
RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Role of Dialect in Shaping Palestinian National Identity

Tasnim K. M. AlAsttal

MA student, IUG. English language teacher, UNRWA, KhanYounis, Palestine

Corresponding Author: Tasnim K. M. AlAsttal, **E-mail:** tasneemastal@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study examines the important role of the Palestinian Arabic dialect in the development and maintenance of Palestinian national identity. The research, situated within a qualitative, interpretive framework, analyzes linguistic characteristics, cultural expressions, and media products to comprehend how dialect serves as a symbol of resistance, unity, and historical continuity. The study illustrates, through thematic and contextual investigations of literary texts, musical lyrics, oral traditions, and cinematic works, that the Palestinian dialect functions as both a medium of communication and a carrier for collective memory, as well as a mechanism for cultural and political assertion. The results indicate that dialect contributes to the formation of identity across various geographic and geopolitical settings, particularly within displaced and diasporic people. The study examines critical research inquiries on the uniqueness of Palestinian Arabic, its significance in cultural production, and its impact on intergenerational identity transmission. Limitations due to the current war in Gaza and related displacement have impacted primary data collection, particularly the ability to conduct interviews. The research finishes by highlighting the dialect's significant value in preserving Palestinian identity and offers recommendations for future studies that combine ethnographic approaches and comparative analysis.

KEYWORDS

Arabic, dialect, National Identity, Qualitative, interpretative, Gaza, Palestinian

ARTICLE INFORMATION

ACCEPTED: 01 June 2025

PUBLISHED: 30 June 2025

DOI: 10.32996/ijllt.2025.8.7.4

1) Introduction

There is widespread agreement that language is a fundamental element in the formation and expression of national identity. The famous structural linguist, Edward Sapir, defines language as 'an essentially perfect means of expression and communication among every known people.' (Sapir, 1964, p. 6). Nevertheless, language is not solely a set of symbols for communication; it also represents a crucial element of both individual and collective identity. Modern linguistic anthropologists examine language as a fundamental aspect of culture. Sociolinguists perceive language as a structure for social interaction, whereas psycholinguists view language as both a vehicle for communication and the content itself—depicting reality and functioning as a social phenomenon.

From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, in addition to analyzing the essence of language and its relationship with individuals and social groupings, three fundamental qualities of language arise. Language functions as the principal instrument for the socialization of children. Additionally, language or dialect serves as a marker that confers a distinct linguistic identity upon a group, differentiating it from others and establishing boundaries across linguistic communities. Furthermore, the societal value assigned to a group's language influences children's perception of their group's social position (Padilla, 1999, p.116).

Milhem (2014:74) argues that Language, from a purely linguistic perspective, functions as a fundamental manifestation of national identity. A clear and direct connection exists between a nation and its language; for example, 'French' applies to both the inhabitants of France and their language, 'English' signifies the people of England and their language, and 'Persian' refers to both the citizens and the language of Persia. This evident linguistic correlation encourages an initial investigation into the essence of language prior to exploring its connection with identity. Traditional approaches to the study of language have been

influenced by fundamental assumptions, resulting in diverse views of its nature. However, the emergence of multidisciplinary domains such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and anthropological linguistics has transformed the concept of language, introducing new dimensions that surpass traditional definitions.

Suleiman (2003:43) presents excerpts from the Qur'an that demonstrate the esteemed standing of Arabic in Islam. Qur'an 12:2 asserts that the revelation to Prophet Muhammad was in Arabic: "innâ anzalnâhu qur'ânan 'Arabîyyan" ("We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an"). This is articulated as an emphatic declaration (indicated by innâ preceding the verb anzalnâhu) that outlines God's will in a manner that favors divine terminology. This fact is emphasized in Qur'an 26:195, which characterizes the language of the revelation as "perspicuous" Arabic (mubin), so indicating its clarity to those who seek to evaluate the authenticity of God's message to humanity. In Qur'an 14:4, God articulates the notion that every messenger was appointed to communicate with his people in their own language, so bestowing a unique significance upon Arabic and its original speakers within Islamic cosmology. This principle clarifies the logic behind the revelation being conveyed to prophet Muhammad in Arabic rather than in another language (Qur'an 41:44): "wa-law ja'alnâhu qur'ânan 'ajamiyyan la-qâilê lawlâ fußilat âyâtuhu 'a'a'jamiyyun wa-'Arabîyy" "If We had dispatched this as a Qur'an in a language other than Arabic, they would have remarked: 'Why are its verses not explained thoroughly?' "What! A foreign language and an Arab Messenger?"

