b. Faster turn taking
c. Avoiding inter turn pauses (silence shows lack of rapport)
d. Cooperative overlap
e. Participatory listenership

3. Narrative strategies

a. Tell more stories
b. Tell stories in rounds
c. Prefer internal evaluation (i.e, the point of a story is dramatized rather than lexicalized)

4. Expressive para-linguistics

a. Expressive phonology
b. Marked pitch and amplitude shifts
c. Marked voice quality.

In *Talking Voices,* Tannen (2007 [1989]) analysed conversational interaction as well as literary texts using IS, on the grounds that it offered the conceptual framework that helps to analyse linguistic strategies that she considered most conducive to fostering involvement, namely, repetition, dialogue initiation, 'constructed dialogue' and details. She added more involvement strategies to those already mentioned above. There are some strategies that work primarily (but not exclusively) on sound including (1) rhythm; (2) patterns based on repetition and variation of (a) phonemes, (b) morphemes, (c) words, (d) collocations of words, and (e) longer sequences of discourse; and (3) style figures of speech. (Many of these are also repetitive figures) (p.32). In addition, she identified those strategies that work primarily (but never exclusively) on meaning as (1) indirectness; (2) ellipsis; (3) tropes; (4) dialogue; (5) imagery and detail, and (6) narrative.

It is important to mention here another style that Tannen (2005 [1984]) referred to as the high-considerateness style in which participants make concerted efforts when expressing themselves to try and follow Lakoff's (1973) rule of rapport as previously mentioned (i.e. Don't impose). Tannen also points to the fact that within interaction it is possible to find examples of a phenomenon she refers to as "complementary schismogenesis". This term is used to describe "the dynamic in which two interactants exercise clashing behaviour, such that each one's behaviour drives the other into increasingly exaggerated expressions of the incongruent behaviour in a mutually aggravating spiral" (ibid., p.31).

In this study, I will analyse how the construction and maintenance of conversational style and involvement help in the construction and negotiation of religious identity among family members.

3.4.3 Power and connection manoeuvres

Tannen emphasises that an understanding of the ways in which power or hierarchy/control is intertwined with solidarity and/or connection/intimacy is essential in IS studies. Both types of manoeuvres are considered in this study in order to explore the complex power-solidarity interconnection that exists within the context of interaction between/among family members. This is characterised in the Saudi context by both its hierarchical nature and by the close ties operating as a result of kinship (see Chapter Two for further discussion of these terms).

3.4.4 Footing and framing

Goffman developed the concept of footing as part of his attempts to create a framework that was based on the theory of alignment. According to Goffman (1981), footing can be defined as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production and reception of an utterance" (p. 128). It relates to how individuals position themselves in interaction by means of their verbal utterances or in the ways they respond to the utterances of others. Footings usually become more obvious in an interaction when they change. A shift in footing can be thought of as a modification in the alignment of the participants in an interaction and may result in the shift of social roles, and interpersonal alignments (Goffman, 1981). When this type of shift occurs, it can affect existing power relations and social distance arrangements among interlocutors.

Goffman's original concept of footing was extended by Tannen and Wallat (1993) who used the term 'footing' "to describe how, at the same time that participants frame events, they negotiate the interpersonal relationships, or 'alignments,' that constitute those events" (p.60). Consequently, any change in footing is also accompanied by a shift in frame for participants, the latter referring to the organizational structure within which their fit their actions. Tannen and Wallat (1993) argue that "interactive frames" can be created by employing a range of linguistic and non-verbal interactive cues to give "a sense of what activity is being engaged in, how speakers mean what they say" (p.60). These cues can include participants' gaze, body positioning, pitch, intonation, turn-taking and

lexical choices.

While the same authors point to connections between the term 'frame' and concepts such as 'script', 'template' and 'schema' (ibid., p.59), they also delineate some of the differences that exist between them. Thus, for example, they note that the term 'knowledge schema' is used to refer "to participants' expectations about people, objects, events and settings in the world, as distinguished from alignments being negotiated in a particular interaction" (p.60).

Goffman's (1974, 1997) initial concept of "frames of interaction" was later expanded by Tannen (1993) who developed the idea of "structures of expectation" (p.21), which are underpinned by both previous knowledge and cultural frameworks. According to Tannen (1993, p.41), the frames of expectation act as a mediator between an individual and his or her perceptions as well as between those same perceptions and the manner in which they are conveyed in speech. Furthermore, Tannen distinguished between two types of expectations, the first being 'broad' or macro-level expectations that are related to the context of the interaction and the second being micro-level expectations regarding actions, objects and people.

The manner in which the notion of 'frame' is used within this study can be said to encompass both Goffman's (1974) concept of frames of interaction employed in everyday conversations to indicate what is going on, as well as the notion of 'structures of expectation' proposed by Tannen (1993) (see Chapter Two for an earlier discussion of footing and framing).

3.4.5 Alignment, positioning and stance

The concept of alignment was introduced by Goffman to refer to the manner in which individuals choose to situate themselves in relation to the frames of expectation of the other individuals with whom they interact. Although it can be used to signify genuine agreement or solidarity, alignment more usually indicates the *appearance* of agreement, or what Goffman (1959, p.9) referred to as a "veneer of consensus". This serves to prevent conflicts from arising and to ensure that the pursuit of the aims of interaction are allowed to continue uninterrupted.

One kind of alignment that is particularly relevant to this research is the concept of the team, which can be variously referred to as a "coalition," or an "alliance," "association,"

or “ensemble” (Kangasharju, 1996, p.292). Teams can be made up of “various kinds of collectivities based on extra-interactional, pre-established relationships” (Kangasharju, 1996, p.292). Kangasharju’s (1996) study focused on the creation of teams in institutional conversations involving conflict and explored how two participants in the interaction form a team for the purposes of defending a particular position against those adopting the opposing position. Kangasharju (1996, p.293) observed that: “In such cases, the initiator of the team is a subsequent speaker who aligns with a previous speaker. A simplified version of the structure of [this] sequence […] is as follows:

A Argument

B Counter-argument

C Endorsement of B

Defense, Acquiescence, Silence, etc.”

It is worth noting that Kangashru identifies several different strategies used to facilitate the formulation of such social groupings. Some of these aligning and distancing devices are linguistic in nature such as the use of source markers, collaborative turn sequences, upgrading assertions of agreement, repetition and paraphrasing of elements of another speaker's speech, and employing demonstratives. Other strategies would be classed as para-linguistic and include the use of gaze, posture, facial expressions, movements, gestures, laughter, and other noises.

Kangasharju’s analysis with its specific focus on team formation occurring as a response to *conflict* has some interesting parallels with Gordon’s (2003) discussion of team formation in step-family interaction even though the team she examines does not arise from conflict unlike the case examined by Kangasharju. Gordon (2003) identified a phenomenon that she called a “supportive alignment” that is “an alignment in which one participant ratifies and supports another’s turns at talk and what he or she has to say, creating ties of cooperation, collaboration, and agreement” (p.397). She noted how this was accomplished by means of various modes such as shared smiles and laughter, repetition of another participant’s words, supportive back channeling, conferring (i.e. shared discussion through deliberation), and collaborative sentence building. Gordon also observed that team members also employed turn sharing, alternating parallel turns and enacting shared prior experiences or knowledge schemas as part of the formation of

supportive alignments.

In the present study, this concept of alignment will be used when examining how members of the same family align themselves with the frames or stances of other family members as a means of constructing their religious identity in both conflictual and non-conflictual interactions (see Chapter Two and section 3.3.3 for an earlier discussion of alignment).

Another concept that is connected to alignment is that of positioning. It can be understood as the process of interaction that allows individuals to generate what Davies and Harré (1990, p.47) call a "diversity of selves". During an encounter, participants adopt, reject or allocate positions on the basis of how they choose to situate not only themselves but also other participants vis-à-vis (1) values or attributes (which may be seen as permanent or temporary); (2) types of social category formations (such as father/daughter); and (3) discourses, namely, ways of talking and behaving at various levels (including, for example, discipline, politics, culture, small-scale groups) with regard to various subjects, such as gender or class. Discourse can be said to make available the positions within which participants situate themselves as well as others (see Chapter Two for an earlier discussion of positioning).

Du Bois (2007) used both these notions, namely, alignment and positioning, in his development of what he named "the stance triangle". According to Du Bois (2007, p.171), a "stance is not something you have, not a property of interior psyche, but something you do, something you take. Taking a stance cannot be reduced to a matter of private opinion or attitude." The three key components of the stance triangle are positioning, alignment and evaluation (Du Bois, 2007). A stance act occurs when a stance taker evaluates an object, positions him- or herself and others in a particular manner and also aligns him- or herself with others. Du Bois also argued that three key elements need to be taken into consideration when analysing any instance of stance-taking. These are: (1) Who is the stance-taker?; (2) What is the object of the stance? and (3) What stance is the stance-taker responding to? All three of these questions must be answered when attempting to interpret stance (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.1 for an earlier discussion of stance).

All three of these elements will be explored in the analysis chapters of this study (Chapters Four, Five and Six) when attempting to determine the stance which participants take when (co-)constructing their Muslim identity in family interactions.

3.4.6 Narrative and small story analysis

The underlying premise of narrative analysis as it relates to identity construction is that individuals can gain an understanding of themselves through stories which makes these a good source for 'identity analysis'. As discussed previously (section 2.2.2), research on the use of narratives in family contexts has focused on what Blum-Kulka (1997) conceptualizes as *socialization* (or the acculturation into cultural norms of language use and other aspects of social life), and *sociability* (or connecting with others in the family). Bearing these two functions in mind, this research will pay close attention to those narratives that are seen as contributing to the construction of Muslim identity in the Saudi family context (see Chapter Two for an earlier discussion of narratives)

3.5 Data Collection

Having clarified the key concepts that underpin this research, the remainder of this chapter will provide a detailed description of how the data for this study were collected and analysed using qualitative methods as necessitated by the research questions that were formulated for this study. In the following section I will explain the ethnographic approach that was adopted to data collection in this study and provide a detailed description of those who participated in the research and the settings where the data were gathered.

3.5.1 Adopting an ethnographic approach

Since my personal research interest lies in investigating the construction of religious identity in family interaction in Saudi Arabia and the approach chosen to carry out this research was IS, the data collection procedures that were employed followed an ethnographic approach. Hobbs (2006) argues that ethnography requires a strong relationship between the researcher and the field, and in particular, between the researcher and the study participants and an awareness of the characteristics that are distinctive of the social group being investigated. By adopting an emic, i.e. insider, perspective, fieldworkers are able to explain the reasons why members of a particular socio-cultural group do what they do. However, they are still expected to maintain a "non-judgemental orientation" to ensure that their personal valuation does not interfere with the research (Fetterman, 2008, p.289).

This research requires a rigorous study of everyday life and in-depth observation in order

to maximize understanding of the social phenomena in question. Therefore, I used convenience sampling (Ruane, 2005) which is based on finding available individuals. Despite the obvious shortcoming of this technique as it is not representative of non-accessible elements, it was the most suitable for this kind of research which seeks to investigate in detail interactions between specific individuals in specific places at various times in intimate settings such as the Saudi family setting. Thus, I initially approached and verbally briefed in person four families living in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia about the nature of the research to ask them if they were willing to work with me on my research. The reason for choosing an informal approach lies in my insider understanding of the fact that Saudis are more likely to respond to face-to-face interaction. I was fortunate enough to find two extended families who were both happy to participate in the study. This helped me to adopt the emic or insider perspective (Fetterman, 2008) that is necessary for doing ethnographic research. The following sub-sections will provide more detail about the participants, the setting for the study and the audio-recording process.

3.5.1.1 The participants

As mentioned above, the participants in the study come from two extended families, one of which (Family A) can be characterized as more religiously conservative than the other (Family B). Family A could be described as having been more influenced by the *Sahwah* movement than Family B. This is reflected in the fact that Family A places more importance on closely monitoring the performance of daily religious routines by members. In addition, its female members appear to dress more modestly, and veil their faces with the traditional *niqab* when they leave the home or when they share any setting with men other than their *maharim* (i.e. a father, a brother or a husband). Socially, both families can be described as well-educated with a good income. The adult males in both families work in jobs requiring graduate-level qualifications and all the adult female members of both families are also educated to at least graduate level and are employed outside the home.

In total, there are some 16 participants in this study. They can be divided into three age groups: three participants (AF, AM and BU) are from the older generation (all aged over 60), 10 participants (AW1, AS1, AS2, AS3, BF, BD1, BD2, BD3, BD4, and BN) are from the middle generation (aged 18 to 40) while the youngest generation is represented by three children (BG1, BG2 and BG3) (aged between three and 10 years of age).

The data extracts draw on the following interactions:

1. The father (AF), the mother (AM), the eldest son (AS1), the middle son (AS2) and the youngest son (AS3) of the more conservative family (hereafter Family A), along with their daughter-in-law (AW1) (married to AS1)
2. The father (BF), the daughter (BD1), BF's married brother (BU), BF's niece (BN) in the less conservative family (hereafter Family B)
3. A married daughter from Family B (BD2) and her two children (BD2G, BD2B)
4. Another married daughter from Family B (BD3) with her child (BD3B)
5. Daughters from Family B ranking third and fourth oldest of the sisters (BD3, BD4)

3.5.1.2 The settings

In this study, the data are taken from conversations that took place in three main domestic spaces: the living room, the dining room, and the bedroom. I did not want to limit my data collection to one spatial and temporal setting as was the case with other studies of family discourse which focused on dinner-table talk because one of my main research questions addressed the role that temporal and spatial settings play in the construction of religious identities. In total, the interactions took place in four distinct locations:

1. Setting 1: The living room in Family A's holiday retreat (mornings and mid-day).
2. Setting 2: The living room in Family B's house (mornings and mid-day)
3. Setting 3: The children's (BD2G, BD2B) bedroom in BD2's house (evening)
4. Setting 4: The dining room in BD3's house (morning)

3.5.1.3 Audio-recording of conversations

The primary data for this study were collected from naturally occurring conversations that were recorded during my annual visits to Saudi Arabia when I made two fieldwork visits to the Eastern Province of the Kingdom. The conversations were recorded in different settings during several sessions over the course of August 2014 and January 2015, with each fieldwork visit lasting approximately two weeks. The selection of the times and places was based on my research questions. The exact duration of the recorded material featuring interaction between the participants is 23 hours and 27 minutes with each session lasting between 50 and 60 minutes. To ensure that participants were relaxed and that the material recorded was as natural as possible, I would start recording

conversations some 15 minutes into a session and I made sure that the recorder was placed on a side table near the participants.

The audio-recording of conversations was carried out using two strategies: participant and non-participant observation. Participant observation is "a qualitative method of social investigation, whereby the researcher participates in the everyday life of a social setting, and records their experiences and observations" (Coffey, 2006, p. 214). This strategy was used when I was able to be physically present in the settings of the recording sessions which was the case for settings 1 and 2. Non-participant observation, when the researcher is not present in the setting (Williams, 2008), was employed in the case of settings 3 and 4 since the recording took place at a time of day when, firstly, it was difficult for me to be present due to the time at which the interaction occurred (early in the morning or late at night) or, secondly, my presence in the setting could have had a direct impact on the data that I gathered.

Before each recording, I briefly voice recorded the time, setting and the participants and the sound quality was checked after each session. I used two devices to record conversations, one as the main recording device (a Sony ICDBX 140 digital voice recorder) and the other as a back-up (a password-protected iPhone 5S). Both were given to the people recording when I was not present with instruction of how they are to be operated. I ended up using the data from the iPhone 5S for two reasons: firstly, I discovered that the Sony device needed an extension to allow me to transfer the recorded conversations to my password-protected laptop and, secondly, I was very happy with the sound quality of the conversations recorded on the iPhone. These were also easy to transfer to my laptop where they were saved in an encrypted file and protected with a password that only I had access to.

3.6 The Transcription Process

The transcription process started after I returned to the UK and proved to be a time-consuming process that lasted some three months. The first step was to transcribe all the recorded material. This involved representing in written Arabic the spoken interactions in the recorded session including some para-linguistic features such as laughter, hesitations, and interruptions. The transcription protocol was based on the transcription conventions used in *Family Talk* (Kendall, Tannen and Gordon 2007, see Appendix 1) since their work is similar to the one conducted in this research and it follows the

guidelines for IS data transcription. This proved difficult as the Saudi dialect is a purely spoken form of the language and does not have a systematic way for transcribing this in written form. In addition, two different varieties of Arabic were found in the data: Classical (or Quranic) Arabic and Saudi dialect. Here, I decided to differentiate between the two by using italics to represent Classical Arabic. Bolding and italics were used to signal instances of use of formulaic religious language such as Quranic verses or Hadith, i.e. the collection of texts attributed to prophet Mohammed.

The second step of the transcription process entailed transliterating the original Arabic script into Roman script, following the Library of Congress guidelines for representing Arabic phonetically. Transliteration is commonly used when working with Arabic and English, to avoid the practical difficulties that can be caused by Arabic when word-processing bilingual text.

The third and final stage involved translation of the transliterated Arabic data into English and this proved to be the most problematic aspect of this process. Most of the time, participants used a colloquial variant of Arabic, a dialect spoken in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. Sometimes English was used since the children involved in these sessions attend international schools where the primary language of instruction is English. Occasionally, Classical Standard Arabic was used since this serves as a liturgical language for Muslims. Since I am not a professional translator, I consulted Arabic-speaking friends and colleagues for help with ensuring the translation was as consistent as possible. In a number of instances, I was unable to understand the exact meaning of what was said in the conversation and I had to contact participants to clarify this.

3.7 The Analysis Process

After preparing the data and making the initial data selection based on the specific research questions, the analysis process began. Firstly, I printed out the relevant data and applied the guidelines for IS analysis suggested by Tannen (1992) and Pan (2013).This involved following three main steps:

1. After reading the transcripts thoroughly, I identified and highlighted the strategies used by the participants to construct their religious identities. My analysis was done on the Arabic part of the transcripts rather than the translations.
2. I identified recurrent patterns in the interactions by going through the transcribed data twice (the first is for verbal and the second for non-verbal clues). Particular

attention was paid to the key analytical terms mentioned previously as a guide.

3. I attempted to interpret what was going in the interactions between the participants while bearing in mind both what was going on in each interaction (micro-level analysis) and the social and cultural factors that were affecting those interactions (macro-level analysis).

3.8 Ethical Considerations

I had to address several ethical issues since this research involves human participants. The first of these concerns the safety and confidentiality of the participants and I followed the ethical guidelines required by Lancaster University after I successfully managed to get ethical clearance for my project from the Research Ethics Committee at Lancaster University.

Firstly, I made sure that all potential participants were fully briefed in Arabic (their first language) about the nature of my research and understood what their participation would involve if they chose to take part. It was also made clear that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any point of the study. I also explained to them what the recorded conversations would be used for and how the anonymity and confidentiality of their data would be guaranteed.

Secondly, an Arabic translation of the consent form provided by Lancaster University was provided to those wishing to participate. This was accompanied by an information sheet explaining clearly and in non-specialist language what the purpose of the study was, what taking part would entail, the data collection methods that would be employed, and the use for which the data were intended. At this stage, I also informed participants that the anonymity and confidentiality of their data would be guaranteed by

- Storing all data in a secure place accessible only to me.
- Replacing participants' real names by alpha-numeric identifiers or pseudonyms in all written forms of the data.
- Keeping all digital forms of recorded conversations in a password-protected and encrypted hard drive stored in a secure locker together with printed transcripts.
- Deleting and discarding personal data upon the completion of this research.

I asked them to sign the standard consent forms translated into Arabic and also to consent to audio recordings being made for the purposes of data transcription. I also made it clear

that they could stop the recording whenever they felt the need to (which did occur on two occasions) and that they had the option to withdraw from the research at any time they wished. Since some of my participants were minors, I also asked both parents of each child to sign the consent forms (see Appendix 2).

The final ethical issue to be addressed here is the accountability of analysis. Here, I followed Tannen's (2005 [1984], p.49) recommendations regarding interpretation of data and the accountability of the researcher. Firstly, it is important to recognise the multiplicity of interpretations that can be made of the data and to not make claims about this being the only possible interpretation. This research must be seen, therefore, as Tannen (2005 [1984], p.49) explains, as "an account of certain aspects of a mass of components in the interaction". Secondly, the interpretation of the interactions is not random but evidence-based: it draws on recurrent discourse patterns and participant behaviour. Unfortunately, I was unable to follow the playback technique recommended by Tannen since the data analysis phase took place while I was in the UK and no longer had access to study participants.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter had two aims. The first was to provide a theoretical review of IS as a qualitative approach for analysing discourse. IS serves not only to illustrate how meaning is created in interaction, but also sheds light on other social phenomena including power, solidarity and discrimination, by providing two levels of analysis: a micro one that focuses on the context and a macro one that pays heed to broader social and cultural factors. Put another way, IS provides the theoretical and methodological perspectives that are needed to link the analysis of communicative practices to wider cultural and social phenomena. This discussion incorporated an overview of the key analytical terms used in IS, especially those that are of direct relevance to the objectives of this research and will be employed in the analysis and interpretation of data.

The second part of this chapter was devoted to illustrating the methodology used in this study for collecting, transcribing and analysing the data together with a discussion of the ethical concerns that needed to be addressed when conducting this research.

4 CHAPTER FOUR: MAINTAINING MORAL ORDER: TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF DAILY LIFE AROUND RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the first of three presenting the results of the analysis of the data gathered for this study, I investigate how the religious landscape of family interaction serves to map out the organisation of daily life by considering how the social and moral arrangement of time and space are inextricably connected with religion and religious practices. On the basis of these data, this chapter puts forward the argument that religion and religious practices play an important role in how participants make sense of both time and space. This in turn helps them to construct their religious identities in the process of interaction.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first of these will discuss how daily interaction is temporally organised around religion, its rituals and practices. The second part will explore how participants invoke their religious identities in their attempts to make sense of space. Throughout the chapter in analysing these data I will draw upon a range of different interactional sociolinguistic concepts such as framing, alignment, negotiation of power and solidarity.

4.2 Time, Religion and Identity

This section will discuss the relationship between the concept of time and the performance of religious activities. The analytical framework here draws upon the concepts of natural and social synchronization of time (Van Leeuwen, 2008) as will be explained in further detail below.

4.2.1 Maintaining moral order through natural synchronization of time: marking the beginning and the end of the day

Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that work by the sociologist Norbert Elias (1992) on how we understand time has succeeded in transforming the ways in which this notion is perceived and talked about. Time itself is now understood as a product of the activity of timing, i.e. "the activity of measuring one kind of activity or event sequence against another kind of activity or event sequence" (Elias, 1992:43). This is also relevant to the concept of time

synchronization in which "the location and/or extent of social activities are timed in relation to other social activities, or to events in the natural world, or to artificially created events, such as the passing of time on a clock" (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 78).

In this section, I will explore the links between how the participants in interaction perform non-mandatory religious ritualistic activities, drawing on the concept of what Van Leeuwen (ibid: 6) refers to as the "natural synchronization" of time. This is one of three kinds of time that Van Leeuwen (2008) identified in his work, namely, social, natural and mechanical. The term is used by him to refer to how "activities are synchronized with natural events, starting or ending (or lasting as long as) specific observable phenomena in the natural environment (the movement of planets and stars, the flight of birds, etc.)" (ibid: 6).

Here, I discuss two examples which show how two different mothers (BD3 and BD2) manage the timing of socialising their children into performing non-mandatory religious activities, by synchronising these with the natural events taking place in the morning and the evening that mark the beginning and end of their children's daily routine. By adopting a parenting frame, these mothers attempt to ensure that their children are socialised into the performance of various religious activities that they believe play an important role in maintaining religious moral order. At the same time, they actively participate in the construction of religious identities, both their own individual identity and that of the family unit as a whole.

The data I present here takes the form of two extracts (4.1.1a and 4.1.1.b) in which patterned discourse is based on the intertextual repetition of specific religious texts and formulaic expressions. I chose these two extracts as examples in this instance since they illustrate how the same activity can be repeated in an almost identical pattern on a daily basis. This patterned discourse revolves around parenting work which is carried out through child-centered activities (such as getting children ready for school in the morning and tucking them up in bed at night). In these extracts, these routine activities are carried out by the mothers and their children using a parenting frame that allows them to socialise their offspring into the performance of religious rituals that, in turn, instil religious values and norms in the children, ultimately for the purposes of establishing and maintaining moral order.

In both of the situations discussed in this section, the timing of the activity is based on natural time synchronization, in the sense that the morning activity marks the beginning of the child's day while the other one in the evening brings to an end the child's activities for the day. The two mothers featured in these extracts both adopt the parenting task-based frame in order to socialise their offspring into specific routines: the performance of the non-obligatory religious ritual of *adhkar*.[4] This involves reciting/repeating some specific religious texts at particular times and although this practice is not considered *fard* (mandatory) in Islam it is highly regarded by many observant Muslims.

Rosowsky (2008 see Literature Review 2.1.3) notes that when recited in this way, these texts act as linguistic amulets and they can serve "spiritual or worldly functions" (Rosowsky, 2008, p.164) such as seeking protection from evil spirits or achieving success in one's endeavours. He (2008:163) also observes that many Muslim homes "contain texts and textual artefacts that are considered to have properties of protection for those living there". In some Islamic cultures, this practice extends to individuals wearing metal amulets inscribed with these texts or small leather pouches in which these texts are carried. However, the latter practice is generally considered to be *shirk* (superstition) and therefore regarded as non-Islamic by Sunni Saudis.

In Extract 4.1.1a, the reference to *Al-Muaithat* (amulets) is the title given to a set of three short verses from the Quran, namely, *Al-Falaq* (Daybreak), *Al-Nas* (Mankind) and *Al-Ikhlas* (Sincerity). Sunni Muslims believe that when these are recited regularly, together with other forms of *dua'a* (supplications) believed to have been passed on by *al-salaf al-salih* (the pious predecessors),[5] this practice provides protection from danger as indicated in various hadith, i.e. the collection of texts that are attributed to the prophet Mohammed. According to Islamic tradition, reciting *adhkar* also provides believers with spiritual succour and blessings and instils a sense of morality.

Extract 4.1.1a

BD3	3	ايش تقول قبل ما تروح المدرسة؟
		aish tigūl gabil ma trūḥ ilmadrisah?
		what do you say before you go to school?

[4] Literally, this Arabic word means 'remembrances' but is usually translated in this context as 'invocations'.
[5] This honorific expression is used to refer to the first three generations of Muslims.

BD3B	4	***اصبحنا و اصبح الملك لله***
		aṣbaḥna w aṣbaḥa ilmulku lilah
		Oh Allah, by your leave we have reached the morning
BD3	5	***ربي اجعلي في كل طريق فرجا و من كل ضيق مخرجا***
		Rabī ij'alī fī kul ṭarīqin faraja wa min kul ḍīqin makhraja
		Oh Lord, grant me relief in every path I seek and an exit from every strait
BD3B	6	***ربي اجعل لي في كل طريق فرجا***
		rabī ij'alī fī kul ṭarīqin faraja
		Oh Lord, grant me relief in every path I seek

Here, I argue firstly that these ritualistic religious activities are based on natural synchronization of time (i.e. they coincide with the beginning of the day). This is reflected in the first religious text that the young child BD3B is able to recite from memory unaided: "*Oh Allah, by your leave we have reached the morning"* (line 4). However, the time synchronization reference used by the mother BD3 (Extract 4.1.1b) *"what do you say before you go to school?"* (line 3) can be considered to be an example of "social synchronization" (Van Leeuwen, 2008:5). According to Van Leeuwen (2008:5), this occurs when "activities are synchronized with other social activities. They start and end at the same time (or before, or after) other social activities". In this instance, BD3 specifically links the religious ritual of reciting *adhkar* to the performance of another morning routine that is secular in nature, that of getting ready for school. This is illustrated in what the mother says (lines 1-3) immediately prior to the child's recitation of the morning *dua'a*:

Extract 4.1.1b

BD3	1	خلص لبس و البس الشوز
		khaliṣ libs w ilbas ilshūz
		finish getting dressed and put on your shoes
BD3	2	فرشت اسنانك غسلت وجهك؟
		farasht asnanik w ghasalt wajhik?

		have you brushed your teeth and washed your face?
BD3	3	ايش تقول قبل ما تروح المدرسة؟
		aish tigūl gabil ma trūḥ ilmadrisah?
		what do you say before you go to school?
BD3B	4	***اصبحنا و اصبح الملك لله***
		aṣbaḥna w aṣbaḥa ilmulku lilah
		Oh Allah, by your leave we have reached the morning

After checking if her child has performed the usual pre-school routine of teeth-brushing and face-washing (line 2), the mother prompts her child about a further act that forms part of the morning ritual before leaving for school. When the mother asks her child "*what do you say before you go to school*?" (line 3) her question marks the beginning of the ritualistic religious activity of reciting the morning *dua'a.* The fact that the child immediately responds by reciting from memory the opening morning prayers (line 4) clearly suggests that this activity occurs recurrently at a specific time (Van Leeuwen, 2008). This can be clearly seen in the sequential manner in which the mother leads the child through ritual recitation activity to mark the beginning of another day and also in the way in which the child is able to understand what is required and to follow her lead when prompted. The way in which she frames her question suggests that this recitation of *adhkar* forms an integral part of the daily routine in this household, and this is confirmed by the child's response (line 4), showing that he immediately recognizes what he is being prompted to do and is able to recite the first element of *dua'a al-sabah* (the morning supplication) unaided since he has already committed this to memory. In this way, the mother is able to ensure that a spiritual dimension also frames the mundane activities typically associated with the beginning and the end of the child's daily routines.

In Extract 4.1.1c the mother and the child continue with their recitation of a series of morning *dua'a*. However, in this instance the child is initially unable to reproduce the whole of the *dua'a* recited by his mother for several reasons. Firstly, this is a much longer phrase and it must be remembered that this is religious discourse, reflected in the usage here of Classical Arabic which is difficult for the child to pronounce let alone fully comprehend. Furthermore, the series of supplications are produced by the mother at a relatively fast pace and in what I assume to be an automatic fashion. Consequently, the

mother makes the decision to divide the *dua'a* in two, reciting just the second element again for the child to hear and repeat (lines 7-8). This back-tracking by the mother to repeat the phrase again for the child to recite also suggests the importance that is placed on the ritualistic aspect of this discourse. Every element in this spiritual linguistic routine is as important as the various elements that make up the mundane morning routine. Repeating the remaining element of the *dua'a*, another relatively short phrase, appears to pose no difficulties for the child.

Extract 4.1.1c

BD3	5	ربي اجعلي في كل طريق فرجا و من كل ضيق مخرجا
		rabī ija'alī fi kuli ṭarīqin faraja wa min kuli ḍīqin makhraja
		Oh Lord, grant me relief in every path I seek and an exit from every strait
BD3B	6	ربي اجعل لي في كل طريق فرجا
		rabī ija'alī fi kuli ṭarīqin faraja
		Oh Lord, grant me relief in every path I seek
BD3	7	و من كل ضيق مخرجا
		wa min kuli dhīqin makhraja
		and an exit from every strait
BD3B	8	و من كل ضيق مخرجا
		wa min kuli dhīqin makhraja
		and an exit from every strait
BD3	9	و من كل بلاء عافية
		wa min kuli bala'in 'afiah
		and good health in every hardship
BD3B	10	و من كل بلاء عافية
		wa min kuli bala'in 'afiah
		and good health in every hardship

For believers, each of these pious formulae is deemed to have a specific purpose, with this particular *dua'a* (lines 5 and 9) being used for the purposes of beseeching *tayseer* (divine intervention). The interaction between mother and child then switches to a pattern in which extracts from the Quran are first recited by the parent and then repeated by the child. This includes the verses from the last three chapters of the Quran—*Al-Falaq, Al-Nas* and *Al-Ikhlas*—collectively referred to as *Al-Muaithat* (the amulets), which is commonly used to ask for divine protection.

In Extract 4.1.1d, the same alternating pattern occurs with the mother first reciting the Quranic verse from *Al-Nas* and the child then repeating this (lines 11-12). Again, the almost perfect tone and the accuracy with which the child is able to recite these verses suggests that he is accustomed to this practice, marking it as an activity that forms part of a recurrent routine.

Extract 4.1.1d

BD3	11	***قل اعوذ برب الناس***
		qul a'ūthu birabi ilnas
		say: I seek refuge with [Allah] the Lord of mankind
BD3B	12	***قل اعوذ برب الناس***
		qul a'ūthu birabi ilnas
		say: I seek refuge with [Allah] the Lord of mankind

The end of this series of mother-child interactions forming part of a non-obligatory religious routine is concluded by another switch from recitation of Quranic verses to the formulaic expression used in *dua'a* which is intended to ask for divine acceptance of the religious activity that has just taken place (see Extract 4.1.1e):

Extract 4.1.1e

BD3	48	***سمع الله لمن دعا***
		samia'a allahu liman da'a
		Allah listens to those who pray
BD3B	49	***سمع الله لمن دعا***
		samia'a allahu liman da'a
		Allah listens to those who pray

BD3	44	***ليس وراء الله منتهى***
		laisa wara'a allahi muntaha
		nothing is beyond Allah
BD3B	45	***ليس وراء الله منتهى***
		laisa wara'a allahi muntaha
		nothing is beyond Allah

Throughout these extracts the parenting frame continues, with the religious discourse serving the purpose of socialising the child into life in a faith-based community in which the performance of this type of ritualistic activity is believed to play a key role in the construction of moral order. As soon as this recitation/repetition interaction has been concluded with an appropriate supplicatory *dua'a* the mother-child interaction switches back again to the monitoring of the mundane morning "getting ready to go to school" activities, the final stage in the completion of the daily pre-school routine checklist (Extract 4.1.1f):

Extract 4.1.1f

BD3	46	غسل يدك و روح لبابا يستناك لا تتاخر عالمدرسه يله
		ghasil yadik w rūh libaba yistanak la tit'akhar 'al madrisah yalah
		Wash your hands and go to dad he's waiting don't be late for school come on

As noted, there are various indications in this series of parent-child interactions (Extracts 4.1.1a-f) that suggest that this practice of reciting the morning *adhkar* forms an intrinsic part of a routine which occurs on a daily basis in this household:

1. Child getting dressed
2. Child putting on shoes (in preparation for leaving the home)
3. Child brushing teeth
4. Child washing face
5. Mother reciting opening *dua'a al-sabah*/child repeating this
6. Mother reciting *Al-Muaithat*/child repeating this
7. Mother reciting concluding *dua'a*/child repeating this

8. Child washing hands
9. Child leaving for school with father

It is clear that this pre-school checklist seamlessly incorporates both secular and religious elements, showing that although the practice of *adhkar* is not mandatory for Muslims unlike performing *salat* (the five obligatory daily prayers), in this family it is still considered to be an important part of the daily routine.

