

Diglossic Code-switching in Kuwaiti Newspapers

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Abstract

The present study investigates the phenomenon of diglossic code-switching between Standard Arabic, as a High variety, and Kuwaiti Arabic, as a Low variety, in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. The study was precipitated by the paucity of research on the linguistic characteristics of newspaper discourse generated within this region as well as Kuwaiti perceptions towards this medium of communication. The frameworks adopted in this research were extended to novel contexts and were also utilised to gain new insights into several dimensions of diglossia, most of which have never been explored before. The findings of this study indeed revealed important insights into how diglossia is changing and how participants both use and perceive diglossic code-switching.

The investigation was carried out to explore three main dimensions of code-switching in newspaper articles in Kuwait: changes in attitudes and frequency of code-switching use, the social motivations for it and the morphosyntactic constraints associated with it in this context. The first involves the study of changes in both language attitudes and in the frequency of code-switching in newspaper articles over the last 29-30 years. The second part of the study offers a social motivations' analysis of code-switching in newspaper articles by appealing to the ideas captured in the Markedness Model (MM), proposed by Myers-Scotton 1993a. The primary goal of this element of the research was to seek explanations for the diglossic code-switching strategies identified in a sample of twelve newspaper articles. The third aspect explored in the research relates to the testing of the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model which applies specifically to the morphosyntactic constraints thought to operate in spoken code-switching contexts (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 2002). A key objective of the research overall was to evaluate the models themselves which have not, to my knowledge, been appraised heretofore using written data of this kind.

In general terms, my findings regarding attitudinal change and code-switching frequency suggest that, despite the differences exhibited by a range of social variables, the nature of the attitudes expressed by the readers and columnists alike still reflect the traditional diglossic situation in Kuwait. Moreover, an analysis of language attitudes,

employing the ‘apparent time’ hypothesis, shows that there is indeed a change in language attitudes in Kuwait between one generation and the next. This change, however, is contrary to predictions as it actually shows a favouring effect within the community at large for the H variety, i.e. SA. Non-parametric statistical analyses (specifically the Wilcoxon Signed Ranks, Mann-Whitney and Kruskal-Wallis tests) were selected as most appropriate for discriminating quantitative distinctions in the analysis of attitudes. Furthermore, an investigation of how common code-switching has become over the last three decades reveals that there is, in fact, static code-switching frequency, indicating that the practice of code-switching has remained relatively stable between 1985 and 2014-15. As for the second and third dimensions of the research, it was shown that the MM offers a very useful explanation of the linguistic behaviour of columnists and reveals the intricacies of their code-switching strategies which can be related to their understanding of community perceptions towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwait as captured in other aspects of the research. A key finding with respect to the testing of the MLF model itself was how difficult it actually was to diglossic code-switching in a written context. My research clearly shows that the MLF approach does not, in fact, provide as much insight into the dynamics of the phenomenon as it clearly does when applied to conversational exchanges and this is partially due to the problems identified in my thesis regarding the analysis of Arabic code-switching in writing.

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Transliteration System (based on *Qalam* for written Arabic, Heddaya 1985)

Characters mapping:

Letters in Arabic	Transliteration	Letters	Transliteration
ء	‘	ا	aa
ب	b	ت	t
ث	th	ج	j
ح	H	خ	kh
د	d	ذ	dh
ر	r	ز	z
س	s	ش	sh
ص	S	ض	D
ط	T	ظ	Z
ع	‘	غ	gh
ف	f	ق	q
ك	k	ل	l
م	m	ن	n
هـ	h	و	w
ي	y		

KA sounds	Written variants	Transliteration
[tʃ] چ	تشد /ج/چ	ch
[g] گ	ق /ج/گ	g

SA letters that may have a different dialectal form in KA:

SA letter	KA forms
ج	ي/ج
ق	ق/ج/گ
ك	ك/چ

Diacritics

◌ fatHa	a
◌ kasrah	i
◌ Dammah	u
◌ shaddah	double letter

Chapter 1. Introduction

The study of language use in Kuwait is still, broadly speaking, in its early stages. Very few attempts have been made by linguists to investigate diglossia in the Kuwaiti speech community (but see Al-Qenaie 2011), and a large number of areas still remain under-explored. In 1959, a seminal article called *Diglossia* was published by Charles Ferguson in which he gave the classic definition of diglossia:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

(Ferguson 1959: 336)

Diglossia has developed in numerous societies. Ferguson cited Greece, the Arab world, German-speaking Switzerland, and Haiti as good examples. He also tried to explain the language situation whereby a High variety and a Low variety (henceforth H variety and L variety) exist having different functions. He suggested that the H variety is that used for all formal purposes, and it is seen as the appropriate variety only if it is restricted to certain settings, such as religious sermons, newspaper editorials, etc. The L variety, by contrast, is preferred for ordinary conversations and is used in other restricted settings, e.g. chatting with family, instructions given to servants, folk literature, etc. (Ferguson 1959: 329). According to Ferguson, in the Arab world, the local variety or the dialect (i.e. the L variety) is used at home, whereas in other settings, such as mosque sermons or university lectures, the H variety, a standard form of Arabic, is used instead and he describes it as the variety taught to children at school.

Kuwait, like other Arab countries, is a diglossic speech community, in which Standard Arabic (SA) is used as a H variety but Kuwaiti Arabic (KA) is used as a L variety. Newspapers are one domain in which the H variety is the expected choice. This study investigates the mixing of the H and L varieties in newspaper articles in Kuwait.

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the Kuwaiti community and outline the scope and organization of the thesis.

1.1 Kuwait

Kuwait is a Middle Eastern country situated in the Persian Gulf (also known as the Arabian Gulf) and has two neighbouring countries: Iraq to the north and Saudi Arabia to the south. Kuwait is an emirate ruled hereditarily by the Al-Sabah family (Hassan 2009: 7).



Figure 1 State of Kuwait (Source: Kuwait: Map; Permission to reprint was kindly granted by Encyclopaedia Britannica)

The Ministry of Planning published a statistical report in 2011, indicating that the total population of Kuwait is 3,065,850, yet only 1,089,969 of those inhabitants are actually Kuwaitis (see Table 1).

Sex	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti
Male	540,960	1,197,412
Female	549,009	778,469
Total	1,089,969	1,975,881

Table 1 Population census in Kuwait – (Central Statistics Bureau 2011)

In the next section, I provide a quick overview of the history of Kuwait.

1.1.1 The history of Kuwait

Abu-Hakima (1984: 17) argues that the modern history of Kuwait goes back to 1716, when Kuwait was originally named *alqurain* in the correspondence of the East India Company. *Kuweyt* and *alqurain* are diminutives of *kout* and *qarn*, meaning ‘fortress’ and ‘highland’, respectively (Abu-Hakima 1984: 18). Al-Sabah (2010), however, argues that the true date of the establishment of Kuwait is 1613, based on new evidence of Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah’s correspondence with the Ottomans (*Al-Watan* 16/02/2010). In pre-oil times, Kuwait was well-known for its trade links with India and Yemen and the largest source of income for Kuwaitis was pearl diving (Al-Aidarous 2002: 122).

One of the major events in Kuwait’s history was the treaty that was signed between Kuwait and Great Britain in Mubarak Al-Kabir’s rule under which Kuwait became a British protectorate. This treaty granted Britain control over Kuwait’s foreign policy in return for protection and support for Kuwait. Kuwait gained its independence from Great Britain in 1961 (Crystal 1992: 12-25).

In the 1920s and 1930s Kuwait underwent a period of widespread social and political changes that led to a new era. A new educational system was adopted, and in 1936 Kuwait employed a group of Arab teachers to help improve the educational system. In 1938, a legislative council for the country was established and a constitution was agreed upon. However, within six months the council was dissolved due to disputes between the ruler and the council. Oil was discovered in the 1930’s and the first export of oil began in the 1946. The discovery of oil transformed Kuwait almost completely and the effects of that discovery began to be felt in the 1950s.

Many changes accompanied the reign of Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem. In the 1950s, Kuwait experienced economic prosperity alongside widespread social and political changes. During this period, Kuwait declared independence from the British, changed from an Emirate to a State, and established a democratic National Assembly. Furthermore, the new constitution of Kuwait granted freedom of speech to citizens and supported the establishment of a civil society. Oil wealth brought higher standards of living and modernization to Kuwait and the fishing industry rapidly diminished in importance as a consequence. The number of schools increased for both sexes and scholarship funding also increased (Altamimi 1998: 30-31). Subsequent population

increases, especially after the discovery of oil, have been attributed to a number of factors: primarily the improved economic status of the country and the provision of a high-quality way of living (Altamimi 1998: 57-58).

A major event in the recent history of Kuwait was its invasion by Iraq in 1990, for seven months, during which time Kuwait saw loss of life, damage to infrastructure, and the burning of oil wells. In February 1991, Kuwait was liberated by coalition forces, but Kuwaitis faced many challenges to recover economically, socially and politically from the events of that time (Altamimi 1998: 33).

1.1.2 The Kuwaiti community

In pre-oil Kuwait, merchants occupied the highest rung on the social ladder, followed by those who worked at sea and, finally, the tribal groups who lived in the desert (Al-Aidarous 2002: 123). Al-Ghabra (2011: 20), however, suggests that Kuwaitis in pre-oil times were divided into four main social classes: the ruling family, the merchants, people who worked in the sea, and finally slaves, until the abolition of slavery in 1924. According to Longva (2005: 129), the discovery of oil in Kuwait brought about changes to the social stratification of Kuwait. It is true that certain families, such as the ruling Al-Sabah and merchant families, have retained their hold on political and financial power, but the advent of a new working class, (i.e. foreign workers), has brought about what Longva (2005: 129) refers to as “an overnight promotion” as the whole of the social class structure in Kuwait has been granted “a higher collective status”. However, Longva (2005: 129) stresses that this does not mean that the distance between social classes in Kuwait has been reduced, but only means that a new working class of foreign workers has been introduced into the socioeconomic structure.

Education in pre-oil Kuwait relied mainly on teaching pupils to recite the Qur’an, and reading, writing and mathematics. It is difficult to determine exactly when this form of education was adopted in Kuwait, but it came to an end with a modern education curriculum implemented by the government in the twentieth century. The first modern school in Kuwait was Al-Mubarakiyah school, which was established in 1911, and due to increasing demand for this kind of education, Al-Ahmadiyah school was subsequently established in 1921. However, these schools were for male students only,

and the first school for females was not established until 1938. As for higher education, the first public university to be established was Kuwait University, which was founded in 1966 (Altamimi 1998: 58-59).

Literacy and education are two important factors in the realisation of diglossia. This is because diglossia involves a higher variety of Arabic, SA. Being able to read and write is mostly associated with SA, as it is the only variety learned at school and the written form of the vernacular variety largely depends on the writing system of SA. Also, it is important to note that in order to read newspapers and be exposed to code-switching in newspaper articles one must be literate in SA. According to the statistical report published by the Central Statistics Bureau in 2011 concerning the educational levels attained by Kuwaitis aged 10 and above, there is a total of 27,947 illiterates out of 810,354 Kuwaitis. This means that the literacy rate in Kuwait is approximately 97%. Females constitute the majority of illiterates as they make up almost 76% of all illiterates in Kuwait (21,253 females vs 6,694 males) (Central Statistics Bureau 2011).

