

Arabic Feminist Discourse: Insights from Wedding Invitation Cards in Jordan

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Abstract

The present study examines through critical discourse analysis the practice of masking the bride's name on Jordanian Muslim wedding invitation cards. Previous research has focused on the generic analysis structure of all components of wedding invitation cards, and masking the bride's name was a minor matter in these studies. Most studies referred to the reason for this practice as either due to people's religious (Islamic) beliefs or social norms. An electronic questionnaire was used to investigate Jordanian people's attitudes toward this social practice. The questionnaire consisted of 23 self-report items, which targeted Muslim Jordanian males and females over 18. A total of 1646 Jordanian participants responded to the questionnaire. Furthermore, a sample of 400 Jordanian wedding invitation cards was collected from different districts that were used to compare the study data with the actual existence of the practice of masking the bride's name. The sample covered the period between the beginning of September 2019 to February 2020. Our findings showed that masking the bride's name was a prevailing practice within the Jordanian community and regional affiliation played a significant role in this practice. Gender played a significant role in the choices made by the participants. The practice of masking the bride's name on wedding invitation cards was not related in any way to religious (Islamic) beliefs. Masking the bride's name is a kind of discrimination and inequality between males and females in the Jordanian community.

Keywords: Bride's name; Jordanian community; sociolinguistics; wedding invitation card.

الخطاب النسوي العربي رؤية من خلال بطاقات دعوة الزفاف في الأردن

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ملخص

تناولت الدراسة ظاهرة إخفاء اسم العروس على بطاقات دعوة الزفاف الأردنية المسلمة من خلال تحليل الخطاب النقدي، إذ ركزت البحوث السابقة على هيكل التحليل العام لجميع مكونات بطاقات دعوة الزفاف، وكان إخفاء اسم العروس مسألة ثانوية في هذه الدراسات، وقد أشارت معظم الدراسات إلى أن سبب هذه الممارسة هو معتقدات الناس الدينية الإسلامية (أو الأعراف الاجتماعية) في هذه الدراسة، جرى إنشاء استبيان إلكتروني للتحقق من مواقف الأردنيين من هذه الممارسة الاجتماعية، يتألف الاستبيان من 23 بند تقرير ذاتي استهدفت الأردنيين المسلمين ذكورا وإناثا ممن أعمارهم أكبر من 18 سنة، وقد أجاب ما مجموعه 1646 مشاركاً أردنياً على الاستبيان، علاوة على ذلك، جرى جمع عينة من 400 بطاقة دعوة زفاف أردنية من مناطق مختلفة استخدمت لمقارنة بيانات الدراسة بالوجود الفعلي لممارسة إخفاء اسم العروس، وقد غطت العينة الفترة ما بين بداية أيلول 2019 وشباط 2020 وأظهرت النتائج إلى أن إخفاء اسم العروس كان ممارسة سائدة في المجتمع الأردني، إذ لعب الانتماء الإقليمي دوراً هاماً في هذه الممارسة، كما لعب النوع الاجتماعي دوراً هاماً في الاختيارات التي اتخذها المشاركون، كما بينت الدراسة أن ظاهرة إخفاء اسم العروس على بطاقات دعوة الزفاف لم ترتبط بأي شكل من الأشكال بالمعتقدات الدينية الإسلامية، إلا أن إخفاء اسم العروس هو نوع من التمييز وعدم المساواة بين الذكور والإناث في المجتمع الأردني.

الكلمات الدالة: اسم العروس، المجتمع الأردني، اللغويات الاجتماعية، بطاقة دعوة الزواج.



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1. Introduction

Languages are indispensable mediums to convey messages and express thoughts. People use language to request and provide information and no one can imagine how our life would be without having a language (i.e., written, spoken, or even by gesture). This language not only enables people to share their thoughts and ideas, but it also gives them the chance to establish social, economic, and cultural relationships. Furthermore, languages have an expressive function that enables users to express their feelings, emotions, and attitudes. These features are some of the shining aspects of language. Several centuries ago, people began to use other patterns of language that enable users to show power, discrimination, and inequality between each other according to ethnicity, social class, economic status, or level of education. Gender inequality, which is one of the global issues, appears in many disciplines (e.g., education, work, and language). In terms of language, the unequal practices are not only confined to spoken language, but they also applied to the written language.

The Islamic and the Jordanian culture play a vital role in shaping the linguistic and non-linguistic features of most Muslims' (I added an apostrophe) dealings. Hudson (2007) described the term culture "as the kind of knowledge which we learn from other people, either by direct instruction or by watching their behavior" (p. 78). It means that culture is created with the assistance of every person who lives in a particular society. Over the years, people sanctified these cultures, and in turn, these cultures become the first legislator for people's everyday life activities. (it was "Over the years, people sanctify these cultures, and they become the first legislator for people's everyday life activities") Nowadays, people continue to follow these cultures regardless of their incompatibility with our religion. A widespread practice inherent in the Jordanian culture is masking the females' names in different situations. Even though we live (it was "we are living") in the twenty-first century, a large segment of Muslim men in Arab countries believes that women's names (i.e., as a wife, mother, or sister) must be hidden and not mentioned in public. The focus of this study is Jordanian wedding invitation cards (henceforth, JWICs).