Extracts 4.1.1a-f illustrate how natural time (the beginning of the day) is synchronized with social time (the series of household routines for the child that take place before transition into the routines of the school day). Within a parenting frame, the child's performance of these morning routines is subject to monitoring to ensure that they have been satisfactorily completed, whether these child-centred activities fall into the category of secular or religious.

A similar synchronization of natural time and secular/religious socialization can be observed in Extracts 4.1.1g-j which take place in a different household at night-time and in the bedroom setting. In this case, another mother (BD2) leads her two children (male and female siblings BD2B and BD2G, respectively) in the recitation of well-known verses from the Quran followed by *adhkar*, an interaction that represents the book-end of the children's day. The mother calls both the children to participate in a collective recitation of *Al-Muaithat* using the plural pronoun as an involvement strategy (line 5) followed by "*say with me*" (line 7) to create a team together with the children which in turn reinforces solidarity with them and helps to construct their religious identity as observant Muslims. This routine interaction based around religious discourse begins with the mother reciting a verse from *Sura Al-Ikhlas* (line 8).

Extract 4.1.1g

BD2	5	يله نقرأ قرآن؟
		yala niqra' Quran?
		come on let's recite Quran, shall we?
BD2G	6	اوكي
		OK
		OK
BD2	7	قولو معاي ***قل هو الله احد***
		gūlū ma'ai ***qul huwa Allaū aḥad***

		say with me ***say [O Muhammad]: He is Allah, the One***
BD2G BD2B	8	***قل هو الله احد***
		qul huwa Allaū aḥad
		say [O Muhammad]: He is Allah, the One

After reciting this Quranic verse, the mother, as initiator of the interaction, then moves on to recite another verse, this time from the section known as *Al-Nas* (line 15). The same alternating pattern that involves the mother reciting the verse and her children repeating this can be seen and the siblings appear to need no prompting to do this, suggesting this is a regular occurrence:

Extract 4.1.1h

BD2	15	***قل اعوذ برب الناس***
		qul a'ūthu birabi ilnas
		Say: I seek refuge with [Allah] the Lord of mankind
BD2G BD2B	16	***قل اعوذ برب الناس***
		qul a'ūthu birabi ilnas
		Say: I seek refuge with [Allah] the Lord of mankind

The pattern of interaction continues as the mother then recites another Quranic verse, this time from the section entitled *Al-Falaq* (line 27):

Extract 4.1.1i

BD2	27	**قل اعوذ برب الفلق**
		qul a'ūthu birabi alfalaq
		Say: I seek refuge with [Allah] the Lord of the daybreak
BD2G BD2B	28	**قل اعوذ برب الفلق**
		qul a'ūthu birabi alfalaq
		Say: I seek refuge with [Allah] the Lord of the daybreak

After the usual sequence of Quranic verse recital/repetition, the mother leads the children in reciting another night *dua'a* before they are finally ready to be tucked up before going to sleep for the night (Extract 4.1.1j).

Extract 4.1.1j

BD2	45	***باسمك ربي***
		bismika rabi
		in Your name, my Lord
BD2G BD2B	46	***باسمك ربي***
		bismika rabi
		in Your name, my Lord
BD2	47	***وضعت جنبي***
		wada'tu janbi
		I lay down my head
BD2G BD2B	48	***وضعت جنبي***
		wada'tu janbi
		I lay down my head
BD2	49	***و بك ارفعه***
		wa bika arfa'ah
		and with You I raise it again
BD2G BD2B	50	***و بك ارفعه***
		wa bika arfa'ah
		and with You I raise it again

Extracts 4.1.1g-j illustrate once again how natural time (the end of the day) is synchronized with social time (the series of household routines for the children that occur before the end of activities and transition into sleep). As in the previous example (Extracts 4.1a-f), within a parenting frame, the children's performance of these bedtime routines is carefully monitored to ensure that these have been completed to their mother's satisfaction, regardless of whether these child-centred activities can be categorised as secular or religious.

It is worth noting here that this series of parent-children interactions happened after the two siblings had completed their preparations for getting ready for bed. These included the standard bedtime rituals such as the brushing of teeth and putting on pyjamas. As previously, with BD3, analysis of these examples shows that the mother (BD2) uses a

parenting frame to construct the bedtime rituals and this combines both secular and religious activities (verbal or otherwise) based on a natural synchronization of the concept of time. Again, these involve non-mandatory religious practices which recur on a regular basis within the household in question (Van Leeuwen, 2008). These child-centred activities incorporate the use of repetition of religious texts, specifically Quranic verses and *dua'a,* to socialise the children into the performance of these religiously related activities. This interaction also adheres to a time frame which creates a temporal moral order that in turn serves to construct the children's religious identity.

4.2.2 Religio-social synchronization: the organization of time in accordance with religious practices

Another recurrent pattern that I found in my data related to the organization of time on the basis of religious practices. This prompts me to suggest that in the Saudi context the participants' family life is organized in relation to a particular kind of social synchronization, one in which "activities are synchronized with other social activities" and thus require "awareness of the social environment, attentiveness to what other people are doing" (Van Leeuwen, 2008:5). In this case, it is important to consider the extent to which the management of time can be viewed as "a social practice—an integrative practice, vital for the coherence of social life, for holding together most, if not all, of the social practices of a society" (ibid:12). In a theocracy such as Saudi Arabia, social synchronization has a specifically religious nature meaning that this dimension controls almost every aspect of how the daily life of individuals is organised and how all social practices are scheduled.

The examples below (Extracts 4.1.2a-d) show that for these Saudi Muslims, the routines of religious observance frame the structure of the day to such an extent that they serve as a commonly understood point of reference for measuring time in relation to secular social and domestic activities without any need for using 'clock time'. This *salat* (prayer)-centred temporal framework is used as the basis for arranging everything from family meal times to shopping trips. It is important to note here that this religio-social synchronization can also be said to be grounded in natural synchronization since obligatory prayers for Muslims are timed to be spread over the course of a day, from sunrise to evening.

It can also be argued on the basis of evidence found in the data collected that the prevalence of this religio-social synchronization of daily activities results not only in the construction of a moral order intended to construct an Islamic identity but that these same religious practices produce a social order that applies to both Muslims and non-Muslims alike in Saudi Arabia, as indicated by the example of the non-Saudi car driver who is actually a practising Hindu but has learnt to arrange his activities according to *salat* times. This illustrates the power of religion in a country like Saudi Arabia that applies *sharia* law where this effectively becomes the organizing principle for the daily activities of all those living in the Kingdom.

As might be expected, given that *salat* is a compulsory duty for Muslims, and one which for males must ideally be performed in *jama'ah* i.e. as part of a congregation in the mosque as a collective act of worship, there were frequent examples in the data showing how daily activities, including family meals and shopping, need to be scheduled around prayer times:

Extract 4.1.2a

BM	1	رتبتي مع ابوتش متى نروح بيت عمتش؟
		ratabtī ma'a ibūch mita nrūḥ bait 'amich?
		did you arrange with your father when we're going to your uncle's house?
BD2	2	أي يقول اول ما يرجع من صلاة المغرب و نطلع
		eī yigūl *awal ma yirja' min salat ilmaghrib* w niṭla'
		yes he says as soon as he's returned from *maghrib* [sunset] prayer we'll leave

Extract 4.1.2a is the first example selected to illustrate how the management of time is based on social synchronization with a religious practice, in this case specifically *maghrib* prayer which forms part of *salat*. This extract from the discussion between BM and BD2 (the mother and her daughter) reveals how an ordinary social activity such as arranging a visit to a close relative ("*when we're going to your uncle's house*" line 1) must be synchronized with the timing of a religious activity: the visit can only take place after the head of the household has returned from finishing *maghrib* prayer (line 2). The daughter's response in this case indicates this temporal synchronization by including the use of the time clause "*as soon as"* (line 2). Note here that the time reference originally used by the

father to indicate when they will depart i.e. immediately after he has prayed *maghrib,* and the daughter's relaying of this information to her mother without any further explanation suggests the frequency of the use of religious time rather than secular clock time for planning social activities. In this instance, it is clear that both mother and daughter have a shared understanding of the time that *maghrib* takes place and also that this prayer will be performed by this male family member outside the home in the mosque.

In Extract 4.1.2b, another family activity—the time at which lunch is to be eaten— is also governed by religio-social synchronization arranged in reference to *salat*. In this example, AF is telling his wife when to schedule lunch. Once again in this example, the time reference used for a social activity (eating family lunch) is to a religious activity, *salat al-juma'a*, i.e. Friday prayer, which takes the form of a collective act of worship at the mosque. In this extract, AF simply refers to '*al-juma'a'*, not even thinking that it is necessary to preface this with '*salat*' since he knows that his meaning will be clear to his wife. This again suggests the frequency with which religious practices are used as a temporal frame of reference for social activities in this religiously observant family and among Saudis more generally.

Another issue which merits discussion here in the context of religio-social synchronization of time is that of gender and power. It can noted that in both Extracts 4.1.2a and 4.1.2b, the timing of social activities is synchronised with male religious practices i.e. when the men in the household have finished praying since they are urged by Islam to perform *salat* in the mosque. This suggests a power element in the fact that in this context males effectively decide when social activities are to be performed. According to Van Leeuwen (2008:4), the "right to time has always been a sign of absolute power". In Extract 4.1.2b, the reference to the timing of lunch is realized by a verbal process clause ("*return from* [performing] *juma'a"*) spoken by an authoritative figure (AF the father) with the timing of the activity as the projected clause ("*I want to* […] *find lunch on the table"*). He also acts as the spokesman for other males in the household ("*the boys and I*"). However, for the purposes of politeness, the order that AF addresses to his wife is mitigated by the fact that he prefaces it with a formulaic religious expression: "*May Allah bless you with good health*" thus reducing its authoritarian intensity. In summary, the two examples discussed here reveal not only that both moral and social order are synchronized with reference to religious activities but also that this synchronization has a gender-related aspect since the timing of the performance of *salat* for males in the mosque effectively gives them authority to control when social activities

relating to the whole household take place.

Extract 4.1.2b

AF	85	الله يعافيتش نبي نرجع من الجمعة انا و العيال و نلاقي الغدا علي السفرة
		allah ya'afiīch nabī nirja‘ min iljim‘a ana wil ‘iyal w nilga ilghada ‘ala ilsifrah
		may Allah bless you with good health the boys and I want to return from *jum‘a* ((Friday prayer)) and find lunch on the table

Extract 4.1.2c provides another example of how the management of the timing of social activities is religiously synchronized in accordance with prayer times. This extract is taken from a dialogue between two sisters (BD1 and BD2) who are making plans to go to their local shopping centre and BD2 is clearly eager to ensure that they arrive before the shops close. In this case, the scheduling of their shopping trip is realized by using a main clause ("*we want to go out*") and a time clause ("*immediately after prayer"*). Note here that the speaker does not specify which prayer she means, simply referring to *salah*, but based on the time of the recording and the context of the discussion, this is likely to be *asr* which must be performed in the mid part of the afternoon. The fact that BD2 does not need to specify to her interlocutor which prayer she is referring to or have to explain to her that the religious duty of performing prayer must be factored into their plans for a shopping trip is evidence of their shared understanding of the extent to which prayer times set the rhythm of the day in Saudi Arabia and condition the organization of social life. BD2 also makes it clear to her sister that the only flexibility they have relates to the time at which they begin to pray.

Extract 4.1.2c

BD2	124	نبي نطلع على طول بعد الصلاة لا نتاخر عشان نلحق على المحلات نصلي علي طول بعد ما يادن خلي عباتش جاهزة
		nabī niṭla‘ ‘ala ṭūl ba‘ad ilsalah la nita'akhar ‘ashan nilḥag ‘ala ilmaḥalat nsalī ‘ala ūl ba‘ad ma ya'adhin khalī ‘abatich jahzah
		we want to go out immediately after prayer. We don't want be late so that we can catch the shops ((while they're still open)) Let's pray immediately after *adhan* ((the call to prayer)) Have your *abaya* ((cloak)) ready

In Saudi Arabia, all shops are closed at prayer times, meaning that effectively the time frame for secular commercial activities must be adjusted to conform with that imposed

by religious ritual and this affects all citizens, Muslim or not. This religio-social synchronization is illustrated in Extract 4.1.2d in which the female speaker (BD1) is explaining to her sister (BD2) why it was not possible to return the clothes that she had bought to the shop. The driver she refers to here acts as a chauffeur for the family, a relatively common occurrence in urban areas of the Kingdom. It was also possible to glean from elsewhere in their conversation that this driver is not a Muslim which may go some way to explaining why he appeared to be unaware about the synchronization of commercial activities with prayer times.

Extract 4.1.2d

BD1	السواق راح يرجع الملابس المحل و لقاه مقفل عشان الصلاة و بيرجع بعد ما يفتحون
	ilsawag raḥ yiraji‘ ilmalabis ilmaḥal w ligah mgafil ‘ashan ilsalah w bīrja‘ha ba‘ad ma yiftaḥūn
	The driver went to return the clothes to the shop and found it closed for prayer and he’ll go back after they re-open

Extracts 4.1.2a-d provide evidence of the shared cultural understanding among Saudis concerning how the timing of social activities must be organized around prayer times, a form of what is referred to here as religio-social synchronization. This is indicated in the first three extracts by the fact that none of the participants in the conversation asks for the interlocutor to be more precise about the timing of the proposed social activity (such as visiting relatives, eating lunch, or going shopping) by providing a specific ‘clock time’, due to their shared knowledge about the link between religious routines and secular activities. The existence of this insider knowledge is emphasised by the fact that in Extract 4.1.2d the only individual who is apparently temporally disoriented is the family driver, a non-Muslim foreigner, who fails to understand that commercial activity is also governed by prayer times.

Another feature of the language used in Extracts 4.1.2a-c is the fact that speakers often follow their time expressions with phrases that imply urgency such as “***as soon as*** *he’s returned from* *maghrib*”, “***immediately after*** *prayer*/*after* *adhan*” or “***we don’t want to be late, so that we can catch*** *the shops*”. This reflects the social reality in Saudi Arabia that the time span between prayers is often very limited and these examples indicate that the religio-social synchronization created by obligatory performance of prayer is a recurrent feature of life for Saudi Muslims.

4.2.3 Time and Religion: A Summary

Analysis of the extracts considered in this section suggests that there is evidence in my data that the relationship between religious practices and time takes two distinct forms. The first relates to the performance of religious activities which can be based on a natural synchronization according to the time of day, whether these are considered obligatory (e.g. *salat*) or not (e.g. reciting *adhkar*). These extracts illustrate that parents, particularly mothers as found in my data, are eager to socialize their children into performing different religious activities based on this natural synchronization by employing parenting frames that enable them to monitor both the religious behaviour of their children and their more mundane morning and evening routines.

The second relationship entails what I have referred to here as religio-social synchronization meaning that in an Islamic theocracy such as Saudi Arabia the timing of social activities (whether visiting relatives, eating family meals or shopping) is governed by the need for observant Muslims to perform religious duties, *salat* in particular, at strictly specified intervals throughout the day.

This discussion highlighted a number of issues here. First, due to the fact that it is obligatory for males to perform *salat*, this effectively gives them more authority concerning the organization of social activities within the household. Second, the prevalence of religio-social synchronization as a means of temporal organization in Saudi Arabia can be seen in the ways in which those participating in conversations in these extracts display a shared understanding of how time is organised in their interaction with each other. This was further evidenced by the fact that for a non-Muslim living in the Kingdom, applying this practice rather than 'clock time' can create temporal disorientation.

4.3 Space, Religion and Identity

In the previous section, I discussed how the concept of time and construction of religious identity are linked together through family interaction. In this section I will focus on the concept of space and the extent to which it shapes and is shaped by religion and religious practices in family discourse. The importance of space and its impact on discourse has been highlighted by numerous writers. According to Mautner (2017:391):

> space is part of the context in which text and talk take place; context, in turn, is

> regarded as an influence on the linguistic choices made by the participants involved, and as a resource in the interpretative toolbox of the analyst.

Furthermore, "[s]pace not only provides the context for discourse, but may itself become the subject of discourse, creating discourse *about* space" (Mautner, 2017:392). Van Leeuwen (2008:2) had previously argued that our understanding of space "derives from and can be linked directly to social action, to the way in which we use space in acting out social practices".

Commenting more specifically on the role of buildings in the discursive context, Gieryn (2002) notes that they serve to "stabilize social life. They give structure to social institutions, durability to social networks, persistence to behaviour patterns. What we build solidifies society against time and its incessant forces for change" (ibid, p. 35). Thus buildings can be said to have a "structuring force" (p. 37) since they are not only shaped by the practices and relationships that exist within a society but they themselves also shape these social practices and relations to a greater or lesser extent. In this section, therefore, I aim to analyse a number of examples that provide evidence of how sacred spaces, both physical and conceptual, and a shared understanding of these can be used as a means of reinforcing involvement or creating conflict between family members. It is worth noting here that a space is perceived as sacred, according to Munt (2014, p. 4), "if it is clearly distinguished from other spaces, through defined boundaries and/or particular regulations and rites, and it is held to have a special connection with God/the divine". Firstly, I will examine the discourse that is used by the participants in these discussions regarding two particularly important religious spaces for Muslims, namely, *al-masjid* (the mosque) and the *qiblah* (the direction which all Muslims face when performing prayers), using this to explore how talk amongst family members in relation to these spaces is linked to negotiation and (co-)construction of their identity as observant Muslims. I will also discuss how discourse is used as a means of regulating the performance of religious duties. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of an extract that illustrates how talk about religious space is used by participants to create teams and alignments and provoke intergenerational conflicts, exposing underlying power and solidarity relations in relation to religious identity.

4.3.1 *Al-masjid* as Muslim identity marker

One of the religious spaces that participants referred to and talked about in the data sample is *al-masjid* (the mosque). In this discourse, the mosque is understood by the family

members in two distinct ways. Firstly, as a specific building used for a particular group religious practice (Van Leeuwen, 2008), namely, the performing of the obligatory *salat* and secondly, and more conceptually, as a spatial location that is associated with the establishment of moral order. The mosque is a highly-regarded place of worship for Muslims. Males, in particular, are requested by Sunnah to perform their five daily prayers there and in Saudi Arabia, men who do not go to perform their prayers at mosques are frowned upon and considered to be lax in their observance of Islamic rituals. Furthermore, in Sunni Islamic traditions, the practice of walking to the mosque to perform *salat* is also highly regarded. There are many texts in *hadith,* i.e. the collection of the sayings of prophet Mohammed, that particularly praise those Muslims who go on foot to the mosque, promising that they will receive more *hasanat* (credits for good deeds), for every step that they take on the journey to the mosque.

Extract 4.3.1a is part of a conversation featuring four members of family A. The participants in this case are the father (AF), his daughter-in-law (AW1), his eldest son (AS1) and his youngest son (AS3). This interaction represents the longest in terms of turns of all the extracts selected for this study. It is also particularly interesting since it occurs at a moment of disorientation, when the participants' usual sense of religious space has been disturbed by the fact that they are in a setting which is new to all of them. The family have moved from their permanent place of residence into a new holiday apartment in another city in Saudi Arabia. Extract 4.3.1a records what happens when the four participants attempt to re-orient themselves within this new physical location, and how it impacts on their understanding of their relationship to religious space and the construction of their own respective Muslim identities. The exchanges in Extract 4.3.1a take place as the members of family A are settling into their new apartment and getting used to what are still unfamiliar surroundings to them all. Their general feelings of being 'out of place' in this new physical environment have also helped to create in the family members a deeper sense of spiritual disorientation, which is viewed as potentially threatening to certain aspects of their religious identity.

Selected extracts from this long discussion concerning the role of the mosque both as a specific building and a more conceptual sacred space have been used here to illustrate a number of themes that are of particular relevance to an understanding of the links between religious space and identity. The extract opens as AF enters the room where his two sons and his daughter-in-law are. For AF, the move to a different apartment proves to be a particularly challenging experience since it threatens his personal sense of order. He

initiates the conversation on this topic by expressing his general feeling of disorientation: "*I don't know… my whole system is messed up*" (line 67). He is then more specific about what he feels is causing this problem: "*I want mosques around me*" (line 69). He frames this explanation in terms of an emotional requirement as indicated by his use of the verb translated as '*want*' and the plural form of *masjid*. These two utterances indicate the strong affective stance being taken by AF concerning how his "*system*" is dependent on the proximity of mosques. The Arabic word "*niẓam*" (system) used here by AF could cover a range of meanings including a series of routines and, more broadly, a set of religious and moral beliefs or established order, indicating how profoundly disturbing this perceived lack of mosques is for AF. This illustrates the point made by Gieryn (2002) about the links between physical structures and social structures and the stabilizing effect of buildings (see 4.3).

Extract 4.3.1a

AF	67	انا من جيت هالشقة و انا مب عارف نظامي متلخبط
		ana min jīt hashigah wana mub 'arif niẓamī mitlakhbiṭ
		since I got to this apartment, I don't know… my whole system is messed up.
AW1	68	ليه شلون خالي؟
		laih shlawn khalī?
		why's that, uncle ((the polite term for a father-in-law))?
AF	69	ابي مساجد جنبي
		abī misajd janbī
		I want mosques around me
AW1	70	هنا ما فيه؟
		hina ma fīh?
		there aren't any here?
AS1	71	هنا فيه واحد قريب
		hina fīh waḥid girīb
		there is one nearby
AF	72	وين القريب؟
		wain ilgirīb?
		where is the one ((mosque)) nearby?
AS1	73	اربعطعش دقيقة

		arba‘ṭa‘ash digīga
		fourteen minutes away
AF	74	ما بعد يخلص
		ma ba‘ad ykhaliṣ
		it’s not finished yet
AS1	75	الا الي صلينا فيه الجمعة هذا هو
		ila ili ṣalaina fīh iljima‘a hadha hū
		it is. It’s where we *prayed juma’a* ((Friday prayer))
AS3	76	ابوي صلي عند بيت خالتي
		ibūy ṣala ‘ind bait khaltī
		Father prayed at the one near aunt’s house
AS1	77	لا هذا هو الي صلينا الجمعة فيه
		la hadha hū ilī ṣalaina iljimīah fīh
		no. It’s where we prayed *juma’a.*
AW1	78	اتوقع انه فيه لازم واحد قريب
		atwaqa‘ inah fīh lazim waḥid girīb
		I think there must be one nearby
AS1	79	ايه هنا يمنا هنا تبي تروح له مشي؟
		eīh hina yamna tabī trūḥ lah mashī?
		yes. It’s very close. Do you want to walk to it?
AF	80	ايه
		Eīh
		Yes
AS1	81	مشي عاد مادري مشي
		mashī ‘ad madrī mashī
		I don’t know if one can walk to it.
AS3	82	مشي ابوي راح له اربعطعش دقيقة
		mashī ibūy raḥ lah arba‘ṭa‘ash digīgah
		Father walked to it in fourteen minutes
AS1	83	طيب زين لك رح مشي و تعال مشي شمشكلتك؟
		ṭaib zain lak raḥ mashī w ta‘al mashī shmushkiltik?
		it’s good for you to walk there and walk back again what’s the problem with that?

The feeling of disorientation seems to have had the greatest impact on the father. AF's statements expressing this affective stance (Du Bois, 2007) motivate the younger members of the family to display involvement by showing interest in the problem he is experiencing. Note here that the first one to respond is his daughter-in-law (AW1) by asking a question that aims to solicit more information about the nature of his problem (line 68). After he refers to his desire for "*mosques around me*" (line 69), she probes further, with a declarative question ending with a raised pitch: "There aren't any here?" (line 70). One possible interpretation of this question is that it is not intended to solicit factual information but rather to express support for AF's concerns as here she draws on a shared knowledge schema (Tannen and Wallat, 2001). According to Beun (2000):

> In certain cases, a question of the declarative sentence type will be caused by a strong belief or assumption about the content of the question and that the origin of the belief may come from different sources, such as the previous discourse, particular pieces of world knowledge or both.

By employing this question, AW1 is drawing on the shared assumption that there must be at least one mosque situated somewhere close at hand because in Saudi Arabia it is mandatory to build a mosque in every neighbourhood. Invoking this shared-knowledge schema is one characteristic of the formation of supportive alignments (Gordon, 2003: 397), i.e.

> an alignment in which one participant ratifies and supports another's turns at talk and what he or she has to say, creating ties of cooperation, collaboration, and agreement. In other words, supportive alignments are those that mean one participant *aligns with* another, sending the *metamessage* (Bateson, 1972) "I support you, we agree".

Gordon (2003) also noted that supportive alignment is a characteristic of an interactional team and here I refer to Kangasharju's (1996:292) definition of this term as "all kinds of collectivities potentially available to the participants in a conversation". Since Tannen (2001) notes that "family relations are a web of alliances drawn and redrawn by talk" (p. 31) it could be argued here that within the interactive frame of this extract, AW1's response is based on her understanding of what is going on and the need to find a solution to AF's need for mosques around him. This interpretation of AW1's declarative question as a sign of supportive alignment is supported by her later re-invoking the shared knowledge schema: "*I think there must be one nearby*" (line 78).

It can be argued that gender also plays an important role in this extract. As previously

noted, the daughter-in-law is the one who initially responds to the concern voiced by AF by asking questions to solicit further information. However, overall her contribution remains limited (lines 68, 70 and 78) and tends to express a lack of certainty: "*there aren't any here?*" (line 70) and "*I think there must be one nearby*" (line 78). One possible explanation for her hesitation is that the mosque is considered to be more of a male space. While women are not barred from praying in mosques (and frequently do so in Ramadan, the month of fasting for Muslims), in Saudi Arabia it is the men who are required to perform *salat* in congregation at mosques five times a day and therefore they could be expected to be more knowledgeable about the location of mosques within a neighbourhood. Thus, while AW1 is unable to offer any concrete information, her display of supportive alignment (line 70) also serves to encourage the other participants to contribute to the conversation, since as males they can be assumed to have better knowledge about where mosques are situated in the vicinity.

This brings us to the men's interactions in Extract 4.3.1a. AS1 starts to contribute to the conversation by saying: "*There is one* [a mosque] *nearby*" (line 71). The eldest son's brief response, however, could be said to violate Grice's maxim of quantity, since the speaker's vague contribution fails to offer any helpful information concerning the location of this mosque, motivating AF to press him for more specific details: "*Where is the one nearby*?" (line 72). AS3 then provides a somewhat more informative response: "*Fourteen minutes away*" (line 73) but still fails to specify whether this is by car or on foot.

This marks the beginning of a conflict (Kangasharju, 1996) between AF and AS1. AS1's claim (line 73) is met with a counter-claim by AF (line 74). The conflict then escalates as AF's counter-claim is met with a defence by AS1 (line 75). AS3 then starts to contribute to the conversation by endorsing AF and offering supportive alignment when he says "*father **prayed** at the one near aunt's house*". AS1 escalates the conflict further by continuing to defend his position (line 77). Line 78 marks the return of AW1's contribution to the conversation. Here, her contribution could be interpreted as a way of mitigating the intensity of the conflict arising between AF and AS1. The following table demonstrates a summary of the conflict and the alignment that reflects Kangasharju's (1996) argument of conflict structure.

Table 4.1: A summary of conflict and alignment

AS3	73	Claim
AF	74	Counter-claim

AS1	75	Defence 1
AS3	76	Endorsement of AF
AS1	77	Defence 2
AW1	78	Mitigation

AW1's attempt at mitigation seems to be successful as in the next turn the intensity of the conflict de-escalates and AS1 continues to make assertions about the proximity of the mosque, claiming that "*It's very close*" and then follows this assertion up by asking AF a yes/no question to inquire if he wants a mosque that he can walk to (as opposed to having to use the car). When AF answers affirmatively (line 80), AS1 says "*I don't know if one can **walk** to it*". His older brother's response here is interpreted by AS3 as a mitigated attempt at expressing that it might be difficult for AF, who is advanced in years, to go on foot to the mosque and this motivates him to align himself with AF again in the next turn, claiming that "*Father **walked** to it in fourteen minutes*" (line 82). AS1 acquiesces with S3's endorsement of AF by commenting "*It's good for you to **walk** there and **walk back again.** What's the problem with that?*" (line 83). AF, however, chooses to make no response to AS1's comment, and his silence marks the end of this interactive frame.

In Extract 4.3.1a, the discussion focuses on AF's desire to establish the location of a mosque where he can pray but it also provides insights into participants' construction of their identity as observant Muslims in the Saudi context. It could be argued that within this relatively brief interactive frame there is a marked use of repetition in the talk. According to Tannen (2007 [1989], p.60):

> [r]epeating the words, phrases, or sentences of other speakers (a) accomplishes a conversation, (b) shows one's response to another's utterance, (c) shows acceptance of others' utterances, their participation, and them, and (d) gives evidence of one's own participation. It provides a resource to keep talk going, where talk itself is a show of involvement, of willingness to interact, to serve positive face. All of this sends a metamessage of involvement.

Moreover, "the pattern of repeated and varied sounds, words, phrases, sentences, and longer discourse sequences gives the impression, indeed the reality, of a shared universe of discourse" (Tannen, 2007[1989], p. 61). Table 4.2 details the lexical repetition that occurs in Extract 4.3.1a and this can be said to help keep the conversation going until an agreement is reached in a shared construction of religious identity among the participants

in this conversation.

Table 4.2 Repetition in *masjid* talk

Word	Line
Nearby	71 (AS1), 72 (AF), 78 (AW1)
Fourteen minutes	73, 82 (AS3)
Walk (to mosque)	79, 81, 83 (AS1), 82 (AS2)

In summary, with respect to Extract 4.3.1a, it could be argued that first it shows how AF, an older male Muslim, sees the mosque not only as a physical structure but also as a more symbolic sacred space which is embedded within the structures of his social and religious identity and has a stabilizing effect on these. For AF, the apparent lack of mosques in his new neighbourhood is thus a deeply disorienting experience. The extract also illustrates how talk about mosques can be used by participants to co-construct a religious identity as references to this key Islamic building are used to create alignments, invoking shared cultural assumptions about the existence of mosques in every neighbourhood in Saudi Arabia. The extract also indicates that mosques can be understood as a gendered space as demonstrated by the differences in the degrees of certainty and uncertainty expressed about the location of the mosque between AF's daughter-in-law and his two sons (AS1 and AS2) who vie with each other to prove their superior knowledge about this space which is more generally thought of as a male domain. Finally, participants show their involvement in this discourse about mosques by making use of repetition to construct their shared knowledge about these buildings, where they are generally situated in Saudi society and the religious practices associated with them, such as walking, to co-construct their Muslim identity.

4.3.2 The qiblah as a Muslim identity marker

In this section, I will illustrate how talk about another religious space—the *qiblah*—is used in family discourse to construct Muslim identity. By analysing the ways in which the members of this family refer to and imagine this religious space, it is possible to gain insights into how their framing of this provides them with a sense of spatial moral order which in turn encourages a sense of involvement. It shows how participants identify themselves as observant Muslims in terms of the degree of diligence they display in trying

to locate the precise direction of the *qiblah* before performing prayers.

The *qiblah* indicates the direction in which the Kaaba is located. This small Islamic shrine, located near the centre of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, serves as a special frame of reference for Muslims throughout the world as they consider it to be the most sacred spot on Earth. Thus, when praying the five obligatory daily prayers (*salat*), Muslims are expected to orient themselves physically in the direction of the *qiblah*, a direction which is traditionally marked in mosques by a semi-circular niche known as a *mihrab*. The religious importance of the *qiblah* is not limited to its use in prayer as it also plays a crucial role in the performance of *hajj* (pilgrimage) rituals and, in addition, deceased Muslims are buried facing its meridian.

Thus, as well as providing all members of the Muslim community with a shared physical orientation in prayer, the *qiblah* also possesses a profound emotional significance as a unifying symbol. It is thus representative of two levels of religious connections for Muslims: one to a concrete physical place and the other to an invisible conceptual space. This helps to provide the context for the detailed and often highly emotionally charged discussion which takes place amongst the family members concerning the necessity of accurately identifying the *qiblah* since this forms an integral part of each individual's understanding of their own personal identity and what it means to be a diligently observant Muslim.