As age is a key variable in this study, it is crucial to look at the make up of the Kuwaiti population based on this factor. The Kuwaiti population belonging to the 30-age group is estimated to be 715,030, while the number belonging to the 30+ group is estimated to be 374,939 (Central Statistics Bureau 2011). This means that younger Kuwaitis constitute the majority of the population (66% vs 34%). Previous research on the Kuwaiti community has shown that certain linguistic differences exist between older and younger Kuwaitis. For example, Hassan (2009) noted an important language change in the community amongst the Ajams. Her study showed that there is a decline in the use of the Ajami variety of Arabic among younger Ajam Kuwaitis. Al-Yaqout (2010) has observed that the younger generation of Kuwaitis shows a stronger preference for English than their older counterparts. With regard to diglossia, variation that relates to 'age' is important in the use of the 'apparent time' hypothesis to study language attitudes change in the community. As will be explored in more detail in Chapter 4, an analysis of variation based on 'age' can uncover changes in language attitudes towards diglossia.

1.1.3 Language distribution in Kuwait

Standard Arabic (SA) is the official language of Kuwait and it is the language in which official documents are written. Kuwaitis speak KA in their everyday conversations, however, for more formal settings, they use SA. KA is an Arabic Gulf dialect spoken in Kuwait. I find Holes' definition (2006) of KA to be very concise and descriptive. He describes it as follows (cf. Johnstone 1961):

[KA] has several ingredients: the dialects of the coastal population, originally Najdi in character but which, like those in the rest of eastern Arabia, had absorbed Persian, Indian, Portuguese, and English vocabulary over a long period; and the dialects of more recent migrant groups from northern Arabia, southern Iraq, and even southwestern Najd.

In this section, I will discuss the main communities that exist in Kuwait and the general distribution of languages. This allows the reader to understand the linguistic environment in which diglossic code-switching in Kuwait exists and the relative positions of the H and L varieties in the community. According to the official website of the Kuwaiti Government, Arabic is the official language of Kuwait. It also emphasizes the importance of the Arabic language in daily life in Kuwait and even asserts that "[a]ll the cultural activities and social interactions in Kuwait are based upon the Arabic language" (Kuwait Government Online, Accessed: 28/12/2014). Such a statement on the official website of the government certainly highlights the importance of Arabic in Kuwait and of the attitudes towards this language.

An overview of different communities that exist in Kuwait is provided in this section. Following Ferguson's (1959) introduction of the term 'diglossia' (see Chapter 1), Fishman (1967: 34) suggested a definition for bilingualism vis-à-vis the concept of diglossia: "[b]ilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic versatility whereas diglossia is a characterization of the societal allocation of functions to different varieties and languages". It is obvious that Fishman put much emphasis on the idea that bilingualism is more 'individual' whereas diglossia is 'societal' and presupposes complementary functions. Fishman (1967: 30-36) also proposes possible

interactions between ‘diglossia’ and ‘bilingualism’ and presents the table reproduced in Table 2 that illustrates the relationship between ‘diglossia’ and ‘bilingualism’:

<u>BILINGUALISM</u>		<u>DIGLOSSIA</u>	
		+	-
+	1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia	
-	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism	

Table 2 The relationships between bilingualism and diglossia (Fishman 1967: 30).

This table shows us communities with different relationships between diglossia and bilingualism: (i) both diglossia and bilingualism; (ii) bilingualism without diglossia; (iii) diglossia without bilingualism and (iv) neither diglossia nor bilingualism. I am concerned in this thesis with the third scenario, i.e. the type of community in which diglossia exists, yet where there is no bilingualism. According to Fishman (1967:33), this can refer to “two or more speech communities [...] united religiously, politically or economically into a single functioning unit notwithstanding the socio-cultural cleavages that separate them”. An outsider’s access to role or to language is highly limited in one of the communities, and, in turn, linguistic repertoires are also restricted to certain groups to emphasize their roles.

Fishman’s (1967) characterization of the relationship between diglossia and bilingualism is very useful. However, it is difficult to say that one of his characterizations fits the situation in Kuwait neatly. I would classify Kuwait as a community in which diglossia exists without bilingualism. In fact, Ferguson’s (1959) characterization of diglossia is closer to the situation in Kuwait than is Fishman’s is. As noted previously, Fishman’s (1967) characterization of communities in which diglossia

exists but are without bilingualism emphasizes the existence of two speech communities in which one speaks the H variety and the other does not. Such a situation does not represent the one in Kuwait as neither SA nor the H variety is anyone's native language and all members of the community speak the L variety. This, however, does not undermine the importance of the 'domain' concept in relation to language use and how class could play a major role in several diglossic communities. Kuwait is indeed approached by researchers as a diglossic community without bilingualism (Elgibali 1985; Al-Qenaie 2011; Dashti and Dashti 2015). Use of foreign languages that are not in a diglossic relationship with Arabic, mostly English, is found in the community and English is taught in schools as a foreign language. However, even though English is gaining popularity in the community, Kuwait is still considered a diglossic community, whereby the H and L varieties dominate the majority of domains and proficiency levels of Kuwaitis in English fall below expectations in domains that require it, such as some scientific majors at universities in which English is employed (see, for example, Al-Rubaie 2010).

Angheliescu (1974) opposed mixing diglossia with bilingualism since this will lead to "the dissolution of the term" diglossia. She argued that this result could occur when the term is used to refer to "stylistic functional variation" which would lead to the loss of diglossia's linguistic and psychological characteristics. According to Angheliescu (1974: 83), this is due to the fact that "diglossia implies sufficiently similar languages" which, in turn, makes "speakers feel that it is the same language". However, these speakers simultaneously express the view that it is difficult to master the literary language. Furthermore, Elgibali (1985: 31) claims that what caused Angheliescu's prediction to come true are the several attempts made by researchers to have one framework with one model as a response to the diglossia definition which Ferguson proposed. I agree with Elgibali (1988: 55) that the adoption of the term helps us "understand, interrelate, and make predictions about the behaviour of a particular type of language situation and the psychological attitudes of its speakers". One good example of the special nature of diglossia is related to the psychological attitudes of the speakers in a diglossic situation as is demonstrated by the participants in this study. The mere fact that the H variety is no one's native language but is shared by a whole nation

has its importance reinforced by political and religious ideologies as well as the notion of social class and people's attitudes in relation to that (see Chapter 4).¹

A recent statistical report has been released by the General Department of Immigration in 2013 that shows the number of non-Kuwaitis according to their nationalities (Al-Rai 23/05/2013). The following table shows the number of non-Kuwaiti residents in Kuwait. Since statistical reports in Kuwait do not look at the linguistic repertoires of the residents and no linguistic studies have been carried out to investigate what languages are spoken by community members, researchers do not have access to exact numbers of language speakers, yet the numbers of expatriates belonging to different communities could reveal the approximate numbers of the distribution of languages in the community.

It is important to look at the difference between Arabs and non-Arabs in numbers, as Arabs are familiar with the diglossic experience that dominates the Arab world. As is shown in Table 3, a big difference in number exists between the Arab and non-Arab communities, with the latter constituting the majority of non-Kuwaiti residents (67%).²

Number of Non-Kuwaiti Residents	
Arabs	682,475 (33%)
Non-Arabs	1,387,560 (67%)

Table 3 Number of non-Kuwaiti residents in Kuwait (Al-Rai 23/05/2013)

In the sections below, the main Arab and non-Arab communities that exist in Kuwait and the ones that have an influence on the Kuwaiti dialect are explored.

Arab communities share the fact that they speak different dialects of Arabic as L varieties. According to the aforementioned statistical report, they constitute the smaller group of non-Kuwaitis, as the total number of Arabs is a mere 682,475.

¹ One example of a political ideology which emphasizes Arabic identity and language is Arab Nationalism and Pan-Arabism.

² Compare, for example, with the number of Kuwaiti residents, which is 1,089,969 (Central Statistics Bureau 2011).

Main Arab Communities in Kuwait by Nationality	
Egypt	456,543 (67%)
Syria	131,016 (19%)
Jordan	53,141 (8%)
Lebanon	41,775 (6%)

Table 4 The Distribution of Arab Communities in Kuwait (Al-Rai 23/05/2013)

Longva (2005: 123) explores the main differences between the roles assumed by Arab and non-Arab expatriates in Kuwait. Arab expatriates tend to have more variety in the jobs they hold. They may have prestigious positions (e.g. judges, university professors, doctors) or may be unskilled workers. They also hold jobs in a wide number of sectors, such as the media, education and religious institutions. They mainly differ from the non-Arab expatriates by having "a unique opportunity to meet and spread their ideas among a wide Kuwaiti audience" (Longva 2005: 123). Arabs, in general, speak their own L varieties of the Arabic language, as their countries are diglossic as well. Based on my experience as a member of the community, Arabs speak in their L varieties normally when addressing Kuwaitis. So, it is very normal in Kuwait to find a Kuwaiti using KA when speaking to an Egyptian, and an Egyptian in turn responds to the Kuwaiti in Egyptian Arabic.

Several large communities of Arabs are usually found in very high numbers in certain areas in Kuwait. For example, Khaitan is known to be an area which is inhabited by almost 60,000 manual workers of Saaidi Egyptian origin (Mahgoub 2008: 159). Egyptian Arabic is widely understood by Kuwaitis due to the fact that Egyptians have had a strong presence in the media (e.g. TV soap operas) and in important positions in the country, such as teachers and physicians. Other Arab varieties that are widely comprehensible in Kuwait are Lebanese, Syrian, Iraqi and other Gulf Arabic varieties.

Al-Sabaan (2002: 95) claims that despite the very large number of Arab and non-Arab expatriates in Kuwait, their influence on KA is not, however, very strong due to recent efforts to Kuwaitize³ the education sector, especially in relation to elementary levels of schooling, which used to be dominated by non-Kuwaiti Arab teachers in the past. Such an observation by Al-Sabaan (2002) is an important one as it draws attention to the fact that, despite the increasing numbers of foreigners in Kuwait, there are efforts

³ This refers to replacing expatriates with Kuwaitis.

by the government to minimize the influence non-Kuwaitis have on the language of students. I will now turn to the discussion of non-Arab communities in Kuwait.

Non-Arab communities mainly consist of non-Arabs who speak different languages, such as Urdu, Farsi, English, and so on. These groups mainly differ from Kuwaiti nationals and Arabs in the fact that Arabic is not their native language. Non-Arabs are "[c]ut off from the Kuwaiti population by language and other cultural barriers" and are rarely given authoritative jobs (Longva 2005: 124). Although Kuwaitis come into direct contact with Arab and non-Arab expatriates on a daily basis, many barriers exist between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis. For example, Longva (2005: 124) accurately explains the complexities of this matter:

Asian expatriates [i.e. domestic workers] have a unique access to Kuwaitis' private worlds and, paradoxically, develop an intimate knowledge of 'this aspect of citizens' lives, which remains little known to Arab expatriates. Despite, but also because of, cultural familiarity with their Kuwaiti hosts, relations between the Kuwaitis and Arab migrants are hedged with caution and characterised by social distance.

This, however, does not mean that relations between Kuwaitis and Asian domestic workers are any better, as Asian domestic workers are also seen sometimes by some Kuwaitis as a "moral threat" to their society (Longva 2005: 124). Moreover, based on my experience as a member of the community, I have very rarely encountered Kuwaitis who learn their domestic workers' language, and it is the norm to find domestic workers from different nationalities learning and speaking KA with their employers instead. Table 5 shows the number of non-Arabs in Kuwait, according to their nationalities. As can be observed, Indians top the list, as they constitute the majority of non-Arabs in Kuwait, followed by Bangladeshis, Filipinos, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, Ethiopians, Nepalese and finally Iranians. As shall be seen below, Hindi (spoken by Indians) and Farsi (spoken by Iranians) have actually influenced KA in the past, but in modern times this influence has largely decreased for several economic and social reasons.