An invitation is a way of asking (it was "to ask") a person or a group of people to join a particular ceremony or activity. Al-Ali (2006) defined invitation as "a commemorative social action having the function of informing and requesting the presence or participation of a person(s) kindly and courteously to some place, gathering, entertainment, etc., or to do something" (p. 691). In the past, people used to invite each other to (it was "for") different ceremonies verbally. However, with the evolving demands of life, people tend to use written invitations for weddings and other parties. Sawalmeh (2018) stated that WICs are "typically written in a formal, third-person language and sent out one or two weeks before the finalized wedding date" (p. 106). The WIC facilitates the spread of invitations to reach many people as long as it contains all the information required for the intended ceremony. This written piece shows people's attitudes toward this phenomenon in which linguistic discrimination between genders is expressed.

Gender inequality manifests itself in masking the bride's name on WICs. As the research literature has shown, religion is the dominating factor in masking the bride's name. Al-Ali (2006) revealed that 40% of Jordanian wedding invitations that he examined replaced the bride's name by the honorific attribute, *kariimatuh* (his honorable). He appends (it was (append)) the reason either due to religion or to some old customs and traditions. Sawalmeh (2014) reported that nearly half of the Jordanian Muslim participants on a questionnaire selected religious contentment as a reason to avoid mentioning the bride's name. About 32% of participants choose social contentment, while 20% of them agreed with the personal contentment choice.

This research is an attempt (it was "attempts") to examine whether masking the bride's name is still a prevailing social practice in the Jordanian community. It can empirically give updated data about the practice of masking the bride's name in the Jordanian community. It reveals the opinions of the Jordanian community members about this practice depending on their gender. The research is significant due to the following reasons: initially, it is the first attempt that focuses (it was "to focus") mainly on masking the bride's name (it was indefinite) on WIC. Through a questionnaire, it measures the Jordanian people's attitude toward the phenomenon of masking the females' names, particularly on Jordanian WICs. Finally, it aims (it was "It also aims") to investigate whether religion is the main reason for masking the bride's name on WICs, as mentioned in the previous literature.

2. Literature Review

Most of the studies conducted on WICs are concerned with a general analysis of the structure of WICs. Most researchers were concerned in analyzing all moves (i.e., the components of WIC such as the opening, heading, and identifying the bride and groom) on the WICs (e.g., Al-Ali 2006, Momani & Al-Refaei 2010, Gomaa 2010, Sharif & Yarmohammadi 2013, Sawalmeh 2014, Sawalmeh 2015, Faramarzi, Elekeai & Tabrizi 2015, Al-Zubaidi 2017, Thani & Hei 2017, Sawalmeh 2018 and Yasmin, Naseem & Sohail 2019). Besides analyzing the style of WICs in different countries, researchers often have tried to figure out the motivating factors for selecting a particular format. The main concentration in our research is on the couple's names component (i.e., move), which is considered an obligatory move in all WICs worldwide. The role of this part is to identify (it was "is identifying) the bride's and groom's information.

In the context of the Jordanian community, some researchers (e.g., Al-Ali 2006, Momani & Al-Refaei 2010, Sawalmeh 2014 and 2015) examine the generic style of WICs. Al-Ali (2006) was the first to investigate how male dominance and religiosity affect the style of JWICs. He analyzed the data through genre analysis and critical discourse analysis approaches. The results showed that religiosity and patriarchy power played a significant role in shaping the components of the Jordanian WICs. He stated that "I found at least two interrelated aspects of culture, which are of direct importance to wedding discourse: religion and kinship (in particular, paternal authority)" (p. 710). One of the components governed by religion and patriarchy power is identifying the bride and groom's name. The frequency of JWICs that replaced the bride's name with the honorific attributes "*Kariimatu*h" in Al-Ali's (2006) research was 80 out of 200. He asserted that the deletion of the bride's name "emphasizes "the paternal power and gender discrimination" (708) depending on either religious or personal preferences.

Momani & Al-Refaei's (2010) and Sawalmeh's (2014) studies showed some contradictory data about the bride and groom's names (it was "name) on the JWICs. Momani & Al-Refaei (2010) adopted the analysis of JWICs collected from the researchers' local area, whereas Sawalmeh (2014) adopted the attitude of Jarash population to this phenomenon based on a questionnaire. Momani & Al-Refaei (2010) stated that masking females' names, in general, become an old fashion practice, and "[t]his was very common in the past when mentioning the name of the female relative was considered taboo" (p. 77). Their results revealed that 80% of the examined JWICs stated both the groom's and the bride's names. They concluded that "recently it has been very common to mention the bride's names" (p. 77).