Five participants feature in this interaction: the mother (AM), the father (AF), their middle son (AS2), their youngest son (AS3) and their daughter-in-law (AW1). This conversation took place on the same day as Extract 4.3.1a, as the family are settling into their new holiday apartment. In this case, the interactive frame revolves around the participants' attempts to identify the precise direction of *qiblah* so that they are able to perform prayers in the living room of their new apartment. They are making use of different smartphone applications (apps) for this purpose (examples are mentioned in Extract 4.3.2a). Again, this extract shows how the family's physical relocation from one city to another creates a sense of spatial disorientation for its members that also disrupts the religious spatial order that frames the lives of the participants.

Extract 4.3.2a

AM	1	ترا مايله القبلة
		tara maylah ilgiblah

		be aware that the ((direction of)) *qiblah* is tilted ((out))
AS2	2	شلون؟ احنا شفناها.. حطيناها
		shlawn? iḥna shifnaha.. ḥatainaha
		how? we saw it.. we set it
AM	3	شف الحين ..تأكد!
		shif alḥīn.. ta'akad!
		look now.. make sure!
AS2	4	يمكن الميلان من الطريق
		yimkin ilmailan min ilṭrīq
		maybe the tilt ((of the *qiblah*)) is due to the road
AW1	5	جربي أم القرى خالتي الي عندتش زين
		jarbī khaltī um alqura ili 'indich zain
		try Umm Al-Qura [an iPhone app] that you've got. It's good.
AS2	6	المصلي؟
		ilmuṣalī?
		The Prayer? ((another app))
AW1	7	لا أم القرى
		la um alqura
		no Umm Al-Qura
AS2	8	انا شايفها مع اخوي امس
		ana shaifha ma'a ikhuī ams
		I saw it yesterday with my brother
AM	9	استنى خل المؤشر يثبت
		istana khal il mua'shir yithbat
		wait until the pointer stops
AS2	10	خلاص كل صلاة في جهة <يضحك>
		khalas kil salah fī jiha <*laughs*>
		so every prayer is in a different direction <*laughs*>
AM	11	شفتها ..شفها ..خمس درجات بس منحرفة
		Shftha.. shifha.. khams darajat bas minḥarfa
		I saw it..you ((come and))see it..it's only out by five degrees.
AW1	12	على فكرة تحطها بالشمال
		'ala fikrah tiḥṭha bilshimal

		by the way, you set it to the north
AS2	13	لا ما يحتاج.. فيه مؤشر خاص بالقبلة
		la ma yiḥtaj.. fīh mu'ashir khas bilgiblah
		no that's not necessary.. there's a special pointer for *qiblah*
AW1	14	الي عندي مايلة فيه يمين
		ili ʻindi mailah fīh yimīn
		the one that I have is pointing to the right
AS2	15	عندي و عند أمي مايلة يمين
		ʻindi w ʻind umi mailah yimīn
		with mother and I it's pointing to the right
AF	16	احنا ما يصلح للواحد بالنسبة لنا الا يصلي فالمسجد
		iḥna ma yṣilah lilwaḥid bil nisbah lina ila yiṣalī fi ilmasjid
		for us one should only pray at the mosque.
AM	17	((ولدي))وينك تعال شوف لنا القبلة
		((calling her son))waynak taʻal shūf lina ilgiblah
		((calling her son)) where are you? Come here and find the *qiblah* for us.
AF	18	يعني ايش؟ صلاتنا فاتتنا؟ تدري انه لو يطلع خلاف تعيدها ولو انك مجتهد
		yaʻni aish? ṣalatna fatatna? tadrī inah law yiṭlaʻ khilaf tiʻīdha w law inak mujtahid
		what does that mean? We missed our prayer? You know, if it turns out to be different, you have to repeat ((*salat*)) even if you performed it with all due diligence.
AS2	19	شف هذا هنا معطيني اياها كذا
		shif hadha hina maʻīni kidha
		see this here. it says it's like this

In Extract 4.3.2a, the interactive frame between the participants revolves around locating the *qiblah*. It shows how the space signified by the concept of *qiblah* is interpreted by the participants as an important source for establishing moral order because it forms the basis of their daily religious practice. Since Muslims believe that the orientation of *qiblah* towards Mecca represents divine will, as far as the members of this Saudi family are concerned, there can be no tolerance of mistakes concerning the identification of the exact location of the *qiblah* and this is viewed as an extremely serious issue. The importance of achieving correct identification is reflected here in the use of admonitions and

imperatives. These feature three times in Extract 4.3.2a:

1. When the mother (AM) sees that her son (AS2) is about to start performing his prayers, she alerts him that the direction in which he is facing is wrong. She cautions him using a colloquial Saudi Arabic term "*tara"* which is probably best rendered here in this context as "Be careful" or "Watch out" (line 1). This phrase is used to impress upon her son the importance of correctly identifying the orientation of *qiblah* before commencing *salat*.
2. The mother (AM) emphasises the importance of confirming that this is the right *qiblah,* replying to her son's somewhat exasperated comment of "*we saw it"* (line 2) with her own imperative "*Look now"* and following this up with another imperative: *"Make sure!"* (line 3).
3. The father (AF) later makes it clear to all family members what the implications are of failing to locate the *qiblah* accurately: *"you have to repeat it* [*salat*] *even if you performed it with all due diligence"* (line 18).

The purpose of this brief discussion is to shed light into what the *qiblah* represents to the participants as a sacred religious space that establishes moral order. It also shows how spatial disorientation experienced by the participants due to their new surroundings also begins to impact how they make sense of their religious identity. Extract 4.3.2a represents only a small part of an extended interactive frame that lasts for 177 lines. For the purpose of readability, the analysis of these interactions will be divided into smaller extracts that help to illustrate a number of salient themes and issues relating to religious identity.

4.3.3 Smartphone applications as religious epistemic resources

Another feature of the data that merits further exploration is the role which digital technology has come to play in contemporary Islamic practices. The data extracts analysed here form part of a much longer interaction amongst family members demonstrating how the modern technology of smartphone apps are used as religious space indicators and the degree to which this is accepted or rejected by individual Muslims. The purpose here is to examine how the participants in the interaction respond to using smartphone apps to resolve an issue of crucial importance to Islamic religious observance: knowing in which direction the *qiblah* lies before performing *salat* (prayers) especially in the case of geographical relocation.

As Rinker et al. (2016) note, there is a growing tendency among Muslims to use digital technology to facilitate aspects of their religious practice and observance. A large number of smartphone apps designed to assist Muslims with various aspects of religious practice including locating the *qiblah* and providing reminders about prayer times are now available from iTunes and Google Play. Other apps are intended to help users memorise and recite the Quran, hadith and *adhkar*. According to Rinker et al. (2016), many Muslims have started to use apps for guidance instead of seeking help from someone at a religious institution or a family member or friend who they previously viewed as a religious authority. Interestingly, Rinker et al. (2016) concluded that the use of these smartphone apps have made religion a much more private experience for believers than it was in the past on the grounds that they eliminate the need to seek out figures of authority or places of worship. However, data gathered for this study suggests that the use of these religious apps can also be a group experience that results in the creation of religious involvement among participants.

For the members of family A, the app functions as a virtual indicator of a real religious space i.e. it points towards Mecca in the same way that a compass would point north. However it also serves as a visual representation of a conceptual sacred space and of the deeper meaning of the *qiblah* for Muslims. Throughout the interaction, different variations of the sensory verb 'see', such as shif (lines 3 and 9), shaifha (line 8), shiftha (line 11) and shif (line 17), are repeatedly used when participants attempt to interpret the physical representation of the *qiblah* offered by the app (the indicator that is mentioned in lines 9 and 13) and when they try to persuade other family members of the reliability of this technology (lines 2, 3, 8, 11, 17 and 19). However, in this case, for AF in particular, seeing is most definitely <u>not</u> believing.

As previously noted, this extract is the longest one analysed in this thesis, and principally it focuses on how participants negotiate the direction of *qiblah* using various smartphone apps including *Umm Al-Qura* (literally, the mother of all cities, another name for Mecca), *Al-Musali* (prayer) and the iPhone compass. The growing popularity of these apps is not necessarily restricted to a specific age group or gender, and one emerging dynamic that merits consideration here is women's experience with these apps. As is illustrated in the extracts below, the women in this family seem to display epistemic stances (Du Bois, 2007) of being experienced in using these apps. This could be attributed to the fact that they are accustomed to performing prayers in the private space of the domestic

environment all the time, while generally the men do not, as they are expected to attend congregational prayers at the mosque.

The extracts show the women in this family displaying their expertise with smartphone technology. Interestingly, the mother (AM), who is in her late sixties, is initially framed as the voice of authority, using an app on her own smartphone to warn her son (AS2) that he is incorrectly oriented for prayer, using a directive to issue a warning: "*watch out*" (line 1). Later, her daughter-in-law (AW1) advises her mother-in-law to try another app, adopting an evaluative stance (Du Bois, 2007) in her use of the phrase "*it's good*" to describe the app (line 5). This confirms Rinker et al.'s (2016) conclusions that apps of this kind may offer personal religious experiences to Muslims by offering an easy access to information regarding religious affairs without the need to consult a religious authority figure which in turn empowers the individual to make informed decisions about their own religious affairs.

4.3.4 Negotiating religious spaces through collaborative arguing

My purpose previously in discussing two key religious spaces for Muslims—the mosque and the *qiblah*—was to attempt to understand the ways in which these spaces have the capacity to shape the identity of individuals. Kenkmann et al. (2017:8) argue that "[t]he way space is organised facilitates surveillance and control mechanisms and ownership of spaces may be denied or enforced. Thus negotiations of space can empower or marginalise people". In this section, I will focus on how interactions relating to these spaces "can segregate, separate, or bring people together in subtle and unexpected ways" and how "[p]ower relations can also be reinforced spatially" (Kenkmann et al. 2017:8).

More specifically, I will analyse how the religious spaces of the *qiblah* and the mosque are used as the basis for building an interactive frame, demonstrating that what Smithson and Diaz (1996) call collaborative arguing is used by participants to negotiate the direction in which they decide to perform prayer as a family. According to Smithson and Diaz (1996: 255), collaborative arguing "consists of participants reasoning together rather than against one another" and these interactions amongst participants can be both collaborative and confrontational, as analysis of the following series of extracts (4.3.4a-4.3.4n) shows. Sometimes interactions are effectively a problem-solving activity in which the participants need to cooperate using collaborative strategies. In Extract 4.3.4a, the participants are working towards solving a problem (locating the *qiblah*) and reaching a

consensus solution by means of an ongoing discussion that involves the use of smartphone apps to identify what is believed to be the correct orientation. The discussion shows that the members of the family express different opinions about the validity of these apps for locating the *qiblah,* with some accepting these as a useful technological solution, while some view them with scepticism and resistance.

The problem in this interaction is introduced by AM issuing a warning statement (line 1) to her son (AS2) when she sees that he is about to perform his prayers in the wrong direction. However, AS2 greets his mother's claim with a defiant challenge and counter-claim asking how this can be possible since "*We saw it. We set it*" (line 2), a reference to a prior discussion about determining the direction of *qiblah* which took place between him and one of his brothers. AM responds assertively to this counter-claim, backing up her own claim with visual evidence from the app she is using: "*Look now. Make sure!*" (line 3). Once again, AS2 fails to back down, issuing a counter-assertion that "*maybe the tilt* [of the *qiblah*] *is due to the road*" (line 4) and essentially failing to address the concerns she raises. Lines 1-4 mark the beginning of a dyadic conflict frame i.e. one that involves two people: AM (mother) and AS2 (son).

However, her daughter-in-law (AW1) then initiates supportive alignment, suggesting to AM that she tries another smartphone app that she has called Umm Al-Qura and AW1 evaluates the reliability of this, describing it as "*good*" (line 5). In terms of his contribution to the interaction, AS2's stance fluctuates: sometimes he appears to be collaborative, attempting to employ supportive alignment with AM and AW1; at other times, he adopts overtly oppositional stances towards other team members. After initially seeming to acknowledge that there may be a problem in the direction that he and one of his brothers had set for performing prayers, AS2 engages in 'conferring'—a characteristic of supportive alignment— by asking AW1 about the name of the app she is using. It could be argued that by doing this, he is sending the meta-message: "I'm willing to work with you to solve this problem".

Extract 4.3.4a

AM	1	ترا مايله القبلة
		tara maylah ilgiblah
		be aware that the ((direction of)) *qiblah* is tilted ((out))
AS2	2	شلون؟ احنا شفناها.. حطيناها

		shlawn? iḥna shifnaha.. ḥatainaha
		how? we saw it.. we set it
AM	3	شف الحين ..تأكد!
		shif alḥīn.. ta'akad!
		look now.. make sure!
AS2	4	يمكن الميلان من الطريق
		yimkin ilmailan min ilṭrīq
		maybe the tilt ((of the *qiblah*)) is due to the road
AW1	5	جربي أم القرى خالتي الي عندتش زين
		jarbī khaltī um alqura ili 'indich zain
		try Umm Al-Qura [an iPhone app] that you've got. It's good.
AS2	6	المصلي؟
		ilmuṣalī?
		The Prayer? ((another app))
AW1	7	لا أم القرى
		la um alqura
		no Umm Al-Qura

In Extract 4.3.4b, although AS2 issues another counter-claim (line 8), his contribution is ignored and the two women (AW1 and AM) continue to negotiate the location of the *qiblah*. In this instance, the two women appear to possess more power, displaying greater expertise in the use of *qiblah*-related religious apps, as illustrated by the fact that AM issues her instructions to her sons using imperatives: "*wait*" (line 9), "*you (come and) see it*" (line 13) and "*you set it to north*" (line 12), which could be interpreted here as either an instruction or a description of how this action is normally carried on. The women's authority as religious app experts is challenged when AS2 makes a humorous remark (line 10) which he then laughs at, openly indicating his scepticism concerning the efficiency of the apps. However, AM dismisses his joke by failing to react to this in any way in the following turn, and instead makes a statement using a sensory verb—"*I saw it"*—and a directive using an imperative "*see it"*. Then, AM, AS2 and AW1 all seem to reach a consensus with regard to the direction of the *qiblah* as they achieve similar results from the apps they are using (lines 14 and 15). Here, the lexical repetition of "*pointing to the right*" finally shows their agreement and can be said to reflect their broader supportive alignment (Gordon, 2003).

Extract 4.3.4b

AS2	8	انا شايفها مع اخوي امس
		ana shaifha ma‘a ikhuī ams
		I saw it yesterday with my brother
AM	9	استنى خل المؤشر يثبت
		istana khal il mua’shir yithbat
		wait until the pointer stops.
AS2	10	خلاص كل صلاة في جهة هههههههه
		khalas kil salah f jiha hhhhh
		so every prayer is in a different direction [laughs]
AM	11	شفتها.. شفها.. خمس درجات بس منحرفة
		shftha.. shifha.. khams darajat bas minḥarfah (addressing AS2)
		I saw it .. you ((come and)) see it..it’s only out by five degrees.
AW1	12	على فكرة تحطها بالشمال
		‘ala fikrah tiḥṭha bilshimal
		by the way, you set it to the north
AS2	13	لا ما يحتاج فيه مؤشر خاص بالقبلة
		la ma yiḥtaj fīh mu’ashir khas bilgiblah
		no. That’s not necessary. There’s a special pointer for *qiblah*
AW1	14	الي عندي مايلة فيه يمين
		ilī ‘indī maylah fīh yimīn
		the one that I have is tilting to the right
AS2	15	عندي و عند أمي مايلة يمين
		‘indī w ‘ind umī maylah yimīn
		with mother and I it’s tilting to the right

The participants continue with their collaborative arguing until the team is joined by another family member, the youngest son, AS3 (line 38). He soon contributes to the collaborative arguing frame by making his own epistemic stance (Du Bois, 2007) known to the other participants by issuing a directive about using the app that he has on his own smartphone for locating for the *qiblah* (line 55) rather than the one that had been suggested previously by the women.

Extract 4.3.4c

AS3	55	فتحو المصلي
		fitḥū Ilmuṣalī?
		Open The Prayer ((another iPhone app))

In the turns that follow, a new team emerges, this time formed by the two brothers, AS2 and AS3. Their authority increases as they display strong epistemic stances reflected in the directives that they employ. There is also a noticeable reduction in AW1's participation in the interaction and her loss of epistemic authority becomes apparent in Extract 4.2.4d:

Extract 4.3.4d

AW1	73	هذاهو ..احيانا مايلة شوي مايله عاليمين و احيانا مايلة عاليسار.. مادري
		hadha hū.. aḥyanan maylah shway ʻal yimīn w ahyanan maylah ʻalyisar.. madrī
		here it ((the *qiblah*)) is.. sometimes it's pointing to the right and sometimes it's pointing to the left ..I don't know

In Extract 4.2.4e, the reformulation of the new collaborative arguing team progresses further (line 75) when AS2 begins to take on the role of issuing directives to AW1. Imperatives are again used to give these instructions: "*Open the compass on the iPhone*" (line 75). The shift in authority within the team is emphasised by the fact that the app previously evaluated by AW1 (their sister-in-law) as the most reliable for locating the *qiblah* loses its status and is replaced instead by the iPhone compass. It should be noted here that AS2 effectively excludes AW1 from this interaction, since he uses the form of the Arabic verb "*iftah*" [open (line 75) that is marked as masculine singular. Interestingly, however, AW1 still appears to be determined to participate in this activity as it is she, rather than AS2's brother, who responds in the following turn: "*Yes. This is it* [i-Phone compass]". Here, she makes an attempt to regain the floor and to stand her ground and restore her epistemic authority.

Extract 4.3.4e

AS2	75	طيب افتح البوصلة حقت الايفون
		ṭaib iftaḥ ilbawṣalah ḥagat iliphone
		OK Open the compass on the iPhone
AW1	76	اي هذاهي

		ei hadha hī
		yes this is it

Another point worth considering in this context is the shift which occurs in the usage of pronouns over the course of the interactions regarding the process of negotiating *qiblah*. At the beginning of the interaction, the participants make use of a variety of personal pronouns. Initially, the participants tend to employ singular personal pronouns reflecting their adoption of their individual epistemic stances in reference to the location of the *qiblah* indicated by the specific apps they favour. This is sometimes accompanied with the names of other participants using the conjunction 'and' or the preposition 'with' to show that they have support from other team members for their claim. Toward the middle and end of the interaction as the members of the family try to reach consensus regarding what they believe is the right *qiblah*, there is a noticeable switch to plural pronouns such as 'we' and 'us'. It should be said that this is not the case for AF who continues to display dis-alignment behaviour throughout and even chooses to distance himself physically from the ongoing discussions by leaving the room.

The following extracts (4.3.4f-n) chart the gradual construction of this agreement and a shared perspective, showing how this develops over the course of the interaction. Initially AS2 uses the Arabic singular personal pronoun *ana* (I) when claiming that he had already identified the *qiblah.* However, he mentions that he was not alone in this activity but accompanied by another family member "*with my brother*" (line 8), perhaps adding this to indicate that he has a witness to support his claim.

Extract 4.3.4f

AS2	8	انا شايفها مع اخوي امس
		ana shaifha ma'a ikhuī ams
		I saw it yesterday with my brother

His mother AM also uses a personal pronoun to display her own epistemic stance "I saw it [*the qiblah*]. You [come and] see it. It's only out by five degrees" explaining she is certain of the location of the *qiblah* (line 13).

Extract 4.3.4g

AM	13	شفتها.. شفها.. خمس درجات بس منحرفة

		shftha.. shifha.. khams darajat bas minḥarfah (addressing AS2)
		I saw it .. you ((come and)) see it..it's only out by five degrees.

AW1 states her own position with a singular personal pronoun "*The one that I have*" (line 14) while AS2 once again emphasises that this is his personal claim by using "I" but as previously he adds weight to this by referring to another family member who can verify this: "*mother and I*" (line 15).

Extract 4.3.4h

AW1	14	الي عندي مايلة فيه يمين
		ilī ʻindī maylah fīh yimīn
		the one that I have is tilting to the right
AS2	15	عندي و عند أمي مايلة يمين
		ʻindī w ʻind umī maylah yimīn
		with mother and I it's tilting to the right

The singular personal pronoun (ني) "me" that is attached to the verb (معطي) is used twice by AS2 to display his epistemic stance and reinforce his authority. He provides proof for his claims by appealing to the authority of the app itself which provides physical evidence of the direction of the *qiblah* in the form of the pointer. His self-repetition (line 23) serves to emphasize his epistemic stance and reinforce his claim.

Extract 4.3.4i

AS2	21	شف هذا.. هنا معطيني اياها كذا
		shif hadha.. hina maʻṭīnī iyaha kidha
		see this.. it (the pointer) tells me it's like this.

Extract 4.3.4j

AS2	23	هنا معطيني اياها كذا
		hina maʻṭīnī iyaha kidha
		It tells me it's like this

As the interaction progresses, the use of plural pronouns becomes more common, indicating that participants are now aligning with each other and attempting to move

towards reaching consensus. This is also reflected in the increasing use of conferring and of repetition as a way of showing agreement and supportive alignment, as shown in Extract 4.3.4k.

Extract 4.3.4k

AW1	79	تبغون اي جهة خالتي احنا الغرب نشوف و الا؟
		Tabghawn ay jihah khaltī iḥana ilgharb nsh ūf wila?
		Which direction do you want **us** to see, aunt: ((polite term used to address mother-in-law)) the west or not?
AM	80	ايه الغرب
		eīh ilgharb
		yes the west
AS3	81	ايه الغرب
		eīh ilgharb
		yes the west

Four of the participants (AW1, AM, AS2 and AS3) are now acting as members of a team, and finally agree to use west as it is indicated by the compass on the iPhone as marking the direction of the *qiblah*. The fact that they have reached this consensus is indicated by AS2's use of the plural pronoun '*we*' (line 86). As previously noted, AF is not included in this decision since he had previously distanced himself from the other members of the family by leaving the living room where they are all gathered.

Extract 4.3.4l

AS2	86	يعني كذا نصلي
		ya'anī kidha nṣalī?
		this means we pray like this?

The same plural pronoun is repeated shortly afterwards by AS3 to confirm his alignment with this decision (line 89).

Extract 4.3.4m

AS3	89	هذا الغرب عدل مثل ما نصلي
		hadha ilgharb 'adil mithil ma nṣalī
		This is the west just like we (used to) pray

AM's later contribution "*it's done*" (line 98) sets the seal on the joint decision and declares that consensus has finally been reached.

Extract 4.3.4n

AM	98	خلاص!
		khalaṣ!
		It's done!

However, despite the apparent finality of AM's comment, this does not mark the end of the interaction concerning the topic of *qiblah* and performing prayer but it does bring to an end the collaborative arguing frame since AS2 then calls his father (AF) to tell him about the outcome of their family decision. AF's contribution to the interaction will be discussed in the next section.

In this analysis of Extracts 4.2.4f-n, I illustrated how the participants engage in a collaborative arguing frame, making use of the new technology of religious apps to eventually reach a consensus that enables them to restore the sense of spiritual order that had been disrupted by the spatial disorientation they were all feeling. During their participation in this frame, four members of the family initially attempt to impose their individual epistemic stances by using directives and then begin to display supportive alignment with each other gradually producing a team. This is reflected in their discourse in the increased use of conferring and repetition, and in the shift in pronoun use from singular to inclusive plural. The four individual family members who choose to participate in this interaction succeed not only in reaching a satisfactory collaborative solution to a specific problem (i.e. they all agree on the location of the *qiblah*) but also in co-constructing and strengthening both their family identity and their group religious identity: "*just like we [used to] pray"*.

4.3.5 New knowledge vs. old knowledge: constructing individual religious identity through dis-alignments and stance making

The previous section showed that four of the members of the family were eventually able to operate collaboratively as a team to resolve a faith-based issue and to reinforce their collective religious identity despite the challenges posed by spatial disorientation. Here I will focus on the father (AF), the family member participating in the interaction who consciously chooses to construct a separate individual religious identity for himself

reflected in his use of dis-alignments and stance taking. When AF first participates in the interaction, he bluntly states: "*For us, one should only pray at the mosque*" (line 16), a statement that clearly displays his dis-alignment behaviour. He also adopts an affective stance that is marked by irritation as indicated by the fact he raises his voice when making this assertion and speaks more loudly than usual.

His use of the pronoun "*us*" in this instance is also interesting. It clearly does not serve the inclusive function that it serves elsewhere in this interaction where it is used to help to define the members of the family as a team. It could be used to refer to the male members of his own family, more specifically his three sons. It may also be a reference to male Muslims in general. In the former case, it shows that he is sceptical of the reliability of the apps and serves to diminish the epistemic stances of the women in the household i.e. AM and AW1. In the latter case, it also reinforces the idea that the masculine domain of the mosque is the only truly acceptable religious space for males to perform their prayers. His use of "*us*" may also be intended to establish a clear division between Muslims who show due diligence in performing *salat* (i.e. those like him who do not trust unreliable contemporary technology) and those who risk performing their prayers in an unsatisfactory manner. In all these cases, his statement is one of dis-alignment in which he distances himself from the other members of his family involved in the interaction.

AF's contributions throughout this interaction are of a confrontational rather than a collaborative nature. In this context, the next turn by AM (line 17) can be interpreted in different ways. When she calls to another of her sons (AS1, referred to here as H) to come and take part in the collaborative activity of identifying the correct direction for prayer using apps, this may be seen as a strategy for attempting to mitigate AF's irritation by seeking another source of expertise to help convince him. Alternatively, this may be viewed as her decision to stand her ground by adding another male opinion to prove that what she and the other participants are doing is reliable and acceptable. Whatever her motives, AM's intervention apparently does nothing to mitigate AF's irritation and encourage his re-alignment as a member of the family team, judging by the raised pitch he employs in his next intervention. He also issues a warning: "*You know, if it turns out to be different, you have to repeat even if you performed it* [*salat*] *with all due diligence*" (line 18).

Extract 4.3.5a

AF	16	احنا ما يصلح للواحد بالنسبة لنا الا يصلي فالمسجد
		iḥna ma yiṣlah lilwaḥid bil nisbah lina ila yiṣalī fi ilmasjid
		for us, one should only pray at the mosque.
AM	17	وينك تعال شوف لنا القبلة
		((calling her son)) wainak ta‘al shūf lina ilgiblah
		H where are you? Come here and find the *qiblah* for us.
AF	18	يعني ايش؟ صلاتنا فاتتنا؟ تدري انه لو يطلع خلاف تعيدها ولو انك مجتهد
		ya‘ni aish? ṣalatna fatatna? tadrī inah law yiṭla‘ khilaf ti‘īdha w law inak mujtahid
		what does that mean? we missed our prayer? you know if it turns out to be different you have to repeat [*salat*] even if you performed it with all due diligence

AF’s interventions here are consistent with the rest of his interactions. Whenever AF contributes to the discussion, the participants fail to reach a consensus and the problem of locating the *qiblah* re-emerges because his contributions produce dis-alignment. The father’s dis-alignment as displayed by his irritation continues to escalate (line 22). He makes two identical demands, ordering one of his sons (AS2) to give him his car (lines 22 and 24). Initially he does not even attempt to explain why he wants this, simply demanding compliance and telling him “*you do whatever you want*” (line 22). He distances himself further from his son and effectively from the rest of the family by totally ignoring AS2’s attempts to explain how the app works as a means of engaging him in the on-going constructive arguing about the *qiblah* (line 22). AF’s rejection of these attempts at achieving alignment with the rest of the team and his disapproval of their methods of locating the *qiblah* is clearly marked by his use of the singular personal pronoun: “***I** am going to the mosque to pray*” (line 24).

Extract 4.3.5b

AF	22	عطني سيارتك بكيفك انت
		‘aṭnī sayartik bkaifak int
		Give me your car; you do whatever you want ((addressing AS2, his middle son))
AS2	23	هنا معطيني اياها كذا
		hina ma‘ṭīnī iyaha kidha
		here it ((the app)) tells me it’s ((the *qiblah*)) like this

F	24	عطني سيارتك انا بروح المسجد اصلي
		‘aṭnī sayartik ana barūḥ ilmasjid aṣalī
		Give me your car I am going to the mosque to pray.

AW1 continues in the collaborative frame by conferring with the other participants and asking them to describe exactly how they had used the smartphone to locate the *qiblah*, probably in an attempt to explain the discrepancies between their apps (line 33). In this turn, the responses of AF and AS2 show alignment by repetition; the father's answer could be interpreted as the stance lead and his son's as the stance follow (Du Bois, 2007). Then, AW1's attempt to continue with the collaborative frame is rejected by AF again in the following turn when he displays an epistemic stance with his comment: "*It's* [the smartphone] *in the same direction, there or here, in the same direction"* (line 37) which is effectively AF's way of dismissing her enquiry on the grounds that he believes the placement of the smartphone is of no consequence. Once again he also displays an affective stance, with his raised voice marking his irritation. He thus challenges the relevance of AW1's intervention, issuing a counter-claim that also unequivocally sends a meta-message of disagreement and dissatisfaction.

Extract 4.3.5c

AW1	33	هناك شلون مسكتوه؟
		hinak shlaun misaktūh?
		how did you hold it ((the phone)) there?
AF	34	على الأرظ
		‘ala ilarẓ
		on the floor
AS2	35	على الأرظ
		‘ala ilartẓ
		on the floor
AW1	36	حطوه من نفس الجهة
		ḥiṭūh min nafs iljihah
		put it ((the phone)) in the same direction
AF	37	هو من نفس الجهة هناك و لا هنا من نفس الجهة
		hū min nafs iljihah hinak wila hina min nafs iljihah

		It's ((the phone)) in the same direction there or here in the same direction
AS2	38	جيب جوالك حدد القبلة
		jīb jawalik ḥadid ilgiblah
		bring your mobile and locate the *qiblah* ((calling to AS3 who enters the room))

The volume and the pitch of AF's voice increases as he repeats the same phrases again from lines 22 and 24, showing his absolute determination to perform prayers at the mosque, ignoring all attempts by family members to convince him by addressing his son directly using terms of endearments (line 39) while AS2 appeals directly to him to "*calm down*" (line 40) and hands over his car key. AF disengages entirely from the other participants immediately after making his contribution (line 40) and marks his dis-alignment from the other participants by not even offering a formulaic expression of leave-taking before his exit from the room

Extract 4.3.5d

AF	39	زين ابوي عطني مفتاح سيارتك و بكيفك ياخي بكيفك انا بصلي فالمسجد
		Zain ibūy <*high-pitched*> 'aṭnī miftaḥ sayartik w bkaifik ya akhī bkaifik ana baṣalī fi illmasjid>
		Good ((my dear boy)) <*high-pitched*>give me the key to your car and you do whatever you want. You do whatever you want. I will pray at the mosque >
AS2	40	طيب ..لا تعصب.. سم سم
		ṭaib.. la t'aṣib.. sam sam
		OK ..calm down.. here it is… here it is.

As soon as the remaining family members eventually reach a consensus as a collaborative team (line 98), AS2 repeatedly calls to his father who left the living room encouraging him to join them again and makes efforts to re-align AF with the other team members: "*Don't pray alone. Let's pray together in a group*" (line 99). He also attempts to explain the outcome of their collaborative deliberations to him, describing how they were finally able to agree upon the location of the *qiblah* using the iPhone compass. However, AF

appears determined to maintain his dis-alignment, and initially is hesitant to respond, even when AS2 addresses him directly.

Extract 4.3.5e

AM	98	خلاص!
		khalas!
		it's done!
AS2	99	ابوي وين ابوي لا تصلي لحالك نصلي جماعة
		Ibūy.. wain ibūy? la tṣalī laḥalik nṣalī jama'ah
		Father..where's father? don't pray alone let's pray together in a group
AS2	100	ابوي ..ابوي
		Ibūy.. ibūy
		Father… Father
AF	101	نعم؟
		na'am?
		yes?
AS2	102	كذا صارت القبلة
		kidha ṣarat ilgiblah
		the *qiblah* is like this

AS2 uses the plural personal pronoun 'we' when explaining to AF how they located the *qiblah* together (lines 104 and 106). His repetition of "*we*" emphasises that all of the team members have come to the same conclusion about the direction in which they should pray as a family. As noted previously, the sensory verb 'see' is used throughout these interactions by speakers who are attempting to convince others of the physical basis of their claim to authority, stemming from having viewed the arrow indicating the *qiblah* on their smartphone app. AS2 then repeats the same words, followed by a statement that implies certainty: "*The west is like this*" (line 106). However, for AF, seeing does not equate to believing, and AS2's claim is quickly dismissed by his father who continues to overtly display his dis-alignment with his statement that "*This does not mean that anything has been proven to me*." In voicing his scepticism about using apps to locate the direction of prayer, he also offers a negative evaluation of the collaborative team efforts of his family members.

Extract 4.2.5f

AS2	104	شفنا البوصلة
		shifna ilbawṣalah
		we saw the compass
AF	105	هه؟
		huh?
		huh?
AS2	106	شفنا البوصلة ..الغرب كذا
		shifna ilbawṣalah.. ilgharb kidha
		we saw the compass.. the west is like this
AF	107	يعني انا ما ثبت عندي شي
		ya‘nī ana ma thibat ‘indī shay
		this means that nothing has been proven to me

The confrontational frame indicating conflict continues. AS2 tries to convince his father to pray in the apartment perhaps because he wants to avoid the trouble of taking him to the mosque and shows him that his youngest son (AS3) has already started praying using the *qiblah* they established. His father ignores this and instead asks again to be taken to mosque (line 109), reaffirming his dis-alignment with the rest of the family. AS2 then tries to ignore his father's request, by simply stating "*We're going to pray here, father*" (line 110), using the plural pronoun "we" in an attempt to re-position AF once again as part of the family group. However, his repeated attempts at inclusivity and alignment are met with stubborn resistance from AF who refuses to accept the legitimacy of the *qiblah* they have established and rejects the invitation to pray like his son AS3. He actually undermines the religious authority of his youngest son by ridiculing him in front of the other team members, comparing him sarcastically to Sheikh Abu Bakr (line 113), a prominent religious figure in their hometown in Saudi Arabia.

