

# **Students' and teachers' attitudes towards Kuwaiti/English code-switching**

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**By**

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## **Abstract**

Research into attitudes to codeswitching has frequently produced very negative and ambivalent perceptions, not only by outsiders but also by insiders. This study aims mainly to investigate the way people from different age groups and school settings evaluate major spoken varieties in the State of Kuwait. School students (14-18 years) in schools of different educational schemes (government, English and bilingual schools) were recorded telling stories of personal experiences to ingroup community members (same age group, gender and school type) in their normal way of everyday speech styles. A number of those stories were selected to represent three main spoken language varieties in Kuwait (Kuwaiti-only, English-only and Kuwaiti/English code-switching analysed into two representative types: intersentential and lexical code-switching). Teenagers drawn from the various investigated school settings (n = 417) and a group of teachers (n = 88) rated the audio-recorded speakers on a number of scales of solidarity, status, communicative and culture-based (*religiousness, Kuwaitiness and conservativeness*) traits in order to explore the evaluative profiles that different groups of people have towards the investigated language varieties in the country. The study revealed some strongly differentiated evaluative profiles by the various groups of respondents based on their school type, age group, gender, and for code-switching specifically, as a result of the code-switched typology. Encountering some ambiguous results, the study maintains the need for qualitative measures, not only as a separate data in their own right (focus group interviews), but also to be included within the modified matched-guise questionnaire (open ended questions). Unlike previous attitudinal studies on code-switching, the current study reveals some very positive attitudes towards the speech style, particularly by those who practise it, and specifically along cultural attributes, as a result of the differing ideologies nurtured within the three school types.

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## **Introduction**

In a developing non-agricultural country like Kuwait, education has always been considered an essential channel through which Kuwaitis may gain their upward mobility and meet the requirements that will grant them the most wanted jobs in the country. Today, Kuwait's education system is larger than ever, with Kuwaitis having the choice of enrolling their children into schools based on three different educational schemes. The first is the conventional public school scheme where children receive their entire education in Standard (Kuwaiti) Arabic, whilst English is only introduced as a foreign language. Yet, a high proficiency level in English is a central requirement to excel at university level, where the most desired colleges teach through the medium of English, and to gain the most prestigious jobs in the country. The second scheme is the English/American private school where English operates as the only language of instruction through a total immersion programme where all subjects (except for Islam and Arabic) are learnt in the students' second language (English).

The third type of school is the bilingual private school where a partial bilingual programme is employed. In this type of school, both standard Arabic and English are used side by side as languages of instruction until the child reaches the age of nine. A subject is first introduced in Standard Arabic from a textbook. The same material is then immediately covered in English from an English textbook. From then onwards, the children are instructed in English only, again except for the subjects of Islam, Arabic and Social Studies. A full account of the three educational schemes will be given in section 1.6.

Prompted by the Kuwaiti government's linguistic ideology of promoting two national standard languages, a growing number of Kuwaiti parents have decided to enroll their children into English or bilingual private schools, which are getting increasingly popular.

According to the Ministry of Education's census, the number of Kuwaiti students in those schools has risen to a staggering 25% (Ministry of Education, 1998, 2003). Spending about half of their days in schools where they mix with foreigners, including administrators, teachers and other students, these Kuwaiti children have developed a new spoken variety in which they code-switch between Kuwaiti and English. Being an outcome of the two latter types of schools, the practice of Kuwaiti/English code-switching has been a very contentious issue that tends to be frequently discussed all over the country. There is an ongoing discussion about private schools in the country and its possible outcomes on the Kuwaiti teenage generation, both linguistically and culturally. The issue tends to surface frequently in T.V talk shows, newspaper articles, on the street and most frequently amongst Kuwaiti parents. People (including policy makers, educators and, again, most importantly parents) have concerns about the impact of the new trend on Kuwaiti youngsters and on the community itself.

In the present study, I will strive to demystify Kuwaitis' concerns, but most importantly those of Kuwaiti parents. One of my ambitions is that this thesis will increase parents' awareness of the sociolinguistic issues involved in code and style choice for young Kuwaiti speakers, particularly in the education contexts I have mentioned. Another ambition is to throw light on the way the three types of schools are impacting on our children, both linguistically and culturally.

I also aim to explore the field of language attitudes in terms of its ecology and methodology. Through an investigation of language attitudes in a community with a very conservative nature, I intend to find out whether new evaluative dimensions operate in language attitudes within this particular sociolinguistic setting. Methodologically, I aim to explore the efficiency of a number of methods that have been repeatedly utilized in previous

language attitude studies. The study's research questions and hypotheses will be set out in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

In order to fulfill the above mentioned objectives, I will follow a number of research procedures which can be summarized as follows:

1. The study starts with a number of preliminary informal interviews involving a number of Kuwaitis from different age groups, walks of life and genders. The interviews are planned to be informally held with people from family and close friends' social network. The purpose of this is to explore some of the general views held by Kuwaiti people about language use (particularly code-switching) that will establish the basis for the study's questionnaire construction.

2. Following that, a modified matched guise technique questionnaire, deploying spoken narratives as its elicitation instrument, is developed and distributed to groups of children and teachers. The questionnaire includes a number of evaluative labels and dimensions that are derived from the concepts, ideologies and beliefs drawn from the preliminary interviews. The questionnaire also includes a number of free-response items where the informants can freely respond to narrators according to their own priorities and terms.

3. At a later stage, I conduct a number of focus groups interview sessions where groups of fairly homogeneous informants are involved in discussions elaborating what they have heard and written down in their questionnaire responses.

The thesis is therefore structured as follows:

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to Kuwait as a sociolinguistic setting, detailing the social, linguistic and political factors that underlie how the population under the study is likely to react to and evaluate the different spoken varieties in the country.

In Chapter 2, I present a number of linguistic and cultural ideologies derived from the preliminary informal interviews that are believed to be at work in language attitude studies in general, and within the present sociolinguistic study in particular. This chapter also introduces the reader to a review of literature on language attitudes in terms of its ecology, significance and methodology. By anticipating some similarities between the present sociolinguistic setting and the rest of the Arab World, the chapter also presents an overview of previous language attitude studies in the Arab world. With the study involving a society of a very conservative nature, where gender differences are believed to profoundly affect people's perceptions, the chapter reviews gender as an important determinant in language attitudes within the present sociolinguistic setting.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of theories and concepts relevant to the field of code-switching. In the same chapter, previous attitudinal studies on code-switching, and some of the problems associated with this field of study in particular, are overviewed.

In Chapter 4 I specify my detailed research questions and hypotheses, followed by an account of my research methodologies, including a complete description of the study's narrators and narratives - the young speakers and their stories from which I select extracts, to form the basis of the attitudinal judgments.

Chapters 5 and 6 are the core of this thesis. In Chapter 5 I report my study's substantial quantitative results, organised along the different dimensions that prove to be at work within the present sociolinguistic setting. Following that, I present a summary of the evaluative

profiles for the three major spoken varieties under analysis - English, Kuwaiti Arabic and code-switched varieties. With the study's main focus being code-switching, the chapter pays particular attention to attitudes towards the practice, including the discovered variation as a result of the switching type and gender of the speaker. Chapter 6 on the other hand reports the study's qualitative results, based on analyses of data revealed in the free-response questions included within the questionnaire and the concepts and ideas transmitted by the informants in the focus group interviewing sessions.

In the final chapter of this thesis (Chapter 7), the pieces of the analytic jigsaw are brought together in an attempt to portray a more general picture of the sociolinguistic setting in Kuwait. The chapter also reflects on the efficiency of the methods implemented in this research with an overview of the pros and cons of each of the utilized methods. In the same chapter, I discuss some limitations of the present study and make some recommendations for future work, along with considering the study's implications for the future of education in Kuwait.

## **Chapter 1: Society and Language in Kuwait**

As the study deals with a sociolinguistic setting which might be extremely unfamiliar to many of my readers, I shall start with an overview of the major historical, geographical and cultural factors that have influenced the sociolinguistic situation in Kuwait. Bearing in mind that the larger sociocultural background of a speech community may influence the groups' attitudes to certain linguistic varieties (Garrett et al., 2003), it should be helpful to establish some perspective on the 'field' under investigation. My research into language attitudes, in this thesis, is motivated by my interest in socio-cultural divisions and ideologies, as they relate to the main linguistic varieties in the speech community.

The chapter is therefore divided into three major sections. The first introduces the country's location, topography and social history. The second describes the people of Kuwait and population growth. The third section throws light on the linguistic situation of the community under study. That section will describe the languages that are practised within the community. The change of the status of English from an EFL into an ESL within the community will also be discussed and Kuwaiti/English code-switching will be described in more detail in sections 1.4 and 1.5. A final section will explain how the current political situation within the country and its neighbouring countries may have influenced Kuwaitis' attitudes to the Kuwaiti/English code-switching variety.

### **1.1 Location, Topography and Social History**

Situated in the north-western corner of the Persian Gulf, Kuwait is a small country with a total area of about 18,000 km., approximately the size of New Jersey (U.S Library of Congress, 1995). The country has a very strategic location and is therefore considered an important gateway to the Arabian Peninsula (Dashti, 1997: 19). Kuwait is surrounded by the

Persian Gulf in the east, Saudi Arabia in the south and Iraq in the north. Topographically, Kuwait is distinguished by its flat nature that is occasionally broken by few low hills. Kuwait's terrain is described as a slightly uneven desert that gradually slopes upwards from sea level in the east, and from the coast of the Arabian Peninsula to the west. The southwest reaches as high as 300 m. above sea level.

Historically, the emergence of Kuwait as a nation did not start until the middle of the seventeenth century. Some research suggests that Kuwait was built around 1716AD and that it was ruled by Al-Sabah family as early as 1752 (Abu Hakima, 1983). During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the very powerful tribes of Bani Khalid moved from the eastern province of Hasa in the Arabian Peninsula and inhabited the territory of Kuwait. Their governor, Mohammad Bin Qraier is believed to be the builder of the 'Kut' fort. Those tribes ended their settlement in the area by the year 1794. Clans of Anaiza, a tribe from Najd (known as Saudi Arabia nowadays) in the Arabian Peninsula, along with other tribal groups, started their immigration to the Gulf shores. Those were then known collectively as Utoub clans. Among those groups was Al-Sabah family, the ruling family, which fled the drought in Najd to the area where they were lucky to find what they were looking for, water (Crystal 1990). Unlike Bani Khalid, the new settlers recognized the area's privileged location in trading and abandoned the desert life. Due to the area's scarcity in natural resources, the new settlers preferred to exploit the sea to earn a living. They lived on fishing, pearl diving and trading with the neighbouring countries. Since then, Kuwait has gained a reputation as a strategic seaport that links the Arabian Peninsula to the rest of the world. The period seems to be a crucial stage in Kuwaiti's social stratification as people were hierarchically organized according to their job. Throughout the year, Kuwaitis sailed for pearl diving in summer and sailed for trading in winter. Divers were socially distinguished from rope pullers, captains and merchants with a stratum of merchants that was recognized as elite (Crystal, 1990). It is

believed that the winter journey has distinctively shaped the sociolinguistic profile of Kuwaitis as they had to learn one of the Indian languages, Urdu, as a lingua franca to communicate with Indian speakers when they headed north to India. The language was transmitted to the second generation who only used it 'to communicate with the Indian workers (house maids and drivers) but never with their children' (Dashti, 1997: 25).

Kuwaitis had also to learn Swahili, as a lingua franca to communicate with African traders when they headed to Africa. During that era, the community was characterized by strong family ties within huge extended families. Women were strictly banned from socializing with men and visiting was the only social activity that women were socially expected to do.

Men, on the other hand, used to meet in the evenings at a place called 'Diwaniya' with male friends and relatives. This has later become a place where Kuwaitis discuss political, social and economic issues. The place is described as one of the richest environments for linguistic contact among the differing Kuwaiti speech communities (Dashti, 1997: 27).

## **1.2 People of Kuwait**

Little was known about the population of Kuwait before the first census was conducted in 1957. However, an estimate of about 35,000 in the year 1910 was tentatively stated by the Central Statistics Office (Amiri Diwan, 2000). The period from 1910-1935 has been characterized by a sudden population growth, as the population was believed to reach 75,000 before the country's oil era. In the year 1975, the first annual census indicated that the population of Kuwait reached 206,000. Since then, a census of the population has been conducted every five years. In the year 1990, the annual census estimated a population of 2,155,000, with the most dramatic division between the national population and the larger non-Kuwaiti population, the latter comprising more than 60% of the total population. This



was due to the rise in oil revenues and the consequent government development programs urging a crucial need for educated substantial labour, the small size of the indigenous population and, in the early years, their low level of education. Another factor might be the societal restrictions on women. This led to the low participation rates of women in the work force which contributed to the State's dependence on a foreign work force. However, it is worth mentioning here that restrictions on women in the society are less rigid than they are in other Gulf States such as Saudi Arabia (U.S Library of Congress, 1995).

According to the 2004 census, the population in Kuwait has reached 2,390,591, of whom only 935,922 are Kuwaiti nationals. The remainder comprises expatriate workers (The Public Authority for Civil Information, 2004). The majority of non-Kuwaitis are from the Indian sub-continent, other Arab states and Western Europe (Ministry of Planning, 2004). According to the national census in the year 1985, 52% of the non-Kuwaiti population was Asian while 46% were Arab. Africans, Europeans and Americans constitute the remainder. Kuwait also has a significant number which is classified as 'bidun' (Arabic for stateless). The word identifies citizens who claim that they have lived in Kuwait for generations but have never received Kuwaiti citizenship. The government, on the other hand states that they were recent immigrants who do not deserve citizenship. The former groups, non-Kuwaitis and 'bidun' do not enjoy the economic and political rights of the national population (U.S. Library of Congress, 1995).

Kuwaitis, on the other hand are internally divided along a number of lines. Unlike the socio-economic stratification of western communities, the Kuwaiti community is characterized by tribal affiliation. According to the only previous sociolinguistic investigation of the Kuwaiti community, the study describes Kuwait as having a heterogeneous sociolinguistic structure due to the fact that Kuwaitis were immigrants from the various surrounding regions, namely Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran. Similar to the social

situation in the Gulf States, Dashti (1997) describes the people of this community as 'tribe-based'. He adds that family name is one of the most important indicators for Kuwaitis' social stratification. People are recognized by their family names which are derived from the names of their tribes. Three distinct groups are believed to make up the Kuwaiti population: The first is Kuwaiti Arabs, the descendants of the Arab tribes who used to live in the Arabian Peninsula and then moved into the region. While some among this group settled in the coastal areas and earned their living by pearl diving, fishing and trading, the other groups settled within the interior parts of Kuwait and lived on hunting, grazing and occasionally raiding the neighbourhood. The second group is Kuwaiti Arabs who came from Iraq, the southern part of Saudi Arabia called Al-Hasa, and Bahrain. The third group is identified as Kuwaiti Ajams. The group includes immigrants who fled from Iran to the area to gain economic prosperity. Those are described as constituting a considerable number of Kuwaitis during the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Dashti, 1997: 28). The group is considered of low status by the two former groups due to their Persian origins.

Another important social division is sectarian. The majority of Kuwaitis are Sunni Muslims; the minority is Shiite Muslims. The national census does not distinguish between the two sectors, but an estimated number of 600,000 are believed to belong to the Sunni sector and 300,000 belong to the Shiite sector (U.S Library of Congress, 1995). Kuwaiti Shiite is a diverse group who came to the area from several regions. Some are Arabs who came from the eastern province in Saudi Arabia or from Bahrain. Another group includes Arabs who settled on the Iranian side of the Persian Gulf and then returned to the region. A third group is of an Iranian origin. The two latter groups are linguistically described as bilinguals who can speak both Farsi and Arabic very well. It is worth mentioning at this stage that in spite of the sectarian division, Kuwaitis are characterized by a strong national

identity as the sectarian division seems to be subsumed in the larger shared Islamic identity (U.S Library of Congress, 1995).

Gender segregation is a very profound issue within the community. Dashti (1997) mentions that there are sharp differences between men's and women's roles within this society. He relates this separation to Kuwaitis' abidance by Islamic rules that assign different roles for the two gender groups. Just like many other Arab communities, an Arab woman is not expected to 'trespass on men's grounds by doing men's work or assuming roles and participating in functions that men are expected to perform' (Bakir, 1986: 6). Due to such divisive gender-based ideologies within the Kuwaiti community, the concept will be re-visited in more detail in chapter 2, where the focus is directed to language attitudes and the most commonly anticipated determinants within its arena.

### **1.3 The Sociolinguistic Situation in Kuwait**

In this section, I will introduce the Arabic language varieties commonly identified in Kuwait. Dashti (1997) distinguishes four varieties of Arabic in use in Kuwait: Classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Kuwaiti Arabic (KA) and Educated Standard Arabic (ESA). CA is the language of Qur'an, prayers and Arabic literature. The language is never used as a spoken language by Kuwaitis, and this is believed to be because of its syntactic, morphological and lexical difficulty. MSA is the language in which the formal education is provided in schools. The variety is described to be the nation's second language as Kuwaitis are only introduced to the language when they start their schooling (Dashti, 1997: 39). Muhawai (1994: 165) addresses one of the features of this variety to be its inefficiency in the domains of science and technology. Lawson (2001) relates the unsuitability of MSA in modern life to the gap between the written and spoken languages in the Arab World where more often, the colonizing language is being perceived more suitable

to modern life than indigenous languages. KA is the language of everyday conversation, Kuwaitis' mother tongue and the symbol of Kuwaiti identity. Frayha (1995: 122) refers to the variety as the colloquial variety. She mentions that the variety can be described as 'the language of life' whereas the classical variety as 'the language of book'. Due to its association with Kuwaitis' ethnic identity, the variety has gained a prestigious position in the country (Dashti, 1997). Just as in the rest of the Arab World, Arabic language varieties in Kuwait are described to represent a typical diglossic sociolinguistic setting (Ferguson, 1959), where MSA (being considered the high variety) is used for formal situations such as contemporary literature, journalism and formal education, and described by the community as 'Standard' form of speech, and KA (considered the community's low variety) is used for informal every day speech and acquired naturally at home without informal instruction. In this respect, Lawson (2001) argues that 'standard in diglossia' is different from a 'standard with dialects', in that in the former, no one speaks the standard language variety as a mother tongue.

A claim that was made by Johnstone (1967: xxviii) reveals that KA is doomed to be replaced by a local version of the 'pan-Arabic koine' as a result of the dilution of the Kuwaiti identity by the huge numbers of Arab expatriates. In a research on KA survival, Holes (1995) states that the variety is unlikely to be under threat of extinction, as the variety 'thrives as a badge of social identity and solidarity.' (1995: 61). Holes (1995) also criticizes Johnstone's pessimistic statement as being unjustified. He further mentions that Kuwaitis switch in the direction of MSA rather than other Arabic varieties when the situation involves interlocutors from other Arab countries. KA comprises two major varieties: Bedouin and Sedentary. The Bedouin (rural) is the Kuwaiti variety that is used by Kuwaiti Bedouins. Those are Kuwaiti Arabs who first settled in the desert and then moved into the urban areas of Kuwait. The second variety, Sedentary (urban), is believed to have evolved as a result of

the 'social and economic development that resulted from the exposure of Kuwaitis to the outside world as well as the existence of varieties of migrants' (Dashti, 1997: 41). The variety is described by Dashti (1997) as more prestigious than the Bedouin variety.

ESA is the intermediate variety in which the speaker mixes between KA variety and MSA. Ferguson ([1959] 1972) refers to this variety as '*al-lugha al-wusTa*', meaning 'the intermediate language'. The language is used for radio broadcasting, television and within academics' informal discussions. Dashti points out that ESA is 'not yet a focused variety' (1997: 40) as its phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon are interchangeably based on MSA and KA. The variety is also used when Kuwaitis are engaged in conversations involving listeners and speakers from other Arab countries. Describing the language variety used by educated Arabs, Mitchell (1986:9) writes:

Neither CA nor MSA is, in fact, a spoken language, mother tongue, yet - and this is surely a fact of higher significance - educated Arabs converse with apparent ease on an infinite number of topics and for an infinite variety of purposes without sounding in the process like books or newspapers.

Another distinction is introduced by Dashti (1997) and can be referred to as the generational distinction, dividing Kuwaiti society into two distinctive groups. The old Kuwaiti generation, beside its native language KA and sometimes Farsi, has the ability to speak languages of the places they had to travel to during the winter trading journey. Those languages, as I noted above, include Urdu and Swahili. The middle-aged group comprises Kuwaitis whose parents are either Kuwaiti Arabs or Kuwaiti Ajams. The former is described as being bidialectal based on the fact that they are introduced to two different varieties of Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic at home as their mother tongue and Modern Standard Arabic in schools. The latter is described as being bilingual and bidialectal. This is because, like the former group, they are introduced to the same two Arabic varieties. However, they are also introduced to Farsi as the language that is spoken by their parents.

Dashti (1997) also mentions other ‘languages’ that are spoken by Kuwaitis. These include Kuwaiti Arabic/English code-switching, Kuwaiti Arabic /Farsi code-switching and Farsi. Being the focus of this study, Kuwaiti Arabic/ English code-switching (K/E CS) will be further discussed in section (1.5).

#### 1.4 Change in the status of English

Historically, Kuwaitis were first introduced to the English language when British expatriates came into the area to work in the oil industry. The older Kuwaiti generation who worked side by side with those British expatriates had to learn their language in order to be able to communicate with them. As a result, plenty of English words that affected various aspects of the Kuwaiti community were borrowed into Kuwaiti. Table 1.1 gives examples of words borrowed from the English language into the Kuwaiti dialect:

**Table 1.1 Established Loan Words in Kuwaiti Language**

<b>Kuwaiti Arabic</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Kuwaiti Arabic</b>	<b>English</b>
<b>/ʔrjil/</b>	<b>Ariel</b>	<b>/ba:s/</b>	<b>Bus</b>
<b>/buʔul/</b>	<b>Bottle</b>	<b>/ba:ket/</b>	<b>Packet</b>
<b>/ʃek/</b>	<b>Cheque</b>	<b>/dʒa:ket/</b>	<b>Jacket</b>
<b>/dabal/</b>	<b>Double</b>	<b>/ra:du/</b>	<b>Radio</b>
<b>/ners/</b>	<b>Nurse</b>	<b>/kert/</b>	<b>Card</b>
<b>/gla:ʃ/</b>	<b>Glass</b>	<b>/kindefin/</b>	<b>Air condition</b>
<b>/kek/</b>	<b>Cake</b>	<b>/let/</b>	<b>Light</b>

Derived from Dashti (1997: 51)

Officially, English has been introduced to the Kuwaiti community through the education system. The language is introduced as a foreign language in the State Schools. Due to the community's realization of the necessity of English, two crucial measures have been recently taken within the State's educational policy. The first is changing the age at which children are exposed to English. The age has been lowered from 10 to 6 since the academic year 1999-2000. A further measure is also being debated within the Ministry of Education in which local teachers of English are going to be gradually replaced by foreign teachers whose English is either their first or their second language. This is to ensure the high English proficiency of English teachers and the students' lengthy exposure to the language within a classroom setting where no other common language can be used as a means of communication.

The two measures have been very hot issues that are constantly being debated within the press and amongst members of the Kuwaiti parliament. In an interview with the Senior Director of Arabic at the Ministry of Education, Al-atiqui (2004) describes the situation of Kuwaiti students in regard to their proficiency in Arabic as a disaster. She illustrates that Arabic will soon be abandoned by the Kuwaiti community as our next generation has chosen to replace it with English. In her critique of the increasing number of Kuwaiti families who enroll their children into English private schools, Al-Atiqui states: 'I'd like to tell those parents that Kuwaiti students who joined State schools (government schools) have succeeded in their studies abroad while those who joined the English private schools have failed.' She also adds 'This is a fact and I have many examples amongst my family and the people who I know to prove that.' (Al-Atiqui, 2004: 23). She also claims that 'should the society carry on their current negligence and preference of English over their own mother-tongue, our language will soon be abandoned and we will lose our Arabic and Islamic identity.' These ideological forces will be further investigated in the present research.

Advanced levels of proficiency in English are required in order to excel at university. This is because courses in the colleges of science, engineering, medicine and business studies are taught in English, a situation that gave the language its vitality within those domains. Prestigious jobs with higher pay regularly use the language in interpersonal communication. In fact, applicants to such jobs have to show high proficiency levels in English but not Arabic in order to be accepted. The language is also widely spoken in business and diplomatic circles. Kuwaitis are therefore faced with a double standard national linguistic ideology. An overt ideology of preserving the community's national standard language variety MSA through its introduction in government schools as the only language of instruction, and a covert ideology of the sought after native-like proficiency in English required for entering more prestigious walks of life. The contradiction between the government's overt nurture of MSA and the covertly profound functioning of the English language within the Kuwaiti community has established a growing trend amongst Kuwaiti parents to enroll their children to English private schools where they can gain the required native-like proficiency in that language. Accordingly, the number of Kuwaiti students has been steadily growing in the English private schools since the Gulf crisis. Due to the fact that Kuwaiti students who were enrolled in English private schools were very few in numbers, the annual education censuses did not indicate their numbers before the year 1994. According to the education census, Kuwaiti students used to comprise only 3% of the total number of students in English Private Schools during the year 1994. By the year 2003, the number has risen to 25% (Ministry of Education, 1998, 2003). Kuwaitis are not only exposed to English through their school years. Due to the very hot weather in summer, most Kuwaitis spend their three months summer holiday (July-September) abroad in areas where they can enjoy cooler weather. Since the early 1970s, England (London in particular) has been one of the most frequent attractions to Kuwaitis (Dashti, 1997). The State's policy with



regard to sending Kuwaiti students for both graduate and undergraduate studies to English speaking countries has also led to the spread of English within the Kuwaiti community as those students return to the country with a tendency to code-switch between their mother tongue and English (Dashti, 1997).

Kuwaitis are also exposed daily to the English language and its culture through the mass media, T.V being amongst the most influential. The vitality of English in the various social domains of Kuwaiti life has changed the status of English from being a foreign language to that of 'a more central code in the lives of Kuwaitis' (Dashti, 1997: 99). English is therefore claimed by Dashti (1997) to be gaining an ESL status. In his attempt to support his claim, he pointed to the existence of an innovative variety within the community: Kuwaiti/English code-switching (K/E CS). Dashti (1997) has further indicated that 'the trend to use K/E CS is on the increase' (1997: 94).

### **1.5 Kuwaiti/English code-switching**

As mentioned earlier, a new speech variety has been introduced to the Kuwaiti community, Kuwaiti/English (K/E) code-switching. Describing the languages that people in the Arab World use, Bateson (1967: 82) asserts:

Arabs who cannot use CIA [Classical Arabic] to some degree may have to fall back on English or French (if they know these languages)... if they come from widely separated regions. Therefore, CIA still possesses that vital element which was the basis for its adoption as the language of the Islamic umma, 'community'.

Dashti (1997) made the first investigation of this phenomenon (K/E code-switching) in which he gathered both quantitative and qualitative data on code-switching. Using a questionnaire, his data revealed that English is one of the available code choices in the linguistic repertoire of some Kuwaitis and that 'K/E code-switching is a language choice strategy deployed by them' (Dashti, 1997: 98). In order to account for his claim of a raised

status of English from an EFL into an ESL one, Dashti further investigated the phenomenon. He claimed that Kuwaitis tend to code-switch between Kuwaiti and English in the domains of home and non-home. Questionnaire data suggested that K/E code-switching was used by young (16-35) and middle-aged (36-55) educated Kuwaitis at home. The same pattern was illustrated in some of the investigated non-home domains (banks, restaurants, hotel lobbies and work). Dashti (1997) also claimed that no gender differences are visible in his study's results.

In a domain analysis of K/E code-switching, Dashti proposed that 57% of his respondents claimed the use of the variety fairly frequently at home with their children. He further described the phenomenon to be significant in a way that presented English as a competing language with Kuwaitis' local variety, KA. The study also showed that K/E code-switching was claimed to be used within the various investigated non-home domains, though at its highest percentage in banks and lowest in 'diwaniya'. The finding is attributed to the fact that 'diwaniya are locales of local and ethnic solidarity and therefore K/E code-switching is not appropriate' (Dashti, 1997: 96). Hotel lobbies and restaurants are other non-home domains in which the variety had been claimed to be used at a high frequency.

In his attempt to investigate gender differences in use of the code-switched variety, Dashti's study indicates that Kuwaiti women claim to use K/E code-switching at home with their children more than men do. The differences, however, tend to be non-significant within non-home domains. The finding seems to disagree with Trudgill's (1974) general explanations of prestige or status-consciousness in western society, although it is of course not safe to generalize from western to non-western communities. In this vein, Dashti argues:

If women are more likely to use prestigious forms, assuming that English is a prestigious form in Kuwait and that they are more sensitive to social criticism by other groups, why then is their claimed use of K/E code-switching in non-home domains identical to that of men? (Dashti, 1997: 100- 101).

Dashti's findings, however, seem to contradict some of the findings within the Arab world. In Maghreb and Tunisia, for example, women are perceived to use the Arabic/French CS more often than men (Dhawwadi, 1984; Trabelsi, 1991). I argue that the question brought up by Dashti was based on a pre-assumed concept that K/E code-switching is a prestigious form of conduct, whereas this has not yet been proven.

What I mean is that such a discrepancy might have been the result of perceiving code-switching as a non-standard variety, leading to its being considered less prestigious than the standard varieties. I therefore believe that there is a strong need to investigate how prestigious the variety is perceived to be within the community, and to examine relative judgments of different varieties, before one can jump to such conclusions. The concept will be revisited later in chapter 2 in more detail.

Considering education as a factor that affects Kuwaitis' use of K/E code-switching, Dashti points out that more educated Kuwaitis tend to use the variety more frequently within both home/non home domains. The finding is described as an indication of the broader, less local and tight-knit network than of less educated Kuwaitis.

Trying to support his argument that some Kuwaitis are balanced Kuwaiti English bilinguals, Dashti (1997) reinforced his questionnaire data with data derived from a case study. Based on his examination of mother/child interactions, where the data were analysed following Auer's conversational approach (1984, 1988, 1995), Dashti argues that code-switching is better analysed as a contextualization cue, a term which identifies 'the process by which members construe the local and global contexts ...necessary for the interpretation of their linguistic and non-linguistic activities' (Auer, 1988: 80). Such analytic process requires adopting Li Wei's sequential approach (Li Wei, 1994) that distinguishes three different discourse levels: Level A where two speakers use different languages in consecutive turns, Level B where a single speaker within a turn may switch at sentence

boundaries to give us what Poplack (1980) identifies as ‘inter-sentential code-switching, and Level C where different constituents within a sentence are being coded in different languages. Table 1.2 presents examples for the three levels of K/E code-switching found in Dashti’s data:

**Table 1.2 Levels of K/E CS in accordance to Li Wei’s Sequential Approach**

Level	CS Type	Example
Level A	Different speakers using different languages in consecutive turns	Context: in a park, mother talking to son Mother: (to son) <i>Do you want to play with the kids</i> Son: (to mother) <i>baʔed ifwaj</i> After a while Mother: (to son) <i>lef mama ru: ilʔab</i> why mom, go play Son: (to mother) <i>ok I will</i>
Level B	Switching code at sentence boundary	Context: over a meal, mother advising daughter not to eat too many sweets Mother: (to daughter) <i>a:nə ɡitlitʃ lata:kli:n ʔulu wa:ʃid</i> I told you don't eat a lot of sweets Daughter: (to mother) <i>a small piece please mum</i> Mother: (to daughter) <i>a very tiny piece.</i> <i>ikli fa:kʔə ʔʔsallitʃ</i> a very tiny piece. Eat fruits, it is better for you Daughter: (to mother) <i>I got fed up with fruits</i>
Level C	Different constituents within a sentence coded in different languages	Context: mother instructing daughter on how to use a dandruff shampoo Mother: (to daughter) <i>at least mama mɛrriten fi ljo:m</i> at least mum twice a day Daughter: (to mother) <i>?lle twice a day wa:ʃid</i> mama oh God twice a day is too much mum

Derived from Dashti (1997: 259-2)

Dashti therefore concludes that code-switching seems to be one of the language choice strategies in those Kuwaiti dyads. His data show that ‘metaphorical code-switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982) is one strategy used by Kuwaiti mothers and

their children, where the switch is used to achieve a communicative goal while the participants, the setting, and the topic stay the same' (Dashti, 1997: 287). Drawing on various examples of code-switching practices, Dashti concludes that they are interaction reflexes of mother/child language choice preferences between Kuwaiti and English. This tends to agree with what Li Wei (1994: 178) states, 'through experience, they develop a sense of 'script' or 'schema' for which language is used to whom and when, and exploit the linguistic resources available to them to achieve special communicative effects'. Dashti further adds that his qualitative data show that 'code-switching can be used by the same speaker to mark turn allocation, self repairs, and some pre-sequences and embedded sequences. Likewise, it can be utilized by different speakers in continuous turns for the purpose of contextualising self-selection as next turn speaker, interruption, dispreferred second pair parts, other-repairs (including repair initiators) and insertion sequences'(Dashti, 1997: 287). A more detailed account of the concept of code-switching will be introduced in chapter 3 where I will present the various approaches to code-switching within the literature.

## **1.6 The Education System in Kuwait**

In the very early years of the nineteenth century, education in Kuwait mainly consisted of Qur'anic schools that used to offer literacy training within a context of religious instruction. In 1936 the government established its first Council of Knowledge (Majlis Al-Ma'arif) to hold the responsibility for the education system in the country. The Council laid down the basis of the education system. The year 1954 seems to have been a very important year as some crucial amendments were made to education in the country. Reviewing the schools' curricula, the educational stages were set to include two years of Kindergarten, four years of Primary stage, four years of Intermediate stage and another four years at a Secondary stage. The educational ladder has been recently changed to include five years in

the intermediate stage and only three in the secondary stage. In 1965 regulations were issued by the government which made education compulsory until the age of fourteen. In 1966, Kuwait University was established along with other colleges such as the industrial college, the commercial school and the religious institute. Following that, branches of Arts and Humanities were opened for Kuwaiti female students. Public education starting from preschool stage and until the end of the higher education was and still is free. The government absorbs school expenses including those of books and, earlier, of uniforms, meals, and transportation.

Knowing that the educational context may function as an influential factor in language attitude change (Baker, 1992), I would like to introduce the linguistic and cultural ideologies nurtured within three educational schemes deployed in three major school-types in Kuwait. The first is a conventional school-type (government schools) where, except for English, all subjects are introduced in MSA in written texts and orally in ESA. English is only introduced as a foreign language at those schools. Teachers and administrators are Kuwaiti or from other Arab nations, mainly Egyptians, Jordanians, Syrians and Lebanese. As mentioned earlier, a recent measure has been taken by the Ministry of Education that lowered the age at which students should be introduced to English from 10 to only 6 years old. The language becomes crucial at the university level in colleges of Science, Engineering and Medicine and recently in Business College. English textbooks, therefore, have to be used within those colleges, a requirement that instigates higher levels of proficiency in English.

Due to the progress of the country, and as a result of the war in Iraq, Kuwait has become a crucial port used by large numbers of foreigners, mostly from the English-speaking world and expatriates from foreign nationalities who came to work in Kuwait. Thus, a second type of school 'foreign schools' was also established to serve children of the

increasing numbers of expatriates of various nationalities. British and American schools are described as the 'most numerous and their students reach high standards in their exams' ([www.arab.net](http://www.arab.net)). The schools are supervised by the Private Education Department at the Ministry of Education which sets their fee levels, inspects the schools and arbitrates cases of complaints. In 2000/2001 the number of foreign schools in Kuwait reached 201 (Ministry of Education, 2003). Being a focus of this study, I will give further details on the educational policy of the British and American schools in Kuwait. Except for the Arabic and Islam subjects, the schools use English as the language of instruction, a policy which is perhaps a basis of dispute among the Kuwaiti community, namely the fear of introducing 'unbalanced' bilinguals whose English language dominates their linguistic repertoire. The schools are also staffed by expatriates, mainly from UK, USA, Australia and Canada. As those schools use the total second language immersion and partial bilingual programmes, it is believed that such schools will be unlikely to produce 'balanced' bilinguals as the students will find it difficult to deal with subjects through their mother tongue.

The following is stated in the literacy policy of The British School of Kuwait (see a copy of the full document attached in Appendix 3c), a very well-known school:

The use of Arabic and other first languages is permitted to convey key concepts and pivotal points of vocabulary. There is no intention to denigrate the first language but to minimize its usage within The British School of Kuwait. This will enable the school to achieve its published aims and objectives and to meet the expectations of the parents. (British School of Kuwait Literacy Policy: 1).

Among the aims of the school is enabling students to be fluent users of English in all contexts. Encouraging school students to speak in English outside the school setting and in places such as supermarkets, restaurants and video stores is described as a recommended activity that facilitates the school in achieving its goals. In the school's description of its policy with regard to the language beyond the classroom, the memorandum advises faculty

members to discourage students from speaking languages other than English in informal situations. The students should also be addressed by the school's administrators in English unless communication in English is impossible. Amongst the school's recommendations to the parents, the memorandum points out that children should encourage siblings to use English when they speak to each other, read English articles and communicate in English with their children. In one of the English private schools, a behavioural booklet shows that an eight year old Kuwaiti child was given two sad faces during one of his school days as a result of his use of Kuwaiti with his friends (a copy attached in Appendix 3d). Another important issue related to those schools is that, unlike the government schools, the majority of those schools are co-education schools, a policy which creates a great amount of controversy in a country with such a strong gender segregation ideology.

A third type of school in Kuwait is the bilingual schools. The schools use both Modern Standard Arabic and English as the medium of instruction. Each subject is introduced first in English and then in Arabic with the same content being introduced in two consecutive lessons until the third grade. From the fourth grade onwards, bilingual schools introduce all subjects, except for Arabic, Religious Studies and Social Studies, in English. This type of school, I believe, will more likely produce balanced bilingual students as students will be able to express themselves at the different aspects of life in both languages. The bilingual schools are also prone to very harsh criticism as a result of their co-education scheme.

In this study I aim to shed light on the way the different linguistic varieties under investigation are perceived by students who learn at the three different types of schools. I also aim to find out how teachers and school educators judge students who use the different varieties under the study. My aims and objectives are set out in greater detail in Chapter 2.



## **1.7 The political situation in the region**

Gumperz (1982) notes that a change in the political ideologies within a community may lead to attitudinal changes towards code-switching. I therefore believe that it is important to shed some light on the political situation in the region. During the last fifteen years, Kuwait has lived through two different political climates. The first era in this period was influenced by the Gulf War, leading to the liberation of Kuwait from its neighbouring country, Iraq. During that period (1990-2002) Kuwaitis tended to appreciate Westerners, particularly Americans, for extending their hands to help the people of the country to quell the Iraqi invasion. The second era, however, influenced by the 2003 invasion of Iraq, began on March 30 when forces belonging primarily to the United States and the United Kingdom invaded Iraq as a part of the United States' ongoing 'war against terror'. Knowing that the coalition forces had entered Iraq through Kuwait (using Kuwaiti territories as the staging post for logistical support), and due to the fact that Iraq is amongst the closest countries to Kuwait, the country has been significantly influenced by this war. A drastic division has started to appear in terms of the way Kuwaitis perceive the war. A group of people in the country perceive the war as a legitimate action to liberate Iraqis from a dictatorship regime, and to remove the nightmare burden of Saddam Hussein, the former president of Iraq, for good. People with such a perception believe that, having an Arab country with the only democratic regime close to Kuwait will boost the country both politically and economically. Another group, on the other hand, perceives the war as a war against Islam. Other issues have also started to surface. Critics argued that the United States applies double standards of justice, knowing that other countries like Israel are also in breach of UN resolutions and do have nuclear weapons, but have never been attacked by the US. Other issues included weapons of mass destruction - the ultimate justification for the war - which have never been found in Iraq; and the Israeli hostility against Palestinians which Kuwaitis, as well as people

from all other Muslim countries, believe is taking place under the blessing and the support of Americans. As a result, a new ideology has started to take shape in the area; an ideology of 'Jihad' to fight against every concept related to Westerners, Americans in particular. Kuwaitis with such ideology were represented by Muslim Sunni fundamentalists due to their fear of Shiite control over Iraq, a country which has been controlled by the minority Sunnis for several decades. The group has emerged as a result of the war in Afghanistan. However, it has become even more immense during the war in Iraq.

Among the people I interviewed in the preliminary interviewing sessions was a forty-eight year old Kuwaiti male, who told me how he was shocked once to hear his four year old nephew, telling his son to stop using this language (English) because it is 'Haram' meaning 'sin', a word used to describe any action against the Islamic rules. He added, 'when I asked him why he says such things, the boy told me that I don't like this language, it drives me crazy when I hear people using it'. He also added: 'What makes the situation even stranger, is that my nephew is enrolled in a private English school'.

Above all, the era during which the present investigation has been conducted seems to be characterized by a rise in ethnic consciousness, where the investigated speech styles strongly symbolize the speakers' Kuwaiti identity. In this research, I therefore predict a strong tie between Kuwaitis' religious and political statuses, and their ideologies towards code-switching, my major interest.

## **Chapter 2: Language attitudes**

My major interest in this chapter is to cast light on linguistic ideologies of the sort that people hold in Kuwait. This will be done through a thematic analysis of the concepts and beliefs discussed within the study's preliminary interviewing sessions. Following that the chapter will direct the reader into why language attitudes have been of considerable importance in sociolinguistics; the significance of language attitudes within the educational setting; the methods used to elicit and assess language attitudes; and an overview of previous research on language attitudes across the Arab World, giving special attention to sex-differentiation, due to its criticality in any sociolinguistic investigation within this part of the world in particular.

### **2.1 Defining language attitudes**

The concept of attitude is not straightforward (Garrett et al. 2003:2). However, some researchers try to introduce some general definitions. Henerson et al. (1987: 13), for example, write: 'The word attitude will be used quite broadly to describe all the objects we want to measure that have to do with affect, feelings, values and beliefs.' Oppenheim (1982), on the other hand, includes behaviour as another component. In an attempt to establish a simple and core definition for the concept, Garrett et al. define attitude as 'an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, but that, being a "disposition", an attitude is at least potentially an evaluative stance that is sufficiently stable to allow it to be identified and in some sense measured.' (Garrett et al. 2003: 2).

Claiming that the concept of attitude has a tripartite structure, Edwards (1982) proposes that attitude involves cognitive (beliefs about the world), affective (feelings about an attitude object), and behavioural (predisposition to act in a certain way) components. In language attitudes, Garrett et al. (2003) mention that the cognitive component is likely to be

shaped by the individual and collective functions, stemming from stereotyping in intergroup relations. The affective component, on the other hand, is believed to evoke judgments to the exclusion of the cognitive component. To illustrate, Garrett et al. further state: 'A person may hear a language or linguistic variety which they are unable to identify, but may nevertheless consider it 'pleasant', or 'ugly', and this may affect their response during the encounter.'(2003: 4). Behaviour is one of the most controversial elements in the study of language attitudes. Garrett et al. (2003) describe the relationship between attitude and behaviour as problematic. Some researchers deny that there is a direct relationship between attitude and behaviour (for example, Wicker, 1969; Hanson, 1980).

The reliability of studying attitudes in predicting people's actual behaviour has always been debated by various researchers. While some researchers consider attitude as 'a mediating hypothetical construct which is directly related to overt behaviour (Giles and Hewstone, 1982), others justify the attitude-behaviour inconsistency by pointing to other factors. Garrett et al. (2003), for example, state that when people anticipate hostile reactions from behaving in accordance with their attitudes, or when people are faced with extraneous circumstances (too busy, competing priorities, bad weather, etc), their behaviour will probably not reflect their attitude. Acquiescence bias (giving responses to please a researcher), and failing to gather reliable and valid data on attitudes, are some other reasons for the lack of alignment between attitude and behaviour. A further factor proposed by Garrett et al. (2003) is the complexity of domains. In this vein they write,

A candidate at an interview for a job may strategically adjust their speech style in a way that diverges from (or conceals) the dialect to which they otherwise have a strong loyalty, if they feel this enhances their chances of getting the job, thus helping them to fulfill their career ambitions, and/or to please significant others, such as a partner or parent. (Garret et al. 2003:9).

Matsuyama (2001) states that the three components (cognitive, affective and behavioural) may not always be in harmony with each other:

Cognitive aspects of an attitude may not always reflect affective states and considerable dissonance may exist between them. A person may express favourable attitudes to the Welsh language, but the same person may behave negatively towards the language and object to Welsh language education, for instance. (Matsuyama, 2001: 2- 4)

In an attempt to clarify the concept of 'attitude', Garrett and his co-workers (2003: 11) considered 'language ideology' as a crucial concept that closely relates to language attitudes. Their study claims that by using a combination of various methodologies, one may successfully access the 'ideological forces' operating within a community. According to Heath (1989: 93), language ideologies have been defined as 'self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group'. Irvine (1989: 255) defines the concept as 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests'. Woolard (1998) has further added that the concept tends to be critical in any situation where different language varieties are in contact. Within attitudinal studies, ideological analysis tends to be at their core.

## **2.2 Language ideologies in Kuwait – an introduction**

Due to the unavoidable significance of language ideologies within attitudinal studies (where the concepts of 'attitude' and 'ideology' clearly overlap), I decided to begin my investigation by the elicitation of major linguistic ideologies within Kuwaiti community. For this purpose, some preliminary interviews were conducted at the initial stages of this study. A number of people were therefore approached on several occasions. Some were approached in family and friends gatherings, where female Kuwaiti people of different age groups (some in their teens, others in their adulthood and middle age) were asked about their general views of the practice of code switching. Male Kuwaiti people of similar age groups were also approached, some of which were friends and family members (cousins of my own

children and their friends, my husband's cousins and friends) for the same purpose. All interviews were conducted in Kuwaiti. The interviewees' comments were written and then subjected to a discourse analysis, from which a number of linguistic and cultural ideologies seem to be in operation within the community. These are summarised in the following section.

### *2.2.1 Language as a socio-economic instrument*

Language is perceived by many Kuwaitis as an instrument, a tool for socio-economic advance. Advocates of such ideology believe that English is a highly important language to learn even if this happens at the cost of the child's mother-tongue. They believe that it is the child's lack of ability in English that might impede his or her advance into the higher levels of the educational system since there isn't enough to read in the child's mother-tongue. The point was raised in Extract 2.1 (translated from a comment made by a forty year-old female interviewee):

#### *Extract 2.1:*

Unlike many other people in this community, I like to be realistic. Preparing my child in a language in which all different sciences are available is certainly better than crying over our glorious state of language when Arabs were in the lead. Look at what you have on the ground.....the best story authors write in English.....the best movie makers are from English speaking countries....the crucial sciences are introduced in English all over the world. I really don't believe that having illiterate children in Arabic would negatively affect them in any way. They will still be able to access the crucial aspects of their life....because they have a very high standard ability in English...the language of the world.

### *2.2.2 Language as a symbol for group identity*

Similar to the situation in the Arabic-speaking world generally, language tends to be closely associated with people's ethnic identity in Kuwait. For many, being able to speak

Kuwaiti is the most significant criterion for being considered Kuwaiti. A female Kuwaiti parent for example responded on her thoughts of Kuwaiti children who code-switch in these words: 'How on earth would you consider someone to be Kuwaiti if s/he is unable to speak the language of his own community'. The situation seems to be identical to almost all Arab countries. In a country like Tunisia for example, speaking Tunisian is a particularly salient feature for second generation immigrant children, who used to live in France and later returned to Tunisia (Lawson, 2001). Touzani (1988), reports that the different varieties in Tunisia reflect different facets of Tunisian identity. Classical Arabic is more associated with Islam, MSA represents the link with the Arab world, Tunisian represents the 'authenticity' of being Tunisian and French represents the link to the West.

### *2.2.3 Social and/or political unity*

Many Kuwaitis view language as a means for the society's unity. The fear of the social segregation between the older generation and the younger one, and between the people of the same generation, has been expressed by many of my discussants. These were the words (translated into English) of a teenager interviewee in his response to how he might perceive people who code-switch.

#### *Extract 2.2:*

I mean that they do not understand me when I speak Kuwaiti and that's why I do not like to hang around with them. My cousin is a very good boy but he has this problem. I'm not saying that he doesn't understand or speak the language....but when it comes to jokes, especially when we watch local programmes on T.V, he and his sisters do not understand and they need an interpreter to be able to catch the point. They don't even like to listen to Kuwaiti songs. They are not the type that I like to make friendship with.

It seems that the older discussants however tend to have fears of a sharp political division between those children and the Arab world as a result of the gradual loss of their

language which ties them to that world. For those people, language use indexes its members' nationhood. A twenty six year-old female interviewee illustrates the point:

*Extract 2.3:*

Language is the society's means of unity...once we lose our language, we will certainly lose our unity.....it symbolizes our loyalty to this country....as well as the Arab nation...the more distorted the people's language is, the less loyal they will get and the more fragmented our society will be.

#### *2.2.4 Modernity versus authenticity*

A contrast between the connotation of Arabic, including Kuwaiti, symbolising traditionalism, and English with its image of a Western-life style, was also expressed by two of my interviewees. A fifteen year-old Kuwaiti student responded to my question of what she thought about people who mix between Kuwaiti and English in their every day speech by saying, 'It's the language of freedom, technology and prosperous life.' A fifty year-old male informant, however, believed that people who speak in that way would never be able to understand the traditions of this country. He further explained:

*Extract 2.4*

Would they be able to understand what a word like "jerba" ( pot) means...I don't think so...the story is even more serious than this...Those people have the tendency to follow the western modern values and break our own traditions...they have messed up the traditions of this country; those traditions which have been adhered to for decades.

#### *2.2.5 Continuity of the community's language*

Concerns about the decline of Kuwaitis' local variety as a result of the gradual spread of code-switching have been anticipated. The idea was touched upon by a thirty two year-old female teacher, as shown in the following extract:



*Extract 2.5:*

**Imagine if such type of speech goes on and on...what do you think would happen?...I believe the more accepted it is, the more mixing will people do...and eventually we will reach a point where our language is no more in use.**

*2.2.6 Competition with other European languages*

The habit of code-switching seems to be resented by some of the interviewees because of what it represents regarding the community's loss of its battle against the West, as indicated in the following extract:

*Extract 2.6:*

**It is their parents' fault whose weak personality has led them to blindly imitate the Western World ...whose ignorance has led us to lose our battle against the West.**

*2.2.7 Language purity, comprehensibility and fluency of the speaker*

Some of the interviewees expressed the importance of preserving the purity of the society's language. A thirty two year-old male Kuwaiti stated:

*Extract 2.7:*

**I believe, not only they, but also the whole society will suffer as a result of the distorted pattern of speech...it just doesn't sound nice.**

Some seem to perceive this speech variety (code-switching) as having an intrusive effect on the society's linguistic structure. An informant described code-switching as 'tremendously annoying language...you never figure out what they say'.

According to the views expressed by an administrator in one of the private schools in Kuwait, speakers of such language has been described as 'being weak in both languages...that's why they tend to use an alternative to compensate for the lack of proficiency in both languages'.

### *2.2.8 Opposition to bilingualism*

Some of the interviewees seem to be driven by their negative views of bilingualism. They believe that a bilingually-based educational system may produce children who are confused, both linguistically and culturally; children who are illiterate in their mother tongue and have a 'split identity problem'. This was clearly stated by an interviewee in her response on the way she perceives people who mix English and Kuwaiti in their spoken language:

#### *Extract 2.8:*

What I meant is that Kuwaiti families, particularly the most privileged ones, have started to enrol their children into English private schools in order to provide them with English language perfection. However, they haven't considered its drawbacks on their children's mother-tongue, which would certainly suffer from deficiency as a result of such kind of education.

Another comment was made by one of the respondents who described code-switchers as 'having psychological problems'. A thirty six year-old female Kuwaiti parent for example stated:

#### *Extract 2.9:*

They have a split identity problem. That's why they start their speech in Kuwaiti and suddenly then move into another language. It is because they do not know to which identity they belong.

### *2.2.9 Language as a symbol for community-based morality*

In Kuwait, just like any other Arab country, language can symbolise speakers' abidance by the morals of the community. Due to the strong association between religion and morals within the community, religion tends to be at the core of people's moral beliefs. For some Kuwaitis, the more Kuwaiti you speak, the more religious you would be perceived to be. A fifty two year-old female Kuwaiti criticised code-switchers in these words:

*Extract 2.10:*

If you don't know how to speak proper Kuwaiti, would you then be able to understand your own religion? Would you even be able to perform it in your life?