However, according to his questionnaire, Sawalmeh (2014) reported contrary results compared with (it was "to those of") Momani & Al-Refaei (2010). The questionnaire demonstrated that a significant share of the Jordanian Muslims (73%) concealed the bride's name on their WICs. Whereas 100% of the Jordanian Christians sample mentioned the bride's name on their WICs. Sawalmeh (2014) stated that Jordanian "Muslims don't mention the bride's name because of either their social, religious or personal preferences" (p. 452). Although we share the same socio-cultural environment, Christians believe that the reasons mentioned above are not rational for masking the bride's name, so they always mention the bride's name. Momani & Al-Refaei's (2010) results, compared with Sawalmeh's (2014), were not representative. The sample of JWICs analyzed by Momani & Al-Refaei (2010) was only 55 wedding invitations, and they covered a widespread period between (1979 – 2006).

Sawalmeh (2015) conducted another study on WICs and obituary announcements among the Jordanian community. The results of the bride and groom's component indicated that almost 47% of Jordanian Muslims WICs concealed the bride's name. The reasons for this practice are referred again to religious and socio-cultural influences. Another obvious genre that showed paternal masculine authority related to this component is the placement of the groom's name. Al-Ali (2006) found that all JWICs samples placed the groom's name (in addition to his father's name) before the bride's name. Sawalmeh's (2015) findings showed a slight change to this tendency since the bride's name has appeared in 39 out of 500 Jordanian WICs before that of the groom.

Other researchers conducted studies on WICs in different Muslim countries, for example, Gomaa & Abdel-Malak (2010) used the genre analysis approach, which shows that Egyptian WICs have seven obligatory moves and only one optional move. According to identifying the couple component, the results were scarce. They just mention that "the brides' names are sometimes not mentioned in the invitations" (p. 28), and it is substituted by the expression *kariimatu*h (his honorable

daughter). They added that religion and personal preferences play a significant role in the naming practice and “[t]his practice is often witnessed at rural wedding parties and in conservative urban circles as well as among religiously-minded men” (p. 29).

Faramarzi, Elekaei, and Tabrizi (2015) investigated the Iranians’ behavior in designing the wedding invitations. Their results revealed that masking the bride’s name on WICs is still noticed in conventional Iranian WICs, and “[t]he name of the bride was not almost written in traditional wedding invitation cards and the word “lady” was stated instead” (p. 664). Sharif and Yarmohammadi (2013) stated that when the bride’s name is not mentioned “the brides are identified by the title “*dooshizeh*” (Miss) plus last name” (4). They observed this practice, “especially among religious middle-class families” (4). Faramarzi, Elekaei, and Tabrizi (2015) referred the reason for masking to religion and family preferences because most Iranians’ families believe that the female’s name must be known only by family members.

Al-Zubaidi’s (2017) investigation of the component of bride’s name showed that 75/250 cards did not mention the bride’s name. The names were substituted with honorific expressions like *Kariimatuh* (i.e., his honorable daughter) or *shaqiiqatuh almassoon* (i.e., his honorable sister). He merely referred the reason to the people’s belief about the bride’s name being considered a taboo. He added that women’s names are preferably held secret in public and used only within the family domain. Al-Zubaidi (2017) drew attention to another practice manifested in masking the names of the bride’s father. The corpus revealed that the father’s name was hidden in 50 cards. He stated that this practice asserts “the unequal distribution of power in this ceremonial context” (p. 140).

In Pakistan, Yasmin, Naseem, and Sohail (2019) followed the genre analysis approach to investigate the generic structure of Pakistani WICs and discourse analysis to investigate how religious and cultural practices play a vital role in the textual selection (e.g., wedding invitations). They investigated 50 Pakistani WICs written in Urdu and English languages collected randomly during the first six months in 2018. The data of Urdu WICs revealed that all brides’ names are substituted by words like “Beti” (daughter) or “Noor Chashmi” (the sight of eyes-daughter), while the brides’ names are mentioned in all Pakistan WICs written in English. They relied on Al-Ali’s (2006) findings that this tendency appears in rural towns, some conservative urban cities, and among religiously-minded men.

3. Theoretical Background

This research follows the relatively new approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) which falls in the area of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistic studies the interplay between linguistic and social variables that are responsible for language variation. Fasold (1990) asserted that “[t]he choices among the variants of a linguistic variable are influenced by both social and linguistic forces” (p. 272). Some of these social variables are age, culture, ethnicity, religion, social class, gender, marital status, occupation, and level of education. Ifechelobi and Ifechelobi (2017) explained that “[l]anguage is a social phenomenon, so social factors like gender, class, education and wealth affect the way we use language” (p. 23). The linguistic variables could be phonological, morphological, lexical, or syntactic. The variation in these variables may depend on the social variables like region, age, gender, etc.

Language and society rely significantly and clearly on each other. Many language phenomena showed that societies play a significant role in shaping the language used by people. Ifechelobi and Ifechelobi (2017) stated that “[l]anguage choices are made bearing in mind social meanings like age, gender, situation, class, status, accommodation theory, politeness and so on” (23). These variables are considered some of the trigger factors that caused language variation.