Extract 4.3.5g

AS2	108	AS3 ابوي قاعد يصلي لحاله
		AS3 ibūy ga‘id yiṣalī laḥalah
		AS3 is praying on his own, father
AF	109	بتوديني المسجد؟
		bitwadīnī ilmasjid?
		will you take me to the mosque?

AS2	110	نصلي هنا ابوي
		niṣalī hina ibūy
		We're going to pray here father
AF	111	كيف نصلي هنا؟
		kaif niṣalī hina?
		how do we pray here?
AS2	112	شوف ل قاعد يصلي كذا هنا
		shūf AS3 ga'id yiṣalī kitdha hina
		look AS3 is praying like this here
AF	113	و AS3 الشيخ ابو بكر؟
		w AS3 ilshaikh abū bakir?
		and AS3 is Sheikh Abu Bakr?

AF's dissatisfaction with and resistance to the use of the app continues for several more turns, and he responds with counter-claims to remind his son about the concept of *ijtihad* or the need for using reasoning when establishing the direction of prayer to ensure accuracy. The modality that AF chooses implies that this is obligatory (lines 125, 127 and 129). AF's counter-claims are even carried out employing a code-switch to the Classical Arabic of the Quran instead of the colloquial Saudi variant they have been using previously. By employing this linguistic shift he emphasizes his authoritative religious stance and simultaneously re-reminds the other participants about the serious implications of incorrectly identifying the *qiblah:* even if due diligence has been taken, prayers must be performed again if these have been performed in the wrong direction (line 129).

Despite his son's repeated use of plural personal pronouns while claiming this is acceptable religious practice, his attempts to convince AF to join them are rejected. Although the fact that AF addresses AS2 with a term of endearment, referring to him as "*my dear boy,*" might possibly be viewed as a slight attempt at mitigation by AF the fact that it is followed up immediately by "*you won't make this work on me"* (line 131), almost suggests that he feels he is somehow being manipulated. His shift into the modality of obligation "*Get up and take me to the mosque"* (line 131) is further evidence that his son's attempts to persuade him to change his mind have been futile.

Extract 4.3.5h

AF	125	*هذا الاجتهاد مطلوب القبلة مطلوب ادق حاجة*

		Hadha il ijtihad maṭlūb ilqiblah maṭlū b adaq ḥajah
		Here *ijtihad* ((exercising reasoning)) is required with the *qiblah*..you must be extremely accurate.
AS2	126	هذا احنا اجتهدنا و طلع ويانا كذا
		fadha iḥna ijtahadna w ṭala‘ wiyana kidha
		we were duly diligent and this is what we got.
AF	127	*اذا اخطآت تعيدها*
		idha akt’at tu’īdha
		If you get it wrong you must repeat it.
AS2	128	احنا طلعت ويانا كذا و احيانا تطلع ويانا كذا عادي
		iḥna ṭla‘at wyana kidha w aḥyanan ṭala‘ wyana kidha ‘adi
		We got it like this and sometimes we get it like that. It’s normal
AF	129	*حتى لو اجتهدت*
		ḥita law ijtahadt
		even if you were duly diligent
AS2	130	احنا صلينا اغلب الصلوات كذا
		iḥna ṣalaina aghlab ilṣalawat kidha
		we performed most of our prayers like this
AF	131	لا يبه ..لا ما تمشيها علي كذا ..قوم ودني المسجد احسن
		la yibah.. ma tmashīha ‘alai kidha.. gūm wadīni ilmasjid aḥsan
		No my dear boy.. you won’t make this work on me.. get up and take me to the mosque that’s better.

Extract 4.3.5i reproduces another part of the conflict frame between AF and his youngest son which occurs when AS3 comes back to the living room again after he has finished performing his prayers. Although this is a relatively brief set of interactions, it clearly illustrates the strength of the religious convictions of both these speakers who remain firmly entrenched in their positions. AS3 repeats his claim that he has prayed with all due diligence twice (lines 154 and 156), his first claim being interrupted by his father who provides counter-claims by simply reminding him that regardless of one’s efforts, any prayers performed in the wrong direction must be repeated. Their diametrically opposed positions are clearly stated in the last two turns where there is no attempt at mitigating viewpoints or appeals using terms of endearment: “*It’s right*” (line 157) “*no, it’s not right*” (line 158).

Extract 4.3.5i

AS3	154	انا صليت عاد اجتهدت و هذا/
		ana ṣalai ‘ad ijtahadt w hadha/
		I prayed with all due diligence and this/ ((interrupted))
AF	155	*اذا اجتهدت و اخطأت في القبلة تعيدها/*
		/Idha ijatahadt w akhṭ’at fil ilqiblah tu‘īdha
		/If you exercised reasoning and the qiblah turned out to be wrong you must repeat it
AS3	156	اجتهدت و صح
		ijtahad w ṣaḥ
		I exercised all due diligence and it is right
AF	157	لا مب صح
		la mub ṣaḥ
		no it is not right

Although AS2 makes one final attempt to convince AF with a simple direct appeal, he then reveals something of his exasperation and desire to put an end to the fraught discussion by using the word “*khalas*” (line 161). This term has a number of meanings in Arabic but here AS2 employs it to indicate that in his opinion, the long-lasting debate with his father is over and his own opinion has finally prevailed: “*That’s that*”. However, the discussion effectively ends without any reconciliation of opposing viewpoints regarding the acceptability of using new technology to determine the *qiblah*. AF has the last word, resisting any potential threat to tradition as the source of religious authority, adopting an affective stance and giving his personal evaluation of *qiblah* apps: “*I’m not convinced*” (line 162).

Extract 4.3.5j

AS2	161	صل هنا يبه ..خلاص.. كذا هذا هي
		ṣal hina yibah.. khalaṣ.. hadha hī
		Pray here dad..that’s it.. it’s ((the *qiblah*)) is like this
AF	162	انا مش مطمئن
		ana mush muṭma’in
		I’m not reassured

As Extract 4.2.5k shows, the end of the conflict frame between father and AS2 is marked by his son's finally acquiescing to AF's repeated demand to be taken to the mosque:

Extract 4.2.5k

AS2	177	خلاص.. انشالله انا في السيارة استناك
		khakaṣ.. inshāllah ana fil sayarah astanak
		OK.. of course ..I'll be in the car waiting for you

Before ending this analysis of this particular series of interactions I would like to comment briefly on instances of a humour frame that appear within the larger collaborative arguing frame. These stances were displayed by both the young males AS2 and AS3 and appear to be linked to the participants' scepticism about the efficiency of the religious apps. Extracts 4.3.5l-m show how ironic humour can be used as a mitigating device (Gurillo and Ortega, 2015) by suggesting a common ground when in the midst of a troublesome situation.

In Extract 4.3.5l, as the participants are striving to find the *qiblah* by using the smartphone apps, AS2 expresses his scepticism about their efficiency by humorously ridiculing the lack of unanimity in the results they achieve, punctuating his comment with a laugh (line 10).

Extract 4.3.5l

AS2	10	خلاص كل صلاة في جهة <يضحك>
		khalas kil ṣalah f jihah *<laughs>*
		so every prayer is in a different direction *<laughs>*

As Extract 4.3.5m shows, AS2 uses humour again in a later interaction with his younger brother, when the smartphone apps continue to fail to produce a unanimous *qiblah* location. AS3 clearly demonstrates that he has interpreted his older brother's suggested compromise for performing prayer (line 66) "*look I have a solution. We pray in a group. You pray like this* [indicating one direction] *and I pray like this* [indicating a different direction]*"*—as evidence of his ironic sense of humour, punctuating his own response "*so one of us will be right*" with laughter (line 67). However, in Extract 4.2.5m, it is significant that AS2 only makes what would be at face value a shockingly unorthodox proposal when his father is not present in the room and after he has ascertained that he

will not be joining them for prayers. This may also suggest that underlying the debate about finding the *qiblah* there is also a more fundamental clash here between opposing generational worldviews in father and son concerning authority and tradition.

Extract 4.3.5m

AS2	64	ابوي بيصلي في المسجد؟
		ibūy biṣalī fil masjid?
		Is father going to pray at the mosque?
AS3	65	ايه
		Eīh
		Yes
AS2	66	شوف انا عندي لك حل.. نصلي جماعة.. انت تصلي كذا و انا اصلي كذا
		shūf ana ʻindi lak ḥal.. inṣalī jamʻah ..int tṣalī kidha wana aṣalī kidha
		look I have a solution ..we pray in a group.. you pray like this and I pray like this
AS3	67	و الي تجي معاه<يضحك>
		wilī tjī maʻah <*laughs*>
		so one of us will be right <*laughs*>

In this section, I analysed responses to the use of apps in orienting oneself in religious space. Firstly, I discussed those instances which occurred within confrontational frames displayed by the head of family A (AF) who employs several different discourse strategies to indicate his resistance to the use of this technology for locating the *qiblah*. These included evaluative and affective stance-making, and these were accomplished by means of voice quality, repetition and modality. AF uses these to mark his dis-alignment from the team of participants engaged in the collaborative arguing frame discussed in section 4.3.4 by preferring to construct his own religious identity as a more observant Muslim who embraces tradition. Secondly, I examined how within the collaborative arguing frame scepticism about the new technology was expressed by young males who used humour as a means of mitigating the generally stressful situation of both spatial and moral disorientation.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I tackled the topic of (co)-construction of Muslim identity with specific reference to the temporal and spatial conceptualisation of this, and linking this in the

discussion to the idea of moral order. I began by using Van Leeuwen's (2008) concept of natural time synchronization to illustrate how non-obligatory religious practices used to mark the beginning and end of a child's daily routine are incorporated into parenting frames. Drawing on another of Van Leeuwen's (2008) concepts, that of social time synchronization, a new concept referred to as religio-social synchronization was proposed and applied to my data. This was intended to reflect a context like that of Saudi Arabia where social life is synchronized according to the Islamic practice of *salat.* Within this section, I highlighted a number of issues such as how this may be affected by gender, the linkage of secular and non-secular, and how religio-social synchronization effectively becomes the organizing principle for the daily activities of all those living in the Kingdom, including non-Muslims.

In the second part of this chapter, I tackled the issue of space and religious identity by a detailed analysis of interactions occurring within a family which demonstrate how their spatial disorientation following their move to a new physical location creates a more profound sense of moral disorientation. I began by establishing the importance of the mosque and the *qiblah* as sacred spaces for Muslims and explored how the use of new technology in the form of *qiblah* locating smartphone apps is perceived by some as threatening to the established religious order. This also explored how a team can be formed by participating in a collaborative arguing frame to reach a consensus and co-construct a collective Muslim identity. It also illustrated how another family member persistently used confrontational frames to manifest resistance to the use of religious apps, showing his dis-alignment with other participants, and his desire to construct a separate Muslim identity that disassociated him from what he perceived to be untrustworthy practices. In the next chapter I move on to explore the role of narratives in the construction of Muslim identity by focusing in detail on daily conversations in family settings.

5 CHAPTER FIVE: NARRATIVES, FAMILY DISCOURSE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF MUSLIM IDENTITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the analysis of narratives and the ways in which they are used in family discourse to (co)-construct Muslim identity, exploring how family members make claims about themselves that help to create a sense of self and identity. My analysis will draw in part on the Labovian classical analysis of narrative "as a stretch of talk, usually produced by an individual, that conveys both a sequence of past events and the teller's perspective on what is reported" (Gordon, 2015: 311). However, it will be more oriented to Blum-Kulka's analysis of narratives. She argued that it was important to consider tales not as "narratives produced, but additionally as *tellings*—or unfolding (often very collaborative) acts of narration—as these are produced by *tellers"* (Gordon, 2015: 312; emphases in original). Accordingly, in this chapter I will analyse narratives "not as stand-alone texts, but as co-produced *narrative events"* (ibid.). Consequently this means that "what is said, how it is said, who says it and to whom, who responds and how, and so on are of interest" (ibid.).

Thus, my analysis in this chapter will focus firstly on these three aspects of narrative which reflect dimensions of collective religious identity construction: tales, tellers and tellings (Blum-Kulka, 1993) and will consider two key functions of narratives in family discourse, namely, socialization and sociability (Gordon, 2015). This analysis will also explore narrative talk as epistemic stance-making (DuBois, 2007) in order to reflect the personal aspect of individual religious identity construction. The last part of the chapter specifically focuses on the use of religious intertextual repetition and on those religious formulaic expressions that most commonly featured in the narrative extracts as a means of epistemic, evaluative and affective stance-making.

5.2 Tales, tellers and tellings of divine interventions: co-constructing collective Muslim identity through collaborative narrative events

In this section, my analysis will focus on one of the extended interactions that I encountered in my data. This conversation revolves around the topic of divine interventions and it originally took place at mid-day in the living room of family BF.

There are four participants from family B in this extract: the father (BF), his eldest daughter (BD1), his brother (BU), and his niece (BN).

Extract 5.2a

BF	2	انا بقولك على حاجة صارت معاي في هذي المعاملة/
		ana bagūlak ʻala ḥajah ṣarat maʻaī fī hadhī ilmuʻamalah/
		I'll tell you something that happened to me with these papers/
BD1	3	بابا شاي قهوة؟/
		Baba... shay? gahwah?/
		Dad… Tea? Coffee?/
BF	4	عطيني قهوة.. في شاي هنا و لا كيف؟
		ʻatīnī gahwa ..fī shay hina wala kaif?
		give me coffee.. is there tea here or anything else?
BD1	5	فيه شاي و فيه قهوة
		fīh shay w gahwah
		there's tea and coffee
BF	6	عطيني شاي
		ʻatīnī shay
		bring me some tea
BD1	7	انشالله
		Inshallah
		yes of course.
BF	8	هذا امس في شي عندهم نسبة و عندهم امتار.. و علق الكمبيوتر و يتمون يغلغلون فيه نص ساعة مهب مطلعهم لازم يطلعون النسبتين مب مطلع الا وحده اما ذي او ذي ..سمعت؟ و يتم يغلغل.. سمعت؟ و انا يمه و يم الكمبيوتر قلت له اسمع.. و قرأت و بصوت رفيع سمع (زوج بنتي) و هذا جالس ..قرأت عليها ***ألم نشرح*** و لا و الله العظيم كملتها الى ***ان مع العسر يسرا*** الا و ينفتح هذا الكمبيوتر
		hadha ams fīh shai ʻinduhun nisbah w ʻinduhum amtar.. w ʻalag ilcombutar w yitmūn yghalghlūn fīh niṣ saʻah muhub mṭaluhum lazim yṭlūn ilnisbitain mub mṭaliʻ ila waḥdah ima dhī aw dhī.. smaʻt? w yitim yghalghil.. simaʻt? w ana yamah w yam ilcombyutar gilt lah ismaʻ.. w qarʼat w biṣawt rafīʻ simaʻa (zawj binti) w hatha jalis qaraʼt ʻalaiha ***alam nashraḥ***

		laka ṣadrak wa la wallah ilaẓīm kamaltha ila ***in ma'a al'osri yosra ila*** winfitiḥ hadha ilcombyutar/
		yesterday I was in court to get the land deed and it was either issued by percentage or by metres but the computer froze and they kept trying to fix it for half an hour but to no avail. I needed to get the deed with both percentages and metres but only one of them would appear on the screen, you know what I mean? And the notary kept trying, you know what I mean? And I was next to him and I said to him: "Listen" and in a very loud voice I recited ***"Have We not opened your breast for you***" He ((my son-in-law)) heard me and the other man was sitting there and, honestly, once I reached ((the verse)) "***Verily, along with every hardship comes relief***" the computer unfroze/
BU	9	***سبحان الله! /***
		subḥan Allah!/
		Glory be to God!/
BF	10	شوف هذا القراءة و الدعاء لا احد يستهين بيه
		shūf hadha ilqira'a wil dua'a' la aḥad ystihīn bīh
		See, reciting ((the Quran)) and *dua'a*! Never underestimate them!

The analysis of Extract 5.2a begins by examining the different roles played by the two participants in this interaction (Ochs and Taylor, 1992). According to Blum-Kulka (1993) any narrative event typically consists of three phases, namely, the opening, the body and the discussion. In this instance, BF is the initial teller, i.e. the participant who proposes the opening to this narrative event. He introduces the story to be told by addressing BU: "*I'll tell you something that happened to me with these papers*" (line 2), an intervention which marks a shift from the previous discussion with BU about a land deed, signalling a narrative frame. Despite the fact that he is interrupted by BD1 who offers him something to drink, he returns to the narrative frame (line 8) and starts to narrate a story which involves divine intervention, drawing on a personal experience in which he himself is the protagonist, i.e. the leading character. The primary recipient of this narrative i.e. "the co-narrator to whom a narrative is predominately oriented" (Ochs and Taylor, 1992: 310) is BD1 (BF's eldest daughter), as marked in the grammar of the Arabic. However, here the other two family members (BU and BN) also seem to be "implicitly ratified as audience" (Ochs and Taylor, 1992: 311).

After establishing the main participant roles in this initial interaction, it is useful to look at the tale that is being told or the narrative itself. BF begins by presenting the main events of his story (line 8), starting with the setting in terms of time (yesterday) and place (in court). This is followed by a complication (the computer froze), and then apparent resolution (the computer unfroze after BF recited a Quranic verse). However, the narrative event does not, in fact, end here. BU (BF's brother) provides a ratifying response to the story that has just been told by BF (line 9), which is a characteristic of a high involvement style indicating participatory listenership (Tannen, 2005[1984]). Typically, this is reflected in a lack of interturn pauses (overlap between speakers), an interruption to provide an evaluation, and/or use of a raised pitch.

The narrative event then continues with BF providing a self-evaluation of the story that he narrated (line 10). His response—"*See, reciting [the Quran] and dua'a. Never underestimate them."*—formulates the purpose and the significance of his narrative as a moral construct (Fisher, 1987). By doing this, the story teller uses his narrative to help construct a shared religious identity. One point that is worth noting here is that BF's reference to the activity of reciting Quranic verses as a means of seeking divine intervention supports the interpretation that this practice is commonplace in the Saudi context (see analysis of time, natural synchronization and socializing children into using Quranic verses and *dua'a* as amulets in 4.2.1).

Although this story of divine intervention told by BF can be considered an A-event (Labov and Fanshel, 1977), since it is one that only the teller himself knows, analysis of participant interaction clearly provides evidence of the cooperative nature of the story telling in this instance since the narration of this story does not end here with BF's self-evaluation (line 10). As seen in Extract 5.2b, the fact that the other family members did not share the experience that prompted BF's tale does not appear to stop them from actively participating in the story telling. In this case, the other participants take advantage of their familiarity with similar narratives of divine intervention and draw on their shared background of these moral scripts to deliver their own personal accounts featuring a similar theme. This can be compared to the polyphonic type of story telling that Blum-Kulka (1993) found in Israeli families, which was used by participants as a means of displaying high-involvement.

BD1 is the first to contribute to the narrative event despite the fact that she previously seemed to be addressed as the primary recipient of BF's narrative. She begins by

responding to BF's self-evaluation of his account by offering her own evaluation: "*That's right"* (line 11). She then continues by providing her own account of how she used to pray for divine intervention when she was a young schoolgirl in order to avoid being picked out by the teacher to answer questions in front of her classmates. Just as BF did previously, she also starts her narrative account by establishing the setting in terms of time (when we were young) and place (at school). This is followed by the body: "*we used to recite dua'a such as 'And We have put before them a barrier …'* [laughs] *so that the teacher wouldn't make us stand up*". Two points are worth noting in BD1's account. First, the Arabic prepositional phrase "*min wiḥna*" (line 11) is used here by BD1 to indicate continuity between the time introduced in the narrative (childhood) and the present. In other words, this is a long-standing personal practice she still engages in, conveyed here in the English translation by the use of the phrase "*ever since*". Her use of the plural form "we" in this context also suggests that this practice is very common among the group she is addressing i.e. Saudi Muslims. Second, it should be noted that although BD1 talks about "*reciting dua'a*", the example that she uses here is, in fact, the opening phrase of a Quranic verse from Surat Yaseen (36:9): "*And We have put before them a barrier and behind them a barrier and covered them, so they do not see."* The fact that she only recites the beginning of the verse is indicative of the fact that she assumes this is shared knowledge familiar to the other participants to whom she is telling her story.

Extract 5.2b

BD1	11	ترا فعلا! احنا من و احنا صغار و احنا فالمدرسة احيانا نقول ادعية مثلا ***و جعلنا بين ايديهم سدا*** <تضحك> عشان المدرسة ما تقومنا/
		tara fi'lan! min wiḥna sghar w iḥna filmadrisah aḥyanan ngūl adi'a mathalan ***w ja'alna min baini aidyahum sadan*** <*laughs*> 'ashan ilmodarisah ma tgawimna/
		that's right! ever since we were young, at school we used to recite *dua'a* such as ***"And We have put before them a barrier***" <*laughs*> so that the teacher wouldn't make us stand up ((to respond to questions))/

Again, the high-involvement style of story telling continues when BD1 is interrupted in the next turn (line 12) by BU who provides his own account of a related narrative of divine intervention prompted by prayer. As in the previous examples, BU is the protagonist when he relates his own personal narrative. However, this type of narrative is somewhat different to the previous ones, being what Labov and Fanshel (1977) refer to

as an A-B event (i.e. it is known to the teller and to one other participant in the interaction, in this case BU and his daughter BN). BU establishes the fact that his daughter already knows this narrative, which could be interpreted as a way of obtaining more verification or serve as an invitation for his daughter to get involved, as he opens the telling of his story by specifically referring to her "*I told BN*" and then introduces the story with "*that there was something on my mind*" (line 12). He then proceeds with his own account of how his personal problem was solved after reciting (the Quran) and the *Istighfar* (asking for God's forgiveness) which forms part of his evening ritual (see Chapter Four). Note here that BU repeats the phrase *"I told"* four times. By doing so, he emphasises that he considers BN to be a participant in his own narrative, implicitly prompting her to take part in the narration.

The collaborative story-telling style continues here when BD1 offers her brief but emotionally charged evaluation of his story adding "*Praise be to God*" (line 13) using a raised pitch. BU then employs "cooperative prompting" (Tannen (2005[1984]:149) to invite BN to respond by asking "*What do you think of that?*" (line 14). Before BN gets a chance to provide her own evaluation, BF gains the floor, repeating the same phrase employed by his own daughter: "*Praise be to God*" (line 15). When BN finally gets the chance to participate she starts by confirming that this is not an isolated incident "*It's true… dad* [referring to BU] *has moments like this"* and then appears to be about to recount another narrative as she continues *"An old acquaintance* [of his] *might turn up/*" (line 16). However, she does not succeed in telling her story as she is interrupted once more by BF who continues to formulate BU's narrative as a moral tale testifying to the power of divine intervention. His phrase "*No one should underestimate the dua'a or the Quran*" (line 17) is essentially a reformulation of his previous contribution (line 10), using very similar lexical terms.

It is noticeable that as this interaction progresses, the discussion phase of each narrative event becomes ever more elaborated and is also characterized by frequent repetition by participants. Thus, for example, "*Praise be to God!*" is exclaimed by three of the four participants (lines 13, 15 and 20) in Extract 5.2c. In addition, the importance of reciting *dua'a* and/or the Quran is emphasised by repetition (lines 17, 18 and 20). BU himself repeats *istighfar* twice (lines 12 and 20) but is the only one of the participants to mention this specifically.

Extract 5.2c

BU	12	قلت ((لبنتي)) هذا موضوع كان شاغلني هناك واحد مين يتوقع الساعة قلت ل((بنتي)) تنعش بالليل و انا اتكلم لها و اقولها تصدقين الموضوع الي كلمتش فيه الساعة يمكن سبع او ثمان اقول لها رحت انام الساعة تسع و قعدت اقرا انا قبل النوم الاستغفار يعني و الساعة تنعش يدق التلفون الا ان المسألة محلولة
		gilt il ((BN)) hadha mawdhū‘ kan shaghlny hinak waḥid mīn kan yitwaqa‘ ilsa‘a ithna‘ash bilail w ana atkalam laha w agūl laha tṣadgīn ilmawdhu‘ ilī kalamtach fīh ilsa‘a sabi‘aw thiman agūl laha riḥt anam ilsa‘ah tisi‘ w ga‘adt agra ana gabil ilnawm ilistighfar ya‘ani w ilsa‘ah ithana‘ash ydig iltilifawn ila in ilmasa’alah maḥlūlah.
		I told BN there was something on my mind. I was expecting someone to ring at midnight and I told her... Would you believe it? That issue that I told you about at seven or eight o’clock ... I told her I went to bed at nine o’clock and before I went to sleep I kept reciting, I mean, *istighfar* [prayers asking for forgiveness], and at midnight the telephone rang and the problem had been solved.
BD1	13	***سبحان الله!***
		subḥan allah!
		glory be to God!
BU	14	شرايتش؟
		shraich?
		what do you think of that?
BF	15	***سبحان الله!***
		subḥan allah!
		glory be to God!
BN	16	بابا عاد تجيله لحظات كذا ..ممكن يطلع له واحد قديم/
		baba ‘ad tijī lah laḥẓat kidha.. momkin yiṭla‘ lah waḥid gidīm/
		dad ((referring to BU)) has moments like this.. an old acquaintance ((of his)) might turn up/
BF	17	لا يستهين احد بالدعاء و القرآن /
		/la ystihīn aḥad bildu‘a’ wilqur’an
		/no one should underestimate the *dua‘a* or the Quran
BU	18	الدعاء و القرآن فعلا
		ildua’a wilquran filan

		the *dua'a* and the Quran indeed
BF	19	ما في ابرك منه
		ma fīh abrak minh
		nothing bestows more blessings
BN	20	نعم الدعاء و الاستغفار الامور سبحان الله تتفتح
		Na'am ildua'a' wilistighfar il'imūr subḥan allah titfataḥ
		Yes *dua'a* and *istighfar*. Glory be to God! Things work out for the best

Extract 5.2d provides further evidence of the extent to which the participants continue to contribute to what has become a collaborative narrative event on the theme of the power of religious texts in facilitating divine intervention. This time BF claims the floor and attempts to introduce a new story with the opening phrase "*one day*" (line 21). However, he is interrupted by BU who provides a further ratifying response to his previous narrative (Extract 7d), declaring "/*truly things work out for the best*" (line 22). BF then reclaims the floor and starts his narration with a double directive "*listen... listen...*" (line 23) to attract the attention of the recipient (BU) and then starts the body of the story by posing a question intended to attract the attention of the recipient. This clearly marks a change of story and teller: "*you know our dining table upstairs?*". The directives and the question are intended to indicate that what he is about to say is interesting and/or important and requires the careful attention of the recipient(s). BU's ratifying response "*the glass one*?" (line 24) indicates his participatory listenership.

In the next turn, after confirming that BU is correct in his assumption, BF starts narrating an A-B event type story about an incident that was witnessed by BD1. The narrative focuses on his account of how one of his granddaughters escaped serious injury thanks to divine intervention, this time prompted by the fact that verses from the Quran were being recited on a tape recorder. As he narrates his story, he is overlapped by BU who provides a back-channelling "*uh huh*" (line 26) that illustrates his engagement as he follows the narrative and BF continues with his story (line 27).

BF adopts a specific narrative style for this story, posing a question and then answering it immediately himself: "*and who should be sitting on it* [the table]? [Granddaughter 1] *was sitting there*/" (line 25); "*and who should be in front of her?* [Granddaughter 2]" and "*and where do the pieces end up? In my room!/"* (line 27). Since this is an A-B event, BD1's interruption serves to confirm that BF's account is true and partially echoes BF's own phrase "/*honestly… in their room*/" (line 28). This is immediately followed by a

ratifying response from BU (line 29) expressing both his surprise and concern: "*my God my God it shattered*/". BF reclaims the floor by offering what is essentially a summary of the whole episode: "*she was in front of it and was sitting on it and it flipped over her and broke and* [Granddaughter 2]" (line 30). Again, BU's turn overlaps, with an exclamation expressing his concern: "*Oh, Glory be to God!*/" (line 31).

Extract 5.2d

BF	21	/يوم من الايام
		yawm min alayam/
		one day/
BU	22	/والله فعلا الامور تتيسر
		/w allah filan ilmoor tityasar
		/truly things work out for the best
BF	23	اسمع... اسمع... انت تشوف عندنا سفرة الطعام الي فوق؟
		isma'.. isma'.. int tishūf 'indina sofrat ilṭa'am ili fawg?
		Listen.. listen.. you know our dining table upstairs?
BU	24	القزاز؟
		il gizaz?
		the glass one?
BF	25	ايه.. شفت القزاز كانت القزازة الي عليها اعرض من كذا و انا فاتح سورة ياسين تقرأ و موجودة مين الي عليها؟ جالسة ((حفيدتي ١))
		eīh shift ilgizaz kanat ilgizazah ili 'alaiha a'raẓ min kidha w ana faitḥ sūrat yasīn tiqra' w mawjūdah mīn ili 'alaiha? Jalsah 'alaiha ((granddaughter 1))
		yes.. You know the glass one the sheet of glass that covered it previously was wider than this one and I was playing ((an audio tape of)) surat Yaseen ((being recited)) on the recorder and who should be sitting on it ((the table))? ((Granddaughter 1)) was sitting there/
BU	26	/ايه/
		/eīh/
		/uh huh/
BF	27	و امامها مين؟(حفيدتي ٢) و لعلها كانت جالسة على الطرف و تقوم و تنقلب ذيك القزازة و تتكسر و يوصل القزاز الى وين؟ الى الحجرة حقتي!

		wamamha mīn? ((granddaughter 2)) w la‘alha kanat jalsah ‘ala ilṭaraf w tgūm w tinglib thīk ilgizazah w titkasar w ywaṣil ilgizaz ila wain? ila ilḥijrah ḥagtī
		and who should be in front of her? ((Granddaughter 2)) and she must have been sitting on the edge and suddenly the sheet of glass flips over and breaks and where do the pieces end up? In my room!/
BD1	28	/الي غرفتهم فعلا
		/ila ghurfatihum fi‘lan
		/honestly… in their ((the parents')) room
BU	29	/الله! الله! انتثرت
		Allah! Allah! Intathrat/
		my God my God it shattered/
BF	30	/في وجهها و هي قاعدة عليها و انقلبت عليها و تكسرت و ((حفيدتي ٢)) و/
		/fi wajihaha wi hi ga‘adah ‘alaiha w ingalbat ‘alaiha w itkasarat w (granddaughter 2)/
		/she was in front of it and was sitting on it and it flipped over her and broke and [Granddaughter 2] /
BU	31	***/سبحان الله/***
		/Subḥan Allah/
		/Oh, Glory be to God!/

BU's ratifying response (line 31) is followed by a very long discussion of this narrative about the accident involving the glass table, with the participants displaying a high-involvement style as seen by the cooperative prompt (line 32 in Extract 5.2e below). BD1's contribution (line 33) focuses on her daughter's injury, and threatens to shift the nature of the narrative but BF immediately restores the divine protection motif in his turn by emphasising how much worse things could have been: "*but it was just a very superficial wound thanks to the grace of God and the blessings of the surat Yaseen*" (line 34). Following her father's lead, BD1 shifts the emphasis of her contribution away from motherly concern and possible suggestions of scepticism to a wholehearted endorsement of BF's intervention: "*thank God indeed. It was very superficial... truly thank God*" (line 35). BF reminds the other participants why his reference to this particular Quranic verse is relevant: "*because surah Yaseen is recited with the intention of keeping away danger*" (line 36).

The participants then begin a more extended discussion about the narrative (lines 37-47) which includes BF and BD1 suggesting imaginary worst case scenarios concerning what might have happened but for the divine protection provided by the Quran (lines 42-45). Their interaction here again bears a strong resemblance to the polyphonic style that Blum-Kulka (1993) found was adopted by Israeli families. Slightly differing versions of what has already been said are repeated, sometimes several times, to connect the elements of the narrative and ensure everyone is following the key moral of the story: the power of the divine word should never be underestimated (lines 10, 17, 18, 46). When one speaker repeats what a previous speaker has said this also highlights their involvement, for example, BD1's "*the glass really shattered it scattered all over*" (line 37), is echoed by BU "*the glass scattered*" (line 39). There is also heavy use throughout of the Arabic word '*fi'lan*' by various speakers (lines 35, 37, 41, 47) which can be used as an intensifier ("*really*") or to indicate emphatic support for what a previous speaker has said ("*absolutely*", "*indeed*"). All these features highlight the degree of involvement demonstrated by participants.