In the media, calls for parents to stop enrolling their children into English and American private schools are presented in the daily newspapers. Such action is believed to have a detrimental effect on Kuwaiti children's religious beliefs. A critical headline, for example, was presented in *Al-Watan* newspaper, which objected to private school Kuwaiti children's love of Christmas trees and Santa as an undesirable influence from Christianity, symbolised by code-switching, on their Islamic beliefs (*Al-WaTan*, 23 Dec. 2005). In another report in the same newspaper, Mubarak Al-Hajri criticises graduates of English Private Schools. He draws an example of a thirty year-old Kuwaiti woman who he thought must have lived in New York or London for her entire life. He explains: 'the girl couldn't speak proper Kuwaiti, which means that she wouldn't be able to read Arabic, and therefore wouldn't be able to read Qur'an, the whole book of Muslims, and, as a result, wouldn't be able to do her prayers' (Al-Hajrei, 2006: 26). However, it should also be borne in mind that due to the recent world-wide association of Islam with terrorism, being 'too religious' might also be perceived as a negative trait by some Kuwaitis. The issue will be closely revisited in chapter 4.

Girls' presence in schools with boys is another issue that seems to be a strongly rejected intrusion into the community's morality. A twenty nine year-old mother commented on parents enrolling their children into these schools, where the code-switching is more likely to take place, by saying:

*Extract 2.11:*

**They are really endangering their children by placing them in such an inappropriate environment during adolescence, when children haven't gained the wisdom to differentiate between the right and wrong yet.**

**An important issue in this vein is that the stigma of the co-education system tends to affect girls more than boys, in a society where the value of 'boys can take the burden of their own shames' seems to be extremely efficient, in spite of its contradiction to values stressed by Islam.**

**These issues are at the core of the study's evaluative dimensions in Kuwaitis' reactions to the various language varieties in general and Kuwaiti/English code-switching (K/E CS) in particular. My research is designed as an effort to establish where and by whom particular ideological values are held, and how people take code-use to be indexically related to particular ideological constructions.**

### **2.3 Why research language attitudes?**

**Reasons for studying language attitudes are dependent on the focus of the study.**

**Pointing to various foci of language attitudes, Baker (1992: 29) introduces the following list:**

- 1. Attitudes to language variation, dialect and speech style**
- 2. Attitudes to learning a new language**
- 3. Attitudes to a minority language**
- 4. Attitudes to language groups, communities and minorities**
- 5. Attitudes to language lessons**
- 6. Parental attitudes to language learning**
- 7. Attitudes to the uses of a specific language**
- 8. Attitudes to language preference**

Garrett et al. (2003) mention that it may be difficult to distinguish attitudes to language varieties from attitudes to community-members who use them. They further mention that researching language attitudes of teenagers in those schools will inevitably raise issues in connection with 3, 4 and 8 of the above mentioned focuses. I therefore propose that, as the present study is concerned with a bilingual community (children drawn from private schools), it is very likely to implicate at least five of the listed foci (namely to 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8), though with a major concern to the first of these: attitudes to language variation, dialect and speech style.

In describing the importance of language attitudes research, Garrett et al. (2003) present the various reasons for which researchers from different fields may wish to conduct such studies. Coupland, Williams and Garrett (1999) summarise the significance of researching language attitudes in gaining insights into stereotyping in terms of personal or social attributes, impact on communication outcomes and language change. For Garrett and his associates, language attitudes are believed to 'affect our responses to language users; enable us to predict others' reactions to our own language, leading to either converge or diverge our speech in order to gain the reactions we seek from others (Garrett et al., 2003: 7). Language attitudes may therefore provide researchers with a backdrop for explaining linguistic variation and change.

Ennaji (2002) proposes that the attitude of the code-mixer toward the cultures of the two mixed languages is crucial in the assessment of the linguistic profile of the speaker. The more favourable, the more code mixing practice is used. Ladegaard (2001) claims that attitudinal studies can be used to verify whether national stereotypes have a basis in social reality. Coupland and his co-workers (1999) further suggest that 'In territories where there is language contact, the study of attitudes and perceptions can help us to achieve a better understanding of language maintenance and change, language decay or revival, cultural

continuity, and issues of identity' (1999: 333). Lewis (1975) similarly argues that attitudes towards a language affect the vitality of that language within a society. Languages' vitality is a measure of their survival or erosion. Bourhis and Sachdev (1984) argue that attitudes to certain language varieties may reflect the vitality of those varieties within a society.

In this vein, Giles et al. (1977) developed taxonomy of factors that objectively categorize ethnolinguistic groups in terms of their ability to survive as distinctive entities in intergroup settings. According to Giles and his associates, status, demography and institutional support are three main factors that work in combination to make up the groups' objective ethnolinguistic vitalities. Groups with low vitality are anticipated to assimilate linguistically within groups who show high ethnolinguistic vitality. In an attempt to incorporate the construct into various models, Bourhis and Sachdev (1984) indicated a positive relationship between perceived vitality and language attitudes. The results of their study also suggested a positive relationship between the demography of the immediate school settings, perceptions of vitality and attitudes towards language usage. But criticizing the inflexibility of objective vitality analysis, Bourhis et al. (1981) introduced 'subjective' vitality perceptions as an important determinant of the ethnolinguistic groups. Sachdev and his co-workers (1987) suggested the utilization of both a Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) along with objective assessments of the groups' vitalities for an optimal prediction of language behaviour and attitudes. As language is described as the most salient attribute of group membership, though such salience may be a fluctuating one (Giles and Coupland, 1991), language attitudes studies may reflect communities' levels of cohesion.

Fishman (1977) describes the links between language and other attributes of group membership as 'paternity/maternity' attributes. He further states that while paternity features, such as skin colour, religion and costumes, may be the key for the way an individual perceives his own ethnicity, maternity features, represented by an individual's

language or dialect may be described as the key to the way others perceive people's ethnicity. Suleiman (1994, in Lawson) argues that the link tends to be even stronger in the Arabic-speaking world. In Kuwait, for example, as I have suggested, Kuwaiti tends to strongly index Kuwaitis identity, both locally and nationally. This view emerged very vividly during my preliminary interviews, where many of the discussants expressed their concerns about whether the new generation would be able to claim their Kuwaitiness if they continue to use such 'broken' language - referring to Kuwaiti English code-switching. For many, there is a strong association between national and religious identities. They tend to look at them as two sides of the same coin.

In light of the significance of researching language attitudes, I hope that the present investigation of the community's attitudes towards K/E CS will provide a basis for assessing whether there is likely to be a shift in the native speech variety in Kuwait - a shift that might be led by a prevalence of K/E CS within the next generation. Such a shift is believed by some to push the community into gradual linguistic 'decay' and consequently into cultural change - a change that might affect the community's unity. Accordingly, I hope that the study will highlight whether Kuwait is undergoing a linguistic and cultural change, and whether such issues might lead to the community's protectionism policy as a reaction measure to re-establish its linguistic and cultural cohesion. The study should also help in exploring the range of cultural identities that exist among Kuwaitis, and in establishing the difficulty or ease of projecting one over the other. Due to the fact that this study mainly focuses on Kuwaiti/ English code-switching, I hope it will highlight the stereotypical views of people who practise the variety within Kuwaiti society, and assess the intensity of those views.

Within the field of second language learning, attitudes to a certain language have been considered a potential mediator of language behaviour. It is believed that people who

hold positive attitudes to a language may be more likely able to learn or to speak the language than those who hold negative attitudes towards the language (Matsuyama, 2001). The idea holds a crucial implication in educational research, particularly in areas such as language planning. For example, Baker (1992) stresses the importance of language attitude as both an input and output factor. To illustrate, Baker mentions that people holding strongly favourable attitudes towards Welsh tend to reach higher achievement levels in Welsh than those whose attitudes are less favourable. Success in a Welsh-language course may, on the other hand, nurture a more favourable attitude towards the language. Matsuyama (2001) states that researching people's attitudes may reflect into their approval of the application of a certain language in institutions such as schools, mass media, or governmental services. Such approval is believed to be an important factor in the success of language plans and policies. Language planning also influences the way people react to language varieties. Ennaji (1988), for example, argues that language planning in Morocco has its impact on language attitudes. Educated bilingual Moroccans tend to be supportive of Arabic-French code mixing, while those exposed to 'Arabisation' (received education solely in Classical Arabic) tend to reject the practice of code mixing. I argue here that researching attitudes to language varieties in Kuwait will help us understand the success of various linguistic policies within different educational systems. It might become possible to predict the success of future language policies in the country. The findings of the present study will also help the educators to evaluate existing schools' linguistic policies.

A further objective for language attitudes studies is 'to understand what it is that determines and defines these attitudes' (Garrett et al. 2003: 13). Considering the fact that the study examines a community which is certainly very different from western societies, I claim that the current study aims to shed the light on the nature of attitudes in terms of finding whether new attitudinal dimensions might be at work. More than just using the



matched guise technique in assessing the way this community perceives Kuwaiti/English code-switching, I aim to assess the appropriateness of using narratives as the basic elicitation trigger or stimulus in a modified matched guise approach. This is mainly going to be done by including an open-ended question at the beginning of the questionnaire, which should reflect on the extent to which participants' judgments are mediated by the content of the stories or the prosodic features of the speakers. The study also aims to assess the significance of including a language recognition item in language attitude studies. Both concepts will be revisited later, in Chapter 4.

To summarize, the present study aims to fulfill two types of objectives; the first is to explore the nature of language attitude studies in a unique environment where new dimensions may prove to be at work; and the second is to investigate attitudes to three spoken language varieties: Kuwaiti, English and K/E code-switching in schools with different educational schemes with a special focus on the latter, and with the objective of exploring the social stereotypes attached to K/E code-switching as a newly practised language variety that appears to be on the increase.

#### **2.4 Why research language attitudes within the educational setting?**

Edwards (1982) points out that language attitudes tend to have their greatest effects within the educational setting since teachers' inaccurate expectations may 'unfairly hinder children in their school life and beyond' (op cit.: 28). In this vein, Edwards explains that teachers are prone to hold generalized expectations based on their students' style of speech. Edwards adds, 'there is little doubt that, in regular classroom settings, teachers do form judgments of pupils; this is surely not a controversial statement' (op cit.: 28). Garrett and his co-workers (2003) point to the importance of researching the degree to which teachers' judgments of students might be affected by students' features of speech, 'particularly given

the status-stressing environment of schools, and the commonly found drive towards prescriptivism and an ideology of linguistic correctness' (op cit.: 83). Seligman, Lambert and Tucker (1972) have similarly pointed to the great value in studying teachers' attitudes towards their students' speech styles. As they argue, 'if a teacher's attitudes or expectations can play such a crucial role in the determination of pupils' academic success, it would seem valuable to examine some of the factors which contribute to the formation of these expectations' (op cit.:131). Teachers' perceptions are described as being rather special due to the fact that they are 'in a position directly to hinder a child's early success if they hold and act upon overly generalized views' (Edwards, 1982: 30). Being described as a key professional group in the social evaluation of linguistic style, Coupland et al. (1994) explain that teachers may play 'a potentially crucial role as gatekeepers and agents in the reproduction of sociolinguistic values' (op cit.: 475). In their study of the social meanings of Welsh English, Coupland and his co-workers point out that it is important to study the stereotyped social meanings that teachers attach to the surrounding varieties, as this may provide some useful information about the ideological bases of their interventions in their students' language usage at schools. The study of the way teachers evaluate students based on linguistic cues may even facilitate teachers in their efforts to help their students overcome negative evaluations made by others or even by themselves. Edwards (1982) states that 'if we wish teachers to alter their views, we should give them evidence that they are right to do so' (op cit.: 30).

Choy and Dodd (1976) investigated how teachers' assessment of pupils may be related to the children's speech style. Reactions to children's speech style have constantly shown Standard English speakers being perceived to be more confident, less disruptive and more likely to achieve better academic and social success than children who use, for example, Hawaiian English. A somewhat similar result was obtained from a study

conducted by Granger et al. (1977). In this study, teachers' evaluations of African American children's speech compared to European American children's speech in the US seem to be less attending to 'what' a child said rather than to 'how' he said it.

The way teachers may evaluate speakers has been attributed to the social placement of judges. Coupland et al. (1999), for example, proposed that teachers who are predominantly bilingual or even surrounded by a bilingual community may have different perceptions of the various language varieties from those who are predominantly monolinguals - a finding that has been partly associated with familiarity/unfamiliarity effects of the linguistic cues. Such a difference does not seem to be exclusive to teachers. Bearing in mind that the educational context may initiate a change in language attitudes, students are also prone to have more or less favourable attitudes towards various language varieties depending on linguistic ideologies, as they are overtly or covertly nurtured in schools. Sharp et al. (1973), for example, stated that schools fostering bilingual education tend to create a more tolerable atmosphere to the languages presented within their schools. A sample from the designated Welsh-English bilingual schools tends to have more favourable attitudes to Welsh than children from Welsh heartland areas. A number of complications have been proposed by Baker (1992) on whether the causal factors are located within parental values, peer group pressure, local community or even a result of the interaction between school factors and out of school factors.

## **2.5 Why teenagers?**

Age of the respondent has also been considered important in language attitudes studies. Two crucial issues should be raised at this point. The first is the age at which a child gains awareness of the social significance of language variations. It seems that determining the age at which children develop their language attitudes is controversial. Labov (1965), for

example, claimed that children gain awareness of the social significance of their speech style by their early adolescence. Other studies (see the review in Day, 1982), on the other hand, claimed that children may develop such awareness at a much earlier age, even before they start their primary education. Some studies indicated that children seem to become aware of the social significance of language variation by the age of 10 or 11 (see Day, 1982; Giles and Sassoon, 1983). Furthermore, other studies propose that age 15 marks the end of the attitudinal shift period (see Baker, 1988). Garrett et al. (1999), justify their focus on teenage students in that the period tends to be particularly salient within the period of social sensitization, 'as young people establish social identities and positions that will influence their employment and relational decisions in the near future' (op cit.: 325). Garrett and his co-workers also mention that during adolescence, children tend to develop more positive attitudes towards the majority variety (see also Giles et al., 1979; Lambert et al., 1975).

Age difference is described to crucially influence the way people evaluate speakers. Garrett et al. (2003), for example, claimed that their study of Welsh communities in the UK shows that teachers and teenagers differ in their reactions to linguistic standardness (regional accents versus RP), where teachers tend to display higher levels of allegiance to the non-Welsh variety, when compared to teenagers scaled responses. This may be as a result of the fact that the younger generation has been associated with the ethnic preservation activities, including preserving the groups' ethnic language variety. Such a discrepancy, I believe, may lead to a conflict within a school environment where the school's objectives will be more difficult to fulfill. Considering the fact that schools are the best setting where teenagers can be accessed in large numbers, I decided to conduct the present study in schools nurturing a variety of educational policies.

## **2.6 Methodological approaches to language attitudes**

Views that people of a community hold toward the contrasting language varieties have been investigated within several disciplinary perspectives. Sociologically, language is seen as ‘a content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships’ (Fishman, 1971: 1). Researchers within this field have utilized content analyses and questionnaire/interview methods as means of attitudinal elicitation. Sociolinguists, on the other hand, tend to emphasize that specific linguistic features are associated with the characteristics of the social group and situational contexts in which they occur and hence result in inferences listeners make about these associations (Labov, 1966). Social psychologists stress the individual’s attitudes toward ingroup/outgroup members as reflected in their/his use of language varieties.

Research within this field has mainly followed the lead of Lambert (1967) involving eliciting of listeners’ reactions toward speakers of particular varieties. Two opposing theories of attitude-language relations were proposed by a number of researchers. Lewis (1975), for example, introduced the idea of the ‘imposed norm’, where it is pointed out that language attitudes do not reflect any linguistic or aesthetic inherited quality, but ‘rather are expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties’ (Edwards, 1982: 21). The idea seems to oppose the ‘inherent-value’ hypothesis (see Giles et al. 1979), where it is argued that listeners’ evaluative reactions are generated by the sounds of a language rather than where the language is anchored geographically or socially. In other words, a group of judges will react to a certain speech variety, regardless of the correct/incorrect identification of the variety. Brown et al. (1975) supported this idea by showing that their Anglo-American sample was able to differentiate between French Canadian speakers in terms of their social class, although they had no knowledge of French. Garrett et al. (2003: 90),

however, account for such finding by suggesting that ‘there are sufficiently general correlations between phonetic/prosodic realizations and broad socio-demographic categories to allow interpretations of this sort to be made, however partially or inaccurately’. Garrett and his co-workers have accordingly called for the need to address the issue of ‘recognition’ in attitudinal studies under the belief of its close association to listeners’ affective and evaluative processes.

A diverse set of research techniques have been employed in attitudinal studies. According to Ryan, Giles and Hewstone (1988), approaches to language attitudes can be divided into three: a content analysis approach; a direct approach; and an indirect approach. Each approach is described as having its own strength and weaknesses. In the next section, I overview each of the above-mentioned approaches. A more detailed account will be introduced for the indirect approach, as it is the main elicitation technique in chapter 4..

### 2.6.1 *A content analysis approach*

This approach is also referred to as the *societal treatment approach*. Using participant observation and ethnographic studies as well as analysis of a host of sources within the community’s public domain, this approach enables the researcher to gain insights into the relative status of the language varieties within certain communities. The method can be qualitative and informal, and is best seen as a ‘source of convergent validity to data collected through direct or indirect methods’ (Garrett et al., 2003:16). Knops and Van Hout (1988) state that this approach tends to be more suitable for situations where respondents may only be accessed within unnatural conditions or when only little time or space is available for the researcher to conduct a study on certain speech communities. Lieberman (1981), for example, studied language shift/maintenance in Montreal based on the number of employment advertisements in French newspapers that require English-

French bilingual abilities. Through such comparisons, the study infers ingroup/outgroup attitudes to the competing languages. In a comment made by Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), this approach has been described as very useful for gaining the first source of information about views on language varieties within the speech community. Ryan et al. (1982) have classified autobiographical, observational and case study approaches under this category. The method does not involve explicit requests for the respondents' views and reactions to certain language varieties, and therefore is described by researchers within this field as the least obtrusive method. It tends, however, to be imprecise and can fail to provide directly contrastive results.

#### 2.6.2 *A direct approach*

This approach tends to be more obtrusive, in the sense that it uses direct questioning about the language varieties. Within such an approach, respondents may be approached through the use of questionnaire and/or interviews which employ a number of direct questions of the way they evaluate the speech and the speakers of various language varieties. Unlike the former approach, this approach is less dependent on the researcher's inferences of the community's attitudes from the observed behaviours. Garrett et al. (2003) include perceptual dialectological and folklinguistic techniques (Preston, 1989) under the direct approach. Garrett and his co-workers have anticipated the problems within such methods as being related to question formation, hence making the preparation of such questions extremely important. Another problem that has been pointed out is 'social desirability bias'. This is the 'tendency for people to give sociably appropriate responses to questions' (op cit.: 28). 'Acquiescence bias' (Ostrom et al., 1994. cited in Garrett et al., 2003: 29) refers to the respondents' tendency to agree or disagree with some items just to gain the researcher's approval. This tendency is believed to be less troublesome in

questionnaires than it is in interviews because of the latter's face-to-face nature. The two former problems are believed to be more affective in certain situations and with people with certain personality traits. Issues that hold more personal sensitivity or which are less likely to have been thought through are described to be more vulnerable to social desirability and acquiescence biases (Garrett et al., 2003). Ryan (1979) points out that one problem with the direct measures lies in the interpretation of the subjects' responses. In this vein, Knops and Van Hout (1988: 7) question the researcher's ability in interpreting subjects' verbal statements as 'manifestations of the same underlying dispositions'. Another problem tends to be asking people directly about their feelings towards a certain speech variety. This seems likely to reflect a partial picture of the subjects' attitudes to that variety, in which respondents tend to report their overt attitudes which people hold in public, and which in many cases, do not seem to correspond to people's privately held attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003).

### 2.6.3 *An indirect approach*

In an attempt to control difficulties encountered within the direct techniques (including social desirability and acquiescence bias), and aiming to elicit covert language attitudes rather than overt ones, indirect measures of people's language attitudes have been applied by a number of researchers. Within this approach, a researcher applies the techniques without the subjects' awareness of the purpose of those measures. Knops and Van Hout (1988) describe the terminology as misleading and hence prefer the use of the term 'disguised measurement'. Garrett et al. (2003) point out that the indirect approach is generally seen as synonymous with the *matched-guise technique* (MGT), a technique that was first introduced by Lambert et al. (1960). Within the technique, the researcher investigates the way the respondents evaluate speakers of certain language varieties by the



means of a questionnaire. Matsuyama (2001) describes the technique to be particularly useful in measuring attitudes to accents or speech styles within the same language. The 'procedure is built on the assumption that speech style triggers certain social categorizations which will lead to a set of group-related trait inferences' (Giles and Coupland, 1991: 34) The method uses recordings of certain language varieties as a 'stimulus' for in-group and out-group evaluations. Suggesting that the audiences' reactions depend only on the speakers' linguistic cues, other features of the speech including prosodic and paralinguistic features as well as other aspects of style and expressiveness should be kept constant. Typically, MGT involves playing tape-recordings of the speech varieties under the study's investigation for a number of listeners who rate each speaker on a number of perceived personality traits. A single speaker is recorded reading the same 'factually neutral' passage in the required range of language varieties and the speech samples should be verified by a number of judges for their appropriateness in the representation of the required varieties. Playing the speech recordings, listeners are then asked to evaluate the speakers on a number of personality traits.

Researchers have mentioned the strengths and weaknesses of the technique. In their summary of the most commonly claimed successes of the MGT, Garrett et al. (2003) pointed to the fact that the technique may reveal people's covert attitudes, which may be difficult to reach through the direct questioning of the respondents. Another advantage is that the technique has led to the recognition of the judgment clusters of *status* versus *solidarity* traits, and this dual structure of language attitudes has proved to be a key part of the sociolinguistic ecology of language variation. The original MGT has been also criticized by many researchers. Edwards (1982), for example, pointed out that since the technique tends to measure subjects' attitudes to representative speakers of certain language varieties, one may argue that it does not measure listeners' attitudes to the language varieties in their

own right. He therefore posed the question of whether people 'would behave differentially to speakers with different speech styles' (Edwards, 1982, cited in Knops and Van Hout, 1988: 8) The other problem is that the technique does not consider speakers' abilities to modify their speech styles in different contexts and at various linguistic levels. Bradac et al. (2001) also point to several shortcomings within the technique. Firstly, the technique presupposes that speakers of the studied varieties are equally skilled in presenting each dialect version. Violation of such assumption may result in attributing respondents' evaluative reactions to the language varieties while they are in fact 'a product of idiosyncratic differences in speaker fluency' (Bradac et al. 2001: 140). Secondly, the technique has been criticized for being 'αcontextual' as it presents messages in 'a contextual vacuum'. The strategy is believed to generate common inferences about the hidden context which may constitute a problematic unexamined intervening variable (Bradac et al. 2001: 140). A third critique has pointed to the use of verbal scales and paper-pencil measures in the questionnaires. A disadvantage for such a tool is the respondents' high awareness of the measurement process, which may not be generalisable to many real-world situations. Bradac et al. (2001) mention that the technique pre-assumes the sufficiency of linguistic features in triggering evaluative reactions in hearers, neglecting hearers' cognitive and emotional states that may inhibit or facilitate such reactions. They therefore present a model that focuses on the psychological states of the hearers as a variable that affects their reactions to communicators. To illustrate the point, Bradac and his co-workers mention that although attitudes towards a language are one basis for evaluative reactions, they are not the only basis. They therefore presented a model in which a hearer's attitudes toward a language may interact with goals, expectations and level of processing in the production of responses. Their model presents the speaker, hearer and responses as three components for the evaluative reactions. Another problem associated with the matched guise paradigm is the

misidentification of the language variety under the scope of the study. The question of whether the listeners are able to correctly identify the accents has been rarely addressed. With the exceptions of Bayard et al. (2001) and Garrett et al. (1999), previous language attitude research has constantly excluded information about the speakers' social groups. Such information is described to be very important as listeners may not know where the speakers are from, or may even misidentify the speakers of a certain variety to be from some other place (Preston, 1993). This raises concerns of whether matched guise studies are measuring attitudes towards the intended group.

Garrett and his co-workers (2003) listed a number of technical problems within the technique in its original form. The routine of providing the judges with the repeated message content of a reading passage is suggested to project certain variables that might not be as salient as they are introduced outside the experimental environment. Other problems are described to be authenticity and neutrality problems. The fact that the technique utilizes speakers, who read out a 'factually neutral text' to elicit judges' evaluative reactions, tends to ignore the impact of the formality factor in language attitudes. Furthermore, the claim of using factually neutral texts is itself controversial.

In this vein, it is impossible to overcome all these limitations, but that the decision I made in this research to work with 'natural' (narratives) data avoids at least some of the main limitations.

## **2.7 Attitude rating scales**

Literature in language attitudes research points to three types of attitude rating scales: Thurstone, Likert and Semantic Differential. In a Thurstone scale, a number of attitude statements are derived from the literature and from a pilot study. Those statements are then demonstrated to a group of judges who are asked to rank them into 11 piles, with

the most appropriate statements to go into pile one, less appropriate to go into pile two, etc., and the least appropriate to go into pile 11. The researcher should then make a comparison among the statements under the various piles and throw out statements that are placed on very different piles. Applying a set of calculations, the statements are arranged to provide the number of points that the researcher prefers to have on the final scale. The set is finally randomly re-ordered on a questionnaire, where each statement has its pre-determined scale value for the researcher. Clearly, such a scale can be considered highly reliable, however the approach tends to be very laborious and time consuming for the researcher. Oppenheim (1992) describes the technique as problematic if the scales are used cross-culturally, or across long time duration, where words' meanings may have profoundly changed.

Likert scales, on the other hand, utilise a balance of positive and negative statements that are pooled from a group of people comparable to the actual number of participants in the main study. A group of related statements are then gathered under one unifying item, providing a single score for each respondent. Such groups are ideally formed based on a factor analysis that groups inter-related statements under different subcomponents.

Semantic Differential Scales are believed to closely associate with the indirect approach to language attitudes (Garrett et al. 2003), where judges rate speakers on a number of semantic differential scales (e.g. honest/dishonest, rich/poor). The scale ratings are then analysed to form the broader evaluative dimensions at work. Garrett and his co-workers say that such broad dimensions are well established in language attitudes research thanks to the wealth of attitudinal studies. This could be the reason why some researchers decide to use previously documented scales within the literature. According to Garrett et al. (2003), recycling the well-documented set of evaluative scales may lead to the negligence of other dimensions that might be at work when dealing with different populations. Seeking to use evaluative scales that make sense to the sample under the study, some researchers prefer

using scales derived from their own preliminary work (Ball et al., 1984). Garrett et al. (2003) describe the process of transforming the pools of items into their final set of labels as problematic, especially when the study involves young adults. To illustrate, they suggest that during the process, researchers may finally use 'tidied up' adult versions of items, encountering the risk of designing evaluations produced within the adolescent culture to 'overt' values, 'in line with the idea that teenagers of this age have developed 'adult-like' attitudes (Garret et al., 2003: 64). Another limitation of semantic-differential scales is connected to the nature of the selected items in attitudinal studies. According to Osgood et al. (1957), three important lexical qualities of the items should be respected. The first is gradeability, allowing us to assess the intensity of an attitude. The second is antonymy, indicating the direction of a certain attitude. The third is universality in meaning of the utilized labels, which, according to Garrett et al. (2003) might be irrational to assume, especially amongst adolescence culture. Hence, in the process of collecting a number of semantic-differential scales, labels that lack the above mentioned features may be thrown away by the researcher, a situation that may lead to the loss of some meaningful labels to the population under the study. Such problematic issues might be best resolved through merging such quantitative data, derived from the questionnaires, with open-ended data, derived from focus-group interviews and free-response questions, not only as a useful preliminary work to ensure the meaningfulness of the items on the designed questionnaire, but also as an independent data that helps to explain the limitations of the mere use of scale ratings within attitudinal studies (Garrett et al., 2003).

The number of points on each scale seems to raise another controversy in the field. Whereas Likert (1932) proposed a five-point scale, other researchers suggest a seven-point scale as it may add finer gradation to the scale, making the scale more sensitive to smaller differences (Garrett et al. 2003). Having an odd number of points on scale arguably allows

respondents to mark neutral responses. Oppenheim (1992) however points out that the midpoint in the scale might add more ambiguity to the scale, as it might be a reflection of uncertainty rather than neutrality to the issue under investigation. This has led some researchers to apply an even number of points in spite of its inefficiency in reflecting a neutral stance. It seems, however, that the odd-point number is more commonly used, 'with researchers preferring to live with the ambiguity of the mid-point' (Garrett et al. 2003: 41).

## **2.8 Alternatives to MGT**

Acknowledging some of the shortcomings of the original MGT, researchers have designed various alternatives to the technique. According to Knop and Van Hout (1988), the alternative techniques may be grouped into two major groups. One group tried to develop research in a more naturalistic setting. Researchers within this group have employed an elicitation task based on the subjects' behavioural reactions instead of their feelings and opinions about the speakers of a certain language variety. The researcher should then be able to infer the subjects' language attitudes based on the elicited behaviours. Another group of researchers (Bourhis et al., 1975; Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, 1988; Giles, 1973; Simard et al., 1976; Thakerar et al., 1982) has realized the dynamic nature of people's language attitudes. This group has taken into consideration that the speakers change speech varieties within the different social situations. Researchers within this group implement a method that allows the judges to hear a speaker's change of his used style of speech based on a change of the social situation and with different interlocutors. Ball et al. (1984), for example, tried to study the way that observers evaluate interviewees based on whether they converged or diverged from the Australian-accented English interviewers.

Instead of using one speaker to represent the various varieties, some studies have used a number of speakers to produce the audio-recordings. The technique has been

sometimes referred to as the 'verbal-guise' technique (Gallois and Callan, 1981). The technique solves two problems: practicality problems associated with the difficulties in finding a single speaker who can efficiently represent the various varieties under the study; and authenticity problems associated with the original technique. For example, Garrett (1992), in his study of reactions to the accented English produced by foreigners' learners of English used three different French speakers of English to represent the French accented English with 'broad', 'mild' and 'hyper-correct' accents. Another three Spanish speakers of English were also used to represent the same three varieties within the Spanish accented English. Garrett et al. (2003) suggest that 'it would have been both futile and doubtless detrimental to the realistic rendering of the variants to search for a single person to aim at producing all of these six recordings' (Garrett et al. 2003: 54).

Other researchers, on the other hand, made a considerable effort to generate more spontaneous speech as stimuli. The technique, it has been claimed, escapes the laboratory setting of the original MGT. El-Dash and Tucker (1976), for example, generated verbal guises in RP, US English, Egyptian English, Egyptian Arabic and Classical Arabic. Rather than getting speakers of the various varieties to read out 'factually neutral' texts, the speakers' were given the chance to speak freely about a certain topic. Garrett et al. (2003) used narratives of teenagers as a stimulus for the evaluative reactions of their respondents. The use of such stimulus is described to be more natural than other types of talk because they are designed to work as small-scale performance events (op cit.:149). Describing them as 'performance events', Garrett and his associates justified the story telling activity as follows:

We intend the term 'performance' in a technical sense, distinguished, for example, from more general terms such as 'talk', 'speech' or 'language behaviour'. We mean to imply that, within the constraints of the classroom situation, the storytelling activities that we recorded for later evaluation were 'performance events'. (Garrett et al. 2003: 148).

Within the current study, I employ the story-telling activity as an elicitation technique. My decision has taken into consideration the fact that the study aims to investigate teenagers' reactions to certain speech varieties and therefore needs a stimulus that successfully involves such young informants during a lengthy questionnaire administration. Referring back to the problem of acontextuality of the other used instruments, I argue that the story-telling activity might have a better opportunity to escape the problem. Using a speech event and genre in which people describe personal stories among friends of similar ages and who share similar linguistic attributes might present the audiences with the needed context. In spite of the fact that the stories are presented in a school domain, I argue that this speech event in particular, will have less influence on the audiences' evaluative responses. This is because, although the event takes place in schools where formality is expected to be very much adhered to, such a performance may escape the so called 'formal setting' as a result of the informants' being engaged in an informal setting of every day speech taking place amongst friends. The researcher should ensure, however, a complete recognition of the context by the audience. It is worth mentioning here that queries about the age of the speakers and their audience; and whether the speakers share the same linguistic attributes, were raised by a number of participants during the pilot questionnaire and focus-group interviewing. I therefore recommend that the use of this particular approach should be accompanied by an explanation to respondents of the speakers, the original audience and the setting where the speech event took place.

Having raised problems associated with both broad types of measures - direct and indirect measures - Ryan (1979) suggests the joint use of direct and indirect measures as a cross-validation technique. Justified by the impossibility of obtaining neutral texts, Giles and Coupland (1991) suggest approaching language attitudes in part from a discursive perspective. Such an approach is believed to 'attend to processes of meaning generation and



to the way we come to construct our language attitudes, inside and beyond established MGT practices. It would explore alternative, undoubtedly less elegant methods, through which these processes are amenable to analyses' (op cit.: 54).

Lindemann (2003), on the other hand, suggests a more societal approach where evaluations of language varieties may be considered as part of a larger concept - language ideology. Ideological analysis is, as I suggested earlier, an important backdrop to any investigation of language variation and change (see Gal and Irvine, 1995). The term ideology generally refers to 'a patterned but naturalized set of assumptions and values associated with a particular social or cultural group' (Garrett et al. 2003:11). According to this paradigm, the earlier-mentioned misidentification might not be problematic as 'the supposed characteristics of the language may be directly associated with the supposed characteristics of the people, even if the listener has not identified them correctly' (Lindemann, 2003:354). Lindemann further explains that it is the question of which groups the listeners see as important to the way they organize their social world that tends to influence the people's language attitudes to a certain variety. His argument has been backed up by the findings of Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) where the predicted evaluations of Scottish, Southern Irish, Ulster and RP varieties were obtained even when listeners were unable to identify the accent correctly. A more recent study (Dailey-O' Cain, 1999) has also indicated similar results in evaluation of various German dialects. Accordingly, they suggest that the ideological framework may function more solidly in the way people may react to speakers of different language varieties than language attitudes.

## **2.9 Attitudes to language varieties in the Arab World**

Research on language attitudes in the Arab World has focused on different aspects of language varieties. A number of researchers have focused on attitudes towards certain

phoneme realizations within a local language variety. In Jordan, for example, the investigated attitudes towards the realizations of phoneme /q/ amongst educated Palestinians showed a tendency of evaluating phoneme [q] more favourably than [k]. Attitudes towards the various local language varieties were another focal point in the Arab World. Benrabah (1994), for example, investigated attitudes towards rural (Bedouin) and urban (sedentary) varieties of Algerian Arabic in his analysis of linguistic change in the region. Results of his study showed that young female Algerians produced more favourable attitudes towards the use of sedentary Algerian variety implying the 'linguistic urbanisation' of the local language variety in Algeria (Benrabah, 1994: 223). Another group of studies focused on the various Arabic dialects across the Arab World. In this vein, Herbolich (1979) investigated Egyptians' attitudes towards Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi and Libyan local dialects proposed to represent the major regional vernacular varieties across the Arab World. The study indicated the following preference order from the most to the least preferable varieties: Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi and Libyan.

The literature also explores attitudes towards both Arabic and foreign language varieties. El-Dash and Tucker (1976), for example, explored Egyptian students' attitudes, not only towards Arabic speech varieties, but also towards English varieties in Egypt. Investigating participants' evaluative reactions to Classical Arabic (CA), Egyptian Arabic (EA), Egyptian accented English (EE), British English (BE) and American English (AE) on differing personality traits, as suggested by the Egyptian participants, they presented a rank order of the varieties in the following order: CA, EE, AE, EA, BE. On the religiousness dimension, the study's results suggest favourability of the two Arabic varieties over the three English varieties. Lawson (2001) points to a problem of perception that may have functioned in the presented hierarchy in relation to the English varieties in particular. To illustrate the point, Lawson reports a crucial validity problem associated with the likelihood

of the respondents to have incorrectly identified the speakers of the three English varieties to relatively misrepresent the three English varieties (EE, BE and AE), leading to an invalid hierarchy of those language varieties in particular. She therefore poses the idea of including an identification item within any language questionnaire as a validity measure.

In terms of dimensionality, alongside the conventional status/solidarity dimensions, two important issues have mainly ideologised in the way people react to different language varieties: 'modernism' and 'authenticity' in this part of the world. The first, 'modernism', emphasizes the instrumental uniformities required by modern politico-operational integration which is constantly aiming towards newer and more efficient solutions to today's and tomorrow's problems. Authenticity, on the other hand, accentuates 'the sentimental uniformities required by continuity-based sociocultural integration [struggling] toward purer, more genuine expressions of the heritage of yesterday and long ago' (Fishman 1972: 20- 21). An attitudinal study in Tunisia indicates that both the vernacular Arabic variety and the standard variety are associated with authenticity. This is represented in the role of Arabic (in both its varieties) in linking Tunisians with the heritage and past greatness of the Arabs, the religious significance of the language, the unity of the population to the rest of the Arab world, a means of national and ethnic distinctiveness and finally the aesthetic vs. affective features of vernacular vs. standard varieties. French, on the other hand tends to be more associated with the Tunisian's desires to modernize and open Tunisia to the outside world through its population link to the West (Stevens, 1983). A similar profile seems to exist in Kuwait. The preliminary interviews have revealed some strong ties between the investigated language varieties and Islam. The bond tends to be even stronger with issues related to the speakers' local and national identities. This could be partly related to the fact that in Kuwait, just like in the rest of the Arab world, Kuwaitis tend to strongly associate their local identity to the religious identity, represented in Islam. On the other hand, code-

switching tends to be associated with modern life and prosperity for some (see section 2.9 for illustration).

Language attitudes have also been studied in relation to linguistic representations. Gueunier (1997) points to a later term to be determinantal in language attitudes, i.e. 'linguistic representation'. For Gueunier, representations underlying attitudes can only be discovered from the discourse through a less constrained or free conversations in which they are expressed, and may only be accessed through further proceeding using qualitative techniques. Although the term, linguistic representation, is described to be a latecomer within the field of sociolinguistics, Gueunier mentions that other scholars have explicitly noted a special interest in the notion within the early attitudinal studies, though without naming it. The idea seems to be present within other terms such as attitude, feeling, opinion, vision or image (see Milroy and Milroy, 1985). Some other terms have been introduced by Bernstein and Labov such as underlying ideologies, affective values or social malaise. Gueunier (2003) has used two methodologies of description for linguistic attitudes and their underlying linguistic representations (see also Gueunier and Haddad, 1993); a quantitative computation of linguistic security/insecurity and a qualitative discourse analysis that completes and corrects the obtained results of the first methodology. Implementing the two heterogeneous methodologies, Gueunier hopes that the advantages of one would make up for the disadvantages of the other.

Throwing light on the linguistic representations within the Mediterranean territories, Gueunier (2003) points to two types of prevailing representations; one from a political point of view and the other from a religious point of view. Using Lebanon as an example, Gueunier illustrates that French is associated with Christianity, Arabic with Islam and English with business (Gueunier and Haddad, 1993). Examining the Lebanese ideologized linguistic representations may be obtainable through analyzing the community's *metonymies*

Gueunier et al. (1993) stated that French was considered as 'women's tongue' or 'salon speech'. The idea suggests a representation of French as the language of culture. Arabic is associated by its critics to 'Bedouins', 'desert' and 'camels'. An attitudinal study in Algeria shows that while Arabic has been associated with Islam, French and Berber are associated with colonization (Manzano, 1996).

Analyzing the discursive genres, Gueunier et al., (1993) mentions a saying that is collectively recorded in Lebanon: 'you are as many men as the languages you know.' The saying is believed to translate a common linguistic attitude to most Lebanese showing the community's appreciation of multilingualism.

In summary, traditional quantitative attitude theory has been criticized for its inability in dealing with three major problems: 'First, the meaning of interpretation given to the terms in the attitude scale; second, the translation between participants' discourse and analysts' categories; and third, the treatment of linguistic products as transparent indicators of underlying objects or dispositions' (Kotter et al., 1987: 45). To illustrate, the authors explain that the traditional approach assumes the unambiguity of category membership, the coherency of the examiner's transformations of the subjects' responses and the reliability of the researchers' translations of participants' responses into the underlying theoretical category of attitude. The three problems are believed to be best resolved through implementing a discourse analysis approach that enables the researcher to 'put some flesh on the notion of variability in accounts along with the idea that accounts are constructed to have specific consequences' (op cit.: 43). They believe that a brief analysis of extracts from interviews may highlight a number of crucial neglected issues within the traditional paradigm.

Expecting such ideologized representations to underlie Kuwaitis' attitudes to the varieties under investigation, I intend to proceed with focus group interviewing in order to

gain a more in-depth insight, to supplement the findings of my quantitative research, and to resolve ambiguity problems associated with the quantitative methodology. As Garrett and his associates mention, focus-group interviewing may be utilized at the preliminary stages of attitudinal surveys to ensure that the survey items capture all the needed domains, provide item wordings and contribute to the study's hypotheses. But focus-group interviewing may also be utilized 'as a follow-up to data collection to pursue exploratory aspects of analysis or speculative interpretations' (Garrett et al. 2003: 33).

Previous researchers investigating language varieties in the Arab World have used various methods. Those included direct self-reports of language use and attitudes to the various varieties (Ounali, 1970; Riahi, 1970), direct questions in interviews (Laroussi, 1991; Stevens, 1983), and elicitation of language attitudes through exploring participants' behaviour (Fitouri, 1983; Riguet, 1984; Lawson, 2001). Ounali (1970, cited in Lawson, 2001:89), for example, conducted a survey to investigate language use and attitudes among university students. Although the study allowed participants to report preference for more than one variety, the study has been criticized by Lawson (2001), in that participants were not offered the chance to indicate the degree to which they preferred the use of certain varieties within the various settings. Riahi (1970) employed students' self-reports of language use within different settings. Her study revealed a preference for French. The finding has been criticized based on the fact that it might have been linked to the focus on literacy activities and the high level of French within the educational system at the time of the study. Fitouri (1983) explored attitudes towards French from participants' dreams. He claimed that the students' reports of dreaming in French in their bad dreams may indicate negative attitudes to the French variety. In spite of its innovative nature, the method is difficult to investigate systematically (Lawson, 2001). Riguet (1984, cited in Lawson, 2001) utilized students' writings as a source from which one may infer language attitudes. Lawson

(2001) attributes the nuances of attitudes within those studies to the fact that the questionnaires employed questions that only allowed participants to opt for one language variety, while it would be more appropriate to recognize the potential for more than one possible variety within a multilingual context.

In Tunisia, Lawson (2001) employed part of a designed questionnaire to elicit participants' self-reports of their use of the varieties under the study's investigation within Fishman's five main domains, along with their attitudes to those varieties (Fishman, 1965): the family setting, private and public settings, and when accessing the media or reading. The study indicated significant main effects for language varieties, but not for the questionnaire language or gender effects. Within the family domain, participants' reports indicated a primary use of TA (Tunisian Arabic) with some Tunisian/French code-switching. Attitudes towards the use of CS and, interestingly, MSA, in this domain were described to be more positive than attitudes towards the other varieties, E (English) and F (French). In private domains, participants also reported the use of TA, though combined with higher levels of CS. The same profile has been reported in the public domain, but with a moderate use of CS.

Dashti (1997) (as mentioned in section 1.5) has also utilized a questionnaire for participants to self-reflect on their use of the various varieties within the following main domains in Kuwait: home, the public domain (e.g., restaurants, banks, hotel lobbies) and Diwaniya (a gathering centre for Kuwaiti men, representing the most intimate place for Kuwaiti males). Three language varieties were considered including Kuwaiti Arabic (KA), Farsi (F) and Kuwaiti/English Arabic (K/E) code-switching. The study reveals that KA and F are among the most used varieties within the domains of home and Diwaniya, whereas the code-switched variety tends to be widely used within the public domains.

Lawson (2001) describes matched-guise studies in the Arab world as scarce, and those that investigate code-switching even fewer (see also Benrabah, 1994; Bentahila, 1983; El-Dash and Tucker, 1976; Herbolich, 1979). African Arab countries, however, seem to have been a comparatively fertile setting for language attitude studies that utilize matched-guise technique. In Morocco for example, Bentahila (1983) introduced the language varieties of Moroccan Arabic (MA), French (F) and MA/F code-switching guises to be rated along a number of dimensions. His results implied that French is associated with high status, and surprisingly with some solidarity dimensions too, MA with moral qualities, while code-switching was rated negatively on all dimensions. In Tunis Belazi (1991) examined attitudes towards Tunisian Arabic (TA) and French (F) using a matched-guise technique. The findings of the study revealed higher ratings of TA along religiousness; F was rated higher on status dimensions, while both languages were rated similarly on solidarity dimensions. Within the same sociolinguistic setting, a more systematic study was conducted, this time, including TA/F code-switching. To my knowledge, no language attitude studies have been conducted in Kuwait, certainly not on code-switching. I therefore suggest that the current study might be unique, not only within its sociolinguistic setting, but also from a methodological consideration.

Overall, previous language attitude studies tend to agree in viewing Arabic varieties relatively high in relation to solidarity dimensions; European varieties are, however, perceived higher along status dimensions; while code-switching tends to be perceived ambivalently within a number of various sociolinguistic settings. To repeat, the present study is mainly concerned with three spoken language varieties (Kuwaiti-only, English-only and Kuwaiti/English code-switching) in the State of Kuwait, with the focus of the study being mainly directed to the way people from different sociolinguistic settings evaluate people who practise them.



## **2.10 Gender as a determining factor in language attitudes**

Gender has been examined for its effects on language attitudes. Several studies have suggested the significance of gender in shaping people's stances toward the language varieties within a speech community. As I mentioned earlier, research in language and gender has revealed a strong tendency for women to adhere to more overtly prestigious language forms, while men are believed to use more low-prestige forms. Women have also been described to be more progressive in linguistic innovation (Labov, 1990). Ryan (1979) suggests that males tend to respond more to peer group pressures, favouring nonstandard varieties while females tend to respond more to the advantages for social advancement attributed to the standard variety. In an attempt to explain the tendency, Eckert (1989) argues that women's social positions are defined more through symbolic means than by their skills or activities, a situation that leads females to seek more symbolic capital through their speech style. To further develop this argument, Woolard (1998) has mentioned that women's status and social identity tend to be more dependent on their display of community membership than it is the case in men. The phenomenon has been differently explained by Trudgill (1974). Men in the British city of Norwich tended to use more non-standard forms because of the 'covert prestige' assigned to such forms. Trudgill believes that non-standard forms were symbolically associated with the constructs of 'masculinity' and 'toughness'.

In the Arab World, A reverse finding has been noted. Abdel-Jawad (1981), for example, found that in the capital city of Amman, Jordanian men used the highest standard form /q/ more frequently than females. Labov (1982) related the reversal pattern to the conservative behaviour of women, where women do not play a major role in public life in the Arab World. In such communities, Labov added, women tend to react less strongly to the linguistic norms of the dominant culture. Labov's views were later contested by a number of Arab researchers. Ibrahim (1986) and Haeri (1996), for example, referred such

discrepant results across the Arab World in sex-differentiated linguistic patterns to the fact that the studies were based on the misidentification of the High/Standard variety, assuming that MSA is the high variety. This assumption is believed to neglect the existing diaglossic situation across the Arab World. In this vein, Ibrahim advises researchers in the Arab World to base their comparisons, not on standard Arabic but on a 'prestige Low variety' which Ibrahim termed an 'inter-regional' variety, based on the speech of eastern urban centres such as Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem (Ibrahim, 1986: 124). They therefore claim that the findings of studies that take into consideration the distinctiveness of diaglossic communities correspond to results obtained from the West. Walters (2003) suggested that the generalization of the sociolinguistic concepts found in the West over the communities in the Arab World carries the risk of 'hearing the voices of women and men in the Arab World with only Western ears – a disservice to ourselves and those we study' (Walters, 2003: 102).

Economic factors have also been investigated in the gendering of language use. Nichols (1998) shows that women's language use in the Arab World is shaped by their search for higher social and economic status in order to enhance their future job and marriage opportunities. Lawson and Sachdev (2000: 1347) report that in Tunisia, several studies indicate that 'women are perceived not only to speak more French per se, but also to use the Arabic-French code-switched variety more often than men'. Due to the non-standardness of the code-switching variety, it is believed that such tendency may contradict Fasold's 'sociolinguistic gender pattern' (Fasold, 1990: 92). According to this theory, and as noted above, the use of non-standard forms seems to be associated with male speakers, whereas women prefer to use standard language varieties. The discrepancy may be explained through what Lawson (2001) refers to as the 'modernity hypothesis'. This refers to the tendency of women to be attracted to certain varieties, including Tunisian-French code-switching, because of the connotations of modernity that they carry, in spite of lack of

so-called standardness. It seems however, that the finding is contested by Dashti (1997), who claimed that gender doesn't factor in the reported use of Kuwaiti-English code-switching within non-home domains.

Against the background of these rather inconsistent and contested research findings, and based in a community of highly gender-based division, the present study will investigate variability in the attitudinal results by gender as well as other factors. The study will therefore contribute to the debate about whether a sex-differentiated pattern in language attitudes, if it exists, follows the findings in the Western World, or whether Kuwaitis present a unique pattern that applies solely to this particular community.

## **Chapter 3: Approaches to code-switching**

In this chapter, I aim to review the various definitions of the term along with a number of other related terms as used in literature; discuss different approaches to the study of code-switching and accordingly set the parameters of code-switching that the current study involves. I will also introduce a number of previous attitudinal studies that focus on the practice of code-switching.

### **3.1 Definition of code-switching**

Researchers in this field have broadly agreed that code-switching refers to the alternative use of two or more languages, dialects or registers within the same conversation (Eastman, 1992; Milroy and Muysken, 1995; Bentahilla, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1993). As I have already explained in sections 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5, the present research is conducted within a setting that tends to be described as both diglossic and bilingual. I therefore believe that it might be necessary to review the literature on code-switching and the associated term of diglossia.

Bilingualism and diglossia are two terms that have been associated with code-switching by many scholars. Pandit (1975) differentiates ‘the allocation of speech varieties to social relationships in monolingual communities (diglossia)’ from ‘the allocation of languages to social relationships in bilingual communities (bilingualism)’. Although Ferguson (1959) was not the first scholar to address the use of two different varieties on a daily basis (Marcais, 1931. In Lawson, 2001), his contribution was unique in its call for the systematic allocation of the two used varieties. According to Ferguson (1959) diglossia is described as a ‘differentiation in the use of two language forms which are linguistically related, yet socially and psychologically differentiated since each form has a prescribed domain and is perceived differently’ (Mahmoud, 1986: 241). Fishman (1967) revised the

concept to include varieties with 'any degree of linguistic difference from the most subtle stylistic differences within a single language to the use of two totally unrelated languages' (Fasold, 1987: 40). Fishman further presents a distinction between bilingualism and diglossia in which the former refers to the control of both H (high variety) and L (low variety) whereas the latter describes the functional distribution of H and L. Fishman has therefore presented his idea of diglossia in which four different idealised types of speech community are presented: diglossia and bilingualism, bilingualism without diglossia, diglossia without bilingualism and neither diglossia nor bilingualism. The model has been criticised as being inadequate in the sense that realistically it is hard to find communities that correspond to the last type (Francescato, 1986). He therefore suggests a different definition for the conditions of bilingualism and diglossia. His model makes a distinction between 'intralinguistic' and 'interlinguistic' diglossia. The former refers to the linguistic situation where the community is exposed to different dialects of their mother-tongue each serving a different function (e.g. Slovenian minority groups in Trieste speak a Slovenian dialect for all informal purposes; at school they learn standard Slovenian). The latter term, however, identifies speakers who learn another language in its local variety in a spontaneous way and again the same language in its standard form at schools (the Slovenian speaking minority learn the local Italian dialect, Triestino, mostly in a spontaneous way as well as the standard Italian in school. Such speech communities are described by Francescato (1986) as having a linguistic repertoire that 'combines the control of two languages and of a double diglossia' (1986: 399).