Fairclough (1993) defined CDA as a branch of discourse analysis, which is found to explore the relationship between discourse and society. It is concerned with analyzing the relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language. According to van Dijk (2001), CDA “focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (p. 96). Generally speaking, this approach examines the textual and spoken discourse by observing and analyzing it from a perspective of social equality. Sheyholislami (2001) clearly puts it this way “CDA aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson” (p. 1). Therefore, the role of CDA is to

uncover these issues or problems to become obvious to ordinary people.

By considering discourse as social practice, Fairclough (1989) illustrated that language is part of society; it is a social process, and it is a socially conditioned process. Fairclough stated that “[l]inguistic phenomena are social in the sense that whenever people speak or listen or write or read, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects” (23). He argued that all linguistic phenomena are social but not the vice versa. To put it another way, discourse shapes and is shaped by social settings. Hence, CDA examines the interplay between both society and the discourse.

CDA is utilized to deal with matters related to social injustice, power abuse, and gender inequality. It is considered the best approach to deal with a phenomenon like masking females' names verbally in public and written in WICs. Some people would argue that masking the female's name is not that big deal, and it does not need that much attention. Fairclough (1989) states that “[j]ust as even a single sentence has traditionally been seen to imply a whole language, so a single discourse implies a whole society” (p. 152). Therefore, a simple discourse as the practice appears on WICs may demonstrate the people's attitude toward the female's status in that community.

4. Methodology

4.1 Sample of the Study

The overall sample size included in this research for both genders was 1646. A convenience snowball sampling method was used to recruit the participants for this study. This method allows sharing the questionnaire with a group of participants who, in turn, nominate others for the study. Then, those respondents recommended additional participants, and so forth. The inclusion criteria connected with the demographic characteristics such as age (≥ 18), gender (males and females), marital status (single, engaged or married), the provinces (Irbid, Jarash, Amman, etc.) residency (rural or urban) and all participants were to be Muslims. The following figures show the distribution of the sample according to gender, age, marital status, and place of living.

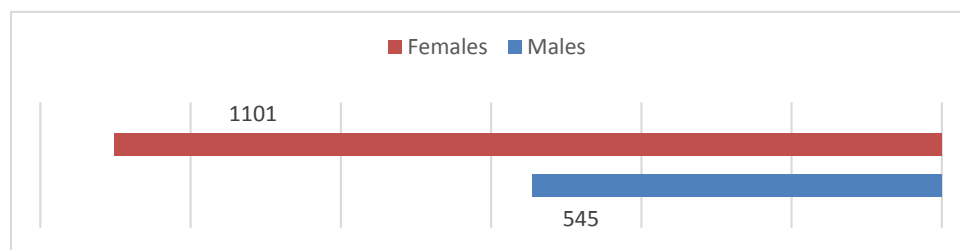


Figure (1): Distribution of the sample according to their gender

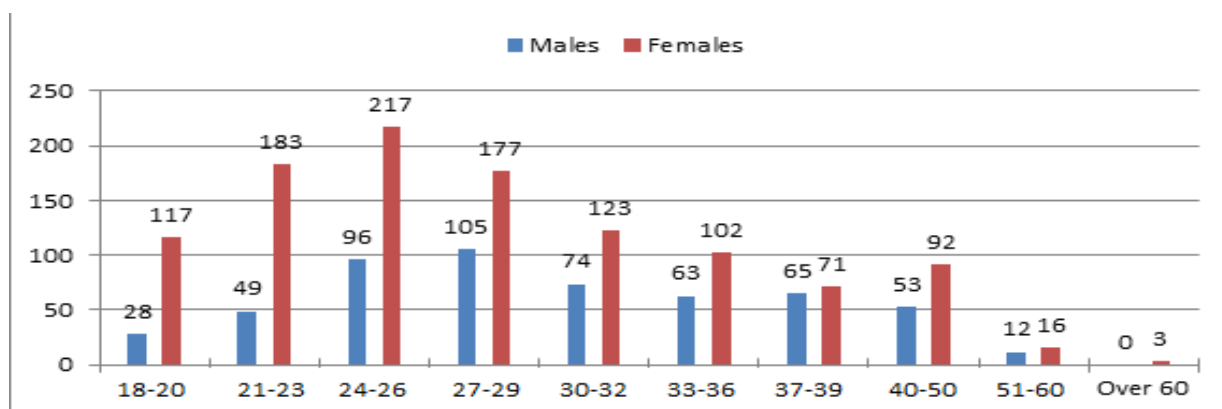


Figure (2): Distribution of the sample according to their age

Regarding the marital status of the respondents, (47.5%) of males were still single, (4.0%) of them were engaged, and

(48.4%) were married. The percentages of females were almost similar with (44.9%) singles, (6.2%) engaged, and (49.0%) were married. The distribution of males' address split in half in both districts (50.6% lived in rural, and 49.4% lived in urban). On the other hand, nearly three-quarters of the females' sample size was from urban areas (27% lived in rural, and 73% lived in urban).