Extract 5.2e

BF	32	/يعني شلون؟
		/ya'nī shlawn?
		/so what did that mean?
BD1	33	عاد ((بنتي)) مسكينة جات في يدها
		'ad ((my daughter)) maskīnah jat fī yadha
		My poor ((daughter)) it [the glass] injured her hand
BF	34	لكن و شو جا في يدها شي بسيط لكن بفضل الله ثم بفضل بفضل سورة ياسين
		lakin wishū ja fī yadha shay basīṭ lakin bifadhl Allah thuma bifadhl bifadhl surat yasīn
		but it was just a very superficial wound thanks to the grace of God and the blessings of the surah Yaseen
BD1	35	***الحمدلله..*** ايه شي بسيط.. فعلا ***الحمدلله***
		ilḥamdu lilah.. eīh shay basīṭ.. fi'lan ***ilḥamd lilah***
		thank God indeed.. it was very superficial ... truly ***thank God***
BF	36	*لأن سورة ياسين تقرأ بنية دفع البلاء*
		la'an surat yaesīn ***tuqra' biniat daf' ilbala'***

		because Surah Yaseen is recited with the intention of keeping away danger
BD1	37	لأنها فعلا تفتت القزازة تفتت
		li'anha fi'lan ilgizazh tiftitat
		because the glass really shattered it scattered all over
BF	38	*لاا سورة ياسين تقرأ* ***إن شاء الله*** *بنية دفع البلاء*
		la'an surat yasīn tuqra' ***in sha'a allah*** *biniat daf' ilbala'*
		because Surat Yaseen is recited with the intention of keeping away danger, ***God willing***
BU	39	تفتت القزازة
		tiftitat ilgizazah
		the glass scattered all over
BF	40	افتحها و لا هذا السورة و لا مستحيل ما يصابون
		aftaḥa w la hadha ilsurah wila mustaḥīl ma yuṣabūn
		if it wasn't for me playing this surah on the recorder there is no way they would not have been hurt
BD1	41	صحيح فعلا
		ṣaḥīḥ fi'lan
		that's absolutely right.
BF	42	لان لو جايه شظية في عين وحدة فيهم
		la'an law jayah shadhiah fi 'ain wḥadah fīhum
		Because if a sliver of glass had gone into someone's eyes…
BD1	43	خلاص ايه و لا قلبها و لا بطنها و اي مكان
		khalaṣ eīh wala galbha wala baṭinha aw ay mikan
		that would be it or into her someone's heart or abdomen or anywhere
BF	44	لا هذا يهون في العين كل شي يتعالج جرح و يخلص لكن العين
		la hadha yihūn fi il'ain kil shay yit'alaj jarḥ w yakhliḥ lakin il'ain
		that's not as serious as the eye. a wound ((elsewhere)) can be healed but the eye…
BD1	45	لا و الله يا بابا لو جا فالكلى و لا الكبد
		la wallah ya baba law ja fililkila wala ilkabid
		No, <u>honestly,</u> dad, if it had gone into the kidney or the liver…
BF	46	القرآن لا احد يستهين به
		ilquran laḥad yistahīn bīh

		the Quran must not be underestimated by anyone
BD1	47	فعلا فعلا لا القرآن و الدعاء يعني الله ييسر امور الواحد و يرد عنه اشياء واجد
		fi‘lan fi‘lan la ilquran wil du‘a’ ya‘nī allah yiyasir imūr ilwaḥid w yirid ‘anah ashia’ wajid
		Absolutely absolutely the Quran and the *dua’a* Allah resolves one’s issues and shields one from many things

Yet another narrative occurs in this interaction (Extract 5.2f), with BF opening his story by reminding BN about a particular *dua’a* that he told her to use. He then goes on to provide a personal account of how this *dua’a* protected him from the evil eye when he was studying. Here, however, his narrative takes on a new humorous tone as seen by the response from the other family members (lines 49, 51 and 53) who continue with the same high-involvement style when discussing BF’s narrative but in this case their interaction also takes the form of laughter. To a certain extent, this narrative acts as light relief in comparison to the potentially serious implications of the previous glass table narrative since the scenario here concerns nothing more threatening than a broken tea cup.

Extract 5.2f

BF	48	طيب هذا الدعاء الي تقرأه انا قلت (لبنت الاخ) ***اللهم لا خير الا خيرك و لا طير الا طيرك*** كنت موجود مع واحد معي في المعهد و كنت احفظ قصيدة يقرأها و حفظتها و دخل من هو ع و كانت في يدي بيالة شاهي
		ṭaib hadha ildu‘a’ ili tiqra’ah ana gilt l(BN***) allahuma la khaira ila khairuk w ala ṭaira ila ṭairu****k* kint mawjūd ma‘a waḥid ma‘ai fi ilma‘ahad w kint aḥfidh qaṣīdah yiqra’aha w hafadhtha w dakhal minhu? (one of his old classmates) w kanat f ī yad ī biyalat shahī
		right and this *dua’a* I told (BN) to recite it ***oh lord there is no good except your good and there are no omens but there is reliance on you*** I was once with a man at the institute [where BF used to study] and I was memorizing a poem he was reading it and I was reciting it and who should enter but X ((one of BF’s old classmates)) and I had a cup of tea in my hand
BU	49	<يضحك>
		<*laughs*>

		<*laughs*>
BF	50	قال صرمتو قبل المطر؟ هي تجي من صالح و من طالح
		gal ṣaramtū gabil ilmaṭar? hī tij ī min ilṣalaiḥ w mi ilṭaliḥ
		He said "you packaged the dates before it rained?" [i.e. the student is making a sarcastic comment about BF's diligence in studying] it [the evil eye] comes from good guys and bad guys
BN	51	<يضحك>
		<*laughs*>
		<*laughs*>
BF	52	صرمتو قبل الصرام؟ الغريب في يدي بيالة شاهي شارب يجي نصها و لا خذت الا القاعة حقتها تنزل
		ṣaramtū gabl ilṣaram? ilgharīb fi yadī bialat shahī sharib yiji niṣha w la khadht ila ilga'ah ḥagatiha tanzil
		packaged them [the dates] before the packaging time? the strange thing is that I had drunk almost half of it [the cup of tea] and suddenly the base of the cup breaks and falls to the ground
BD1	53	<يضحك>
		<*laughs*>
		<*laughs*>
BU	54	اقوى جزء!
		aqwa juz'!
		the strongest part!
BF	55	لكن و هو داخل خطر في بالي الحديث ال ال ال الدعاء ***اللهم لا خير الا خيرك*** ابد و تنخرط
		lakin whu dakhil khaṭar fi balī ilḥadīth il il il dua'a ***allahuma la khaira ila khairuk*** w abad w tinkhrit
		but before he entered the hadith the the the *dua'a* came into my mind ***oh lord there is no good but your good*** and all of a sudden it [the cup] just fell
BU	56	***سبحان الله***
		Subḥan Allah
		oh glory be to God!
BN	57	لا عاد هذا اقصى شي
		la 'ad hadha aqṣa shay
		oh no that's the most extreme

BF	58	شوف كيف؟ ***سبحان الله***
		shūf kaif? ***subḥan Allah***
		see that? ***Glory be to God***

The discussion of this narrative and the topic of preventing the evil eye (Extract 5.2f line 50) continues. Due to the length of the discussion, the narrative event now moves towards a conversation frame. As Blum-Kulka (1993: 366) notes, "in oral story-telling, the realm of telling is embedded (in an open-ended fashion) in the realm of conversation, and the realm of tales within that of telling". In Extract 5.2g, the participants talk about the concept of the evil eye with BF noting that this is an ancient concept (line 65). BD1 provides a ratifying response to show her agreement (line 66). BF then begins by attempting to clarify his claim but hesitates in describing the concept of the evil eye: "*it's a kind of the the"* (line 67) and appears to change tack in mid-sentence, moving onto an apparently unrelated point: "*and that's why ancient people say touch wood*". Both BU and BN provide back-channelling devices (lines 68 and 69) which indicate high considerateness and mark the reception of message (Blum-Kulka, 1993) and BN provides a ratifying response showing agreement (line 69). BF continues to talk about the concept of warding off the evil eye, claiming that the idea of the protective qualities of wood was recognised in both Ancient Egypt and Europe (line 70). BD1 ratifies and displays high considerateness (line 71). BU asks a clarifying question about "[touching] wood" (line 72). BF responds by explaining that it is used as a form of protection which BD1 confirms by noting "*true foreigners say knock on wood*" (line 73). When BU (line 75) jokes that people should walk around carrying a piece of wood to ward off the evil eye and BD1 joins in the joke (line 76), BF dismisses this suggestion promptly (line 77), warning that this might be thought of as something that runs counter to Islamic beliefs.

Extract 5.2g

BU	64	بس المعوذات تنفع
		bas ilmu'awidhat tinfa'
		but the *mua'awithat* help
BF	65	الحين ***سبحان الله*** القدامى حتى عندهم
		alḥīn ***subḥan Allah*** ilqudama ḥata 'induhum
		now ***glory be to God*** even ancient people had this ((concept))
BD1	66	***سبحان الله*** احس الناس تتفاعل

		suḥan Allah aḥis ilnas titfa‘al
		Glory be to God I feel that people interact
BF	67	هو نوع من ال ال و لذلك ايش يقولن القدامى امسك الخشب
		hū naw‘ min il il wilidhalik aysh ygūlūn ilqudama imsik ilkhashab
		it’s a kind of the the and that’s why ancient people used to say knock on wood
BU	68	مممم
		Mmmmmm
		Mmmmmm
BN	69	صح
		saḥ
		Right
BF	70	و هذي مش موجودة بس في الحضارة المصرية حتى في اوروبا
		whadhi mush mawjūdah bas fi ilḥadhara ilmasriah ḥata fi awrwba
		and this ((the evil eye)) was not only known to ancient Egyptians but even in Europe
BD1	71	صح صح فعلا
		saḥ saḥ fi‘lan
		right right absolutely
BU	72	الخشب؟
		ilkhashab?
		the wood?
BF	73	الخشب كانو يعتبرونه عازل
		the wood they considered it to be a barrier
		ilkhashab kanū y‘tabrūnah ‘azil
BN	74	فعلا الاجانب يقولون طق عالخشب
		fiīlan iljanib ygūlūn ṭig ‘al khashab
		true foreigners say knock on wood
BU	75	ما في الا الواحد يمشي و في جيبه خشبه <يضحك>
		ma fī ila ilwaḥid yamshī w fi jaibah khshibah
		the best thing for one to do then is to walk around with a piece of wood in one’s pocket hehhhh
BD1	76	خشبة يحطها هنا او يعلقها
		khishibah yiḥiṭha hina aw ya‘ligha

		A piece of wood that someone puts here or hangs it
BF	77	لا عاد بعدين الناس يتحول الى عقيدة
		La ‘ad ba‘dain ilnas yitḥawal ila ‘akīdah
		No because then it could become a belief for people

This discussion about the concept of the evil eye continues for a number of turns similar to the ones displayed above. When BD1 shows scepticism (line 85) about the concept of the evil eye as something that cannot be scientifically proven, BF dismisses her claim by saying "*No don't say science has not proven it what has not been proven yet will be proven later*" (line 90).

Extract 5.2h

BD1	89	بس بابا هم ماقدرو يثبتونها علميا
		bas baba hum ma qdarū yithbitūnha ‘ilmian
		but dad they (scientists) couldn't prove it scientifically
BF	90	ايه العلم لا تقولين ما ثبت الي ما ثبت الان يثبت بعدين
		eīh il il‘ilm la tgūlīn ma thibat ilī ma thibat alan yathbit ba‘dain
		No don't say science has not proven it what has not been proven yet will be proven later

Between lines 90 and 159 the interaction continues with a number of shifts in topic that revolve around related topics such as the importance of modesty (lines 95-108) and the importance of charity (lines 109-159). The discussion about religious matters then ends when BF shifts the topic back to talking about the land deed (line 160) when he addresses BU (line 160):

Extract 5.2i

BF	160	انت الحين من رايك يكفي الي سويت و لا لازم اكلم الرجال؟
		int alḥīn min rayik ykafī ili sawait wila lazim akalim ilrajal?
		now do you think it's enough what I did or do you think I need to speak to the man?

In this section, I analysed an interaction that occurred in my data in which participants displayed collaborative work in telling narratives about the divine interventions prompted by the use of liturgical language. I also demonstrated that the participants displayed a

polyphonic style that is similar to one Blum-Kulka (1993) found in Israeli families and that the participants also displayed many instances of high involvement. In order to narrow the focus of my discussion to the (co-)construction of Muslim identity in the next section I will analyse the same interaction from a stance-making perspective (Du Bois, 2007), drawing connections and identifying contrasts between the instances of stance-making that occurred in this interaction with those found elsewhere in my data.

5.3 Constructing Muslim Identity through Stance-Making

5.3.1 Narratives as stance-making devices

In this section, I will discuss how the narrative events discussed in the previous section contribute to the construction of Muslim identity. Here I will use Du Bois' (2007) notion of stance as this brings together a number of concepts that are relevant to my analysis such as stance types, positioning, evaluation and alignment in order to provide insights into the individual aspect of religious identity construction.

Before I begin my analysis of narratives as stance-taking devices, it is necessary to clarify the nature of the connection between the concepts of epistemicity and evidentiality. According to Mushin (2001: 1362) "Evidential forms are those which code information about the speaker's source of information and their assessment of the validity/reliability of that information". Mushin also argued that it is possible to identify "a range of types of evidence: direct experience, hearsay, conjecture, visual evidence, etc." (ibid: 1365).

Having established that direct experience can be classed as an evidential form, it needs to be linked to epistemicity as a stance type (Du Bois, 2007). González et al. (2017) identify three approaches that have been applied to understanding the relationship between evidentiality and epistemicity. One of these, which is inspired by CDA, is based on "[t]he underlying idea […] that, as speakers and writers, we make use of evidential and epistemic forms to assess the validity of our assertions and opinions, providing our words with reliability and thus a certain degree of authority" (González et al., 2017: 69). This implies that participants adopt their attitudes towards knowledge and the source of information by epistemological positioning, in order to enable them to justify, or defend this positioning by employing modality and evidential expressions. Having presented the connection between epistemicity and evidentiality, I argue that the narratives discussed above can be considered to be epistemic stance-making devices as they are reports of personal experiences.

When analysing an interaction from the perspective of stance, Du Bois (2007:146) suggested that three questions must be answered about the participants. These questions are:

1. Who is the stance taker? (the person taking the stance)
2. What is the object of the stance? (the target of the stance)
3. What stance is this speaker responding to? (the reason why this stance is being taken)

With respect to the first narrative that occurred in the interaction (Extract 5.2a), the stance taker is the teller (Blum-Kulka, 1993), namely, BF, who is the oldest of the four participants and the one with the highest power status within the B family hierarchy. The object of the stance is the tale itself (Blum-Kulka, 1993), a personal experience of the power that a religious verse may have to prompt divine intervention, witnessed directly by BF himself. In order to explore the third question, it is useful to look at the function of narratives in family discourse. According to Gordon (2015), narratives in family discourse have two main functions. The first of these is sociability which can be defined as "connecting with others in the family" (p.311) while the second is socialization or "the acculturation (of children, especially) into cultural norms of language use and other aspects of social life" (ibid.). The initial purpose of the narrative discussed in section 5.2 appears to place it in the former category since is it generally the case that when relatives come to visit, other members of the family would normally behave in a sociable manner towards them.

DuBois (2007) also highlights the importance of considering the aspect of positioning when analysing stances. Positioning is concerned with the modes by which people construct their sense of self as well as the ways in which they propose arguments (Georgakopoulou, 2007). In the case of the first narrative that occurred in the interaction, BF was positioning himself as the witness of a divine intervention that was prompted by him reciting verses from the Quran to attempt to solve a problem. By doing so, he was also constructing a particular aspect of his religious identity.

Now that BF's epistemic stance has been established in Extract 5.2a, it is time to account for the other narratives that are recounted by the other participants in the interaction as well as the other narratives told by BF later in the interaction. A useful approach to this is what Du Bois (2007) identifies as "the stance lead" and "the stance follow". In the

former, a participant positions him/herself as the first stance taker while in the latter, other participants align themselves with the first stance. The narrative progression for the extracts studied here is summarised in Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1 Narrative Progression

Extract 5.2a	Narrative 1 : Using Quranic verse to plead for divine intervention for unfreezing a computer	BF	Stance lead
Extract 5.2b	Narrative 2: Using *dua'a* to avoid being picked out from classmates by teachers	BD1	Stance follow
Extract 7c	Narrative 3: Reciting Quranic verses and *istighfar* to solve a problem	BU	Stance follow
Extract 5.2d	Narrative 4: Power of surah Yaseen (Quranic verse) to avoid/minimize injury	BF	Stance follow
Extract 5.2f	Narrative 5: Power of a particular *dua'a* to provide divine protection from the evil eye	BF	Stance follow

However, it is important to note that using narratives as evidentials does not always succeed in creating alignments between participants, as illustrated in Extract 5.3.1a which takes place in another interaction between BD2B and BD2G in the bedtime ritual interaction:

Extract 5.3.1a

BD2B	77	/ رسو ل الله حبيب الله(يغني)
		rasūlū allah ḥabīb allah (in chanting tone) /
		the messenger of Allah the beloved of Allah (in chanting tone) /
BD2G	78	/ابي اشوفه
		/abī ashūfah
		/I would like to see him (prophet Mohammed).
BD2	79	في الجنة ان شاء الله

		fil janah bi'thn allah
		in heaven, God willing.
BD2G	80	جدي شافه في الاحلام
		jadī shafah fi alaḥlam
		my grandpa saw him in his dreams.
BD2	81	حقيقه؟
		ḥagīgah?
		really?
BD2G	82	هو قال ما اعرف فيه احد قالي ان جدي شافه في الحلم يعني يعرف ايش شكله
		hu gal ma a'arif fīh aḥad galī ina jadī shafah fi ilḥilim yaḥani yaḥarif aish shaklah
		that's what he said. I don't know. Someone told me that grandpa saw him in his dreams so he knows what he looks like.
BD2	83	يمكن جدتش هو متخيل شكله
		yimkin jadich hu mtkhayil shakla?
		maybe your grandfather imagined what he looks like?
BD2G	84	لا هم قالو اذا حلمتو فالرسول تقدرون نشوفون شكله الحقيقي
		la hum galū idha ḥalamtū filrasūl tgdrūn tshūfūn shaklah ilḥagīgī
		no. They said: "If you dream about the Messenger [the Prophet Mohammed] you can see what he really looks like."
BD2	85	I'm not sure لازم نتآكد من هذا الكلام
		I'm not sure lazim nita'kad min hadha ilkalam
		I'm not sure we have to check this.
BD2G	86	هذا الي الناس قالو
		hadha ilī ilnas galū
		this is what some people said.
BD2	87	مين الناس؟
		mīn ilnas?
		which people?
BD2G	88	ما اعرف سمعت في المدرسة قالت الابله في الإسلام
		ma a'rif sima't fi ilmadrisah galat ilablah fi ilislam
		I don't know. The teacher told us in Islam (religious education)
BD2	89	how can I say this حبيبتي في اشياء صحيح احنا مسلمين بس فيه اشياء نسمعهم من ال هذول من التراث مش من القرآن و we're not sure about them يعني مثلا صارت

		قصص في الاسلام و ما ندري حقيقة او لا يعني لازم نتأكد اهم شي نعرف انه حقيقي هو القرآن
		ḥabībtī fi ashia' saḥīḥ ihna muslimīn bas fīh ashia' nisma'ahum min il how can say this hadhawl min ilturath mush min ilquran w we're not sure about them ya'ani ṣarat qiṣaṣ fil ilislam w ma nadrī ḥaqiqah aw la ya'nī lazim nit'akad aham shay na'arif inah ḥaqīqī hu ilquran
		sweetie, it's true that we are Muslims but there are things we hear from the… how can I put this? These [stories] are from [Islamic] heritage not from the Quran and we're not sure about them this means that there are some stories in Islam and we don't know if they're true or not we have to check the most important thing we know is true is the Quran

The extract above takes place at the same time and in the same setting as Extract 4.1.1g (Chapter 4). It occurred during the bedtime ritual as the mother (BD2) and her two children were reciting their night-time religious verses. After concluding the reciting ritual, BD2B (her young son) started to chant a common religious refrain regarding the Prophet Mohammed (line 77) but was interrupted by BD2G (his sister) who tells her mother of her desire to see the Prophet Mohammed (line 78). When her mother replies that this will happen in heaven (line 79), her daughter recounts a very short narrative (line 80) that she uses as evidence to explain to her mother that her Grandfather saw Mohammed in a dream. In doing this, she was attempting to adopt an epistemic stance by using a narrative which is intended to fulfil the function of sociability which is common in family narratives (Gordon, 2015). The narrative that is used here, however, differs from the ones discussed in section 5.2 as it does not concern a personal first-hand experience. The protagonist (Ochs and Taylor, 1992) in this story is BD2G's grandfather, but her narrative is intended to make the case that is it possible to know what the Prophet Mohammed looks like, in one's dreams. What happens in the discussion phase of the story telling (Blum-Kulka, 1993) shows that sometimes alignments with story tellers fail to take place.

The mother uses a back-channelling device ("*really?"*) that shows high considerateness rather than involvement (line 81). What happens shows that BD2G becomes aware of the fact that her mother is not aligning with her and has started to enquire about her daughter's source of information. BD2G initially uses the phrase "*He said*" to establish her grandfather as the external authority but then switches to "*I don't know*" followed by the

much more vague expression: "*someone said*". In her turn, BD2 begins to gently contest the girl's narrative by suggesting: "*Maybe your grandfather imagined what he looks like*" (line 82). However, BD2G continues to pursue her previous narrative line (line 84): "*no they said 'If you dream about the Messenger* [i.e. the Prophet Mohammed] *you can see what he really looks like'*". BD2 again expresses disalignment by voicing her doubts about her daughter's information source. The girl persists with her attempts to establish the authority of this story in her next turn: "*This is what some people said*" (line 86). Once again, the mother asks her to identify a credible source of authority: "*Which people?*" (line 87).

By marking this disalignment with the child, the mother's responses show that she became increasingly concerned about her daughter's narrative as it came into conflict with their own private religious identity and she does not want her to believe uncritically everything she hears about religious matters from the teacher at school. However, her responses illustrate the need to mitigate the idea of instilling scepticism in the outside world, reflected in her phrase: "*How can I put this?*" (line 89). In the next turn, the child tries to support her point by referring to what she believes to be a reliable and dependable external figure of religious authority: the teacher of Islamic studies at school. However, this attempt is also dismissed by the mother in the next turn when she explains to the child that she should not simply believe everything that she hears. It is clear that the mother tries to instil in her daughter a private religious identity, one that belongs to the private setting of the house and is somewhat sceptical about the truth value of the one that is constructed in the public domain of the Saudi school system

Here, one of the participants experiences what Billig et al. (1988) refer to as an "ideological dilemma", caused by tensions between conflicting religious ideals or perspectives. There is a conflict between "externally authoritative" religious discourse (religious values learned from an external authoritative body, i.e. school) and ones at home. It is important to consider how the mother deals attempts to reconcile these conflicting religious values by:

1. Requesting further details about the story from the child (lines 81, 83, 85 and 87)

2. Reconciling public Muslim identities with private ones by providing a mitigated directive "*how can I put this? […] we have to check*" (line 89).

While the discussion of BD2G's narrative itself ends here, the following turns continue with a religious theme but the topic shifts to monotheism and religions other than Islam. Here, the function of the discussion also shifts from sociability into socializing the child into the family's private religious identity. In this setting, BD2G starts to ask a lot of questions firstly about the Quran and the ways in which it was revealed to Mohammed (lines 90-100), then about other prophets (lines 100-104) and finally about idol worship (lines 106-109). The interaction ends with the mother suggesting that it is time to go to sleep (line 110).

Extract 5.3.1b

BD2G	90	ايه طيب القرآن ماما هل هو كتابة الله ؟
		eīh ṭaib ilquran mama hal hu kitabat allah?
		yes okay The Quran mum was it written by Allah?
BD2	91	كتاب الله
		kitab allah
		it's the book of Allah
BD2G	92	هل هو الرسول اخذه و هو كتابة الله؟
		hal hū ilrasūl akhadhah w hū kitabat allah؟
		did the Messenger (prophet Mohammed) take it when it was written by Allah?
BD2	93	شلون كتابة الله؟
		shlawn kitabat allah?
		what do you mean "It was written by Allah"?
BD2G	94	يعني الله كتبه
		ya'ani allah kitibah
		I mean that Allah wrote it
BD2	100	يعني hand written لا الرسول جاله وحي بالقرآن
		ya'anī handwritten la ilrasūl jalah waḥī bilquran
		you mean handwritten? no the Quran was a revelation to the Messenger.
BD2G	101	ماما شلون نعرف بعض الانبياء و احنا ما نعرف الكل؟
		mama shlawn na'arif ilanbia' w iḥna ma na'arif ilkil?
		mum how come we know some prophets but we don't know them all?

BD2	102	ايه فيه انبياء جاو و ما نعرفهم و خلو العالم أحسن فهم انبياء
		eīh fīh anbia’ jaw w ma na‘arifhum w khalū il‘alam aḥsan fahum anbia’
		yes there are prophets who came and we never knew them and they made the world a better place so they are prophets.
BD2G	103	/يعني الحين لو اروح اقول للناس
		ya‘ani law arūḥ agūl lilnas/
		this means that if I go now and tell people/
BD2	104	/لا الحين ما فيه خلاص الرسول خاتم الانبياء و الرسل قبل اول فيه الحين لا
		/la alḥīn ma fīh khalaṣ ilrasūl khatim ilanba’ wilrusul gabil awal fīh alḥīn la
		/no now there are none The Messenger is the last of the prophets and the messengers before others existed but not now.
BD2G	106	هل قبل كانو الكل يعبدون الاصنام؟
		hal gabil kanū ilkil ya‘abidūn ilaṣnam?
		Did everyone worship idols before?
BD2	107	لا في وقت الرسول كان فيه Jewishو فيه Christians و موحدين يعني ما يسجدون للاصنام
		la fī wagt ilrasūl kan fīh jewish w fīh chrisitans w mwaḥidīn ya‘ani ma yasjidūn lilaṣnam
		No. At the time of the Messenger, there were Jews and there were Christians and monotheists which means people who never worshipped idols.
BD2G	109	الرسول كان موحد؟
		ilrasūl kan mwaḥid?
		was the Messenger a monotheist?
BD2	110	ايه يله ننام؟
		eīh yalah ninam?
		yes shall we go to sleep?
BD2G	111	طيب
		ṭaib
		Okay

In this section, I discussed firstly how narratives are used as evidentials to produce arguments about personal experiences of summoning divine intervention by the use of

liturgical language and secondly the ways in which this can be employed to create alignment or dis-alignment with other participants in interaction. In the case where the participants aligned with the first stance taker a collaborative religious identity was constructed among the participants. However, when an alignment with narrative epistemic stance taker failed to occur, the discussion phase of the narrative event led to the construction of a private family-based religious identity through socialization. In the next section, I will discuss a point which is related to this, namely, the use of religious quotations to provide supporting evidence for expressing epistemic stances.

5.3.2 Repetition of religious intertexts as stance-making devices

Another stance-marking device that was frequently used by participants in my data to contribute to the co-construction of religious identity is intertextual repetition (Gordon, 2009). This kind of repetition occurs across communicative events and can only be identified with prior knowledge of the source texts and essentially necessitates a shared knowledge of texts among the participants in a given interaction. Gordon (2009) argues that it is a meta-linguistic strategy that fulfils the function of binding people together and accordingly serves to give them a sense of coherence and connectedness. Hassler (2010) noted that speakers in an interaction do not necessarily quote the source information unless they believe that other participants do not know the source or they think that mentioning the source is relevant to the interaction. Here, I discuss how instances of liturgical language are used intertextually in narratives by the participants to co-construct their religious identity.

Another concept related to my analysis here is the concept of voice (Goffman, 1981). According to Goffman (1981), the speaker in an interaction has the ability to display different aspects of self throughout the production of discourse by means of utilizing different voices. These types of roles can be summarized as follows:

1. The author: the person who is responsible for originating the words of the utterance.
2. The animator: the person who speaks the words despite the fact that these may have been originated by another.
3. The principal: the person who is responsible for the sentiments behind the words. This is the individual whose attitude is established and whose beliefs are voiced in interaction.

4. The figure: the character in a story or a text.

It has been suggested that by employing different linguistic elements such as reference, pronominal choice, or quotations, speakers are capable of adopting some of the different roles that are mentioned above and constructing their identity accordingly. Examples of the identity work that could be displayed by choosing to take on these roles include assuming authority over other participants, displaying expertise in different areas of knowledge or expressing the speaker's personal stance. Ribeiro (2006), for example, provided examples demonstrating how a speaker in a phone conversation was able to assume expertise by animating the voice of a doctor during this interaction through using reporting verbs.

This section is intended to provide insights into how and why family members incorporate quotations from religious texts (in this case, the Quran and hadith) into their everyday interaction. In all the cases to be discussed below, the participants do not explicitly mention the original information source which shows that they assume they are invoking shared knowledge. For example, in Extract 5.3.2a below, which takes place within the discussion phase of the narrative event discussed at the beginning of this chapter (see section 5.2), we see that BU appeals to the authority of a hadith ("*get help in accomplishing your affairs with confidentiality*") as an evidential form to create an epistemic stance supporting the importance of being protected from the evil eye. His apparent purpose in using this quote here is to justify his point that certain things should be done privately and that Muslims should not show off because this is likely to incite ill feelings and jealousy in other members of society. Again, the voice of the Prophet Mohammed is invoked by using the hadith to provide evidence in support of the point being made and to legitimize this. The fact that this strategy is intended to serve as a means of bringing the participants together is supported by BD1's repetition of the last part of the hadith (line 94) which shows that these instances of intertextual repetition are employed to invoke shared knowledge among the participants (Gordon, 2009) and achieve involvement and alignment among the family members.

Extract 5.3.2a

BU	93	فعلا حتى مثل ما **قال** ***استعينوا على قضاء حوائجكم بالكتمان/***
		fi'lan hadha mathal ma gal ***ista'īnū 'ala qatha'i ḥawa'ijikum bilkitman/***

		Absolutely just like he [the Prophet] said ***Get help in accomplishing your affairs with confidentiality/***
BD1	94	***بالكتمان /***
		/Bilkitman
		/With confidentiality

Another example (Extract 5.3.2b) that can be found within the extended discussion phase of the narrative event considered at the beginning of the chapter (section 5.2) shows how intertextual repetition of a Quranic verse from *surat Al-Dhariyat* [The Winnowing Winds] (51:19) is used by BF as a evidential form for epistemic stance making. He uses this Quranic verse to invoke a past regional identity, noting that previously poor people in his home town asked for financial assistance in a dignified manner, as recorded in the Quran because Islam has preserved the *ḥaq* (right) of poor individuals to ask for money in a dignified manner that does not humiliate them and to convey the idea that virtuous Muslims should keep some of their money for the relief of the poor and needy. BF repeats his own quotation of the word *ḥaq* (right) taken from the Quranic verse (line 151) in order to provide cohesion and give added weight to the evidence he provided by citing this verse.

Within the same extract, BU follows the stance adopted by BF by repeating the same Quranic verse. However, in his case, he recites some parts of this quote with an unusually raised pitch which seems to indicate that he is unsure about the exact wording that the verse in question takes. BU (line 152) cites another verse from *surat Al-Baqarah* [The Cow] (2:273) to support his own epistemic stance that in the distant past some poor Muslims in his home town did not want to show how poor they were and refused to beg for money. BU thus aligns himself with the same epistemic stance lead established by BF. The verse reads:

> [Charity is] for *fuqara* (the poor), who in Allâh's Cause are restricted (from travelling), and cannot move about the land (for trade or work). The one who knows them not, thinks that they are rich because of their modesty. You may know them by this sign: they do not beg from people at all. And whatever you spend in good deeds, surely, Allâh knows it well.

Extract 5.3.2b

BF	143	***و في اموالهم حق معلوم للسائل و المحروم***
		wa fī amawlihum ḥaqun m'lūm lilsa'ili wal maḥrūm
		And in their properties there was the right of the Sâ'il (the beggar who asks) and the Mahrûm (the poor who do not ask others)
BD1	144	صح
		ṣaḥ
		Right
BU	145	يعني حقي عطني حقي
		ya'nī *ḥaqī* 'aṭnī *ḥaqī*
		this means my *right*, give me my *right*
BF	146	شوف كيف يقول فعلا احنا ما اخذنا بالنا منها
		shūf kaif yigūl fi'lan iḥna ma akhadhna balna minha
		You see how he (the beggar) says it indeed we have not paid attention to this
BU	147	فعلا
		fi'lan
		Absolutely
BF	148	قلت له ليه يقولون لك الا بهالصيغة
		gilt lah laih ygūlūn lak ila bhalseeghah
		I told him why would they (the beggars) only use this form to tell you?
BU	149	فعلا و من اموالكم؟ و في اموالكم؟ و من اموالكم حق معلوم للسائل و المحروم
		fi'lan **w min amwalikum? W fee amwalikum? W min amwalikum haqun ma'aūm lilsaili w almahrūm**
		absolutely ***and in their properties*****?** ***And from their properties? And in their properties there was the right of the <u>Sâ'il</u> (the beggar who asks) and the <u>Mahrûm</u> (the poor who do not ask others)***
BF	150	حق حق كلمة حق

		ḥaq ḥaq kalmat *ḥaq*
		right right the word ((used here)) is *right*
BF	151	الحين الي كل ما جا واحد انا هالك انا جاني شي اهدني
		alḥīn kil ma ja wḥaid ana hailk ana janī shay ihdīnī
		now everyone comes ((and says)) I am destitute I have this ((problem)) give me a gift
BU	152	الاوائل ما ندري ***تحسبهم اغنياء من التعفف*** بعضهم ما يطلب لكن تعرف اوضاعهم في الحي تعرف الفقراء
		ilawail ma nadrī ***taḥsabahum aghnaia' min ilta'afuf*** ba'aẓhum ma yaṭlib lakin ta'arif awẓa'hum fi ilḥay ta'rif ilfuqara'
		the old ((poor)) ones we did not know ((they were poor)) *The one who knows them not, thinks that they are rich because of their modesty* some of them would not ask but they would be known to be poor ((secretly)) in their neighbourhood

I noted that intertextual repetition was used by individuals in a number of cases in other parts of my data to present epistemic stances, provide evidential markers and support legitimization strategies for their actions. For example, Extract 5.3.2c is taken from the interaction concerning the search to locate the Qiblah discussed in Chapter Four. The youngest son (AS3) uses a direct quote from *surat Al-Ma'idah* [The Table] (5:101) to justify how he chose the direction to face when praying (*qiblah*). In this case, he uses this Quranic quote to suggest that it is better not to be overly concerned about minor details and to observe the spirit of the law, rather than the letter of the law. His choice to invoke this particular Quranic text could be interpreted as AS3's way of providing evidence to support his behaviour. In terms of Goffman's categorization of voices, it could be said that by animating the voice of Allah (the author, given that the Quran is considered by Muslims to be literally the word of God), the participant (the animator) seeks to justify and legitimise his action as something that has divine support. This interpretation is supported by the fact that AS3's use of the verse is preceded by his claim: "*it's right*" (line 87).