Main Non-Arab Communities in Kuwait	
India	653,223 (47%)
Bangladesh	189,461 (14%)
Philippines	144,633 (10%)

Main Non-Arab Communities in Kuwait	
Pakistan	119,847 (9%)
Sri Lanka	110,800 (8%)
Ethiopia	74,097 (5%)
Nepal	52,704 (4%)
Iran	42,795 (3%)

Table 5 The Distribution of non-Arab Communities in Kuwait (Al-Rai 23/05/2013)

Several non-Kuwaiti communities have been known to concentrate in certain areas, resulting in a large number of speakers occupying the same area. As can be seen in Table 6, the Annual Statistical Abstract (2011) shows that the number of Kuwaitis vs. non-Kuwaitis in areas such as Khaitan and Jleeb Al-Shuyoukh (which are both mainly populated by Egyptians and South Asians respectively) is very small:

	Khaitan	Jleeb Al-Shuyoukh
Kuwaitis	11,515	5,922
Non-Kuwaitis	98,386	222,058

Table 6 The Number of Kuwaiti vs. Non-Kuwaiti Residents in Khaitan and Jleeb Al-Shuyoukh Areas (Annual Statistical Abstract 2011)

This highlights the fact, already pointed out by Holes (2004: 75), that Kuwaitis are encouraged by the government to live in designated areas and to marry Kuwaitis. This, in turn, helped protect the identity of Kuwaitis and their dialect from direct influences of the languages spoken by expatriates (see Holes 2004).

I now turn to the languages that have influenced KA throughout its history. A number of reasons have been proposed by Mohammed (1994: 5) for the influence that several languages, discussed below, have had on the Kuwaiti dialect. General influences are thought to be because of the following reasons:

1- The position of Kuwait and its link to trade routes connecting Aleppo and the Levantine to European cities, which led to the introduction of some vocabulary from Aramaic, Turkish and Nabatean.

2- The fact that Kuwaitis in the past traded through ports in Iran, Pakistan, East Africa and India.

3- The recruitment of many Kuwaitis as workers in some of the foreign companies that came to Kuwait at the beginning of the 20th century, such as the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC), which led to their knowledge of English vocabulary.

4- The migration of thousands of Arab and non-Arab workers to Kuwait since the 1950s.

5- The introduction of English and French as compulsory modules in the curriculum.

Mohammed (1994) lists a number of languages that have influenced KA the most, such as Farsi, Turkish, English, Indian, Swahili, French and Italian. However, I will focus here on Farsi, English and Indian due to their important influence on KA.

Five main reasons are given by Mohammed (1994) for the influence Farsi has on KA:

1- The close distance between Iran and Kuwait.

2- The frequency of the trading between Kuwaiti ships and Iranian ports.

3- The fact that many Farsi-speaking individuals joined Kuwaiti trade, pearl-diving and fishing ships.

4- The migration of a large number of Iranians to Kuwait for work after the discovery of oil.

5- The existence of a large number of Iranians in Kuwait.

Table 7 lists a number of Farsi borrowings into KA, as provided in Mohammed (1994):

KA words borrowed from Farsi	Equivalent in English
<i>charraaghiy</i>	fireworks
<i>diriyshah</i>	window
<i>chuwlah</i>	stove
<i>shinuw</i>	what

KA words borrowed from Farsi	Equivalent in English
<i>kurfayah</i>	bed
<i>hardah</i>	sesame paste

Table 7 Farsi Borrowings into Kuwaiti Arabic (Mohammed 1994)

The relationship between Kuwaitis and Indians, who constitute nowadays the largest expatriate community in Kuwait, goes back to before the discovery of oil when Kuwaitis traded using Indian ports. After the discovery of oil, the number of Indian workers increased and Indians hold both prestigious and manual jobs, depending on their qualifications. This includes physicians, engineers, businessmen, nurses, domestic workers and mechanics. The Indian Embassy lists the Indian schools in Kuwait on their website (20 schools in total) (Indian Schools in Kuwait, Embassy of India - Kuwait website, 2014: www.indembkwt.org/Pages/indianschools.aspx accessed on 26/12/2014). Moreover, registered Indian associations in Kuwait are 169, as indicated by the Embassy of India in Kuwait (Registered Associations, Embassy of India - Kuwait website, 2014: www.indembkwt.org/pendind/associations.pdf accessed on 26/12/2014). KA has borrowed many lexical items from Hindi. According to Mohammed (1994: 7), a large number of Hindi lexical items are still used in the dialect today (Mohammed 1994: 7). Table 8 shows some examples of the Hindi borrowed words in the Kuwaiti dialect (Mohammed 1994):

KA words borrowed from Hindi	Equivalent in English
<i>bankah</i>	fan
<i>bayZaan</i>	almond
<i>siydah</i>	straight
<i>bibi matuwah</i>	parrot
<i>nall</i>	water tap
<i>tikaanah</i>	respectable

Table 8 Hindi Borrowings into Kuwaiti Arabic (Mohammed 1994)

Despite the importance of the influence which Hindi and Farsi have on lexical items, Al-Sabaan (2002: 112) importantly notes that KA has recently been influenced more by English and French than any other language, just like it used to be influenced by Farsi, Turkish and Hindi in the past.

English is also one of the languages that occupy an important position in Kuwait. It is the most important language after Arabic, and it is widely spoken in Kuwait, by both natives and expatriates to varying degrees of fluency. English first entered Kuwait through the use of Kuwaiti sailors and merchants of English when they traded in Indian and Pakistani ports, as workers in those ports communicated both in English and their native languages with Kuwaitis (Mohammed 1994: 7). English continued to grow in importance as English-speaking missionaries and individuals began arriving in Kuwait, especially with the opening of the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) and the American Hospital in Kuwait (Al-Amreekani) (Mohammed 1994: 7). Nowadays, English is a compulsory subject in elementary, intermediate and high schools and since 1993 Kuwaitis have started to learn English at an early age (from grade 1 onwards) (Al Darwish and Taqi 2013: 90).

The influence of English on KA is very evident in what is known as the linguistic phenomenon of "cultural loans", which refers to loans that fill a lexical gap in the receiving language (Myers-Scotton 1992: 34). Al-Sabaan (2002: 113-114) emphasises that English and French have contributed many loans to KA which name objects that are new to the Kuwaiti culture. Mohammed (1994) provides a large number of English borrowings in KA in his book (shown in Table 9), including:

English	KA	SA
Air-Conditioner (n.)	<i>kindayshin</i>	<i>mukayyif alhawaa'</i>
Cancel (v.)	<i>ykannsil</i>	<i>yalghiy</i>
Switch (n.)	<i>swiyeh</i>	<i>muftaaH</i>
Exhaust (n.)	<i>igzowz</i>	<i>mukhrij al'aadim</i>
Cream (n.)	<i>gaymar</i>	<i>qishTah</i>
License (n.)	<i>laysan</i>	<i>ijaazah</i>

Table 9 English Borrowings into Kuwaiti Arabic (Mohammed 1994)

Malallah (2000: 21-22) importantly refers to the difference of attitudes towards English based on a number of factors. For example, previous research by Al-Mutawa (1994: 34) has shown that secondary school students tend to have unfavourable attitudes towards English, which perhaps could be due to their awareness of the importance of learning English, which is seen by them as a course they have to pass to finish school (Malallah 2000: 21). Likewise, students enrolled in the College of Education, Kuwait University have similar unfavourable attitudes due both to the language of instruction used in these colleges (i.e. Arabic) and/or the fact that they will likely not need English for their jobs in the future (Malallah 2000: 21-22). Malallah (2000), however, has found that these unfavourable attitudes towards English are not the norm in Kuwait amongst university students. She has, in fact, found that undergraduates, in general, show an overall positive attitude towards English, with those who are enrolled in the College of Science and/or those who need English in their future jobs having an even more favourable attitude by comparison to others (Malallah 2000). Another factor that has emerged as a motive for students to learn English relates to the presence of non-Arab expatriates and their communities in Kuwait. As shown in the findings of Malallah (2000: 29), the majority of the student participants (60.5%) have said that learning English improves their communication with the domestic workers they interact with at home. This can also highlight the role of English in other sectors in which Kuwaitis come across non-Arabs who can speak English. These and several other findings (see Akbar 2007; Al-Rubaie 2010; Al-Yaqout 2010) support the idea that English is the most important foreign language in Kuwait.

1.1.4 Religion

Kuwaiti society consists of several different social and religious groups that live together peacefully. Kuwait is a predominantly Muslim country. Muslims in Kuwait belong to two main religious groups, namely the Sunnis and the Shiites. Nowadays, Sunnis constitute the majority of Kuwaitis: approximately 70-80% and Shiites make up approximately 20-30% of the Kuwaiti population (Al-Ghabra 2011: 31).

Sunni Islam is one of the two major sects in Islam, the other being Shiite Islam. Sunnis constitute the majority of Muslims and they see themselves as the traditionalist adherents of that religion. They mainly differ from their Shiite counterparts in their

beliefs concerning the leadership of the Muslim nation: they believe that the four caliphs who succeeded the Prophet are rightful leaders of Muslims, whereas Shiites believe in the leadership of the infallible *imams*, i.e. the twelve descendants of the Prophet, starting with Ali ibn Abi Talib, the fourth caliph in Sunni Islam (Sunnite, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 2012).

The Sunnis in Kuwait have long enjoyed a better social status in comparison to their Shiite counterparts. Not only have the rulers of Kuwait always been from the Sunni majority (i.e. the Al-Sabah ruling family), but also the merchant elites in pre-oil Kuwait. Crystal suggests that this division was not merely based on religious grounds but economic ones as well. One example of such a division was the division of labour (e.g. Shiites were in control of the water-carrying trade). Another important factor was the degree of access to their ruler, as Sunnis had more links with the rulers than their Shiite counterparts. Moreover, intermarriage between these two religious groups is not the norm (Crystal 1995: 39-41).

Kuwaiti Shiites constitute the largest religious minority in Kuwait. They are believed to have migrated mainly from Iran and Al-Ahsa'a in the Arabian Peninsula (Al-Ghabra 2011: 31). Shiites, (in particular Twelver Shiites), are Muslims who believe in twelve "religiously infallible" *imams*, in the lineage of Ali ibn Abi Talib, the Prophet's cousin and his daughter's husband (Louer 2008: 5). Ghabra (2002: 117) argues that Kuwaiti Shiites have contributed to the private sector in Kuwait, played a major role in finance, and that many of them are highly educated. Jamal (2005: 14) reports that one of the most difficult periods for Shiites in Kuwait was the Iraq-Iran War, as it was a time during which sectarian tensions heightened and Shiites received accusations from several journalists with regard to their political role in Kuwait. However, the invasion of Kuwait in 1990 played a role in lessening sectarian tensions between the different religious groups in Kuwait, at least temporarily (Al-Ghabra 2011: 32; cf. Jamal 2005: 14).

Even after the discovery of oil and the modernization of the country, some sectarian tensions still exist concerning the issue of whether Kuwait has a distinctively Sunni identity. One former MP, for instance, once stated publicly that Kuwait was a Sunni country, which sparked tensions and debates amongst Sunni and Shiite MPs and writers (*Al-Watan* 14/12/2010).