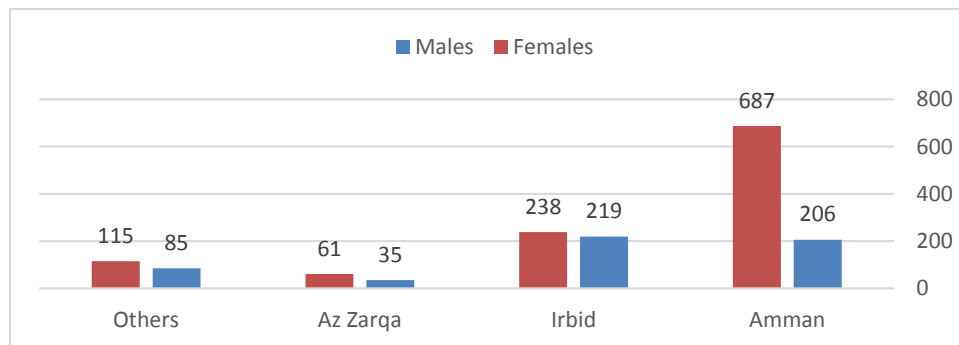


Figure (3): Distribution of the sample according to their governorate

4.2 Data Collection

The data collection process was web-based questionnaires using the Google Doc Forms. This online platform facilitated the process of collecting all the data required via different modes. Social media apps such as WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger were used to share the link with the participants. The first part of the questionnaire contained five items about the demographic information of the participants (gender, age, marital status, and residency). The second part contained 23 self-report items that measured the Jordanian people's attitude about the practice of masking the bride's name.

These questions and statements were formulated through two scales: Likert scale and dichotomous scale. A Likert-type response scale used for 14 statements where participants were able to show their agreement and disagreement on a range from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). On the other items, the respondents were asked to choose just one option from a predetermined list. A dichotomous scale was used for four questions where respondents were asked to choose either Yes or No. This scale was used due to the clear distinction between the respondent's opinions in these questions. There were two questionnaires, one for males and the other for females. Both questionnaires contained the same set of questions and were in the same order. The only difference between them was the form (i.e., one in masculine form and the other in feminine form).

In addition to the electronic questionnaire, the researchers collected 400 Jordanian WICs from Irbid (200) and Amman (100 from East Amman and 100 from West Amman) that used to compare the study data with the actual existence of the practice of masking the bride's name. The sample covered the period between the beginnings of September 2019 to February 2020. The data had been collected from the archive of nine printing houses (i.e., three from Irbid, three from East Amman and three from West Amman).

5. Findings of the Study

The primary goal of this study was to investigate the Jordanian people's attitude towards the phenomenon of masking the bride's name and to measure the effect of gender, marital status, and residency on these attitudes. The researchers relied on the questionnaire to elicit the data that may show any possible differences and similarities between the Jordanian people's attitude. The findings of this instrument will be shown in details below.

The first research question was to investigate the continuity of masking the bride's name practice in the Jordanian community. To answer this question, the researchers used the actual Jordanian WICs collected between Sep 2019 and Feb 2020 from Irbid, East Amman, and West Amman. They also used frequencies and percentages of items number seven and eight from the questionnaire to compare the actual practice of masking the bride's name with Jordanian's attitude (married

and single respondents) toward this phenomenon.

It is clear from the data in table (1) that (33.5%) of Irbid sample mask the bride's name, while the percentage in East Amman was (48%). These percentages were relatively high and indicating the continuity of this practice in some regions. However, it is crystal clear that West Amman did not record any sample masking the bride's name. The massive difference in frequencies between areas is evident.

Table 1. The actual collected Jordanian WICs

Place \ Status	Mentioned the name	Masked the name	Total
Irbid	133	67	200
East Amman	52	48	100
West Amman	100	0	100

A glance at table (2) below, which is about the actual practice of married and engaged participants (both males and females), it shows that (64%) of males mentioned their bride's name and this percentage was almost the same in the females' sample (67.8%).

Table 2. Married and engaged males and females who not/ mentioned their names on Jordanian WICs

Married and engaged males		Married and engaged females	
Yes	No	Yes	No
183 (64%)	103 (36%)	412 (67.8%)	195 (32.2%)
286 (100%)		607 (100%)	

Finally, the researchers tried to measure the unmarried participants' attitudes of both genders to predict the future attitude in this phenomenon. The results depicted in table (3) show that unmarried participants' attitude was totally opposite to the actual practice of married and engaged participants. The percentage of females who want to write their names on the WICs was overwhelming (95.2%). In addition, the ratio of the male participants showed a considerable increase with over three-quarters.