Extract 5.3.2c

AW1	85	لاالغرب مايل عاليمين صاير
		la ilgharb mayil ‘al yimīn ṣayir
		No the west is tilted to the right
AS2	86	يعني كذا نصلي
		Ya‘nī kidha nṣaly?
		This means we pray like this?
AS3	87	عدل ***"لا تسألوا عن اشياء ان تبدى لكم تسؤكم"***
		‘adil ***la tas’alu ‘an ashia’a in tubda lakum tasu’kum***
		It’s right ***Ask not about things which, if made plain to you, may cause you trouble.***

In the same conversation, the same participant (AS3) explains to his father that he is not going to the mosque because he has already prayed, having chosen the *qiblah* that he felt was right (line 152). He again tries to provide corroborating evidence from religious sources that would validate his actions and recites a Quranic quote from *surat Al-baqarah* [The Cow] (2:115) referring to the omnipresence of Allah (again co-opting the authority of the voice of Allah). However, his strategy to appeal to the authority of the text as the voice of God is swiftly rejected by his father who says that his interpretation of this verse is not correct. His attempt to achieve an alignment with his father for his stance (line 153) thus fails.

Extract 5.3.2d

AF	149	قم انت صل ويانا
		Gum int ṣal wiyana
		You get up and pray with us
AS3	150	صليت انا
		ṣalait ana
		I've ((already])) prayed
AF	151	قم
		Gum
		Get up
AS3	152	***فآينما تولو قثم وجه الله***
		Fa ainama twalu wujwhakum fthama wajhu allah
		wherever you turn (yourselves or your faces) there is the Face of Allah
AF	153	مش هذا المقصود و بس
		mush hadha ilmaqṣūd w bas
		this is just not what it means
AS3	154	انا صليت عاد اجتهدت و هذا
		Ana ṣalait 'ad ijtahadt w hadha
		I prayed and performed *ijtihad* ((execised reasoning)) and this
AF	155	*اذا اجتهدت و اخطأت في القبلة تعيدها*
		Itha ijatahadt w akhta't fil ilqiblah tu'īdha
		if you performed ijtihad ((exercised reasoning)) and you were facing in the wrong direction you must perform it ((the prayer)) again

From the previous examples, it could be concluded that verses from the Quran or hadith may be used by participants during interaction to provide the evidence they need to establish epistemic stances. Here, it should be noted that the validity and merit of these pieces of evidence is established by animating the voices of Allah or of the Prophet

Mohammed by means of Quranic verses or hadith. This enables the participants (the animators) to position themselves as having an evidential marker to support their stance. This intertextual voicing can also be used in attempts to achieve alignment between and among participants, enabling them to create involvement in the interaction and to co-construct their Muslim identity.

5.3.3 Formulaic religious expressions as politeness and stance-making devices

In this section, I illustrate how a number of formulaic religious expressions are used by speakers as contextualisation cues (Gumperz, 1982) during interaction to index different interactional stances and to achieve different pragmatic functions. These examples illustrate how a number of formulaic expressions in Arabic which are based on the word 'Allah' are used by Muslims to display different stances within the interaction and to show how they position themselves in interaction and also how they align themselves with other participants.

The first example (Extract 5.3.3.a) illustrates how formulaic religious expressions featuring the word 'Allah' are used in daily interaction. This extract forms part of a conversation and several of these expressions are used during the course of a story-telling session about experiences of divine intervention and after this has ended. Beginning with the formulaic expression "*bi fadl Allah"* (*by the grace of God*) (line 34), BF employs this term to establish an evaluative/affective stance (Du Bois, 2007) as a Muslim who wishes to express his gratitude concerning how serious injury was prevented due to God's will. BF then follows this expression *bi fadl Allah* with the use of the conjunction '*thuma*' (*then*) rather than a more commonly used conjunctions such as 'and'. This use of the word 'then' by BF to justify how an injury was prevented can be said to reflect a specific hierarchy in Sunni Islamic creed. For Muslims, particularly those who are Sunni, God's grace must necessarily precede all else, including the power attributed to the Quranic verse.

This interpretation is backed up by the use here of the extremely common formulaic expression of *in sha'a Allah (if God wills)* (line 38). Amongst its many different pragmatic uses, it is also typically used when expressing a future hope. The Classical Arabic form of *in sha'a Allah* (line 38) is used by the speaker BF (rather than the colloquial Saudi form as seen in Extract 5.3.3.a below) to indicate the hierarchy of how

the injury was prevented. First, comes Allah's will to prevent serious injury, then comes the divine power of the Quranic *surat yaseen* which was being recited in the recording playing on the CD when the incident happened. The repetition of the utterance here serves not only as a cohesive device (Tannen, 2007*,* 60) to "show how new utterances are linked to earlier discourse, and how ideas presented in the discourse are related to each other" but also as an evaluative device to serve the function of emphasis (ibid).

This is also backed up by the use of another formulaic religious expression, the ubiquitous *Alhamdulillah,* which is repeated twice for emphasis (line 35) to express an affective/evaluative stance expressing an emotion of gratitude to God for the divine intervention. Another point that could be inferred from BF's use of this formulaic expression here is that it serves as a "stance lead" (Du Bois, 161) allowing BF to position himself as the first stance taker while *Alḥamdulillah* (line 35) is used as a "stance follow" (Du Bois, 161) and enables BD1 to align herself with the first stance taken (line 34).

Extract 5.3.3a

BF	34	لكن و شو جا في يدها شي بسيط لكن ***بفضل الله*** ثم بفضل بفضل سورة ياسين
		lakin wishū ja fī yadha shay basīṭ lakin ***bifadhl Allah*** thuma bifadhl bifadhl surat yasīn
		but it was just a very superficial wound ***thanks to the grace of God*** and the blessings of the surah Yaseen
BD1	35	***الحمدلله..*** ايه شي بسيط ..فعلا ***الحمدلله***
		ilḥamdu lilah.. eīh shay basīṭ.. fi'lan ***ilḥamd lilah***
		thank God indeed ..it was very superficial ... truly ***thank God***
BF	36	*لأن سورة ياسين تقرأ بنية دفع البلاء*
		la'an surat yaesīn tuqra' biniat daf' ilbala'
		because Surah Yaseen is recited with the intention of keeping away danger
BD1	37	لأنها فعلا تفتت القزازة تفتت
		li'anha fi'lan ilgizazh tiftitat

		because the glass really shattered it scattered all over
BF	38	لاا سورة ياسين ***تقرأ إن شاء الله*** بنية دفع البلاء
		la'an surat yasīn tuqra' ***in sha'a allah*** biniat daf' ilbala'
		because Surat Yaseen is recited with the intention of keeping away danger, ***God willing***

In Extract 5.3.3b, which comes from the same context as Extract 5.3.3a, another formulaic religious expression is used to express an evaluative and affective stance. In religious discourse *Subhan Allah* is typically used to express wonder at God's divine power and in conversation it can perform a similar function, being used in response to being told about some seemingly insoluble issue or problem which had a positive outcome, indicating divine intervention. In Extract 5.3.3b, this expression is repeated to express wonder at God's divine interventions but it also achieves connection, or solidarity, and alignment between the participants. According to Tannen (2007[1989], 61) "Repeating the words, phrases, or sentences of other speakers (a) accomplishes a conversation, (b) shows one's response to another's utterance, (c) shows acceptance of others' utterances, their participation, and them, and (d) gives evidence of one's own participation":

Extract 5.3.3b

BF	8	هذا امس في شي عندهم نسبة و عندهم امتار.. و علق الكمبيوتر و يتمون يغلغلون فيه نص ساعة مهب مطلعهم لازم يطلعون النسبتين مب مطلع الا وحده اما ذي او ذي.. سمعت؟ و يتم يغلغل.. سمعت؟ و انا يمه و يم الكمبيوتر قلت له اسمع و قرأت و بصوت رفيع سمع (زوج بنتي) و هذا جالس قرأت عليها ألم نشرح و لا و الله العظيم كملتها الى ان مع العسر يسرا الا و ينفتح هذا الكمبيوتر
		hadha ams fīh shai 'induhun nisbah w 'induhum amtar.. w 'alag ilcombutar w yitmūn yghalghlūn fīh niṣ sa'ah muhub mṭaluhum lazim yṭlūn ilnisbitain mub mṭali' ila waḥdah ima dhī aw dhī.. sma't? w yitim yghalghil.. sima't? w ana yamah w yam ilcombyutar gilt lah isma'.. w qar'at w biṣawt rafī' sima'a (zawj binti) w hatha jalis qara't 'alaiha ***alam nashraḥ*** ***laka ṣadrak*** wa la wallah ilaẓīm kamaltha ila ***in ma'a al'osri yosra*** ila winfitiḥ hadha ilcombyutar/
		yesterday I was in court to get the land deed and it was either issued by percentage or by metres but the computer froze and they kept trying to

		fix it for half an hour but to no avail. I needed to get the deed with both percentages and metres but only one of them would appear on the screen, you know what I mean? And the notary kept trying, you know what I mean? And I was next to him and I said to him: "Listen" and in a very loud voice I recited ***"Have We not opened your breast for you"*** He ((my son-in-law)) heard me and the other man was sitting there and, honestly, once I reached ((the verse)) "***Verily, along with every hardship comes relief***" the computer unfroze/
BU	9	***سبحان الله! /***
		Subḥan Allah!/
		Glory be to God!/

In line 9, the formulaic expression *Subhan Allah* is again used by BU to evaluate the story told by BF and also to align himself with BF, thus, creating an evaluative and affective stance.

Extract 5.3.3c

BU	12	قلت ((لبنتي)) هذا موضوع كان شاغلني هناك واحد مين يتوقع الساعة ثتعش قلت ل(بنتي) بالليل و انا اتكلم لها و اقولها تصدقين الموضوع الي كلمتش فيه الساعة يمكن سبع او ثمان اقول لها رحت انام الساعة تسع و قعدت اقرا انا قبل النوم الاستغفار يعني و الساعة ثنعش يدق التلفون الا ان المسألة محلولة
		gilt il ((BN)) hadha mawdhū‘ kan shaghlny hinak waḥid mīn kan yitwaqa‘ ilsa‘a ithna‘ash bilail w ana atkalam laha w agūl laha tṣadgīn ilmawdhu‘ ilī kalamtach fīh ilsa‘a sabi‘aw thiman agūl laha riḥt anam ilsa‘ah tisi‘ w ga‘adt agra ana gabil ilnawm ilistighfar ya‘ani w ilsa‘ah ithana‘ash ydig iltilifawn ila in ilmasa’alah maḥlūlah.
		I told BN there was something on my mind. I was expecting someone to ring at midnight and I told her... Would you believe it? That issue that I told you about at seven or eight o'clock ... I told her I went to bed at nine o'clock and before I went to sleep I kept reciting, I mean, *istighfar* [prayers asking for forgiveness], and at midnight the telephone rang and the problem had been solved..
BD1	13	***سبحان الله!***

		Subḥan allah!
		Glory be to God!
BU	14	شرايتش؟
		Shraich?
		What do you think of that?
BF	15	***سبحان الله!***
		Subḥan allah!
		Glory be to God!
BN	16	بابا عاد تجيله لحظات كذا ممكن يطلع له واحد قديم/
		baba ‘ad tijī lah laḥẓat kidha momkin yiṭla‘ lah waḥid gidīm/
		It’s true… dad [referring to BU] has moments like this. An old acquaintance [of his] might turn up/
BF	17	لا يستهين احد بالدعاء و القرآن /
		/la ystihīn aḥad bildu‘a’ wilqur’an
		/no one should underestimate the *dua‘a* or the Quran
BU	18	الدعاء و القرآن فعلا
		ildua’a wilquran filan
		the *dua’a* and the Quran indeed
BF	19	ما في ابرك منه
		ma fīh abrak minh
		nothing bestows more blessings
BN	20	نعم الدعاء و الاستغفار الامور ***سبحان الله*** تتفتح
		Na‘am ildua‘a’ wilistighfar il’imūr **subḥan allah** titfataḥ
		Yes *dua’a* and *istighfar* ***Glory be to God!*** Things work out for the best

Again the expression is used here (line 13) in the same way as it was used previously (line 9) to provide an evaluative and affective response to the story told in the previous turn. It is repeated by BF (line 15) as a response to the question asked by BU that demands an evaluation of his story. The repetition of the formulaic expression again shows how the participants align themselves together thus creating connection and solidarity.

Subhan Allah (line 20) is used to express BF’s wonder at how problems can be solved due to divine intervention. Again, the use of this expression indicates an evaluative and affective stance.

Extract 5.3.3d

BF	55	لكن و هو داخل خطر في بالي الحديث ال ال ال الدعاء ***اللهم لا خير الا خيرك*** ابد و تنخرط
		lakin whu dakhil khaṭar fi balī ilḥadīth il il il dua‘a ***allahuma la khaira ila khairuk*** w abad w tinkhrit
		but before he entered the hadith the the the *dua’a* came into my mind ***oh lord there is no good but your good*** and all of a sudden it [the cup] just fell
BU	56	***سبحان الله***
		Subḥan Allah
		oh glory be to God!
BN	57	لا عاد هذا اقصى شي
		la ‘ad hadha aqṣa shay
		oh no that’s the most extreme
BF	58	شوف كيف؟ ***سبحان الله***
		shūf kaif? ***subḥan Allah***
		see that? ***Glory be to God***

In the above extract, *Subhan Allah* is used by two participants (BU, BF) (lines 57 and 59) as a means of providing positive evaluations of these narratives attesting to the power of divine intervention and also to express emotions of wonder. Again, in addition to the literal meaning with which the expression is used comes the pragmatic function of providing an evaluation of the story and suggesting high involvement by the participants. The same expression is used in a similar fashion by BF and BD1 in Extract 5.3.3.e(lines 65 and 66 respectively).

Extract 5.3.3e

BF	65	الحين ***سبحان الله*** القدامى حتى عندهم
		alḥīn ***subḥan Allah*** ilqudama ḥata ‘induhum
		now ***glory be to God*** even ancient people had this [concept]
BD1	66	***سبحان الله*** احس الناس تتفاعل
		suḥan Allah aḥis ilnas titfa‘al
		Glory be to God I feel that people interact

In Extract 5.3.3f repetition of the word 'Allah' is used to intensify the magnitude of the situation and this is followed by another usage of '*Subhan Allah'* (line 31) which is used here as an exclamation expressing wonder at God's power, thus, creating an affective stance.

Extract 5.3.3f

BU	29	/الله! الله! انتثرت/
		Allah! Allah! Intathrat/
		My God. my God. it shattered /
BF	30	/في وجهها و هي قاعدة عليها و انقلبت عليها و تكسرت و (حفيدتي ٢) و/
		/fi wajihaha wi hi ga'adah 'alaiha w ingalbat 'alaiha w itkasarat w (granddaughter 2)/
		/she was in front of it and was sitting on it and it flipped over her and broke and (granddaughter 2) /
BU	31	***/سبحان الله/***
		/Subḥan Allah/
		/Oh, Glory be to God!/

In all these examples, the use of formulaic expressions can be considered indexical of religious identity. They can be used as an involvement strategy to show that that those in the interaction share a common Muslim identity. However, it is important to note that in the data some of these phrases fulfil multiple pragmatic functions in conversation. One frequent use of these phrases I found in my data is *insha'Allah*. While I previously discussed how the Classical Arabic form of it was used in the literal sense, meaning, 'if God wills' or 'God willing', Muslims use this phrase in statements expressing future hopes. It serves to remind them that nothing happens unless Allah wills it, emphasising the Islamic belief that the divine will supersedes human will (Esposito, 2003). Extracts from the data collected show that this phrase has a range of pragmatic meanings, depending on the context.

In the following three examples, it is used as a politeness strategy to express obedience and willingness to do what has been requested. In both these cases, this reply is given by individuals who occupy lower power status positions in the familial setting; AS2 is the son of the head of family A and BD1 is the daughter of the head of family B, and the phrase indicates their willing compliance with a parental request. It is worth noting here

that this formulaic expression is pronounced in the Saudi dialect where it is pronounced as one word "*inshāllah*" instead of its Classical Arabic counterpart where it is pronounced as three separate words "*in sha'a Allah*".

Extract 5.3.3g

AF	65	زين قوم اتوضى
		zain gūm itwaḍa
		OK go and perform your ablutions
AS 2	66	انشالله
		Inshāllah
		Yes, of course.

Extract 5.3.3h

BF	6	عطيني شاي
		ʿatīnī shay
		bring me some tea
BD1	7	انشالله
		Inshāllah
		Yes, of course.

Extract 5.3.3i

AS2	177	خلاص انشالله انا في السيارة استناك
		Khakas inshāllah ana fil sayarah astanak
		OK, of course, I'll be in the car waiting for you

By way of contrast, in Extract 5.3.3j, AS3 uses another formulaic religious expression pragmatically to express mitigated discontent with his father's behaviour. The expression "*allah yahdīh*" can be translated as "May Allah guide him to the right path". This helps

AS3 to create an affective stance of discontent with what he perceives as his father's unreasonable demands:

Extract 5.3.3j

AS3	88	ابوي ***الله يهديه*** يعني الحين نلازم نعيد الصلاة شهر
		Ibūy ***allah yahdīh*** ya'nī alḥīn lazim ni'īd ilṣalah shahar
		Father ***may Allah guide him to the right path*** this means that now we have to repeat all our prayers for a month.

Wallah, literally meaning 'By God', can be used pragmatically to emphasize a point in the same way that phrases such as 'really', 'honestly', 'indeed' or 'absolutely' might be used in English creating another affective stance of exaggeration:

Extract 5.3.3k

BD1	45	لا و الله يا بابا لو جا في الكلى و لا الكبد
		La wallah ya baba law ja fil kila wala ilkabid
		No, honestly, dad, if it had gone into the kidney or the liver…

Extract 5.3.3l

AF	140	لا ما اعرف و الله لو اني اعرف ما احتجت لك
		La ma a'rif wallah law ini a'rif ma iḥtjt lak
		No I don't know, really, if I knew I wouldn't need you

Extract 5.3.3m

M1	8	هذا امس في شي عندهم نسبة و عندهم امتار و علق الكمبيوتر و يتمون يغلغلون فيه نص ساعة مهب مطلعهم لازم يطلعون النسبتين مب مطلع الا وحده اما ذي او ذي سمعت؟ و يتم يغلغل سمعت؟ و انا يمه و يم الكمبيوتر قلت له اسمع و قرأت و بصوت رفيع سمع ع و هذا جالس قرأت عليها ألم نشرح و لا و الله العظيم كملتها الى ان مع العسر يسرا الا و ينفتح هذا الكمبيوتر
		hadha ams fīh shai 'induhun nisbah w 'induhum amtar.. w 'alag ilcombutar w yitmūn yghalghlūn fīh niṣ sa'ah muhub mṭaluhum lazim

		yṭlūn ilnisbitain mub mṭali‘ ila waḥdah ima dhī aw dhī.. sma‘t? w yitim yghalghil.. sima‘t? w ana yamah w yam ilcombyutar gilt lah isma‘.. w qar’at w biṣawt rafī‘ sima‘a (zawj binti) w hatha jalis qara’t ‘alaiha ***alam nashraḥ*** ***laka ṣadrak*** wa la wallah ilaẓīm kamaltha ila ***in ma‘a al‘osri yosra ila*** winfitiḥ hadha ilcombyutar/
		yesterday I was in court to get the land deed and it was either issued by percentage or by metres but the computer froze and they kept trying to fix it for half an hour but to no avail. I needed to get the deed with both percentages and metres but only one of them would appear on the screen, you know what I mean? And the notary kept trying, you know what I mean? And I was next to him and I said to him: “Listen” and in a very loud voice I recited ***“Have We not opened your breast for you***” He ((my son-in-law)) heard me and the other man was sitting there and, honestly, once I reached ((the verse)) “***Verily, along with every hardship comes relief***” the computer unfroze/

Again *wallah* is used in Extract 5.3.3n to create an affective stance of emphasis:

Extract 5.3.3n

M2	22	و الله فعلا الامور تتيسر
		Wallah fi‘lan il’imūr tityasar
		/truly things work out for the best

Wallah al-aẓeem (by God Almighty) is another variation on *wallah* which serves similar pragmatic purposes of expressing emphasis and creating an affective stance:

Extract 5.3.3o

AF	84	ما في مشكله بس انا
		ma fīh mushkilah bas ana
		there isn’t a problem but I…
AS1	85	و الله العظيم

		Wallah al‘aẓīm
		By God Almighty

These examples show that a wide variety of formulaic religious expressions are frequently used in interaction. These expressions are sometimes used pragmatically to achieve different stances in interaction. Depending on the way they are used in context they can be employed to contribute to expressing the stances of the speakers and how they position the speakers in relation to other participants, functioning as either an involvement strategy or a distancing strategy. They are also interwoven into daily life as they can be used pragmatically as a politeness strategy.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how narrative events can be incorporated into family discourse in co-constructing religious identity. I first discussed how the telling of stories about divine interventions could be used by participants to co-construct a collaborative religious identity using a polyphonic style (Blum-Kulka, 1992). I also argued that narratives can function as epistemic stance-making devices and explained how they can be used to achieve alignment between participants in order to co-construct a collective identity. I also discussed an example in which a narrative was used as an epistemic stance device but failed to achieve alignment, creating a shift in the interaction transforming the situation into an episode of socialization.

Within the story rounds, I found that participants co-constructed their religious identity through the use of intertextual repetition of religious texts such as citing Quranic verses and hadith as evidential markers by assuming the voice of God and the Prophet Mohammed for creating epistemic stances that are embedded in the story rounds. I tried to link the use of these with the other instances in my data where this religious intertextual repetition occurred in other narrative frames as they are used to serve similar purposes in other types of daily interaction. I demonstrated how alignment was achieved in a number of cases and explored an instance where intertextual repetition actually succeeded in causing dis-alignment.

The final section of this chapter served as a review for the multiple uses of a number of formulaic religious expressions that are interwoven into everyday narratives. It was found that they can serve pragmatically as a politeness strategy for marking differential family

status and also serve as evaluative and affective-making devices indicating involvement or distance. This review paves the way for my discussion in the third and final analysis chapter of power and solidarity in Muslim identity negotiation.

6 CHAPTER SIX: THE MORAL GUARDIAN: IDENTITY NEGOTIATION, POWER AND SOLIDARITY

6.1 Introduction

It can be argued that any kind of interaction carries with it and expresses dimensions of power and solidarity. The aim of this chapter, then, is to analyse the role that religion plays in influencing these dimensions within the context of family discourse by exploring how individuals construct their own religious identities by assuming the role of moral guardian for other family members. As previously mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis (section 1.4), it should be remembered that Saudi society still maintains a number of the features typically found in more traditional tribal cultures. This is particularly true with regard to the issue of kinship relations.

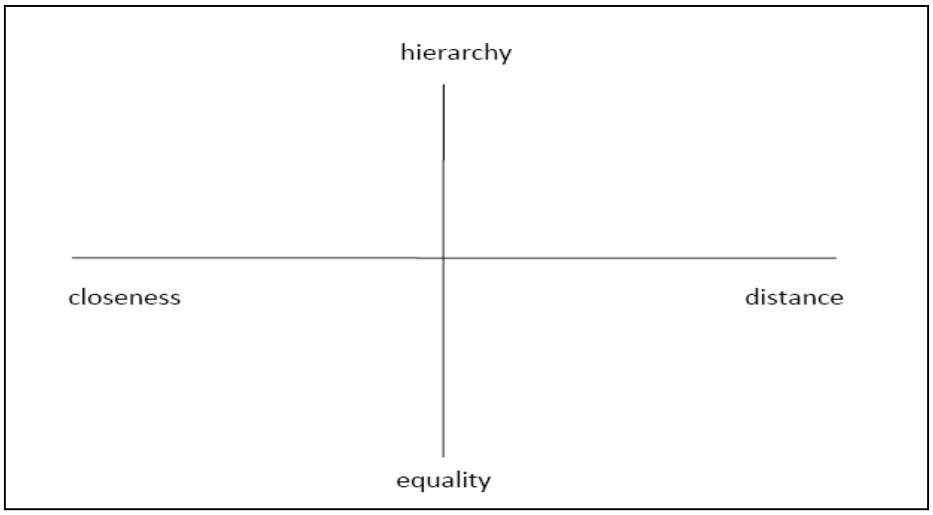
In her study of kinship and socialization in families in Java, another traditional tribal society, the anthropologist Hildred Geertz (1989 [1961]) noted:

> For each Javanese, his family—his parents, his children, and, usually, his spouse—are the most important people in the world. They give him emotional security and provide a stable point of social orientation. They give him moral guidance, helping him from infancy through old age to learn and relearn the values of Javanese culture. The process of socialization is a continuous one throughout the life of the individual: and it is a man's closest relatives who, by their day-to-day comment, both verbal and non-verbal, keep him from deviating too far from cultural norms (p. 5).

Much of what she writes here would also be equally applicable to the role that interpersonal kinship relationships continue to play in Saudi society where the family remains of supreme importance in this Arab and Islamic culture.

In the context of discourse, Tannen (2003, 2007a) argued that the relationship between power and solidarity is not a single dimension. Instead, she envisaged this in terms of a multidimensional power/connection grid in which the dimensions of power and of connection can be represented by the two intersecting axes. The vertical axis, representing power, stretches from hierarchy at one extreme to equality at the other, while the horizontal one represents types of interpersonal connections which range from closeness to distance.

Figure 6.1 The power/connection grid (source: Tannen, 2007a:30)



It could be argued that within this model, the interpersonal relationships between parents and their offspring in the traditional Saudi family would, generally speaking, be likely to be situated within the top left quadrant of the grid, since these relationships are usually close but are often also governed by strict hierarchical rules relating to the need for respect, deference and ultimately, obedience. However, the nature of individual relationships varies according to gender and age. Given that Saudi Arabia is a patriarchal society, relationships between fathers and their children will normally be less close and more hierarchical in nature than mother-child relationships. Power relationships between siblings are also generally influenced by age and gender and it is common for the oldest son in the family to enjoy a more privileged status than any of his siblings. It is important to note here that these relationships may vary according to each family's relationship dynamics.

In the next section, I examine how the negotiation of religious identity can be influenced by power and solidarity and how this is affected when one individual assumes the role of moral guardianship over another.

6.2 "Have you said your prayers?": Exercising parental moral guardianship

In Chapter Four, I considered how within the family setting parental identity can be performed through the practice of socializing children into religious practices. In the examples that were analysed this involved checking and/or co-performing rituals of recitation of different *dua'a* and/or Quranic verses at various times throughout the day and incorporating these into other mundane daily routines. In this section, I will examine

a similar topic but this time focusing on this from the perspective of power and solidarity relations.

In the extracts discussed here, it becomes clear that two distinct types of identity emerge as a product of the interaction. In this chapter, I will show that both paternal and moral guardian identities are produced as the result of social interactions concerning routine practices which aim to organise and give meaning to everyday behaviours and how that shapes and is shaped by family as a social institution.

This section will also explore how individuals make use of particular discourse strategies not only to initiate and sustain social interactions but also to express their sense of who they are and their relationship to their co-participants. As a result, different roles are filled and different statuses are occupied and relationships are affected. Finally, I will explore how the social identity of the father is given meaning and structure in discourse when he employs his power status and assumes the role of moral guardian. At the same time, it could be argued that the role of the moral guardian reinforces the power status of the father.

Extract 6.2a takes place on the same day as Extract 4.2.1a (see section 4.2.1). The participants in the interaction are AF, the head of family A, and his three sons, AS1 (the oldest of the brothers), AS2, and AS3. Before beginning the analysis of this extract, it is useful to explain briefly the religious context which frames this interaction. According to the precepts of Sunni Islam, when travelling, Muslims are permitted to combine or use a shortened form of the usual obligatory five daily prayers. The first practice, known as *jam'a,* allows Muslims to combine two of these obligatory prayers and perform these at the stipulated times. The second practice, *qasr,* involves shortening the usual set of prayers that would be performed. Extract 6.2a takes place on a Friday which has a special religious status in Islam since on that day *zuhr* (midday prayer) is replaced by *jum'ah* (the Friday prayer) which for male Muslims should normally be performed in congregation with other believers. In the series of extracts which follow, the debate centres on whether the oldest of the three sons, AS1, has followed the correct practice.

Extract 6.2a

AF	1	انت صليت؟ ((يسآل بسرعة))
		int ṣalait? ?((immediately following on from previous response))

		have you performed your prayers?((immediately following on from previous response))
AS3	2	أي
		eī
		Yes
AF	3	انت صليت؟((يسآل بسرعة))
		int ṣalait? ?((immediately following on from previous response))
		have you performed your prayers? ((immediately following on from previous response))
AS2	4	أي
		Eī
		Yes
AF	5	و انت صليت؟((يسآل بسرعة))
		wint ṣalait? ((immediately following on from previous response))
		and have you performed your prayers? ?((immediately following on from previous response))
AS1	6	أي
		Eī
		Yes

In Extract 6.2a, the interaction starts with a display of parental identity, one which is associated with control and power. The father, AF, is performing an action that closely resembles that of the mothers attempting to ensure that their young children are socialised into the performance of religious practices previously discussed in Chapter Four (see section 4.2.1). Here, however, the father is checking that all three of his adult sons have performed their prayers (lines 1, 3 and 5). Ochs and Taylor (1992: 1995) refer to this kind of behaviour as "the parental panopticon", a form of surveillance by parents which involves monitoring and judging the behaviour of their children and which, according to Talbot (2010:69), "gives power over those scrutinized". It is noticeable, however, that in my data this form of parental surveillance is always linked with the monitoring of the

performance of religious practices and is overlaid by an overt display of moral guardianship. It is also striking that this surveillance and moral guardianship exercised by the parental figure seems to continue regardless of the ages of the offspring participating in the interaction.

In Extract 6.2a, AF displays his parental authority linguistically in a number of ways. This is reflected firstly in the fact that the way in which he addresses his adult sons is not mitigated. He addresses each one in turn using only the pronoun 'you' instead of their individual names. In Arabic, saying the word 'ṣalait?', which is translated into 'you prayed?', is enough to indicate that question 'have you performed your prayers?'. However, AF chooses to use the word 'int' or 'you' to beginning of the question and by doing so using the pronoun 'you' twice in the question. Asking a question in that way can be interpreted as an unmitigated way of asking a question which is maximizing the threat to his sons' positive face wants, i.e. the person's desires to be respected and loved. The second striking feature of the language here is the fast pacing with which AF asks his questions and the promptness of the responses by each of the sons which suggests that this kind of religious surveillance behaviour is carried out routinely and is therefore familiar to the participants.

AF's initial attempts to frame his authority over his three sons is consistent with his role as the head of the family. The style that he employs supports previous research findings that suggest that in family interaction males usually assume more powerful roles within the household and they also tend to create a demeanour of authority by their use of face-related practices. According to Gleason and Greif (1983) and Leeper et al. (1998), for example, fathers tend to be more direct, controlling, and relatively impolite in their interpersonal interactions. The exchanges in Extract 6.2a suggest that AF is also attempting to create a demeanour of religious authority, characterized by monitoring his sons' observance of and conformity with standard religious practices, by demanding of each in turn "*Have you performed your prayers?*" (lines 1, 3 and 5).

The following analysis of Extract 6.2b illustrates how displays of power can be intensified, shifted and/or reinforced when one of the individuals in the interaction assumes some form of religious authority over other participants and overtly exercises this.

Extract 6.2b

AF	7	كيف صليت؟
		kaif ṣalait?
		how did you perform your prayers?
AS1	8	جمعت
		jama‘t
		I performed *jam’a* [combining two prayers]
AF	9	جمعا (غير واضح)؟
		jama‘t (inaudible)?
		performed *jam’a* (inaudible)?
AS1	10	جمع ااا الجمعة نصليها جمع لكن ما تقصر
		jam‘ aaaa iljim‘ah nṣalīha jam‘ lakin ma tuqṣar
		combined errrrr [hesitates]we perform *jum‘ah* (Friday prayers) in congregation but *qaṣr* (shortening of prayers) isn’t performed
AF	11	انت قصرت العصر؟
		int qaṣart il‘aṣir?
		did you shorten ’*asr* [mid-afternoon prayer]?
AS1	12	ما تنقصر العصر مع الجمعة
		ma tinqiṣir il‘aṣir ma‘a iljima‘a
		asr isn’t shortened with *jum’ah*

Commenting on Extract 6.2a, I argued that the fast pacing of questions and answers suggests that this kind of parental moral monitoring is routinely carried out within the household and the sons are accustomed to this. However, in Extract 6.2b, AF’s subsequent interactional style suggests a shift in frame from the routinely exercised moral parental panopticon into an argument frame as shown by AS1’s hesitation in his response to his father’s question (line 10). This develops into a power struggle between AF and his oldest son as the interaction unfolds.