Ennaji (2002) draws a distinction between *endogenetic* and *exogenetic* variation. The first term refers to a situation where a single cultural-linguistic tradition differentiates its endogenous language varieties in accordance to social functions. In such a community, people do not develop a prestige community of native speakers of H that might serve as a

reference group for native speakers of L. Therefore, this situation does not provide the social impulse for shift from L to H as a native variety.

The latter term, on the other hand, describes a sociolinguistic situation where separate language varieties come into contact. The two varieties may be either relatively closely related (e.g. Frisian and Dutch) or may be unrelated languages (e.g. Arabic and French). Ennaji further adds:

In this case, the varieties are viewed socially, politically, historically, and phenomenologically as different languages, representing different group identities, if not different cultures. In contrast with diglossia, both cultural-linguistic traditions involved in exogeneous language contact already have their own established functions as vernaculars, although they may differ to varying degrees to the number and nature of high-culture functions they have linguistically developed. (Ennaji, 2002: 73).

Another distinction between diglossic and bi/multilingual societies has been proposed by Myers-Scotton (1986) in which she identifies the former under the term 'narrow diglossia' and the latter under the term 'broad diglossia' (the terms were first introduced in 1984 by Ralph Fasold). Examining the detailing of the everyday allocation of the different varieties in a speech community's repertoire, sociolinguists have found that in many of the communities, two or more varieties were 'mixed' within the same speech event. Myers-Scotton (1986) argues that looking at the types of code-switching which are possible in a diglossic community 'will give us a sharper conception of both diglossia and code-switching' (1986: 408). She therefore explicates the possible types of code-switching in a diglossic community with those in a bi/multilingual community. Her model presents four types of code-switching: *Sequential unmarked* is similar to Gumperz's (1982) *contextualizational switching*, in which the change in the situation calls for a switch in the language of the speakers. *Switching as an overall unmarked choice* describes situations where the bilingual peers engage in conversations in which they need to maintain their bilingual identities. *Switching as marked choice* is described by Myer-Scotton as a situation

in which the speaker decides to change the expected rights and obligations balance and uses unexpected ones as a way of changing the social distance between the participants.

*Switching as an exploratory choice* refers to any switching that takes place within the speech event where the participants search for a mutually accepted code. In such switching, 'continuation in one code only signifies that agreement has been reached on the basis of the medium of the event. But lack of resolution is also possible' (op cit.: 407). She further illustrates that, except for the second type (switching as an overall unmarked choice), all other types are possibly predicted under the two different kinds of diglossia, broad and narrow diglossia, though with different frequencies. Romaine, however, drew a clear cut line between diglossia and code-switching. The first stands for the co-existence of two languages or varieties which are specialised according to function. In this case, 'there is an almost one-to-one relationship between language choice and social context, so that each variety can be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire'. The second, however, alongside other related terms (e.g. code-mixing), does not 'indicate incipient loss', and language 'compartmentalisation' is no longer in effect (Romaine, 1995: 111).

A distinction has been made between code-switching and language mixing in which the latter is broken down into various types including interference, transfer and borrowing or loanwords. In this vein, scholars have also admitted that it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between the terms as some of the descriptions for each term may overlap (Hoffmann, 1991). Romaine (1995) states that some communities have no readily available labels for code-switching, but others do. She therefore presents a number of labels that describe the practice of code-switching in a number of communities. In Texas and the American Southwest, for example, where people code-switch between American and Mexican, code-switching seems to be depreciated through its labelling with 'Tex-Mex'. Similarly in UK, the Panjabi/English

code-switching is sometimes labelled 'tuti futi' meaning 'broken up' Panjabi. In Kuwait, the term 'yebadil' meaning 'switch' has always been used to describe any 'improper' use of the Kuwaiti language either in terms of grammar or lexicon. The term has also been used to address insertion of lexical items of another language, mainly Farsi, into the Kuwaiti dialect. Interestingly, in my own data, the monolingual students tended to use the term to address the code-switchers in the story telling activity during the focus group interviewing in the government schools. Bilingual speakers on the other hand, tended to use the term 'Arabizi' meaning Arabi/Englizi (Arabic/English) mixture. According to a documentary 'Scenes and views' presented on one of the well-known T.V channels (Al-Arabia), the term seems to be prevalent within the bilingual youth culture, not only in Kuwait, but also in a number of other Arabic-speaking communities such as Egypt and UAE. Romaine (1995) also proposes that one can access the community's stereotypical reactions to the practice of code-switching by studying the labels that describe the practice. Using a label that describes Kuwaiti/Farsi code-switching by monolingual Kuwaitis may, in a way, reflect negative attitudes towards Kuwaiti/English code-switching, provided that the variety (Kuwaiti/Farsi) is viewed negatively within Kuwaiti community (Dashti, 1997). A different view may be held within the bilingual youth community who describes their practice of code-switching more literally than ideologically as a mix of two languages.

### **3.2 Approaches to code-switching**

Code-switching has been researched from different aspects. Linguists have of course focused on various linguistic characteristics of the phenomenon. Analysing code-switched data syntactically, Myers-Scotton (1993) proposed a distinction between inter- and intra-sentential code-switching. The first type, *inter-sentential*, refers to any switching at the sentence level where the switching may serve as emphasis, signal a switch in conversation



between participants, indicate to whom the statement is addressed, or provide a direct quote from another conversation. In this type, a sentence in one language may be followed by another in a different language. The second type, *intra-sentential*, is a switch that occurs at the clause, phrase or at a word level if no morphophonological adaptation occurs (Hamminck, 2000). Poplack (1980) introduced a third type of code-switching, namely *tag switching*. This involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance of another language (e.g. an English tag 'you know', 'I mean' is inserted in an utterance of another language). In her study of New York Puerto Rican speakers, Poplack demonstrated that intra-sentential code-switching is the most complex type of code-switching as it requires the speaker's ability to control two different linguistic systems at the same time. She further mentioned that within this type of code-switching nouns tend to be the most frequently switched category of constituent. Poplack accordingly described the speakers who tend to practise this type of code-switching as the most 'balanced' bilinguals while those who are dominant in one language tend to use the 'less sophisticated' types of code-switching such as single word borrowings, tags and inter-sentential switches.

A distinction that has also been made between borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing tends to crucially affect my decision in what to consider as part of my code-switching corpus. Poplack (1980), for example, stated that while borrowing may exist in the speech of monolinguals, code-switching requires a bilingual competence in the two used languages. Poplack's main premise is that bilinguals use their linguistic competence to involve into smooth switching at 'equivalent sites' in the two languages where the alternation is constrained by word order relations. Within the equivalence constraint, switching in non-parallel construction is forbidden so that the code switch does not violate the syntactic rules of either language. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988: 50) have therefore originated the term 'nonce borrowing' to indicate EL (Embedded Language)

insertions that are infrequently occurring within a data corpus while being affected by morphosyntactic integration of the ML (Matrix Language). According to Poplack and her associates, 'nonce borrowing' can not be considered as part of the code-switching phenomenon. They claim that in cases where a word from another language is inserted in a whole sentence that syntactically and morphological belongs to another language, any lexical insertion should be considered borrowing and not switching. Pfaff (1979), on the other hand, claims that the only way to determine the status of a word is to know whether its equivalent exists in the base language, whether the equivalent form is still in use and whether the individual regards it as belonging to one language or the other. Myers-Scotton (1991), however, has vigorously challenged Poplack's idea by stating that there is no reason to exclude the single-lexeme EL material, which can not be considered as established borrowing, from the code-switching arena. She therefore suggests that the degree of morphosyntactic integration along with the absolute frequency of the EL terms may be considered as a more appropriate criterion for distinguishing code-switching material from borrowing. That is, in cases where a data corpus shows insertions with less incomplete morphsyntactic integration and a frequency of occurrence beyond the 'cut-off point', they are more likely to be included within the code-switching data. Romaine (1995) criticised Poplack and her associates' distinction between code-switching and borrowing based on the level of constituent or clause in all cases. She therefore proposed that 'it is only within a longer stretch of discourse that a pattern will emerge, and even then, such distinctions may not be defensible (Romaine 1995: 137). Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001) developed a model to reflect on the bilingual competence of the alternated languages. They proposed a 'matrix language' as the language that plays a more dominant role in the bilingual repertoire, providing the syntactic frames for the phrases, and the 'embedded language' as the language with more secondary role which provides word insertions to the matrix language.

Weinreich, and Fishman (1992) following his steps, on the other hand, described code-switching to reflect the 'ideal' bilingual when it reflects appropriate changes in the speech situation, 'but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence' (Weinreich 1953: 73). The idea presents the dismissal of intrasentential type of switching from the code-switching arena. Al-Khatib (2003) contested the previous social and linguistic reflective perspectives, proposing her idea that language alternation does not only reflect a social or linguistic dictum, specifically in cases where the two mixed languages are too distinctive phonologically, syntactically or morphologically (Semitic and European languages). In this case, a bilingual' breach of such reflective manner should never be evaluated as improper practice of language shift.

Analysing a corpus data produced by three youth Arab bilinguals growing up in London, the data collected by Al-Khatib drew the following examples of what she labelled 'intromorphic' switching, where the shifts occur between the Arabic definite articles '*al, el*' – which in Arabic is always affixed to the noun it identifies – and its English noun, and '*at*' – which in Arabic is suffixed to the noun to indicate a specific plural form:

1. *Elfat woman aalet lallittle mermaid*

(The fat woman said to the little mermaid)

2. *AHla min kil elwatchat*

(Prettier than all the other watches).

In this case (Al-Khatib labelled *unmarked intromorphic language alternation*), the prefixes and suffixes come from the matrix language (Arabic in this case), and follow its syntactic and morphological rules, and the stem is borrowed from the embedded language (English), and affixed by grammatical morphemes from the other system.

In the above-mentioned examples, the alternation involves a switch that in 1 conforms to Poplack's grammatical disposition but not in 2, since the latter demonstrates an

evidence of combining a stem of the Embedded language to suffixes and prefixes from the Matrix language with no adherence to Poplack's 'equivalence constraint' predicting that code-switches will occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two mixed languages do not violate the syntactic rules of any of the mixed languages. She therefore proposes:

There is no limit to the forms and structures that are used by a bilingual speaker, in a performance that manifests differentiation and innovation, through catering for the minute characteristics of grammatical categories in observing and maintaining syntactic and morphological characteristics of the languages involved (Al-Khatib, 2003: 420).

Another term which tends to be frequently confused and sometimes alternated for the practice of code-switching is code mixing. In this vein, Blommaert and Gysels (1990) mention that the two terms are better differentiated on the basis of discourse organisation, where shifts to the embedded language signal a point of emphasis or to an attitude of compliance or convergance. Pfaff (1979: 295) uses the term 'mixing' to refer to both code-switching and borrowing. In fact, Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975: 158) define code-switching as a type of borrowing.

Fasold (1987) suggests that there is a grammatical distinction between what may be referred to as code-switching and code-mixing. Mixing is therefore defined as the insertion of a word or a phrase from one language into another, whereas switching is described as the insertion of the whole clause from one language into the other. Gibbons (1987) also maintains that switching and mixing are two separate phenomena, where the former refers to a situation where elements from one language are continuously added to an utterance in another language as a communication strategy. In code-mixing, however, 'other English elements... have become more integrated into MIX, and comprise sub-systems which are no longer English and yet are not Cantonese' (Gibbons, cited in Lawson, 2001: 67).

'Purposive code-switching' is a term used by Swigart (1989) to address approaches to code-switching which 'attempt to find the underlying motivation for the shift from one language to another in the course of a speech interaction' (Swigart, 1989: 87). Heller's central idea is that code-switching is to be 'approached as a function of what it accomplishes' (1988: 10). Myers-Scotton (1988) also interprets code-switching as an attempt to negotiate social situations, perceiving the practice to be 'unmarked' when the speaker complies with the rights and obligations (RO) of the speech situation, and 'marked' when a speaker deviates from the established norm and creates a new 'RO' set.

Myers-Scotton (1988: 338) proposed another type of switching 'hybrids' to typify the use of two languages to encode a 'dual identity' in African capital cities. This type can be distinguished from 'loanwords' in that, loanwords may be used by all speakers, even those who do not have a command over the French language. A similar typology of code-switching was traced in the data presented by Swigart (1989) in Dakar, which he labelled 'Urban Wolof', where the items or phrases drawn from French co-exist with Wolof equivalents, forming 'an additional lexical stratum' (Sridhar, 1987, in Swigart, 1989: 89). An essential feature of this code, 'Urban Wolof', is that Wolof and French items are 'intermingled' not to serve a 'strategic effect', but rather because it is 'easier', 'faster', 'more convenient', 'less pedantic', 'almost instinctive' or 'just a way of speaking' (op cit, 90). This suggests that a certain kind of code-switching tends to 'fall outside the domain of purposive code-switching and thus that its analysis requires another kind of model' that is not 'goal-oriented variety' (op cit: 91- 92). Such a typology is believed to be largely ignored, because of its being 'unable to fit the sociolinguistic model at hand' (op cit: 100).

In light of the controversy of labelling the use of two codes within the same conversation, I propose that, within the current study, I use the term 'code-switching' to refer to a situation where a speaker closely sequentially uses two codes (Kuwaiti and

English) within the same discourse. Others may use some other terms to describe a similar practice, such as code-mixing or borrowing, and this poses no problem as the present study is not concerned with what to label the phenomenon under investigation. Within the present study, I use the term code-switching to signal a process that involves the insertion of single lexical items (that are not commonly known as established loan words) or complete phrases at a clause/sentence boundary in English, in an utterance which is otherwise entirely in Kuwaiti. The data that I present in the present study is very similar to Dakar's 'urban code' in the sense that it is an in-group code that is used only by Kuwaiti bilinguals to serve a distinct communicative role in their repertoire, in a situation where the choice of Kuwaiti-only or English-only would be inappropriate, in informal situations, including the informal friendly setting from which the code-switched data was obtained. A more detailed description of the linguistic types of code-switching under the focus of the study will be later presented in chapter 4, where the data of the presented study will be linguistically analysed in an attempt to find the types of code-switching that prevail within the bilingual Kuwaiti children in Kuwait.

Social psychologists on the other hand, have examined other aspects of code-switching including attitudes to the practice. These will be presented in more details in the following section.

### **3.3 Attitudes to code-switching**

Attitudes to code switching have been described as the most neglected area within the phenomenon (see Lawson and Sachdev, 2000; Romaine, 1995). This field of research has been described as problematic in the sense that the practice is unconsciously practised, and therefore 'asking a bilingual to report directly on the incidence of particular switched forms is equivalent to, and probably no more effective than, asking an English monolingual to

record his use of future tense forms' (Gumperz, 1982: 62). Romaine, however, points to the fact that being practised under the sub-conscious level does not mean that code-switching is not subjected to conscious evaluation. In this vein, Romaine reported a number of studies that attached some social stigma to the practice of code-switching, not only by outgroup, but also by the ingroup members. Bentahila (1983), for example, listed a number of very negative attitudes towards Arabic/French code-switching, in comparison to 'Arabic alone' or 'French alone' in Morocco. The study indicated that the variety was perceived by the bilingual community to reflect 'less education', 'less intelligence', and 'less competence' than those who use one variety at a time. Speakers of the variety (code-switching) were believed to be 'less patriotic' and even 'more colonized' than those who abandon Arabic for the sake of French-alone.

Ambivalence tends to be a frequent feature of attitudes to code-switching. In a Panjabi/English speaking community in UK, for example, Chana and Romaine (1984) reported some negative attitudes towards the practice as being 'impure' or 'wrong', and that people may 'wish' to stop it, yet are 'unable' to do so. The situation describes a well-known sociolinguistic phenomenon 'covert prestige', where, despite the negative prestige overtly attached to a language variety, it persists over a long period of time as a result of its functioning as a marker of in-group identity (Romaine, 1995). Swigart (1989), also proposes that Dakarois bilinguals' conflicting tendencies between their linguistic practice and perception of Urban Wolof might be reasoned by the multilayered nature of language attitudes, with beliefs reflecting the 'shared linguistic ideology, and 'gut reactions' referring to the actual linguistic practice (Swigart, 1989: 97). Agnihotri (1998) also associated the discrepant results he obtained in his study of Cantonese\English code-switching in Hong Kong to Trudgill's 'covert prestige' (Gibbons, 1987). Other studies reported a conflicting

situation between the prestige in switching to English and a condemnation of mixing foreign elements that destroy the purity of the language (Romaine, 1995).

A somewhat similar result with regards to evaluation of the form as covertly prestigious have been obtained by Lawson and Sachdev's in their study of code-switching in Tunisia. Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) state that the ambivalence in attitudes to code-switching might be attributed to the discrepancy of the results between evaluative reactions and behaviour. The fluctuation of attitudes to code-switching between the use of elements of a high status language such as English and the condemnation of mixing foreign elements that may 'pollute' the indigenous language may have resulted in obtaining inconsistent results. They further criticized previous studies on attitudinal aspects of code-switching in that they have introduced little empirical evidence of the conditions under which code-switching might be positively evaluated or where the perception/practice discrepancy may be reduced (Sachdev and Bourhis, 2001: 423). Lawson and Sachdev (2000) suggest that a closer analysis of the context in which attitudes to code-switching are investigated can help us to understand discrepant results. Claiming that previous research was conducted in contexts emphasizing the formal aspects of the language (school setting), Lawson and Sachdev suggest obtaining attitudes to code-switching in less status-stressing contexts, where they anticipate more positive attitudes towards the practice.

Another factor for discrepancy in the results was associated with code-switching typology. To account for this factor, Romaine (1995) designed a pilot study to elicit experimentally evaluative reactions to Panjabi/English code-switching, not as a unified language variety, but as different patterns of CS. Implementing a modified MGT, the speech samples represented varieties which draw on two languages to differing degrees. The results suggest that code-switchers may be evaluated differently according to the types of code-switching they perform and to the degrees of code-switching they use. The finding poses a



critical connotation on the decision I made in this research in the significance of considering code-switching of various degrees as different varieties rather than a single variety. The issue will be elaborated in chapter 4.

Research has shown that monolingual speakers tend to have a more negative view of code-switching. A study conducted by Hidalgo (1988) has shown that Ciudad Juarez residents rated code-switching low in terms of understandability, attractiveness and correctness. Although studies conducted on bilingual speakers have shown similar negative attitudes, subjects' continuous use of the pattern indicates a covert prestige assigned to such form (Fernandez, 1990), an evidence of positive reactions along other dimensions. In this vein, Swigart (1989) stated that the insiders' views of code-switching should not be interpreted as 'paradoxical' or 'hypocritical', but rather that the acceptability of code-switching 'simply resides at the deeper level of feeling, less-accessible to both the researcher and the speaker' (op cit: 98).

Investigating factors that may influence attitudes to code-switching, Hammink (2000) points to two factors: age of respondents and language proficiency. The two factors are believed to be good determinants of the code-switching behaviour. Language proficiency (and more importantly familiarity), as demonstrated by either home language use or linguistic knowledge of code-switching appears to be the factor, which, after age, most determines code-switching behaviour (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Attitudes toward code-switching are therefore correlated to code-switching behaviour only in the most proficient group in both languages.

Reporting that children's attitudes to code switching are greatly affected by their caretakers, Pham (1994) points to the importance of providing teachers with the knowledge of the expressive power of code-switched discourse, and the need for sophisticated linguistic knowledge for its employment. This should accordingly help in rectifying the prejudicial

views about the practice. Being prejudiced towards the practice of code-switching does not seem to be exclusive to young children. An incident that I personally experienced during the preparation period for the code-switching data collection might be worth mentioning here. During a discussion with an administrator in one of the English schools in the country, the administrator seemed to be suspicious over my intention to criticise students who practise the variety of code-switching. He therefore commented on code-switchers as people who seem to be weak in one, or maybe even, both languages.

One of the objectives of the present research is to find out whether teachers, as educators who tend to be in a more direct contact with the teenagers hold such negative views, with the objective of rectifying such reactions if they exist as a follow-up step.

Up-to-date, literature on language attitudes to code-switching has shown negative, and at best, ambivalent, reactions to the language variety. In the present research, I intend to investigate the way outgroup and ingroup members from different age groups evaluate code-switching as practised in a less-stressing status environment in Kuwait. The practice will be investigated both quantitatively and qualitatively in order to gain a full picture and a deeper insight of the practice. In response to the calls for investigating attitudes to code-switching in less-stressing status atmosphere (Lawson and Sachdev, 2000; Sachdev and Bouhris, 2001), the present research will investigate people's evaluative reactions towards code-switching within a context where code-switching is accepted as a normative code.

## **Chapter 4: The current study – methodology and participants**

In this chapter, I will report my own empirical research, starting with my research questions and hypotheses in section (4.1). This will be followed with a detailed account of the various methods employed for the collection of the various types of language attitudinal data that were elicited from teachers and teenagers across the different types of secondary schools in section (4.2). The next two sections (4.2.1, 4.2.2) will give a detailed description of the utilised methodologies, the study's participants, including the narrators who presented the utilised stimuli for the modified matched guise technique and the study's informants. This will be followed by two sections (4.2.3, 4.2.4) where I will report the study's main questionnaire application and focus-group interviewing.

### **4.1 Research questions and hypotheses**

Based on the discussion in the preceding chapters, this research aims to find answers to two types of questions. The first deals with the appropriateness of utilizing a modified matched guise technique as a sole data collection method, and narratives as its stimuli in particular, within attitudinal studies. The second and principal group of questions, however, aims to explore evaluative profiles of the various language varieties as they exist within the Kuwaiti community. Such exploratory measures will reflect on some of the concepts reported in previous language attitude studies as bases for differentiation within the arena of language attitudes. These concepts include the significance of including a language recognition measure within a study that involves indirect investigative methodologies. Other concepts include the multidimensionality of language attitudes and factors that may contribute in the differentiation of people's reactions to certain languages or speech styles. The present study will therefore pursue answers for the questions listed below:

Questions on the nature of the modified matched guise technique:

1. On the basis of the findings, do other variables than the linguistic features of the language varieties intervene to produce the audiences' evaluative responses?
2. If yes, what other measures should a researcher of language attitude studies consider to account for such intervening variables?

Questions on students' and teachers' evaluative profiles of the various language varieties in Kuwait:

3. Do students from the three types of schools demonstrate different patterns of evaluative responses to the speakers of the language varieties under the study?
4. Do students and teachers present different evaluative profiles of the speakers of the various language varieties under investigation?
5. Do informants report a different pattern of evaluative profiles towards the code-switching speakers in accordance to the practised type of code-switching?
6. Do the informants report different evaluative profiles towards the code-switching speakers in accordance to gender of the speaker?
7. Do male informants report different evaluative profiles towards the code-switching speakers from their female counterparts?

In relation to the above-mentioned questions, the study presents the following hypotheses which may be presented as follows:

H 1: Informants' reactions to the speakers can be mediated by features other than the linguistic features of the spoken languages.

H 2: Considering the concept of familiarity/ non-familiarity of a linguistic

variety, and as a result of the different linguistic and cultural ideologies within the different types of schools (section 1.6), different evaluative profiles towards the various linguistic varieties, and across the various dimensions, will emerge based on the students' school type.

H3: Considering the different ideological views that the informants may hold, and due to the fact that informants are from two different age groups, students and teachers will demonstrate different evaluative profiles of the speakers of various language varieties across a number of attitudinal dimensions.

H 4: Informants will report different evaluative profiles to code-switchers according to the performed type of code switching.

H 5: Different evaluative profiles of code-switchers will be reported according to the gender of the speaker.

H 6: Different evaluative profiles of code-switchers will be reported according to the gender of the participant.

## **4.2 Methodology**

The investigation was conducted in 2004 and 2005 in two phases. I refer to the first phase as 'the narrative phase'. In this phase, several visits were made to a number of schools with different educational schemes, in an attempt to construct suitable stimuli for the modified matched guise questionnaire. A more detailed account of this phase, including its selected performers along with the employed procedures will be presented in section (4.2.1).

The second phase consists of three sessions. These included a pilot questionnaire administration session, the main questionnaire administration session and focus-group interviewing session. A detailed account of the three sessions will be provided in sections (4.2.2, 4.2.3 and 4.2.4).

#### *4.2.1 Phase 1: the narrative phase*

As I mentioned earlier, in order to construct suitable stimuli for the modified matched guise questionnaire, a number of visits were made to schools of different educational schemes: government schools, English private schools and bilingual schools. Speakers were selected to represent three language varieties: Kuwaiti, English and K/E code-switching. Speakers from both genders were used to represent each of the three above-mentioned varieties. All speakers were 14-17 years old, Kuwaitis whose parents are both Kuwaitis and who studied in the above-mentioned types of schools in Kuwait. Both male and female Kuwaiti speakers were selected from four different government schools (two boys' and two girls' schools). Code-switchers and English speakers, however, were selected from three different private schools. My main consideration in selecting the bilingual speakers was that they should represent Kuwaiti balanced bilinguals, who can express themselves adequately in both colloquial Kuwaiti and English. As a result, my English speakers and code switchers were of very similar social status and educational background.

Based on a number of considerations, I decided to employ narratives as my stimulus for the modified matched guise technique. Garrett et al. (2003: 149) describe the tool as being more natural than other types of talk, 'precisely because they are designed to work as small-scale performance events'. A crucial reported shortcoming in the use of narratives is the anticipated interplay between the linguistic and non-linguistic features, including the story content alongside the speaker's prosodic features, which might both influence respondents' evaluative patterns. In an attempt to overcome these problems, Garrett and his co-workers include judgements of 'interesting story' as a potential evaluative dimension that might have affected the respondents' evaluations of the various speakers. In the present study, my intention is to pursue qualitative data that can work hand-in-hand, to present a more

complete picture of the informants' perceptions of the investigated language varieties. This methodology will be further illustrated in the following section.

A large database of audio-recorded narratives that were performed by school students aged 14-17 was collected. Using comprehensive lists for public schools and private schools, I selected 12 government schools, five bilingual schools and six English private schools. The selection of the government schools was based on the criteria of their regional spread among the six governorates in the country. Only four public schools from only four different governorates, two private schools and one bilingual school agreed to participate. As I have said, my aim was to elicit an audio-recorded database of the following language varieties: Kuwaiti, English and Kuwaiti/English code switching. This was the most difficult part of my data collection. For the purpose of constructing my code-switching data base, two English private schools and a bilingual school were chosen based on the schools' approval of my conducting such study on their students. In a meeting with the heads of upper/senior department, the procedure for interviewing the students and tape-recording them was explained in details. Procedural arrangements were thoroughly discussed to ensure a proper atmosphere for such interviews where the events would not affect the participants' academic achievement. Parents consent forms were prepared by the schools administrators and were delivered to volunteers for the purpose of getting parental consents the day before the recording sessions. The students were then interviewed during the schools' weekly assemblies. In two sessions at each school, groups of five (sometimes seven) students were gathered in a meeting room where they sat in a circle, each taking his/her turn in telling his/her friends stories of past experiences. The same procedure was followed for 'Kuwaiti only' database. Stories ranged between funny, scary and sad previous events. Every effort was made to group students with close friendship together. This is to ensure a very relaxed atmosphere for the story telling event. The groups were therefore formed by participating

students who chose the members of their discussion teams. Using a digital mini-disk recorder, the participants' stories were recorded and then transferred onto a CD-ROM for further analysis and future use.

I told the participants that I was interested in collecting 'stories that teenagers tell'. In order to encourage the participants to produce interesting narratives, volunteers were given the following letter the day before the audio-recording session. This was done for the purpose of giving the students ample time to plan their stories and be prepared for the event prior to the actual audio-recording session:

Every day you come to school and tell your friends about things that have happened to you or to someone you know very well. What I want you to do is to think of an interesting story that has happened to you and tell your friends about it.

Referring back to the controversial linguistic distinction of code-switching types as proposed by a number of researchers in section (3.2) (Poplack, 1980; Hammink, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1991; Bloomaert and Gysels , 1990), and since the study's main goal is to investigate the practice from a sociolinguistic rather than a linguistic point of view, I decided to use the term code-switching to signal a process that involves any insertion of single lexical items, complete phrases or the alternation of codes in English, within a level of a sentence.

Due to the fact that no previous studies looked at the types of code-switching as practised within Kuwaiti community, I decided to initially analyse the collected code-switched database, in an attempt to point out the types of code-switching as practised within this community. Through examining the stories of 34 speakers, I was able to conclude that only two major types of code-switching have prevailed (may be as a result of discrepant proficiency levels in English, Poplack, 1980): Lexical CS - where the speaker tends to insert single lexical items in English within Kuwaiti clauses or sentences. This type of switching is viewed by a number of researchers as a sub-category of what Poplack (1980)





and others termed intrasentential switching (see also Berk-Seligson, 1986; Romaine, 1995). It seems however, that researchers in this field tend to disagree on the frequency of this type of switching or even on the permissibility of relating the type to the practice of code-switching (Poplack et al 1988; Romaine, 1995; Al-Khatib, 2003). Inter-sentential CS is a type of switching where the speaker alternates between English and Kuwaiti between sentence or clause units (Myers-Scotton, 1991, 1993). In the second type, the speaker switches from a language to the other intersententially, that is at the level of a clause, a sentence, or between chunks of speech, sometimes to provide a direct quote from another conversation that was originally made in another language.

After piloting the study, the need for such a division became even more prominent. During the focus-group interviewing, informants clearly differentiated between the code-switchers based on two criteria: The first is the gender of the speaker. The second is the type of the practised code-switching. The informants unanimously drew a division between what they referred to as 'intensive' and 'mild' code switchers'. While the latter was described as the tendency to insert few lexical English items within the Kuwaiti dialect, the former was described as an intensive switch between chunks of words in one language or the other. Interestingly, the code switchers, unlike the rest of the performers, were mainly characterised by informants pointing to how they switched from a language to the other rather than by the content of the stories. Due to the fact that the speakers tended to employ one type or the other in their speech style, and since I was trying to identify convincingly representative speech style for each type, I decided to use two different speakers to represent the two types separately, prompted by the anticipation of different reactions to the two types of switching.

Table 4.1 presents examples of each type of switching as it occurred in the actual speech of six of the code-switchers. The sort of mixture in the following examples is very

typical of the Kuwaiti bilingual teenagers' daily conversation. This is taken from a corpus of three hours and twenty minutes of recorded narratives, prepared for the questionnaire selected stimuli. Ordinary orthography is used for English words, which are italicized and bolded for clarity purposes. Kuwaiti words are presented in phonetic transcription. The code-switched data is translated on the right side of the page, with italicized and bolded English words, and Kuwaiti parts in regular font type.

**Table 4.1: Examples of types of CS practised by Kuwaiti/English bilingual children**

Switching Type	Original Examples	Translated Examples
Lexical code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. fi: ma:ta kmt la:bsæ ol<i>contact lenses</i> zi:ŋ <i>aqua blue</i></li> <li>2. mama mæ:ʒa:lɪf tæ:ʃti:nɪ ol<i>credit card</i> ma:lɔʃ</li> <li>3. ɡɪl hæg ummɪ tɪʃtɪrɪ:lɪ: <i>swimsuit</i></li> </ol>	<p>Once I was wearing my blue <i>contact lenses aqua blue</i></p> <p>Mum Is it ok for me to use your <i>credit card</i></p> <p>I told mum to buy me a <i>swimsuit</i></p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. læmmæ tæmfɪ belykwert, <i>you feel as if you're in The States</i></li> <li>2. <i>The reason why I got into this school is that</i> a:næ fi:læn ?æhɪb tæ:ri:ɡæt ɪttæ:ʃli:n</li> <li>3. <i>No please don't think I'm stupid</i> tarræ a:næ bæ:s ɡa:ʃdɪvtɔ:ʃmɑ:ɪ</li> </ol>	<p>When you walk around Kuwait, <i>you feel as if you are in The States.</i></p> <p><i>The reason why I got into this school is that</i> I really like their education.</p> <p><i>No please don't think I'm stupid</i> I'm just joking.</p>

Another issue raised during the interviews was the different reactions of the respondents to code-switchers according to their gender. It seemed that teenagers tended to find it more acceptable when the code switcher was a female than a male. The issue needs,

however, to be more closely monitored through the quantitative data derived from the MGT questionnaire results.

### *Selection of the stories*

From 74 narratives, I selected sixteen narratives, four of which represent each of the four language varieties in both genders. The selection criteria were as follow:

A. The speakers should best represent of the language varieties under the focus of the study.

B. The narratives should be 'successful' in the sense of capturing the audiences' interest and containing no anti-social references. Comprising the majority of the produced narratives, only funny stories were chosen for further utilisation.

C. The narratives should be unified in the sense that they were produced within similar conditions by male and female school-students of closely similar age groups. It seems inevitable, however, that the narratives will differ, to some extent, in their prosodic and paralinguistic features such as rates of speech and voice qualities. As mentioned earlier, in order to overcome some of the problems of the utilization of an unscripted text as the study's stimulus, I decided to begin my questionnaire design with two open ended questions, where the judges have the freedom to reflect on what mostly caught their attention about the narrators and their languages. Investigation of whether the judges have reflected on the story content or the speakers' prosodic features would predictably show how much respondents' attitudes were mediated by such variables. This measure tends to be crucial when dealing with an uncontrolled-speech database; where a wide range of explanatory factors might trigger listeners' evaluative responses. The other technique that I used in this research was post-focus group interviewing. Both techniques will be further explained in sections (4.2.3 and 4.2.4).

Extracts of approximately one minute were selected from each of the sixteen narratives. The selection was based on two criteria: the first (mentioned above) is the extent to which the extracted part represents the language variety under the study. The second is the comprehensibility of the extracted part. This was essential to ensure the success of the chosen narratives in captivating the audiences' interest. In order to eliminate the effects of the sequence of the demonstrated speakers, the selected extracts were played in different sequences. The number of narratives was, however, cut to half (eight speakers) as a result of fatigue effects encountered during piloting the original questionnaire (see details in 4.2.2).

Below are transcriptions of the eight short narratives that were presented in the actual questionnaire session as the modified matched guise stimulus. English words will be presented in regular orthography. Kuwaiti insertions or complete Kuwaiti speech will be phonetically transcribed. For the sake of clarity, the English insertions will be italicised and bolded. Kuwaiti-only and code-switched narratives will be presented twice; once in their actual spoken language(s), followed by another translated version into English. English insertions will also be italicised and bolded in the latter translated versions. Numbered brackets indicate pauses, with the numbers indicating the time of such pauses in seconds. A less than one second pause is indicated with a bracketed dot. A square bracket indicates incomprehensible or edited parts such as names of schools or people involved in some of the narrated incidents. Each narrative is titled by gender of speaker and the spoken language, and labelled according to the story content. For example (Male Kuwaiti-only: dog chase) represents the story narrated by a male teenager, who used Kuwaiti-only and talked about an incident of a dog chase. Table 4.2 presents the full range of narratives used in the actual questionnaire administration.

**Table 4.2: Narrative extracts selected for the study's modified matched-guise**

***Female Kuwaiti-only: Elevator Girl***

bʃeʃlæʔ xæmɪstæʃæʃ (.) kennæmsa:frɪ:n (.) fæ bɪlfendəq wəhnæ bɪlʃʌnʃeɪr (.)  
 a:nw mɔrtəxu:j ʃəʃædnæ (.) əw ʃeʃæd wɪjɑ:næ ræjja:l mu:ʃɑ:hi: (.)fæ mθɪl  
 mɔrtəxu:j (.)əmsekætʔɪdi: mɛxtærʃæ ənnəhnæ bæna:t (.) əwɪjja:næ wɑ:hɪd mu:ʃɑ:hi: (.)  
 wɪjja:næ bɪlfendəq (.)fænæʃrɪfənnəʃwæj mu: ʃɑ:hi fæmθɪl mɛxtærʃæ jæʃnɪmsɛkæt  
 ʔ:di ɦeɪl (.) mɛθɪl ɦɑ:ssənnæ bɪʃɪ:r ʃæj (.) fæbʃæd ʃwæj (.) tʃɑ:n jətɔbæʃtæɪl əʃtɑ:bɪq əl?  
 wæl (.) wællæddɪʃ bɪntæ wəxu:hæ əlʃɪ:r (.) bæʃdəʃwæj əʃtɑ:bɪq əθθɑ:nɪ  
 (.) tʃɑ:n əjɪʃ ræjja:l (.) jæʃnɪ ʃɛrnæ wɑ:jɪd (.) əwʃæʃnɪ ənnæ mɑ:jətəɦmmæɪl əlʃæʃɛnʃ  
 eɪr əʃɪ:r (.) fæwɑ:jədəpəhnæ əwɦɑ:ðæl mu: ʃɑ:hi (.) kɪl sɑ:ʃæ əjɪqlærlɑqnm (.) fæmθɪl  
 əlæʃʌnʃeɪr mæstæwʃæb (.)qɑ:l æsækkɪr ʃæleɪɦuməɦsæn (.) fæsækkær  
 ʃæleɪnnæʃʌnʃeɪr (.) əjɔbʌʃtɪl ʃwæj wɪsækkɪr (.) tʃɑ:n ɦɑ:ðæl mu:ʃæɦɪ bɪ:bʌʃlɪ (.)  
 tʃɑ:nəjdʒurəʃʃæʃʌnʃeɪr (.) əjɪleɪbɑ:b (.) tʃɑ:n əjɪsækkær ʃælæ ʔɪ:dæ (.) wəjra:fɪs (2) əjra:  
 :fɪs əwbentətɪl ʔɪ:dæ (.) əwqɑ:mæt tæbʃɪ: (.)  
 juba: mɑ:lnæxəlq suwɑ:lɛf (.) wæxxɪr ʔɪ:dɪk (.) wɛntɛq əlɔbɑ:b  
 (.) əntɛq əlɔbɑ:b (.) mæɦɦæd rɑ:ɪ jəsmæʃnæ (2)  
 ʔɑ:xɛr ʃæj ərəʃeʃbʃən əsmæʃo:nnæ (.) qɑ:læw nɛʃræw ælæ mɑ:jɪ:bun wɑ:hɪd əjʃʌlɦæ (.)  
 ʔæxɛr ʃæʃ wællæjɔbʌʃtəlɔbɑ:b (.) wællæ dʒɛdd:mnaɪ jɛhnæ  
 ʔo:fæ (.) tɑ:bun:q əsmænt (2) a:nəɦni: ərəju:lɪ qɑ:mətɛxʌɪɪɪɪɪ mɪnəl xɔ:f (.)

In the holiday (.) we were travelling (.) we were staying in a hotel inside the elevator (.) I  
 and my sister in law were in an elevator (.) when a guy (.) strange guy (.) we know that he  
 was strange (.) got into the same elevator (.) we were like frightened and stuff (.) she held  
 my hand because we were alone (.) he (.) his daughter (.) and her little brother got into the  
 elevator (.) in a minute (.) we got into the next floor (.) and another guy got into the same lift  
 (.) at that time we felt something wrong will happen (.) we were too many in a little elevator  
 (.)in a minute it stopped (.) so the strange guy started pulling the door (.) but the door closed  
 on his arm (.) his daughter tried to pull her dad's arm (.) but she couldn't (.) we started  
 shouting but nobody seemed to have heard us (.) then someone in the reception finally heard  
 us and they told us to wait until they bring someone to fix it (2) when the door was opened  
 (.) we saw a huge wall in front of us cemented wall (2) at this time my legs started shaking  
 (.)

***Male Kuwaiti-only: Dog Chase***

kɪnnæ ænəw rʌbʃɪ (.) kɪl jɔm ən rɪd mɛʃɪ bɪl mɪnnɪ bɪlfɪrɪ:dʒ [ ] nɛɡʃæd  
 dʒɪddɑ:m əl bɛt (.) læmmæ kɪl wɑ:həð əjɪ:læ əssɑ:jɛɡ (.) əwnæmʃɪ: (.)  
 kɪl mærræ wɛhnæ

nmur fæl bet (.) fɪndlɑm tʃʌlb(.) jɛt əl mɪn ədderɪ:fæ (.)  
 zeɪn (2) fæd əhnæ nɛɡfæd əndærɪt  
 flɛɪ tʃɛði (.) ənʃærɪx fæd flɛɪ wuhwæ əjna:bɪh (.) bæz mɪn əl xo:f (.)  
 ma: jægðær əjsæwɪ fæj (2) fɪ jom (.) əhnæ ma:fɪm (.)  
 əwʃa:lɛh əw hæm wɑ:hɪd θa:nɪ mɪn rʌbɪ wɑ:ræ kɑ:næw (.) əbfa:d (.) ?ænnæ (.) əhnæ  
 ma:fɪm dʒɛddɑ:mhɑm (.) zeɪn (.) əw mɪn wɑ:ræ əhma ?wel fɛj (.)  
 ʃɑ:r lɑhɑm sɑ:fæ əjna:du:nnə (.) bæz tʃɛði əntɑ:lɛf wɪj dəhkom (.)  
 ?ɑ:xɪr fæj (.) tʃɑm əjgu:lum tʃælb (.) zeɪn (2) əhnə ma: nædrɪ fæba:lne  
 jɛstæfbeto:n (.) næfs ɛl hærekæ (.) jɛfɪnɪ ?tɑ:lɛf (.)  
 əfwæj tʃɛði: hæʃso:b (.) əhnæ kɪnnæ əθneɪn gɑ:fɪd nɑmfɪ (.)  
 wɑ:hɛd wɑ:rɑ:mnæ əfwæj əw (.)  
 hæðeɪlɑ:k əbfa:d (.) ?tɑ:lɛf tʃɛði: (.)  
 rɛfɪ:dʒɪ: mɑrræ wæhdæ wejhængəlɑb (.) əwgam  
 jærkuð (.) hɑ:ðə kɪllæ əbɑ:θnjeteɪm (.) ?tɑ:lɛf wɑ:rɑ(.) rɛfɪ:dʒæ mətɪ:n (.) ?tɑ:lɛf  
 tæhtæ (.) ərju:l gɑ:fɪd tærkuð (2) ?tʊl mɪn jæmmæ (.) wællæ tʃælb əmɪʌʃɛb (.)  
 ʃʌbʃæn ?ɑ:nə wɑgthæ (.) kɑ:næt ərju:lɪ: mæksu:ræ (.) tæwwæ ʃɑ:jlɪ:n əl dʒɪbs (.)  
 fɑ:rɪf (.) fædælɑ:t ma: rædæw (.)  
 lɑ:zɪm flɑ:dʒ tæbɪ:fɪ əw hæssuwa:lɪf (.) gɛmtærkuð ?ɑ:næ (.)  
 hɑ:ðə rɛfɪ:dʒɪ jæsbugni: (.)  
 ?ærkuð (.) tɪftæ (.) əwdʒɛddmɪ: tɔ:fæt mæsjɪd (.) fɛgæhtæ mɪn ɣeɪr ?i:d (2)

My friends and I used to stay on the road (.) when we finish school [ ] (.) we used to stay  
 by one of the houses (.) where there was this huge dog (.) ok (2) and we used to tease him (.)  
 while he barked (.) and tried to jump over the big gate (.) after leaving the area I saw two of  
 my other friends (.) running towards me and saying something (.) I couldn't hear them (.)  
 my friend is a bit fat (.) I looked down his legs (.) I found four legs (2) my other friend  
 shouted dog (2) I started running (.) I was just recovering from my broken leg (.) still need  
 physiotherapy and stuff (.) so I ran (.) my friend is usually faster than me (.) I passed him (.)  
 and there was a mosque wall in front of me (.) I jumped over it without even using my hands  
 (.)

### *Male Lexical Code-switcher: Theatre Boy*

?ɑ:nəw hæsæn(.) kɑ:n ja:j fændɪ lændæn(.) færehnæ fa:ntəm(.) mæsræhɪjjæ (.) ?æww  
 æl *performance* (.) kɑ:n sɑrɑ brɪghtmɑn(.) mæfæ fæ *this performance* (.)  
 kɑ'n hɑ:ðæ (.) John Owen Jones (.) ɛllɪ ʃɑ:rɪlɛhɪ:n *six years* lɑ:fəb əlphɑntəm (.)  
 fæhæsæn gɑ:l lɛɪf mɑ:nru:h mæθælæn *backstage* (.)  
 færehnæ əl*backstage* (.) fɪft əl*actors* (.) wɑqɑfɪnæ mæfɑ:hʊm *autographs* (.)  
 əwʃɑwwərnæ mæfɑ:hʊm (2) əhnɑ:k ətʃu:f fæj fædʒɪ:b (.) jæfɪnɪ: *big chandeliers* (.)

wəlmukɑ:n jæʃni: *huge* (.) tʃɑ:n əjgu:l hæʃsæn ʃʌllɑ: ʃu:f əl *chandelier* əʃbɛli:hæ (.)  
wællæ əl *chandelier* əbkubræ əjti:h (.) tʌbʃæn mɑ:wəʃʌleɪlʔrɔ̃ (.) bæʃ jæʃni: tɛlæʃ  
mɛn əl *ceiling* (.) wɛʃʌl *down to the middle* (.) bæʃ əʃo:t kɑ:n *frightening* (.)  
tʃɛnnæ *terrorist attack*.

Hasan and I (.) he came to visit me in London (.) so we went to phantom (.) a play (.) the  
first *performance* (.) was conducted by Sara Brightman (.) but *this performance* (.) was  
conducted by (.) John Owen Jones (.) the actor of phantom for *six years* (.) Hasan suggested  
to go *backstage* (.) to see the *actors* (.) we went there signed *autographs* (.) and took  
pictures there (2) the scene was fantastic (.) you see *big chandeliers* (.) and the place was  
*huge* (.) Hasan pointed to one of the *chandeliers* and said (.) look how huge it is (.)  
suddenly that one fell down (.) it didn't reach the ground though (.) it got out off the *ceiling*  
(.) and reached *to the middle* (.) but the sound was *frightening* (.) as if it was a *terrorist*  
*attack*.

#### *Female Lexical Code-switcher: Adventure Girl*

ʔɑ:næ bæɡullukum ʃæn *adventure* (.) sæwweithæ hæɡ əxwani: (.)  
lennæl ʃɔ̃tlæ əlli fɑ:tæt mɑ: kɑ:n ʃɛndənæ ʃæj ənsæwi:  
(.) fætʃɑ:n ʔɡulluhum o:kj xæla:s (.) ʔɑnæ bæʃəwwi:lukum  
*adventures* (.)  
wəʃʃɑ:tər ʔi: *medal* (.) əlliʃtu:f əl *adventure* (.) fækɑ:næw ʔuxu:j ʔw *my*  
*cousin* əbteam (.) jæʃm əʃyɑ:r (.) ʔkbær wɑ:həd *nine* (.)  
fækɑ:næt əlmɑrʔʌlæl ʔu:læ (.) *I dared them* (.) ʔennən hʊtluhum hʊmræ (2)  
ʔwæl ʃæj gɑ:læw læ mɑ:ʃi:r əhnəʃbæjja:n  
fægətluhum *ok fine* (.) əlli mɑ:ʃsæwwi:hæ rɑ:h jɛtlɑʃ bɑrʔɑ (2)  
wɛl wɛrule ənhum lɑ:zəm jru:hun əjwɑrrunhæ ʔmmi (.) wɛl *next stage* (.)  
hæʔɛitluhum xæltæ (.) rɛʔtəl mɑʔbɑx (.)  
hæʔɛit *barbeque sauce* (.) əfo:gæ kætʃʌb (.) əfo:gæ *vinegar* (.) əw *orange* (.)  
əw kɑ:n fi: bæʃæd ʃæj ʃɛnu (2) ʔi: (.) *mustard* (.) bæʃʌdʒum sɑwɔ:hæ (.)  
əlmɑrʔʌlæ əlli wɑrɑ:hɑ (.) ʔɛndənæ tʃʌlb (.) *german shephard* (.)  
jɑmsəku:n əl *poo* (.) əlwəʃʌx mɑ:lhæ.

I'd like to tell you about an *adventure* (.) that I did to my brothers and cousins (.) we were  
bored during the holiday and we had nothing to do (.) so I told them you'll do this  
*adventure* (.) and the winner will get a *medal* (.) who can get through all the stages (.) they  
were my brother and *my cousin* in a *team* (.) they were only little (.) the eldest was *nine*  
years old (.) the first *stage* was (.) *I dared them* to wear lipstick (.) and the *rule* (.) was to go  
and show it to mum (.) at the beginning they refused to do so (.) so I told them *OK fine* (.) if  
you don't (.) you'll be out of it (.) so they did it (2) the *next stage* (.) I prepared a mixture of  
gooey stuff (.) and they had to eat it (.) I went to the kitchen (.) and I mixed *barbeque sauce*  
(.) ketchup (.) on top of it *vinegar* (.) and *orange* (.) there was another thing (.) what is it (2)

oh yeah *mustard* (.) some of them went through (.) then we have this *German Sheppard* dog (.) and they were supposed to take its *poo* (.) by hand.