Table 3. Single males and females who want to mention or not mention their names on Jordanian WICs

Single males		Single females	
Yes	No	Yes	No
203 (78.4%)	56 (21.6%)	471 (95.2%)	23 (4.8%)
259 (100%)		494 (100%)	

To check whether Islamic religion has an influence on the phenomenon of not mentioning the bride's name on WIC, the researchers used two items. The first item's results showed that the majority of males and females believe that the most influential reason for masking the bride's name on JWICs was social (79.8% for males and 75.1% for females). The percentages of the personal reasons for both genders were close with (17.6%) for males and (22.9%) for females. The religious reasons were the least influential factor with (2.2%) of the overall sample. This indicates that the social reasons have the strongest effect on masking the bride's name on JWIC for both genders.

Table 4. The most influential reason for masking the bride's name on Jordanian WICs

The reason	Males	Females
Religious reasons	14 (2.6%)	22 (2%)
Social reasons	435 (79.8%)	827 (75.1%)
Personal reasons	96 (17.6%)	252 (22.9%)
Total	545 (100%)	1101 (100%)

On the other hand, it is apparent from table (5) below that males and females did unanimously agree on the idea of excluding the religion and Sunnah from being reasons for this phenomenon. The percentages of both genders (97.4% for males and 99% for females) indicated that writing the bride's name on the JWICs is not contrary to Islamic law and Prophet's Sunnah.

Table 5. Agreement on the role of Islamic religion and Sunnah in masking the bride's name

Males		Females	
Yes	No	Yes	No
14 (2.6%)	531 (97.4%)	10 (1%)	1091 (99%)
545 (100%)		1101 (100%)	

Table (6) summarizes the means, standard deviations, and t-test values that were extracted to find out the statistical differences between males and females' attitudes in all Likert scale items (See appendix 1). This process aimed to measure the effect of gender variable on participants' responses. It is noticeable from the table that gender was statistically significant in all 14 items ($P \leq 0.05$). Females reported higher mean scores in 11 items, whereas males had higher mean scores in three items. It also showed that the females' means ranged between 1.44 and 4.46 and males' means ranged between 1.70 and 3.80. There were significant differences in the females' mean scores compared with the males' mean scores. The data indicated that gender has a significant influence on respondents' attitude in all items.

6. Discussion

This section presents a discussion of the findings and the related implications by reviewing and summarizing the major results. The researchers discuss the results in light of previous studies. The first research question of this study was to indicate whether masking the bride's name is still a recurring practice within the Jordanian community or not. The results showed that the percentage of those who mask the bride's name in Irbid and East Amman on the collected WICs was (38.3%). A recent study by Sawalmeh (2015) showed that (47%) of Jordanian WICs replaced the bride's name by other expressions as shown by 500 WICs from nine governorates. Compared with Sawalmeh's (2015) results, the practice of masking the bride's name in the Jordanian community has continued to the present day but there was a noticeable decrease in the percentages, which means a positive tendency toward this practice.

In contrast, the data extrapolated from the research instrument about the actual practice of the engaged and married couple was lower. The percentage of married females whose names were masked was (32.2%), whereas (36%) of the married male masked their wives' names. The overall data (i.e., from the collected JWICs and the questionnaires tokens) are not in line with the ones reported by Momani & Al-Refaei's (2010) about this practice. Based on their findings, they assumed that the practice of masking the bride's name become an old habit and it is not a noticeable practice in the Jordanian community.

The variation in the percentages of masking the bride's name should be taken into account when considering the effect of residency. For instance, (33%) of Irbid city sample masked the bride's name, whereas the percentage of the practice was much higher in East Amman (48%). On the other hand, there was no masking of the bride's name in West Amman. This indicates that regional affiliation plays an important role on this practice. This is in line (it was "this is line with") with Gomaa and Abdel-Malak (2010), who argued that this practice is not only confined to rural versus urban cities, but also it is found in big civilized districts. The participants' choices in the questionnaire for the most influential factors for masking the bride's name have fostered this argument. Almost half of the participants for each gender selected the groom's and the bride's residency as a genuine reason to mask the bride's name. The researchers believe that this practice dramatically differs from one place to another; thus, we cannot generalize the results as a whole.

Finally, the questionnaire investigated the future attitude of unmarried male and female participants towards this practice. The proportion of females who decided to mention their names on the JWICs was (95.2%), whereas the ratio of single males who affirm to mention their bride's name was (78.4%). These data show an apparent discrepancy between the future attitude

of single participants of both genders and the actual practice of married participants. The unmarried percentages are promising; this indicated that masking the bride's name might diminish soon. The researchers, however, believe that some single males and females might change their minds when they live this experience.

The results of items 22 and 23 on the Likert-scale may support the previous point of view. The ratio of females who agreed with the idea that the groom-surrounding environment (his family and friends) affects his decision in masking or mentioning his bride's name was (94.5%). The females' percentage decreased to (88.4%) when it comes to the bride-surrounding environment. Similarly, the males' perspective (it was perspectiveS) for the responsibility of the groom-surrounding environment (70.3%) was higher than the effect of the bride-surrounding environment (58.5%). Therefore, it can be concluded that sometimes the groom and the bride did not have the absolute right to mention or mask the bride's name. The external environment played a significant role in this practice and stand against the couple's will. This is consistent with Al-Ali (2006), and Al-Zubaidi (2017), who called this the paternal intervention (i.e., patriarchy power).