Kuwaiti Christians constitute a very small religious minority in Kuwait. This reason, in addition to the fact that I come from a different religious background, made it particularly difficult for me to access the Christian community given the constrained time I had at the time of data collection. In a number of interviews, the Kuwaiti pastor Emanuel Ghareeb has indicated that the number of Christian Kuwaitis is approximately 150-200 (*Al-Anba'a*, 09/02/2008; *Annahar*, 14/09/2012). However, a more recent report published in December 2013, by the Public Authority for Civil Information in Kuwait, estimates the number of Kuwaiti Christians to be 255 (PACI 12/2013).

The Kuwaiti Christian community in Kuwait is the result of a number of migrations from south-eastern Turkey, Iraq and the Levant (particularly, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine) that mostly took place in the 1940s. The oldest church in Kuwait is the National Evangelical Church, established in 1931 (*Al-Anba'a*, 09/02/2008). A number of other churches exist, as the number of non-Kuwaiti Christian expatriates was estimated to be 450,000 in a 2012 report by the Department of State, U.S. (Report on International Religious Freedom – Kuwait 2012). Christians in Kuwait are prohibited from proselytizing Muslims or disseminating religious books, but are allowed to practice their religion freely and can import religious books for use at church (*Al-Anba'a* 09/02/2008). A Kuwaiti law passed in 1980, grants only Muslims citizenship of Kuwait and, as a result, the Kuwaiti Christian community remains very small (Larkin 2001: 462; see also Nationality Law 1959). In a personal communication from a Kuwaiti Christian, I was told that some Kuwaiti Christians marry non-Kuwaitis because of the very low numbers of native Christians.

The language attitudes of these three religious groups in Kuwait have, generally, been under-investigated. However, it should be noted that SA still plays a very important role in Sunni/Shiite Islam as well as Christianity in the Kuwaiti community. For example, the sacred religious book for both Shiite and Sunni Kuwaitis is the Qur'an, which was divinely revealed in a standard form of Arabic, i.e. Classical Arabic. Similarly, when I visited a Christian church to meet with the Kuwaiti priest, Ghareeb, I noticed that the priest delivered his sermon in SA and that the congregation also prayed and chanted in SA, which seems to indicate the importance of the H variety in their religious community.

1.1.5 Ethnicity

Several major ethnic groups exist in Kuwait, including the Badu, Hadhar, Ajam, and Hassawis. Reflecting the sensitive attitude of Kuwaitis towards matters relating to ethnicity and religion, the State of Kuwait does not provide accurate estimations of the number of ethnic groups in the country, a lack which poses problems for researchers trying to determine the size of each group.

The Ajams are Kuwaitis who originally migrated from Iran. There were several reasons for the Iranian migrations to Kuwait. These vary from environmental migrations (i.e. draught) to political and financial ones (the advent of the Pahlavi regime and imposed customs on transported goods) (Louer 2008: 47-49). Louer stresses the demographic importance of Ajam Shiites in Kuwait. Arriving in Kuwait in the 1750s, not long after Bani Utub settled Kuwait, most of these Ajams were 'maritime traders' and were particularly interested in improving their economic circumstances. Louer gives the example of the Al-Maarafi family, the founders of the first *hussainiya*⁴ in Kuwait in 1905, and considered to be one of the wealthiest Shiite families in the country (2008: 47; cf. Jamal 2005: 59).

The Hassawis migrated to Kuwait from the Hasa area in the Arabian Peninsula. Their migrations mostly occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century, and they vary from commercially-driven migrations to migrations because of political persecution (Louer 2008: 47-49). Louer (2008: 49) explains the importance of the Hassawi group in Kuwait:

Hasawiyyin in Kuwait have traditionally displayed a particularly well developed group identity since their common geographical origin is coupled with belonging to a particular current of Twelver Shiism: Sheikhism⁵ [...]. In the Shia world, Kuwait actually counts amongst the important Sheikhi centres, not the least because Kuwaiti Shias overall, and Hasawiyyin in particular, are affluent.

The Hassawis and the Ajams both belong to the Shiite religious group.

⁴ A *housseiniya*, as defined by Jamal (2005: 58), is a place where Shiite Muslims go which is mainly used for religious services but can still serve as a place for social gatherings and events.

⁵ Sheikhism is a branch of Twelver Shiism Islam based the teachings of Ahmad Al-Ahsaai (1753-1826) (Louer 2008: 17).

The third ethnic group is the Badu. In pre-oil times, the Badu in Kuwait used to lead a bedouin lifestyle, living outside the city of Kuwait in the desert yet still under its rule. With the discovery of oil and the prosperous economic changes experienced by modern Kuwait, many of the Badu moved to the city in the 1950s, 1960s and the 1970s. Some of these groups already had Kuwaiti citizenship, and some of their non-Kuwaiti relatives also moved to Kuwait to join them. This was in addition to other tribal newcomers from Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Syria who sought a better way of life in Kuwait (Al-Ghabra 2011: 24-25). Altamimi (2004: 58) emphasizes that even though the Badu have moved to the city, they still maintain their tribal values and traditions. The Kuwaiti government initially welcomed the work and settlement of the Badu in Kuwait to combat the increase in the number of non-Kuwaitis. It has also granted Kuwaiti citizenship to a large number of non-Kuwaiti Badu to limit the influence of the opposition in parliament and to ensure more pro-government results (Al-Ghabra 2011: 24-25).

Even though the Badu group was incorporated gradually into Kuwaiti society through their employment in different government jobs and their movement into the inner parts of the city, this has not yet resulted in drastic changes to their conservative values with regard to women, co-education, marriage, paternal authority, and their tribal solidarity against other tribes (Al-Ghabra 2011: 26). However, Longva (2006: 187) emphasizes that their conservative values with regard to the status of women in society is shared by most other Kuwaiti men as well and are not exclusive to the Badu. According to Al-Ghabra (2011: 27), there was a lack of effort by the state to integrate this group into mainstream Kuwaiti society. Some Kuwaitis hold the view that the state is trying to “bedouinize” Kuwaiti society (Longva 2006: 176). Al-Ghabra (2011: 29-31) also argues that since the late 1990s, the Badu have realized the importance of parliament and political freedom. They have begun to express their views and voice their demands and have since embraced active participation in parliament. Also, he suggests that there seem to be some important social changes taking place in this group as the newer generations of the Badu have begun to demonstrate social, educational and economic aspirations (Al-Ghabra 2011: 27).

The fourth and the final group discussed in this section is the Hadhar group. Longva (2006: 172) distinguishes between the Hadhar and the Badu in terms of their time of settlement in Kuwait: the Hadhar are the ones who settled in Kuwait before the discovery of oil, whereas the Badu are new immigrants from Saudi Arabia who arrived

after the establishment of modern Kuwait, from 1960 to 1980. The Hadhar/Badu distinction in Kuwait can be seen, not only as a social distinction, but also an ethnic one (see Longva 2006). Longva's (2006) characterization of the Hadhar group includes, for example, ethnic groups such as the Ajams and Najdi Kuwaitis (i.e. those who migrated from Najd in Saudi Arabia) amongst others, as opposed to the Badu group. The adoption of the terms Hadhar and Badu can be said to reflect a social difference (as in sedentary vs. nomadic), not an ethnic one. In fact, the nomadic way of life often associated with the word Badu no longer applies to this group in Kuwait, as they are now city dwellers, just like the other groups, and no longer lead a nomadic lifestyle in the traditional sense of that term (cf. Altamimi 2004: 58).

The concept of ethnicity is a complex one (Isajiw 1992: 1). Milroy (2001: 236) defines ethnic groups as those "who share common cultural characteristics which are wholly learned, typically very early in life." These characteristics can include language, culture, common history and/or religion (Milroy 2001: 236). An important aspect of characterizing an ethnic group is the practice of endogamy (Eriksen 2002: 13). De Vos (1995: 24; italics in original) suggests that an ethnic identity can be constituted through the groups' "*subjective, symbolic, or emblematic* use of any aspect of a culture, or a perceived separate origin and continuity" for the purpose of distinguishing their ethnic group from other ones.

Based on interviews I conducted with an Ajam and a Hadhari, the two groups differentiate themselves as ethnic groups in a number of important ways. The Ajam, for example, argued that they have different social connections which are stronger with other Ajams, and that the Hadhar are culturally different. Likewise, the Hadhar distinguish themselves from the Hassawis and the Ajams in a number of ways, including religion, familial ties and traditions. The Hadhar are not necessarily Najdis, as they may have originally migrated from Iraq, Najd or the Levant, but this group has essentially Arab origins, a presence in Kuwait in pre-oil times, a shared culture and religion (Sunni) and familial ties with each other. Endogamy can, at times, be a very good indicator of ethnic boundaries in Kuwait. For example, the Hadhar may not practice intermarriage with the Hassawis, the Ajams or the Badu due to religious, ethnic and/or cultural differences. A sense of exclusion of the other groups also accompanies such an attitude. In an interview, one Hadhar group member was asked what it meant to be part of this group:

It is not a matter of nomadism or sedentariness. We are not Badu and not Ajams or Hassawis, we are different. We have our own family ties, customs, and traditions that do not go along with that of the others. We have a higher status in society and rarely intermarry with these groups. If a Hadhari gets married to a non-Hadhari, we often wonder what made them do it.

However, it should be noted that ethnicity is often seen as a non-essentialist and porous concept in general (Milroy 2001; Rampton 2001). Also, Kuwait is a young state which has witnessed a long series of migrations of different social groups that have already influenced the Kuwaiti lifestyle, and I believe that these groups could undergo some changes in the near future due to the social transformations taking place in Kuwaiti society.

There is very little documentation of the vocabulary used by different ethnic groups in Kuwait, such as the Badu or the Ajams (Alrushaid 2012: 15). However, it has been shown that language use in Kuwait can differ from one ethnic group to another in dialectal features (see, *inter alia*, Johnstone 1961, 1964; Hassan 2009; Taqi 2010). For example, Taqi (2010: 97) found that the Ajams' realisation of a number of SA variables differs from that of Najdi Kuwaitis (i.e. those of Arab origins): the SA variables (s), (dʒ), and (ʕ) are realised by Ajams as [sʕ], [dʒ], and [ʕ] but by Najdis as [s], [j], and [q]. Another important linguistic difference between the Ajams and the Hassawis derives from the fact that the Ajams are of Persian descent whereas the Hassawis are of Arab descent. When the Ajams first migrated to Kuwait, they spoke Farsi, unlike the Hassawis who spoke Arabic. Now, however, it has been reported that most younger Ajams are monolingual speakers of KA, whereas the older generations still occasionally speak Farsi with family and friends (Taqi 2010: 95-149; cf. Louer 2008: 47). Taqi (2010: 225) observes that even though there is an identifiable Ajam accent, there seems to be a dialectal shift in the accents of younger Ajams towards the accent of Najdi Kuwaitis, i.e. Kuwaitis of Arab origins. Similarly, Johnstone (1961) has observed that there are differences between the ways Badu and the Hadhar speak. Investigating the Bedouin Dosiri dialect in particular, Johnstone (1961: 249) notes several differences between Hadhari Kuwaiti and Dosiri Bedouin Kuwaiti: the variable (dʒ) is realised in the Hadhari way of speaking as [j] but as [dʒ] by the Dosiri (e.g. *yaa* vs. *jaa* 'he came'), (k) is realised as [ʃ] in Hadhari but as [k] in Dosiri (e.g. *chalb* vs. *kalb* 'dog'), and

finally (q) is realised in Hadhari as [dʒ] but as [g] in Dosiri (e.g. *baaji* vs. *baagi* ‘remaining’).