### ***Female Intersentential Code-switcher: Kidnapping***

***This thing happened in the car (.) ok (.) my small brother (.) he was sitting in the car (.) and he started screaming at the b (.) because he was shouting (.) and he was like tired and stuff (.) it was him and my cousin and my sister at the back (.) and he started screaming (.) so my dad got angry (.)*** jæfni: əwbæfdein (.) ?ubuj waggaf əssæjj:ræ (.) əwʔeləf bætassæjj:ræ (.) əwχa:li: kɑ:m jʌfni: wɑ:rɑ: (.) əssæjj:ræ əlli wɑ:rɑ:h (.) tʌlləf ?uxu:j mənəssæjj:ræ (.) gɑ:llæ jʌweilək (.) tʌrʌ ?iðæ ʃɑ:rʌxt mɑ:rʌ θɑ:njæ (.) ?ægəttək bɑ:rʌ əssæjj:ræ (.) ?uxu:j əfwæj tʃeð: bl ondish (.) əwbæfdein əssɑ:lfæ χʌləʃʌt (2) əwbæfdein dəf əssæjj:ræ əwreħnæ beit χɑ:li: (.) *we stayed there for a couple of weeks* (.) əwbæfdeun rʌddeinæ cardiff wales (2) əwbæfdein (.) jɑ:m əlli: kennæ bensa:fər (.) *we were going back to kuwait* (.) əffərtæ dəggæt fælæ ?ubuj (.) əwga:lʌw ənnæ *we've traced down your car from your car plate number (.) and two people have witnessed two Asian men (.) taking a European boy out of the car (.) kidnapping a European boy (.)* ənzein əwbæ fdein gɑ:l (.) fenu fessa:lfæ (.) *we dont know anything about this* (.) əwbæfdeinubuj fʌtæ əttəfʌm hʌgummi: (.) fæ ?ummi gɑ:lætləhum (.) *I think you must be mistaken (.) because that kid (.) that child was mine (.) it's my child (.) nobody kidnapped anyone (.)*

***This thing happened in the car (.) OK (.) my small brother (.) he was sitting in the car (.) and he started screaming at the b (.) because he was shouting (.) and he was like tired and stuff (.) it was him and my cousin and my sister at the back (.) and he started screaming (.) so my dad got angry (.)*** so then my dad stopped the car (.) and stepped out of the car (.) and my uncle was behind him (.) the car behind him (.) and my dad threatened my brother (.) he told him if you shout again (.) I'll kick you out of the car (.) my brother is a little *blondish* (.) then the story ended here (2) and we went back to my uncle's house (.) and *we stayed there for a couple of weeks* (.) and then went back to our house in Cardiff Wales (2) then when we were leaving (.) *we were going back to Kuwait* (.) the police phoned my dad and they told us (.) *we've traced down your car from your car plate number (.) and two people have witnessed two Asian men taking a European boy out of the car (.) kidnapping a European boy (.)* so my dad said what what's going on (.) *we don't know anything about this* (.) then he handed the phone to my mum (.) and she told them (.) *I think you must be mistaken (.) because that kid (.) that child was mine (.) it's my child (.) nobody kidnapped anyone (.)*



**Male Intersentential Code-switcher: Hacker**

ha:ði sa:lfæ ʃa:rætli əbʔwwæl sɪnæ *they introduce the laptop system in [ ]* (.)  
ʔæjj:mhæ (.) ʔa:næ kent mətwaɪlləʃ bəlla:btə:bət (.)  
ew kent da:jmæn ʔʌfʌkkɪ əʃlɔ:n ənsʌwwi: hæʃ ʃʌlæ əssestəm (.) əw kent ʔæʃtəri si:  
dijja:t (.) læmmæ mʌrrʌ hʌʃtɪt bærna:mɪdʒ  
əjʃi:dəl pa:swɔ:dət (.) læmmæ la:btə:bɪ ɔ:tɪəʌb (.) wæddɪtæ hæʒ *mr. [ ]* (.)  
*our school network technician to check on my laptop* (.)  
gɑ:m əhwæ əwdæʃ ʃælæ la:btə:bɪ ʃæn  
ʔɑ:rɪ:q əlpɑ:swɔ:rd ma:læ (.) əhni: əlbærna:mɪdʒ əlli: kɑ:n rɑ:kɪb ʃælæ la:btə:bɪ: (.) ʃɑ:d  
əlpɑ:swɔ:rd ma:læ (.) wellɪ ʃæn ʔɑ:rɪ:qæ kent ʔægdær ʔædɪʃ ʃælæ kel sɪstəm  
əlmædrəsæ (.) ʔæwwəl ma: fɛtæʃt la:btə:bɪ (.) tʃɑ:nædɪʃ ʃælæ  
əl *administration drive* (.) *it was there* (.) *when i found all the passwords for*  
*every single person in the staff*(.) *and the students passwords* (.) ʃɑ:d ʃeno (.)  
əhni: ʃɛrt məjnu:n (.) əstɑ:næst (.)  
*I was able to access exams* (.) *teacher's accounts* (2) *everything everything* (.)  
*then there was this guy* (.) *I dont want to give any names* (.) bæʃ əhwæ ʔesmæ [ ]  
(.) bæʃ lænnæ  
bət ʔʃæbdɪ: wɑ:ʒɪd (.) ʃæbbɑ:s xæðæ la:btə:bɪ: (.) buɔ:ʒæjʃæjɪk ʃælɪ (.) əjʃu:f *if I*  
*was doing something wrong with [?] laptop* (.) ma:lɛqæ ʃæj (.) bæʃ ʃɑ:d lɛqæl  
fɑ:jlɑ:t əlli: kentəmna:zɛlhæ (.) əhni: ʃɑ:r məjnu:n (.) *how did you do this* (.)  
*how did you do this* (.) ʔa:næ ʔʌwwəl ma: ʃɑ:f əlfɑ:jlɑ:t (.) ɡʌlɪ wɛqæf (.)  
wæjhi ʃɑ:r (.) *it went*  
*green* (.) *I became dizzy* (.) *I couldnt even think* (.) *I thought I was in a nightmare*  
(2) *elmuħəm* (.) wæddɑ:nɪ ʃɛnd məstɑr [ ] (.) wɑ:næ hɑ:s ʃu:ləl wæʒt ʔennæ hɑ:ðæ  
kellæ mu: ʃɛdʒ (2) *elmuħəm* (.) læmmæ dæʃtɪt ʃɛnd məstɑr [ ] ɡæʃædnɪ ʃælæl  
ɡænæfæ (.)  
*and he started interogating me* (2) *how did you do this* (.) *why did you do it* (.)  
ʔɑ:næhni: mʊxxi: wɛʒʌf (.) *my mind went num*  
(.) ma:ɡɛdɑrt ʃæfʌkkɪr (.) ɡɛʃæt ʔæɡullæ ʃeno sæwwɛɪt (.) ʃɑ:d wæʒt hæ ma: kent  
xɑ:ʒəf mənhum (.) kent xɑ:ʒəf mən ʔʊmmɪ wəbu:ʒ (.)  
*not because they're violent* (.) *but because they can be when they want to* (.)

This thing happened when *they introduced the laptop system in [ ]* (.) at those days (.) I was fond of laptops (.) and I was always thinking of how to hack on the system (.) and I used to buy lots of CDs (.) until that time when I got a programme that can get passwords (.) when I had a problem with my laptop I took it to *Mr [ ]* (.) *our school network technician to check on my laptop* (.) so he accessed my laptop through his own password (.) the programme that was installed on my laptop got his password (.) through which I was able to access all school system (.) *I accessed the administration drive* (.) *it was there* (.) *when I*

*found all the passwords for every single person in the staff(.) and the students passwords*  
 (.) I was stunned (.) *I was able to access exams (.) teachers accounts (.) everything(.)*  
*everything (.) then (.) there was this guy (.) I don't want to give any names* but his name is  
 [ ] because I'm very pissed off at him (.) [ ] took my laptop to check *if I was doing*  
*anything wrong with [ ] laptop (.)* he didn't find anything (.) but he found all the school  
 files that I downloaded (.) he was so angry (.) and he started asking me (.) *how did you do*  
*this (.) how did you do this (.)* when he first saw the files (.) my heart stopped (.) my face  
 turned (.) *it went green (.) I became dizzy (.) I couldn't even think (.) I thought I was in a*  
*nightmare (2)* anyway (.) he took me to [ ] at that time I couldn't believe what was  
 happening (.) I always thought it was not really happening (.) [ ] took me to his office (.)  
*and he started interrogating me (.) how did you do this (.) why did you do it (.)* my mind  
 stopped thinking (.) *my mind went num (.)* I couldn't even think (.) and I started telling him  
 what I did (.) at that time I wasn't afraid from them (.) I was afraid from mum and dad (.)  
*not because they're violent (.) but because they can be when they want to (.)*

#### ***Female English-only: A snake in a hotel***

Couple of years ago (.) when we were living in America (.) our family decided to go on a  
 tour (.) and while we were touring around America (.) we stopped at a hotel called [ ] (.)  
 and we went in the hotel (.) and my parents checked in (.) and then they gave us our room  
 number (.) we were walking in the whole way (.) when my brother saw this (.) this snake on  
 the floor (2) he thought it was fake (.) and he went up to it (.) and he was going to touch it (.)  
 when it suddenly moved (.) and my mum started screaming (.) and my brother thought it  
 was fake (.) so he went to touch it (.) but then my mum screamed her head off at him (.) and  
 so he just ran away (2) and then my dad went up to the receptionist (.) and he was like (.)  
 there is a snake in the hallway (.) and then the receptionist was like (.) no there is not (.) um  
 (.) there must be a mistake (.) and then my dad got really angry (.) he took the receptionist  
 and he showed him the snake (.) the receptionist was like oh (.) I'm sorry for the  
 inconvenience (.) and (.) so my parents took back their money and we left the hotel (.)  
 thank god (.) and we just continued on (.) in our (.) that day we slept in a car instead of  
 sleeping in a hotel (.) because it was too late (.) it was too dark (.) so we couldn't go  
 anywhere else to check in a hotel.

#### ***Male English-only: Joining a new School***

Last year (.) I had to travel to [ ] with my mother (.) because she was doing this phd over  
 there (.) anyways I joined up this private school called [ ] school (.) at that time (.) I didn't  
 know that these schools were very very formal (.) a bit too formal (.) so when the head  
 master Mr [ ] asked me a question (.) I'd always answer back informally (.) so he would ask  
 me like (.) how are you (.) and I say (.) great (.) then he frowns and says (.) please say fine  
 thank you sir (.) so I'd say (.) fine thank you (.) then he'd always tell me to say sir  
 afterwards (.) I remember him telling me (.) are you enjoying your time in school (.) and I'd  
 say yeah (.) but then he'd correct me (.) by telling me to say yes sir (.) this went on and on  
 (.) and eventually I got into the habit of saying yes sir (.) when he'd ask me any question (.)  
 he always asked me the same question over and over again (.) every single day (.) so I  
 developed this habit of saying (.) of just saying yes sir whenever he talked to me (.) then I'd  
 nod and smile (.) but one morning (.) he suddenly came and told me good morning [ ] (.)

out of habit (.) I just said (.) yes sir (.) I didn't notice (.) and then he frowned and he was like (.) excuse me (.) then I said again (.) yes sir without noticing (.) then I nodded and smiled and walked away (2) after walking about ten fifteen steps (.) I suddenly realized what I did (.) when I turned around (.) I looked at him and started laughing (.) hysterically (.) the head master didn't think it's amusing though (.) typical (.) right (.)

#### *4.2.2 Phase 2 – session 1: Pilot study*

In the first session of phase 2, I ran a pilot test of the questionnaire with 120 students from two public schools (63 girls from a school for girls and 57 boys from a school for boys). Several issues came to surface as a result:

1. The questionnaire application took a long time bearing in mind that it had to deal with 16 speakers, each speaking for about one minute. Respondents needed 5-8 minutes to complete the part that corresponds to each speaker. Added to that, further five minutes were needed for the preparation stage in which the nature of the study, the speakers and the speaking event were briefly presented. This led to a situation where respondents were extremely exhausted and accordingly handed in their questionnaires with many blank pages. In order to resolve such a crucial issue, I had to decide on a way of cutting down the number of speakers. Due to the prominence of a gender division within the community in Kuwait, and as the study anticipates such division to picture within its findings, I decided to cut down the number of speakers representing each language variety. In other words, only one speaker within each gender group was used to represent the linguistic variety. The decision was made after the examination of the 15 most fully completed questionnaire. Through an informal examination of the averages for the rating scales of the various speakers, I found that speakers representing the same variety were closely rated. In spite of the fact that such action might negatively affect the reliability of the results, I had to choose 'the lesser of the two evils'.

2. Piloting the questionnaire also led me to cut down the number of questions, making the questionnaire look less wordy. This was mainly done in two ways: first, except for the first

two open-ended questions at the beginning of the questionnaire' and the demographic questions at the final page of the questionnaire, all rating questions were unified into one pattern that introduced the various attributes within labels to be judged through a seven-point Likert Scale, with 1 reflecting 'not at all', and 7 reflecting 'very much'. The second was to look for questions of which responses tended to cluster together into very close means. Accordingly, labels of sociable, pleasant, 'good speaker' and 'makes friends easily' tended to cluster very closely together, and as a result were presented under the label 'likeable'. Q6 (To what extent do you think the language used by the speaker opens future job opportunities?) and 'successful' were combined into one item. Q8 (To what extent do you think the speaker abides with the values of Kuwaiti society?) was cut down as it apparently clustered with 'conservative'. New evaluative labels (fluent, comprehensible) were added based on the analysis of the participants' responses to the first open-ended question. The full versions of both pilot and actual questionnaires are included in Appendix One.

3. The pilot study also functioned in resolving some technical issues. Those included the utilisation of more efficient loudspeakers to ensure the audibility of the recording. Another crucial issue was the size of the room where the audition sessions had taken place. As those pilot sessions had taken place in large auditorium halls, where large numbers of informants were collected to complete the questionnaires, many students complained about their inability to clearly hear the speakers. As a result, the actual questionnaire administration was run in regular classroom sizes with a number of students that were not to exceed 20 students.

#### *4.2.3 Phase 2 – Session 2: Main questionnaire administration*

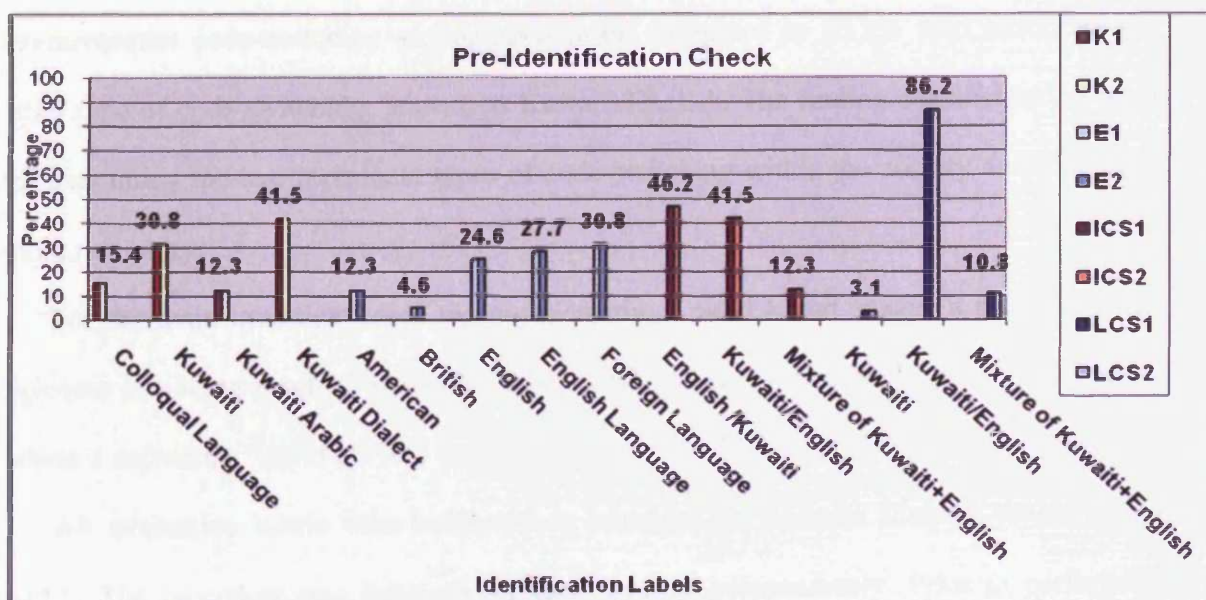
In order to provide appropriate wording items for the modified matched guise questionnaire, and use evaluative dimensions that are meaningful to the judges, I conducted some preliminary interviews (reported in Chapter 2). Several issues were highlighted within those discussions. Those issues (as previously mentioned) were then used as the basis for the evaluative judgements about the speakers. Other dimensions were derived from the first two open-ended questions at the beginning of both the pilot and the main questionnaires, asking for free expressions that describe the speakers and their languages. More than just providing us with evaluative wordings, I argue that the first question ‘Write down the first two impressions that come to your mind when you hear the speaker’ may be used to reflect on the robustness of the narratives as an elicitation instrument. Again as mentioned earlier, such question could be used to signify the extent to which attitudes to speakers could be influenced by variables other than the language of the speakers. By grouping responses to such question in terms of their focusing on the story content, the speaker’s prosodic features or the linguistic features of the languages used, one may conclude how appropriate the technique would be in future attitudinal studies. I also claim that, since the respondents had to quickly jot down their responses, the use of such a free-response question may reveal the respondent’s prime interest during the evaluation process, a measure believed to overcome one of the prime weaknesses of quantitative scales-data in attitudinal studies (Garrett et al. 2003) - that is the technique’s inability to reflect the importance of one dimension over the other in people’s judgments. Moreover, considering the strictly conservative nature of the society under investigation, and the fact that the study focuses on teenagers as its main group of respondents whose responses may include severely harsh words or even insults, I also claim that including such a question may overcome problems that the researcher may face in presenting labels that might be socially rejected, especially within an educational

setting. It is worth mentioning at this point that labels such as 'gay', 'girly' and 'delicate' which were used to describe the male code-switchers during the focus group interviewing are heavily stigmatised - a situation that makes the presentation of such words in the questionnaire very difficult or even impossible. The second question (Describe the language that the speaker uses) will hopefully reveal the respondents' recognition of the language varieties. Responses for the two open-ended questions will be presented in more detail in Chapter 6, where I present the study's qualitative data, under the heading of what Garrett and his associates in their study of the Welsh language varieties across Wales describe as 'keywords' (Garrett et al. 2003: 179).

As Garrett et al. (2003) propose, the problem with asking respondents to differentiate speakers of different language varieties on a number of 'pre-selected' dimensions is that it is unable to reflect the salience of the rated dimensions for respondents. Hence, including a task where the respondent is asked to jot down his/her first impressions about a speaker may help the researcher to find evaluative labels that are most salient to the group of judges. The second question, however, is whether the respondents have correctly recognised the investigated language varieties. The question can function as a form of validity check. Bearing in mind that the question is a free-response item, I anticipated some stereotypical views of the spoken languages to emerge from the different groups of respondents. Listeners' responses were later grouped under three categories: correctly identified language variety, incorrectly identified language variety and ambiguously identified language variety. I argue that, by closely examining responses for this question, one might look for specific patterns of evaluative responses and see whether any inconsistency in the results might be related to the fact that a certain speech variety was misidentified in the first place. Findings for this question might cast light on the importance of including information on listeners' abilities to identify the spoken language varieties. More than that, responses were

investigated for any special stereotypical labelling attributed to any of the utilised languages by the different groups of informants.

Due to its vital nature in relation to the validity of the questionnaire instrument, the stimuli were presented to preliminary groups of judges prior to their utilization in the MGT questionnaire. For this purpose, four visits were made to schools with the three educational streams. The audio-tape of the eight speakers was piloted on one whole class (consisting of 15-18 students) in each of the schools, where students were asked to write down the language practised by the speakers. The results are shown in Figure 4.1.



**Figure 4.1: Students' descriptions of the presented language varieties by male and female speakers**

As Figure (4.1) shows, responses for this question ranged between Kuwaiti (30.8%), Kuwaiti dialect (41.5%), Kuwaiti Arabic (12.3%) or colloquial language (15.4%) for the Kuwaiti speakers; English (24.6%), American (12.3%), British (4.6%) or a foreign language (30.8%) for the English speakers; and English/ Kuwaiti (46.2%), Kuwaiti/ English (41.5%), or a mixture of Kuwaiti & English (12.3%) for the code-switchers, all of which were

considered correct recognition. Amongst 65 participants, only two students have inaccurately described the language spoken by the lexical code-switchers as Kuwaiti dialect. Both students were from a bilingual private school. A similar preliminary identification check was also applied on a group of eight female and ten male teachers during their attendance to a training course at the Ministry of Education. The procedure has resulted in all correctly recognized language varieties for the teachers' group. Through a closer examination of those responses, the data revealed that a satisfying number of the responses (19) indicated that the participants differentiated between the two types of code-switchers. Results of the pre-identification checks showed that 46.2% of the judges described the intersentential code-switching as English/Kuwaiti compared to 86.2% who described the other type of code-switching, lexical, as Kuwaiti/English. The finding established the need for examining the two prominent types of code-switching within the society as being even more necessary.

For the main investigation in the questionnaire, I used Likert scales, a procedure that involves providing a set of evaluative labels designed to be answered on a 7-point scale, where 1 represents 'not at all' and 7 represents 'very much' (see section 4.2.2, above).

All evaluative labels were subjected to principal components analysis (PCA) using SPSS. The procedure was followed for each speaker independently. Prior to performing PCA, the suitability of data for factor analysis was assessed. Inspection of the correlation matrix revealed the presence of high coefficient values of .3 and above, and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin values exceeded the recommended value of .6 (Kaiser, 1970).

Factor analyses revealed the presence of four components amongst most of the speakers with eigenvalues exceeding 1. To illustrate, I will report results for one of the speakers (Kuwaiti Male) (see Table 4.3), as it appears to be the most repeatedly displayed results for the conducted tests. The full range of the tests results will be included in Appendix Two.



**Table 4.3: Results presented in factor analysis of K-only male speaker**

**Rotated Component Matrix<sup>b</sup>**

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Speaker Resemblance (Kuwaiti Male)	.852			
Speaker Kindness (Kuwaiti Male)	.832			
Speaker Honesty (Kuwaiti Male)	.825			
Speaker Likeability (Kuwaiti Male)	.819			
Speaker Comprehensibility (Kuwaiti Male)	.597			
Speaker Religiousness (Kuwaiti Male)				
Speaker Success (Kuwaiti Male)		.791		
Speaker Education (Kuwaiti Male)		.691		
Speaker status (Kuwaiti Male)		.646		
Speaker Fluency (Kuwaiti Male)	.531	-.623		
Speaker Intelligence (Kuwaiti Male)		.621		
Speaker Kuwaitiness (Kuwaiti Male)			.788	
Speaker pride in Kuwaiti identity (Kuwaiti Male)			.771	
Speaker Modernity (Kuwaiti Male)				.791
Speaker Conservativeness (Kuwaiti Male)				.687

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

b. Only cases for which Type of School = government are used in the analysis phase.

Table (4.3) reveals the presence of simple structure (Thurstone, 1947 In Garrett et al. 2003), with four components showing a number of strong loadings. The four factor solution explained a total of 59.8% of the variance, with factor 1 contributing 32.2%, factor 2 contributing 10.1%, factor 3 contributing 9.7%, and factor 4 contributing 7.8%. The result of this analysis tends to support the conventional status/solidarity dimensions found in

previous attitudinal studies with four solidarity key attributes (like you, likeable, honest and kind), and three status key attributes (successful, educated and rich). Due to the fact that the item 'intelligent' did not seem to frequently factorise with the other status attributes in a number of speakers (although it did in the above-reported example), the decision was made to exclude any data in relation to this attribute. In many cases, communication attributes, represented by the speaker's 'fluency' and 'comprehensibility' did not show factorability within the rest of the components, and as the two attributes tended to correlate highly, I decided to use the data for 'comprehensibility' to reflect the communicative dimension. Results also suggest an 'identity' factor, including attributes of the speaker's 'Kuwaitiness' and 'pride in his or her Kuwaitiness', a 'modern-conservative' factor, and a crucial community-based moral belief reflected in the speaker's 'religiousness'; the results of which will be reported under my proposed cultural dimensions which proved to be at work within the Kuwaiti sociolinguistic setting.

However, due to the different polarity of the two attributes in relation to a number of speakers, the decision was made to use the data for 'conservative' only to reflect on this important cultural dimension. It should be noted, however, that one problem with the use of a questionnaire as the study's main approach is that amongst the constructed attributes, several items could be considered ambiguous in terms of whether they are perceived as positive or negative traits. To illustrate this more clearly, attributes such as conservative, modern and religious might be perceived as socially attractive for some Kuwaitis, but certainly not for all Kuwaitis. In fact, such attributes might be considered completely negative, depending on the participants' ideological standpoints. Opposite to the reflected picture, for such people, higher rates on those scales may present negative attitudes to certain linguistic varieties. Such a situation might dangerously lead to misreading the quantitative findings, based on one's own personal ideological stances. In order to overcome

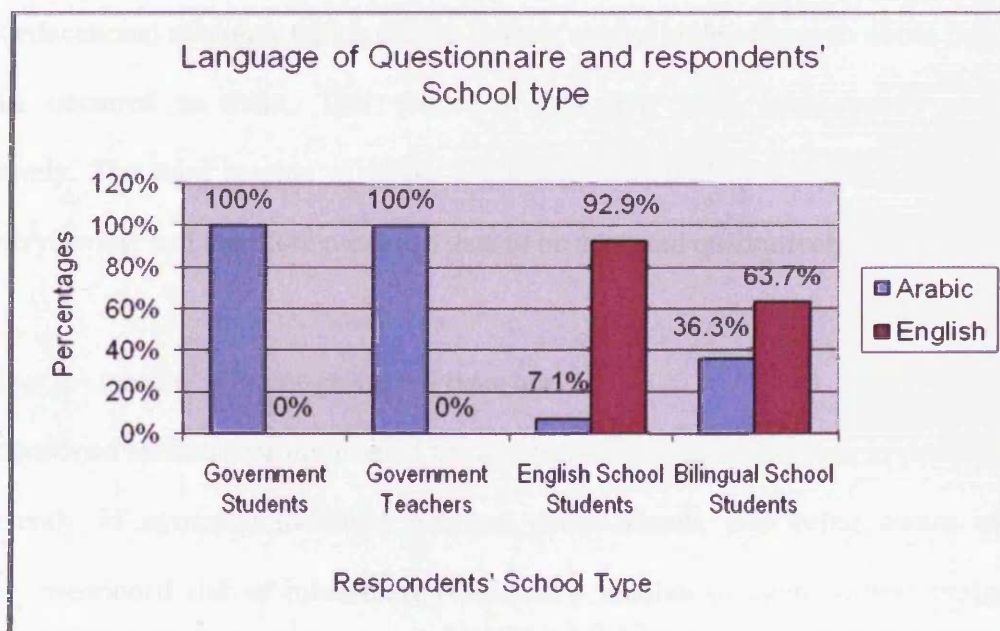
this problem, I decided to follow two different strategies. The first is to include an open-ended question, towards the end of the questionnaire, which directly asks for attitudes towards the main investigated speech variety (code-switching). Responses to such question might indicate the respondents' views of the linguistic variety under discussion and the intensity of those views. The second is to discursively analyse some focus-group interviewing that might account for any unexpected findings and explain ambiguously discrepant results.

The final page of the questionnaire included general demographic information about the participants. Those included the age of the respondent, nationality, gender, type of school and their overall ability in the English language, many of which were used as investigated factors within the present study.

The questionnaire was presented to the respondents in two versions: Arabic and English, where respondents were given a free choice of selecting a questionnaire that suited their preferences from two piles located on a table to the front of the classroom. Such action is believed to cast the light on any possible interaction between the evaluative item, the linguistic variety and the language of the questionnaire. Moreover, I believe that providing the respondents with such a free choice may, in itself, throw light on attitudes to two of the varieties I am researching (English and Arabic). Considering the fact that the study involves respondents who might have English as their first language (especially those pooled from English private schools), I argue that introducing the questionnaire in both languages would ensure a greater deal of comprehensibility for respondents with different language abilities. More than that, the measure may index the vitality of the languages within the three educational settings.

Interestingly, amongst the 238 students from the government schools, all respondents chose to use the Arabic version of the questionnaire. The situation tended to be completely

different in English Private Schools, where 92.9% of the respondents decided to use the questionnaire in its English version, compared to 7.1% only who selected the Arabic version. In the bilingual schools however, a more balanced profile was presented, with 36.3% of the students selecting the Arabic version, compared to 63.7% selecting the English version. As for the teachers group, all respondents decided to use the questionnaire in its Arabic version. Remember, though, that teachers were only pooled from government schools due to the previously mentioned difficulties in approaching teachers in the private schools (Figure 4.2 summarises teachers and students' preferences for the language of questionnaire across the three types of schools).



**Figure 4.2: Language preference for questionnaire completion task**

A closer examination of the results may in fact indicate the high vitality of Arabic within the government schools, compared to the high vitality of English at English and bilingual private schools, a situation that might have its effects on the respondents' attitudes to the various language varieties under the scope of the study.

All sessions were administered by myself, and under the supervision of a school's administrator. After listening to a one-minute recording of each speaker, participants were given the time they needed to complete the corresponding part of the questionnaire, in which they were asked to evaluate the speakers on the previously mentioned dimensions on a seven-point Likert scale. The whole process took approximately one hour for the students, but less than that for the teachers group (approximately 40 minutes). The sessions took place in a classroom setting for the students group, and in a seminar room setting for the teachers group. The method was employed to investigate teachers' and students' attitudes towards the various language varieties in Kuwait. In this study, three language varieties were presented to respondents through audio-taped excerpts of teenagers from schools with different educational schemes, telling stories in their natural style of speech about incidents that have occurred to them. This produced data that were subsequently analysed quantitatively. The third session of phase 2 (closely discussed in 4.2.4) involved focus-group interviewing, and therefore produced data to be analysed qualitatively.

#### *4.2.4 Phase 2 – session 3: Focus-group interviewing*

As mentioned earlier, bearing in mind the importance of qualitative data in dealing with the inherently idiosyncratic modified matched guise stimuli, and being aware of the previously mentioned risk of misreading results of a number of controversial evaluative labels derived in the present study (4.2.1), I conducted five focus-group sessions that involved 38 informants from different groups. Participants were selected from the respondents who had already filled in the questionnaire, and who agreed to get involved in a discussion where they could comment further on the narrators. Small homogeneous groups (in terms of age, gender and school type), six to eight members, were gathered around table, in order to discuss their feelings about selected topics that surfaced during quantitative

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data collection. The discussions were loosely structured by briefing the discussants on how they should run the discussions. This was done in the belief that combining a direct (qualitative) and an indirect (quantitative) approach would result in much more rigorous findings (Giles et al., 1977). The intention was to examine the extent to which respondents' evaluations are affected by variables other than the linguistic features of the stimulus (narratives), and to allow the participants to react in accordance with their own frames of reference. The focus-group discussions were audio-taped and transcribed. After each recorded interviewing session, the data was examined in an attempt to pull out the concepts and themes that tend to be operative in the world of my interviewees. Those concepts were used to re-direct future focus-group discussions to focus on those central themes for further clarification. Several issues were raised during this event; some were more related to the way Kuwaiti/English code-switching variety is perceived, including the differentiated perceptions of the two types of code-switching and the two genders of code-switchers. Others, though, may be related to the reliability of the matched guise technique as a sole elicitation instrument in attitudinal studies. These issues need to be more closely examined, and hence will be presented in more detail in chapter 6.

### **4.3 The study's informants**

The study involves two major groups of respondents. The first is the students group. This group is divided into three sub-groups according to the school type: bilingual school students, English school students and public (government) school students.

This division is made based on my anticipation of school type being a predictor of respondents' evaluative responses. Students were all pooled from secondary schools in Kuwait within the three previously mentioned educational schemes. The sample included 417 students of whom 175 were males (42%) and 242 were females (58%). The students'

ages ranged between 13 and 19 with a mean age of 15.8. 238 (57%) students were from four different government schools in Kuwait, 99 (23.7%) from two English Private schools and 80 (19.2%) from a bilingual school. Responses to a self-assessment question of the respondents' ability in English on a seven-point scale was regrouped into three levels of ability: 'low' for scales of 1 and 2, 'medium' for scales of 3, 4 and 5, and 'high' for scales of 6 and 7. Results show that 227 (54.4%) described their ability as high ability, 169 (40.5) as medium ability and 19 (4.6%) as poor ability. It should be remembered, however, that such self evaluation reflects the respondents' self perceptions of their abilities, which might not truly reflect their actual proficiency. Another problem may be related to the fact that students, who comprise the study's main group of informants were pooled from three types of schools with very different educational schemes in relation to learning English; a factor that could have led to the students evaluating their ability in English on very different grounds.

The students were approached in their own classrooms where they listened to the stories performed by the different speakers within a period of 45-55 minutes. Powerful loudspeakers were placed at each of the classroom corners to ensure an appropriate sound system within the hearing sessions.

The second group is the teachers group. My main goal here is to identify the evaluative profiles that teachers attribute to the various language varieties under the scope of the study. Due to the problems encountered in accessing teachers within the private schools, all teachers' data were collected from teachers from the government schools in Kuwait. The sample comprised 39 male teachers (44.3) and 49 female teachers (55.7%). Their ages ranged between 21 and 58 with a mean of 35.7. According to the teachers' self-assessments of English ability, 14 teachers (15.9%) described themselves as having poor ability, 59 (67%) as having medium ability and 15 (17%) as having high ability. Due to the nature of

their job, it was impossible to gather large numbers of teachers to participate in the questionnaire. Classes of graduating teachers at Kuwait University were therefore approached for this purpose. Other teachers were approached during their attendance at a training course at the development and training centre at the Ministry of Education. The tape was played in a seminar-setting room with loudspeakers located on top of a table that was placed in the middle of the room. The sessions were shorter with this sample (35-40 minutes) as teachers were easier to organise and faster in writing down their responses about each of the eight speakers. In order to eliminate the sequence of the speakers as a confounding factor, the speakers were presented in different sequence within the different sessions.



## **Chapter 5: Findings – Quantitative data**

In Chapter 4 I pointed to a number of evaluative dimensions that seem to be at work within Kuwaiti society: a set of social-psychological dimensions represented in the conventional status/solidarity attributes found in previous attitudinal studies (Giles and Hewstone, 1982; Bentahila, 1983; Giles and Coupland, 1991), a ‘communicative’ dimension reflected in perceptions of the speaker’s comprehensibility and fluency, and a set of culturally-based dimensions reflected in attributes of the speaker’s ethnic/national identity, conservativeness and religiousness.

This chapter will highlight the quantitative findings of the present study, through a thorough analysis of the questionnaire data in relation to the above-mentioned dimensions. This will be done in three major sections: The first addresses the social- psychological dimensions in section (5.1); the second deals with the communicative dimensions, set out in section (5.2); the culture-based dimensions are analysed in section (5.3). This will be followed by a summary of the findings (set out in section 5.4) in relation to the four language varieties across the students and teachers groups, in an attempt to present evaluative profiles for the four main language varieties in Kuwait. The sections will demonstrate participants’ evaluative responses across the speakers of the different linguistic varieties and in relation to the participants’ educational background. Being the main focus of the present study, a separate section (5.5) will be allocated to review findings relating to code-switching varieties in particular, in an attempt to find the effects of several factors on the participants’ attitudes, including gender of the code-switcher and type of the practised code-switching.

Participants’ ratings were analysed using the SPSS for Windows statistical package. Subjects were divided into two main groups: students’ and teachers’ groups with the former classified into three different groups in accordance to their type of school (Group 1:

Government School; Group 2: English Private School; Group 3: Bilingual Private School). In order to fulfil the study's main objectives in investigating the relationships between the four language varieties and informants' attitudes, and given the fact that the study is conducted in a community characterised by profound gender segregation, I decided to conduct my preliminary MANOVA repeated measures procedure with the subjects' and speakers' gender as possible functioning factors. However, as the preliminary analyses showed no significant overall differences in the ratings of male and female informants amongst student groups, I decided to conduct the rest of the study's analyses in relation to the group without informant gender as an independent variable. Having discussed the cultural implications and significance of sex in Kuwaiti, and in order to test the previously mentioned hypotheses in this study, students' data were analysed using a mixed between-subjects and within-subjects design, as follows: 3 (government school, English school and bilingual school) x 4 (speakers' linguistic style) x 2 (speakers' gender) ANOVA design, with repeated measures on the last two factors (language variety and gender of speaker). My intention here is to investigate any systematic relationships between the speakers' linguistic style and gender on the one hand and teenagers' attitudes (across three educational schemes) towards the four language varieties (Kuwaiti-only, English-only, ICS and LCS) on the other hand. However, since respondents' gender in the preliminary MANOVA analyses did produce significant effect in the teachers' data, the second set of data were analysed using a 2 (male teachers; female teachers) x 4 (speaking styles) x 2 (speaker's gender) ANOVA, with repeated measures on the last two factors. A higher alpha level was set to reduce the chance of Type 1 error, using a Bonferroni adjustment, giving an adjusted alpha level of .012 for all previously mentioned analyses.

## **5.1 Social- psychological dimensions**

### **5.1.1 Perceived solidarity**

Based on previous matched guise experiments, it was anticipated that in-group varieties would be rated more favourably on solidarity dimensions by the informants. This tendency relates in part to the hearer's familiarity with the language variety, as proposed by Coupland and his co-workers (1999). Bearing in mind that the students from English and bilingual private schools are more familiar with two of the studied language varieties, English and K/E code switching, and as a result of the very differing ideological views nurtured by the different educational systems in relation to the four utilised language varieties in Kuwait, I hypothesized that students would demonstrate different evaluative profiles towards the two above-mentioned varieties in accordance to their type of school along the solidarity dimensions. Specifically, more favourable attitudes would be demonstrated amongst the groups coming from English and bilingual educational schemes than those coming from the government schools. Using a mixed between-and within-subject repeated measures ANOVA tests, students' data were analysed to find the impact of the informants' type of school and speaker gender on perceived speakers' solidarity (presented in the labels *likeable, like you, honest and kind*). The teachers' data, on the other hand, were analysed using repeated measures ANOVAs, in an attempt to investigate the impact of sex (respondent's and speaker's sex) on teachers' attitudes towards the four spoken language varieties in the country. The following table (5.1) displays the mean values for the evaluations provided by students, across the three types of school, and by teachers (male and female) in relation to the male-female speakers of the four language varieties along solidarity dimensions.

## Perceived Solidarity

		Male Speakers				Female Speakers				
		K	E	ICS	LCS	K	E	ICS	LCS	P-Value
Students	Government School	5.89 <sup>a</sup>	4.82 <sup>b</sup>	2.96 <sup>c</sup>	2.35 <sup>d</sup>	5.42 <sup>e</sup>	3.20 <sup>c</sup>	4.21 <sup>f</sup>	3.24 <sup>c</sup>	0.0005
	English School	2.85 <sup>a</sup>	6.31 <sup>b</sup>	6.41 <sup>b</sup>	5.92 <sup>c</sup>	2.41 <sup>d</sup>	6.56 <sup>e</sup>	6.51 <sup>e</sup>	5.73 <sup>f</sup>	0.0005
	Bilingual School	3.90 <sup>a,c</sup>	4.35 <sup>a,c</sup>	3.88 <sup>a,c</sup>	3.86 <sup>a,c</sup>	3.20 <sup>b</sup>	3.79 <sup>a</sup>	3.85 <sup>a</sup>	4.42 <sup>c</sup>	0.0005
Teachers	Male	5.09 <sup>a</sup>	3.93 <sup>b,c</sup>	3.89 <sup>a,c,d</sup>	3.46 <sup>b,d</sup>	4.77 <sup>a,c,e</sup>	3.67 <sup>b,d</sup>	3.69 <sup>b,d,e</sup>	3.62 <sup>b,d</sup>	0.0005
	Female	3.32 <sup>a</sup>	5.27 <sup>b,c</sup>	4.96 <sup>b,d</sup>	4.60 <sup>a,d</sup>	3.82 <sup>a,c,d</sup>	5.20 <sup>b,d</sup>	5.03 <sup>b,d</sup>	4.84 <sup>b,d</sup>	0.0005

Table 5.1: Students across three types of schools, and teachers' evaluations of the four language varieties for solidarity

K = Kuwaiti- only

E = English- only

ICS = Intersentential Kuwaiti/English code-switching

LCS = Lexical Kuwaiti/English code-switching

N.B: Different superscripts across the same row indicate significant differences at  $p < .012$

Results show a significant main effect for linguistic style at  $p < .012$  [ $F(3, 392) = 121.4$ ] at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .48$ ). There was no significant main effect for speaker gender. However, there was a significant interaction effect for linguistic style\*speaker gender at  $p < 0.0005$  [ $F(2,394) = 2.31$ ], also at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .35$ ). This means that speakers of the four speech styles were evaluated differently as a result of their language variety. It also indicates that such linguistic style differentiation tends to be associated with the gender of the speaker.

Within-subject post hoc comparisons indicated all significant mean differences amongst the speakers of the four linguistic styles. There was also a significant main effect for respondents' school type [ $F(2, 394) = 243$ ,  $p < .0005$ ] at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .55$ ). Between-subjects post hoc comparisons showed that the differences lay in the mean differences between government and English school groups, and between English and bilingual school groups (but to a smaller extent). Examination of the mean differences

between the speakers within the students of each type of schools reveals significant mean differences ( $p < .012$ ), a finding that suggests that the students across the three types of schools also varied in their reaction to the speakers as a result of the speakers' language varieties, speaker's sex and school type.

For ease of comparison, the data for Table 5.1 are repeated in figures 5.1a and 5.1b for male and female speakers separately.

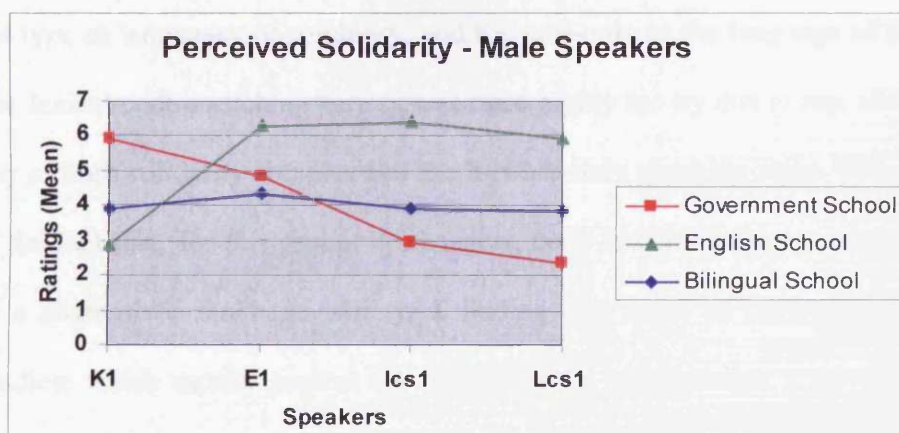


Figure 5.1a: Students' evaluative profiles of male speakers for solidarity

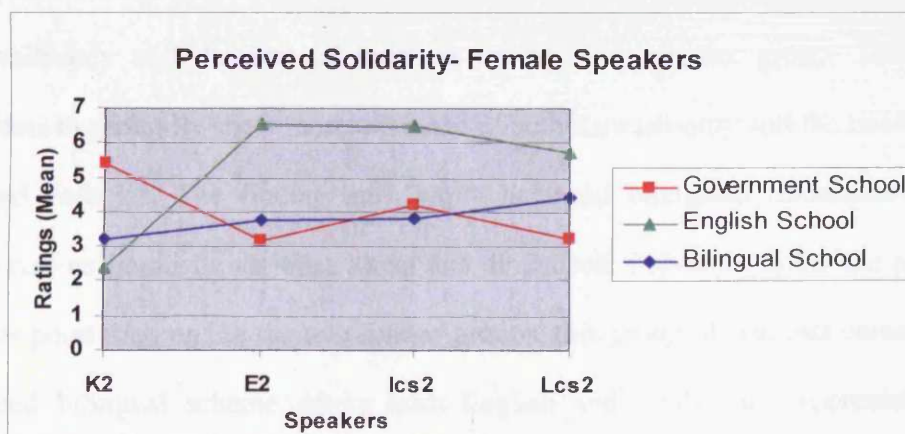


Figure 5.1b: Students' evaluative profiles of female speakers for solidarity

The figures show that, while, for government school students, Kuwaiti-only seems to be considered the language of solidarity, English-only tends to be rated moderately highly too. The two mixed or code-switched varieties are rated lowest of all, a finding that seems to support previous studies in describing code-switching as a stigmatised variety for this group of informants (Bentahilla, 1983; Lawson, 2001).

Students from the English schools, however, show strong disagreement with their government school counterparts in that they consider English-only and code-switching in its intersentential type as languages of solidarity, and Kuwaiti-only as the language of the least solidarity. The lexical code-switching variety was rated highly too by this group, showing it to be a variety of high solidarity compared to the Kuwaiti-only speaking style. This may be indicative of the fact that, for this group of teenagers, code-switching does not seem to be perceived as a stigmatised language variety, a finding that tends to contradict previous attitudinal studies, which mostly present the variety as an unfavourable style of speech, especially for adults.

In the bilingual school community, students perceive the four language varieties equally and moderately favourably with the only significant mean difference between female Kuwaiti-only and the rest of speakers in the same gender group. The group, however, seems to generally show more tolerance to both Kuwaiti-only and the two types of code-switched varieties. The finding may imply balanced bilinguals' moderate stances towards the various linguistic varieties along this dimension. I should remind the reader at this particular point that, unlike the two former groups, this group of students come from a more balanced bilingual scheme where both English and Arabic are appreciated and children are exposed to the two languages in a balanced way during their early years of schooling. Such a 'partially' balanced scheme seems to have a positive effect on the students' attitudes towards the spoken language varieties in the country.

Looking at the overall ratings of the male and female students, we see higher ratings for solidarity for the male speakers compared to the female speakers in relation to two of the more desirable language varieties, namely Kuwaiti-only and English-only, amongst teenagers from the government school. The finding hints that social interaction with the male Kuwaiti teenagers as opposed to their female counterparts might be more desirable for this group of teenagers in particular. As mentioned in chapter 1, social interaction seems to be amongst the concepts that separate the two gender groups in Kuwait, where Kuwaiti boys are more encouraged to interact sociably in the community, while girls' social life before marriage should always be encircled by their parents or older family members. Such an ideological concept may also be signified in the differences between the ways the speakers of the two gender groups were evaluated by the students in the government school, where the male speaker was more harshly downgraded when he used the two code-switched varieties. The finding implies the group's greater tolerance for the mixed varieties when utilised by female teenagers than by their male counterparts. This could also be related to the less heavy demands on Kuwaiti females' social interaction within the community compared to Kuwaiti boys. In other words, it seems to be more acceptable for a Kuwaiti girl to use an undesirable variety (CS) since she is not expected to independently involve herself in any social interaction within her community. This, however, does not seem to apply to a Kuwaiti boy, whose social interaction seems to be at risk when he uses such an undesirable language variety, namely code-switching.

In the English schools, however, in spite of the significant mean differences between male-female speakers within the same language variety, there seems to be no obvious pattern of the direction of that distinction. The above-explained social concept seems to lose its significance within this group of teenagers.

In the bilingual school group, post hoc results demonstrate all non-significant mean differences, except for male vs. female Kuwaiti-only speakers. The finding suggests that teenagers from the bilingual schools seem to barely differentiate between the speakers of the two gender groups within the same language variety, except for male vs. female Kuwaiti-only speakers, whose ratings tend to be in line with the previously mentioned concept of more desirable social interaction with Kuwaiti males as opposed to their female counterparts. The finding suggests that, unlike teenagers from the government schools, this group of teenagers tend to partially adhere to the community's discriminatory views of social interaction, only when the teenager uses the Kuwaiti-only variety.

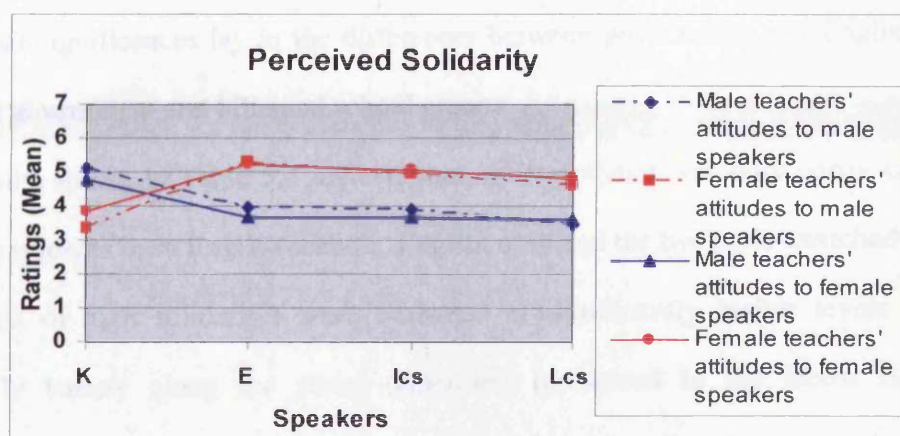
Due to the fact that all teacher-group informants were pooled from government schools, only the effects of the speaker speech-style and gender (of speaker and respondent) on the group's responses were examined. Results (displayed in Table 5.1) indicated a significant main effect for linguistic style [ $F(3, 73) = 5.20, P < .003$ ], at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .17$ ). Results, however, indicated neither a significant main effect for speaker gender nor for an interaction effect linguistic style\*speaker gender. Analysis of between-subject factors showed a significant main effect for subject's gender [ $F(1, 75) = 13.03, P < .001$ ] at a large effect ( $\eta^2 = .14$ ). Repeated measures analyses of male and female teachers showed also significant p-values, with big effect sizes ( $\eta^2 = .64$ ), yet smaller than the effect size obtained amongst the students groups. The finding indicates that the two gender groups evaluated the speakers differently based on their spoken language styles. Mean differences between the speakers of the four language varieties in the judgments of male teachers were only significant in the contrast between Kuwaiti-only and English-only speakers (regardless of the speakers' sex), and ICS and LCS speakers (yet to a smaller extent) only amongst male code-switchers.



Inspection of the mean values indicates that Kuwaiti-only speakers were evaluated to be of high solidarity compared to the speakers of the other varieties - English-only and code-switching - which were evaluated to be equally moderate in solidarity by male teachers. Female teachers, on the other hand, tended to evaluate the speakers of English-only and code-switching significantly higher on solidarity traits, compared to Kuwaiti-only variety. The findings suggest that male teachers tend to perceive Kuwaiti-only as a required language for teenagers to get involved effectively into social relationships in this community. Female teachers, however, seem not to share this view. The reason behind that could be that female teachers were looking at the languages from their own standpoint, which seems to be that speaking a language of high prestige would make them more likeable than speaking the local variety. The discrepancy may again reflect the wider society's gender-based discriminatory views of Kuwaiti boys and girls in relation to their social life.

Inspection of the plot diagram (Figure 5.2) shows that, overall, all the speakers were moderately rated (3.5 - 5) on the seven- point scale (see Figure 5.2). Considering the age difference and the strictly professional student-teacher relationship within the government schools, the result seems to be in line with the ideology of teachers needing to maintain enough social distance from their students, a concept that tends to be highly nurtured in government schools in Kuwait.

Overall, the data for solidarity suggest that male and female teenagers' social interaction within the community is perceived differently by people in the Kuwaiti community. Teachers, however, tend to be less discriminatory than teenagers, at least along solidarity dimensions.



**Figure 5.2: Teachers' evaluative profiles of male and female speakers for solidarity**

### 5.1.2 Perceived status

As mentioned earlier, in chapter 2, previous attitudinal studies have pointed to the potential independence of the status and solidarity dimensions. Based on that, the present study anticipates lower scores on the status dimension for the in-group varieties. I also hypothesized that students from English and bilingual schools would respond less favourably than those pooled from government schools to their in-group varieties - English and code-switching - along the status dimension. Analyses revealed a significant main effect for linguistic style [ $F(1, 407) = 157.17, P < 0.0005$ ], however at a small effect size (eta squared = .04). There was also a significant main effect for speaker gender [ $F(1, 407) = 17.48, P < 0.0005$ ], at a small effect size (eta squared = .04). Results also showed a significant interaction effect for linguistic style\*speaker gender [ $F(3, 405) = 4.25, P < .006$ ], at a small effect size (eta squared = .03). Within-subjects post hoc comparisons showed significant mean differences between the speakers of all four linguistic styles. There was a significant between-subjects main effect for students' school type [ $F(2, 863) = 85.7, P < 0.0005$ ] at a large effect size (eta squared = .29). Between-subjects post hoc comparisons

indicated that significances lay in the differences between government and English school groups, and government and bilingual school groups.

Results shown in Table 5.2 indicate that my hypothesis was only partly upheld, in that, for the students from English schools, English only and the two code-switched varieties (both judged of high solidarity) were evaluated at significantly higher levels than the Kuwaiti-only variety along the status dimension (presented in the labels *successful*, *educated* and *rich*). In fact, the group accorded even higher levels to the two varieties when they were practised by female speakers, with English-only evaluated the highest of all. The government school students, however, judged their in-group language variety, Kuwaiti-only, to have the lowest status, compared to a higher status accorded to the out-group language varieties (English-only and code-switching), verifying the above-mentioned hypothesis.

Results within each school type show a statistically significant difference at  $p < .012$  in status scores for the two above-mentioned school types, with the largest effect size in the English school group (eta squared = .97), and a smaller effect size in the government school (eta squared=.89 which is nevertheless a very large effect size). Results for the bilingual school group indicate that, in spite of the significant p value for status, the group tends to be less discriminatory amongst the speakers of the four linguistic styles, as indicated in the relatively smaller effect size obtained by this group (eta squared= .38). The finding reinforces the bilingual status of this group in particular, with their less discriminatory views of the four language variety along the status dimension.

### Perceived Status

		Male Speakers				Female Speakers				
		K	E	ICS	LCS	K	E	ICS	LCS	P-Value
Students	Government School	2.73 <sup>a</sup>	5.33 <sup>b</sup>	5.81 <sup>c</sup>	4.57 <sup>d</sup>	3.33 <sup>e</sup>	4.37 <sup>d</sup>	5.49 <sup>b</sup>	3.62 <sup>e</sup>	0.0005
	English School	4.48 <sup>a</sup>	4.72 <sup>a,c</sup>	4.77 <sup>b,c</sup>	4.76 <sup>b,c</sup>	4.77 <sup>c</sup>	6.61 <sup>d</sup>	5.78 <sup>e</sup>	5.24 <sup>f</sup>	0.0005
	Bilingual School	5.29 <sup>a</sup>	5.26 <sup>a,c</sup>	4.92 <sup>a,b</sup>	4.51 <sup>b</sup>	5.14 <sup>a</sup>	5.06 <sup>a,b</sup>	4.83 <sup>a,b</sup>	4.80 <sup>b,c</sup>	0.0005
Teachers	Male	3.44 <sup>a</sup>	4.89 <sup>b</sup>	4.89 <sup>b</sup>	3.91 <sup>a,b</sup>	3.77 <sup>a,c</sup>	4.39 <sup>b,c</sup>	4.56 <sup>b,c</sup>	3.91 <sup>a,c</sup>	0.0005
	Female	3.78 <sup>a,c</sup>	5.20 <sup>b,e,f</sup>	4.78 <sup>b,c</sup>	4.74 <sup>a,c,f</sup>	3.97 <sup>c</sup>	5.70 <sup>d,e</sup>	5.13 <sup>b,d</sup>	4.74 <sup>b,f</sup>	0.0005

**Table 5.2: Students across three types of schools, and teachers' evaluations of the four language varieties for status**

**N.B: Different superscripts across the same row indicate significant differences at  $p < .012$**

Inspection of the male-female differences displays an overall higher rating of the English-only and CS female speakers by students from the English schools. The finding indicates a gender effect for status for this group in particular. In other words, teenagers studying in the English schools perceive status as a key factor in a Kuwaiti female's upward mobility, a strategy that may compensate for females' inability to gain such status through (what I described earlier as) the 'free-zone' social interaction available for boys only (where Kuwaiti boys are more freely required to be involved in wider social interaction within this community). It also seems that such advanced status may be gained through utilisation of English-only and code-switching varieties, but not Kuwaiti-only.