Since the practice of masking the bride's name appears almost within the Islamic communities, previous research associated the reason behind this practice with the religious reservations. Most of the studies revolved around the idea that religious motivation was the motor reason for this practice. Al-Ali (2006) was the first researcher who claimed that religion accompanied by paternal power shaped the most components of Jordanian WICs including the couple's name component. Gomaa & Abdel-Malak (2010) stated it clearly that this practice was witnessed "among religiously-minded men" (29). Sharif and Yarmohammadi (2013) observed that this practice was more popular "among religious middle-class families" (4). In terms of the Jordanian people's beliefs, a high ratio of Sawalmeh's (2014) participants (48.4%) selected the choice of religious contentment as a reason for hiding the bride's name.

No explicit verses from Quran or statements said by Prophet Mohammad that encourage hiding females' names were found. Therefore, the religious men who mask the bride's name are doing so either for social reasons or due to their misunderstanding of the Islamic religion laws. According to the study's instrument items, the results showed that the majority of participants excluded the religious reasons in the two items. In the first item, the participants were given the chance to select the most influential reason for masking the bride's name. The frequency of those who chose the religion-related reasons was only 36 participants out 1646. In contrast, social reasons were selected by (76.7%) of the overall sample. Another item that supported the social responsibility for this practice was question number four. This item supposes the grounds used by the groom to mask his bride's name. The two most influential justifications selected by both genders were contrary to the social norms (27.8%) and contrary to our customs and traditions (34.4%). By combining these two options, it appears again that the social consequences accounted for (62.2%).

The second item about religion came to support the previous results. The frequency showed that only 14 respondents out of 1646 agreed that mentioning the bride's name is violating Islamic and Sunnah laws. The numbers from the last two questions show a general understanding of the overall sample about the correlation between religion and masking the bride's name. The researchers believe that we should not connect the masking practice with religiosity level. Therefore, it is not necessarily that the groom who mentions his bride's name has a low level of religiosity and the groom who masks his bride's name has a high level of religiosity. Contrary to the findings of some previous research, the participants of this study did not correlate the Islamic religion with the practice of masking the bride's name.

Finally, this study relied on some independent variables to measure the variances between them in the practice of masking the bride's name. As it is known, the way of thinking is different between males and females; therefore, the attitude expressed is varied between the two genders. This study takes gender as the center variable since the practice of masking the bride's name falls under the gender inequality issues. As mentioned previously, the Likert-scale items tried to investigate the attitude of both genders in this phenomenon. The researchers would like to present these differences based on the participants' agreement and disagreement of each statement. Some of these statements showed similar attitude of both genders, other showed a slight difference in percentages. However, four items showed a significant transformation of attitude between males and females (See appendix 1 for all items).

The first visible difference in attitude appears in item number 18. This item investigated how far males and females agree

with the practice of mentioning the bride's name on Jordanian WICs. The females' agreement attitude accounted for (98.5%), which is considered nearly double of that in the male responses (49%). The males' ratio was frustrating due to their relatively high agreement to statements such as "masking the bride's name on the invitation card is evidence of male dominance" (67.4%) and "I consider masking the bride's name on the invitation card as evidence of the inequality between the man and the woman" (65.1%). The low ratio of the males' agreement of mentioning the bride's name explains the continuity of this practice nowadays.

The second-highest ratio appeared in item number 21 "The culture that I belong to does not allow to display or mention the bride's name on WICs". This item investigated the effect of participants' culture on masking the bride's name. Although the statement targeted participants with almost the same culture, significant differences between both genders in percentages have emerged. A considerable share of males believed that this practice is opposed to their communitarian culture. Three-quarters of them (75.6%) agreed that the culture which they belong to discourage mentioning the bride's name. On the contrary, the females' point of view was different (26.5%). Females did not view culture as a significant impediment in mentioning the bride's name. The difference in percentages showed various cultural perspectives of both genders. As a result, the couple tended recently to print two forms of the WIC (i.e., one form with the bride's name for the bride's relatives and friends and another form without the bride's name for the groom's relatives and friends).

According to the third item "I consider that the bride's name appears on the WICs as evidence of the husband's weak personality or his acquiescence to his bride's desires" the results showed that (93.2%) of females disagreed with this statement. Conversely, they believed that mentioning the bride's name is a piece of evidence of the groom's urbanization (86.4% as in item 13). In contrast, the male's agreement to third item was (46.2%). The researchers believe that those males considered masking or mentioning the bride's name as an exclusive decision for the male, and it is not a female's business. This belief might indicate the males' dominance over this practice. However, item nine measured the females' reaction to a possible situation if a groom insists on masking her name. The percentage of females who would insist on mentioning it whatever it takes was (39%). The percentage of females who would try to convince the groom to mention her name was (47%). By combining these percentages together, a significant percentage of females would not leave the decision for granted and to be determined only for males.