There are categories of nations acknowledged in the literature: the civic or political nation and the cultural or ethnic nation. The former type is frequently linked to Western nations. The latter category pertains to countries in Eastern Europe and Asia (Suleiman, 2003, p. 23). Seton-Watson (1981:4) delineates the distinction between the political (or "old nation") and the cultural nation (or "newer nation") by asserting that, in the former, "the state preceded national consciousness, followed by the nation," whereas in the latter, national consciousness emerged first, "subsequently leading to the nation and nationalist consciousness, and ultimately the state."

In the Arab world, characterized by considerable language variety and diglossia, regional dialects sometimes acquire symbolic significance as identifiers linked to both local and national identities. Bitar (2011) asserts that Suleiman (1994) contends that the consideration of language as the fundamental element and the most significant expression of nationalism is indicative of Arabic discourse regarding the significance of Arabic to Arab identity (Suleiman, 1994, p. 3). In a sociological setting that includes division and relocation, the Palestinian dialect fulfils a cohesive cultural role.

Levantine Arabic is a diverse variant of Arabic spoken across an area of around 200 kilometers along the Eastern Mediterranean coastal strip (Versteegh, 2001), and it constitutes one of the five main dialects of Arabic (Bassiouny, 2009).

Milhem (2014:76) states that Levantine Arabic has three sub-dialects:

1. Urban: utilized by urban populations in Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon; certain Palestinians residing in Jordan; and the majority of Palestinians globally.
2. Rural: utilized by rural communities in Syria, Palestine and Lebanon; certain Palestinians residing in Jordan; and many Palestinians globally.
3. Bedouin: utilized by Bedouin minorities in Syria, Palestine, Israel, and Lebanon, in addition to native Jordanians and certain Palestinians residing in Jordan.

The initial two dialects are prevalent linguistic traits among the populace residing along the Eastern Mediterranean coast, displaying only a general linguistic affinity with Arabian dialects. On the other hand, the Bedouin dialect has preserved the majority of the characteristics inherent in Hejazi Arabic, as spoken in the Hejaz region of Saudi Arabia (Jeddah, Medina, and Mecca).

This study aims to demonstrate that the Palestinian dialect significantly contributes to the construction of national identity through cultural expressions, narratives of resistance, and a sense of community belonging. Understanding the sociolinguistic significance of the Palestinian dialect provides insight into the broader dynamics of identity formation within contexts of colonialism, diaspora, and conflict. (Suleiman, 2004).

1.1 Problem Statement

Despite the sophisticated sociolinguistic diversity of the Arab world, the role of dialects, especially Palestinian Arabic, in shaping and sustaining national identity under challenges like occupation, emigration, and sociopolitical conflict remains insufficiently realized. The vernacular dialect embodies the lived experiences, struggle, and cultural continuity of the Palestinian people, despite Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) being the predominant language in formal communication and media.

1.2 Research Objectives:

This study aims to investigate the influence of dialect on the formation of Palestinian National Identity. To fulfil its primary aim, this study seeks to accomplish numerous particular objectives as follows:

- 1) To analyze the linguistic characteristics of Palestinian Arabic and their symbolic significance.
- 2) To examine the role of the Palestinian dialect as a vehicle for cultural and political resistance.
- 3) To examine the function of dialect in preserving identity within Palestinian diaspora communities.
- 4) To examine cultural and artistic manifestations that employ dialect to strengthen national identity.

1.3 Research Questions:

The main question of this study is: 'In what ways does dialect influence Palestinian National Identity?'. This will be further analyzed by attempting to answer the following sub-questions:

- 1) What are the distinguishing linguistic characteristics of Palestinian Arabic, and how do they set it apart from other regional dialects?
- 2) How does the utilization of dialect in literature, music, and oral traditions help the formation of Palestinian national identity?
- 3) In what ways is Palestinian Arabic utilized in diasporic settings to maintain cultural identity?
- 4) What function does dialect serve in the transmission of collective memory and intergenerational identity?