A look at the male-female differences within the judgments of teenagers from the government schools shows significant mean differences, with the female speaker being evaluated higher than male in status when she speaks Kuwaiti-only, but lower in status when she speaks English-only or any of the two code-switched varieties. The finding suggests that the higher levels of status accorded to English-only and code-switching seems to get even more intense when the varieties are utilised by male speakers.

Contrastingly, however, the English school group rated female Kuwaiti-only speaker a bit higher on status, but very much higher when she spoke English-only or any of the two code-switched varieties. The finding indicates the higher status attached to English-only and code-switching varieties, particularly when the two varieties are utilised by female speakers.

As for teenagers from the bilingual school, in spite of the significant differences between the male-female speakers of CS in its lexical type, the difference is very small compared to the differences obtained by the two former groups. The finding indicates the group's less discriminatory perceptions of the speakers of the four language varieties as a result of the gender of the speakers.

To summarise, the above results indicate that, except to some extent for the students from the bilingual schools, all other students agree in perceiving English-only and code-switching varieties as having high status. The Kuwaiti-only variety is perceived as a variety of low status, compared to the two above-mentioned varieties. Students from the bilingual schools differ from the other students (government and English schools), as they tend to perceive both Kuwaiti-only and the English-only as languages of high status, with code-switching varieties still considered moderately status-full as reflected by their mid-point scores (see Figures 5.2a and b).

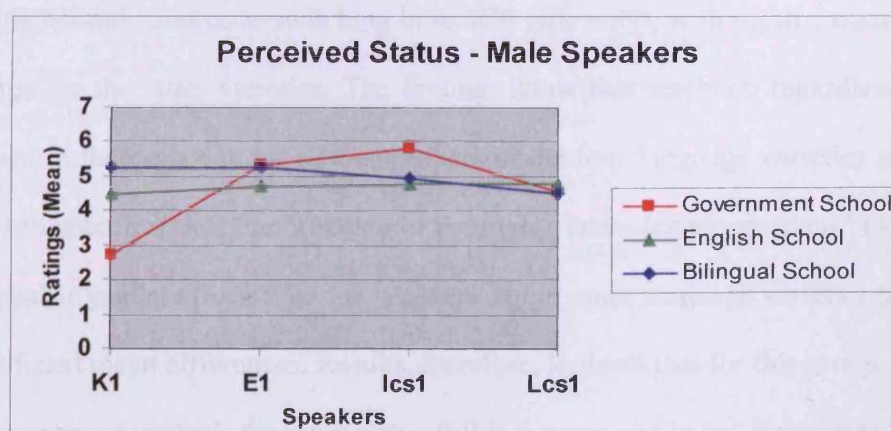


Figure 5.2a: Students' evaluative profiles of male speakers for status

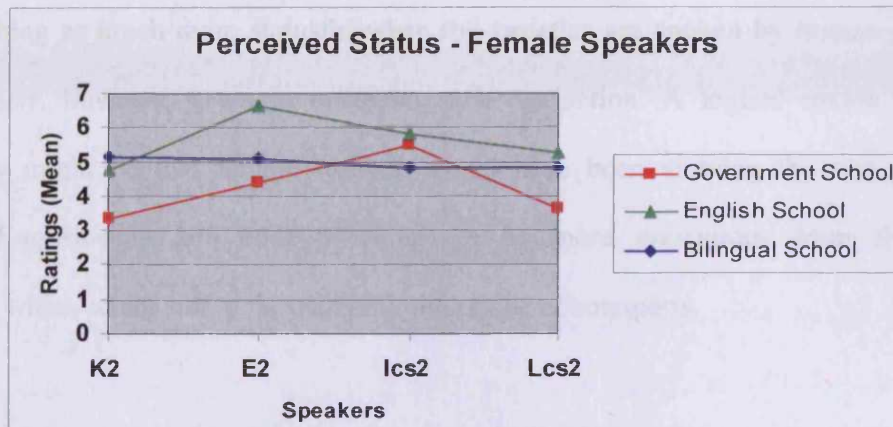
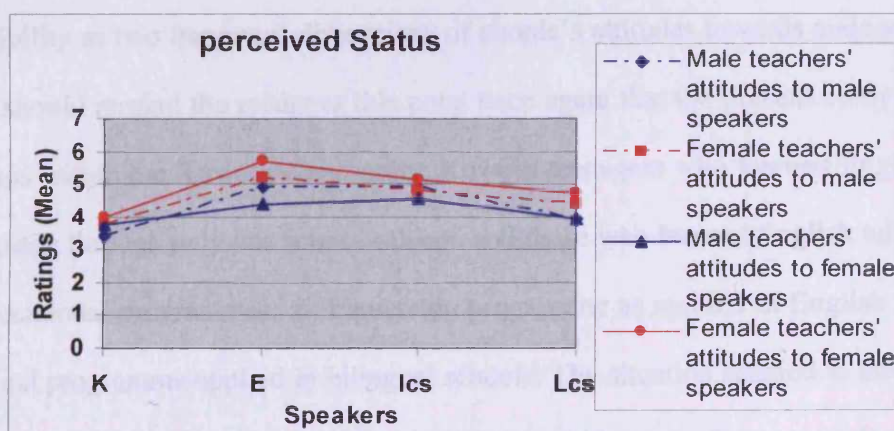


Figure 5.2b: Students' evaluative profiles of female speakers for status

Teachers' scores along the status dimension showed a significant main effect for speakers' linguistic styles [ $F(3, 76) = 41.50, P = .0005$ ], at a large effect size (eta squared = .62). The results, however, showed no significant main effect for speaker gender. Analysis of between-subject factors showed a significant main effect for subject's gender [ $F(1, 78) = 12.67, P < .001$ ], at large effect size (eta squared = .14). Analyses of male and female teachers separately revealed significant p-values ( $p < .0005$ ) at effect sizes of (.58, .68) for male and female teachers respectively. Further post hoc analyses amongst the speakers shows the only significant mean difference between Kuwaiti-only and the two other varieties (English-only and code-switching in its ICS type only), with mean values showing higher ratings for the latter varieties. The findings show that teachers, regardless of their gender, varied in their evaluations of the speakers of the four language varieties as a result of their spoken speech styles. Examination of the male-versus-female speakers' evaluations shows no speaker gender effect, with the speakers of the same language varieties producing all non-significant mean differences. Results, therefore, indicate that for this group, the more English the variety 'contains', the more status-full it is perceived to be. Being less 'English-contaminated', LCS was associated with less high status compared to ICS. Reading male

versus female teachers' results suggested that female teachers perceive English-only and code-switching as much more statusful when the varieties are spoken by female speakers. Male teachers, however, seem to make no such distinction. A logical reason for such discrepancy might be that female teachers could have been viewing the two language varieties (English-only and code-switching) to be more prestigious from their own standpoint, which seems not to be shared by their male counterparts.



**Figure 5.4: Teachers' evaluative profiles of male and female speakers for status**

The above-mentioned evaluative patterns presented by the students from the government schools in relation to status/solidarity dimensions show a clear contrastive pattern, particularly in their evaluative reactions towards Kuwaiti-only and the two code-switched varieties. Such a contrastive pattern, however, is not at work within the two other groups, English and bilingual schools, yet with a more obvious variation within the former group. A contrastive pattern is also detected in the male teachers' evaluations only, along the two dimensions. The above mentioned results partly verify the dichotomous status-solidarity relationship claimed in previous sociolinguistic studies.

## **5.2 The communicative dimensions**

As I mentioned earlier, the search for evaluative dimensions through the preliminary interviewing and the pilot study identified two important communicative attributes; 'comprehensible' and 'fluent', both of which tend to be very active in the audiences' evaluative reactions, especially when dealing with varieties which draw on two languages (Kuwaiti and English in this case) to differing degrees, rather than accents of the same language variety. Chana and Romaine (1984) similarly report perceived fluency and comprehensibility as two important dimensions of people's attitudes towards code-switched discourse. I should remind the reader at this point once again that the present study focuses on two groups within the Kuwaiti community: Kuwaiti teenagers who learned English as a foreign language through only one school subject, and those who learned English within two different educational programmes: an immersion programme as applied in English schools, and a bilingual programme applied in bilingual schools. The situation seemed to have led to Kuwaiti students having different levels of exposure, and hence proficiency, in English. In other words, graduates of some schools could have been more proficient in English than graduates from some other schools. Being under the present study's investigation, attitudes to English (whether in its 'pure' form or in its 'mixed' form) have established a number of communicative dimensions that seem to be at work. Such a variable situation has led to the salience of the two attributes in their reflection of what I am calling the communicative dimension. As a result of a number of exploratory statistical measures (factor analysis) that I reported in chapter 4, the label 'comprehensible' was used to reflect the communicative dimension.

Results of the repeated-measures analysis showed a significant main effect for linguistic style for comprehensibility [ $F(3, 412) = 40.84, P < 0.0005$ ] at a large effect size (eta squared = .22). There was a non-significant main effect for speaker gender. A



significant interaction effect for linguistic style\*speaker gender was also obtained [ $F(3, 412) = 102.5$ ] at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .42$ ). Results also indicated a significant main effect for school type [ $F(2, 129) = 249.78, P < 0.0005$ ], at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .54$ ). Between-subjects post hoc comparisons indicated that the differences in the mean values lie between government and English school groups, and bilingual and English school groups. Results across the students of each school type (presented in Table 5.3) also showed statistically significant differences at  $p < 0.0005$  in comprehensibility scores for the three school type groups across the four language varieties, with the largest effect size in the government and English school settings ( $\eta^2 = .9$ ), and a smaller effect size in the bilingual school ( $\eta^2 = .5$ ).

A closer look at the mean differences between the speakers within the students of each type of school (illustrated by plot lines diagrams - Figure 5.5a and 5.5b) - reveals that the government school group tends to evaluate Kuwaiti-only speakers to be relatively highly comprehensible. Unexpectedly, however, the group perceived English-only as significantly more comprehensible than the two code-switched varieties. The finding raises some doubts on whether the concept of 'comprehensible' was understood in the same way by the students of the different schools. The issue will be further investigated during the focus-group interviewing.

In the English school, teenagers tend to perceive English-only and the two code-switched varieties as equally comprehensible; Kuwaiti-only was perceived to be the least comprehensible variety of all. The finding seems to verify the community's concerns about the teenagers' competence in their mother tongue within the English school environment. As the diagrams show, English is judged to be more comprehensible for English school students than it is for government school students, while the bilingual group views the variety to be moderately comprehensible. The findings presumably reflect the students'

different levels of exposure to English within the three educational programmes. In spite of the significant mean difference obtained by the bilingual school group, the group showed less discriminatory views along this dimension, with the four language varieties found satisfactorily comprehensible, with all scores above the four point level on the seven-point scale.

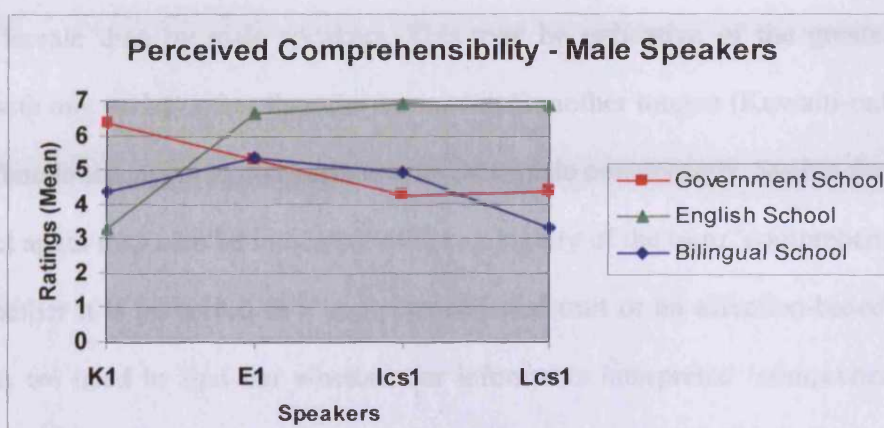
A closer look at the scores accorded to the two un-mixed varieties, English and Kuwaiti, reveals extreme scores obtained by the government and English school students compared to more moderate scores obtained by the group from the bilingual scheme schools. The finding tends to reflect the two former groups' status of unbalanced bilingualism. Contrastingly, however, the comparatively moderate scores of the students from the bilingual schools may be indicative of their balanced bilingual status in both languages; Kuwaiti and English, as reflected in their high ability to comprehend all the speakers (see Table 5.3).

### Perceived Comprehensibility

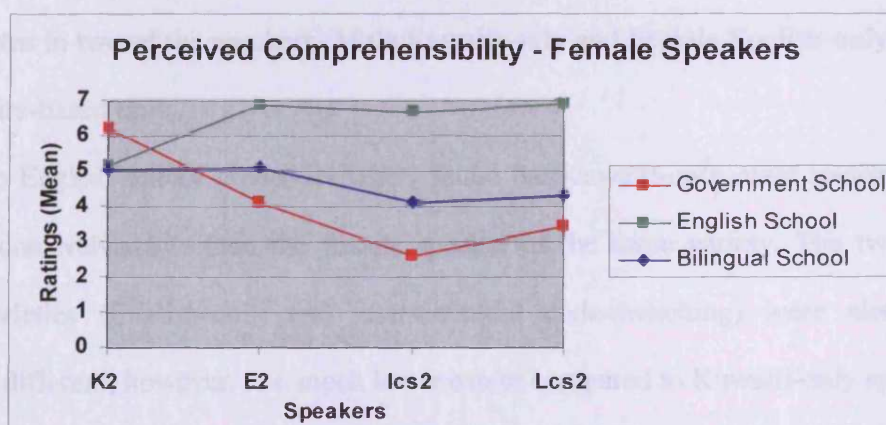
		Male Speakers				Female Speakers				P-Value
		K	E	ICS	LCS	K	E	ICS	LCS	
Students	Government School	6.37 <sup>a</sup>	5.27 <sup>b</sup>	4.24 <sup>c</sup>	4.34 <sup>c</sup>	6.21 <sup>a</sup>	4.11 <sup>c</sup>	2.56 <sup>d</sup>	3.40 <sup>e</sup>	0.0005
	English School	3.31 <sup>a</sup>	6.63 <sup>b</sup>	6.88 <sup>c</sup>	6.86 <sup>b,c</sup>	5.16 <sup>d</sup>	6.91 <sup>c</sup>	6.69 <sup>b</sup>	6.89 <sup>c</sup>	0.0005
	Bilingual School	4.36 <sup>a</sup>	5.32 <sup>b</sup>	4.90 <sup>b,d,a</sup>	3.28 <sup>c</sup>	5.03 <sup>b</sup>	5.11 <sup>b</sup>	4.11 <sup>a,c</sup>	4.31 <sup>a,d</sup>	0.0005
Teachers	Male	5.64 <sup>a</sup>	4.41 <sup>b</sup>	4.41 <sup>a,b</sup>	4.48 <sup>b,c</sup>	5.51 <sup>a</sup>	3.33 <sup>b,c</sup>	4.05 <sup>b,c</sup>	4.20 <sup>b,c</sup>	0.0005
	Female	4.84 <sup>a</sup>	5.68 <sup>a</sup>	5.40 <sup>a</sup>	5.35 <sup>a</sup>	5.46 <sup>a</sup>	5.60 <sup>a</sup>	5.17 <sup>a</sup>	5.53 <sup>a</sup>	0.072

Table 5.3: Students across three types of schools, and teachers' evaluations of the four language varieties for comprehensibility

N.B: Different superscripts across the same row indicate significant differences at  $p < .012$



**Figure 5.5a: Students' evaluative profiles of male speakers for comprehensibility**



**Figure 5.5b: Students' evaluative profiles of female speakers for comprehensibility**

Male versus female evaluative scores in the government schools show that, except for Kuwaiti-only speakers, the rest of the speakers were evaluated significantly differently for comprehensibility according to the gender of the speaker of each variety. It seems that English-only and the code-switchers (both types) were found to be more comprehensible when utilised by male speakers as opposed to female speakers. The finding suggests that students from this type of school (government) tend to more harshly downgrade the speakers on comprehensibility when English-only and the two code-switching varieties are

utilised by female than by male speakers. This may be indicative of the greater stigma associated with any variety other than the community's mother tongue (Kuwaiti-only) when utilised by female teenagers in comparison with their male counterparts. Such a functioning gender effect again may also be indicative of the ambiguity of the term 'comprehensible', in terms of whether it is perceived as a competence-based trait or an affection-based trait. In other words, we need to find out whether our informants interpreted 'comprehensibility' technically, meaning the ability to literally understand the language, or socially, meaning perceived comfort when hearing such language. It should be remembered at this point that the previously conducted factor analysis has shown factorability of the two communication-based attributes in two of the speakers (Male Kuwaiti-only and Female English-only) under other solidarity-based traits.

In the English school group, teenagers found the Kuwaiti-only male speaker to be much more comprehensible than the female speaker of the same variety. The two other language varieties (English-only and intersentential code-switching) were also rated significantly different, however, to a much lower extent compared to Kuwaiti-only speakers. The group, however, showed no distinction between the speakers of the lexical switching based on the gender of the speakers. Results also present some discrepant findings in terms of the bilingual school students' perceptions of Kuwaiti-only speakers with a much higher ranking for the female speaker, indicating the bilinguals' tendency to perceive Kuwaiti-only language as more comprehensible when utilised by female than male speakers. Another discrepant finding is presented in the bilingual school students' tendency to rate the female lexical code-switcher at a much higher level than the male lexical code-switcher. It is not, however, obvious whether the discrepancy is related to the specific performances of the individuals or whether it is a 'real' gender effect, particularly in this case where only one speaker of the two gender groups represents each language variety. The ambiguity will be

best unravelled during the focus-group interviews where such issues will be further discussed.

Inspection of the teachers' group data shows a significant main effect for comprehensibility according to linguistic style [ $F(3, 80) = 4.20, P < .008$ ], at a large effect size (.13). Results also showed a significant interaction effect for linguistic style\*speaker gender [ $F(3, 80) = 3.09, P < .001$ ], at a large effect size (eta squared = .19). The results also displayed a significant effect for subject gender [ $F(1, 82) = 27.4, P < .0005$ ] at a large effect size (eta squared = .25). Repeated measures analyses for male and female teachers separately showed a significant main effect for linguistic style amongst male teachers at a large effect size (eta squared = .71). Results amongst female teachers, however, showed no significant main effect for linguistic style with a p-value of  $.07 > .012$ . Male teachers perceive speakers' comprehensibility significantly different as a result of their utilised linguistic style. But female teachers recognised no distinction between the speakers along comprehensibility. Inspection of within-subjects post hoc results and the produced mean values suggest that male teachers tend to perceive Kuwaiti-only speakers to be relatively more comprehensible than speakers of the other two varieties (English-only and code-switching), yet the latter varieties were considered to be moderately comprehensible too.

There is no significant variation according to speakers' gender. It can be therefore concluded that male teachers tend to evaluate Kuwaiti-only speakers as more comprehensible than English-only and code-switching, regardless of the speakers' gender. Female teachers, however, evaluate the speakers of the four language varieties as equally and moderately comprehensible. A closer look at the plot diagram (Figure 5.6) reveals a variation in the way English-only and CS are evaluated by teachers as a result of the subjects' gender group. Female teachers tend to accord higher levels of comprehensibility than male teachers to the two language varieties (English-only and code-switching). As I

mentioned earlier, it is not obvious yet whether the variation reflects female teachers' higher competence in English, or whether it reflects the group's ease and comfort in hearing such linguistic styles.

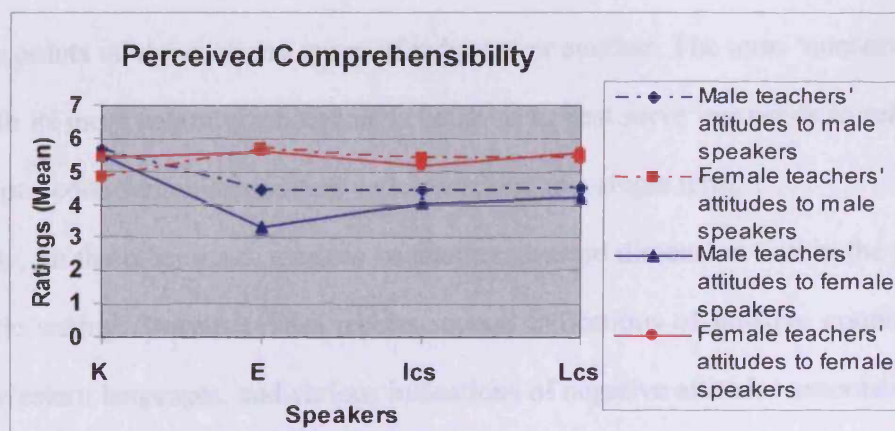


Figure 5.6: Teachers' evaluative profiles of male and female speakers for comprehensibility

### 5.3 The cultural dimensions

#### 5.3.1 Perceived Conservativeness

Fishman (1972) describes language as *the* major link with a nation's possibly glorious past. Stevens (1983) reports that the link tends to be even greater within the Arabic-speaking world. In Kuwait, for example, the importance of Kuwaiti dialect stems from its symbolic connotations of Kuwaiti authenticity. K/E code-switching, on the other hand, is widely but variably perceived as a threat to that cultural authenticity. People who practise code-switching are sometimes accused of abandoning the values and traditions of the society. The situation may be reversed for some Kuwaitis who associate 'Kuwaiti only' with lack of modernity. For them, Kuwaitis who use K/E code-switching may in fact symbolise positive values in both cultures. Based on the concepts elicited from the preliminary interviews, and the labels suggested by the judges during the questionnaire piloting process, three labels

were frequently used to reflect on this authenticity dimension: 'authentic', 'old-fashioned' and 'conservative'. While the first term, 'authentic', tends to imply a positive aspect of the dimension, the second term, 'old-fashioned', carries a more negative connotation. The argument here is that utilising one of the two above labels may in fact run the risk of reflecting the points of views of one group of judges over another. The term 'conservative', however, with its more neutral connotation, is believed to best serve our needs in reflecting the views of pro-code-switching and anti-code-switching in a single term.

Modernity, on the other hand, tends to be another stressed dimension within the present sociolinguistic setting. Stevens (1983) reports several indications of positive connotations attached to Western languages, and various indications of negative attitudes associated with Arabic with regards to this dimension. In Kuwait, the search for appropriate evaluative labels has resulted in two commonly used terms in relation to the non-conservative: 'scientific' and 'modern'. While the former term tends to be restricted to aspects associated with only science and technology, the latter term 'modern' seems to be more appropriate with its implications of the broader aspects of the studied dimension. As mentioned in chapter 4, the preliminary investigation of informants' responses indicates factorability of the two attributes, 'conservative' and 'modern', however with an opposite polarity, reflecting the attributes' dichotomous relationship. Based on that, I claim that findings in relation to the speakers' conservativeness will also reflect on the speakers' modernity, yet at an opposite polarity.

Analyses of repeated measures show a significant main effect for linguistic style [ $F(3, 400) = 510, p < 0.0005$ ], at a very large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .97$ ). Results showed a significant main effect for speaker gender [ $F(1, 402) = 46.92$ ], at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .1$ ), and a significant interaction effect between linguistic style\*speaker gender [ $F(3, 400) = 7.95$ ], at a small effect size ( $\eta^2 = .05$ ). Within-subjects post hoc

comparisons showed all significant mean differences between the speakers of the four linguistic styles and male and female speakers of the same linguistic style. There was also a significant main effect for school type [ $F(2, 402) = 49.45, P < 0.0005$ ] at a large effect size (eta squared = .1). Between-subjects post hoc comparisons indicated significant mean differences between government and English school groups, and English and bilingual school groups. Repeated-measures ANOVAs across each type of school indicated that students across the three types of schools found the male and female speakers of the four language varieties significantly different along the dimension of conservativeness, displaying all significant p-values  $< .012$ , with very large effect sizes across the three school types (eta squared = .9) (see Table 5.4). Students produced significantly different evaluative profiles across the three different types of schools and as a result of the speakers' spoken language varieties.

### Perceived Conservativeness

		Male Speakers				Female Speakers				
		K	E	ICS	LCS	K	E	ICS	LCS	P-Value
Students	Government School	6.24 <sup>a,d</sup>	2.49 <sup>b</sup>	2.46 <sup>b</sup>	1.63 <sup>c,e</sup>	6.42 <sup>d</sup>	1.82 <sup>c</sup>	2.46 <sup>b</sup>	1.48 <sup>e</sup>	0.0005
	English School	6.84 <sup>a</sup>	2.86 <sup>b</sup>	1.69 <sup>c</sup>	1.90 <sup>e</sup>	6.92 <sup>a</sup>	2.76 <sup>b</sup>	1.69 <sup>c</sup>	1.80 <sup>e</sup>	0.0005
	Bilingual School	6.67 <sup>a</sup>	4.14 <sup>b</sup>	3.34 <sup>b,e</sup>	2.22 <sup>c</sup>	6.05 <sup>d</sup>	3.43 <sup>e</sup>	3.34 <sup>b,e</sup>	1.46 <sup>f</sup>	0.001
Teachers	Male	6.13 <sup>a</sup>	2.97 <sup>b</sup>	3.80 <sup>b</sup>	1.69 <sup>c,d</sup>	5.55 <sup>a</sup>	2.69 <sup>b,c</sup>	3.16 <sup>b,c</sup>	1.27 <sup>d</sup>	0.0005
	Female	6.75 <sup>a</sup>	3.25 <sup>b</sup>	3.79 <sup>b</sup>	1.68 <sup>c</sup>	6.43 <sup>a</sup>	3.12 <sup>b</sup>	3.22 <sup>b</sup>	1.60 <sup>c</sup>	0.01

Table 5.4: Students', across three types of schools, and teachers' evaluations of the four language varieties along conservativeness

N.B: Different superscripts across the same row indicate significant differences at  $p < .012$



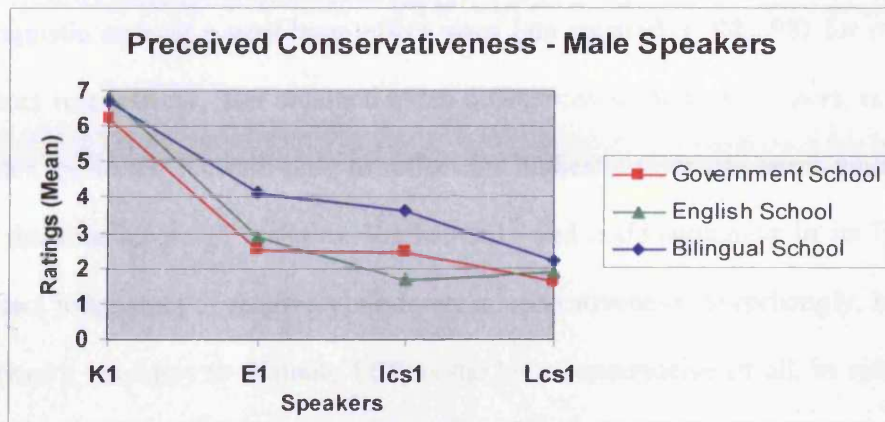
Among government school students, except for the non-significant difference between the English-only and the intersentential code-switcher, all other male speakers were evaluated significantly different according to their spoken language variety. Results for the female speakers show consistently significant differences; the four female speakers were evaluated differently depending on their spoken language variety. The mean values indicate that government school students found Kuwaiti-only speakers (that is their own in-group speakers) to be the most conservative of all, and the English-only and the code-switchers to be the least conservative speakers. In spite of the fact that differences between English-only and CS varieties reached significance level for the female speakers, the difference is very small compared to the immense differences between Kuwaiti-only and the other two language varieties: English-only and code-switching (see Figures 5.7(a) and (b)).

In the English schools, students also evaluated Kuwaiti-only speakers as the most conservative speakers of all, English-only as less conservative, and code-switching as the least conservative speakers of all. Results for the bilingual school students showed a similar pattern which indicates their general agreement in perceiving Kuwaiti-only as the language of conservativeness, code-switching as the variety of the least conservativeness, and English-only as the language of moderate conservativeness. Once again, the group tends to perceive English-only and code-switching (except for female LCS) relatively moderately when compared to the way the two varieties were evaluated by the other two groups (English and government).

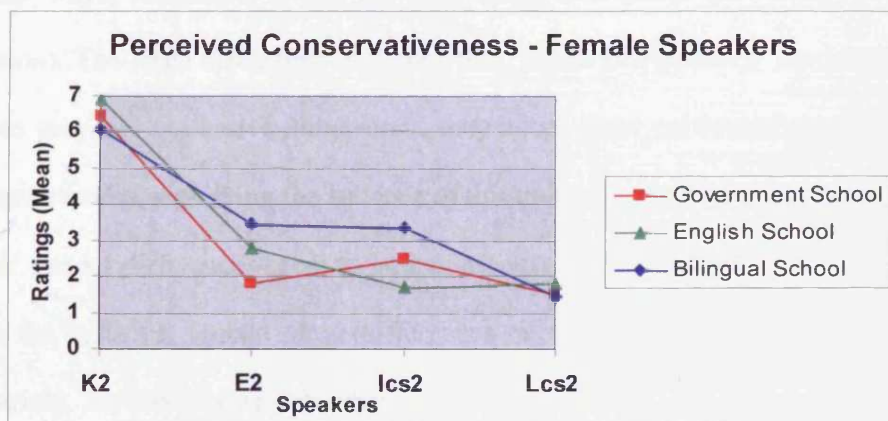
The plot lines of male versus female scores in Figures 5.7a and 5.7b show a steeper downward slope between Kuwaiti-only and English-only amongst the female speakers in the government school group. This indicates the group's harsher down-grading of English-only for conservativeness when spoken by female as opposed to male speakers. Such a discriminatory view does not seem to exist within the English school group, whose post hoc

results show no significant mean differences between the male and female speakers of the same language variety. In the bilingual school, however, results indicate some discriminatory views amongst the speakers of the language varieties in general, whose evaluative profiles suggest that, unlike teenagers from the government schools, this group of teenagers perceived the four varieties to be associated with higher levels of conservativeness when utilised by male as opposed to female speakers.

The overall results suggest that Kuwaiti teenagers are 'accused', by their peers, of abandoning the values of their community when they use English or K/E code-switching. They may also suggest that, for teenagers coming from government schools, girls are more prone to such an accusation than boys, a differentiation that does not seem to exist amongst the English and bilingual school communities (see Figure 5.7a and b). All the same, the label 'conservative' may be perceived differently by the different groups. In other words, while being conservative might be a desirable feature of a teenager in a government school setting, the label may be perceived completely negatively by respondents in an English school environment. Such ambiguity will be later resolved in two ways: the first is the triangulation of the findings along some of the related dimensions; the second is through the later analysis of focus-group interview data, where we will try to dig deeper into our respondents' attitudes, in an attempt to get a clearer picture of the situation.



**Figure 5.7a: Students' evaluative profiles of male speakers for conservativeness**

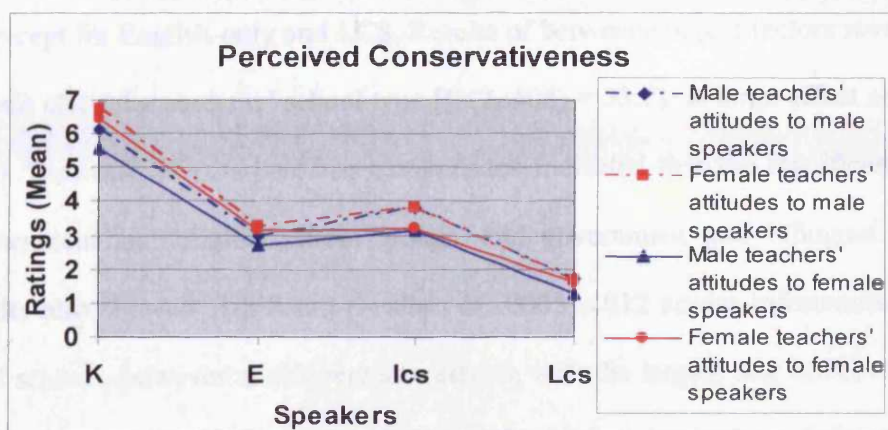


**Figure 5.7b: Students' evaluative profiles of female speakers for conservativeness**

As for the teachers' group, results of the repeated measures show a significant main effect for speaker linguistic type [ $F(3, 80) = 754, p < .0005$ ], at a very large effect size (eta squared = .96). Results also showed a significant main effect for speaker gender [ $F(1, 82) = 22.37, p < .0005$ ], at a large effect size (eta squared = .21)]. There was, however, no significant interaction effect for linguistic style\*speaker gender. Analysis of subject gender as a between-subjects factor showed no significant main effect. Results of repeated measures analyses across male and female teachers indicate a significant main effect for

speakers' linguistic style at a very large effect sizes ( $\eta^2 = .94, .98$ ) for male and female teachers respectively. The obtained mean differences show that teachers, regardless of their gender, evaluated Kuwaiti-only to reflect the highest conservativeness amongst the speakers of the four language varieties. English-only and code-switching in its ICS type seems to attract judgments of relatively moderate conservativeness. Surprisingly, however, teachers showed a tendency to evaluate LCS as the least conservative of all, in spite of the fact that the type seems to be 'less English-contaminated' than ICS. The issue will be revisited in the focus group interviews for clarity. A closer look at the plot lines diagram (Figure 5.8) indicates that teachers discriminate along the conservativeness dimension in quite extreme ways, compared to the previous three dimensions (solidarity, status and communication). The large size effect indicates that, unlike the teachers' moderate stances along the two previous evaluative dimensions, they adopt some particularly critical stances along conservativeness, signifying the salience of this cultural trait for the teachers' group.

Speakers' gender differences seem to be inconsequential for this group of informants as indicated in the male vs. female mean differences being not significant within the same language variety. In other words, teachers, regardless of their gender, tend to evaluate Kuwaiti-only speech as the variety that reflects the most conservativeness, English-only and code-switching in its ICS type as moderately conservative, whereas code-switching in its LCS type as the least conservative of all.



**Figure 5.8: Teachers' evaluative profiles of male and female speakers for conservativeness**

### 5.3.2 Perceived religiousness

Based on the reviewed literature, and according to the ideologies presented throughout the present study's preliminary interviews, Kuwaitis tend to place religion at the core of their community-based values. According to Stevens (1983), part of the importance attached to the Classical Arabic originates from its being the language of Koran, 'the holy book of Islam'. In Kuwait, however, such attachment seems to go beyond Classical Arabic to include other Arabic varieties, Kuwaiti Arabic being one of them. The concept of religion has surfaced on many occasions during the preliminary interviewing and the questionnaire piloting process, suggesting that it is a crucial criterion in the evaluation of people and their ways of speaking.

Results of the repeated measures analyses for speakers' religiousness (presented in Table 5.5) produce a significant main effect for linguistic style [ $F(3,406) = 457$ ] at a very large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .77$ ). There is also a significant main effect for speaker gender [ $F(3, 406) = 17.1$ ], at a small effect size too ( $\eta^2 = .04$ ). There is also a significant interaction effect for linguistic style\*speaker gender [ $F(3, 406) = 129$ ], at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .48$ ). Within-subjects post hoc comparisons showed all significant mean

differences, except for English-only and LCS. Results of between-subject factors revealed a significant main effect for students' school type [ $F(2, 408) = 33.7$ ], at large effect size (eta squared = .14). Between-subjects post-hoc comparisons indicated that the significance lies between government and English school groups, and government and bilingual school groups. Results also showed significant p-values of  $.0005 < .012$  across informants of the three types of schools, however at different size effects, with the largest size effect amongst the English school students (eta squared = .96) for male and female speakers, followed by a smaller size effect amongst government and bilingual school students (eta squared = .8). Students across the three types of schools therefore produced different evaluative profiles according to speakers' religiousness in the context of using the different language varieties. Also there are more subtle differences (reflected in different size effects) amongst the English school group than the other two groups: government and bilingual school groups.

### Perceived Religiousness

		Male Speakers				Female Speakers				
		K	E	ICS	LCS	K	E	ICS	LCS	P-Value
Students	Government School	4.52 <sup>a</sup>	2.69 <sup>b</sup>	2.62 <sup>b</sup>	2.15 <sup>c</sup>	5.91 <sup>d</sup>	2.12 <sup>c</sup>	2.31 <sup>b,c</sup>	2.59 <sup>b</sup>	0.0005
	English School	6.07 <sup>a</sup>	3.56 <sup>b</sup>	4.67 <sup>c</sup>	2.97 <sup>d</sup>	6.53 <sup>e</sup>	2.47 <sup>f</sup>	3.45 <sup>b</sup>	2.92 <sup>d</sup>	0.0005
	Bilingual School	5.68 <sup>a</sup>	3.41 <sup>b</sup>	3.03 <sup>b,c</sup>	2.87 <sup>b,c</sup>	6.06 <sup>a</sup>	2.51 <sup>c</sup>	2.48 <sup>c</sup>	3.32 <sup>b</sup>	0.0005
Teachers	Male	4.27 <sup>a,c,d</sup>	4.02 <sup>a,d</sup>	4.05 <sup>a,d</sup>	3.54 <sup>a,d</sup>	5.75 <sup>b</sup>	4.40 <sup>a</sup>	3.32 <sup>c,d</sup>	3.08 <sup>d</sup>	0.0005
	Female	5.20 <sup>a,c</sup>	4.53 <sup>a,c</sup>	5.31 <sup>a</sup>	4.17 <sup>a,b,c</sup>	6.04 <sup>b</sup>	4.24 <sup>c</sup>	4.44 <sup>d,c</sup>	4.20 <sup>c</sup>	0.0005

Table 5: Students', across three types of schools, and teachers' evaluations of the four language varieties along religiousness  
 N.B: Different superscripts across the same row indicate significant differences at  $p < .012$

A closer look at the plot diagrams in Figures 5.9a and b, supported by post hoc analyses shows that all student groups evaluated Kuwaiti-only speakers as the most religious speakers, compared to the rest of the speakers. The other speaker types are distinguished by far smaller intervals by the students from the government school. The English school group, however, demonstrates greater variability amongst the other two language varieties: English-only and code-switching (in its two types). The mean values among this group show its differentiation between the code-switchers based on their utilised type of switching, a finding that will be further investigated in a separate section.

Once again, the bilingual school students found Kuwaiti-only speakers the most religious speakers of all. In spite of the significant mean differences between English-only and the two types of code-switchers in the male group, and between the two types of code-switchers in the female group, the overall results show that the differences tend to be very small in magnitude compared to the much larger differences between Kuwaiti-only and the rest of the speakers.

The overall pattern, however, shows a general tendency to accord all speakers the highest scores for religiousness by students from the English schools, followed by more moderate scores from the bilingual school students, while the least scores were elicited from students of the government schools. There is clearly some variation in the intensity of the different participants' reactions towards the studied linguistic varieties, where balanced bilinguals have moderate stances towards the four language varieties within the Kuwaiti community (see Figures 5.9a and b).

A comparison between results obtained for the male and female speakers of each language variety reveals a tendency to accord higher values for religiousness to the female Kuwaiti-only speaker compared to the male Kuwaiti-only speaker. The finding once again reflects the divisive nature of the community as a function of the speaker's gender. The

finding seems to be in line with the general higher expectations of the females' adherence to one of the most crucial community-based values. The steeper decline in the female scores compared to the male scores is a rather drastic downgrading of the English speaker and the code switchers along the religiousness dimension as a function of their practised language varieties across the informants from the three types of schools.

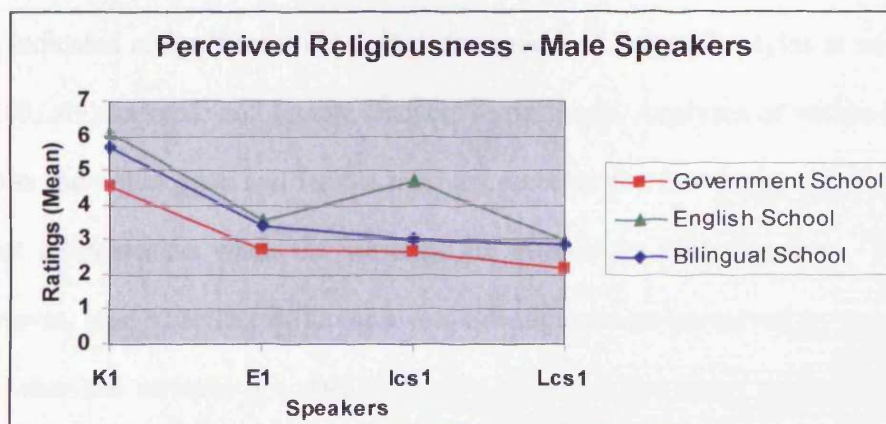


Figure 5.9a: Students' evaluative profiles of male speakers for religiousness

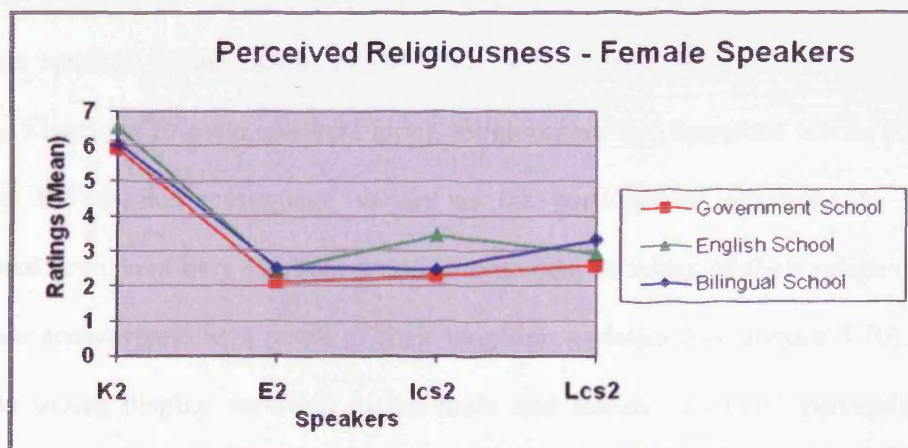
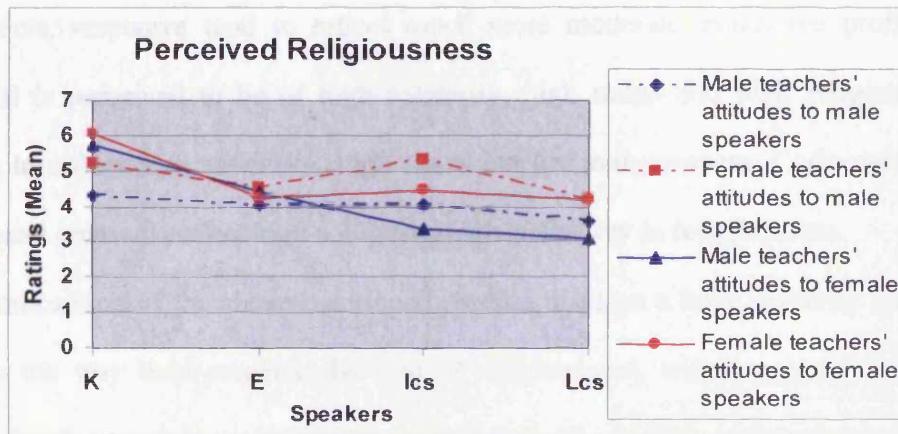


Figure 5.9b: Students' evaluative profiles of female speakers for religiousness



Analysis of the scores obtained by the teachers' group also shows a significant main effect for linguistic style [ $F(3, 77) = 153.76, P < .0005$ ], at a very large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .85$ ). There is also a significant interaction effect for linguistic style\*speaker gender [ $F(3, 77) = 5.77, P < .001$ ], yet at a smaller effect size ( $\eta^2 = .18$ ). Analysis of between-subject factors indicated a significant main effect for subject gender [ $F(1, 79) = 21.15, P < .0005$ ], at a large effect size too ( $\eta^2 = .21$ ). Analyses of male and female teachers also indicated a significant main effect for speakers' linguistic styles at very large effect sizes (.85, .69) for male and female teachers respectively. Analyses of within-subjects post hoc results show that male and female teachers perceive the four language varieties to equally reflect religiousness when the varieties are utilised by male speakers. The four varieties, however, tend to reflect different levels of religiousness perceived by teachers of both genders when the varieties are used by female speakers. The mean values tell us that male teachers perceive Kuwaiti-only to be indicator of a most religious speaker, followed by English-only, while least religiousness is reflected in code-switching in both types (ICS and LCS). Female teachers, on the other hand, find the Kuwaiti-only female speaker to be the most religious speaker of all, while English-only and code-switching reflect moderate religiousness. Reactions to male speakers along religiousness are therefore not as strongly influenced by the speaker's language variety as the participants' reactions to female speakers. Female speakers may be more prone to criticism, in terms of their religiousness, than their male counterparts as a result of their language varieties (see Figure 5.10). Male versus female scores display variation in the male and female teachers' perceptions of Kuwaiti-only speakers in terms of religiousness, with the male teachers adhering to the community's general higher expectation of female religiousness compared to their male counterparts. Female teachers, on the other hand, seem to hold another gender-

discriminatory view of ICS speakers, showing harsher downgrading of Kuwaiti female teenagers as a result of utilising this type of switching in particular.



**Figure 5.10: Teachers' evaluative profiles of male and female speakers for religiousness**

In light of the importance of the feature of 'religiousness' in Kuwaitis' attitudes towards members of their own community, and based on the fact that the four language varieties tend to variably reflect on the religiousness of their speakers, I'd like to remind the reader that, just like other culture-based dimensions, the term 'religious' may have different implications and polarity for the different groups of informants. As I proposed earlier, one way to resolve the mystery is through a comparison of the religiousness evaluative profiles with earlier patterns for solidarity and status dimensions. The above-mentioned evaluative profiles show that in the government schools, students perceive Kuwaiti to have high solidarity, low status and high religiousness. English, on the other hand seems to have high solidarity (but significantly lower than Kuwaiti), high status and low religiousness. Code-switching in general tends to attract judgments low solidarity, high status and low religiousness. The situation is completely different in the English school group, whose responses in relation to Kuwaiti reflect low solidarity, high status and high religiousness;

English reflects high solidarity, high status and low religiousness; code-switching generally tends to reflect high solidarity, high status and low religiousness, with some variation between lexical and intersentential switching and male and female switchers. In the bilingual schools, responses tend to reflect much more moderate evaluative profiles in which Kuwaiti is perceived to be of high solidarity, high status and high religiousness. English tends to reflect high solidarity, high status but low religiousness. Code-switching, on the other hand seems to reflect high solidarity, high status low in religiousness.

A cross comparison of the above mentioned profiles displays a huge disparity amongst the groups in the way they perceive the trait of religiousness, with teenagers from the government schools perceiving religiousness as an admirable attribute, while those coming from the English schools perceive religiousness as a very negative feature. In the bilingual schools, however, the general reading of the presented profiles in relation to the three evaluative dimensions suggests a negative polarity, however at a much lower intensity, when compared to their English school counterparts. The issue will be further discussed in the focus group interviewing for verification.

Going back to the study's hypotheses, the findings tend to verify our second hypothesis (H2) in the anticipation of different evaluative profiles as a function of the participants' ingroup/outgroup status along the speakers' religiousness. They also support the functioning effect of the gender of the speaker along one of the most crucial aspect of judgment in the community, that is, 'religiousness', validating hypothesis (H3).

### *5.3.3 Perceived Kuwaitiness*

As mentioned earlier, the importance of Kuwaiti stems from its association with Kuwaiti national identity. According to the views expressed by many of the interviewees, complete knowledge and ability to use Kuwaiti is not only a prerequisite for Kuwaitis' full integration

into Kuwaiti society, but also a reflection of their loyalty to the country. Based on that, two identity-related scale items were used to reflect this dimension: 'Kuwaitiness' and 'pride in being Kuwaiti'. The two items were merged based on their factorability under one dimension (see Chapter 4).

Analyses of repeated measures (Table 5.6) produce a significant main effect for linguistic style [ $F(3, 394) = 1044$ ] at a very large effect size (eta squared = .88). Results also indicate a significant main effect for speaker gender [ $F(1, 396) = 104$ ], at a large effect size too. They also indicate a significant interaction effect [ $F(3, 394) = 42.94$ ], at a large effect size (eta squared = .24). Within-subjects post hoc comparisons showed all significant mean differences between the speakers of the four language varieties, with the largest effect size across the English school group (eta squared = .92), followed by government school group (eta squared = .72), and the least effect size (yet still considered large) in the bilingual group (eta squared = .56). Analyses of between-subject factors indicate a significant main effect for students' school type [ $F(2, 396) = 374$ ], at a very large effect size (eta squared = .65). Between-subjects post hoc comparisons showed that the differences lay between government and English school groups, government and bilingual school groups, and between English and bilingual school groups. The findings indicate that the students across the three types of schools evaluated the speakers differently as a result of their utilised language varieties and speaker gender.

### Perceived Kuwaitiness

		Male Speakers				Female Speakers				
		K	E	ICS	LCS	K	E	ICS	LCS	P-Value
Students	Government School	6.60 <sup>a</sup>	3.34 <sup>b</sup>	3.84 <sup>c</sup>	5.13 <sup>d</sup>	6.83 <sup>e</sup>	1.77 <sup>f</sup>	3.97 <sup>c</sup>	3.88 <sup>c</sup>	0.0005
	English School	6.93 <sup>a</sup>	4.58 <sup>b</sup>	6.74 <sup>a,c</sup>	6.89 <sup>a,c</sup>	6.92 <sup>a,d</sup>	4.84 <sup>f</sup>	6.47 <sup>d</sup>	6.89 <sup>a,d</sup>	0.0005
	Bilingual School	5.46 <sup>a</sup>	3.91 <sup>b</sup>	5.32 <sup>c,e</sup>	5.66 <sup>c</sup>	6.37 <sup>a</sup>	2.29 <sup>d</sup>	3.96 <sup>b,d</sup>	5.66 <sup>e</sup>	0.0005
Teacher	Male	5.84 <sup>a</sup>	3.16 <sup>b,d</sup>	4.36 <sup>c,d</sup>	3.70 <sup>b,d</sup>	6.18 <sup>a</sup>	2.76 <sup>b</sup>	4.13 <sup>d,c</sup>	4.23 <sup>c,d</sup>	0.0005
	Female	6.56 <sup>a</sup>	4.07 <sup>b</sup>	5.21 <sup>c</sup>	5.58 <sup>c</sup>	6.53 <sup>a</sup>	4.05 <sup>b</sup>	5.04 <sup>c</sup>	5.45 <sup>c</sup>	0.0005

Table 5.6: Students', across three types of schools, and teachers' evaluations of the four language varieties for Kuwaitiness  
 N.B: Different superscripts across the same row indicate significant differences at  $p < .012$

Reading the mean values, one can clearly see that in the government school environment, as we might expect, students tend to evaluate Kuwaiti-only as reflecting the highest level of Kuwaitiness, English-only reflecting the least Kuwaitiness, and code-switching reflecting a moderate level of Kuwaitiness. The male versus female scores across the speakers of the same language variety show that the informants from the government schools distinguish between the speakers of the two unmixed varieties according to the gender of the speaker. The group finds the female Kuwaiti-only speaker to be 'more Kuwaiti' than the male speaker of the same variety. The difference, however does not seem to be large compared to the very large difference between male and female speakers of the English-only variety. Results in relation to this variety indicated that English-only was evaluated very much higher on Kuwaitiness when spoken by male than female speakers. This is the same societal pattern that we have encountered several times already - the society's openness towards the male teenager social interaction with foreigners. In other words, speaking English does not seem to be as stigmatised, in terms of the speaker's Kuwaiti identity, when used by Kuwaiti male teenagers as it is when used by Kuwaiti

female. Wider social interaction, not only with Kuwaitis but also with foreigners, who mainly use English as a mean of communication, is deemed appropriate for males.