Drawing on Goffman’s concept of face (1967), I argued that in Extract 6.2a the father begins the interaction by avoiding any mitigating strategies in his utterance, opening the

topic with a direct question to each participant: "*Have you performed your prayers?*" He also employs a strategy that impersonalizes the addressee, using 'you' in his utterance rather than addressing his interlocutors by name which makes his style face-threatening to his son's positive face wants. Following immediately on from this interaction, in Extract 6.2b, AF continues with his questioning of AS1 in a similar style (line 7) and then maximizes this imposition by posing two further probing questions demanding additional details (lines 9 and 11), which compounds the damage to his son's negative face wants. There is also a noticeable lack in this interaction of any assertion of common ground or in-group identity markers. All of these interactional features are indicative of an assertion of power and authority that can be linked to both the parental role and that of the guardian of moral and religious conformity.

It can be argued that in any interaction, impressions of the participants are created through sign vehicles such as their lexical choices. In this respect, the expressions that the father uses in his interaction with his oldest son merit attention. The fact that AF chooses to repeat his son's lexical choice ("*I performed jam'a"*) in the form of a question in his own response ("*you performed jam'a ...?")* (line 9) indicates an escalation in the level of tension in the interaction because this could be interpreted as an indication of his surprise, shock or dissatisfaction with AS1's action. AF's use of repetition in his own questioning here effectively challenges the initial statement made by AS1. The father's repetition thus serves a two-fold purpose: (1) it implies a negative view of his son's behaviour and (2) places pressure on his son to admit that he has done something wrong.

AS1's reply (line 10) shows that AF's face-threatening strategy appears to have been successful because his son's next response seems to be more marked by hesitation, with a false start followed by "*errrrr*" before he feels able to respond in full. AF continues to escalate the tension of the conflict by probing AS1 for further details about his use of *qasr* (line 11) and his son's response (line 12) can be interpreted as an attempt to defend himself against accusations that he behaved inappropriately. AS1 resorts to using a passive construction, thus apparently distancing himself from the suggestion that he may have performed his prayers in an unauthorised manner. At the same time, this linguistic strategy allows him to avoid giving a direct response as to whether he actually shortened *asr* or not.

The type of conversational interaction that the father employs here in Extracts 6.2a and 6.2b (lines 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11) is similar to that referred to by Tannen (1981) as

"machinegun style". She explains that can be characterized as a fast-paced style of questioning that can be viewed as either positive or negative. In the former case, it can be used to create listenership, enthusiasm and a shared rhythm between participants. However, it can also be employed for negative effect when it is used with participants who do not share a high-involvement style. It can also serve to disrupt the rhythm and upset the fluency of a conversation with individuals who share a high-considerateness style.

Given that AF and AS1 are family members, they would normally be expected to share a fairly high-involvement style. However, this is clearly not the case in Extracts 6.2a and 6.2b. It is possible that AF may feel this "machinegun style" of questioning is merited on the grounds that as moral guardian, he is personally accountable for monitoring his son's religious observance. His use of these fast-paced questions may be interpreted as a sign of his high level of involvement in his son's religious affairs.

However, his father's handling of the discussion of this topic is threatening to AS1 both in terms of his positive face wants (i.e. the need to be respected and loved) and his negative face wants (i.e. the desire to feel independent and free). Importantly, it can also be seen to mark a downwards shift in AS1's status within the power hierarchy. It should not be forgotten that AS1 enjoys a certain power status within the family A by virtue of the fact that he is the oldest son, is over 30 and already has a family of his own. This status is threatened when he is subjected to his father's scrutiny of his religious practices. The style of questioning faced here by AS1 which targets his moral integrity also brings to mind Goffman's notion of stigmatization (2009 [1963]). AS1 has failed to conform to the norms thus spoiling his religious identity which manifests itself in the negative effect mentioned earlier. This also helps to account for the shift that occurs in the interactional frame from the routine parental surveillance of performance of religious rituals frame into an argument/conflict frame.

6.3 "How did you perform your prayers?": alignments, power shifts and religious identity

This section explores how a power shift may occur as result of targeting a participant's religious identity in interaction. In this case, it takes place when a shift in the power hierarchy results in one participant exercising moral guardianship over another.

Extract 6.3a

AS2	13	شلون صليت انت؟
		shlawn ṣalait int?
		how did you perform your prayers?
AS1	14	صلاة الجمعة/غير واضح/ بعدين اربع
		ṣalat iljim‘ah /uncertain transcription/ ba‘adain arba‘
		the Friday prayer /uncertain transcription/then four ((prayer cycles))

In Extract 6.3a, which follows immediately after Extract 6.2b, AS1's younger brother, AS2, begins to participate uninvited in the interaction between AF and AS1, following his father's expression of dissatisfaction with what he considers to be his oldest son's lack of religious diligence. Despite the fact that AS2 is almost 15 years younger than AS1 and should enjoy a much lower power status in the family hierarchy than his elder brother, his lexical choices are not mitigated, failing to acknowledge this difference. For example, in Arabic the verb '*ṣalait*' already carries the pronoun 'you' as a suffix added onto the verb. AS2, however, follows it with another '*int*' to emphasise the fact that he is maximizing the intrusion when addressing the AS1. This marked emphatic usage by AS2 further damages AS1's negative face as the younger brother starts to contribute to the argument frame by questioning AS1's way of praying. In doing so he is the implying the possibility that his brother's way of praying has deviated from the norm and is worthy of challenge.

This question (line 13) also marks the emergence of two opposing interactional teams, consisting of AF and AS2 in one and AS1 in the other. Kangasharju (1996:292) notes that:

> [t]here are conversational environments that favor the formation of such teams. These include situations where the participants are in some way divided into different or opposing sides. Opposing sides emerge naturally in competitive situations or in situations involving disagreement or conflict.

By addressing this question (line 13) in this way to his older brother, using an interactional style that closely mirrors the one used by AF, AS2 aligns himself with his father and endorses his membership of this team (Kangasharju, 1996). This declaration of alignment acts as a trigger, causing the tension of the situation to escalate further as becomes obvious in Extract 6.3b.

Extract 6.3b

AF	15	ليش اربع؟
		laish arba‘?
		why four ((prayer cycles))?
AS1	16	بعدين ما ... شلون تنقصر الجمعة و انت ما قصرت ال ال العصر
		ba‘adain ma ... shlawn tinqiṣir il‘aṣir wint ma qaṣart il il ‘aṣir?
		after the... how can the Friday prayer be shortened yet you don’t shorten the the midday prayer?
AF	17	تصلي الجمعة بعدين تصلي العصر
		tṣalī iljim‘ah ba‘adain tṣali ila‘aṣir
		you pray the Friday prayer and after you pray the midday prayer
AS1	18	لا اصلي العصر اربع
		la aṣalī il‘aṣir arba‘
		no I pray the midday prayer with four ((prayer cycles))
AF	19	*من افتاك بهذا؟*
		man aftak bihatha?
		who issued you a fatwaa ((advisory opinion)) *to do this?*
AS1	20	و انا ... عقلي ... ما ادري ... يعني الي سويته مش غلط... خلاص... يعني لو اني صليت ثنتين مش انا مخير؟ و الا لو صليتها اربع مش انا مخير في الثنتين؟
		w ana … ’aglī... madrī... ya’anī ilī sawaitah mush ghalaṭ ... khalaṣ... ya’ani law ṣalait thintain mush ana mukhair? Wala law ṣalaitha arb’a’ mush ana mukhair fi ilthintain?
		and I… my brain… I don’t know… what I did isn’t wrong... enough... if I included two ((prayer cycles)) in my prayers, don’t I have a choice? Or if I included four ((prayer cycles)) in my prayers, don’t I have the choice between them both?

In Extract 6.3b, the interaction continues between AF and his oldest son about the way he performed his prayers. When AF questions him directly about a specific element of how he performed his prayers (line 15), the hesitant manner in which AS1 initially responds (line 16) suggests that his face wants continue to be threatened. When AS1’s answer is met with another challenge from his father (line 17), the oldest son counters with yet another defence (line 18).

In the next turn, AF code-switches from the Saudi dialect they have been using previously in the interaction into Classical Arabic (line 19). This is the formal variant of the language (also known as Quranic Arabic) which is used for liturgical purposes and this immediately aggravates the situation, creating more distance between them since it indicates the shift from an informal casual code into a formal and a more serious one. At the same time, there is also a marked increase in the volume of AF's speech, reflecting the emotionally charged nature of these exchanges. When AF ironically asks AS1: "*who issued you a fatwaa* [advisory opinion] *to do this?"*, he is making it clear to his son that as an ordinary Muslim he does not possess the authority to be innovative in his religious practice. In a situation regarding religious practice, an individual who is unsure about what should be done should consult someone who is a legitimate authority on the subject in question, such as a *mufti* i.e. an Islamic scholar who is suitably qualified to provide judgments on what constitutes appropriate religious practice. AF's contribution here is central to the point I am discussing in this chapter as it lexically manifests the need for an individual to seek the advice of a moral guardian in cases of uncertainty which is considered to be a sign of due diligence.

This aggravating style proves to be effective in provoking AS1's face wants as he is initially unable to respond in any coherent fashion, breaking off his response a total of five times (line 20). His annoyance with how the interaction is going is illustrated by his shifts in tone within this response. His replies display hesitation ("*and I...*"), sarcasm ("*my brain*"), confusion ("*I don't know*"), confidence ("*what I did isn't wrong*") and frustration ("*enough!*") before finally attempting to bring the discussion to an end by an appeal that attempts to legitimize his own position on the issue of praying: "*don't I have a choice between both*?".

Extract 6.3c

AS2	21	لا بس ما ... نظامك غير <يضحك>
		la ... bas ... niẓamik ghair <*laughs*>
		no... but ...your system is different <*laughs*>
AS1	22	شلون؟
		shlawn?
		how?
AF	23	شلون؟

		shlawn?
		how?
AS2	24	شلون؟ ما فهمنا لك
		shlawn? ma fahmna lak!
		how? we don't understand you!
AS1	25	اذا جيت تصلي الظهر و العصر/
		idha jīt tṣalī ilẓihir w il'aṣir /
		when you pray the noon prayer and the midday prayer/
AF	26	/لالا انت قلت ما يصلح ... شلون ما يصلح؟
		/la la int gilt ma yiṣlaḥ... shlawn ma yiṣlaḥ?
		/no no what you said is not right... how is it not right?
AS1	27	ما ادري انه ما يصلح ...لا جيت تصلي الظهر و العصر تصلي الظهر قصر و العصر اربع؟
		ma adrī inah ma yiṣlaḥ... la jīt tṣalī ilẓihir w il'aṣir ir tṣalī ilẓihir qaṣir wil 'aṣir arba'?
		I didn't know this isn't right... when you pray the noon and midday prayers do you pray the noon prayer shortened and the midday prayer with four ((prayer cycles))?
AS2	28	لا
		La
		No
AS1	29	تصلي ذي اربع و ذي ثنتين و /
		tṣalī dhī arba' w dhī thentain w/
		/you pray this one ((noon prayer)) with four ((prayer cycles)) and this one ((mid-afternoon prayer))] with two ((prayer cycles)) and
AS2	30	و ذي ثنتين/
		w dhī thintain
		and this one ((mid-afternoon prayer)) with two ((prayer cycles))
AS1	31	او ذي اربع و ذي اربع
		aw dhī arba' w dhī arba'
		or this one ((noon prayer)) with four ((prayer cycles)) and this ((mid-afternoon prayer)) with four ((prayer cycles))
AS2	32	لا ثنتين ثنتين
		la thintain thintain
		no two two

AF	33	ليش اربع؟ الجمعة يعني اربع؟
		laish arba‘? iljim‘ah ya‘anī arba‘?
		why four? this means the Friday ((prayer)) has four ((prayer cycles))?
AS2	34	<يضحك>
		<laughs>

I argued that in Extract 6.3b AF's style of interaction with his oldest son reflects that AS1 has been demoted in the family power status hierarchy. This is reinforced by the manner in which AS2 (the younger brother who would normally have a lower power status in the family) re-joins the interaction after AS1's contribution (line 20). He begins his turn with a hesitation ("*no... but...*"), which could be interpreted as a means of mitigating what he is about to say. This is understandable given that AS1's level of irritation appears to be rising. He then follows this up with another accusation when he tells AS1 "*your system is different*" (line 21). This is the second time that the word "system" is used in my data to refer to religious practices. It was previously used by AF (see Chapter Four, Extract 4.3.1a). His use of the pronoun "*your"* also serves to distance AS1 from the team. The fact that AS2 ends his turn with a laugh can be interpreted in different ways. This could be a form of mitigating the accusation he has just made and could also reflect his nervousness at challenging his older brother. Alternatively, it could be viewed as a means of ridiculing and belittling his brother to emphasise his inadequacies at following standard religious practice.

Rather than responding to his oldest son's question "*how?*" (line 22), FA simply repeats the same word (line 23), a strategy he employed earlier in the interaction (line 9) and this again escalates the level of tension in their interaction. However, in this instance, although this could be interpreted as an indication of AF's surprise, shock, frustration or dissatisfaction with AS1's apparent failure to understand how he should pray, there is the added possibility that this could be interpreted as somewhat mocking mimicry of his oldest son's question, intended to belittle him further. Here, too, an additional repetition of the interrogative "*how*?" by AS1's younger brother adds another dimension here to the developing dynamics of the conflict. By literally echoing his father's response, AS2 reinforces his alignment with AF as a team while his use of the pronouns 'we' (inclusionary) and 'you' (exclusionary) in his follow-up remark firmly situates AS1 as being in the opposing team: "*we don't understand you*".

When AS1 tries to provide a defensive move (line 25), he is interrupted by AF who this time does not repeat what AS1 said but simply blocks him from proceeding any further "*no... no... what you said is not right*" and demands a clarification (line 26) to which AS1 responds defensively again: "*I didn't know this isn't right*" (line 27). AS1 and AS2 then become involved in a confusing set of turns in which AS1 almost seems to be randomly guessing what the correct formula is for the number of prayer cycles to be performed, with his younger brother becoming increasingly irritated and more judgemental with each of these attempts (lines 27-32). When AF finally intervenes, his exasperation is evident when he challenges him: "*why four? this means the Friday [prayer] has four*?" (line 33). The implication behind AF's question here is that AS1 is so stupid he appears not to know even the basic fact that Muslims perform Friday prayer with only two prayer cycles. AS2 follows up his father's derisory comment with a laugh, aligning himself with AF as they share turns in questioning AS1 and then being judgmental about his behaviour. Both of them position themselves as moral guardians (despite the fact that AS2 is so much younger than his older brother) and the way in which they share turns illustrates that they are adopting evaluative stances regarding AS1's religious behaviour.

Extract 6.3d

AF	36	الجمعة تصلي اربع؟
		iljima‘ ah tṣalī arb‘?
		Do you pray the Friday ((prayer)) with four ((prayer cycles))?
AS1	37	الفكرة
		Ilfikrah
		the point is/
AF	38	و اذا ما صليت مع الجماعة معقول
		with a ma ṣalait ma‘a iljama‘ah ma‘ aqūl
		that makes sense if you didn't pray in *jama'a* ((congregation))
AS1	39	الفكرة ... الا!
		ilfikrah… ila!
		the point is… I did!
AF	40	اجل ما تصلي اربع؟
		ajal ma tṣalī arba‘
		you don't pray it with four?
AS1	41	يا اخي انا في شي ثاني ... الجمعة ركعتين

		ya akhī ana fī shay thanī ...iljima‘ah raki‘itain
		oh brother I’m ((talking about))) something else… the Friday ((prayer)) is with two prayer cycles
AF	42	أي
		eī
		Yeah
AS1	43	يصلح تقصرها؟
		yiṣlaḥ taqṣirha?
		can you shorten it?
AF	44	لا ما تقصرها
		la ma taqṣirha
		no you don’t shorten it
AS1	45	حلو ... العصر ما تقصر العصر و تخلي الجمعة يا تقصر الثنتين يا يا يا
		ḥilū... ila‘aṣir ma taqṣir ila‘aṣir w tkhalī iljima‘a ya taqṣir ilthintain ya ya ya
		good … you don’t shorten the midday prayer and leave the Friday prayer then... you either shorten the two or or or
AS3	46	طيب هذا لما المغرب تصليها ... بدون قصر العشا تصليها بقصر
		ṭaib hadha ilmaghrib lama tṣalīha ... bidūn qaṣir il‘isha tṣalī bqaṣir
		but when you pray sunset prayer without shortening you pray the night prayer with shortening
AF	47	*من افتاك في هذا؟*
		man aftak fi hadha?
		who issued you a fatwa to do this?
AS1	48	ما:ا احد ..... عقل:ي!
		M:a aḥad… ‘aql:ī!
		N:o one… my brai:n!

Three things can be highlighted in this extract. AF’s aggressive style escalates (line 38) and he goes so far as to accuse AS1 of not attending Friday prayers to pray in congregation which, as previously noted, is obligatory for male Muslims. AS1 responds with a firm rebuttal as indicated by the decisive tone of his voice (line 39). Secondly, the third and youngest of the brothers, AS3, who has been a silent onlooker in the interaction since initially responding to AF’s original question about prayers (line 2) makes his second

contribution (line 46) to the interaction by aligning with AF's team. Thirdly, AF repeats the code-switched phrase "*who issued you a fatwa to do this?"* (see Extract 6.3b). Again, the implication is clear: Muslims must perform religious rituals in the traditional prescribed manner with no room for individual innovation. His code-switching from the Saudi vernacular to the formal liturgical Classical Arabic serves to maximize the difference between father and son in terms of both power and connection and also clearly expresses the lack of alignment between them. AF's style is clearly intended to violate AS1's face wants and his oldest son's response is brief but delivered in a raised pitch with dramatically lengthened vowel sounds, both of which indicate the intensity of emotion which he wishes to convey to the other participants: "N:o one… my brai:n!*/*" (line 48).

Extract 6.3e

AS2	49	يعني انت صليت يعني؟
		ya'nī… int ṣalait ya' nī?
		this means you prayed…
AS1	50	اربع ... بكيفي
		arba'... bkaifī
		with four ((prayer cycles))… it's up to me
AS2	51	ليه ما صليتها ركعتين؟
		laih ma ṣalaitha rak'itain?
		why didn't you pray it with two prayer cycles?
AF	52	ليش انت تصلي و تقول بكيفك؟ ... ما في شي بكيفك!
		laish int tṣalī w tgūl bkaifik? ma fī shay bkaifik!
		why do you pray and say it's up to you?… nothing is up to you!
AS1	53	طيب... انا ما في شي بكيفي... بس لو صليتها اربع مخير انا و لا مش مخير؟
		ṭaib… ana ma fī shay bakaifī... bas law ṣalaitiha arba' mukhair ana wala mush mukhair?
		OK... nothing is up to me… but can I pray it with four … do I have the choice or not?

AF	54	اسال!
		isa'al!
		ask!
AS1	56	خلاص اسأل ... ما ابي اسأل و لا احد فيكم بس روحو
		khalaṣ…asa'al...ma abī asa'al ay aḥad fīkum bas rūḥū
		OK... I will ask... but I don't want to ask either of you so just go away both of you

Perhaps feeling that he has a chance to score further points for his team following AS1's emotional outburst, AS2 restarts the discussion about how AS1 performs his prayers by asking his older brother a vague question which effectively can be used to clarify whether he actually did or did not pray (line 49). This question is overlaid with accusatory tones and receives a firm rebuttal. After confirming precisely how he performed his prayers ("*with four prayer cycles*") he then overtly challenges the stance of the other team by declaring "*it's up to me*" (Line 50). Undaunted, AS2 ignores his challenge and returns to his attempt to ascertain details but AF (line 52) continues with his strategy of repeating what AS1 (line 50) has said as a question form, following this with the unmitigated statement: "*nothing is up to you!*" (line 52).

While AF's statement once again stresses the idea that innovation is not permitted when it comes to religious practices and that things must be done according to established tradition, in more general terms it also acts as a declaration that reinforces AF's authority and the relative positions occupied by himself and his oldest son within the social and household hierarchy. This, like the system of Islamic religious practice, is not open to question or challenge. It could be argued that this is, in fact, the underlying conflict that lies at the heart of this interaction, with the family patriarch keen to establish his continuing authority over his oldest son who is equally keen to display his independence in front of his younger siblings.

AS1 finally seems willing to concede this general point concerning his father's authority and he even adopts AF's own linguistic strategy to acknowledge the difference in their status, repeating the phrase: "*OK... nothing is up to me*" (line 53). However, he is keen not to lose face entirely in front of his siblings (particularly AS2) and so he returns once again to a very specific point concerning how the prayer in question should be performed:

"*but can I pray it with four* ((prayer cycles))… *do I have the choice or not*?" Presumably satisfied that AS1 no longer represents a threat to his authority, the household hierarchy and to "the system" in general, AF has no further desire to continue with the conflict and returning to his role as moral guardian he simply advises his son: "*Ask!*" (line 54). In comparison to the very detailed and often confusing discussion of religious practices in which the participants (particularly AS1 and AS2) became embroiled previously, AF's response seems to mark a considerable shift in attitude towards his son's religious practice. It is noticeable here that AF does not specify who he should ask about this issue, effectively conceding that his oldest son has the freedom and the capacity to determine this source of information for himself, even though he cannot simply make his own decisions without appropriate guidance.

AS1 acknowledges AF's concession, again using his father's repetitive strategy: "*OK... I will ask..."* (line 56). However, he makes his irritation with the other participants explicit "*but I don't want to ask either of you*" and then expresses the desire to end the topic and restore the damage to his negative face wants, using an unmitigated command intended to display his status as oldest son: "*just go away both of you*".

Extract 6.3f

AS2	57	لو انك ما جمعت انت قاعد قاعد
		law inak ma jima'at int ga'id ga'id
		you shouldn't have performed *jam'a* if you're staying anyway
AS1	58	ليه؟
		laih?
		why?
AS2	59	منت مسافر في نفس اليوم و لا شي صح و لا لا؟
		mant msafir ilyawm ṣaḥ wila la?
		you're not travelling today are you?
AS1	60	الا لي حق السفر
		ila lī ḥaq ilsafar

		but I still retain the right of *safar* [permission to shorten prayers when travelling]
AS2	61	ايه بس انا ما اقولك يعني صل كل فرظ لحاله <يضحك>
		eīh bas ana ma agūlak ya'nī ṣal kil farẓ laḥala *<laughs>*
		yes but I would tell you to pray each one separately *<laughs>*
AS1	62	قوم بس
		gūm bas
		just go
AS2	63	ايش دعوه((صوت الكرسي))
		aish da'awa
		calm down ((chair moves))

Although this marks the end of the conflict between the two teams of AF, AS2 and AS3 on one side and AS1 on the other, Extract 6.3f marks the start of a new conflict between AS2 and AS1. Despite the fact that AF apparently put an end to the interaction concerning AS1's religious practices, AS2 opens up a new line of attack which seems intended to draw AS1 back into the debate and to undermine his status as oldest son by once again attempting to prove that his own knowledge about religious matters is superior to that of AS1. This places him in the role of moral guardian despite his lower ranking in the household hierarchy. His use of the word 'anyway' in his turn "*you shouldn't have performed jam'a if you're staying anyway*" (line 57) skilfully redirects the debate into a new area, suggesting that they actually spent so much time focusing on details, they missed the key point. AS1 cannot resist his younger brother's challenge and when the claim by AS2 (line 59) is followed by a counter-claim from AS1 (line 60), the two brothers appear ready to re-commence their conflict. The fact that AS2 is casting himself in the role of exercising moral guardianship with superior knowledge to his older sibling is made evident in his statement: "*yes but I would tell you to pray each one separately*" (line 61).

As previously, AS2's use of laughter here could be interpreted in a number of ways. It may be AS2's attempt to lighten the mood of what threatens to become another difficult interaction between the two brothers or it could be seen as an attempt by AS2 to further provoke AS1. In the next turn, however, AS1 chooses to disengage from the interaction

by simply telling his brother to leave (line 62) and AS2 stands up, preparing to leave while urging his brother to "*calm down*" (line 63). Even with this parting remark, he succeeds once again in putting himself into the role of superior moral guardian by framing his brother as an emotionally immature individual who is unable to control his feelings.

It is worth noting here that within the data collected, there were other instances in which one family member assumes the role of exercising religious guardianship over another participant by adopting evaluative stances regarding another individual's religious conduct. In the process, the balance of power that would normally operate within the family hierarchy is shifted, repositioning their personal status. This occurs in Extract 6.3g which is taken from a conversation between two sisters who do not share the same status within the family, BD2 being older than BD3. One sister BD2 wearing a t-shirt decorated with printed images (line 40), was being observed by her younger sister BD3 as she performed her prayers.

Extract 6.3g

BD3	40	ترا صلاتش ما تنقبل و انتي لابسة هذا
		tara ṣalatich ma tinqibil w intī labsah hadha
		by the way your prayer is not accepted while you're wearing this

In Extract 21g, the younger sister uses direct language to warn her older sister about the consequences of performing prayers while wearing what she considers to be inappropriate attire, although she mitigates this somewhat with her initial use of the phrase "*by the way*" which typically marks a digression in speech but here is followed by the key point. "*This*" refers to the t-shirt that her sister is wearing and she is drawing her attention to the fact that wearing clothes that are printed with images of living creatures such as animals or people is not seen as being permissible by some Sunni Muslims. While the younger sister (BD3) adopts an evaluative stance towards her older sister's religious practice, BD2 chooses not to react verbally to this critical judgement and continues praying just as she was.

It is worth considering the intentions of the speaker in such instances. One possible interpretation is that comments of this kind might be well-intentioned and intended to demonstrate religious engagement by sharing what is supposed to be relevant knowledge about dos and don'ts of everyday religious practice which are then interpreted as

evaluative stances of other people's religious conduct. However, in this instance, the fact that BD3's evaluative stance appears to be ignored suggests that, just as was illustrated in the previous interactions, these speech acts are sometimes interpreted by the hearer as power manoeuvres that are threatening to their negative and positive face wants and are therefore not welcome. This is supported by the fact that BD2 does not align with her sister and prays anyway.

Other instances of evaluative stance-taking that seem intended to impose a form of religious guardianship on others were found in the data. As previously discussed (section 4.2.2), the interaction in Extract 4.2.2a begins with AM taking an evaluative stance regarding the direction in which her son (AS2) is planning to pray. While her claim is met with a counter-claim by AS2, the interactive frame in this instance is not that of a conflict, but as previously noted, it simply takes the form of collaborative arguing (Smithson and Diaz, 1996). This involves participants working together to reach a consensus. In this interaction, it is obvious that the participants are engaged and use a high involvement style (except for AF). While the interaction contains a lot of directives that could be interpreted by participants as face-threatening (for example, lines 3 and 5, to cite but two of the many examples that occurred throughout the interaction), the majority of the participants in that interaction continue to collaborate and align together. They do not exhibit signs of losing face which is different to the situation with regard to Extracts 6.3a-6.3f of the interaction discussed earlier in this chapter. In this interaction a conflict frame quickly emerged between the two opposing teams and was accompanied by shifts in the power axis due to face loss.

Extract 6.3h

AM	1	ترا مايله القبلة
		tara mailah ilgiblah
		Watch out the ((direction of)) *qiblah* is tilted ((out))
AS2	2	شلون احنا شفناها حطيناها
		shlaun? iḥna shifnaha ḥatainaha
		how? We saw it. We set it.
AM	3	شف الحين.. تأكد!
		shif alḥīn.. ta'akad!
		look now.. make sure!

AS2	4	يمكن الميلان من الطريق
		yimkin ilmailan min ilṭrīq
		maybe the tilt [of the Qiblah] is due to the road
AW1	5	جربي أم القرى خالتي الي عندتش زين
		jarbī khaltī um alqura ili ‘indich zain
		try Umm Al-Qura (an iPhone app) that you’ve got. It’s good.

To summarize, the previous two sections have discussed a number of points regarding the concept of moral guardianship and how this is incorporated into interaction. It was established that a moral parental panopticon style in family discourse involves the father or mother carrying out surveillance and checking whether their offspring are conforming to accepted norms of religious practice in order to judge and evaluate children’s moral observance. In the instances in the data which were analysed, it was found that displays of parental identity tend to be overlaid with displays of moral guardianship in which parents position themselves as being responsible for monitoring their offspring’s religious behaviour by adopting evaluative stances. However, in the case of adult offspring, displays of this kind carry with them the potential to threaten an individual’s negative and positive face wants. Resistance to this may result in shifts in an individual’s hierarchical position in the power axis within the family, especially in a context where siblings differ in their positions due to age differences and would not normally be of equal status in the power axis.

In the examples found in the data, these shifts in the power axis were accompanied by younger siblings aligning with a parent against an older sibling and thus positioning themselves also as moral guardians evaluating their sibling’s religious conduct. These alignments lead to the creation of two opposing teams, with one assuming an evaluative stance towards the opposite team member’s religious practices. The individual who is under scrutiny is then forced to resort to different legitimizing and defensive strategies in response within the interaction due to the loss of both negative face, i.e. the desire to be independent, and positive face, i.e. the desire to be respected.

It was also noted, however, that taking an evaluative stance towards the religious conduct of another family member does not always result in the creation of a conflict frame since this kind of stance could be interpreted as either a connection manoeuvre or a power manoeuvre (Tannen, 1994; 2001). Thus in Extract 6.3g, the older sister who is the recipient of the evaluative stance does not align with her younger sister but continues to

pray while wearing the item of clothing which originally prompted her sister's criticism. Although this suggests that she is not happy with her sister's evaluative stance, she does not display signs of annoyance verbally. Sometimes, an evaluative stance of a participant's religious behaviour may be viewed as a connection manoeuvre. It makes all the participants realize that there is a religious issue that needs to be given attention (as discussed fully in section 4.2.2 and briefly highlighted in Extract 6.3h above) and this results in participants working together to arrive at a common solution to this problem.

6.4 "You need to say 'May Allah honour him and grant him peace'": Moral guardianship among children

Evidence was also found in the data collected that even young children could adopt evaluative stances and exercise moral guardianship over the religious practices of other family members. This will be illustrated in Extract 6.4a below. It should be noted that in this extract there are some cases where the children participating in the interaction code-switch from Arabic to English but these do not bear any relevance to the issue of moral guardianship.

Extract 6.4a

BD2B	64	ماما is **محمد رسو ل الله** he's the **محمد صلى الله و سلم**؟
		mama is mohammed rasūlū allah is the mohammed ṣala allahū 'alaihi wasalam?
		Mum is ***'Mohammed the messenger of Allah'*** the same as ***'Mohammed May Allah honour him and grant him peace?'***
BD2	65	ايه نقول **محمد رسول الله** و نقول **صلى الله عليه و سل**م
		eīh nigūl mohammad rasūlū allah w ingūl ṣala allah alaihū 'alaihi wa salam
		Yes we say '***Mohammed the messenger of Allah'*** or '***Mohammed May Allah honour him and grant him peace'***
BD2B	66	I'll call him **محمد رسول الله**
		I'll call him ***Mohammed rasūlū allah***
		I'll call him '***Mohammed the messenger of Allah'***
BD2	67	ايه

		Eīh
		Yes
BD2B	68	لانthat's shorter
		la'an that's shorter
		because that's shorter
BD2	69	قول كله واحد علي كيفك
		gūl khilah waḥid 'ala kaifak
		Say whatever you like sweetie it's up to you
BD2B	70	ايه بس بقول ***صلى الله و سلم***
		eīh bas bagūl ***ṣala allahu w salam***
		Yes I will say '***Allah honour him and peace'***
BD2	71	***صلى الله عليه و سلم***
		sala allah 'alaihi w salam
		may Allah honour him and grant him peace
BD2B	72	ايهthat's hard to say ok?
		eīh that's hard to say ok?
		yes that's hard to say ok?
BD2B	73	I'm going to choose ***محمد رسول الله***
		I'm going to choose ***mohammad rasūl allah***
		I'm going to choose ***'Mohammed the messenger of Allah'***
BD2	74	ايه
		Eīh
		yes
BD2G	75	but every time you hear his name you need to say ***صلى الله عليه و سلم***
		but every time you hear his name you need to say ***sala allah alaih w salam***

		but every time you hear his name you need to say '***May Allah honour him and grant him peace'***

In extract 6.4a, a young male child (BD2B) is discussing with his mother (BD2) how the Prophet Mohammed should be referred to in conversation (line 64). For Muslims it is customary to append an honorific phrase to the names of prophets and BD2B has clearly heard two different variants of this and wants to know how these are used. In the interaction, his mother confirms that both these forms can be used to refer to the Prophet Mohammed and he is free to choose the one he prefers (line 65). The child decides that he prefers the shorter form as it is easier for him to say (line 73) and he evidently has difficulties pronouncing the longer phrase, since his mother has to provide the correct form for him (line 71). At this point, his older sister (BD2G) intervenes in the conversation to make an epistemic stance as she displays her shared knowledge of an Islamic practice and provides an evaluative stance regarding what her brother needs to do when referring to the Prophet Mohammed (line 75).