1.1.6 Women in Kuwait

The status of women in Kuwait in pre-oil times and shortly after the discovery of oil, like that of other women in the Arabian Gulf, was characterised by illiteracy and seclusion from male society. After the discovery of oil, especially in the 1950s, progressive Kuwaitis supported the liberation of women in public forums and conditions for women improved as they started to gain access to education and employment (Altamimi 2004: 153). Kuwaiti women were only granted the right to vote in parliamentary elections as recently as 2005, and in 2009, for the first time in Kuwait’s history, four female candidates won seats in the parliamentary elections for the National Assembly (Al-Ghabra 2011: 33). According to Al-Ghabra (2011: 33), even though Kuwaiti women have achieved good educational and employment opportunities, they still suffer from gender discrimination and a lack of equality with their male counterparts. This is in addition to an inferior social status to men, and the social pressure that is exerted on them by their families with regard to personal choices relating to their education, marriage, or even dress code (Altamimi 2004: 156-157; Al-Ghabra 2011: 33-34). Al-Ghabra (2011: 34) emphasizes the role played by fundamentalist Islamists in Kuwait in fostering negative views of women, and reports the passing of a law in 2007 by MPs that restricts working hours for women in Kuwait. Altamimi (2004: 157) describes the current situation of women in Kuwait as a reversal of the real efforts started in the 1960s to support the active participation of women in society.

KA has words that are known to be used by women only. Alrushaid (2012) lists a number of Kuwaiti words that are normally uttered only by females: *baari`*, *baazi`*, *sliyHiT*, *sliymah tSikik*, *`ubbuw*, *giTiy`ah*, amongst others. Even though women in Kuwait are now gaining greater access to public life than was previously the case, there is still some significant gender segregation in social life in Kuwait. Recent examples of gender segregation in Kuwait are the segregation laws passed in 1996 and 2000 which ban university co-education (Al-Ghabra 2011: 155). Importantly, from a linguistic point of view, this segregation between the genders has been shown to have an influence on language use (Maltz and Borker 1982; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2013). Male

Kuwaitis have greater access to public life and the media than their female counterparts, and this imbalance is strongly evident in political rights and representation (see also Chapter 3 for more on the representation of women in the media). This makes gender an important social factor for the analysis of the attitudes of Kuwaitis towards diglossia.

1.2 Scope of the Study

This research aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the general attitudes of columnists and readers of newspapers in Kuwait towards diglossia?
2. Are language attitudes towards diglossia changing in the community?
3. How common has diglossic code-switching become over the last 30 years?
4. What governs the practice of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles?
5. Do social factors (i.e. religion, gender, education, ethnicity) influence the readers' attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwait?
6. Can the Markedness Model, a social motivations model, explain diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles?
7. Can the Matrix Language Frame model, a morphosyntactic constraints model, account for written SA/KA diglossic code-switching?

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the organization of the thesis, the Kuwaiti community and the main social groups included in the study. It also provides an overview of the press media and the linguistic situation in Kuwait. Chapter two is a literature review in which a critical overview is provided of existing research concerning code-switching, diglossia and language attitudes. Chapter three presents the methodological approaches adopted for the analysis of diglossic code-switching data, language attitudes and language use in this study. In chapter four, the results of an analysis of the changing status of diglossia, mainly changes in the frequency of code-switching in newspapers as well as in language attitudes of Kuwaitis

towards diglossic code-switching are presented and discussed. Chapter five is the Markedness Model chapter, in which I analyse and discuss a series of newspaper articles based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a) model. An analysis based on the Matrix Language Frame is provided and its applicability to the data is discussed in chapter six. Finally, chapter seven presents a summary and a discussion of the findings of the various analyses used in this study.

Chapter 2. Literature Review & Theoretical Background

In this chapter, I provide a survey of the major contributions to the field relating to the key research themes of this study. It is divided into sections that introduce and compare a number of analogous concepts and terms in order to avoid ambiguity and to present a survey of relevant research. The first section contains a detailed survey of language attitude studies and the background behind the main tests adopted for my analysis. In Section 2, the term ‘code-switching’ is defined and the code-switching frameworks adopted in this study, namely the Markedness Model (MM) and the Matrix Language Frame (MLF), are discussed. Code-switching is also compared to and distinguished from ‘borrowing’ in this section. Section 3 focuses on the concept of ‘diglossia’, with particular emphasis on its definitions, and relevant studies. It also introduces and discusses the key notion of ‘diglossic code-switching’.

2.1 The Study of Language Attitudes

Sarnoff (1970) provides a definition for an ‘attitude’. According to him, it is "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" (Sarnoff 1970: 279). Alternatively, Allport (1935) defines an attitude as “a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience and exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response [...]” However, other linguists have suggested that attitudes are much more complex than that: Haddock and Maio (2004: 1), for instance, suggest that they may combine both positive and negative views, with no clear-cut divisions between positive and negative. Baker (1992) commented on the significance of attitudes in general and drew our attention to the importance of attitudes towards language. According to Baker (1992: 9), "in the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death". For example, if the community inculcates negative attitudes towards a certain language policy, Baker expects that the implementation of such a policy would be unsuccessful (Baker 1992: 9). Oppenheim (1992: 175) proposes that “[a]ttitudes are reinforced by *beliefs* (the cognitive component) and often attract strong *feelings* (the emotional component) which may lead to particular behavioural *intents* (the action tendency component)” (italics in the original). Language attitudes tend to have numerous effects. Some studies have shown that attitudes towards language can influence: (i) the

perceived effectiveness of salespeople (Tsalikis et al. 1991); (ii) language policy planning (Jones 2012); (iii) language change (Kristiansen 2009); (iv) the medical diagnosis of patients (Fielding and Evered 1978); (v) intelligibility of a language (Wolff 1959); and, finally, (vi) the perceived image of writers (this study).

According to Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 138), there are two main approaches to explaining attitudes, namely, those that are mentalist and those that are behaviourist in orientation. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 138) maintain that, while a mentalist model of attitudes suggest that they “are not directly observable” and that inference is based on the subject’s introspection, a behaviourist approach depends in its inference of attitudes on data that is observed, i.e. “actual overt behaviour or responses” (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 138). McKenzie (2010: 21) criticizes the latter on the basis that it is a one-dependent-variable view which assumes “a perfect correlation between attitude and behaviour”. There is also the possibility of a ‘wrongful explanation’ of attitudes (McKenzie 2010: 21; see also Baker 1992).

Most language attitude studies adopted the mentalist view, as does this one.⁶ In this study, I use a two-fold integrated methodology for eliciting people's attitudes. This approach involves a questionnaire (direct method) and a matched-guise test (an indirect method). This aspect of the research, is also supported by an interview (direct method) conducted with newspaper columnists. I will introduce the relevant literature below and then discuss my tests in more detail in Chapter 3. It should be noted, though, that the singular use of direct methods has been criticized for reasons relating to unconscious behaviour and prestige (Lieberman 1975; Woolard and Gahng 1990; Woolard 1992). Moreover, the matched-guise technique is said to be "less sensitive to reflection and social desirability biases than are those [attitudes] reported in a questionnaire" (Cargile et al. 1994: 213).

The use of direct methods (through the use of interviews and questionnaires) of investigating language attitudes is extensive and has been adopted by many linguists (see, e.g. Fishman et al. 1971; Shuy and Williams 1973; Taylor 1973). The use of both direct and indirect methods (namely, questionnaires and the matched-guise technique) has also been used by a number of researchers (e.g. see, *inter alia*, d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973; Ihemere 2006; Hoare and Coveney 2000; Hoare 2001).

⁶ For studies adopting the mentalist view, see Hussein and El-Ali (1989), Woolard and Gahng (1990), Baker (1992), Lawson and Sachdev (1997), *inter alia*.

2.2 Code-switching

The phenomenon of code-switching and contact languages in general has received increasing attention from linguists since the formation of the European Union (Myers-Scotton 2005b: 328). Before the 1950's, researchers paid less attention to code-switching. Even though Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1956) are both well known for their early studies of bilingual communities, they did not focus on code-switching. With a growing awareness of this phenomenon in later research (see Blom and Gumperz 1972), linguists have repeatedly attempted to provide a definition of code-switching over the years.

First of all, I will present the main definitions of code-switching that have been proposed. One of the earliest serious attempts was made by Gumperz (1982: 59), who defined it as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems”. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 3) provided another definition for code-switching, namely “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation”. Milroy and Muysken (1995: 7) define code-switching as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”. In comparison to Gumperz' (1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) definitions, the definition proposed by Milroy and Muysken (1995) restricts the scope of the term to languages rather than grammatical subsystems (Gumperz 1982) or “forms” of variety (Myers-Scotton 1993a). As Nilep (2006: 16) proposes, the notion of grammatical subsystems implies the inclusion of smaller elements of language, such as lexical items and syntactic constructions, whereas the notion of ‘languages’ implies distinctiveness. In this study, code-switching, will be used as a cover term for switching that takes place between two typologically different languages (e.g. English and Arabic) or two diglossic varieties (e.g. SA and KA). Moreover, for the purpose of my analysis of diglossic code-switching, I will also adopt the definition proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a) in accordance with the MM and the MLF models which are utilised in this study.

2.2.1 Code-switching Frameworks Adopted

In the next few sections (Sections 2.2.2 to 2.2.8 specifically), models and frameworks that will be used in this research are going to be presented. MM is the first of these, the second will be the MLF (Section 2.2.5) and, finally, I will examine the 4-M model (Section 2.2.6).

2.2.2 *Markedness Model (MM)*

According to Myers-Scotton (1993a: 75), MM is "an explanation accounting for speakers' socio-psychological motivations when they engage in C[ode] S[witching]". This model presupposes that people are aware of the 'markedness' of the codes which they have access to and that they choose these codes depending on the participants engaging in the conversation in addition to the relationship that holds between them. Furthermore, the speaker knows what the selection of each code might entail and what it means. Myers-Scotton also proposes that speakers calculate the costs and rewards of their choices unconsciously and that the code that is generally adopted is the unmarked choice since "it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship". This is not always the case, however, as speakers often make unexpected linguistic choices (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 75). She also suggests that the Rights and Obligations (RO) sets in a specific conversation between the participants are indicated by code choices. According to Myers-Scotton, "the unmarked RO set is derived from whatever situational features are salient for the community for that interaction type" (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 84). She also suggests that "code choices are understood as indexing rights-and-obligations sets (RO sets) between participants in a given interaction type" (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 84). For instance, factors like the identity of the participant, topic and setting play a role in determining the unmarked or the expected choice. On the other hand, a marked choice is an unexpected or unusual choice that comes as a negotiation "against the [expected] unmarked RO set" and "a call for another RO set in [its] place" (1993a: 131). Myers-Scotton (1998c: 80) equates RO sets with norms that are maintained by the community. In addition, Myers-Scotton lists various uses for marked choices, including: increasing social distance (to signal authority or anger) or expressing shared identity (1993a: 132-135).

The "negotiating" principle is considered the main principle of the MM. It emphasizes the role of the contribution of the speaker in indexing an RO set. In this

model, all speakers possess a markedness evaluator and it is basically the innate cognitive ability of the speakers which provides them with a set of abilities:

1. Knowing that code choices range from unmarked to marked on a continuum.
2. Being aware that marked choices are understood in a different manner than unmarked ones.