In the English school environment, students again evaluate Kuwaiti-only as the variety reflecting most Kuwaitiness, compared to English-only whose speakers are found to be 'the least Kuwaiti'. Unlike the group in the government school, this group evaluates code-switchers to be equally Kuwaiti compared to Kuwaiti-only speakers. The group perceives the variety (as we have seen previously) as an in-group speech style. In other words, the group seems to believe that code-switchers 'are Kuwaiti', because they speak the language that 'we Kuwaitis' do. The finding also indicates that, contrary to the fears that many people in the conventional government schools hold, teenagers from an English school environment do not distance themselves from their Kuwaiti identity. Results of the bilingual school group indicate that, once again, the group tends to evaluate Kuwaiti-only users as 'the most Kuwaiti' speakers of all, English-only as 'the least Kuwaiti', and code-switching as a variety reflecting relatively moderate Kuwaitiness. Gender of the speaker functions effectively as a variable within this group of teenagers, whose ratings indicate significantly different evaluation of English-only as a result of the speakers' gender. Comparing mean values accorded to English-only speakers indicates that, just like the government school students, the group found the male speaker of this variety to be much more Kuwaiti than the female speaker. The second large difference was between code-switchers of the same type. It seems that while the group perceives ICS to reflect more Kuwaitiness when the variety is utilised by a male teenager, LCS is perceived as reflecting 'more Kuwaitiness' when utilised by a female teenager.

A comparison of how the three groups evaluated code-switchers in general shows that, except for the female ICS speaker, the bilingual group adopts a moderate stance towards CS in terms of Kuwaitiness. Teachers, on the other hand, tend to evaluate the speakers of the

four language varieties significantly differently, as indicated by the significant main effect for linguistic style [ $F(3, 77) = 153.76, P < .0005$ ], at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .85$ ). The results also indicated a significant linguistic style\*speaker gender interaction effect [ $F(3, 77) = 5.77, P < .001$ ] at a large effect size too ( $\eta^2 = .18$ ). Analyses of between-subject factors showed a significant main effect for subject gender [ $F(1, 79) = 21.15, P < .0005$ ], at a large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .21$ ). Analyses of the differences amongst male and female teachers showed significant p-values of  $0.0005 < 0.12$  amongst teachers of both gender groups, at very large effect sizes ( $\eta^2 = .9, .8$ ) for male and female teachers respectively, showing that teachers too share in the ideological pattern of associating speech style with Kuwaitiness. A look at the mean values accorded to the different speakers shows that teachers also tend to perceive Kuwaiti-only as the variety of 'complete Kuwaitiness', and English-only as the variety of 'the least Kuwaitiness'. The two types of code-switching are moderately evaluated along this trait, with no apparent distinction between the two types (see Figure 5.12). Male vs. female speakers differences across the same language variety show no speaker gender-related distinction along Kuwaitiness for the teachers' group. The finding indicates that although teachers tend to discriminate between Kuwaitis based on their language varieties, they seem to have no discriminatory views on Kuwaitiness based on whether the speaker is male or female. It seems, however, that female teachers tend to rate the speakers of the four language varieties generally higher on Kuwaitiness.

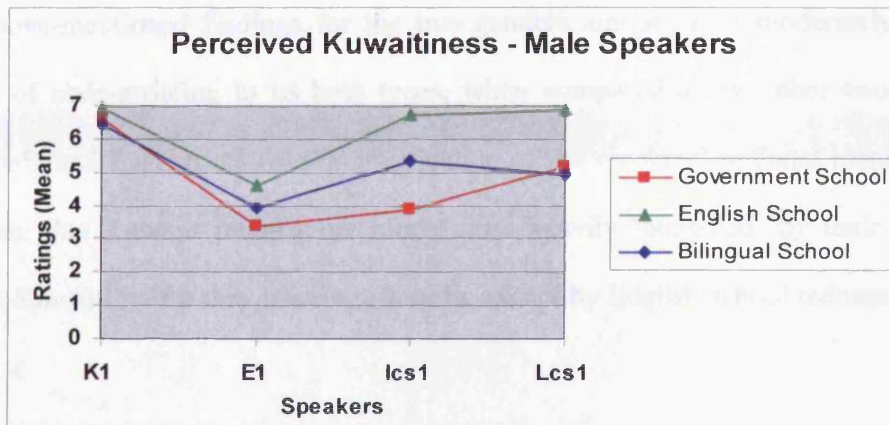


Figure 5.11a: Students' evaluative profiles of male speakers for Kuwaitiness

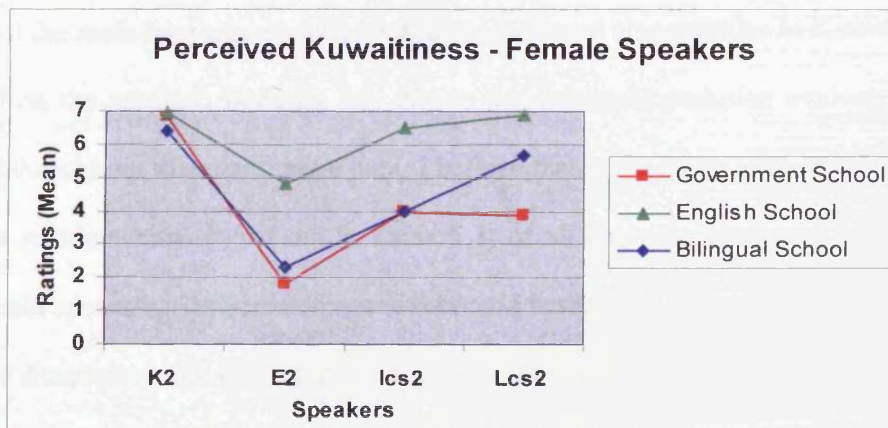


Figure 5.11b: Students' evaluative profiles of female speakers for Kuwaitiness

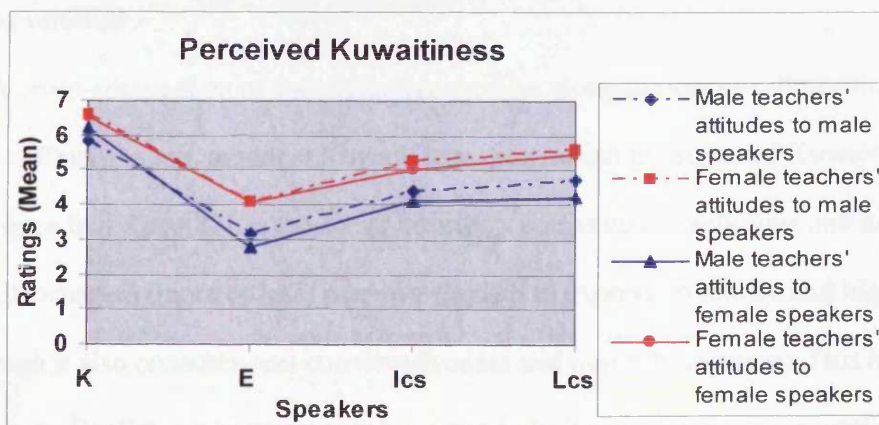


Figure 5.12: Teachers' evaluative profiles of male and female speakers for Kuwaitiness



The above-mentioned findings for the two genders amount to a moderately positive evaluation of code-switching in its both types, when compared to the other two varieties (Kuwaiti-only and English-only) in their reflection of the speakers' national identity. They also indicate that Kuwaiti females are much more heavily 'punished' by their peers for being 'non-Kuwaiti' when they use English-only, except by English school teenagers.

#### **5.4 General profiles of the main speech styles in Kuwait**

This section is a summarising section in which I will overview the ways in which judgements of the different dimensions work with or against each other in picturing the speakers of the main language varieties within the different communities in Kuwait.

Based on the previous findings, and due to the extremely complex evaluative profiles presented throughout the quantitative data, I believe that it would be very helpful to present the reader with a summary (set out in Table 5.7) of all the main attributes for each of the study's main speech-styles across the students' and teachers' groups. The table shows how evaluative dimensions that proved to be at work within this community work with or against each other in relation to the four spoken language varieties in Kuwait. This will be followed by a separate section (5.5) which will focus specifically on the data relating to code-switching variation.

A cross-comparison of the evaluative profiles along the various dimensions shows radically different views, amongst Kuwaiti teenagers, about the status of Kuwaiti, although they all agree that Kuwaiti has the social meanings conservative, religious and nationalistic. Again, all teenagers (more or less) perceive English to express solidarity and high status, even though it also connotes non-conservativeness and non-religiousness. This means that, for teenagers, English is an attractive but secular code. Teenagers from a government school

setting, however, perceive the language to be inadequate in terms of symbolising Kuwaiti national identity.

Teenagers' judgments of code-switching are also quite polarised in terms of solidarity, though they attribute high-to-moderate status to the variety. Again, it is a non-conservative (progressive for English and bilingual school kids, but presumably too secular for government school kids) way of speaking, and only government school kids find the variety non-religious on the whole.

**Table 5.7: General profiles of the four language varieties in Kuwait**

Language variety	Government school children	English school children	Bilingual school children	Teachers
K	Very high solidarity (more for male)	Low solidarity	Moderate solidarity	Moderate solidarity
	Low status (higher for female)	Moderate status (higher for female)	High status	Moderate status (relatively low)
	Very comprehensible	Very non comprehensible	Moderately comprehensible	Very comprehensible
	Very conservative	Very conservative	Very conservative	Very conservative
	Very religious	Very religious	Very religious	Very religious
	Very Kuwaiti	Very Kuwaiti	Very Kuwaiti	Very Kuwaiti
E	Moderate solidarity (more for male)	Very high solidarity	Moderate solidarity (higher for male)	Moderate solidarity
	High status (higher for male)	Very high status (higher for female)	High status	High status
	Relatively moderately comprehensible	Very comprehensible	Very comprehensible	Very comprehensible
	Non-conservative (lower for female)	Non-conservative	Moderately conservative	Non-conservative
	Non-religious (lower for female)	Non-religious	Non-religious	Moderately religious
	Very non-Kuwaiti (lower for female)	Moderately Kuwaiti	Moderately Kuwaiti	Very non-Kuwaiti

CS	Low solidarity (higher for female)	Very high solidarity (higher for ICS)	Moderate solidarity	Moderate solidarity
	High status (moderate for female LCS)	High status (higher for female)	Moderate status	Moderate status
	Moderately comprehensible (lower for female ICS)	Very highly comprehensible	Moderately comprehensible (lower for male LCS)	Very comprehensible
	Non conservative (less conservative for LCS)	Non conservative	Non conservative (less conservative for LCS)	Non conservative (less conservative for LCS)
	Non religious (higher for male ICS, lower for female ICS)	Moderately religious (lower for LCS & for female speakers)	Moderately religious (lower for male LCS & female ICS)	Moderately religious (lower for LCS)
	Moderately Kuwaiti (high for male LCS)	Very much Kuwaiti (higher for LCS)	Very Kuwaiti (moderate for male ICS & female LCS)	Moderately Kuwaiti

Teachers, on the other hand, associate Kuwaiti speech with moderate solidarity and status, besides its being morally and nationalistically rich. English is found to express moderate solidarity and status, though culturally deficient, particularly in relation to conservativeness and nationalism. For teachers, code-switching reveals acceptable levels of solidarity, status, religiousness and nationalism, though the variety is again perceived culturally deficient along one of the most crucial traits within the community (i.e. conservativeness). Teachers' overall patterns tend to correspond quite closely to government school kids, yet at lower intensity levels with regards to status/solidarity dimensions.

### 5.5 Attitudes to LCS versus ICS, and male versus female code-switching

In this section, we will focus specifically on the quantitative data relating to code-switching variation. The section will zoom into code-switching in particular, in an attempt

to investigate whether participants' evaluative responses differed as a result of the type of switching used (ICS or LCS), including as a function of the gender of the speaker.

Going back to the study's hypotheses, it was anticipated that students from the bilingual educational schemes would react more favourably to code-switching along a number of traits as a result of their familiarity with the variety and the more positive ideologies seemingly attached to this variety in those schools compared to government schools. It was also anticipated that those reactions would be different in relation to the type of switching and the gender of the speaker.

Inspection of the evaluative data reveals the anticipated contrast between participants in two types of schools: government and English. Participants in the latter school type evaluate code-switching very much more highly for solidarity (M for male CS = 6.4, 5.9; M for female CS = 6.5, 5.7 for ICS and LCS respectively) than participants in the government schools (M for male CS = 2.9, 2.3; M for female CS = 4.2, 3.2 for ICS and LCS respectively). As for the students from the bilingual school scheme, their responses tend to be less variable compared to the rest of the speakers, and around the mid-point value (M for male CS = 3.8, 3.8; M for female CS = 3.8, 4.4 for ICS and LCS respectively), indicating their moderate reactions to CS in general.

Amongst the male speakers of CS, results show that, except for the students from the bilingual schools, the two other groups significantly differentiated between ICS and LCS, both finding the latter, in spite of involving what government school children labelled as 'milder' switching, less favourable than the former. Possible reasons for such discrepant results will be sought after in the study's qualitative analyses in chapter 6.

Inspection of the relative responses for the male versus female code-switchers also shows strong variation in the way the male and female code-switchers were evaluated, a finding that tends to be more salient amongst the government school participants, who

showed more 'appreciation' to the female code-switchers than the male code-switchers, particularly in its ICS type. Being less pressed to actively socially interact in this community, female Kuwaitis are less encircled with the stigma associated with speaking this variety in particular. It seems, however, that the trend tends to weaken amongst the children from the other types of schools (English and bilingual schools) whose mean values did not show any variation based on gender of the code-switcher.

In terms of the code-switchers' status traits, the government school students seem to perceive CS positively in general, but not for female lexical code-switchers, whose evaluative profiles are moderate along the status dimension (M for male CS = 5.81, 4.57; M for female CS = 5.49, 3.62 for ICS and LCS respectively). In the English school, however, results indicate higher status attributes accorded to the female code-switchers compared to the male switchers regardless of their type of switching (M for male CS = 4.77, 4.76; M for female CS = 5.78, 5.24 for ICS and LCS respectively). The finding may be indicative of the group's perception of desirable female advancement along the status dimension as a means of compensation for their diminished role in the wider social interaction available for Kuwaiti boys, especially when they start their adolescence. The bilingual school students produce moderate evaluations of the code-switchers along status traits (M for male CS = 4.92, 4.51; M for female CS = 4.83, 4.80), making no significant distinction between the code-switchers, neither based on the type of switching nor as a result of gender of code-switcher. The finding simply reflects the group's moderate stances towards code-switching in general.

Male vs. female speakers' scores show that informants from the government and bilingual schools judged the male lexical code-switcher higher in status than the female lexical code-switcher. This situation, however, doesn't seem to apply in the English school setting, where the scores show that the female code-switchers in both types were judged to

be of higher status, compared to the male code-switchers. Such a complex gender-related pattern for code-switching, I believe, is difficult to interpret, as the differentiated views seem to be not only related to the gender of the speaker but also to the type of the practised switching.

Teachers also tend to evaluate the speakers of both gender groups significantly differently as a result of their practised type of switching (male teachers' M for male CS = 4.89, 3.91; male teachers' M for female CS = 4.56, 3.91; female teachers' M for male CS = 4.78, 4.74; female teachers' M for female CS = 5.13, 4.74). A look at the mean values shows that male teachers tend to evaluate ICS at a more favourable level than LCS. Female teachers, however, tend to make no such distinction based on switching type. It should be noted here that male teachers tend to be less discriminatory than students in this regard (always remembering that the study's teachers' sample derives from a government school setting only). As for the male versus female speakers, results do not seem to indicate any kind of systematic variability as a result of the gender of the speaker in the teachers' group. In brief, teachers tend to perceive code-switching moderately positively, with male teachers producing variation between the two types, indicating ICS to be higher in status than LCS, regardless of the gender of the code-switcher.

The findings in relation to the four groups of informants therefore generally support my hypotheses in relation to the anticipation of different evaluative responses towards code-switching as a result of the practised type of switching, gender of the code-switcher, and in the teachers' case, depending on gender of participants.

Being one of the important dimensions that proved to be at work in this study, the study examined whether there is a variation in the participants' responses along the communicative dimension, depending on the practised type of switching or the gender of the speaker. Inspection of the mean values produced by the three teenagers' groups shows that

teenagers from the government schools found code-switching to be a moderately comprehensible variety in general, yet less comprehensible when the speaker was a female intersentential code-switcher (M for male CS = 4.24, 4.34; M for female CS = 2.56, 3.40 for ICS and LCS respectively). In the English schools, students described code-switching to be a very highly comprehensible variety in general (M for male CS = 6.88, 6.86; M for female CS = 6.69, 6.89 for ICS and LCS respectively). The bilingual school students, however, described the variety to be moderately comprehensible, yet less comprehensible when used in its LCS type by a male speaker (M for male CS = 4.90, 3.28; M for female CS = 4.11, 4.31 for ICS and LCS respectively). Teachers from both gender groups, on the other hand, tend to perceive code-switching as a highly comprehensible variety, regardless of its type and the gender of the speaker. Female teachers however, tend to find code-switching to be more comprehensible whether practised by male or female teenagers, and whether practised in its ICS or LCS type.

The findings suggest some variation in the informants' attitudes along the dimension of comprehensibility in accordance to type of switching and the gender of the speaker. It is not obvious, yet, whether such variation relates to specific individual differences amongst the speakers, the ambiguity of the term 'comprehensible' for the different informants, or a 'real' type/gender effect of the language variety. As mentioned earlier, the issue will be raised for further discussion in the focus group interviews for verification.

In terms of conservativeness, results for the code-switchers show that, except for the English school group, all the other groups (including government and bilingual school students) tend to evaluate the speakers of the two types of code-switching significantly differently in terms of conservativeness. A closer look at the students' evaluative reactions along the conservativeness dimension (set out in diagrams 5.5a and 5.5b) indicates that the

two groups have, unexpectedly, evaluated ICS at a much higher level (hence more conservative) than LCS, in spite of the former being labelled 'heavier' style of switching.

Scores accorded to male and female code-switchers show the only gender differentiation along conservativeness across teenagers from a bilingual school setting, whose reactions suggest that the group finds male lexical code-switchers to reflect a higher level of conservativeness than when the variety is practised by female lexical code-switchers.

Teachers also tend to show variation in their responses towards the code-switchers along the conservativeness dimension as a result of their practised type of switching, again finding the ICS more conservative than LCS. The male versus female results, however, show no variation. In general, the findings in relation to the two groups (students and teachers), and except for the bilingual school teenager group, show that type of switching is an active evaluative variable, but that the gender of the speaker is not, in the informants' attitudes in relation to conservativeness.

In terms of the code-switchers' religiousness, analyses are also indicative of some variation between the code-switchers in accordance to the participant's type of school and as a result of the speaker's gender and utilised type of switching.

The government school students' responses towards the code-switchers indicate a general tendency of perceiving the variety to reflect lack of religiousness, however with some variations indicating more religiousness accorded to the female code-switchers in both types compared to their male counterparts (M for male CS = 2.62, 2.15; M for female CS = 2.31, 2.59 for ICS and LCS respectively). A different gender-differentiation pattern is also produced by the English school kids, who accorded a higher mean value for the male code-switcher in its in ICS type than his female counterpart (M for male CS = 4.67, 2.97; M for female CS = 3.45, 2.92 for ICS and LCS respectively). A similar pattern is found within the



bilingual school children, yet to a lesser extent when compared to the former group (English school children) (M for male CS = 3.03, 2.87; M for female CS = 2.48, 3.32 for ICS and LCS respectively). It should be noted here that the polarity of this label 'religious' along some other labels (such as 'conservative' and 'Kuwaiti') is still open to discussion. In other words, the higher scores accorded to female LCS may indicate more favourable attitudes towards this particular speaker when such judgment is produced by children from a government school setting. Children from the English school setting, and to some extent from the bilingual school setting, may perceive the male ICS less favourably as a result of the higher level of religiousness accorded to the speaker.

Teachers, on the other hand, perceive code-switching to reflect moderate religiousness, with variation between the two types of switching (see table 5 for details on produced mean values by this group). Inspection of the mean values indicates that female teachers perceived ICS speakers to be more religious than the LCS speaker when practised by male CS but not female CS. Male teachers however, make no differentiation based on the practised type of switching. Male vs. female scores show that only female teachers differentiate between ICS switchers as a result of gender of speaker. The results reveal that female teachers, only, find the code-switcher in its ICS type to be more religious (probably a favourable evaluation) when it is used by the male speaker. This may be as a result of the association of this particular type of switching with a number of religious beliefs that could be diminishing, specifically amongst the female practitioner of this type of switching. A look at the differences between Kuwaiti-only speakers and the code-switchers across the male-female speakers displays a greater mean difference amongst the female speakers. The finding suggests that, just like the students' group, teachers also tend to harshly downgrade the female speakers when they utilise the variety, compared to the male speakers.

Just like the above-mentioned traits, code-switching also tends to affect the respondent's perception of the speaker's Kuwaitiness. The statistical analyses show very great variation among the respondents across the three types of schools, when the speaker uses code-switching in general. Diagrams 5.11a and 5.11b also show that the informants from the three school types evaluated the two male code-switchers significantly differently as a result of their type of switching. As for the groups from government and English schools, ICS is perceived to reflect 'less Kuwaiti' identity than the LCS, only when the two varieties are utilised by male teenagers ( $\bar{M}$  for male CS = 3.84, 5.13;  $\bar{M}$  for female CS = 3.97, 3.88 for ICS and LCS respectively). The profile also applies to the female speakers in the English school, with ICS being evaluated less Kuwaiti than LCS. The finding suggests that, for teenagers from the government and English schools, the more Kuwaiti you speak, the more 'completely Kuwaiti' you are considered to be. A contrasting picture, however, is produced by the bilingual school group, whose informants, surprisingly, perceived the ICS as reflecting more of a Kuwaiti identity than LCS ( $\bar{M}$  for male CS = 5.32, 5.66;  $\bar{M}$  for female CS = 3.96, 5.66 for ICS and LCS respectively). The female's scores tend to display a wider variation among the students from the bilingual schools, who perceive the lexical code-switcher as 'more Kuwaiti' than the intersentential code-switcher with a mean difference approximately reaching two points on the seven point scale. It seems that for this group of teenagers, Kuwaitiness is less attached to how much Kuwaiti the individual speaks.

Contrary to the students' results, teachers of both gender groups do not seem to produce any significant variation between the code-switchers of the two types or the gender of the speaker. While the two factors (switching type and gender) seem to function effectively in the students' perception of the speakers' Kuwaitiness, they don't for the teachers' group.

Overall, then, the findings tend to support the present study's hypothesis of the participants' variable attitudes towards code-switching as a result of the code-switcher's gender and type of switching. The main trends in the results for CS are:

- For teenagers from the government schools, code-switching is associated with low solidarity (higher for female code-switcher), high status (less for female LCS), low conservativeness (less for LCS), low religiousness (less for female ICS) and an acceptable level of Kuwaitiness, yet higher for male LCS. The variety is also perceived by this group to be moderately comprehensible, yet less comprehensible for female ICS.
- Teenagers from the English school tend to associate code-switching with high solidarity (even higher in its ICS type), high status (even higher when the variety is spoken by a female), least conservativeness, moderate religiousness, yet higher when the variety is used by a male speaker in its ICS type, and very much attached to his or her Kuwaiti identity (particularly in its LCS type). The variety is judged to be very comprehensible to this group in particular.
- The bilingual school group evaluates the variety to reflect moderate solidarity, moderate status, moderate religiousness, yet least conservativeness (even less in its LCS type) and complete Kuwaitiness (particularly for female ICS and male LCS). The variety is believed to be moderately comprehensible, yet much more comprehensible when used by a female speaker in its LCS type.
- Teachers' evaluations show a very similar profile to that of the bilingual school teenagers, except for the code-switchers' perceived attachment to their Kuwaiti identity. Unlike the bilingual school teenagers, teachers find code-switching to reflect a somewhat deficient Kuwaiti identity.

## **Chapter 6: Findings- Qualitative data**

In this chapter, I aim to discursively analyse the study's qualitative data presented through teenagers' and teachers' responses to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire and the focus group discussions where discussants commented on the study's narratives and narrators. This will be done in three different sections. The first section (6.1) will examine respondents' responses to the two-open ended questions included at the beginning of the modified matched guise questionnaire, in which the respondents were asked to write down their first impressions of the speakers and their languages. As mentioned earlier, this was done to fulfil two major goals: The first was to detect features that mostly caught respondents' attentions, a procedure which, I believe, will shed light on the efficiency of the technique in the present study as well as in future language attitudes studies. The second was to give the respondents a broader opportunity to comment on the speakers with no restrictions, in an attempt to access some common stereotypical images of the speakers and their languages. As I explained earlier, this is a necessity when dealing with groups of teenagers whose comments may not be constrained by the conservative nature of the community under investigation.

It should be remembered at this point that the study was conducted in schools, where the appropriateness of any document presented to students is subject to close scrutiny. During the preliminary search for evaluative labels that are meaningful to the communities under investigation, many labels that were particularly used by teenagers could not be incorporated into the questionnaire for several reasons. The first was the use of 'improper language' or labels which, if used in the questionnaire, would have been disallowed. Examples of such labels were 'gay', 'flirt', 'sexy' and 'donkey'. All participating schools required prior inspection of the questionnaire for the purpose of language appropriateness check. Another reason was what Garrett et al. (2005) refer to as the technique's efficiency in

accessing 'directionality' (Garrett et al. 2005: 50). One problem that I faced in the quantitative data interpretation was related to informants' reactions to the culture-based evaluative labels (i.e. 'religious', 'conservative' and 'Kuwaiti'). For informants who are ingrained in the community under the study, such labels potentially connote very different, and to some extent contrasting values. I claim here that the integration of a keyword technique, alongside the discourse analysis of focus group interviews, will enable me to resolve the ambiguity of judgemental labels in the context of very different, and to some extent, contrasting ideologies held by the different groups. Moreover, the technique is used to assess the validity of narratives as elicitation technique in future attitudinal studies. I do this by following an analytical procedure in finding out the extent to which the speakers were evaluated in accordance to their spoken languages, story content or prosodic features of their speech-styles.

The second section (6.2) aims to inspect the respondents' overall attitudes to code-switching, through the analysis of the open-ended question towards the end of the questionnaire, in which participants were directly asked about their thoughts of code-switching in general. These data will be used to enrich the context required for keyword technique analysis.

The third section (6.3) helps to reveal the community's salient concepts in relation to the languages spoken within the community, from comments made in the focus group interviewing sessions. Once again these may help to resolve the ambiguity of the quantitative results, and to get a deeper insight into the prevailing concepts of the languages under investigation.

A final section (set out in 6.4) will summarise the main findings from the various qualitative phases.

## 6.1 Keyword responses

This section is mainly concerned with the participants' responses to the first two open-ended questions at the beginning of the questionnaire, where they were asked to comment on the speakers' personal and linguistic features. Samples of 15 questionnaires from each of the three students' groups (government, English and bilingual schools) - the most complete ones - were chosen for keywords investigation. Another sample of 15 questionnaires from the teachers' group (7 male, 8 female) was also analysed for the same purpose. Respondents responded to the two open-ended questions using the language they prefer. Except for two respondents, all government school kids used Kuwaiti in their produced keywords. These were translated for further analyses. English and bilingual school kids on the other hand, alternated between the two languages (English and Kuwaiti) in their responses to the two open-ended questions, i.e. within a single questionnaire, keywords were produced in the two languages. Once again, keywords produced in Kuwaiti were translated while English keywords were reported in their original language.

Bearing in mind that our participants were given the chance to freely comment on the narrators, it was expected that responses would refer to the content of the story, narrator's speech-style or quality of the speaker's voice and performance. Responses which were difficult to assign to any of the above-mentioned features were referred to as 'ambiguous'. Otherwise, responses were grouped under story evaluation, language evaluation and performance evaluation, in an attempt to find out the most salient features of the narrative technique that caught our respondents' attention. Accordingly, keywords such as 'nice story', 'interesting experience', and 'very embarrassing event', were placed under 'story evaluation'. Keywords like 'mixed language', 'broken language', 'no language', 'confusing language', 'Kuwaiti dialect', or 'competent in English' were grouped under the heading of 'language evaluation'. Examples of 'performance evaluation' included 'slow

speaker', 'fast speaker', 'loud', 'quiet', 'flat voice', 'well -narrated', or 'must learn narrating techniques'. Personal attributes were grouped under 'language evaluation' if they were not related to the story content. A keyword such as 'coward', for example, was grouped under 'story evaluation' when used to describe the Kuwaiti female speaker whose story talks about her fears of being stuck in a broken lift. A keyword like 'well-off', on the other hand, was grouped under 'language evaluation' when used to describe code-switchers, as there seemed to be no indication of such an attribute through the code-switchers' narratives.

Keywords also included a number of items that were difficult to assign to any of the above-mentioned three headings. For example, with the keyword 'daring' used to describe the male ICS, whose story talked about his experience of accidentally hacking into the school network, it was not quite clear whether it referred to the speaker's use of such controversial language in public, or to refer to his courage in getting into the school database. Categorisation of keywords under the three suggested headings was in fact by no mean a simple task. The decision of where to categorise a keyword was not only based on its semantic reference, but also onto the keyword's relationship to the language variety, story content and the other keywords within the same questionnaire. Even so, results from this analysis are suggestive and they help in the assessment of the validity of narrative as an elicitation tool in this study in particular, and in future attitudinal studies in general. Table 6.1 lists further examples of keywords categorised under the four mentioned headings.

**Table 6.1: Examples of keywords categorised under the four headings**

**Language Evaluation**

*Good language, speaks good English, from English school, no language, half English, mix, not bad language, Kuwaiti speaks English, pure language, philosophers' language, mixer, broken language, show-off, proper language, slang, teenage language, uses two languages, half Kuwaiti half British, blond girl, white boy, modern Kuwaiti, down to earth, un-Kuwaiti,*

*fake language, good English, swings between 2 languages, complex personality, stupid mixer, typical Kuwaiti, educated Kuwaiti, a little like me, has a British accent, one language only, monolingual, local language, vernacular, professional language, world language, distorted language, hesitant language, unclear language, mother is American, lives in the US, local, full of switches, confusing language, incomprehensible, proud, arrogant, I don't understand, clear language, normal language, wears 'Hijaab' head cover, 100% Kuwaiti, American school graduate, teenage language, high class Kuwaiti, no Kuwaiti, old-fashioned Kuwaiti, more English than Kuwaiti, Kuwaiti/English, girly language, stylish language, posh, intelligent language, clever use of language, Americanized Kuwaiti, few words in English, funny Kuwaiti, formal language, from England, confused identity, uses two languages at a time, breakable language, over confident, sounds cool, good mixer, outgoing, exaggerated speech style, weak in Arabic, must be a foreigner, genius, doesn't know what language to use, silly language, you never know what language she originally speaks, shy Kuwaiti, exciting language, accented English, transitional language, derived language, annoying language, bilingual, weak in both languages, something wrong!, feels more comfortable when speaks E, relaxed language, silly mixture, colloquial language, fantastic language, crazy language, white young boy, zero Kuwaiti, dark skinned, comes naturally, not proud, successful in school, well-off, knows Kuwaiti but doesn't want to speak it, freak, naturally mix, prefers E, unintentional mix, in a private school, Arabic = good English = good, from Britain, speaks well in two languages, fun to be with, spoiled, stuck up, schizophrenia, split personality, double identity, patched language, complicated, real, foreigner, broken English, free Kuwait, his Kuwaiti is OK, muddled up, messy, heart-breaking, tip to toes Kuwaiti, horrible language, hard working, rude, undisciplined, doesn't stick to Kuwaiti values, makes no sense, double agent, betrayer, stick to your own language, primitive, in fashion, cool, trendy, embarrassed, shocked, humiliating language, practical language, very convenient, more handy than pure Kuwaiti, lively language, language of science, advanced language, off boarder, extravagant, irritating .*

### **Story Evaluation**

*Adventurous, computer wiz, computer expert, fast runner, hacker, addicted to computers, persistent, has phobia from closed areas, dog chase, scared, gets himself into troubles, likes children, pointless story, boring story, coward, interesting one, liked his story, nice story, interesting experience, very embarrassing event, spends his time out on the streets, careless,*



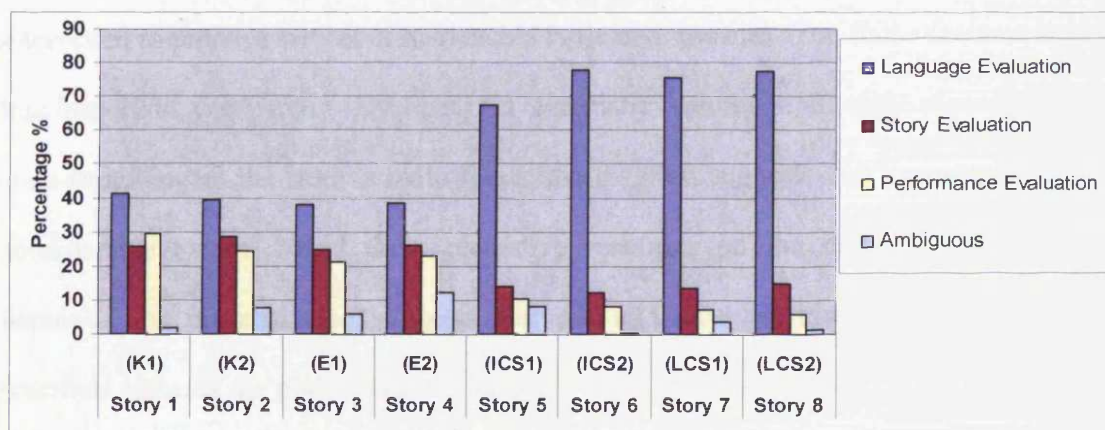
*hangs around with friends, cheater, promising Indian movie actor.*

### Performance Evaluation

*Hyper, too fast, chatter box, speaks fast, laughing, deep voice, slow, wearing braces, repetitive, low pitched voice, loud, quiet, flat voice, well -narrated, must learn narrating, techniques, serious, stutter, laughing girl, humorous .*

### Ambiguous

*fatty, nice girl, cute, fun to be with, hesitant, enthusiastic, thin, shy, pretty girl, smart young boy, intelligent, daring, funny, likeable, good looking, actor, good strategy, very convincing, I don't care.*



**Figure 6.1: Salient features in stories' evaluations**

Figure (6.1) displays the results of keywords' analysis. Keywords for each story were categorised under the previous headings. Percentages of the number of keywords under each category in relation to their corresponding stories were calculated. The diagram shows that, overall, respondents commented variably on each story based on one of the above-mentioned features. There is variation between the language varieties in the extent to which keywords were related to the three above-mentioned headings. Results suggest that informants' keywords in relation to the eight speakers were mostly grouped under language evaluation rather than any of the other two headings (story and performance evaluations).

There is also variation in the keywords' references in relation to the language varieties utilised by the different speakers, with the keywords grouped much more highly under language evaluation for the four code-switched varieties compared to any of the unmixed varieties. The findings suggest a principal salience of the speakers' linguistic features, in excess of any other feature including story content or voice quality of those speakers, and particularly when the speaker utilises code-switching varieties. In other words, the recipients' attention is directed more intensively to the language of the speaker when s/he code-switches.

The diagram also indicates that features other than the languages the speakers used intervened to produce our set of audience's evaluative profiles. Yet, those features tend to be less important, compared to the speakers' linguistic features in all eight stories. Looking at code-switching as the study's main focus, the diagram suggests that our respondents, to a considerable extent, based their evaluative reactions on the code-switchers' linguistic features. The diagram also suggests that our audience has also based their evaluative reactions towards the code-switchers on story evaluation, yet, at significantly less salience, when compared to their evaluative reactions based on the speakers' language varieties. The quality of the speakers' voices was the least salient grounding feature of all in all eight stories. The findings in fact lead us to conclude that the narrative-based approach has high validity in examining Kuwaitis' attitudes towards the presented language varieties. They also support my hypothesis in relation to the nature of the modified matched guise technique, anticipating the intervention of features other than the speakers' language varieties, in researching people's attitudes towards languages through narratives as an elicitation instrument. Nevertheless, the intrusion of these other dimensions of judgments and foci of evaluation need not lead us to dismiss uncontrolled speech data in future

attitudinal studies. Rather, it highlights the importance of supplementing the technique with qualitative data that may reveal any variability through a wider range of explanatory factors.

Keywords were also coded in terms of their more particular semantic references (see Table 6.2). Responses across these semantic references alongside their corresponding groups of respondents (set out in table 6.3) were classified under a number of headings, each illustrated with a percentage reflecting the frequency of those references. These distributions show variation in the judgments made by the two main groups (teachers and teenagers). The table also shows variation amongst teenagers as a result of their school types. Nevertheless we have to be cautious in drawing conclusions about salience based on no or low frequency of the themes presented in keywords' analysis (Garrett et al. 2005). The table below (6.2) presents lists of the produced keywords categorised in terms of their semantic references. This will be followed by Table 6.3 that presents frequency percentages of the various keyword categories as produced by the four sample groups.

**Table 6.2: Examples of keywords' categorisation under different semantic references across the study's four samples**

### ***Religion***

*Wearing 'hijaab' (Islamic outfit), veiled, frequent mosque visitor, don't mix with the other sex, faithful, believer, never forgets his prayers, obedient to aged, hangs around only with same sex, understands Koran (the holy book for Muslims) , never misses Friday prayer, decent, ethical, pimp, slut, flirty, extremist, unreligious, very religious, hairy faced, long beard, short 'dishdasha' (Kuwaiti male national costume), lost virginity, Jeans girl, garbage bag (a woman dressed up in black), Barbie Girl (Americanised in style and spirit), son of the 'biggest devil' (implying USA), atheist, decent, well-brought-up, flashy girl, free Kuwait (an expression used to criticise someone for being unreligious).*

### **Socio-economic**

*Well-off, wealthy, rich, born with a golden spoon in her mouth, high class, driving a Ferrari, loaded, moneyed, Burberry Girl, spoiled brat, top of the ladder, low class, average Kuwaiti, advanced language.*

### **Ethnicity**

*Kuwaiti, complete Kuwaiti, tip to toes Kuwaiti, from the heartland of Kuwait, original Kuwaiti, typical Kuwaiti, westernised, Americanised Kuwaiti, dual identity, unknown identity, undecided identity, betrayer, loyal, nationalistic, British, half Kuwaiti half American, vanished identity, nowhere to be found, schizophrenia, split identity, mother English father Kuwaiti, in between Kuwaiti, Kuwaiti up to his vain, confused identity, alien, foreigner, stranger, double agent.*

### **Education**

*Honour student, future doctor, future engineer, unique education, private education, private school, American school, English school, received her education in English since childhood, teachers' pet, hard working student, distinctive student, lazy student, highly educated, sophisticated, scientist, knowledgeable, retarded.*

### **Gender and sexuality**

*Gay, third sex, feminized, a young boy encircled with all-girl family, spoon fed, be a man, mum's little boy, girly, beat him up on his but and watch out your but (secret codes amongst teenagers for gayness), womanly speech, feminine, sexy girl, pimp, hot, lost her virginity (a disgraceful attribute to a girl and her family).*

### **Self esteem**

*Confident, secure, have faith in himself, arrogant, proud, show-off, stuck up, vain, snobbish, bragger, showy, inflated, bighead, know-all, poser, open, flashy, modest, shy, down to earth, quiet, attention seeker, outgoing.*

### **Performance**

*Stutter, chatter box, too fast, slow, speaks fast, laughing, deep voice, slow, wearing braces, repetitive, low pitched voice, loud, quiet, flat voice, well -narrated, must learn narrating, techniques, serious, stutter, laughing girl, humorous, good performance, monotone.*

### **Story content**

*Boring story, road runner, cheater, hacker, nice story, interesting event, good story, exciting experience, adventurous, computer Wiz, computer expert, fast runner, hacker, addicted to computers, persistent, has phobia from closed areas, dog chase, scared, gets himself into troubles, likes children, pointless story, boring story, coward, interesting one, liked his story, very embarrassing event, spends his time out on the streets, careless, hangs around with friends, promising Indian movie actor, technology boy, naughty.*

### **Competence**

*Bilingual, monolingual, proper English, proficient in English, weak in Arabic, deficient ability in Kuwaiti, capable in 2 languages, fluent in English and Kuwaiti, more fluent in English than Kuwaiti, excellent in English, poor Kuwaiti, weak in Kuwaiti, weak in English, equal capability in both languages, learned more English than Arabic, ungrammatical language, improve your Kuwaiti, needs to improve his English, , has a good command of English, grammatical errors, must get extra Arabic classes.*

### **Miscellaneous**

*Hopeless case, my idle, shallow-minded, sensible, no reaction, fine, OK, off-boarder, nerve-racking, young boy, pure language, soothing effect, conspiracy, very good, excellent, depends, whatever.*

**Table 6.3: Frequency analysis of keywords under various semantic references across the four sample groups**

<b>Semantic references</b>	<b>Government School</b>	<b>English School</b>	<b>Bilingual School</b>	<b>Teachers</b>
Religion	18.3%	5.2%	9.3%	5.4%
Socio-economic	15.7%	19.1%	16.5%	4.4%
Ethnicity	10%	4.1%	3%	3.2%
Education	7.1%	13.2%	11.2%	30.4%
Gender/sexuality	19.6%	4.7%	2.6%	0%
Self-esteem	16.3%	2.8%	9.3%	11.2%
Performance	2.6%	8.5%	8.9%	11.8%
Story content	2.1%	9.7%	12.9%	12.4%
Competence	6.1%	28.4%	21.1%	19%
Miscellaneous	2.2%	4.3%	5.2%	2.2%

Inspection of percentages of each heading across the three types of school points out very strong frequency variation across the three school types. In the government schools, for example, keywords produced by teenagers were largely categorised under ‘Gender and sexuality’ with the highest percentage reaching 19.6%, followed by three other personality features: religion, self-esteem and socio-economic features with a percentage range of 15.7% -18.3%. Ethnicity has less regular representation (10%), followed by a number of keyword references including education, competence, performance and story evaluation aspects which were certainly less employed in their evaluative reactions to the speakers of the various language varieties. In an English school setting, once again, there seems to be a contrastive pattern of frequency for the previously mentioned categories. The English school kids seemed to be more concerned with competence-related features (28.4%) comprising the group’s highest priority, followed by keywords reflecting socio-economic features (19.1%). Education (13.2%), story content (9.7%) and performance features (8.5%) come next, followed by ethnicity, self-esteem and religion to be, unlike their government school

counterpart, the least frequently produced keyword categories. The frequencies of the various keyword categories produced by the bilingual school kids show competence-related keywords to be the most frequent (21.1%) followed by socio-economic-related keywords as the second frequent keyword group (16.5%). Story content (12.9%) and education-related keywords (11.2%) come next, while religion, self-esteem and performance-related keywords, alongside some other less frequent features are at the bottom of the group's priority pyramid.

The above-mentioned frequency patterns show that while religion (represented in labels of religious, 'wearing hijab' (Islamic outfit), 'frequent mosque visitor' and 'believer' (see Table 6.2 for further examples) tends to be a very frequent personal attribute, based on the high percentage representing it (18.3%) in the group coming from a government school, such a crucial cultural value seems to be less frequent amongst the other two types of schools, with a percentage of (5.2%) representing the least frequency within the English school group. Ethnicity seems to be another important issue for students from the government school, with 10% of their produced keywords revolving around speakers' extent of Kuwaitiness. The other two groups, however, seemed to be less concerned about ethnicity reflected in the speakers' linguistic style of speech. References to socio-economic issues represented in labels like 'filthy rich', 'loaded', 'well off' and 'moneyed' seem to gain equal frequency with the percentages fluctuating between (16.5 -19.1) across the three types of schools.

A group of keywords referred to another socio-economic trait linked to the speakers' education levels and scholastic success. Labels such as 'highly educated', 'sophisticated', 'scientist' and 'knowledgeable' were grouped under the category of education (see Table 6.2 for more examples). This cluster was less frequent within the government school group than it was with the other two groups (English and bilingual), whose keywords referring to

educational status comprised about 13 - 11% of the total number of the two groups' keywords. The use of keywords with references to scholastic success by teenagers from a government school setting comprised only about 7% of the total number of keywords, implying education to be a less frequent concept in the group's attitudes to people at this particular age.

References to gender and sexuality were represented in labels like 'gay', 'feminine', 'be a man', 'womanly speech', and 'hot' were discrepantly produced amongst the three teenagers groups from two different aspects. Firstly, in terms of frequency, the data show these keywords to be much more salient amongst teenagers from the government schools. Secondly, in terms of the nature of the labels produced in connection with this aspect in particular, teenagers from the government schools uniquely criticised male code-switchers in using languages that, in their view, do not suit Kuwaiti males, implying a stereotype of masculine deficiency. It seems, however, that such a view about male code-switchers is not shared within the culture of the two other groups (English and bilingual school students), who, even when they produced labels of gender and sexuality, were of a different nature implying some positive sexual views of the code-switchers ('sexy', 'hot', 'gorgeous').

The heading 'self-esteem' was represented in labels like 'show-off', 'bragger', 'poser', 'know-all' and 'bighead' which were significantly used to describe the code-switchers by teenagers from a government school setting as represented in their high percentage (16.3%). Such attributes seem to be less frequent in a bilingual setting (8.3), and least frequent in an English school setting (2.8%). Moreover, keywords reflecting this particular feature within the English and bilingual school groups tended to connote positive values (such as 'confident', 'secure') rather than the negative values presented by the government school group ('bighead', 'show-off') in teenagers' reflections on code-switchers in general.



Competence-based labels were more frequently used by the English school group, with labels such as 'good at English', 'poor Kuwaiti', 'bilingual' and 'language deficient' being used to describe the code-switchers in general. A look at the variation in the percentages of competence-based labels indicates that, while English and bilingual school students perceive code-switching as a matter of higher proficiency in one language over the other, people in the government school tend to relate the variety to traits other than the language ability of the speakers in the two mixed languages.

Variable frequencies of performance and story-content related labels were represented in labels such as 'monotone', 'stutterer', 'slow', 'fast', 'good story', 'interesting story', 'boring story' and 'has no point', with the highest percentages of all amongst the students from the English and bilingual schools, whereas the two content and voice-based attributes tend to be less frequent in the government school group's reactions to the code-switchers. The finding tends to support our previous results (illustrated in Fig 6.1), implying content and voice features to be more salient to the two group of students (English and bilingual), compared to the government school students, whose attention was more directed towards the language that the code-switchers use than any of the above-mentioned features.

Examination of teachers' keywords indicates that, predictably, the group tends to concentrate on academic abilities represented in terms related to the speakers' education, confidence, performance and competence. The finding implies that the group tries to distance itself from judgments that reflect on the students' cultural values or socio-economic levels. Teachers use keywords that reflect on their expectations of the speakers' school performance and future career. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the group was very discriminating along the speakers' culture-based aspects, as read through the quantitative analyses. The discrepancy will, therefore, be revisited within the discursive analysis of the focus-group interviewing of the group.

Being the main focus of the present study, keywords in relation to code-switchers in particular, were also analysed in terms of directionality. Inspection of the students' keywords across the three types of schools shows that while our government school group attributed labels that tend to be negative in nature to the code-switchers ('wanna be', 'big-head', 'alien', 'gay'), the English school group tends to generally accord some very positive attributes to the code-switchers ('sophisticated', 'smart', 'prestigious', 'future doctor', 'high language ability'). The bilingual school group tends to produce keywords that are positive in nature too, in their description of code-switchers in general. Examples of keywords used by this group are 'fluent', 'competent', 'kind', 'good boy', 'nice girl', 'friendly' and 'honest'.

It should be borne in mind, however, that judgements of directionality were not always easy to make, due to their lack of accompanying context, specifically in this case where attributes of bi-polarity nature were used as a result of different, and in some case contrasting ideologies held by the different group. In this study, for example, the same lexical items may be semantically quite variable across the various school settings. The label 'Westernised' for example, conveys a positive meaning, reflecting being progressive and open-minded amongst teenagers from an English school environment. In the government school environment, however, the label seems to connote negative meaning, reflecting the person's disloyalty to the values of his or her own culture and country. Following Garrett and his co-workers' advice in this regard, judgements of keywords' directionality were exposed to a process of 'context restoration', meaning examining keywords alongside other keywords that came in the same questionnaire (Garrett et al. 2005: 47). For further context-boosting in the present research, keywords in relation to code-switchers were additionally compared to responses of the open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire, directly asking respondents to reflect on their thoughts about people who mix between Kuwaiti and English in their every day speech. The process, I believe, will enable me to decide, more

safely, on keywords' directionality. The next section (6.2) presents the procedure in detail along with the findings.

## **6.2 Respondents' overall attitudes to code-switching**

In this section, I will point to participants' responses to the direct attitude question towards the end of the questionnaire, where respondents were asked to directly describe their general thoughts about code-switching ('What are your general thoughts about the way of speaking that mixes Arabic and English?'). Once again, responses to this question were always produced in Kuwaiti by the government school children, and in English (most frequently) and Kuwaiti (less frequently) by English and bilingual children. I must say here that there was no mixing in any of the accounts produced by any of the respondents. The comments were either made in English, Kuwaiti or Standard Arabic. For analytic purposes, the accounts which were produced in Kuwaiti and Standard Arabic were translated, while those produced in English were reported in their original form. These accounts were then coded under three different headings: Positive attitude (including completely positive stances about code-switching), negative attitude responses (including completely negative stances about code-switching) and moderate attitude (including both positive and negative thoughts, and those who do not show clear responses about code-switching). The produced responses ranged from a one-word expression (such as 'idiots') to phrasal expressions (such as 'attention seeker') and sometimes complete sentences and paragraphs. Table (6.4) lists examples of a number of comments produced by respondents, headed with the three above-mentioned codes (positive, negative and moderate) in relation to responses' directionality. Respondents are identified in the list by their sex as being male (M) or female (F), group type as being student (S) or teacher (T) and school type (G, E, B) meaning government,

English or bilingual school types. 'E. S. F.' therefore refers to a female student from the English school. Each comment is followed by the language in which it was written.

**Table 6.4: Examples of responses of direct attitude question**

<b>Positive</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. E.S.F: They are intelligent, proud of themselves may be (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>2. E.S.M: They use it to communicate efficiently (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>3. B.S.F: Mixing is an excellent strategy. Such people can communicate easily in both Arab and foreign countries (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>4. B.S.F: It's a good thing to do. By doing this you won't forget the two languages you know (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</li> <li>5. E.S.F: I like it. Some words are more expressive in English than they are in Kuwaiti (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>6. B.S.F: Very nice. You can talk in English and Kuwaiti at the same time (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>7. E.S.M: Mixing expressions make it expressive (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>8. B.S.F: It shows that no matter what languages someone learns, his first language will still be used (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</li> <li>9. E.S.M: I like it. I do it all the time (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>10. E.S.F: They must be educated, in-fashion and smart (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>11. E.S.F: He must be modern (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</li> <li>12. E. S. F: It's a sign of rebellion. We are young and like to fight ha ha (laughing) (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>13. E.S.M: They are looking forward (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</li> <li>14. B.S.F: They are probably more optimistic (<i>English</i>).</li> <li>15. E.S.M: They have a better future (<i>English</i>).</li> </ol>
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<b>Negative</b>	<p>16. G.S.F: Show-off, irritating and unreliable (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>17. G.S.M: I don't think it's a good way of speech. He neither feels good about his language, nor does he feel good about his identity (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>18. G.S.M: A big mistake. He should be proud of his own language (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>19. G.S.F: No comment but 'Schizophrenia' (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>20. G.S.M: It annoys me a lot. A person should use only one language (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>21. G.S.F: Most people who learn English start to abandon their own Language (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>22. G.S.F: Arabic is important to grasp. It's the language of Koran (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>23. G.S.M: I would say: KICK THEM OUT OF THE COUNTRY (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>24. G.S.M: TRASH (<i>Kuwaiti</i>)!</p> <p>25. G.S.F: They must learn to respect their own culture (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>26. G.S.M: Get lost (<i>Kuwaiti</i>)!</p> <p>27. G.S.M: Idiots (<i>Kuwaiti</i>)!</p> <p>28. G.S.F: Don't brag about things that belong to others (<i>Standard Arabic</i>)!</p> <p>29. G.S.F: It pisses me off (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>30. G.S.F: I'd like to tell them to mature (<i>Kuwaiti</i>)!</p> <p>31. G.S.M: Attention seekers (<i>Kuwaiti</i>)!</p>
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<b>Moderate</b>	32. G.S.F: Sometimes good and sometimes bad. It depends on when and where you use it (Standard Arabic).
	33. E.S.M: He knows some words in one language but not in the other Language ( <i>English</i> ).
	34. B.S.F: I think the speakers use English when they do not know how to say it in Kuwaiti ( <i>Kuwaiti</i> ).
	35. E.S.F: I'm not really sure whether I like it or not. But I do it myself ( <i>English</i> ).
	36. B.S.M: Both languages are good to learn. But it's easier for Kuwaitis to learn English than it is for Americans to learn Kuwaiti ( <i>English</i> ).
	37. B.S.M: If it was for bragging, I don't like it, but if it comes naturally, I don't mind ( <i>Kuwaiti</i> ).
	38. B.S.F: Acceptable sometimes ( <i>English</i> ).
	39. B.S.M: It depends on whether you do it on purpose or not. For some, it comes naturally ( <i>Standard Arabic</i> ).
40. G.S.M: I'm not sure whether they're doing it on purpose ( <i>Kuwaiti</i> ).	