1.4 Limitations of the Study

This study is constrained by its dependence on secondary data and textual analysis, which may insufficiently reflect the dynamic and developing characteristics of dialect usage in everyday discourse and undocumented oral traditions. Moreover, the current war in the Gaza Strip and the extensive displacement of Palestinian people have greatly hindered the execution of interviews and primary field research. I, myself, evacuated my home and am currently living in a tent by the Coastal area in KhanYounis. These humanitarian and logistical limitations have hindered the incorporation of direct linguistic experiences and current usage in practical contexts.

2) Literature Review

This literature review seeks to examine multiple studies that have illustrated the connection between language and identity. The findings of these studies discuss the significant importance of language and dialect on national identification, particularly the effect of Palestinian dialects on Palestinian national identity. They, also, greatly aid in understanding this ongoing connection.

The connection between language and national identity has been thoroughly examined in sociolinguistic and political theory. Anderson's (1983) major work, *Imagined Communities*, asserts that language is fundamental to the formation of national consciousness, functioning as the vehicle for constructing shared narratives. Suleiman (2004) elaborates on this concept within the Middle Eastern setting, arguing that language frequently serves as an object of conflict and defiance, particularly in situations of occupation.

Research focused on Palestinian Arabic, including works by Horesh (2014) and Amara (2005), investigates the dialect's phonological, morphological, and sociopolitical aspects. Horesh emphasizes the unique linguistic characteristics of Palestinian Arabic and their development under colonial and postcolonial impacts. Amara examines the political consequences of language policy in the Palestinian territories, highlighting the dialect's significance in affirming national identity in the context of occupation.

Furthermore, Horesh (2021) clarifies in his study work the 1948 war in Palestine, which caused language changes resulting in bilingualism and multilingualism for many Palestinians. He discusses that this influenced Palestinian Arabic lexicon, grammar, and identity, and that conventional dialectological limits were altered by demographic changes, political frontiers, and conflicts. The paper seeks to examine these intricate boundaries and their sociolinguistic implications. Horesh argues that 'it is the speakers of the language that shape not only matters of 'attitude' and 'identity,' but also how the languages they speak evolve and orient toward one another.' (Horesh, 2021, p. 669).

Moreover, Milhem's (2014) study examines the correlation between Palestinian dialect and identity, with an emphasis on Jordanian citizens. The study reveals that a significant number of Palestinians utilize the Jordanian dialect, which holds symbolic and considerable significance. The findings indicate that abandoning the Palestinian vernacular could damage one's authentic national identity, particularly in the absence of an independent nation. Milhem (2014:80) asserts that 'a language is the conveyor of national identity, and, as such, only those who speak it have true ties to their national identity'.

In addition to that, Bitar conducted a study in 2011 entitled 'Language, Identity, and Arab Nationalism: Case Study of Palestine'. This paper suggests that in the late seventh century, Palestine emerged as a primarily Arab nation with a Muslim majority, referred to as Filastin. The Palestinian interpretation of Arabic nationalism highlighted language as a pivotal element in the construction of national identity. Standard Arabic and Levantine Arabic facilitated communication and preserved the cultural legacy for Palestinians in the Diaspora. The researcher asserts that 'the Levantine Arabic spoken by Palestinians in the Diaspora gives the Palestinians in many countries a sense of identity and awareness of their common cultural heritage.' Bitar (2011, p. 59).

Bitar previously discussed the connection between dialect and national identity in his 2009 master's thesis. This thesis seeks to comprehend the narrative of the Palestinian people through language, emphasizing their geographical, cultural, economic, and spiritual dynamics. It analyzes the significance of the Palestinian-Levantine dialect in preserving cultural legacy and identity within the Palestinian Diaspora. The research has its roots in geography, languages, cultural analysis, and historiography.

Cultural analyses, including those of Darwish's poetry and DAM's musical works, illustrate how vernacular language is employed to express resistance and maintain cultural continuity (Darwish, 2003; DAM, 2009). These works collectively emphasize the dialect's importance as a complex icon of Palestinian identity.