However, the possession of a cognitive ability does not necessarily mean that a speaker does not require exposure to the use of both choices; therefore, it is important to note that exposure is crucial (Myers-Scotton 1998b: 21-22).⁷

There are five maxims of the MM that are taken into consideration when a speaker selects one code over another:

1. The Unmarked Choice Maxim: Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm a rights and obligations set.
2. The Marked Choice Maxim: Make a marked choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new rights and obligations set as unmarked for the current exchange.
3. The Exploratory Choice Maxim: When an unmarked choice is not clear, use switching between speech varieties to make alternative exploratory choices as (alternate) candidates for the unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour.
4. The Deference Maxim: Switch to a code which expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by the circumstances.
5. Virtuosity Maxim: Switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present.

(Myers-Scotton 1998a: 26)

⁷ I would like to emphasize the importance of exposure in relation to the evaluation of markedness and refer to a question that I was asked at a conference by another Arab researcher who suggested that it is expected of Arab presidents to code-switch to the vernacular in their formal speeches. The researcher obviously has no experience of the language situation in Kuwait, which differs from that of some Arab countries. H. H. the Emir of Kuwait, as will be discussed later in the research, strictly maintains SA when delivering a formal speech and it would indeed be marked, at least to me as a Kuwaiti, to see the Emir delivering this in the vernacular.

What speakers do in order to negotiate RO sets, as mentioned earlier, is switch to marked or unmarked choices. The speaker may use the exploratory maxim when an unmarked RO set is not clear; therefore, the speaker makes alternate choices as candidates. Moreover, when the speaker wants something from the hearer, he/she uses the deference maxim. And finally, the virtuosity maxim "allows speakers to present themselves as enablers in that they make it possible for a conversation to take place" and also as a strategy to show their "linguistic repertoire" when they switch from one code to the other (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 26).

The MM is one of the Rational Actor Models which propose that speakers make choices consciously. The codes chosen by the speakers are not based on the social group they are part of or the structural type associated with the speech event. Rather, the speaker tries to achieve the goal which is, according to the MM, "to enhance rewards and minimize costs" (Myers-Scotton 1998b: 19).

The MM here will be contrasted with another prominent approach to CS, i.e. the Conversation Analysis (CA) model by Auer (1984, 1995, 2005, 2009). Auer's approach to code-switching is a sequential one which presupposes that any interactional function could be found in the conversation's sequential development, not from any meaning of the languages outside of this context. This results in having sequentiality as the "primary and most important context" (Auer 2009: 510). Auer also emphasizes that his approach is 'procedural', since it assumes that the production and interpretation of code-switching is based on two procedures, namely insertional/alternational code-switching and participant/discourse-related code-switching (Auer 2009: 491). Auer defines the latter as "code-switching at a certain point in the conversation without a structurally determined (and therefore predictable) return into the first language", whereas insertion is defined as "any code-switching on a certain structural unit with a structurally provided point of return into the first language coinciding with that unit's completion" (Auer 2009: 501). On the other hand, discourse-related code-switching is differentiated from participant-related code-switching by the fact that the former offers cues of how the interaction is organized whereas the latter gives us cues "about attributes of the speaker" (Auer 2009: 491).

Myers-Scotton (2009: 480-482) presents a number of ways in which her model is different from Auer's (1984, 2009). First, the mechanism that underlies the MM differs from that of CA. In order for social messages to get interpreted, the listener's conceptual resources (e.g. memories) play a major role in MM. In CA, however, "social messages will reveal themselves in the way that a discourse is organized", irrespective

of any pragmatic or cognitive abilities. Similarly, CA, unlike MM, undermines the cognitive ability by downplaying the role of intentionality and consciousness in planning CS. The third difference is in how creativity is interpreted by both approaches. Whereas MM creativity is in the act of calculating the best outcome based on the marked/unmarked distinction, CA equates creativity with the place of a switch, since meaning is derived from the sequential location of a switch in the interaction. Fourth, the MM takes into account the importance of social consequences of code choice and suggests that the speaker knows that and acts accordingly. CA, however, bases the motivation of the speaker in the interaction itself. The fifth and final difference is in the role of the analyst in arriving at interpretations of CS. Whereas CA claims that the interpretations they make are objective and that it is the speaker's intentions that are revealed through the interaction itself, the MM admittedly claims that an analyst's interpretation could involve some subjectivity, but defends this view by suggesting that their "analyses are based on the empirically verifiable associations that the speaker's community makes between speaking one variety rather than another in a given context" (Myers-Scotton 2009: 480-482). I share this view with Myers-Scotton (2009) and think her observations are valuable for my analysis of diglossic code-switching.

I believe these differences reveal the importance of adopting the MM as an approach to diglossic code-switching in Kuwait. The emphasis which CA places on sequentiality and the contribution of both speaker and hearer to the interaction makes it difficult to apply to newspaper articles, which are closer in nature to monologues, since no immediate feedback from the reader is available (cf. Sebba 2012). Furthermore, the MM was chosen because of its central concept of markedness. The idea that choices are expected or not expected relates to a large extent to the influence of societal norms that govern linguistic choice. This is especially important in the study of language use in a formal, public setting, such as newspapers. Together with the MLF model, which will be discussed below, this integrated approach attempts to provide a comprehensive view of language choice from intertwined sociolinguistic and structural aspects.

The MM has been met with a number of criticisms, however. Coulmas (2005: 122), for example, has argued that it "presuppo[ses] [...] fixed social meanings which are predictable and, as such, determine speakers' choices." Myers-Scotton (2009: 482) emphasizes that her model does not make correlations between social meanings and choices, but merely "offer[s] an evaluation procedure" of how participants form evaluations of the possibility of certain choices based on information available to them. Sebba (2012) has commented on the special nature of code-switching in written texts.

He argues that it is more difficult to apply the MM to less interactive written texts than to interactive ones. As will be demonstrated by my analysis in Chapter 5, applying the MM model to newspaper articles can still yield very useful results, and has shown that despite the lack of immediate feedback from the audience, the choices of the columnists can still be accounted for by the criteria set forth by the MM framework. Woolard (2005) also criticizes Myers-Scotton's model, describing it as "circular". She argues: "[a] linguistic variety is defined as unmarked because it is more frequently chosen, and Myers-Scotton predicts that it will be more frequently chosen by speakers because it is unmarked." Myers-Scotton (2009: 482) attempts to refute Woolard's (2005) criticism by arguing that speakers opting for an unmarked choice: "is a separate phenomenon from the group statistic that caused it to be labelled the unmarked choice".

2.2.3 Structural Constraints on Code-switching

This section will explore the structural constraints on code-switching in general. A survey of the MLF, the Equivalence and Free Morpheme Constraints and the Minimalist approach will be discussed.

2.2.4 Survey of Structural Approaches to CS

The structural approaches to code-switching, the Equivalence Constraint and Free Morpheme Constraint, the MLF and the Minimalist models, will be presented in this section. The MLF is the framework that is adopted in this study to analyse diglossic code-switching.

The first of these approaches centre on the Equivalence and Free Morpheme Constraints advocated by Poplack and associates (1980, 1998). Poplack (1980), in one of the first principled attempts to model the syntactic constraints on code-switching practices, observed that the occurrence of these phenomena in bilingual data is governed by certain conditions relating to sentence structure. Instances of code-switching were found to occur in accordance with what is conceived in the framework as the linear coherence of both languages (Poplack 2001: 2). For example, Poplack (1980: 586-587) applied the concept of linear coherence to examples [1] and [2], which are constructed by Gingras (1974) (code-switches to Spanish are in italics):

- 1) *el man que came ayer* wants John *comprar* a car *nuevo*
‘Tell the man who came yesterday wants John to buy a new car’
- 2) Tell Larry *que se calle la boca*
‘Tell Larry to shut his mouth’

Poplack (1980: 587) observed that [1] is disallowed because of the use of an English grammar rule that does not apply to Spanish: the infinitive complementizer rule which governs the second part of the sentence. The first part of the sentence, however, follows a rule shared by both languages. This means that the first part is grammatical and a code-switch is allowed to occur at any switching point in that part. Example [2], however, shows no signs of non-equivalence. This is a case of linear coherence because “[c]onstituents whose structures are non-equivalent in L₁ and L₂ tend to be uttered monolingually...”, and the VP complement in [2] follows the subjunctive complementizer rule in Spanish (Poplack 1980: 587).

Poplack (1980: 586) was the first to present the Equivalence Constraint, which proposes that: “Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L₁ and L₂ elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language...” This means that a code-switch cannot occur within a constituent governed by a rule that exists in only one of the two languages as in the example below (Poplack 1980: 586). In Figure 2, Poplack uses dotted lines to mark permissible code switch (‘Cs’) points in the actual utterance produced by one of her speakers. The arrows then show the mapping of constituents in both languages (‘Eng’: English/‘Sp’: Spanish,).

Figure 2 The equivalence constraint code-switching points, according to Poplack (1980: 586)

Poplack (1980: 585-586) also proposed the Free Morpheme Constraint, which states that: “Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme. This code-switching check holds true for all

linguistic levels bar the phonological...” This means that [1] is allowed by the Free Morpheme Constraint:

1) una buena exCUSE [eh'kjuws] (Poplack 1980: 586)

‘a good excuse’

Example [1] shows that the first syllable follows Caribbean Spanish rules (to aspirate /s/ before voiceless consonants), whereas the second syllable follows English rules. Poplack (1980: 586) argues that this should not be seen as a case of code-switching between bound morphemes, but instead should be approached as a case where there is “aiming for, but missing, an English target”. Idiomatic expressions are also allowed in the Free Morpheme Constraint due to the fact that they tend to be uttered monolingually, like bound morphemes (Poplack 1980: 586). Poplack (1980: 588) also makes an important observation about her model that reveals the relationship between both constraints and the speech outcome:

Simultaneous operation of the free morpheme and the equivalence constraints permits only code-switched utterances which, when translated into either language, are grammatical by both L₁ and L₂ standards, and indicate a large degree of competence in both languages.

Researchers, however, have presented numerous counter-examples from different language combinations that counter the premises of both the Equivalence Constraint and the Free Morpheme Constraint (see, for example, Nartey 1982; Nortier 1990; Backus 1992; Chan 1999; Eppler 2005; *inter alia*). Muysken (2000: 14) suggests that the criticisms that both of Poplack’s constraints received relate mostly to the typological differences between the languages in which code-switching has been documented, as the practice “appeared to violate both constraints at the same time”. This gave rise to Poplack and her associates’ reformulation of the constraints to treat cases reported by other researchers as nonce borrowings or cases of constituent insertion (Muysken 2000: 14-15).

Poplack’s constraints may provide a better account for the morphosyntactic constraints on diglossic code-switching in Arabic, as they have been shown to effectively account for code-switching in languages with word order and categorical similarities (Bassiouney 2009: 33). Due to the fact that the reported data in this analysis is diglossic code-switching between typologically similar languages, i.e. SA and KA,

adopting the Equivalence Constraint and the Free Morpheme Constraint in future investigations of the reported data might prove more insightful.