Investigation of the direct question responses of the four sample groups (set out in Figure 6.2) also shows some variation in terms of directionality.

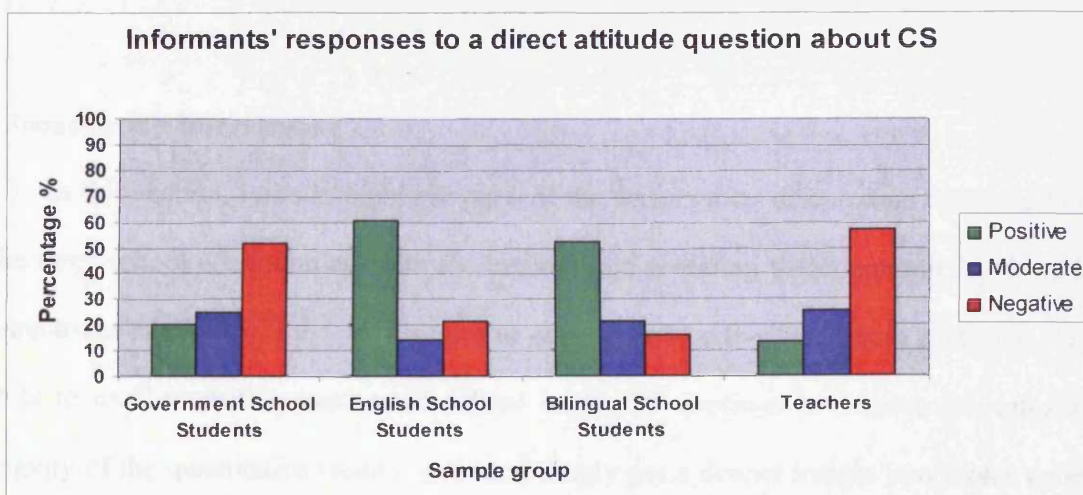


Figure 6.2: Directionality of participants' responses towards CS

The overall findings in relation to the direct attitude question suggest a contrastive pattern of teenagers' favouring of the code-switching varieties amongst the three school types, with both English and bilingual school groups expressing mostly positive thoughts about code-switching (60% and 52.5%, respectively), and the government school group expressing mostly negative thoughts towards code-switching (comprising 52% of the group). Teachers, on the other hand, hold feelings that tend to be mainly negative in nature towards the variety (57.3%).

Inspection of the different results across the three types of schools tends to verify our quantitative findings in relation to solidarity and cultural dimensions. It seems that teenagers from the government school setting show some resentment to code-switching, while teenagers from an English school setting tend to find the variety admirable. The variety also seems to be acceptable to teenagers from the bilingual school setting, with the majority of the sample perceiving the variety either positively or moderately.

As for the teachers' group, the overall findings suggest the group's relative intolerance of the variety. The results seem to be in line with the quantitative findings in relation to the culture-based attributes.

### **6.3 Focus-group Interviewing**

In this section, I aim to highlight parts of the focus group discussions that were held in the three school communities, with the intention of revealing the community's views in relation to the speakers of the four varieties in general, and code-switching in particular. The goal is to explore participants' most salient issues, to continue to resolve the inherent ambiguity of the quantitative results, and accordingly get a deeper insight into issues under investigation. It should be remembered that those sessions were initially left fully open to the participants' agenda, in an attempt to capture the concepts and themes that tended to

persist as the session proceeded. By the end of each session, the discussions were directed to some unresolved issues obtained from the quantitative results.

Eight hours of recorded group conversations were analysed. Being the main focus of the present research, discussants' comments to each other about code-switchers in particular were examined, in an attempt to capture the most recurring themes and values that seemed to be at work during the groups' evaluations of the narratives and their performers. Once again, participants are only identified by their group type (T for teachers and S for students), gender group (M for male and F for female) and school types (G for government school, E for English school and B for bilingual school) as the three factors have shown strong factorability in the quantitative study. Comments were produced in Kuwaiti-only by government school teenagers and teachers; in Kuwaiti only, English only and code-switching by teenagers from bilingual and English school settings. Kuwaiti extracts were translated into English while English extracts were reported in their original language and form. The Kuwaiti portion of the code-switched extracts was translated into English so that the full extract would be presented in English. The original English is presented in bold and italicised for the sake of clarity.

Several recurring themes and concepts in respect of judgments made about the target speakers seem to have surfaced. Inspection of the themes shows that the students from the different educational schemes hold some different, and, to some extent, contrasting attitudes towards code-switching as a spoken variety by teenagers from English and bilingual private schools in Kuwait. Two main reasons were stated by the students. The first was familiarity with the speakers of the language variety. The concept was illustrated in comments such as 'He sounds like a guy in our class', 'probably from our school?', and 'I think I heard him before'. Apparently, students from two of the educational schemes showed their admiration for code-switching variety because their ears got used to the variety as a result of its broad



usage within those settings in particular. This may in fact verify previous findings in relation to the association of positive attitudes accorded to a language variety as a result of the society's practice of that variety (Coupland et al., 1999; Baker, 1992; Sharp et al., 1973).

The other tendency was a contrasting perception of progressiveness, religiousness and ethnic identity by Kuwaiti teenagers, most probably as a result of the nurtured social and linguistic ideologies within government as opposed to private schools. Such a contrastive picture is traced in a number of selected extracts produced by the discussants in the focus-group interviewing sessions showing that, while teenagers from the two private educational schemes perceive the variety as a reflection of the speakers' open-mindedness and advancement, those coming from a government school setting tend to find code-switchers to be too detached from the most respected values of the Kuwaiti community (religion, conservativeness and Kuwaitiness being at their core). Discussants from the government school setting, for example, criticised the code-switchers based on their adoption of progressiveness that was negatively perceived by the group. They therefore described a code-switcher as someone who 'has lost her dignity', 'has forgotten their own culture' and 'will soon abandon his Kuwaiti identity'. Teenagers from the English schools, however, perceive 'progressive' people to be 'open-minded', 'very modern indeed', and 'use the language of technology and science' (results of the quantitative data pointed to the groups' mutual agreement of the code-switchers' downgrading on the three culture-based attributes, finding the code-switchers to be the least conservative, least religious and not very Kuwaiti). Assessment of the concepts raised in the focus-group discussions is indicative of a profound division in terms of the above-mentioned traits' attractiveness across the students from the three different groups. Table 6.5 presents some further quotes extracted from the focus group interviewing sessions, reflecting the directionality of the

groups' beliefs along the three major cultural attributes. Each extract is labelled to show the language it was originally presented in.

**Table 6.5: Polarization of the groups' perception of culture-based attributes**

<p><b>Government School</b></p>	<p>97. G.M.S: They must attend some lessons in religion (<i>Kuwaiti</i>)</p> <p>98. G.M.S: Girls of this type must be very open...they get into affairs with boys...it's very unacceptable (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>99. G.F.S: If they are unable to speak proper Kuwaiti, then how on earth you would expect them to be bothered about their own religion (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>100. G.M.S: They must never dare to question our morals (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>101. G.F.S: They have no respect to this community...to our ancestors' beliefs (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p>
<p><b>English School</b></p>	<p>102. E.M.S: I like them...<i>they are open-minded</i>...they fight to get back their rights (CS).</p> <p>103. E.M.S: I salute them...<i>they are brave</i>...it needs a lot of courage to stand against some of our society's unfair beliefs (CS).</p> <p>104. E.F.S: Many of this community's beliefs are so unfair...especially for girls (<i>Kuwaiti</i>)</p> <p>105. E.F.S: Very sensible...in fact more sensible than those <i>terrorists</i> (CS).</p>
<p><b>Bilingual School</b></p>	<p>106. B.M.S: <i>It's wrong</i>...to say that someone is more decent than another only because <i>he speaks that language and not the other</i> (CS).</p> <p>107. B.M.S: I don't care about how religious someone is (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p> <p>108. B.F.S: These days, being religious would never reflect on <i>how good you are</i> (CS).</p> <p>109. B.F.S: Religion and the society's values are and will never be my criteria in judging people; I myself disagree with a number of them (<i>Kuwaiti</i>).</p>

As for code-switching in its different types, the data revealed themes suggesting that teenagers within a government school setting tend to perceive the two types of code-switchers (ICS and LCS) differently too, a variation that seems to be partly related to 'genuineness' and 'fakeness' of the speakers. Inspection of the themes presented in this regard indicates that code-switchers in ICS type were less condemned by the government school group due to the fact that the variety is rationalised by competence-related issues, as a result of 'her mum being English' or 'brought up in a foreign country', and his 'needs to learn Kuwaiti'. Lexical code-switchers, on the other hand, seemed to be less tolerated as a result of the variety being perceived to be used by virtue of the speakers' rejection of the values and the mother tongue of the society. Male and female code-switchers in the ICS type were said to be 'more natural', 'more spontaneous', whose 'mum is English', and 'not to be blamed'. LCS switchers, however, were described to be 'putting it on', 'bragging about things that do not belong to them', or to be using the style 'on purpose'. Such association was only traced within the views produced by government school children.

Amongst the lexical code-switchers, the group (government school children) seemed to draw a distinction between the speakers of the variety on the basis of the gender of the speaker. As we have seen, an important social theme surfaced in relation to the males' gender/sexuality among teenagers from a government school setting, an accusation of being 'effeminate' or 'gay' that makes the variety even more harshly downgraded when utilised by a Kuwaiti male speaker. According to the views stated by a number of teenagers from a government school setting, a Kuwaiti male seems to lose his masculinity when he practices lexical code-switching. The same feature has also been traced in the keywords analysis, with the category being featured in 19.6% of the semantically investigated keywords.

For further explanation of the issue, and to find out whether such an attribute was based on some other features of the speaker's performance, government school children

explained that such an attribute is a common belief amongst teenagers in general, particularly amongst Kuwaiti boys. When the kids were asked to elaborate on this point, one of them responded: 'Everyone knows that... it's embarrassing...but if you insist...I tell you that this is how we boys think of them...Gays'. It should be mentioned at this point that homosexuality tends to be one of the most humiliating features attributed to any male Kuwaiti in Kuwait. Kuwaiti girls, on the other hand, were prone to a harsh downgrading from a cultural point of view. Once again, the government school community in particular seemed to be very sensitive to gender segregation, especially when dealing with issues related to religion and other community values. Teenagers from English and bilingual school settings, however, seemed to be less concerned with the above-mentioned gender segregation in relation to religion and other cultural values. Their views tended to reflect their strong criticism of the views expressed by the community in general. They therefore expressed their rejection of judging someone to be 'more decent than another because he speaks that language and not the other', and to consider 'religion and the society's values as the right criteria in judging people' because they themselves 'disagree with a number of them' (see Table 6.6 for more examples in Appendix 2b).

Issues highlighted within the focus-group discussions obviously call the reader's attention to the very divisive nature of the students' attitudes towards code-switching in accordance to their school type, switching type and gender of the code-switcher. Variation in the rationale behind the code-switchers' style of switching has also led to some of the unexpected quantitative findings in relation to cultural attributes, where lexical switching (although perceived as a 'milder' type of switcher) was more abrasively downgraded on religiousness and conservativeness. The reading of the discourse suggests that the group believes that, while the lexical switcher utilizes this type of switching to exhibit his or her resistance to cultural values and standards, the intersentential switcher is most probably

switching this way as a result of issues that tend to be more related to the speaker's linguistic competence in the two mixed languages.

The focus-group interviews also illuminated contrasting perceptions of many of the labels used in the modified matched guise, including the speaker's comprehensibility, religiousness and conservativeness. The discourse in relation to the participants' interpretation of the label 'comprehensible' shows that, while the respondents from the government school setting tend to interpret the label in its social attractiveness sense in terms of whether the language was 'comfortable', 'disturbing', 'fragmented' or 'nice', the groups from an English school environment viewed the label in its competence-based aspect in terms of the hearer's ability 'to understand what the speakers were talking about' based on his or her 'ability in English and Kuwaiti'. The variation seems to trigger a stricter downgrading of the lexical switchers compared to the intersentential switcher along the trait of comprehensibility, in spite of the 'milder' switching encountered in the former type of switching, maybe as a result of the group's interpretation of the label in its relational rather than its technical aspect.

As for the speakers' religiousness and conservativeness, once again, the discourse reading (see Table 6.5 for examples) establishes a polarisation in the respondents' perception of the two labels. While the students from the government school setting positively perceive such cultural attributes, students from the English school background tend to negatively perceive attributes of religiousness and conservativeness, describing code-switchers to be 'very sensible' and 'brave' because they have the 'courage to stand against the society's unfair beliefs'. Teenagers from the bilingual school setting seemed to reject the idea of drawing any moral judgments based on people's speech styles. In other words, they seem to agree on the importance of adhering to the community values.

Nevertheless, they think that such adherence is unlikely to be read through how someone speaks or what language s/he uses.

Teachers' focus-group interviews, on the other hand, seemed to be in agreement in expressing their concerns across two main issues. The first is the speakers' performance at school and, at a later stage, at work. The second is the significance of cultural attributes in the group's attitudes towards code-switchers. It seems that for teachers, while code-switchers tend to be academically at an advantage who are expected to 'do better at school' (although not necessarily by virtue of using code-switching) and accordingly will 'have a brighter future', they are harshly criticised from a cultural point view in being too detached from their own culture, including religious and the values of their own community. In this vein, teachers expressed their concerns about the code-switchers as being 'at risk' as a result of 'girls and boys mixing at this critical age', and who by learning English 'at the cost of their own culture' who will soon 'be isolated, girls in particular' and 'will no longer respect any of the values of their own community'. Their views seem to be very much in line with the views expressed by teenagers from the government schools.

Their views, however, seem to be inconsistent with the teachers' keyword patterns, which showed very limited reference to any of the society's cultural values. The finding verifies the claimed risk in going too far in the assumption that 'few or no mentions should be interpreted as reflecting low or no importance' (Garrett et al. 2005: 45). Considering the limited number of keywords a respondent is asked to produce, Garrett and his co-workers explain the sort of inconsistency seen in the above-mentioned results, in that teachers may have consumed all their keyword responses on the students' scholastic performance, and as a result 'were able to express fewer additional themes', including cultural aspects of the code-switchers (Garrett et al. 2005: 45). Another possibility is that the different reporting contexts encouraged teachers to express different judgments.

Teachers seem to be divided on the importance of parents enrolling their children in private education. While a number of teachers believe that spending money to provide children with such a privileged education is 'wise' and 'an investment in itself', and parents who disagree apply a famous saying in Kuwaiti that 'those who can not reach the grape say it must be sour', others think that it's pointless for parents to enrol their children at such expensive schools when education can be obtained at no cost in government schools. The latter group also believes that the private educational scheme will have its drawbacks on the values and religion of our future generation and will eventually produce 'a rotten generation' whose members 'were brought up in a different community...just like Westerners'. The group also believes that the risk is even greater for girls, who will lose their morality, and consequently the respect of the society. This theme was brought up by a male Social Sciences teacher who stated, 'you know how important it is for a girl to be accepted in this society; girls of this type will face troubles in the community'.

#### **6.4 Main findings from the various qualitative phases**

To conclude, the data I have reported in this chapter have produced series of important main findings. Firstly, the four sample groups do not seem to be in harmony in terms of the salience of the various discussed attributes. As the keywords analysis has shown, government school teenagers were more concerned about their peers' adherence to a number of cultural values, with traces of some differentiation of their evaluations of the speakers (code-switchers in particular) based on the gender of the speaker and type of switching. Teenagers from the two other schools, however, gave less consideration to any of the cultural values, pressing more intensely some other features of the speakers which tend to be more related to linguistic competence and socio-economic issues. Teachers were more

concerned with the speakers' scholastic capabilities, with most of their keywords related to scholastic success.

Secondly, social attractiveness seems to be a more influential criterion than scholastic success in teenagers' evaluative judgements of their peers. The illustrated themes have also shown that social attractiveness is determined by two different criteria. The first is the resemblance of the speaker to the way judges speak (to what extent the speaker is perceived to be 'like you') presented under the theme of 'familiarity to code-switchers'; the second is the cultural ideologies nurtured within each of the evaluators' communities. As the students were drawn from three different educational schemes, they seem to hold very contrasting cultural beliefs, particularly across government and English school settings. Such contrasting ideologies have also resulted in very different attitudes towards code-switchers in general. Moreover, in gender-segregated Kuwait, participants from a government school setting in particular have also expressed differing views of the code-switchers based on the gender of the speakers. The study's thematic analyses have shown that, while Kuwaiti boys are condemned for the 'lesser masculinity' that is believed to be reflected in their speech style, girls seem to be condemned on the basis of culture-related concepts within the society. Rationalised by cultural reasons, lexical switching seem to be a less favoured style of speech compared to the other type of switching (intersentential switching). As for teachers, both scholastic and cultural aspects seem to be at work. Once again, girls tend to be less favoured than boys when they code-switch, as a result of the general higher expectation of Kuwaiti girls' adherence to the social values of the community.



## **Chapter 7: Conclusion**

This dissertation aimed to investigate attitudes towards some of the main, different spoken language varieties by Kuwaitis in Kuwait (Kuwaiti-only, English-only and Kuwaiti-English code-switching). Being a newly practised variety that has initiated a huge controversy in the country, code-switching has been the focal point of the present study. This final chapter is presented in four sections. The first (7.1) reviews the findings of each individual study, including analyses of responses obtained from the Likert scales utilised in the modified matched-guise questionnaire and qualitative responses elicited from the open-ended data included in the questionnaire, in complement to the data obtained from the focus-group interviews. This will be covered in four sub-sections that deal with the most effective dimensions that seemed to be at work within the sociolinguistic setting in Kuwait. Rather than presenting the profiles obtained from each set of data separately, I will present a composite picture of the investigated language varieties based on a fusion of the study's results. The second section (7.2) draws attention to attitudes to code-switching specifically, emphasising that different types of code-switching may stimulate different beliefs and views depending on the informants' perceived ideologies behind each type of switching.

A third section (7.3) introduces the reader to methodological issues that have arisen from the study. Three crucial themes will be discussed in this section. The first discusses the advantages obtained from utilising 'narratives' as an elicitation technique in language attitude studies in general, and in attitudes to code-switching in particular. The second subsection will highlight the importance of the integration of open-ended type of questions to function side by side with the close-ended type of questions within a language attitude questionnaire utilised for data collection purposes. The third emphasises the need to directly approach people's overt attitudes to function as a complementary method used as 'a follow-up to data collection to pursue exploratory aspects of analysis or speculative interpretations'

(Garrett et al., 2003: 33) and enhance the needed context to demystify any ambiguities obtained within the quantitative findings. A final section (7.4) will orient the reader to areas for future and follow-up studies in the country.

## **7.1 The ‘big picture’: a review of findings**

The present study investigated teenagers’ and teachers’ attitudes to three spoken varieties in Kuwait (Kuwaiti, English and code-switching). The findings indicate some uniquely strong contrastive profiles for each of these language varieties amongst teenagers depending on their educational and linguistic backgrounds.

### *7.1.1 Status/Solidarity*

The study revealed that teenagers from a government school setting, where all school subjects, except for English, are introduced in standard Arabic, and where Kuwaiti-only is used in and out of the classrooms for conversation, perceived Kuwaiti (their in-group variety) as a variety of high solidarity but low status. English is considered to be a language of moderate solidarity, but high status. Interestingly, the group perceives code-switching as a variety of low solidarity (an outgroup variety) but again status-full. It should be noted here that high status can be afforded to a variety without it being an obviously desirable target for own-speech. Ellen Ryan (1979: 145), in her account on ‘why do low-prestige language varieties persist?’, draws a fundamental distinction between status as a desirable value for social advancement, and solidarity as a desirable value for in-group identification, stressing the importance of specifying the conditions under which a language variety accentuates which value over the other. In chapter 1, I explained the social and ideological circumstances under which teenagers from the government schools are acutely aware of a threatened loss of the cultural values attached to Kuwaiti-only variety, with code-switching

being perceived as a means for such cultural loss. In chapter 6, I also argued that this group of teenagers tends to prioritise solidarity values over status values in their attitudes towards the spoken language varieties in their community. The quantitative findings introduced in chapter 5 suggest that, for teenagers drawn from the conventional educational scheme (government schools), Kuwaiti-only tends to generate positive attitudes in general, while English-only tends to elicit moderate evaluations. Code-switching, however, tends to be associated with some very negative attitudes. Results obtained from the direct question on the way teenagers view code-switching also tend to verify the group's stances and beliefs towards code-switching, as reflected in the majority of the group (above 50%) expressing some very negative values and views attached to this variety in particular. I therefore would like to suggest that, for this group of teenagers, there seems to be a see-saw like relationship between status and solidarity in relation to two of the spoken language varieties (Kuwaiti-only and code-switching).

On the other hand, teenagers from an English school environment perceived Kuwaiti as the variety of 'others', evaluating the language to reflect low solidarity and low status. Contrary to the former group, for this group of teenagers, status does seem to imply desirability, a finding that indicates a differentiated value-stressing condition between the two groups of teenagers, maybe as a result of the very differing linguistic ideologies nurtured within the two educational schemes. English is believed to be a language of high solidarity and high status. Being a variety of, not only high solidarity, but also high status, the group tends to perceive code-switching as the language of 'us'- an in-group variety.

The third group of teenagers (drawn from schools with the bilingual schemes), tends to display moderate stances along status/solidarity dimensions, indicating their acceptance of the three language varieties in general. Thematic discourse analysis of focus-group interviews has also presented the two dimensions as both important personal features along

which they reacted to the speakers of the different spoken varieties. Responses to the direct attitude question on code-switching in particular showed the groups' positive attitudes, particularly amongst the English school group, towards code-switching. The findings therefore suggest that attitudes produced by teenagers drawn from English and, maybe to a lesser extent, bilingual private schools are governed by both instrumental and integrative motivation, viewed by Carranza and Ryan (1975) as two essential dimensions in any second language learning situation. In other words, the two dimensions seem to work side by side, rather than in opposite directions as it is in the case amongst the former group. The study has therefore validated the calls for, not only 'separability and universality' of the status/solidarity dimensions in language attitude research, but also whether 'one overriding factor (e.g., social status) dominates to the exclusion of others' (Ryan, 1979: 153). This suggests that future language attitude research needs to work with a rich view of social and cultural context, where considerable variation might exist.

Teachers, on the other hand, seem to express moderate to positive stances towards the three language varieties in relation to solidarity, maybe to ensure their presupposed neutral position towards students along this dimension. Status-wise, teachers seem to perceive Kuwaiti-only as relatively low, English-only as high-moderate variety, and code-switching as a moderate variety. The finding indicates that, in spite of the teachers' expected role as guardians of language status, Kuwaiti tends to gain some status by mixing it with a status-full variety (English in this case). The finding seems to contradict the claims made by previous researchers (see Gibbons, 1987; Bentahilla, 1983) about the low position of code-switching in relation to status dimension, especially within an environment where 'participants will exaggerate attitudinal status differentials in favour of prestige varieties' (Lawson and Sachdev, 2000: 1350).

It should be remembered however, that differentiated views along solidarity and status dimensions were very small compared to views in relation to culture-based attributes, where teachers showed very extreme variations, specifically along 'conservativeness'; the issue will be discussed in more detail within the next two sub-sections.

### *7.1.2 National (Kuwaiti) identity*

The link between language and identity has been widely proven to be at work, not only within the Arabic-speaking world (Suleiman, 1994; Lawson, 2001), but also within the western world (Fishman, 1977; Edwards, 1985). The current study does also indicate that in Kuwait there is a strong relationship between being a 'proud Kuwaiti' and speaking 'pure' Kuwaiti, perceiving identity as a construct of language attitudes toward the different language varieties in the country. The study produced results showing that young Kuwaitis from a conventional type of school strongly associate national identity with the ability to speak 'pure Kuwaiti'. In a conventional (government) type of school, this association tends to be stronger than amongst teenagers drawn from the two private educational schemes, particularly within the English educational scheme, where the association tends to gradually fade away. In other words, young Kuwaitis drawn from the private school-types seemed to be convinced that it is not necessary for someone to speak Kuwaiti to be considered Kuwaiti. The views presented within the focus group interview sessions have also revealed a deep salience gap between teenagers from the two former groups, indicating that young Kuwaitis from a conventional school type on the one hand, and those from the English and bilingual private schools on the other hand, tend to disagree on the importance of viewing oneself in terms of national identity. In other words, for a group of Kuwaiti teenagers, to speak English or code-switching is an indexical act of saying 'I'm a westernised Kuwaiti' and perhaps even 'I no longer would like to be characterised as being Kuwaiti'.

Emphasising the speakers' competence-based aspects, the other two groups use English and code-switching to say 'I can speak English', but not 'I'm British or American'. The finding suggests that, contrary to the group drawn from a conventional school type, the group of teenagers drawn from the private schools believe that speaking Kuwaiti is not a required feature for one to be considered of Kuwaiti nationality.

On one hand, the study supports the close link between language and ethnic identity established by Fishman (1989), as it is in the case of the views held by teenagers from the conventional school type. On the other hand, the study also verifies Eastman and Stein's calls for assessing language display through their proposed 'identity kit' that includes in this case 'educational identity' (Eastman and Stein, 1993: 188). While speaking any language other than 'pure Kuwaiti' seems to be associated with the speakers' rejection of the national identity as perceived by the group of teenagers from a conventional school-type, those who come from the other two types of schools, particularly from an English school environment, where the educational scheme exceptionally stresses the use of English as a desirable language for academic success, tend to choose academic success over the display of loyalty to one's own national identity through the choice of a language variety over the other. The situation may therefore suggest a greater emphasis on the use of Kuwaiti-only amongst the majority of Kuwaiti teenagers within the conventional educational scheme, compared to a gradual replacement of code-switched varieties amongst the two other educational schemes as varieties that reflect their sought-after academic success in addition to a satisfactory level of national identity.

As for teachers, they tend to display variable views of the speakers' Kuwaitiness (Kuwaiti-only as very Kuwaiti, English-only as very un-Kuwaiti and code-switching as moderately Kuwaiti). Yet speakers' ethnic identity seems to be less salient amongst teachers than it is for teenagers in general, and those coming from the government schools in

particular. Being the focal point of the present study, code-switching seems to be generally perceived positively by teachers within this community (illustrated through its moderate position) along the identity dimension. Once again, the finding seems to contradict previous findings in relation to this particular language variety which pictured English-Welsh code-switching, for example, as 'overwhelmingly seen as something to be discouraged' (Cox, 2000), particularly within such a status-stressing environment (teachers' views of students in this case). Analysis of keyword responses produced by this group of respondents showed the group's lack of interest in this particular feature in any evaluative measures of their students.

### *7.1.3 Religiousness/ conservativeness*

The study revealed two culture-based dimensions as the most distinctive aspects of people's attitudes towards the spoken language varieties. The two dimensions strongly symbolised Kuwaitis' adherence to the values of this community. Although the findings suggest a national consensus on the speakers' ratings along the two cultural attributes (Kuwaiti-only as very religious/conservative, English-only as very non - religious/ non - conservative, and code-switching, LCS in particular, as even the least religious/conservative of all spoken varieties within the Kuwaiti community), the discursive analyses of qualitative data revealed a sharp division amongst teenagers in accordance to the type of school they were drawn from. While teenagers from the conventional type of school view religiousness/ conservativeness as desirable personal features of their peer group, teenagers from the other two school-types perceive the two personal attributes as either objectionable (English school) or indeterminate or favourable evaluative features (bilingual school) of their peer group.

Once again, the findings remind us of another sharp division in values and beliefs attached to the various investigated varieties amongst teenagers from the various

educational schemes - a division that may well lead to teenagers from the conventional type of school continuing in their appraisal of Kuwaiti-only as a desirable language over English-only and code-switching, while another group (teenagers from English and bilingual schools) favours code-switching as a variety that reflects its members' rejection of 'unfair' social concepts and values within the community.

As for teachers, once again, in spite of showing some strong variation along the two cultural attributes (especially 'conservativeness'), discussions in the focus groups alongside the keyword analysis implied that such variable evaluations tend to present the community's rather their own beliefs and views. The two constructs do not seem to function effectively in their evaluation of their students within the educational arena.

A comparison of the teachers' and government school kids' results suggests that the former group, in spite of coming from an educational background similar to that of government school teenagers, tends to display less extreme views of speakers of the three language varieties. The finding may be indicative of adulthood as a cut-off point in Kuwaitis' lifespan, between the extreme attitudes that seem to be present amongst teenagers, towards the moderate attitudes of the spoken language varieties within this particular community. The finding, however, does not apply to teachers' perception of the speakers' conservativeness. One way to explain teachers' moderate views of the speakers as a result of practising language varieties other than Kuwaiti-only, is that the group may have tried to distance themselves from expressing discriminating (and discriminatory) views about teenagers, based on criteria, other than school performance. According to the qualitative findings, teachers' variable views do not seem to affect their levels of likeability and affiliation to the speakers as illustrated in their indifferent attitudes along solidarity dimension. The idea was illustrated during the focus group sessions, where some teachers raised the point that their views of culture-based labels were 'a reality which no one can



deny'. A male Kuwaiti social science teacher for example explained his views in relation to the presented language varieties in the following translated quote:

**When a Kuwaiti uses any language other than his or her national language (Kuwaiti-only), s/he will be condemned by his society, mainly by his peers, in relation to abundance by the values of the community.**

Nevertheless, such personal culture-based features are, some teachers feel, less likely to influence their evaluation of the speakers in terms of school performance as illustrated by the same teacher:

**I never consider such things (conservativeness or ethnic identity) when it comes to my students. What really matters for me, and I'm sure for every one in this group, is how good the student is in school.**

A very similar idea was also expressed in the following translated quote from a female science teacher:

**We live in a society where people are very much expected to show adherence to this culture. Sadly though, those who don't are more likely to be attacked by their peers. This applies to girls more than boys. As a teacher though, I don't care about these things when it comes to my students.**

This statement does not only illustrate teachers' claims of non-discriminating views of their students along school performance, but also points to a serious gender segregation, that should be taken into consideration in any language attitudinal research within this community in particular.

Inspection of the keyword responses, with their planned aim of tackling people's covert attitudes, tends to verify teachers' claims too, as teachers most frequently produced labels related to the speakers' narrating styles, story content and language abilities, and least frequently produced labels with references to personal features associated with prestige and culture-based aspects of the speakers.

Overall, the findings indicate that even teachers, who are expected to be immune from the social stereotypes and differentiated values that attach to linguistic variation

(although no one can be), do in fact embrace some of the community's stereotyped judgments, remarkably in relation to 'conservativeness' as indexed by the students' speech styles. Such stereotypical judgments, however, seem to neither affect teachers' levels of liking or disliking of the speakers of the varieties, nor tend to be associated with the speakers' performance and success levels at school, at least as claimed by teachers themselves. The findings seem to be very much in harmony with the arguments made by Garrett and his co-workers suggesting that teachers 'are certainly prey to and reproducers of stereotypes, but (in the labels data) specifically not of those dimensions of stereotypes that associate variety-use with class or status' (Garrett et al, 2003: 145). In this vein, I must highlight a limitation in the present study where teachers' attitudes towards the three language varieties were drawn from groups of teachers from only one of the investigated educational settings, i.e. government schools, due to recruitment difficulties encountered in the two other educational settings (English and bilingual). Future research should therefore investigate the effect of different educational settings to find out whether this variable is associated with a change in teachers' attitudes towards teenagers' speech styles as it did amongst young Kuwaitis.

The overall findings of this study suggest that, contrary to previous language attitude studies on code-switching, some groups (specifically teenagers from English and bilingual schools) tend to view code-switching as a desirable variety on the different dimensions that proved to be at work within the Kuwaiti community. Supported by qualitative data, lower evaluation of the code-switchers on culture-based attributes does in fact reflect the groups' positive rather than negative attitudes towards the variety too.

#### *7.1.4 Gender and sexuality*

As anticipated, the study revealed the importance of investigating gender (of speaker and informant) as a functioning factor in the evaluative reactions towards the investigated language varieties. Looking back at the findings of the study in relation to the above-mentioned dimensions, the questionnaire study revealed no significant differences in the teenagers' responses as a result of gender of participant. Nevertheless, evaluations of the speakers of the various language varieties did indicate some differentiation as a result of the speaker being male or female across a number of dimensions. In terms of the two core social psychological dimensions (status/solidarity) for example, evaluations of boys and girls speaking the various language varieties indicate that the male speaker was perceived more favourably on dimensions of solidarity, but not status, in the Kuwaiti-only variety. The finding suggests Kuwaiti-only as a low prestige language variety for teenagers from a conventional school type, as Kuwaiti men seem to gain 'covert' prestige by using (and therefore being more accepted when they use) a low language variety (K-only in this case) (Trudgill, 1974). Being described as a high prestige language variety (based on the progressive connotations that the language seems to carry and its functioning in high settings such as science and technology), I expected English-only to reveal more favourable evaluative reactions when spoken by female speaker. Results, however, did not show this pattern, as English-only was perceived more favourably on solidarity and status dimensions when spoken by a male speaker. Female code-switchers, on the other hand, were perceived more favourably, yet at a low rate when compared to the other unmixed varieties, on dimensions of solidarity, but not status, in the code-switched varieties in general, maybe as a result of its overtly serving a prestige language in Kuwait. The study seems to verify Fasold's 'sociolinguistic gender pattern' which rationalises women's tendency to use more prestige (standard) language varieties than men in order to gain the desirable social

mobilisation within a community (1990: 92). Considering the repeatedly reported negative (or at best ambivalent) attitudes towards code-switching (Romaine, 1995; Laroussi, 1991; Riguet, 1984; Lawson, 2001), attitudes towards code-switching in general in this sociolinguistic setting in particular, presents a very positive picture, particularly when the variety is used by girls.

Results from the two other school-types did not show gender variation as a result of the gender of the speaker. The finding may be indicative of the fusion of one of the most defining features of this community, i.e. gender-based differentiation, maybe as a result of the educational ideologies nurtured within those schools (schools whose syllabuses are identical to those used in UK and USA, where English is used as the main language of instruction in which students have to learn about British and American cultures instead of their own culture, and that the system is mainly co-educational).

Along cultural qualities (religious, conservative, Kuwaiti), the spoken language varieties have also shown evaluative variation as a result of the speakers' gender. Within the three school-types, for example, teenagers tend to downgrade female speakers more harshly than male speakers on perceived religiousness when they spoke any language variety other than Kuwaiti-only. It should be remembered, however, that such congruent results do not indicate an agreement between the groups of teenagers' perceptions of cultural qualities reflected in the different spoken varieties. Contrary to the lower ratings produced by teenagers drawn from a conventional school-type, when varieties other than Kuwaiti-only were used, teenagers from the other two school-types tend to accord more favourable attitudes towards the language varieties other than Kuwaiti-only, when the varieties were spoken by female speakers. In terms of 'national identity', some differentiation has been detected as a result of the gender of the speaker in the evaluative responses produced by teenagers from the conventional school-type. The results suggest that Kuwaiti girls are

being more harshly downgraded than Kuwaiti boys along 'Kuwaitiness' when they spoke any language variety other than Kuwaiti-only. As mentioned in the last two chapters (chapter 5 and 6), the findings seem to indicate the great separation of males' and females' social roles within the community under investigation that seems to be effectively functioning within the youth culture in a conventional school-type only.

Teachers on the other hand, produce differentiated results, not only as a result of the speakers' gender, but also as a result of the participants' gender. Along solidarity dimensions for example, Kuwaiti-only was perceived to reflect higher levels of integrity by male teachers than female teachers. English-only and code-switching seem to be perceived as lacking solidarity by male teachers, while gaining solidarity by female teachers. In the status dimension, female teachers tended to perceive English-only as gaining status, while male teachers tended to perceive the variety as lacking status, especially when the variety was spoken by a male speaker. Code-switching in its LCS type was also perceived to gain status by female teachers, especially when the variety was spoken by a male speaker.

In terms of religiousness, the results were also indicative of some gender differentiation as male teachers tend to perceive Kuwaiti-only as reflecting more religiousness when spoken by male Kuwaitis than by female Kuwaitis. Contrastingly, female teachers seemed to view Kuwaiti-only as reflecting more religiousness when spoken by a female Kuwaiti than a male Kuwaiti.

In light of the gender-based language attitude differentiation, two limitations should be accounted for in this research. Firstly, considering the fact that the study's findings were drawn from a single female and male speaker of each speech style (due to fatigue effects encountered in representing each variety in a larger number of speakers in the pilot study, where two speakers per gender were initially presented), future research should include a bigger number of speakers to present the different speech styles from each gender group (at

least two speakers per gender is recommended) in order to confirm the presented gender segregation patterns of attitudes towards the language varieties. Being represented by only one speaker per gender, the findings in relation to gender variations could, to some extent, have been the result of voice, content and performance-related qualities' judgments rather than gender-based variation among the spoken language varieties. Yet, it should be noted that the analytical procedure of the qualitative data has pointed to a number of gender based variations (see chapter 6 and 7.1.4) amongst code-switchers in particular. Future research may therefore also need to focus on a smaller number of language varieties, in order to involve a larger, yet a manageable number of representatives of the investigated language varieties.

The second limitation considers the possibility of obtaining skewed results in language attitude studies as a result of the researcher's characteristics, viewed by Garrett and his co-workers in the term 'Interviewer's Paradox', stating that responses to questions posed by a researcher may be affected by ethnicity and gender of the researcher and the responder. In a study conducted on Anglo and Hispanics in the US for example, Webster (1996) found better response rates when the sexes of interviewers and respondents were matched. Being a female researcher who solely administered the data collection sessions, my results could have been influenced by this fact too. Rather than making such simple link between language variety and gender of the speaker/informant, future research should be conducted by researchers of both genders to validate the gender patterns found in this research.

Sexuality revealed in perceived masculinity levels was another aspect that tended to feature intensively in the youth culture in the government school setting, illustrating Garrett's comments on the feature as a construct in contemporary language attitudes (Garrett et al. 2003). Likewise, the keyword analysis in the present study showed some indications

for Kuwaiti-only to reflect higher levels of masculinity, and code-switching (but not English-only) as reflecting lower masculinity levels. The study, however, shows some differentiation along this dimension as a result of the practised type of switching and gender of the speaker, an issue which will be discussed in more detail in the next section allocated for code-switching in particular (7.2).

## **7.2 Attitudes towards code-switching**

As I mentioned earlier, Kuwait seems to be undergoing a major linguistic change with a new linguistic variety that seems to be on the increase as a result of a growing number of Kuwaiti parents enrolling their children into foreign private schools to ensure their children's high levels of proficiency in English. Being the focal point of the present study, I decided to allocate a separate section that throws light on this language variety, in an attempt to highlight variation across the variety as a result of the practised type of code-switching. In accordance with a number of views produced by the groups that participated in the pilot study, a distinction between the code-switchers was drawn as a result of the code-switched format or typology. It should be remembered at this point that the study tested a specific hypothesis - that attitudes towards code-switching may vary as a result of the practised type of switching and gender of the speaker.

Working with a two-way typology of code-switching in a community of deeply gendered separation, I found variation in relation to both variables, yet not along the whole series of dimensions. The findings, for example, show a harsher downgrading of code-switching in its intersentential type, specifically by informants (students and teachers) drawn from the conventional school-type, and particularly along the dimension of 'conservativeness'.

Male code-switchers in its lexical type are more condemned by teenagers due to the variety's association with stereotyped levels of 'masculinity' (being homosexual). It seems, however, that such homosexuality labels were used to iconize the speaker's low physical power/strength rather than an attribution of a homosexual sexuality in itself. Female lexical code-switchers, on the other hand, were also downgraded based on their negative profile of 'conservativeness', an attribute which proved to be attractive for this group of teenagers in particular. I'd like to remind the reader at this point that the community under investigation seems to be obsessed by a number of 'solid masculinity' features which a Kuwaiti boy should display in his behaviour, speech style being one of them. Being described as a feature that indexes some stereotyped judgments of 'deficient masculinity', code-switching in its lexical type signifies one of the community's most humiliating stigmas attached to a male speaker of this particular variety. On the other hand, code-switching tends to also violate an important role of a Kuwaiti girl in her community, that is her full compliance to the values of the community ('conservativeness' being at its core). Interestingly however, this association seems to be absent when a speaker uses the code-switched variety in its ICS type.

An important issue was mentioned during the focus-group interviewing sessions and showed a motive-based differentiation in the practice of code-switching amongst teenagers as a result of their school type. The findings indicate that, while the government school group of teenagers interpret code-switching (specifically LCS) as a speaker being relatively detached from the values of the society, who brags about his or her adoption of the western life, the bilingual groups tend to explain the code-switching behaviour in general in relation to socio-economic issues (privileged children brought up by educated rich parents) and language competence related issues (being weak in one language or the other, being bilingual).



Traces of some similar issues were also obtained from the direct question in the questionnaire, where respondents were directly asked about their thoughts and ideas of people who mix English and Kuwaiti in their daily speech. Being described as 'faking' their language, lexical code-switchers were even more condemned by both students and teachers from the conventional educational scheme. That is to say that there seems to be a belief amongst the government school setting that code-switching in its LCS type is practised with full awareness, hence being more controllable, on the part of the speaker to symbolise the speaker's detachment from the culture of his or her own society. On the contrary, code-switching in its ICS type is believed to be a product of 'weakness' in Kuwaiti posing difficulty in avoiding it, and those who practise this way of speaking are actually the victims of their westernized parents. The situation may have led to a less condemnation of the latter type of switching in terms of culture-based personality features. Teachers, however, in spite of their discriminating views of the two types of code-switchers along 'conservativeness', do not seem to accentuate such a discriminatory view in the evaluation task of the academic success of their students.

The findings tend to support the claim made by Chana and Romaine (1984) in relation to the importance of evaluating speakers of code-switching discourses as varieties which draw on two languages to differing degrees rather than as one variety. Bearing in mind that the present study has investigated attitudes in a limited way towards only two distinctive syntactic types of code-switching (ICS and LCS), future research on attitudes to code-switching should consider a wider range of differentiated varieties of code-switching, whether classified syntactically or pragmatically (as discussed in detail in chapter 3), which might reflect on a wider range of different social values attached to code-switching based on the practised type of switching. From a syntactic standpoint, for example, the present study has overlooked 'tag switching' defined by a number of linguists in this field as the insertion

of a tag in one language into an utterance of another language (e.g. *anyway, you know, I mean*) (Poplack, 1980) as a result of its absence in the code-switched corpus data available for the present study. From a stylistic point of view, the question of what discourse functions the code-switched variety (or varieties) can serve may guide future attitudinal studies on code-switching, whether 'metaphorical' or 'situational' (Blom and Gumperz, 1972); direct or quoted; marking interjections or serving as sentence-fillers; clarifying or emphasizing a message; marking types of genres; or drawing a distinction between 'we' as the language of majority v. 'they' as the language of minority codes (Gumperz, 1982).

Comparisons of classifications of keyword responses attached to code-switching based on semantic criteria indicate huge peaks and troughs of salience amongst teenagers drawn from the three school types. Religion, ethnicity, homosexuality seem to be highly salient issues amongst teenagers drawn from the conventional educational scheme in the country (government school). The finding indicates that this group of teenagers, does not only perceive code-switchers negatively on such attributes, but also that labels related to such attributes seem to be crucial aspects in their reaction to the speakers of this language variety in particular. Self-esteem seemed to be also a very salient attribute of the code-switchers. It seems, however, that high standards of self-esteem are negatively perceived by this group of teenagers, indicating perceptions of the speaker's lack of modesty. Contrastingly, teenagers drawn from the English and bilingual schools tend to perceive self-confidence and higher levels of self-esteem as a constructive rather than a destructive personality feature. Such a contrastive perception of self-esteem has therefore led to a polarity in evaluating code-switchers in particular, with the government school teenagers finding the variety as a very rejected variety while those drawn from the private schools perceiving the variety as a much more desirable variety as a result of its projection of higher levels of self-confidence. I argue here that there is an ideology of reticence, which

seems to be only relevant to government school children. Children coming from a bilingual school environment seem to gain more self-confidence (maybe as a residual of experiencing a bilingual educational scheme!). One way to explain this concept is by claiming that bilingual education might have aided children from the latter two schools to construct their ego. A self-rating exercise on how students think of English-medium education at schools of Hong Kong, for example revealed that pupils with greater knowledge of English seemed to be more confident about their future career success, thus tend to be more optimistic (see Downey, 1977). The issue should nevertheless be more thoroughly investigated within other bilingual contexts for further clarity and confirmation. On the other hand, teenagers drawn from the other two school-types produced keyword responses that were mostly related to socio-economic (*moneyed, sophisticated, brilliant*), language competence (*bilingual, good in English, weak in Arabic*) and performance features (*fast, organised, low-voiced*) of narratives and their performers.

The importance of such attributes (religion, ethnicity, homosexuality and self-esteem) was once again verified in the group's focus group interviewing sessions, where the four aspects of personality features, particularly amongst those drawn from a government school setting, tended to recurrently pattern in their descriptions of the speakers, especially code-switchers. Once again, thematic discourse analysis of focus-group interviews has shown that such attributes tend to lose their importance amongst the two other groups of teenagers (drawn from English and bilingual school settings). Even when it occurred, talk about the four personality features stressed within the government school group of teenagers in relation to the code-switchers suggests an opposite polarisation amongst the two other groups, particularly those drawn from an English private school setting.

In spite of the claimed risk in basing salience on the frequency of keyword classification (Garrett et al., 2005), I believe that the fact that such attributes were prioritised

by some respondents over others does indeed reflect the critical nature of the listed concepts over other concepts, proving that the two latter groups were less concerned about issues that tend to be very vital to the former group (government school teenagers). I therefore argue here that while teenagers drawn from the conventional schools in Kuwait seem to be more concerned with the speakers' adherence to moral aspects of the society (religion/conservativeness, Kuwaitiness, sexuality), the other two groups (drawn from English and bilingual schools) seem to reject the idea of judging their peers on the basis of the above mentioned aspects of personality. In brief, the study presents morality as the most distinctive aspect in language attitudes in Kuwait which seems to be intimately connected to linguistic behaviour, yet highly ambiguous overall.

In conclusion, the study reveals that the different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, being products of differing educational schemes in Kuwait, have led to differences in attitudes towards use of the three spoken language varieties in the country. The study also presents a window on the unique sociolinguistic situation in Kuwait, where there seems to be a strong tension amongst the teenager community as a result of very differing linguistic ideologies held by the different groups of teenagers. Contrary to the claims made in previous language attitude studies in the Arab world, where code-switching was perceived to be a variety that reflects a moderate status in relation to 'modernity' as an important cultural attribute (see Lawson, 2001 and Bentahila, 1983), Kuwaiti-English code-switching (particularly LCS) is viewed by the majority (teenagers drawn from the conventional educational scheme), and to some extent by the minority (teenagers from the English and bilingual schemes) as the least conservative variety of all. Code-switchers, however, do not seem to accept the social stigma attached to their way of speaking by the socially dominant majority, Kuwaiti-only in this case. More than that, they also seem to reject some of the 'sacred' views attached to such cultural attributes in this community.

I therefore claim that in Kuwait, code-switching seems to be widening the gap between the community's local language variety (Kuwaiti in this case) and the language variety that symbolises the Western life (English), rather than bridging it. Considering the fact that we are living in an era where the conflict between the West, especially the United States, and the Muslim World is perhaps at its peak (as a result of the 'war against terrorism'), code-switching seems to provide a sociolinguistic focus for a new line of segregation, especially amongst young Kuwaitis. In Kuwait, for example, many Kuwaitis seem to be dominated by a growing hatred of the US, and of the UK for going too far with the US, as a result of the two countries' double standards towards the Middle East, where killing by one party is seen as terrorism, while killing by the other party is legitimised as a way of fighting terrorists. I must say that the data for the present study were collected before Israel's recent war on Lebanon, which seemed to have established an even more intense environment of hatred as a result of Lebanese civilians (mostly elderly, women and children) being killed by the Israeli army by means of weapons made in US and transported through UK. Such a tense political situation (portrayed in the massive protests in the country during the war on Lebanon) has led to Kuwaitis having some polar views and beliefs on the US's so-called 'war on terror'. While some perceive the war as a war on Islam as a way of life, others associate the war with the freedom of the oppressed countries in the Arab world. Perceiving the US and UK as icons of the western values and beliefs, it is believed (by the former group) that the US and UK troops came into Iraq (a very near-by country) in order to replace the Islamic way of life by a western way of life.

Considering languages as a crucial component of a community's way of life, some Kuwaitis tend to perceive code-switching as an indication of the gradual loss of their own culture before the Western culture. On the contrary, some Kuwaitis, especially those who study in English and bilingual private schools (saturated with the linguistic and cultural

ideologies nurtured within their schools), disagree with the former group, and consider code-switching as a desirable language variety that helps those who practise it to move up the social ladder more effectively, and to gain the freedom from some of culturally 'oppressive' values that dominate the society. Being perceived as a very desirable linguistic practice within private schools, the study suggests that the practice of code-switching is on the increase amongst teenagers who spend their school years in schools where English is either partly or completely nurtured, leading to a future escalation of the tension between Kuwaiti teenagers who do and those who don't use the variety within their linguistic repertoire. With the tension anticipated to escalate, a set of psychological reactance procedures may be followed to protect the community's local language and avoid the attrition of cultural values and beliefs that have governed the society for decades. It is possible that such an intensive conflict, however, will gradually subside when teenagers move into adulthood. Bearing in mind that the adult group in my data consists of teachers only, and considering the fact that teachers are considered 'elites' within their community, the results could have been a product of the teachers' anticipated role as models in ensuring justice and maintaining (relatively) non-discriminatory views and beliefs across the people of the community. Future research should therefore recruit groups of adult participants from other walks of life to test for the generalisability of the present study's findings on adult beliefs and the moderation of language attitudes through aging.

The present study's investigation has revealed the most extreme evaluative reactions towards the three spoken varieties in the country being produced by teenagers from schools of two of the educational schemes (namely government and English private schools), and more moderate evaluative profiles emerging from the Kuwaiti youngsters who spend their school years in schools of bilingual education. On this basis it is reasonable to argue that the bilingual education scheme tends to offer the healthiest and most circumspect educational

environment, both linguistically and culturally. In Chapter 2, I pointed to many Kuwaitis' opposition to bilingualism as an underlying ideology for people's resentment to the practice of code-switching. I also pointed to the idea that code-switching is perceived to have some serious drawbacks on the child's mother tongue and the community's preserved cultural values and concepts. Contrary to those views, the study implies that such negative perception of the bilingual education is irrational, and that work needs to be done to broaden more liberal perspectives on language and education. Educators should therefore make every possible effort to enlighten the society in the direction of arguing that a balanced bilingual education will in fact enrich their children's linguistic ability rather than weaken it or threaten the integrity of Kuwaiti culture. Culturally, the study also reveals that children studying in bilingual education have the privilege of developing a deeper understanding of their own and other cultures. In fact, establishing a bilingual generation will enhance the country's competitiveness abroad, improve global communication and maintain the country's political interests. Such positive views should be integrated in teachers' learning and training programmes in an attempt to rectify teachers' negative views towards code-switching, and most importantly, towards bilingualism as a source of the practice.