The existing literature offers considerable insights into the connection between dialect and identity; nevertheless, there is a notable gap in the analysis of the dialectal variations among Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank, and the diaspora, as well as

their influence on the formation of Palestinian national identity. This study seeks to address this gap by emphasizing the linguistic characteristics of Palestinian Arabic, alongside oral traditions and its transmission of identity.

3) Methodology

3.1 Research Approach

This research employs a qualitative, interpretive approach to examine the influence of the Palestinian dialect on national identity formation. Qualitative, interpretive methodology is a research approach that emphasizes understanding the significance and context of social phenomena through qualitative data collection and analysis, rather than quantifying or measuring them. It stresses comprehensive examination and interpretation of experiences, perspectives, and behaviors, aiming to reveal the intricate details of human experiences and comprehend how individuals perceive the world. Conducting interpretative qualitative research necessitates that the researcher follows an analytical path that includes the formulation of the research question, refinement of the research design, definition of the research material, and its analysis through multiple stages, concentrating on the 'what,' 'how,' and 'why' dimensions (Wiesner, 2022, p. 19).

3.2 Data Collection

Wiesner (2022:8) asserts that the initial phase of any interpretative study is the selection of a corpus of theoretically relevant information. The material of any kind may be significant depending on the research design if it assists in addressing the subject of the study.

The research makes use of purposive sampling to choose representative cultural objects and academic literature. The collection of data comprises:

- 1- Studies on the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of Palestinians.
- 2- Literary works and poetry by Mahmoud Darwish, e.g., "Identity Card," "To My Mother," and "In Jerusalem."
- 3- Musical compositions and performances by the band DA, e.g., "Min Irhabi?" and "If I Could Go Back in Time."
- 4- Oral traditions encompass folk songs like *Zareef al-Toul*, proverbs, and storytelling excerpts.
- 5- Film and media works such as *Jenin*, *Jenin* and *Paradise Now* employing Palestinian dialects.

3.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis employs a thematic and interpretive methodology. The analysis was performed in the subsequent steps:

- Textual Analysis: Chosen texts were analyzed to identify specific phonological and syntactic characteristics typical of Palestinian Arabic, including the substitution of /k/ for /q/ in rural dialects and distinctive vocabulary derived from agricultural or resistance-related lexicon (Horesh, 2014).
- Thematic Coding: Each cultural item was analyzed for continuing themes: exile, resistance, homeland, memory, and cultural continuity. For example, Darwish's "Identity Card" was categorized under resistance and dignity, whereas DAM's "Min Irhabi?" explored issues of injustice and self-assertion.
- Contextual Interpretation: Materials were analyzed considering their historical and sociopolitical contexts. For instance, *Jenin*, *Jenin* was associated with trauma following the Second Intifada and the dialect's emotive significance in eyewitness accounts (Bakri, 2002).
- A comparative analysis of oral traditions, music, and literature was performed to examine the dialect's adaptability and survival across various mediums. This demonstrated how various modes of expression preserve a cohesive linguistic and cultural identity.
- Synthesis: Findings from all phases were integrated to establish correlations between dialectal usage and the reinforcing of Palestinian identity across diverse communities and mediums.

This comprehensive analysis seeks to clarify the intricate ways in which Palestinian Arabic functions as a cultural and political resource. The methodology enhances comprehension of the dialect's role as an expression of identity, especially in contexts of displacement, resistance, and nation-building.

4. Findings and Discussion

This section clarifies the role of Palestinian Arabic as a fundamental component in the construction of national identity, using the five-stage methodology.

4.1 Findings of Textual Analysis

Palestinian Arabic possesses unique phonological, lexical, and syntactic characteristics that distinguish it from other regional dialects. The pronunciation of the phoneme /q/ differs across urban and rural dialects, and vocabulary items frequently embody the region's multilingual heritage, integrating components from Turkish, Hebrew, and English (Horesh, 2014).