The final noticeable difference in attitude between both genders appeared in item number 11. The statement tried to investigate if the alternative adjectives used (i.e., his wife, his princess or his honorable) could prevent the need of mentioning the bride's name on WICs. More than half of the male participants (57.5%) assumed that these expressions are adequate and might substitute the bride's first name. For them, words and expressions like "Dooshizeh" (Miss), "Kariimatuh" (his honorable daughter), "Shaqiiqatuh Almassoon" (his honorable sister), "Betu" (daughter), and "Noor Chashmi" (the sight of eyes-daughter) that used in different cultures may show a high level of respect for these girls. This probably indicates that females are valuable and that anything related to them must be kept secret. Yet (72.6%) of females believed that these expressions were not enough to replace the real name. The females' results indicated that these expressions and titles should come as a support to the real name, not as a substitution.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

This study was an attempt to investigate the practice of masking the bride's name on JWICs. The aim of the research has been to identify and describe the real reasons behind this widespread social practice. Depending on the findings, some conclusions can be drawn: Firstly, this study's instrument showed that the groom's/bride's place of residency is considered the most influential factor that affects the groom's or bride's decision to mask the bride's name on a WIC. This factor overwhelms choices like the level of education, profession, or either couple's age. Again, the results of the collected WICs showed that regional affiliation completely governed the practice of masking the bride's name in the Jordanian community. Except for four items, most of Likert scale items showed similar attitude between males and females toward the practice of masking the bride's name. Finally, the majority of participants explicitly excluded any religious contributions, interventions, or impositions in the practice of masking the bride's name

Since the current study is the first to devote an autonomous research on the phenomenon of masking females' names, there is definitely an urgent need for more future investigation. Four recommendations (it was recommendation) could be given in this research. Firstly, it is worth investigating the attitude of Jordanian people in the governorates that did not have a sufficient number of participants (e.g., At Tafilah, Ma'an, Al Karak, and Madaba). Secondly, it is suggested to investigate the attitude of people in other Arab countries to compare their participants' attitudes. Therefore, it is recommended to conduct a study using another methodological design (Qualitative) to give participants the chance to express their attitude (e.g., through interviews, or using open questions) toward the practice of masking the bride's name. Finally, other studies can target the couples themselves to measure the actual reason for masking the bride's name through interviews.

Appendix (1): The means, standard derivation, and T-test results of Likert scale items

Table (6): The influence of gender (Males and Females)

Gender	Males		Females				
Item	Mean	Std.	Mean	Std.	t-value	Sig.	Sig. Group
10: Masking the woman's name in writing and saying affects her feelings.	3.14	1.208	3.70	1.321	-8.404-	.0001	Female
11: Writing the bride's name on the invitation card is considered one of her rights equally as the groom's name.	3.39	1.181	3.85	1.183	-7.505-	.0001	Female
12: Writing and mentioning the wife's name in several situations is considered as an evidence of the husband's urbanization.	2.92	1.204	3.76	1.091	-14.164-	.0001	Female
13: I consider that masking the bride's name on the WIC is an old behavior and not appropriate for the time we live in.	3.13	1.249	4.03	1.078	-15.178-	.0001	Female
14: I consider that the bride's name appears on the WIC as evidence of the husband's weak personality or his acquiescence to the bride's desires.	1.70	0.927	1.44	0.774	5.858	.0001	Male
15: Masking the bride's name on the invitation card is evidence of male dominance.	2.67	1.279	3.46	1.294	-11.725-	.0001	Female

Gender	Males		Females				
Item	Mean	Std.	Mean	Std.	t-value	Sig.	Sig. Group
16: I consider masking the bride's name on the invitation card as evidence of the inequality between the man and the woman.	2.53	1.253	3.33	1.314	-11.891-	.0001	Female
17: Do you agree with showing the bride's name on the invitation card?	3.77	1.063	4.46	0.758	-15.072-	.0001	Female
18: Do you agree with mentioning the groom's mother's name as his father on the invitation card?	2.62	1.184	3.05	1.144	-7.089-	.0001	Female
19: Do you agree with mentioning the bride's mother's name as her father on the invitation card?	2.52	1.108	3.01	1.137	-8.370-	.0001	Female
20: The culture that I belong to does not allow to display and mention the bride's name.	2.42	1.026	2.01	0.978	7.980	.0001	Male
21: phrases such as "his wife, princess or sister" can compensate for the bride's name on the invitation card	2.86	1.221	1.97	1.113	14.708	.0001	Male
22: The environment surrounding the groom (his family and friends) plays a significant role in hiding or showing the bride's name on the invitation card.	3.80	0.999	4.02	0.947	-4.389-	.0001	Female
23: The environment surrounding the bride (her family and friends) plays a significant role in hiding or showing the bride's name on the invitation card.	3.66	0.993	3.78	1.034	-2.255-	.024	Female

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