Parents should also be informed about the advantages of bilingualism. This can be established by providing parents with a leaflet that explains the benefits of providing a child with a second language, the best time for a child to start learning a new language, the best language teaching programmes through which a child may safely learn a new language, and what a parent can do to support his or her child in gaining the utmost benefits of a language learning programme. Parents should also work hard to press the need of their children to a bilingual programme. This can be done by joining with other parents interested in the establishment of such programme, and writing to teachers, school boards and policy makers

in the Ministry of Education about their interest in seeing the programme established in their children's schools.

Students should be introduced to new cultures through channels other than T.V programmes. I recommend summer exchange programmes through which students of an older age (teenagers) are introduced to live cultures where children live with host families in a sheltered environment so that they can naturally practise the new language and experience the new culture.

### **7.3 Methodological considerations**

In the light of the latent qualities of language attitudes, a researcher in this field will encounter the challenge of choosing adequate methods in the data collection phase. Considering advantages and disadvantages of the various methods in language attitudes research, and in the light of my own experiences in this project, this section aims to highlight the benefits of using a combination of various methodologies (mentioned in chapter 2) for the sake of producing an adequate datum for investigation. The next three subsections will therefore present a methodological critique to re-evaluate the various methods utilised in language attitude studies, focusing on two aspects. The first is related to the presentation of language varieties to groups of judges; the next two sub-sections reflect on the procedures involved in collecting judges' evaluative profiles based on the presented language varieties.

#### **7.3.1 Narratives: *efficiency and deficiencies***

Selecting narratives as the study's stimuli for the process of eliciting people's attitudes has shown the efficiency of the technique in the elicitation of people's attitudes to



natural language use 'where people are meaningfully and functionally doing things with language, rather than merely voicing utterances' (Garrett et al., 2003: 60). It is noteworthy at this particular point to draw the reader's attention to the importance of the concept of domain, defined as a combination of setting, topic and interlocutors in studying attitudes to code-switching (Fishman, 1972; Lawson, 2001). Hymes (1974) also addresses the interactive effect of various extralinguistic key factors in a speaker's language choice in his introduction of the ethnographic model of 'SPEAKING' where he relates a number of factors including setting, topic, participant, message (form and content), norms of interpretation and norms of interaction as features affecting language choice.

In his 'audience design' theory, Bell (1984) points to the particular importance associated with 'audience' as an influencing factor which other non-audience factors such as setting and topic derive their effect on within any study on linguistic behaviour. I argue here that by using narratives as the study's stimuli, I was able to contextualise the spoken varieties, demonstrating that the varieties were set in an informal setting, where a group of teenagers were telling their friends stories about some personal experiences that they, or someone they knew, have gone through at a stage of their lives. Accordingly, the varieties were generated in an informal in-group setting (in spite of the fact that the event took place in schools), with interlocutors of the same age group (teenagers) talking about their personal experiences (topic). In a sense, then, there was a double advantage: presenting the speakers within an authentic situation to overcome the authenticity-artificiality problem associated with some previous matched guise applications, and creating a context where varieties like code-switching could emerge spontaneously. The stimuli, however, carried the disadvantage that social evaluation of the speakers may well involve the informants' reactions to the story-telling performance, including the content and the quality of the narrated stories and narrators. In spite of the fact that all possible measures were taken to ensure the

demonstrated narratives' uniformity in terms of their communicative design, topic neutrality and performance related qualities, full uniformity of the stimuli would be a doubtful claim to make. One way to resolve the incomplete uniformity of the stimuli would be to present a larger number of speakers to represent the investigated varieties.

Apart from that, 'narratives' have proved to generate the enthusiasm needed when dealing with people at such a young age, in order to keep them focussed at all the stages of the questionnaire filling procedures.

### *7.3.2 Likert scales and keyword responses*

As far as using an appropriate response-elicitation instrument, the present study uses a combination of close-ended (Likert scales) and open-ended (keyword response) types of questions within the questionnaire. While the former were used to fill out the main dimensions of judgment in the search for general attitudinal profiles of the investigated language varieties, the latter were used to add the depth needed for language attitudes research, especially in this case, where, as mentioned earlier, narratives of less uniform stimuli were used as the basis of the elicitation technique. Moreover, being described as less susceptible to social desirability biases, Likert scales seemed to demonstrate the more covert views that people unconsciously held, or even, wanted to keep hidden to avoid being criticised by others.

The problem, however, tends to lie in the fact that for people to evaluate someone on predetermined personal traits does not necessarily reflect the importance of that particular feature as perceived by the informant, nor does it necessarily reflect the directionality of the scaled labels. The finding that teachers, for example, showed some discriminating views of the speakers along cultural attributes doesn't necessarily reflect how important the labels were for them, nor is it indicative of the desirability/rejection of such scaled labels. Aided

by participants' keyword responses, I was able to contextualise acontextual scaled labels, especially those related to the morals of the community under investigation. As for the salience problem, the produced keywords enabled me to cautiously access issues of salience. Working side by side, the two question-types (Likert scales and keywords) allow better access to the multidimensional nature of language attitudes from which a researcher may move from a whole-group universal set of dimensions (reflected in Likert scales) to specific-group set of dimensions (produced by keyword responses).

### *7.3.3 Direct approaches*

Encountering problems of differing, and to some extent contrasting perspectives of some of the presented personal features, the questionnaire included an open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire in relation to code-switching as the main focus of this research. Unlike the former closed- and open-ended questions that seek to indirectly extract respondents' attitudes towards the speakers, the latter utilises a direct approach, asking directly about respondents' point of views in relation to code-switchers in particular. The question was used to boost the context needed for evaluating the respondents' responses, particularly in relation to the polarity of labels attached to the speakers of the various language varieties.

Focus-group interviews were then conducted with sub- groups of the study's respondents, where discussants were asked to comment on their beliefs in relation to the investigated language varieties, implementing their own agenda first, and at a later stage, directed towards points of inconsistencies and ambiguities gained from the data collected in the questionnaire administration phase. Utilising a discursive, thematic analytical procedure, participants' responses were used to provide the details needed for reaching the required certainty levels.

It is worth mentioning that many of the details presented in this study, especially in relation to variation amongst the code-switchers in relation to typology and gender factors, would have been inaccessible if the investigation had not been complemented by focus-group interviewing sessions. Differentiation between the code-switchers as a result of gender and typology, for example, would not have been detected if not through the implementation of focus-group discussion directed towards the ambiguity of the quantitative results drawn from the Likert scale responses, through which the participants laid down the rationale behind their views towards the speakers. Investigating a number of labels that tended to be bi-polar in nature as a result of the differing ideological views held by participants (e.g. 'Kuwaitiness, 'religiousness' and 'conservativeness'), the polarity of such labels was once again resolved through triangulating the direct attitude question responses, keyword analysis and focus-group interviews. Complemented by the qualitative data, the controversy about the salience of predetermined features as functioning attitude constructs across the different groups of participants was also resolved through thematic discourse analysis of focus-group interviews, showing that the groups tended to have very differing pressure points in their evaluations of the presented speakers.

The study has therefore confirmed the importance of using diverse, concurrent methods in language attitudes research. Using a complementary set of techniques will certainly enable a researcher in this field to gain the needed insight, reflect on a wider number of explanatory issues and gain the context needed to arrive at a wider picture of concepts and issues under investigation.

#### **7.4 Directions for further research**

In an attempt to help to reveal the sociolinguistic profile of Kuwait, the current study explored language attitude patterns that people with different social experiences and

circumstances have towards the three major spoken varieties in the country. In the light of the findings obtained in this study, I'd like to call for a number of follow-up studies in this field, which may complete the sought-after portrait of linguistic behaviour in the country, and particularly the following:

1. In view of the controversial attitude-behaviour alignment (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980), the present research may be utilised as a start-point from which other researchers may explore Kuwaiti teenagers' linguistic behaviour patterns that will enable us to either validate or invalidate such link.
2. With the current study being conducted by a single female Kuwaiti researcher (myself), it would be useful to replicate this research with researchers of both genders, and may be from other ethnic groups (English or American, for example) in order to pinpoint any possible variations of these patterns of language attitudes as a result of the researcher's personal characteristics.
3. As the present study has investigated patterns of language attitudes displayed by teachers from a conventional (government) school type only, more empirical work is needed to find out whether these patterns persist amongst teachers from the other school-types (bilingual and English).
4. Basing the present study on teachers as the only source for adults' attitudes towards the three spoken varieties, the current study has failed to solidly address adulthood as a certain cut-off point for the 'extreme' attitudinal patterns instigated during adolescence life-span. Future studies may therefore include other groups from other walks of life (doctors, lawyers, engineers, labours...etc) that will help in making more general statements in relation to adulthood as a stage during which language attitudes tend to become less extreme and less divisive.

5. Being concerned with language attitudes as the only facet of linguistic behaviour in this study, future research may investigate other facets of language behaviour including ethnolinguistic vitality, a construct that has been closely linked to language behaviour and attitudes in a number of studies (Kraemer et al., 1994; Landry and Allard, 1991; Sachdev et al., 1987) in an attempt to get a more solid prediction basis for language shift and maintenance.
6. Acknowledging that the current study has explored language attitudes towards Kuwaiti-only as one variety, and knowing that two colloquial varieties of Kuwaiti are recognised as Kuwaiti ( rural 'Bedouin' and urban 'Sedentary') (Dashti, 1997), future research may look more closely whether variations of language attitude patterns exist as a result of this local variation within the variety of Kuwaiti language.
7. Being described as triggering variations along language attitudes towards CS in particular, and considering the fact that the present study has explored the typology of CS in a limited way (only lexical and intersentential types were investigated), future systematic investigation of attitudes towards varieties of CS whether classified functionally (in terms of what functions the practice serves) or syntactically (in terms of where the switching takes place) remains to be carried out.

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## **Appendix One**

**1a. Pilot Questionnaire in Arabic**

**1b. Actual Modified Matched Guise Questionnaire in  
Arabic**

**1c. Actual Modified Guise Questionnaire in English**

## 1a. Pilot Questionnaire in Arabic

### عزيزي الطالب // عزيزتي الطالبة

يهدف هذا الإستبيان الى الحصول على ردود أفعالكم على مجموعة من المتحدثين ، ففي أغلب الأحيان ، يمكنك أن تستمع الى شخص ما يتحدث دون أن تستطيع النظر اليه ، فتقوم بالحكم عليه من خلال صوته وطريقة كلامه ، على سبيل المثال : تخيل أنك واقف في طابور شباك تذاكر السينما ، وفي تلك الأثناء استمعت الى شخص يتحدث من خلفك ، يمكنك أن تكون صورة لذلك الشخص من خلال ما تسمعه من حديثه دون الإلتفاف الى الوراء للنظر الى ذلك المتحدث .

سوف أقوم بإسماعكم شريطاً تسجيلياً لمقتطفات من روايات يسردها متحدثين تتراوح أعمارهم ما بين 14-17 عاماً من ذكور وإناث تتم عن تجارب شخصيه سابقه ، ما عليك أن تفعله هو أن تستمع الى كل متحدث ومن ثم تجيب على الأسئلة المدونه في الإستبيان الموجود أمامك ، سوف تقوم بعمل ذلك لكل متحدث على حده .

في البداية ، سوف تقوم بذكر أول ثلاث أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عن المتحدث ، لا تقلق عن ما هية تلك الأشياء ، فنحن مهتمون بالتعرف على الصورة الأولى التي تكونها للمتحدث .

بعد ذلك ، عليك عزيزي المدرس / عزيزتي المدرسة ، أن تقوم بالإجابة على بعض الأسئلة وذلك بوضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعتبرها الأقرب الى ما تعتقده شخصياً .

بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

إذا كنت تعتقد بأن المتحدث لا يعجبك تماماً ، عليك أن تضع دائرة حول الرقم (1) تذكر أن تقوم باختيار إجابة واحدة فقط ، عليك أن تعلم عزيزي الطالب / عزيزتي الطالبة أنه لا توجد اجابات صحيحة أو خاطئة للأسئلة المدونه في هذا الإستبيان ، وأننا مهتمون فقط بما تعتقده أنت ، لذلك أرجو أن تجيب على الأسئلة لوحده دون التشاور مع من يجلس بجانبك .

نشكركم تعاونكم

معلومات عن نفسك:

العمر: ..... سنة

الجنس: (1) ذكر (2) أنثى

نوع المدرسة التي تدرس فيها:

- (1) مدرسة حكومية
- (2) مدرسة انجليزية خاصة
- (3) مدرسة ثنائية اللغة خاصة

كيف تصف قدراتك باللغة الإنجليزية؟

معدومة (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) ممتازة

## المتحدث الأول :

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)

4

3

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1

2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً : أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

مثقفاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديماً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ذكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محافظ: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متحدثاً جيداً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طيباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

معتزاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

كويتياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

7. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

8. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث الثاني :

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)  
1 2 3 4

2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. إلى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. إلى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. إلى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً



الكويتية - الإنجليزية - خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية - أخرى (حدد)

1 2 3 4  
بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متقفاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديمياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

نكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محافظ: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متحدثاً جيداً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طيباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

معتزاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

كويتياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث الرابع :

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟  
الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)  
1 2 3 4
2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء
4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء
5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:  
ناجحاً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
اجتماعياً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
متديناً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
مثقفاً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
قديماً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
محبوباً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
نكياً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
طلق اللسان: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً



- محافظ: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا  
 ثريا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا  
 متحد ثا جيدا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا  
 عصريا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا  
 طيبا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا  
 تقليديا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا  
 معترزا بهويته الكويتية: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا  
 صادقا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا  
 كويتيا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل?  
 أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جداً
7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء?  
 أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جداً
8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي?  
 أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جداً

### المتحدث الخامس :

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث?  
 الكويتية – الإنجليزية - خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية - أخرى (حدد)  
 1 2 3 4
2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟  
 أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جداً
3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
 لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء
4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته?  
 لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

منثقفاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديماً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

نكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محافظاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متحدثاً جيداً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طيباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

معترفاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

كويتياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً



تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

معتزاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

كويتياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

7. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

8. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث السابع :

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

أ.

ب.

ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية - الإنجليزية - خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية - أخرى (حدد)

4

3

2

1

2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. إلى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟

لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. إلى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟

لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. إلى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

- مثقفاً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- قديمًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- محبوبًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- نكياً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- طلق اللسان: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- محافظاً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- ثرياً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- متحدثاً جيداً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- عصرياً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- طيباً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- تقليدياً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- معتزلاً بهويته الكويتية: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- صادقاً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- كويتياً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
7. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
8. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث الثامن :

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية - الإنجليزية - خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية - أخرى (حدد)

2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

اجتماعيا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

متدينا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

مثقفا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

قديما: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

محبوبا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

ذكيا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

طلق اللسان: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

محافظ: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

ثريا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

متحدثا جيدا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

عصريا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

طيبا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

تقليديا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

معززا بهويته الكويتية: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

صادقا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

كويتيا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث التاسع:

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟  
الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)  
1 2 3 4
2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء
4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء
5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:  
ناجحاً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
اجتماعياً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
متديناً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
مثقفاً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
قديماً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً  
محبوباً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

- نكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- محافظ: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- متحدثاً جيداً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- طيباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- معتزاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- كويتياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث العاشر:

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟
- الكويتية - الإنجليزية - خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية - أخرى (حدد)
- 1 2 3 4
2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء



4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

مثقفاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديماً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

نكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محافظاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متحدثاً جيداً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طيباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

معتزاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

كويتياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث الحادي عشر:

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)  
1 2 3 4

2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

منثقفاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديماً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

نكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محافظ: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

- متحد ثا جيدا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
- عصريا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
- طيبا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
- تقليديا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
- معززا بهويته الكويتية: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
- صادقا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
- كويتيا: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل?  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء?  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزما بقيم المجتمع الكويتي?  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا

### المتحدث الثاني عشر:

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟
- الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)
- 1 2 3 4
2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيرا جدا
3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء
4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

مثقفاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديماً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

نكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محافظاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متحدثاً جيداً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طيباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

معزاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

كويتياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث الثالث عشر:

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.
- ب.
- ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)

4

3

2

1

2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟

لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟

لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

مثقفاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديماً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

نكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محافظ: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متحدثاً جيداً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طيباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

معتزاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

كويتياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

7. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

8. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

#### المتحدث الرابع عشر:

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)  
1 2 3 4

2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟

أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. إلى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. إلى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. إلى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متدينياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

- متقفاً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- قديمًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- محبوبًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- نكياً: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- طلق اللسان: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- محافظ: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- ثريًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- متحدثًا جيدًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- عصريًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- طيبًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- تقليديًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- معترًا بهويته الكويتية: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- صادقًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- كويتيًا: أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

7. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

8. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزمًا بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبدأ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

#### المتحدث الخامس عشر:

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.  
ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية - الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)

1 2 3 4  
بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟  
أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. الى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. الى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. الى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متثقفاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديمياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

نكياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طلق اللسان: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محافظ: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

ثرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متحدثاً جيداً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

طيباً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

تقليدياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

معترفاً بهويته الكويتية: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

صادقاً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً



كويتياً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

7. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

8. إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

### المتحدث السادس عشر:

اكتب أول ثلاثة أشياء تتبادر إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.
- ب.
- ج.

1. ما اللغة أو اللهجة التي يستخدمها المتحدث؟

الكويتية – الإنجليزية- خليط بين الكويتية والإنجليزية- أخرى (حدد)  
4 3 2 1

2. بشكل عام هل يعجبك المتحدث ؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

3. إلى أي مدى تستطيع أن تفهم ما يقوله المتحدث ؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

4. إلى أي مدى تعتبر المتحدث يتشارك معك في صفاته؟  
لا شيء (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كل شيء

5. إلى أي مدى يمكنك أن تصف المتحدث بالصفات التالية:

ناجحاً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

اجتماعياً : أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متديناً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

متقفاً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

قديماً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

محبوباً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

- نكياً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- طلق اللسان: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- محافظ: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- ثرياً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- متحدثاً جيداً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- عصرياً: أبداً (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- طيباً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- تقليدياً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- معترفاً بهويته الكويتية: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- صادقاً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
- كويتياً: أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

6. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث تفتح له فرص عمل جيدة في المستقبل؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
7. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث قادر على تكوين أصدقاء؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً
8. الى أي مدى تعتقد أن المتحدث ملتزماً بقيم المجتمع الكويتي؟  
أبدا (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) كثيراً جداً

نشكر لكم تعاونكم

## 1b. Actual Modified Matched Guise Questionnaire in

### Arabic

يهدف هذا الإستبيان الى الحصول على ردود أفعالكم على مجموعة من المتحدثين ، ففي أغلب الأحيان ، يمكنك أن تستمع الى شخص ما يتحدث دون أن تستطيع النظر اليه ، فتقوم بالحكم عليه من خلال صوته وطريقة كلامه ، على سبيل المثال : تخيل أنك واقف في طابور شباك تذاكر السينما ، وفي تلك الأثناء استمعت الى شخص يتحدث من خلفك ، يمكنك أن تكون صورة لذلك الشخص من خلال ما تسمعه من حديثه دون الإلتفاف الى الورااء للنظر الى ذلك المتحدث .

سوف أقوم بإسماعكم شريطاً تسجيلياً لمقطعات من روايات يسردها متحدثين تتراوح أعمارهم ما بين 14-17 عاماً من ذكور وإناث تنم عن تجارب شخصيه سابقه، ما عليك أن تفعله هو أن تستمع الى كل متحدث ومن ثم تجيب على الأسئلة المدونه في الإستبيان الموجود أمامك ، سوف تقوم بعمل ذلك لكل متحدث على حده.

عليك أن تعلم أنه لا توجد اجابات صحيحة أو خاطئة للأسئلة المدونة في هذا الإستبيان ، وأننا مهتمون فقط بما تعتقده أنت ، لذلك أرجو أن تجيب على الأسئلة لوحده دون التشاور مع من يجلس بجانبك .

نشكر لكم تعاونكم

أولا:

المتحدث الأول :

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

أ.  
ب.

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث:

أ.  
ب.

ضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعبر عن الدرجة التي تعتقد أن المتحدث يمكن وصفه بالصفات التالية:

أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محبوبا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	متدينا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مثقفا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	نكيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	طلق اللسان:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محافظة:

صافقا:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
عصريا:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
كويتيا:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
غنيا:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
معتزا بهويته الكويتية :	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
مثقفا:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
ذكيا:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
مشابها لك:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا

**المتحدث الثاني:**

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.
- ب.

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث:

- أ.
- ب.

ضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعبر عن الدرجة التي تعتقد أن المتحدث يمكن وصفه بالصفات التالية:

أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محبوبا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	متدينا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	منقفا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	نكيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	طلق اللسان:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محافظا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	صادقا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	عصريا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	كويتيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	غنيا:

أبدا						كثيرا جدا	معترزا بهويته الكويتية :
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	متقفا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	نكيا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

المتحدث الثالث:

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث:

- أ.  
ب.

ضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعبر عن الدرجة التي تعتقد أن المتحدث يمكن وصفه بالصفات التالية:

أبدا						كثيرا جدا	محبوبا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	متدينا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	متقفا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	نكيا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	طلق اللسان:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محافظا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	صادقا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	عصريا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	كويتيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	غنيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	معتزا بهويته الكويتية:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	منقفا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	ذكيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:



#### المتحدث الرابع:

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.  
ب.

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث:

- أ.  
ب.

ضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعبر عن الدرجة التي تعتقد أن المتحدث يمكن وصفه بالصفات التالية:

أبدا						كثيرا جدا	محبوبا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	متدينا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	مثقفا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	ذكيا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	طلق اللسان:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	محافظا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
أبدا						كثيرا جدا	صادقا:
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

عصرياً:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
كويتياً:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
غنياً:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
معتزاً بهويته الكويتية:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
مثقفاً:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
ذكياً:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
مشابهاً لك:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا

#### المتحدث الخامس:

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.
- ب.

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث:

- أ.
- ب.

ضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعبر عن الدرجة التي تعتقد أن المتحدث يمكن وصفه بالصفات التالية:

أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محبوبيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	متدينا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	متقفا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	نكيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	طلق اللسان:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محافظا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	صادقا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	عصريا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	كويتيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	غنيا:

معتزا بهويته الكويتية: كثيرا جدا أبدا

متثقفا: كثيرا جدا أبدا

نكيا: كثيرا جدا أبدا

مشابها لك: كثيرا جدا أبدا

#### المتحدث السادس:

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.
- ب.

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث:

- أ.
- ب.

ضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعبر عن الدرجة التي تعتقد أن المتحدث يمكن وصفه بالصفات التالية:

محبويا: كثيرا جدا أبدا

متدينا: كثيرا جدا أبدا

متثقفا: كثيرا جدا أبدا

نكيا: كثيرا جدا أبدا

أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	طلق اللسان:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محافظا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	صادقا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	عصريا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	كويتيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	غنيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	معتزا بهويته الكويتية:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	منقفا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	نكيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:

المتحدث السابع:

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

أ.  
ب.

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث:

أ.  
ب.

ضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعبر عن الدرجة التي تعتقد أن المتحدث يمكن وصفه بالصفات التالية:

أبدا	□	□	□	□	□	□	كثيرا جدا	محبوبا:
أبدا	□	□	□	□	□	□	كثيرا جدا	متدينا:
أبدا	□	□	□	□	□	□	كثيرا جدا	مثقفا:
أبدا	□	□	□	□	□	□	كثيرا جدا	نكيا:
أبدا	□	□	□	□	□	□	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
أبدا	□	□	□	□	□	□	كثيرا جدا	طلق اللسان:
أبدا	□	□	□	□	□	□	كثيرا جدا	محافظة:
أبدا	□	□	□	□	□	□	كثيرا جدا	صادقا:

عصرياً:	كثيراً جداً	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبداً
كويتياً:	كثيراً جداً	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبداً
غنياً:	كثيراً جداً	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبداً
معتزاً بهويته الكويتية:	كثيراً جداً	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبداً
متقفاً:	كثيراً جداً	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبداً
نكياً:	كثيراً جداً	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبداً
مشابهاً لك:	كثيراً جداً	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبداً

#### المتحدث الثامن:

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران الى ذهنك عند سماعك للمتحدث :

- أ.
- ب.

اكتب أول شينين يتبادران إلى ذهنك عند سماعك للغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث:

- أ.
- ب.

ضع دائرة حول الإجابة التي تعبر عن الدرجة التي تعتقد أن المتحدث يمكن وصفه بالصفات التالية:

أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محبوبيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	متدينا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	متقفا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	نكيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	مشابها لك:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	طلق اللسان:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	محافظة:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	صادقا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	عصريا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	كويتيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	غنيا:
أبدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	كثيرا جدا	معترزا بهويته الكويتية:



متقفا:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
نكيا:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا
مشابها لك:	كثيرا جدا	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أبدا

### ثانيا:

معلومات عن نفسك:

1. العمر: .....

2. الجنس: ذكر أنثى

3. جنسيتك: كويتي أخرى (حدد).....

4. نوع المدرسة التي تدرس فيها:

(4) مدرسة حكومية

(5) مدرسة انجليزية خاصة

(6) مدرسة ثنائية اللغة خاصة

5. كيف تصف قدراتك باللغة الإنجليزية؟

معدومة (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) ممتازة

6. ما هي نظرتك لمن يخلط بين اللهجة الكويتية واللغة الإنجليزية في حديثه؟

.....

.....

.....

.....

## 1c. Actual Modified Matched Guise Questionnaire in English

The questionnaire below aims to find your reactions to speakers in your community from the way they speak. You may judge people when you listen to their voices even if you are unable to see them. Imagine, for example, that you are waiting in a queue to purchase cinema tickets. You hear somebody speaking behind you but you are unable to turn around to see the speaker. Although you might catch a bit of what s/he is saying, you try to figure out what type of person s/he is like. This is what you are going to do today. I will play a tape of 8 male and female speakers who are about 14-17 years old. After listening to each speaker, complete all parts of the questionnaire. Almost all questions here just ask for your personal opinions and feelings. Please be honest in your answers, which are entirely confidential – we don't ask for your name or address.

**PART I**

**Speaker 1**

**Q1 Write the first two impressions that first come to your mind when you hear the speaker:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q2 Write the first two impressions of the speaker's way of using language:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Your answers to the questions below need to be marked as points on a scale. You should make a judgement, and give your answer by putting an X in one of the boxes following each question.**

**Q3 How much do you think the speaker sounds:**

<b>Likeable:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Successful:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Religious:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Comprehensible:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Educated:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Like you:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Fluent:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Conservative:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Intelligent:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Honest:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<b>Modern:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kind:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Proud to be Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Speaker 2**

**Q1 Write the first two impressions that first come to your mind when you hear the speaker:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q2 Write the first two impressions of the speaker's way of using language:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q3 How much do you think the speaker sounds:**

<b>Likeable:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Successful:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Religious:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Comprehensible:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Educated:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Like you:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Fluent:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<b>Conservative:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Intelligent:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Honest:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Modern:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kind:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Proud to be Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Speaker 3**

**Q1 Write the first two impressions that first come to your mind when you hear the speaker:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q2 Write the first two impressions of the speaker's way of using language:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q3 How much do you think the speaker sounds:**

<b>Likeable:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Successful:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Religious:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Comprehensible:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<b>Educated:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Like you:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Fluent:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Conservative:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Intelligent:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Honest:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Modern:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Kind:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Proud to be Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

**Speaker 4**

**Q1 Write the first two impressions that first come to your mind when you hear the speaker:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q2 Write the first two impressions of the speaker's way of using language:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q3 How much do you think the speaker sounds:**

<b>Likeable:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Successful:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Religious:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Comprehensible:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Educated:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Like you:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Fluent:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Conservative:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Intelligent:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Honest:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Modern:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Kind:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
<b>Proud to be Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much

**Speaker 5**

**Q1 Write the first two impressions that first come to your mind when you hear the speaker:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q2 Write the first two impressions of the speaker's way of using language:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q3 How much do you think the speaker sounds:**

<b>Likeable:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Successful:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Religious:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Comprehensible:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Educated:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Like you:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Fluent:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Conservative:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Intelligent:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Honest:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Modern:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



<b>Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kind:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Proud to be Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Speaker 6**

**Q1 Write the first two impressions that first come to your mind when you hear the speaker:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q2 Write the first two impressions of the speaker's way of using language:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q3 How much do you think the speaker sounds:**

<b>Likeable:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Successful:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Religious:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Comprehensible:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Educated:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Like you:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Fluent:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<b>Conservative:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Intelligent:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Honest:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Modern:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kind:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Proud to be Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Speaker 7**

**Q1 Write the first two impressions that first come to your mind when you hear the speaker:**

a.....

b.....

**Q2 Write the first two impressions of the speaker's way of using language:**

a.....

b.....

**Q3 How much do you think the speaker sounds:**

<b>Likeable:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Successful:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Religious:</b>	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very much
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<b>Comprehensible:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Educated:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Like you:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Fluent:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Conservative:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Intelligent:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Honest:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Modern:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kind:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Proud to be Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all							Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Speaker 8**

**Q1 Write the first two impressions that first come to your mind when you hear the speaker:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q2 Write the first two impressions of the speaker's way of using language:**

- a.....
- b.....

**Q3 How much do you think the speaker sounds:**

<b>Likeable:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Successful:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Religious:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Comprehensible:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Educated:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Like you:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Fluent:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Conservative:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Intelligent:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Honest:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Modern:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Kind:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Proud to be Kuwaiti:</b>	Not at all						Very much
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**PART II**

**Some information about yourself**

Please remember that all the information you give us is entirely confidential. We do not ask for your name or address. But it is important for us to know some general information about you, so that your answers can be compared with the answers other people give.

**Q1 Are you male or female?    Male    Female    (Circle one)**

**Q2 What is your age?                    ..... years**

**Q3 What is your nationality?    Kuwaiti    Other (specify).....**

**Q4 What type of school are you in?**

- a. State school
- b. English private school
- c. Bilingual school

**Q5 Describe your overall ability to understand and use the English language.**

**Mark the scale with an (X) to say how much ability you have:**

**No ability                           **Excellent ability****

**Q6 What are your general thoughts about the way of speaking that mixes Arabic and English?**

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## **Appendix Two**

**2a. Results of the full range of factor analyses**

**2b. Thematic categorization of focus group interviews**

## 2a. Results of the full range of factor analyses

Rotated Component Matrix<sup>a,b</sup>

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Speaker Resemblance (Kuwaiti Male)	.852			
Speaker Kindness (Kuwaiti Male)	.832			
Speaker Honesty (Kuwaiti Male)	.825			
Speaker Likeability (Kuwaiti Male)	.819			
Speaker Comprehensibility (Kuwaiti Male)	.597			
Speaker Religousness (Kuwaiti Male)				
Speaker Success (Kuwaiti Male)		.791		
Speaker Education (Kuwaiti Male)		.691		
Speaker status (Kuwaiti Male)		.646		
Speaker Fluency (Kuwaiti Male)	.531	-.623		
Speaker Intelligence (Kuwaiti Male)		.621		
Speaker Kuwaitiness (Kuwaiti Male)			.788	
Speaker pride in Kuwaiti identity (Kuwaiti Male)			.771	
Speaker Modernity (Kuwaiti Male)				.791
Speaker Conservativeness (Kuwaiti Male)				.687

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

b. Only cases for which Type of School = government are used in the analysis phase.

**Rotated Component Matrix<sup>a,b</sup>**

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Speaker Honesty (Kuwaiti Female)	.830			
Speaker Kindness (Kuwaiti Female)	.799			
Speaker Likeability (Kuwaiti Female)	.743			
Speaker Resemblance (Kuwaiti Female)	.715	-.401		
Speaker Comprehensibility (Kuwaiti Female)	.456			.452
Speaker Intelligence (Kuwaiti Female)		.780		
Speaker Success (Kuwaiti Female)		.780		
Speaker Education (Kuwaiti Female)		.771		
Speaker status (Kuwaiti Female)		.703		
Speaker pride in Kuwaiti identity (Kuwaiti Female)			.744	
Speaker Conservativeness (Kuwaiti Female)			.709	
Speaker Modernity (Kuwaiti Female)			-.599	
Speaker Kuwaitiness (Kuwaiti Female)			.438	
Speaker Fluency (Kuwaiti Female)				.805
Speaker Religousness (Kuwaiti Female)				.507

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

b. Only cases for which Type of School = government are used in the analysis phase.



**Rotated Component Matrix**

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Speaker Kindness (Intersentential Male)	.855			
Speaker Honesty (Intersentential Male)	.851			
Speaker Resemblance (Intersentential Male)	.850			
Speaker Likeability (Intersentential Male)	.834			
Speaker Comprehensibility (Intersentential Male)	.740			
Speaker Fluency (Intersentential Male)	.735			
Speaker Success (Intersentential Male)		.815		
Speaker Education (Intersentential Male)		.789		
Speaker Richness (Intersentential Male)		.784		
Speaker Intelligence (Intersentential Male)		.779		
Speaker pride in Kuwaiti identity (Intersentential Male)			.845	
Speaker Kuwaitiness (Intersentential Male)			.791	
Speaker Modernity (Intersentential Male)				.854
Speaker Conservativeness (Intersentential Male)				.605

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

**Rotated Component Matrix**

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Speaker Kindness (Intersentential Male)	.855			
Speaker Honesty (Intersentential Male)	.851			
Speaker Resemblance (Intersentential Male)	.850			
Speaker Likeability (Intersentential Male)	.834			
Speaker Comprehensibility (Intersentential Male)	.740			
Speaker Fluency (Intersentential Male)	.735			
Speaker Success (Intersentential Male)		.815		
Speaker Education (Intersentential Male)		.789		
Speaker Richness (Intersentential Male)		.784		
Speaker Intelligence (Intersentential Male)		.779		
Speaker pride in Kuwaiti identity (Intersentential Male)			.845	
Speaker Kuwaitiness (Intersentential Male)			.791	
Speaker Modernity (Intersentential Male)				.854
Speaker Conservativeness (Intersentential Male)				.605

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

**Rotated Component Matrix<sup>a</sup>**

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Speaker Success (Intersentential Female)	.881			
Speaker Intelligence (Intersentential Female)	.777			
Speaker Fluency (Intersentential Female)	-.743			
Speaker Education (Intersentential Female)	.696			
Speaker Comprehensibility (Intersentential Female)	-.617			
Speaker Richness (Intersentential Female)	.589			
Speaker Resemblance (Intersentential Female)		.871		
Speaker Kindness (Intersentential Female)		.821		
Speaker Likeability (Intersentential Female)		.733		
Speaker Honesty (Intersentential Female)		.696		
Speaker pride in Kuwaiti identity (Intersentential Female)			.868	
Speaker Kuwaitiness (Intersentential Female)			.783	
Speaker Modernity (Intersentential Female)				.649
Speaker Conservativeness (Intersentential Female)				.570

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

**Rotated Component Matrix**

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Speaker Likeability (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)	.801			
Speaker Resemblance (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)	.655			
Speaker Comprehensibility (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)	.632			
Speaker Kindness (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)	.602		.530	
Speaker Honesty (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)	.532			
Speaker Richness (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)		.805		
Speaker Education (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)		.801		
Speaker Success (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)	.540	.651		
Speaker Kuwaitiness (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)			.876	
Speaker pride in Kuwaiti identity (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)			.803	
Speaker Intelligence (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)			.577	
Speaker Fluency (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)				.700
Speaker Modernity (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)				.679
Speaker Conservativeness (Male Lexical Codeswitcher)				-.574

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 8 iterations.

**Rotated Component Matrix<sup>a</sup>**

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Speaker Intelligence (Lexical CS Female)	.832			
Speaker Success (Lexical CS Female)	.800			
Speaker Richness (Lexical CS Female)	.781			
Speaker Education (Lexical CS Female)	.762			
Speaker Resemblance (Lexical CS Female)	-.647			
Speaker Kindness (Lexical CS Female)		.862		
Speaker Likeability (Lexical CS Female)		.801		
Speaker Honesty (Lexical CS Female)		.801		
Speaker Modernity (Lexical CS Female)				
Speaker Fluency (Lexical CS Female)			.845	
Speaker Comprehensibility (Lexical CS Female)				
Speaker pride in Kuwaiti identity (Lexical CS Female)				.802
Speaker Conservativeness (Lexical CS Female)				.625
Speaker Kuwaitiness (Lexical CS Female)				

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

## 2b. Thematic categorization of focus group interviews

**Table 6.6: Thematic classification of recurring themes in students' judgements about code-switchers**

### ***Gender and sexuality in relation to the lexical male code-switcher (theatre boy)***

1. G.M.S: He really sounds like a gay.
2. G.M.S: He must learn to be a real man
3. G.M.S: mum's little boy
4. G.M.S: not a man
5. G.M.S: a future gay, that's how he'll turn in ten years from now
6. G.M.S: if I were his dad, I'd get rid of him before he grows up to be a gay.
7. G.F.S: girly, his language sounds so girly to me
8. G.F.S: mum's spoiled little boy
9. G.F.S: come on! Be a grown up
10. G.F.S: He must be hanging around with girls
11. G.F.S: He must be the only boy in his family
12. G.F.S: He has no brother
13. G.F.S: influenced by his older sisters
14. G.F.S: It's time for him to start hanging around with boys

### ***Familiarity with the code-switchers***

15. B.M.S: He sounds like a guy in our class
16. B.M.S: I think I heard him before
17. B.M.S: probably from our school?
18. B.M.S: sounds very familiar
19. B.M.S: sounds nice
20. B.F.S: I think I know him
21. B.F.S: I'm trying to remember where I heard the guy before
22. B.F.S: definitely from our school
23. B.F.S: Isn't he..... (Giving him a name)?
24. E.M.S: He's very friendly
25. E.M.S: That boy sounds perfect to me
26. E.M.S: I'm sure I heard him before
27. E.M.S: I'm sure I heard this voice before
28. E.F.S: (to the researcher) isn't he from our school?
29. E.F.S: I know this guy, he's from 11.2
30. E.F.S: A guy from our school?

### ***Contrastive views of progressiveness***

31. G.M.S: She must have lost her dignity
32. G.M.S: Too open, I don't like this type of people
33. G.F.S: I don't like people who forget their own culture
35. G.F.S: Western-like...he'll soon abandon his Kuwaiti identity
36. G.F.S: Very corrupted...she has no respect for the values of this society

37. E.M.S: The computer boy, he must be very open-minded  
 38. E.F.S: I liked that girl, I mean who talked about her planned adventure, very modern indeed  
 39. E.F.S: She's using the language of technology and science

***Genuineness of intersentential code-switchers versus fakeness of lexical code-switchers***

**Theatre Boy (lexical switcher)**

40. G.M.S: I don't like the way he fakes his language  
 41. G.M.S: He must be deliberately mixing English  
 42. G.M.S: I got the feeling that he's trying to sound sophisticated by putting this language on  
 43. G.M.S: he's doing it on purpose. I mean trying to use some English to show off  
 44. G.M.S: I know he's pretending...just to sound educated  
 45. G.M.S: he's putting it on  
 46. G.M.S: he doesn't speak this way at home, does he?  
 47. G.M.S: I can't believe he doesn't know those words in Kuwaiti; he must be putting it on  
 48. G.M.S: he needs to learn more English before he talks like that. He's trying to brag about his education.  
 49. G.M.S: it's not the way he normally speaks  
 50. G.M.S: Wanna be

**Computer hacker (Intersentential switcher)**

51. G.M.S: This one sounded more natural  
 52. G.M.S: It's the way he speaks in real life  
 53. G.M.S: He can't help it; it's his style  
 54. G.M.S: More spontaneous compared to the other boy...I mean the mild switcher  
 55. G.M.S: He must have spent his childhood in an English speaking country, most probably U.K.  
 56. G.F.S: It's not his fault that he's unable to speak good Kuwaiti.  
 57. G.F.S: His mum is English may be?  
 58. G.F.S: He must be raised in a family where they speak English more than Kuwaiti; I mean it's a language deficiency problem.

**Adventure girl (Lexical switcher)**

59. G.M.S: Isn't she putting it on?  
 60. G.M.S: I'd tell her: don't brag about things that do not belong to you  
 61. G.M.S: I'm sure it's not the way she normally speaks  
 62. G.F.S: Get a life and for God's sake BE what you are  
 63. G.F.S: She must have been told to use such a mixed language  
 64. G.F.S: She's not a very good actor; she should have learned her lines before she gets on the stage  
 65. G.M.S: I got a feeling that this girl in particular, was using this style on purpose; just to expose her extremely open beliefs.

**Trouble in UK (Intersentential switcher)**

66. G.M.S: Needs to learn Kuwaiti  
 67. G.M.S: Her mum is English  
 68. G.M.S: She's been brought up in a foreign country

69. G.M.S: Well she's not the one to be blamed; it's her normal way of speaking  
 70. G.F.S: This girl sounds more natural; I mean the language she uses  
 71. G.F.S: There is nothing she can do about it; it's her style of speech  
 72. G.F.S: She must be half Kuwaiti half English

***Harsher downgrading of lexical versus intersentential switcher along religiousness and conservativeness***

73. G.M.S: When you use this style of speech (intersentential CS), you are more likely doing  
     this because of language deficiency problems, but those with milder switching are probably doing it to signal their resentment to the values of our Moslem society.  
 74. G.M.S: It is acceptable when someone is unable to fluently speak his own language as a result of language problem, but when it comes to those who are just doing it for showing off, they must be trying to interrelate to western communities where our society's rules should no longer be followed.  
 75. G.M.S: I got a feeling that the milder code-switchers, the boy who talked about his backstage experience and the girl... the adventure girl... were using this style on purpose... just to expose their extremely open beliefs.

***Harsher downgrading of the female versus male switchers along religiousness and conservativeness***

76. G.M.S: We live in a society where a girl's reputation should stay intact, otherwise not only the girls but also the whole family would suffer.  
 77. G.M.S: girl's honour is more fragile than boys.  
 78. G.F.S: We are living in a community where girls are more susceptible to criticism if they break through the morals of the society.  
 79. G.F.S: Whether you like it or not, a Kuwaiti girl should never neglect the society's beliefs.  
 80. G.F.S: Unlike boys, girls are never forgiven for breaching the values of the community.  
 81. G.F.S: Although I disagree, it takes more time and effort to recover from a girl's breach of the society's values than when boys do.

***Ambiguity of the label 'comprehensible'***

82. G.M.S: It means the level of comfort at which I received the speakers' styles of speech  
 83. G.M.S: How comfortable I felt when I heard the speakers on the tape  
 84. G.M.S: Whether I was annoyed by any of the speakers' style on the tape  
 85. G.M.S: How disturbing the speakers were  
 86. G.M.S: Whether the speakers used a nice language or not  
 87. G.M.S: How fragmented the speakers' languages were; I mean that I'd rather prefer someone who uses one language only no matter what language it is than one who mixes between languages  
 88. G.F.S: Most probably the unity of the language the speakers used  
 89. G.F.S: Didn't you mean how relaxing the speakers' styles were?  
 90. E.M.S: How much I could understand of what the speakers were talking about  
 91. E.M.S: How much English do I understand?



- 92. E.M.S: My ability to comprehend what the speakers were talking about in the different languages they used.
- 93. E.F.S: Ability in English and Kuwaiti
- 94. E.F.S: The extent at which I was able to understand what the speakers were talking about.
- 95. E.F.S: How else would someone interpret it; it's the hearer's ability to comprehend every single detail in the stories that were said by the different speakers
- 96. E.F.S: It's more to do with language proficiency

## **Appendix Three**

**3a. Key to transcription of Arabic**

**3b. Letters of consent from five educational governorates in Kuwait**

**3c. Literacy Policy in an English school scheme**

**3d. Copy of child's behaviour booklet page**

### 3a. Key to transcription of Kuwaiti Arabic consonants

θ	ث
ʃ	ش
ð	ذ
j	ي
x	خ
ʔ	أ
ʎ	غ
dʒ	ج
tʃ	تش
ɖ	ظ
q	ق
ħ	ح
ʕ	ع
t̤	ط

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إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي

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الموافق 19 / 3 / 2005 م

الرقم : وت / ب / 45  
مرفقات /

السيد المحترم / مدير عام منطقتي الفروانية التعليمية  
أ. بلس الشمري

تحية طيبة وبعد ،،

بناء على الطلب المقدم من السيدة / رحيمة أكبر المسجل لدرجة الدكتوراه في الجامعة  
البريطانية بتطبيق أدوات البحث " النظرة إلى الخلط بين اللغة الإنجليزية واللهجة الكويتية "  
يرجى التكرم بتسهيل مهمة المذكورة أعلاه في جميع مدارس المرحلة الثانوية  
( بنين - بنات ) التابعة لمنطقتكم.

شاكرين حسن تعاونكم معنا ،،،

مع خالص التحية والتقدير ،،

مساعد مدير إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي  
وزارة التربية  
إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي

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مرفقات /

السيد المحترم / مدير عام منطقة العاصمة التعليمية  
أ. محمد جاسر الديان

تحية طيبة وبعد ،،

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البريطانية بتطبيق أدوات البحث " النظرة إلى الخلط بين اللغة الإنجليزية واللهجة الكويتية "  
يرجى التكرم بتسهيل مهمة المذكورة أعلاه في جميع مدارس المرحلة الثانوية  
( بنين - بنات ) التابعة لمنطقتكم.

شاكرين حسن تعاونكم معنا ،،  
مع خالص التحية والتقدير ،،

كم مساعد مدير إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي  
وزارة التربية

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إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي

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الموافق 13 / 19 م 2005

الرقم : وت / س / 407  
مرفقات /

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أ. محمود القروي

تحية طيبة وبعد ،،

بناء على الطلب المقدم من السيدة / رحيمة أكبر المسجل لدرجة الدكتوراه في الجامعة  
البريطانية بتطبيق أدوات البحث " النظرة إلى الخلط بين اللغة الإنجليزية واللهجة الكويتية "  
يرجى التكرم بتسهيل مهمة المذكورة أعلاه في جميع مدارس المرحلة الثانوية  
( بنين - بنات ) التابعة لمنطقتكم.

شاكرين حسن تعاونكم معنا ،،،  
مع خالص التحية والتقدير ،،

مساعد مدير البحوث والتطوير التربوي  
وزارة التربية  
إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي

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مرفقات /

السيد المحترم / مدير عام منطقة الجهراء التعليمية

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تحية طيبة وبعد ،،

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البريطانية بتطبيق أدوات البحث " النظرة إلى الخلط بين اللغة الإنجليزية واللهجة الكويتية "  
يرجى التكرم بتسهيل مهمة المذكورة أعلاه في جميع مدارس المرحلة الثانوية  
( بنين - بنات ) التابعة لمنطقتكم.

شاكرين حسن تعاونكم معنا ،،،

مع خالص التحية والتقدير ،،

مساعد مدير البحوث والتطوير التربوي  
وزارة التربية  
إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي

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مرفقات /

السيد المحترم / مدير عام منطقة حولي التعليمية  
أ. خالد العصفور

تحية طيبة وبعد ،،

بناء على الطلب المقدم من السيدة / رحيمة أكبر المسجل لدرجة الدكتوراه في الجامعة  
البريطانية بتطبيق أدوات البحث " النظرة إلى الخلط بين اللغة الإنجليزية واللهجة الكويتية "  
يرجى التكرم بتسهيل مهمة المذكورة أعلاه في جميع مدارس المرحلة الثانوية  
( بنين - بنات ) التابعة لمنطقتكم.

شاكرين حسن تعاونكم معنا ،،

مع خالص التحية والتقدير ،،

مساعد مدير إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي  
وزارة التربية  
إدارة البحوث والتطوير التربوي



## **4.10 THE LITERACY POLICY**

### **4.10.1 Rationale**

The British School of Kuwait is an international school with students from over fifty countries. The school provides a curriculum based on the National Curriculum of England. The principal language of communication and instruction is English, which is the second language for the majority of students. Consequently all members of staff must be aware of their own use of language inside and outside of the classroom. It is essential that a common approach is taken by the teachers of all subjects with regard to reading, writing, speaking, and listening. The full implementation of a Literacy Policy is necessary to ensure consistency in teaching and learning and to enable students to have the best possible opportunity to secure excellent examination results. The aphorism 'All teachers are teachers of English' is particularly apt at The British School of Kuwait.

The use of Arabic and other first languages is permitted to convey key concepts and pivotal points of vocabulary. There is no intention to denigrate the first language but to minimise its usage within The British School of Kuwait. This will enable the school to achieve its published aims and objectives and to meet the expectations of the parents.

### **4.10.2 Aims**

- To reinforce the school's aims by:
  - developing lively enquiring minds, including the ability to question and argue rationally
  - developing the skills necessary to work confidently and sensitively in collaboration with others
  - acquiring a reasoned set of attitudes
  - expressing themselves creatively through a variety of media
- To develop the effective usage of English as the principal medium of communication.
- To encourage the usage of English in the classrooms, playground and corridors.
- To define for staff clear methods of implementing the Literacy Policy.
- To eliminate language problems as a barrier to academic progress.
- To enable all students on leaving BSK to be fluent users of English in all contexts.
- To promote BSK externally with impressive proficiency in the use of English.
- To encourage an awareness of what other colleagues do. It is only through a whole school approach that the effort to remedy students' language weaknesses can be sustained.

### **4.10.3 Reading, writing, speaking and listening**

#### **4.10.3.1 Reading**

##### General principles

- All subjects should ensure that students have opportunities to read in a variety of contexts for a variety of purposes to promote confidence, fluency and effectiveness in self expression.
- Opportunities should be provided to enable students to read silently, aloud and in groups, to skim and scan, to read for information, to read for pleasure and to read a variety of media such as Internet, CD ROM, books, newspapers, magazines and journals.

- Students should be provided with a range of appropriate reading materials.
- Teachers must be aware of students' reading problems and should develop a range of strategies and resources to improve access to reading. There should be subject links with ESL/SEN.
- Teachers should maintain rooms with attractive displays and laminated key words clearly displayed.

#### 4.10.3.2 Writing

##### General principles

- Students should be able to use a variety of forms and styles chosen to suit the demands of a particular task. Students should be clear about the purpose of and audience for a task in order to select the most appropriate form and style of writing.
- Teachers should provide students with explicit criteria for written work some of which may be retained for inclusion in student portfolios.
- Students should be encouraged to plan and organise ideas before writing. Whenever possible, drafting skills should be encouraged. Staff and students should discriminate between writing which is written in draft form and subsequently revised and writing which is not revised.
- Students should be encouraged to work in pairs and to comment upon each other's work when appropriate.
- All students are expected to produce writing which is well presented and legible. Students should be encouraged to improve the standard of their handwriting.
- Students should learn to use writing to conduct research, take notes and make summaries. Since these kinds of study skills are important in most curriculum areas, their acquisition should not be left to chance. Students should be shown how to use writing to aid study and revision.
- The development of a large vocabulary and the ability and willingness to use an ever wider range of words and expressions, is an important feature of students' writing. They often need help and guidance to find suitable words, phrases and expressions when producing writing. All staff need to be involved in enabling students to produce work to the best of their ability. Subject teachers should ensure that the meaning and spelling of specialist words are conveyed when required.
- Writing should be seen as a positive activity and not as a chore otherwise negative attitudes to work and study will result. Written punishments should be set only in accordance with the school's Rewards and Sanctions Policy.
- All subject areas should promote the use of word processing when appropriate.
- When marking students' work the guidelines set out in the Assessment, Recording and Reporting Policy must be adhered to at all times.
- All teachers must be mindful of using appropriate language on worksheets, textbooks and any other resources written in English.
- Terminology used should be clear and understood by all students.

##### Suggested activities

In deciding how language and key concepts are best taught the following strategies are suggested:

games  
word-searches

crosswords and anagrams  
spelling tests on key vocabulary