Here, this could be interpreted as a power manoeuvre as BD2G is providing guidance on what the accepted practice is and could perhaps also be said to be introducing an element of superiority in knowledge. It could also be interpreted as a connection manoeuvre by BD2G with which she intends to socialize her brother concerning the polite form of addressing the Prophet that is common to Muslims as a group. Usage of phrases of this type is not mandatory in the Islamic faith but they are conventionally employed when the Prophet Mohammed's name is mentioned as a way of showing respect and many Muslims would be offended by their deliberate omission. In this instance, neither the mother nor the girl's younger brother make any attempt to contradict what the girl has said and this could be seen as a sign of consent to what was said. The conversation then shifts to another religious topic.

To summarise, this section has demonstrated that there are instances in these interactions where children display instances of stance making which suggest that they are positioning themselves as moral guardians. These instances can be considered to be epistemic since they entail invoking shared religious knowledge and/or evaluative in that they are based on judging an individual's level of religious observance against a particular set of criteria.

6.5 "No one should underestimate the dua'a or the Quran": Mixing sociability with moral socialization in family discourse

In Chapter Five (section 5.3.1) I argued that the narrative event that involves BF, BU, BD1 and BN starts with the intention of being sociable. However, looking again at this extract from the perspective of power and authority highlights the fact that within that interaction, there were also many instances where participants displayed epistemic and evaluative stances that were intended to provide moral guardianship and were intended to socialize other participants concerning aspects of Islamic practices and observance. Most of these stances were overtly displayed in that interaction by BF who is situated at the top of the household hierarchy in terms of power and actively positions himself as a moral guardian with responsibility for the behaviour of other participants who are members of his extended family. When this moral guardianship was exercised during the interaction, this was welcomed by the other participants who tended to align with BF for the most part. This had the result of creating involvement among the participants as illustrated in Extract 6.5a:

Extract 6.5a

BF	10	شوف هذا القراءة و الدعاء لا احد يستهين بيه
		shūf hadha ilqira'a wil dua'a' la aḥad ystihīn bīh
		See, reciting ((the Quran)) and *dua'a*! Never underestimate them!

In line 10, BF first displays a stance in which he stresses the importance of reciting the Quran and *dua'a*. The importance that he places on this is emphasized by his use of raised pitch for the final part of his turn. Later in the interaction, the same stance is repeated by the same participant using almost identical words as seen in Extract 6.5b.

Extract 6.5b

BF	17	لا يستهين احد بالدعاء و القرآن /
		/la ystihīn aḥad bildu'a' wilqur'an
		/no one should underestimate the *dua'a* or the Quran
BU	18	الدعاء و القرآن فعلا
		ildua'a wilquran filan
		the *dua'a* and the Quran indeed
BF	19	ما في ابرك منه

		ma fīh abrak minh
		nothing bestows more blessings
BN	20	نعم الدعاء و الاستغفار الامور ***سبحان الله*** تتفتح
		Na‘am ildua‘a’ wilistighfar il’imūr ***subḥan allah*** titfataḥ
		Yes *dua’a* and *istighfar* ***glory be to God!*** things work out for the best

In line 17, BF repeats his stance towards the importance of reciting Quran and *dua’a* and two of the other participants align with him. His brother BU repeats part of the previous turn following it with an emphatic “*indeed*” (line 18). In the next turn, BF adopts the same stance adding that “*nothing bestows more blessings*” and another participant, BN, who is his niece, also aligns herself in the interaction afterwards.

Extract 6.5c

BF	48	طيب هذا الدعاء الي تقرأه انا قلت ((لبنت الاخ)) ***اللهم لا خير الا خيرك و لا طير الا طيرك*** كنت موجود مع واحد معي في المعهد و كنت احفظ قصيدة يقرأها و حفظتها و دخل من هو ع و كانت في يدي بيالة شاهي
		ṭaib hadha ildu‘a’ ili tiqra’ah ana gilt l((BN)) ***allahuma la khaira ila khairuk w ala ṭaira ila ṭairuk*** kint mawjūd ma‘a waḥid ma‘ai fi ilma‘ahad w kint aḥfidh qaṣīdah yiqra’aha w hafadhtha w dakhal minhu? ((one of his old classmates)) w kanat f ī yad ī biyalat shahī
		right and this *dua’a* I told BN to recite it ***oh lord there is no good except your good and there are no omens but there is reliance on you*** I was once with a man at the institute ((where BF used to study)) and I was memorizing a poem he was reading it and I was reciting it and who should enter but X ((one of BF’s old classmates)) and I had a cup of tea in my hand

The same stance is repeated throughout the interaction. In Extract 6.5d, BF reminds another of the participants, his niece, about the *dua’a* that he told her to recite on the grounds of its effectiveness and then follows this reminder by recounting a personal experience that is intended to illustrate just how effective he has found this *dua’a* to be. Here, BF’s intention is to socialise BN into the importance of reciting *dua’a.* By doing so, he provides moral guidance and socializes the whole family, not just his own offspring.

Extract 6.5d

BU	75	ما في الا الواحد يمشي و في جيبه خشبه <يضحك>
		ma fī ila ilwaḥid yamshī w fi jaibah khshibah<*laughs*>
		the best thing to do then is to walk around with a piece of wood in one's pocket<*laughs*>
BD1	76	خشبة يحطها هنا او يعلقها
		khishibah yiḥiṭha hina aw ya'ligha
		A piece of wood that someone puts here or hangs it
BF	77	لا عاد بعدين الناس يتحول الى عقيدة
		la 'ad ba'dain ilnas yitḥawal ila 'akīdah
		No because then it could become a belief for people

Later, within the same interaction, participants discuss the concept of the evil eye, noting that it has existed since ancient times and is widely known across different cultures. BF initially attempts to provide an explanation of sorts for this phenomenon to the other participants, displaying his knowledge about this. However when BU starts to joke about carrying around a piece of wood to ward off evil (line 75) and BF's own daughter then starts to join in (line 76), he immediately sets the record straight. His unmitigated "*no*" (line 77) followed by his explanation warns them that they are straying into dangerous territory in the interaction, his use of the word 'عقيدة' whose literal translation is 'creed' demonstrated the significance of the warning. Possibly he thinks this would be too confrontational in this case since it was his own brother who originally broached the subject in humorous fashion.

It is important to note though that the data also provided examples in which a participant who in theory occupies a higher hierarchical position in the power axis adopts a stance of moral guardianship, only to find that his claims are either ignored or dismissed by other family members of lower status. This was discussed previously in Chapter Four (section 4.3.5) where AF was seen to be displaying an epistemic stance challenging the rest of the family members regarding the importance of finding the correct direction of the *qiblah* before performing obligatory prayers as shown in Extract 6.5e.

Extract 6.5e

AF	18	يعني ايش؟ صلاتنا فاتتنا؟ تدري انه لو يطلع خلاف تعيدها ولو انك مجتهد

		ya‘ni aish? ṣalatna fatatna? tadrī inah law yiṭla‘ khilaf ti‘īdha w law inak mujtahid
		what does that mean? We missed our prayer? You know, if it turns out to be different, you have to repeat((*salat*)) even if you performed it with all due diligence.

By reminding the other participants about their religious duties and the consequences of failing to identify the *qiblah* correctly, AF is positioning himself as the moral guardian for the household. However, in this interaction most of his attempts to establish himself in this role are ignored or challenged by two of his younger sons as Extracts 6.5f and 6.5g illustrate:

Extract 6.5f

AF	127	*اذا اخطآت تعيدها*
		idha akt’at tu’īdha
		If you get it wrong you must repeat it.
AS2	128	احنا طلعت ويانا كذا و احيانا تطلع ويانا كذا عادي
		iḥna ṭla‘at wyana kidha w aḥyanan ṭala‘ wyana kidha ‘adi
		We got it like this and sometimes we get it like that. It’s normal
AF	129	*حتى لو اجتهدت*
		ḥita law ijtahadt
		even if you were duly diligent
AS2	130	احنا صلينا اغلب الصلوات كذا
		iḥna ṣalaina aghlab ilṣalawat kidha
		we performed most of our prayers like this

Later in the interaction, AF adopts the same stance he positioned himself in earlier, repeating his reminder that prayers performed facing the wrong direction must be repeated even in the case of due diligence (line 127). However, once again his attempt to place himself in the role of household moral guardian is not successful and rather than eliciting compliance from AS2 his son tries to legitimize his behaviour by referring to his personal experience of how *qiblah* apps work. As Extract 6.5g shows, AF continues to maintain his stance and even tries to appear more authoritative by code-switching to Classical Arabic, invoking the power imbued in this liturgical language (line 156). However, AS2’s younger sibling also fails to acknowledge AF’s concerns and his

attempts to exercise moral guardianship, possibly encouraged by his older brother's non-compliant stance. If anything, he is even more direct in his rejection of his father's authority, concluding his response with his unmitigated statement that "*it is right*" (line 157).

Extract 6.5g

AF	156	*//اذا اجتهدت و اخطأت في القبلة تعيدها*
		/idha ijatahadt w akhṭ'at fil ilqiblah tu'īdha
		/if you exercised all due diligence and the qiblah turned out to be wrong you must repeat it
AS3	157	اجتهدت و صح
		ijtahad w ṣaḥ
		I exercised all due diligence and it is right

In this section, analysis revealed that within two frames of interaction (the story-telling frame and the collaborative arguing frame), some participants—especially those who occupy the highest positions in the power axis in the family hierarchy—may attempt to position themselves as the moral guardians of others. They seize opportunities to share their knowledge about religious matters and to socialise others into particular religious practices. While these attempts are successful in some cases, causing other participants to align with them in the storytelling frame (see Extracts 6.5a-6.5d), there are also examples where these stances do not prove successful and are met with resistance from other participants (see Extracts 6.5e-g). This suggests that a high status in the power axis based on the family hierarchy does not automatically guarantee alignment or compliance from other participants.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on those instances in family discourse where participants are seen to position themselves as moral guardians over the religious conduct of other participants. I began by discussing how parents often assume this surveillance role with young children and then continue to check the religious observance of their offspring even when they are adults and have established their own households. I also argued that in certain instances overt exercise of this stance could prove threatening to the negative and positive face wants of their adult sons particularly. There was evidence that this may produce conflict,

shifts in the power axis within the family hierarchy, and lead to the creation of opposing teams in interaction.

Analysis of the data also provided an example concerning female siblings in which this kind of stance-taking by one sister was not met with active resistance taking the form of verbal conflict; instead, the individual being subjected to an attempt at moral guardianship offered passive resistance by failing to engage in interaction and simply ignored the comment made and continued as before.

The data also suggested that there are instances where this type of stance-taking can be considered to be a connection manoeuvre. In such cases, this can result in participants engaging in a collaborative arguing frame with the aim of reaching a consensus to resolve an issue concerning religious observance.

There was also evidence that even young children can choose to position themselves as moral guardians of their siblings' behaviour, using their knowledge of aspects of the norms of Islamic practice to underpin this kind of stance taking.

This chapter concluded by examining responses to the display of overt moral guardianship stances by individuals who typically occupy high status within the family power axis. In such cases they position themselves within different interactive frames by telling or reminding other family members about the expected behaviour for observant Muslims. There was evidence that such instances might be accepted as connection manoeuvres by the other co-participants. Alternatively, in some cases they were challenged or rejected by other participants since they were interpreted as power manoeuvres intended to override their personal negative and positive face wants.

7 CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this thesis aims to offer provide overall discussions and conclusions for the whole thesis. These will be based on the overall aim of the research, i.e. to shed light on a specific aspect of the study of the construction of Muslim identity in family interaction in Saudi Arabia, and will be guided by the research questions presented previously in Chapter One:

1. How is the concept of time framed according to religion and religious activities within the family setting?
2. How does religion contribute to participants' construction of a sense of space within the family setting?
3. In which ways do participants employ narratives to construct their religious identity?
4. What role do power and solidarity manoeuvers play in indexing religious identity within the family setting?

Each question will be answered by offering overall conclusive findings of the three analysis chapters and explaining how these are used to arrive at answers. The chapter concludes by describing some limitations of the study, as well as making suggestions for further research.

7.2 Time and Religion

One of the findings that emerged from the data analysis is the role that the concept of time and religious practices play in maintaining moral order in family life. This was considered in two ways through what Van Leeuwen (2008a) called natural synchronization of time. Analysis of a number of extracts in section 4.2.1 demonstrated how participants marked the beginning and the end of the day with religious rituals enacted through language. The extracts showed that within family discourse, parents—in this case mothers in particular—socialise their children into performing non-mandatory religious activities, by synchronising these with the other mundane events taking place in the morning and the evening that are typically used to mark the beginning and end of their children's daily routine. By adopting a parenting frame, these mothers attempt to ensure that their children are socialised into the performance of specific religious practices that

they believe play an important role in maintaining religious moral order. At the same time, they actively participate in the (co)-construction of religious identities, shaping both their own individual identity and that of the family unit as a whole.

Analysis of the data presented also demonstrated that socialising children into performing the recitation of religious texts and formulaic expressions of piety such as *dua'a* is repeated in an almost identical pattern on a daily basis. Evidence of this was to be found in the automatic fast-paced fashion in which the texts were repeated by even the youngest participants despite the difficulty that such liturgical language poses to small children. In addition, one of children featuring in the interaction was able to demonstrate an understanding of this frame when asked about what should be said before going to school. This again tends to suggest that this practice of reciting the morning *adhkar* forms an intrinsic part of an habitual family routine which occurs on a daily basis. This pre-school checklist seamlessly incorporates both secular and religious elements, showing that although the practice of reciting *adhkar* is still considered to be an important part of the daily routine in this household, even though this is not mandatory for Muslims unlike performing *salat* (the five obligatory daily prayers). This highlights that the ways in which the children align with their mothers in the performance of these pre-school and pre-bedtime rituals is reflective of an understanding of this frame (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1974; 1981; 1997) which is indicative of a religious knowledge schema (Tannen, 1993).

Another recurrent pattern that I found in my data related to the organization of time on the basis of religious practices as demonstrated in section 4.2.2. This prompts me to suggest that in the Saudi context the participants' family life is organized in relation to a particular kind of social synchronization (Van Leeuwen, 2008), one in which social activities are governed by prayer times. My data demonstrated that in the Saudi context, social synchronization has a specifically religious nature meaning that this dimension dominates almost every aspect of how the daily life of individuals is organised and how all social practices are scheduled. The data, for example, demonstrated that secular social and domestic activities are typically arranged without the need for using 'clock time' but instead a *salat* (prayer)-centred temporal framework is used as the basis for scheduling everything from family meal times to shopping trips. It is important to note here that this religio-social synchronization can also be said to be grounded in natural synchronization since obligatory prayers for Muslims are timed to be spread over the course of a day, from sunrise to evening. The data also showed that the prevalence of this religio-social synchronization of daily activities results not only in the construction of a moral order

intended to construct an Islamic identity but that these same religious practices produce a social order that applies to both Muslims and non-Muslims alike in Saudi Arabia as indicated by the example of the car driver who is actually a practising Hindu but has learnt to arrange his activities according to *salat* times. This illustrates the power of religion in a country that applies *sharia* law like Saudi Arabia where this effectively becomes the organizing principle for the daily activities of all those living in the Kingdom.

7.3 Negotiating Religious Spaces

Talk about religious spaces and the ways in which it influences and is influenced by religion and religious practices in family discourse was also identified as another important theme within the data. Drawing on work by Mautner (2017), Van Leeuwen (2008b) and Gieryn (2002) about space, analysis highlighted a number of instances where talk about sacred spaces, both physical and conceptual, and a shared understanding of these was used as a means of reinforcing involvement between family members or served to create conflict. Participants' talk about *al-masjid* (the mosque) in one of the extracts (section 4.2.1) indicated that this particular religious space plays a particularly important part in the life of male Muslims since they are requested by Sunnah to perform their daily prayers there and to participate in congregational worship as a community every Friday. In Saudi Arabia in particular, men who do not go to perform their prayers at mosques are frowned upon and considered to be lax in their observance of Islamic rituals. For this reason, the mosque also acts as a potent symbol of communal and individual religious identity and when the participants find themselves in a new space where they are initially unaware of the location of mosques around them this proves to be a profoundly unsettling experience.

Another religious space that was also used in family discourse to construct Muslim identity is talk about the *qiblah* (section 4.2.2*)*. Unlike the interactions relating to the mosque, this discourse illustrated how family members of both genders relate to this virtual religious space, providing insights into how their framing of this helps to produce a sense of spatial moral order which in turn encourages a sense of involvement. Analysis showed how participants identify themselves as observant Muslims in terms of the degree of diligence they display in trying to locate the precise direction of the *qiblah* before performing prayers.

Another aspect of the analysis explored the role which digital technology has come to play in contemporary Islamic practices (section 4.2.3). The extracts were selected from a very long interaction amongst family members in which they participated in what was referred to as a collaborative arguing frame (Smithson and Diaz, 1996), showing how smartphone apps can be used as an epistemic resource for religious space identification. The data demonstrated that the while most participants in the interaction accepted the use of this innovation, one participant in particular was resistant to this. This was reflected in the discourse since the majority of the members of the family were able to operate collaboratively as a team to resolve a faith-based issue and to reinforce their collective religious identity despite the challenges posed by spatial disorientation; however, one participant chose to construct a separate individual religious identity for himself as seen in his use of dis-alignments and stance taking.

7.4 Narratives

Narratives can be used as another way of (co-)constructing religious identity in family discourse. In section 5.2, I analysed interactions in which participants displayed collaborative work in telling a series of narratives about instances of divine intervention prompted by the use of liturgical language. I also demonstrated that the participants in these interactions displayed what Tannen (2005[1984]) characterised as a high involvement style with participants narrating stories in rounds and participating actively in internal evaluation. The discourse also displayed features of the polyphonic style similar to that found by Blum-Kulka (1993) in Israeli families. The multiple instances of high-involvement displayed by participants also helped in the (co-)construction of a collective family religious identity.

Analysis presented in section 5.3 suggested that direct experience can be classed as an evidential form, creating links with epistemicity, and the narratives discussed in section 5.2 could be considered as epistemic stance devices (Du Bois, 2007). This suggests that these narrative rounds were not only ways of co-constructing collective religious identities but also ways of constructing individual religious identities simultaneously by using what Du Bois (2007) calls a stance follow. Interestingly in one further example, one of the interlocutors, a parent, does not participate in the stance taken by her child using a narrative. When a disalignment happens in the discussion phase of the story telling (Blum-Kulka, 1993), the stance follow fails to take place. By marking this disalignment, the parental responses show a shift in the narrative frame to that of a

parenting one in which the parent uses several mitigated devices to instil a private family religious identity.

I discussed how narratives are used as evidentials to produce arguments about personal experiences of summoning divine intervention by the use of liturgical language and the ways in which this can be employed to create alignment or dis-alignment with other participants in interaction. In the case where the participants aligned with the first stance-taker a collaborative religious identity was constructed among the participants. However, when an alignment with a narrative epistemic stance-taker failed to occur, the discussion phase of the narrative event led to the construction of a private family-based religious identity through a socialization parenting frame.

The use of religious quotations to provide supporting evidence for expressing epistemic stances also emerged as a recurrent feature in the data, particularly in the narrative interaction with participants using liturgical language and religious formulaic expressions as evaluative and affective stance-making devices within the story rounds. Examples of these include the use of quotes from the Quran and formulaic religious expressions as epistemic stance-making devices such as *in sha'a Allah* and *Alhamdulillah.* While the use of these was prominent in the narrative interactions, they were also found in other instances of family discourse as well. I demonstrated that the ubiquitous use of these expressions has extended their original purpose to cover a wide variety of pragmatic functions such as using them as politeness strategies.

7.5 Dimensions of Power and Solidarity

The data analysis explored how religion and religious practices in family discourse influenced power relations through family discourse. I considered in detail how the social identity of the father is given meaning and structure in discourse when he employs his power status and assumes the role of moral guardian even with adult offspring. At the same time, it was argued that the role of the moral guardian reinforces the power status of the father as head of the traditional household (section 6.2).

The data analysis also examined how power shifts can occur in family discourse as result of targeting a participant's religious identity. In section 6.3, the data showed a shift in the power hierarchy as a result of several family members aligning as a team for the purposes of exercising moral guardianship over another. This led to the emergence of two opposing teams, with one assuming an evaluative stance towards the other team member's religious

practices. By exploring a conflict frame in the interaction, it was became clear that the individual facing this scrutiny was forced to carry out different legitimizing and defensive strategies by way of response within the interaction due to the loss of both negative face (i.e. the desire to be independent) and positive face (i.e. the desire to be respected)

It was also noted, however, that taking an evaluative stance towards the religious conduct of another family member does not always result in the creation of a verbal conflict frame since this kind of stance could be intended as a form of connection manoeuvre by the stance-taker. The recipient was left to infer whether this should be interpreted as a power or connection manoeuvre.

Evidence was also found in the data collected that even young children could adopt evaluative stances and exercise moral guardianship over the religious practices of other family members (section 6.4).

The data analysis also demonstrated that moral guardianship emerged within narrative discourse as a result of a shift from sociability to socialization (section 6.5). This emerged when responses to the display of overt moral guardianship stances by individuals who typically occupy high status within the family power axis were examined. In these cases they position themselves within different interactive frames by telling or reminding other family members about the expected behaviour for observant Muslims. There was evidence that such instances might sometimes be accepted as connection manoeuvres by co-participants. Alternatively, in some cases this discourse was challenged or rejected by other participants if they interpreted this as an indication of power manoeuvres intended to override their personal negative and positive face wants.

7.6 Overall Discussion

Family discourse in the Saudi context has proved to be a significant site for the construction, co-construction and negotiation of religious identities. Through the investigation of different elements that originated in Interactional Sociolinguistic analysis such as frames, socialisation, narratives, alignments, and face, analysis showed how the religious landscape of family life is established. Moreover, the prevalence of religion in Saudi Arabia has been shown to influence even the aspects of time and space on both the levels of the individual and the family as a whole, affecting the construction, co-construction and negotiation of religious identity. This study also demonstrated that while family discourse is co-constructed by family members, each of whom has certain roles,

expectations and goals within each particular interaction, the goals and expectations of these family members are not always aligned. There are, for example, interactions concerning religion and religious practices in everyday life where break-downs, embarrassment, and violations of face wants emerge. In such cases, individual religious identities are constructed.

Overall, it could be added that this study demonstrated that religious identity construction co-construction and negotiation is, like other types of identity, as Zimmerman (1998) (Section 2.1.1.) suggested in his classification of discourse, situated and transportable. The study also suggests that among the processes of religious identity work found in this study are those that are mentioned by De Fina (2011) (section 2.1.1) such as Indexicality and positioning. However, the study highlighted other processes as well such as narratives, stances and different power and solidarity manoeuvres.

7.7 Limitations, Contribution and Suggestions for Future Research

There are several limitations to this study. First and foremost, this small-scale study investigates the discursive practices of just two families in Saudi Arabia. It is not possible, therefore, to generalize the findings of this qualitative, in-depth, micro-level analysis of interaction amongst family members to interactions in all families.

Secondly, I also acknowledge that my participant observer status as a Saudi Muslim undoubtedly creates a particular bias in the analysis presented here. At the same time, however, it is this "insider perspective" that made it possible for me to obtain the data in the first place and to bring specific insights to interpreting them.

Thirdly, it is necessary to remember Labov's (1972) Observer's Paradox. When they know they are being observed, individuals often act differently or change their mode of interaction. In terms of discourse, they may stop speaking normally and begin to adopt more formal speech patterns and sometimes they avoid certain topics of conversation. The fact that there was a recording device present (and occasionally myself as researcher) and that family members were aware that they were being recorded could have influenced how participants behaved and undermined attempts to gather the kind of natural spontaneous speech that a study of this type requires. However, there are examples of a) routine events happening as they usually did and b) some quite difficult family conversations, both of which from different perspectives suggest the presence of the recorder did not affect their behaviour much. Since the recording device was around for

long periods of time, it is possible that participants got used to it and forgot about it.

A further limitation of the study is the lack of previous research on the topic. While there is research on the topic of religious identity in different parts of the world, research on the construction of religious identity in Saudi contexts is almost non-existent despite the prominent role religion plays in Saudi Arabia. The paucity of recent data concerning Saudi society in general and religious affiliation in Saudi Arabia in particular constitutes a further limitation in relation to previous research.

However, despite these limitations, by focusing on a specific socio-cultural and linguistic context, this analysis and discussion of family discourse provides an example of the discursive practices, types of interactional patterns and shifting frames and alignments used to (co-)construct an individual and a group religious identity through family interaction.

In an attempt to broaden the knowledge about religious, and more particularly Muslim identity, I believe that this study provides major contributions to the field, in both the general framework of religious identity research and the value and necessity of studying religious identity in the Saudi family context in particular. As for future research, the topic still holds a lot of potential. Study of the construction of Muslim identity, whether in Saudi Arabia or elsewhere, definitely merits further investigation in a variety of contexts such as education and business, particularly when linked to the aspects of space and time and how the influence of digital technology has altered traditional understandings of these dimensions. There is potential, too, for comparative perspectives on the construction of Muslim identities in relation to religious occasions such as the holy month of Ramadan or Eid and in transnational religious spaces such as the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

One aspect that is definitely worth exploring is Muslim identity and gender, in particular how gender and religion come into play in the determination and negotiation of gender roles, social relations and expectations in Islamic societies.

In analysing Muslim identity in the Saudi context, my data specifically showed three themes by which Muslim identity was (co-) constructed in daily interaction. These three themes are: how moral order in family life is maintained in relation to the concepts of space and time, how narratives and story rounds are used to (co-)construct Muslim identity and how moral guardianship is displayed through power and connection

manoeuvres in family interaction. The above three themes could be considered as a contribution to the field of Sociolinguistics in terms of how they are used by people as strategies for (co-)constructing identity in general and religious identity in particular.

Moreover, by analysing the ways in which the participants (co-)construct Muslim identity in daily interaction, an emergent pattern that particularly links the elements of time and religion in Saudi life has been discussed here. This is what I called in my analysis religio-social synchronization. It pertains to how the nature of life in Saudi Arabia, where religion is ingrained in pretty much every detail of life, results in how the concept of time is organized around religion and religious activities. I would recommend investigating the topic further in other contexts as well, for example, in institutional settings.

More research should also be focused on how culture, as in institutional religion here, is reproduced within different contexts, among which comes family interaction. This relates to studying how the macro elements of culture are directly manifested in the micro level of talk. Moreover, the theme of moral guardianship in talk I identified in my study could be used to analyse how other types of morality are established, maintained and co-constructed in family settings in particular and other settings in general.

The last issue I will comment on is the future of the status of religion n family life in Saudi Arabia, which has been a critical element throughout the research process. Although the status of religion clearly faces no threat in terms of significance, it became apparent in my research that Saudi family members, especially the younger generations, are more willing to adapt new ways in which they deal with religion in their daily life. This became apparent in the research in the parts that discussed how they use technology in identifying religious spaces and in the parts where they used religious intertextual repetition as justification strategies.

7.8 Concluding remarks

When I initially decided to study the relationship between religion and socio-linguistics, I was interested in how the family functioned as a particular site for religious identity (co-)construction and negotiation, in particular how specific religious formulaic expressions are used within family interaction by family members for this purpose. However, my data provided me with even more fascinating insights into how religion and family interaction are intertwined. For example, I found that the concept of time in daily life revolves around

religious activities carried out through family interactions. I also discovered that family interactions relating to religious space is another way in which the participants (co-)construct and negotiate their religious identity. The data also demonstrated how talk and tension in talk about using new technology for identifying religious spaces can be employed not only for (co-)constructing and negotiating religious identity by building alliances but also to draw distinctions between family members when individuals choose to dis-align themselves from fellow participants.

The data also highlighted that the (co-)construction of religious identity in family talk is extremely rich in the use of narratives by both adults and children alike. Whether they are used for the purposes of socialisation or sociability, they function as a very meaningful strategy for (co-)constructing and negotiating religious identity.

Finally, religion also serves as a means of shaping family relationships. In particular, the data demonstrated how threats to religious identity may result not only in loss of face but may also create shifts in the power hierarchy within the family. This can be achieved when one or more participants assume the role of moral guardian. Within the course of these interactions, individuals make direct and indirect accusations, require accounts of behaviour, close down topics or insist on keeping them open, and provide justifications.

In conclusion, family discourse in the Saudi context has proved to be a significant site for the construction, co-construction and negotiation of religious identities. Through the investigation of different elements that originated in interactional sociolinguistic analysis such as frames, socialisation, narratives, alignments, and face, analysis showed how the religious landscape of family life is established. Moreover, the prevalence of religion in Saudi Arabia has been shown to influence even the aspects of time and space on both the individual and the family level, affecting the construction, co-construction and negotiation of religious identity. This study also demonstrated that while family discourse is co-constructed by family members, each of whom has certain roles, expectations and goals within each particular interaction, the goals and expectations of these family members are not always aligned. There are, for example, interactions concerning religion and religious practices in everyday life where break-downs, embarrassment, and violations of face wants emerge. In such cases, distinctive individual religious identities are constructed.

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APPENDIX 1: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

((*words*))	Double parentheses enclose transcriber's comments, in italics.
/words/	Slashes enclose uncertain transcription.
?	A question mark indicates a relatively strong rising intonation.
.	A period indicates a falling, final intonation.
…	Dots indicate silence (the more dots, the longer the silence).
:	A colon indicates an elongated sound.
<*laughs*>	Angle brackets enclose descriptions of vocal noises, e.g., *laughs*, *coughs*.
<*manner*>words>	Angle brackets enclose descriptions of the manner in which an utterance is spoken, e.g. *high-pitched*, *laughing*, *incredulous*.
/	Interruptions
Italics	Code-switching to Classical Arabic
Bolding and Italics	Instances of formulaic liturgical language like Quranic verses or hadith

APPENDIX 2: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM

Participant information sheet

Title: The Role of Language in the Construction of Muslim Identity in Family Interaction in Saudi Arabia.

Researcher: Iman A. Al-Mulla

You are invited to take part in this research study. Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the purpose of this study?

I am carrying out this study as part of my Doctoral studies in the Department of Linguistics and English Language. The aim of the study is to explore the construction
Of Muslim identity in family interaction in Saudi Arabia.

What does the study entail?

My study will involve observing and recording conversations that take place in family settings.

Why have I been invited?

I have approached you because I am interested in understanding how Saudis express their Muslim identity in family talk in everyday situations.

I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part in my study.

What will happen if I take part?

If you decided to take part, this would involve the following:

I will observe and record approximately 20 sessions of everyday family interaction. Each session will last around 60-90 minutes.

What are the possible benefits from taking part?

Your insights will contribute to our understanding of the different ways in which Saudi people exhibit their Muslim identity in everyday interaction.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

It is unlikely that there will be any major disadvantages to taking part. Your confidentiality will be protected because the data will be kept in an encrypted file and your identity will be completely anonymized.

What will happen if I decide not to take part or if I don't want to carry on with the study?

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time and you do not have to give a reason. If you withdraw while the study takes place or until 2 months after it finishes, I will not use any of the information that you provided. If you withdraw later, I will use the information you shared with me for my study.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

All the information collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Any identifying information, such as names and personal characteristics, will be anonymised in the PhD thesis or any other publications of this research. The data I will collect will be kept securely. Any paper-based data will be kept in a locked cupboard. Electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer and files containing personal data will be encrypted.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The results of the study will be used for academic purposes only. This will include my PhD thesis and other publications, for example journal articles. I am also planning to present the results of my study at academic conferences.

What if there is a problem?

If you have any queries or if you are unhappy with anything that happens concerning your participation in the study, please contact myself or my supervisor, Dr. Karin Tusting.

(Full information and contact details were provided but have been deliberately omitted here)
Thank you for considering your participation in this project.

Lancaster University

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Investigating the construction of Muslim Identity in family interaction in Saudi Arabia

Name of Researchers: Iman Al-Mulla
Email: i.al-mulla@lancaster.ac.uk

Please tick each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily	☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during my participation in this study and within x weeks after I took part in the study, without giving any reason. If I withdraw within 9 weeks of taking part in the study my data will be removed. If I am involved in focus groups and then withdraw my data will remain part of the study. PLEASE NOTE: Withdrawing from a focus group can be difficult and if your study involves focus groups you may want to add the following: I understand that as part the focus group I will take part in, my data is part of the ongoing conversation and cannot be destroyed. I understand that the researcher will try to disregard my views when analysing the focus group data, but I am aware that this will not always be possible.	☐
3. If I am participating in the focus group I understand that any information disclosed within the focus group remains confidential to the group, and I will not discuss the focus group with or in front of anyone who was not involved unless I have the relevant person's express permission	☐
4. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, academic articles, publications or presentations by the researcher/s, but my personal information will not be included and I will not be identifiable. PLEASE NOTE: if you intend to make your data available to future researchers via a data archive, you need to add a sentence to point 4 or add a separate point to request consent for this. You could say: Fully anonymised data will be offered to ..(name of the archive) and will be made available to genuine research for re-use (secondary analysis)	☐
5. I understand that my name/my organisation's name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentation without my consent.	☐
6. I understand that any interviews or focus groups will be audio-recorded and transcribed and that data will be protected on encrypted devices and kept secure.	☐
7. I understand that data will be kept according to University guidelines for a minimum of 10 years after the end of the study.	☐
8. I agree to take part in the above study.	☐

_____ _____ _____
Name of Participant Date Signature

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

Signature of Researcher /person taking the consent _____ **Date** _**21/05/2014**_____ Day/month/year

One copy of this form will be given to the participant and the original kept in the files of the researcher at Lancaster University