Another approach that is of particular interest to this section is MacSwan's approach (1999a; 2000, 2004, 2005a/b), which is based on the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995). It proposes that accounting for linguistic data can be achieved through the use of minimalist assumptions that favour simplistic and elegant accounts (MacSwan 2004: 298). Thus, his framework can be summarized in the following statement: "Nothing constrains code switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars". In the Minimalist theory, the lexicon of the language faculty contains the rules necessary for the forming of words, thus language production goes through the processes of Select, Merge and Move of the computational system. Adopting this view, MacSwan (2000: 51-52) proposes that "[s]ince all cross-linguistic variation is lexically encoded, syntactic operations of the computational system may be assumed to be invariant". In other words, unlike Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 2001, 2002a) MLF which presupposes special morphosyntactic rules for explaining code-switching, MacSwan's Minimalist approach to code-switching emphasizes that no special rules or principles are needed. The same mechanisms needed for monolingual language production are utilized for bilingual code-switching. To the best of my knowledge, the Minimalist approach to code-switching has not yet been tested against cases of diglossic code-switching in Arabic. Thus, I believe Arabic could offer a fertile ground for testing such an approach. However, for the purpose of my investigation, the MLF model is adopted.

One important critique of MacSwan's (2000) model is that singly occurring lexemes are analysed as instances of borrowing. Myers-Scotton (2002a: 159) argues against this view, suggesting that this leaves the "minimalist approach with little to account for [...]" since the types of nouns that MacSwan's (2000) model leaves out are in fact "the most frequent Embedded Language forms in code-switching [...]" (Myers-Scotton 2002a: 159). I agree with Myers-Scotton's view on the importance of realizing Embedded Language (EL) forms as instances of code-switching and not that of borrowing. This is partly due to the nature of this study and the context in which these forms occur. For example, as SA is the matrix language in the context of newspaper articles, it is difficult to claim that KA lexemes are in fact borrowings into SA rather than code-switches due to the imbalanced nature of both varieties in Kuwait. Also, I agree with Myers-Scotton (2002a) in that dismissing all singly occurring KA nouns as borrowings would leave out a great number of lexemes out of our analysis, which

means that most EL lexemes would end up being unaccounted for. According to Myers-Scotton (2002a: 154), the use of EL forms is triggered by their capacity to convey different semantic and pragmatic interpretations which may not be achieved through their Matrix Language (ML) counterparts. Jake et al. (2002: 69) also criticized the Minimalist approach to CS, claiming that the model fails to recognize the notion of asymmetry in the contribution of the participating languages in CS, resulting in the model's inability to account for a large amount of CS data (Jake et al. 2002: 69). Moreover, they propose that MacSwan's (1999a; 2000) attempts to explain CS involves switches from monolingual constituents to others and does not include complex data (i.e. "singly occurring forms from one language within a constituent structured by another") (Jake et al. 2002: 70). This type of data has been found by Jake et al. (2002) to be explainable only with the adoption of the notion of an ML, which the Minimalist approach to CS lacks.

In the next section I will move to the discussion of the framework adopted for the current study, i.e. the MLF.

2.2.5 Matrix Language Frame (MLF)

Myers-Scotton (1993b) offered a code-switching model that "sees code-switching constraints as set by processes which operate well before the positional level at which surface orders and structures are realized" (1993b: 6). Myers-Scotton expresses her criticism of earlier approaches by suggesting that they were "purely syntactic" and "too close to the surface" (1993b: 45). She notes that her analysis is based on intra-CP code-switching and not intersentential code-switching because CP is the unit of analysis (Myers-Scotton 1997: 92). According to Myers-Scotton (1993b), the MLF model proposes that there are two languages involved in code-switching. One of them acts as the Matrix Language (ML) or the language that provides the grammatical aspect, such as system morphemes and morpheme order, and the other language acts as the Embedded Language (EL), which mainly provides the lexemes. It is also to be noted, however, that the MLF model is only concerned with intra-sentential code-switching, which Myers-Scotton (1993b: 222) refers to in the following explanation: "A CP shows intra-sentential code switching if it contains at least one constituent with morphemes from language X and language Y".

There are two main principles provided by MLF:

1. The Morpheme Order Principle: In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML.
2. The System Morpheme Principle: In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which participate in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the ML.

(Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001: 91)

In addition to that, a number of other hypotheses are included (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 7):

- The Blocking Hypothesis: The ML blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet certain congruency conditions with ML counterparts.
- The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis: Whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the ML hypothesis or the blocking hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island.
- The EL Implication Hierarchy Hypothesis: Optional EL islands occur; generally they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence.

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000a: 1059) set certain criteria to differentiate between content and system morphemes. The basic feature, they suggest, is the [+/- thematic role]. Whereas content morphemes are thematic role-assigning or role-receiving, system morphemes lack this feature. Examples of thematic role-assigners and receivers are verbs and adjectives. Examples of system morphemes include inflections and function words, like articles or the 3rd person singular inflectional morpheme *-s* in English. Myers-Scotton and Jake, however, still emphasize that their classification of morphemes “is not isomorphic with lexical category status”. That is, not all prepositions, for example, are system morphemes, as some of them assign thematic roles (i.e. are content words), whereas others do not (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000a: 1059). Content morphemes and system morphemes are also differentiated based on [+/- quantification]. Morphemes that have [+ quantification] are system morphemes whereas content morphemes are [- quantification] (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 6).

2.2.6 The 4-M Model:

The 4-M Model, proposed by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000a), is an important addition to the MLF. It aims at explaining and accounting for the differences between content morphemes and system morphemes in terms of distribution and their activation in the

production process of code-switching. What the 4-M model basically did was divide system morphemes into three categories. Information about morphemes becomes salient at different levels, according to the type of morpheme, so, for example, certain system morphemes, (i.e. early morphemes) become salient at the same time as content morphemes. Another type of morpheme (i.e. late system morphemes) become salient "at the level of the formulator when large constituents are assembled" (Myers-Scotton 2002a: 76-78). For the classification of the four morphemes (one type of content morphemes vs. three types of system morphemes), Myers-Scotton (2002a: 73) suggested three oppositions that we can use to classify morphemes in the 4-M model. These oppositions are: [+/- conceptually activated], [+/- thematic role assigner/receiver], [+/- looks outside its immediate maximal projection for information about its form].

Myers-Scotton (2002a: 74) proposes that content morphemes and early morphemes are both [+ conceptually activated] at the first phase of the 4-M model, which is referred to as the mental lexicon and the speaker's intentions. What basically happens is that the content morphemes lemmas are first directly activated by the speaker's intention as heads and afterwards, those lemmas indirectly activate early system morphemes (e.g. determiners, plurals, etc.). A good example is the Spanish determiner which gets its number and gender information from its head (Myers-Scotton 2002a: 74-75). A good evidence proposed in favour of this argument is the fact that early system morphemes demonstrate a close link with their heads, as is shown in case of borrowings, whereby a definite article move with its head to the recipient language, as in the case of Arabic *al-jabr* into English as in 'algebra' (*al* is the definite article in Arabic) (Myers-Scotton 2002a: 300).

At the formulator level, which is another abstract level, late system morphemes become fully salient and get activated. It is due to the fact that they do not become salient until this late level of production that those system morphemes are so called. Their main function is to help assemble larger constituents together. Myers-Scotton (2002a: 75-76) uses the feature [+/- looks outside its own immediate maximal projection for information about its form] to classify late system morphemes as 'bridge' or 'outsider'. Bridge system morphemes do not look outside their maximal projection for information. However, whereas the form of early system morphemes depends on semantic and pragmatic information within their heads, the projection of bridge late system morphemes is necessarily called for by the grammars of the languages involved to complete the projection. This results in the connection of content morphemes by the

bridge late system morpheme “*without reference to the properties of a head*” (italics in the original). Examples of bridge late system morphemes include the possessives *of* and *'s* (Myers-Scotton 2002a: 75). The other type of late system morphemes is ‘outsider system morphemes’. Those are called ‘outsider’ because they are based on (i.e. co-indexed with) information taken from elements that are outside their maximal projection. Examples of such outsider morphemes include subject-verb agreement and case affixes (Myers-Scotton 2002a: 76). This distinction between both types of late system morphemes helps us determine the contribution of each variety into the CP and whether a given variety assumes the role of an ML or an EL.

Li Wei (2000c) has presented evidence in favour of this classification of morphemes proposed by Myers-Scotton (2002a) in her 4-M model. Data from Chinese and Japanese learners of English has shown that the accuracy order of the functional elements being learned by the participants give support to Myers-Scotton’s (2002a) hypothesis. His study demonstrates that morphemes are activated at different abstract levels, similar to that of the 4-M model: the order of acquisition is content morphemes, early system morphemes and finally late system morphemes.

The next section gives an overview of the main criticisms that have been levelled at the MLF model.

2.2.7 MLF – A Critique

Although the MLF model is a theory that has received much attention and has generally been favourably received by a number of linguists, it has also been met with criticism leading to several revisions by Myers-Scotton *inter alia* (2001, 2002). The MLF model was described by Matras (2009: 130) as a theory that has had a “very strong impact on the field of code-switching research...”. Other linguists also emphasized the importance of the contribution of the MLF model to research in this field (see Clyne 2003). This section will, however, list some of the criticisms e.g. from Bentahila and Davies (1998), Muysken (2000), and more recently from MacSwan (1999, 2000, 2005) which the MLF has received.

Objections have ranged from the tricky definition of the ML in Myers-Scotton’s framework to claims about the problematic nature of the classification system of morphemes founded by Myers-Scotton. More recently, and in response to MacSwan’s

(1999, 2000) minimalist approach to code-switching, Jake et al. (2002) have proposed a framework in which Minimalism could be used alongside the concept of a Matrix Language to account for code-switching.

Muysken (2000: 161) also finds Myers-Scotton's model challenging in certain respects. He specifically criticizes it as regards morpheme classification, i.e. content vs. system morphemes, describing it as "problematic". One of the reasons he offers for this view is the fact that the manner in which such a system could be applied to different languages in which the classification of content vs. system morphemes differs (Muysken 2000: 161). Moreover, he questions the ability of the MLF model in accounting for all bilingual corpora, as the MLF model assumes "an identifiable base or matrix language (ML)", which is not the case for some types of bilingual corpora (Muysken 2000: 16). Likewise, Boumans (1998: 44-45) saw the notion of internal EL islands as problematic, since "it undermines the authority of the System Morpheme Principle". Myers-Scotton (2001: 50), however, argues against such claims, saying that the System Morpheme Principle does not apply to the system morphemes found in internal EL islands. Furthermore, MacSwan (2004: 292) sheds some light on the problematic "frequency-based criterion" which says that more morphemes come from the ML than the EL in certain discourse types. He suggests that such a criterion makes it more difficult to know which function each language assumes.

Such criticisms have led to the revision of the MLF model several times (e.g. see Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995, Myers-Scotton 1997b; 1997c; 2001; 2002, Jake and Myers-Scotton 1997, Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross 2002; 2005). Some of these include the abandonment of the frequency-based criterion, the introduction of the 4-M model, and the use of the Uniform Structure Principle to clarify the concept of the ML.

The adoption here of the MLF model instead of more recent models for code-switching thus requires a rationale. My first reason for doing so is that it is one of the most recent and remains the most influential and widely adopted model to account for this phenomenon (see, *inter alia*, Cantone and MacSwan 2009; Chan 2009; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009). The second reason concerns the fact that diglossic code-switching is heavily influenced by social norms. This sociolinguistic context, in my opinion, is best accounted for by the MM of Myers-Scotton (1993a). The fact that both the MM and the MLF can simultaneously account for social motivations and morphosyntactic constraints, respectively, can provide a comprehensive approach to the manner in which diglossic code-switching is used in Kuwait. Finally, it is important to investigate an under-explored area with a well-established model, which allows for

comparison and a more critical analysis. In other words, the MLF is a model that has been tested and applied for quite some time in the field so that exploring the use of such a model in novel contexts, like the Kuwaiti social setting of interest here, can not only shed some light on new dimensions of the well-established model but also allow for comparisons to be drawn between my findings and those of others in quite different social contexts.