The dialect is conventionally classified into urban, rural, and Bedouin variations, each associated with historical settlement patterns and societal dynamics. In spite of internal diversity, common language characteristics create a sense of cohesion among

Palestinian speakers. All of these characteristics together constitute a linguistic repertoire that serves both communicative and symbolic identity-affirming purposes (Amara, 2005).

The linguistic uniqueness of Palestinian Arabic was confirmed by thorough analyses of certain texts. Darwish's poem "To My Mother" displays rural dialectal characteristics that elicit affection and nostalgia, strengthening personal and national connections to land and legacy. In DAM's "If I Could Go Back in Time," urban dialects are utilized to convey contemporary challenges and shared memory. This investigation responds to Research Question 1 by explaining the phonological and lexical characteristics that distinguish Palestinian Arabic from other Levantine dialects.

4.2 Insights on Thematic Coding

The utilization of Palestinian Arabic in artistic output serves as a mechanism for resisting elimination and expressing existence. Literary icons like Mahmoud Darwish have skillfully utilized vernacular elements to express themes of loss, resistance, and longing. Similarly, artistic groups like DAM employ dialect in their lyrics to confront social injustice and emphasize Palestinian identity.

Moreover, An illustrative instance is the theatrical work *Alive from Palestine: Stories Under Occupation* by Ashtar Theatre, in which the characters' employment of local languages enhances authenticity and promotes audience connection, thus converting artistic expression into a medium for resistance (Amara, 2005).

In addition to that, oral traditions, including storytelling, proverbs, and folk songs, serve as essential stores of collective memory and national identity. The dialectal nature of these traditions facilitates the intergenerational transmission of cultural values and historical awareness. Traditional Palestinian wedding songs, such as the *zaffeh*, embody communal values and historical narratives through metaphor and regional idioms (Suleiman, 2004).

Thematic analysis has demonstrated that dialect regularly functioned to convey themes of displacement, longing, and resistance. The folk song *Zareef al-Toul* employs idiomatic terms to convey themes of exile and longing, reflecting aspects present in Darwish's "In Jerusalem." These findings address Research Question 2 by illustrating the dialect's ability to convey emotionally significant national themes.

4.3 Contextual Analysis

Positioning materials within sociopolitical contexts clarified the dialect's role as an instrument of resistance and testimony. The film *Jenin, Jenin* utilized spontaneous speech in the Jenin dialect as a means of testimony, so enhancing the authenticity and emotional resonance of the narrative (Bakri, 2002). DAM's lyrics in "Min Irhabi?" address governmental brutality and cultural erasure using straightforward colloquial language, highlighting the political significance of dialect (DAM, 2009).

4.4 Results of Comparative Review

The term "diaspora" originates from the Greek language and comprises two morphemes. The initial component is *-dia*, meaning 'through', whereas the subsequent component is *-speirein*, signifying 'to disperse'. Dictionary definitions of diaspora typically indicate that the term refers to "the displacement and scattering of a population." (Bitar, 2009, pp. 32-33).

Safran (1991:364-365) states that the establishment of a diaspora consists of a collection of "expatriate minority communities" characterized by members sharing nearly the same experiences and expressing several of the following features:

- 1) They are part of a group that has been scattered from a central origin to two or more remote geographical places.
- 2) They possess a shared history and vision of their ancestral homeland.
- 3) They possess a more profound connection to their roots and believe they will not receive equal treatment from their adopted or host society.
- 4) They perceive themselves as displaced from their homeland, which they regard as their rightful place to be and they long to return when circumstances permit.
- 5) They collectively believe in preserving their legacy and connections to their people and land, with the aspiration of establishing their sovereignty over their ancestral homeland.
- 6) They continue maintaining a personal or subjective connection to their homeland, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are significantly shaped by the presence of this tie.

Horesh (2014) asserts that in diasporic conditions, Palestinian Arabic acts as an essential connection to the motherland, serving as a mobile indicator of identity. Cultural institutions among Palestinian communities abroad, especially in Latin America and Europe, advocate for dialect preservation to sustain continuity and resist the mixing of cultures.

The dialect served as a unifying element across several mediums, including oral traditions, poetry, and current music. This cross-genre survival highlights the dialect's unifying function, especially in scattered and diasporic communities, hence addressing Research Question 3.

4.5 Integration of Synthesis and Themes

The findings illustrate how dialect embodies collective memory and preserves intergenerational identity. Dialect aids in cultural transmission through oral traditions and songs imparted to younger generations, thereby addressing Research Question 4. This synthesis affirms that Palestinian Arabic encapsulates both historical realities and a vision of shared survival and resistance.

5. Conclusion

This study has shown that Palestinian Arabic goes beyond mere language variation; it serves as a fundamental cultural and political instrument integral to the formation and preservation of national identity. This research has addressed all four research objectives through the analysis of literary works, musical expressions, oral traditions, and media.

Firstly, it has confirmed the unique linguistic characteristics of Palestinian Arabic, illustrating how these features distinguish it from other regional dialects and promote collective identity. Secondly, thematic analysis has supported the dialect's function in articulating national narratives, especially with themes of resistance, exile, and belonging. Thirdly, its ongoing utilization by diasporic communities via diverse artistic and oral mediums demonstrates its role as a unifying and identity-preserving force beyond geopolitical boundaries. Finally, the dialect's capacity to convey collective memory and cultural norms across generations emphasizes its essential function in cultural resilience and continuity.

Future studies are required to include field investigations and interviews with speakers from diverse Palestinian areas and diasporic communities to offer a more sophisticated, experiential understanding of dialect usage. Moreover, comparative analyses with other Arabic dialects in equally disputable settings may provide significant insights into the broader function of vernaculars in the formation of national identity. Researchers may investigate the impact of digital media and technology on the maintenance and evolution of dialectal expressions among younger generations.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Publisher's Note: All claims expressed in this article are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of their affiliated organizations, or those of the publisher, the editors and the reviewers.

References

- [1] Amara, M. (2005). Politics and sociolinguistics in the Palestinian territories. *Israel Studies*, 10(2), 1–20.
- [2] Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso.
- [3] Bakri, M. (Director). (2002). *Jenin, Jenin* [Documentary]. Palestine.
- [4] Bassiouney, R. (2009). *Arabic sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh University Press.
- [5] DAM. (2009). *Dedication* [Album]. EMI Arabia.
- [6] Darwish, M. (2003). *Unfortunately, it was paradise: Selected poems* (C. J. Hutchins & I. El-Zein, Trans.). University of California Press.
- [7] Horesh, U. (2014). *Phonological and morphological variation in Palestinian Arabic*. Brill.
- [8] Horesh, U. (2021). Palestinian dialects and identities shifting across physical and virtual borders. *Multilingua*, 40(5), 647–673.
- [9] Bitar, S. I. (2011). Language, Identity, and Arab Nationalism: Case study of Palestine. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 5(4), 48–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19370679.2011.12023190>.
- [10] Bitar, S. I. (2009). Palestinian-Levantine Dialect Diaspora: Exploring its role in maintaining Palestinian cultural heritage & identity. Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers. 730. <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/730>
- [11] Milhem, N. A. (2014). Language and Palestinian identity. *ANGLISTICUM. Journal of the Association-Institute for English Language and American Studies*, 3(4), 74–82.
- [12] Padilla, A. (1999). Psychology. In J. Fishman ed. *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [13] Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1(1), 83–99. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1991.0004>
- [14] Sapir, Ed.(1964).Culture, Language, and Personality: Selected Essays. Ed. David G. Mandelbaum. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- [15] Seton-Watson, H. (1981). *Language and National Consciousness*. Proceedings of the British Academy, Ixvii Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [16] Suleiman, Y. (1994). Nationalism and the Arabic language: A historical overview. in Yasir Suleiman, ed., *Arabic sociolinguistics: Issues and perspectives*. Surrey: Curzon Press.
- [17] Suleiman, Y. (2003). *The Arabic Language and National Identity: A Study in Ideology*.
- [18] Suleiman, Y. (2004). *A war of words: Language and conflict in the Middle East*. Cambridge University Press.
- [19] Versteegh, K. (2001). *The Arabic language*. Edinburgh University Press.
- [20] Wiesner, C. (2022). Doing qualitative and interpretative research: reflecting principles and principled challenges. *Political Research Exchange*, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/2474736X.2022.2127372>