2.2.8 Code-switching vs. Borrowing:

There are a number of criteria used to approach singly occurring EL forms as either borrowings or code-switches. Based on the principles of the MLF model, I discuss here predictability, status and frequency as the main distinguishing factors.

Myers-Scotton (2002a: 41-42) suggests that, cognitively, borrowings and code-switches differ in the mental lexicon. Whereas the entry of a code-switched form is tagged for the embedded language only, the borrowed form is tagged for the recipient language (and may also be tagged for the source language) (Myers-Scotton 2002a: 41). This means that monolinguals have access to borrowed forms but not to code-switched forms, as they require proficiency in both the ML and the EL (Myers-Scotton 1992: 32). This is very important to our discussion here, as proficiency in both diglossic varieties is not always possible amongst members of such communities, especially for those who are illiterate. This means that, in order for us to classify an EL form as a borrowed one, we must claim that it is part of the ML lexicon. This is very difficult to claim to make in this case where the ML in newspaper articles is normally SA and the nature of the texts studied implies that switches are often in the SA to KA direction. This is mainly because KA EL forms cannot be said to be accessible to monolingual SA speakers, as there are none. Also, due to the status held by SA and the role it plays in the Arab world, it is difficult to claim that SA borrows from KA, but the opposite may be possible. This is confirmed by using the dictionaries of SA, which do not include entries for KA words.

Furthermore, Myers-Scotton (2002a: 41-42) suggests that not only will a borrowed form recur due to its newly acquired status, it might also be listed in the dictionary, unlike code-switched forms which have no 'predictive value'. This notion that Myers-Scotton (2002a) proposes to differentiate between borrowings and code-switching allows me to judge by seeing, in the case of single word switches from SA to

KA, whether an item is likely to recur in this context or not. According to Myers-Scotton (1992: 37), “the most telling feature of all code-switching material is its relative lack of predictability.”

An examination of examples [1] and [2] in Article [1] (see Section 5.1) shows that, even though the forms investigated may have originally been borrowed from SA, they could still be considered EL forms that mark a code-switch from the ML (SA) to the EL (KA) due to their lack of predictability, EL status in the mental lexicon, and lesser frequency in ML contexts than in their ML counterparts.

Finally, Myers-Scotton (2002a: 153) argues that “there is no need to make the borrowing vs. codeswitching distinction” and provides two reasons for this view. The first is that all elements from the EL (including established borrowings and singly-occurring code-switches) can be accounted for in the MLF model, due mainly to the fact that both go through the same processes. The second is that the MLF can also account for longer stretches of EL at the phrase level, i.e. EL islands, which means that all EL elements are covered (Myers-Scotton 2002a: 153). Myers-Scotton (2002a: 153) also emphasizes that her model differs from Poplack and Meechan’s (1998) in its approach to borrowings: singly-occurring EL elements which Poplack and Meechan (1998) call ‘nonce borrowings’ and which are not treated as code-switches in their model, can in fact be approached as code-switching in the form of mixed constituents via an MLF approach such as the one adopted here.

2.3 Diglossia

It was suggested by Ferguson that there are nine main features that characterize the phenomenon of diglossia, i.e. function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology (1959: 328-339). Those most relevant to my investigation here are ‘function’ and ‘prestige’:

‘Function’: Each variety has a special function and is used for certain circumstances in which it is seen as appropriate. The use of the right variety in the right situation is crucial, since it is seen as ridiculous to use a particular variety in the wrong situation, as in using the H variety in informal settings, such as shopping.

‘Prestige’: The H variety is considered more prestigious than the L variety, and more beautiful as well as more connected to religion.

(Ferguson 1959: 328-339)

These observations by Ferguson (1959) still prove to be crucial for the diagnosis of a diglossic community and mostly apply to this day to the Kuwaiti community. There are a few exceptions that result from few changes, such as the fact that some attempts have been made recently to document the Kuwaiti dialect through dictionaries and the use of diglossic code-switching in formal settings, as will be seen later in this study. The notions of ‘prestige’ and ‘function’ as described by Ferguson (1959) accurately reflect the status held by both varieties in Kuwait, whereby H enjoys more prestige and is used in formal settings, unlike the L variety which is seen as less prestigious and dominates informal settings.

Myers-Scotton was specifically interested in the relationship between diglossia and code-switching (Scotton 1986; Myers-Scotton 2010), exploring these possibilities based on her MM which she first presented in Scotton (1986) (see section 2.2.2 for more on the MM).

Myers-Scotton (2010: 81) suggests that the diglossic code-switching patterns of Arabic are “in line with [the] predictions of the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model...” Scotton (1986) elaborated on the code-switching patterns found in Arabic diglossic communities. She first argued that diglossic communities can be divided into two types: broad and narrow diglossic communities. Scotton (1986: 409) used the term “narrow diglossia” to refer to diglossic communities “in Ferguson’s original sense”. By contrast, “broad diglossia” was used by her to refer to the extended concept of diglossia that was proposed by Fishman (1967). Scotton (1986: 409) also suggested two differentiating criteria for both types of diglossia. She characterizes narrow diglossia with reference to the following conditions: 1) the L variety is the mother tongue of all members of the community or the majority of them, and 2) members of the community almost never use the H variety in informal exchanges (Scotton 1986: 409). Both of these criteria apply to the diglossic situation I have observed in the Kuwaiti community. She deals mostly with narrow diglossia in her analysis of code-switching although Scotton (1986: 410) emphasizes that not all types occur in every diglossic community.

Scotton (1986) discusses the patterns of code-switching that can or cannot occur. In this section, I am only going to discuss the types that are expected to occur in Kuwait. ‘Sequential unmarked choices’ switching, or situational switching as proposed by Gumperz (1962), is one type of code-switching that is possible. According to Scotton (1986: 410), it can occur when “the H variety is unmarked for an exchange characterized

by the salience of a certain set of social features and the L variety is unmarked for another type of exchange”. For this pattern of switching, she gives the example of an Arab speaker delivering a speech in the H variety and then turning to a friend to talk about the speech in the L variety (Scotton 1986: 410). From my experience as a member of the Kuwaiti community under observation here, I can vouch for the fact that this type of switching occurs normally in Kuwait and is characteristic of what Scotton would term narrow diglossia. For example, a speaker may be giving a speech in SA in a ceremony but would switch to KA as soon as he/she talks to the organisers to thank them for being invited.

Another pattern of code-switching that Scotton (1986: 413) discusses in relation to narrow diglossic communities, and the most important to my study, is “switching as a marked choice”. This type of code-switching can be interpreted as “a dis-identification with the expected – with the status quo”, since the speaker code-switches to an unexpected variety (Scotton 1986: 406). She proposes that this type is predicted to occur in communities with narrow diglossia and that for such switching to be possible, complementarity of domains must be assumed. However, the possibility that such kinds of switching exist challenges the view of *total* “categorical domain complementarity” (Scotton 1986: 413).⁸ Scotton’s (1986) observations here are of high importance to my investigation since they give a fairly accurate picture of the situation in Kuwait and of the significance of such unexpected code-switching in settings which require the H variety. Scotton (1986) also argues for the possibility of such code-switching to occur despite social norms, a view which I also adopt in this study. This type actually occurs frequently in my newspaper corpus and has been analysed in Chapter 5.

Furthermore, one of the important comments that Scotton (1986: 410) makes about narrow diglossic communities is that they “share with other bilingual communities the same possibly universal motivations for code-switching in general”. However, they still distinctly differ from bilingual communities “in not allowing switching as an overall unmarked choice” (1986: 414). Finally, Scotton (1986: 414) argued that “narrow diglossia is best considered part of the continuum of bilingual communities” due to the fact that it has similar features to those found in other communities.

⁸ Scotton (1986: 413) strongly argues in favour of the importance of assuming a definitive allocation of varieties in narrow diglossia in order for an interpretation of a marked choice to be possible.

The observations made by Scotton (1986) resemble those made by Eid (1982; see also Boussofara-Omar 2006; Myers-Scotton 2010 *below*) since they all propose that the nature of diglossic code-switching is similar to that of bilingual code-switching. The analysis of the newspaper data in Kuwait in this study has shown that the underlying motivations and mechanisms used in the switching to the L or the H varieties seem to largely resemble bilingual code-switching in general. I believe Scotton's (1986) views play a major role in providing a useful and an accurate description of narrow diglossic communities like Kuwait.

Ferguson (1991: 226) supported the notion that intermediate forms exist of the diglossic situation in the Arab world but sees that it is necessary to adopt two opposite poles only in a continuum, in order for the analyst to be capable of describing the intermediate levels in a diglossic situation. Later, Ferguson (1997: 69) also claimed that these intermediate forms are unstable and uncodified which serve as a remedy for any communicative tension in the diglossic community. Modifications of this definition were suggested by Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973) and Meiseles (1980). The main purpose of these proposals was to include 'intermediate levels' between H and L varieties. For instance, Meiseles (1980: 123) suggested four varieties, i.e. literary Arabic, oral literary Arabic, educated spoken Arabic and plain vernacular. Blanc (1960: 85), who worked on Arabic varieties and specifically inter-dialectal communication, posits five varieties, i.e. standard classical, modified classical, elevated colloquial, koinéized colloquial and plain colloquial. Similarly, Badawi (1973), who studied data from the Egyptian media, recommends five different varieties: fuSHaa *alturaath* 'heritage classical', fuSHaa al `aSr 'contemporary classical', `aamiyyat almuthaqqafiyn 'colloquial of the cultured', `aamiyyat almutanawwiriyn 'colloquial of the basically educated', `aamiyyat al`ummiyyiin 'colloquial of the illiterates'. However, it is still crucial "to consider a hypothetical pure H or L in order to presuppose that there are elements that occur from one or the other in a stretch of discourse" (Scotton 1986: 413).

I agree with Scotton (1986) and Bassiouney (2006: 6), who claim that H and L varieties should be adopted as 'poles' to improve our understanding of the phenomenon. In Kuwait, for example, when Kuwaiti intellectuals appear on TV, they tend not to speak Classical or Colloquial Arabic but, sometimes due to lack of proficiency in SA and at other times intentionally, they tend to switch back and forth, resulting in a pattern that is close to the 'contemporary classical' and 'colloquial of the cultured' put forward by Badawi (1973). As such, adopting the notion of a continuum here gives a better understanding of the different levels that are transitional between the two poles.

However, the differentiation between different types of the H variety may be useful in some contexts but less so in others. For example, such an approach would prove to be useful in the context of spoken language where phonological variation plays a major role in differentiating these intermediate levels (see, for example, Al-Qenaie 2011). However, in my current analysis of SA/KA code-switching, I choose SA as an umbrella term for forms of Standard Arabic (including Classical Arabic of the Qur'an and SA) due to the fact that I am more concerned here with the usage of the L variety (the 'marked' choice in the MM and the 'Embedded Language' from an MLF perspective) than I am with the expected variety in the context of newspapers, i.e., SA. Spending time focusing on the difference between Classical Arabic and SA will only shift my focus from the structural and social manifestation of diglossia to the study of the H variety levels and their implications which is not nearly as important an objective to this research. Furthermore, considered to be an ancient variety, Classical Arabic is more or less restricted to reciting Qur'anic verses and literary language, whereas SA seems to dominate the media in the Arab world (Ryding 2005). Ryding (2005) reports a study carried out to investigate the differences between Classical Arabic and SA that included newspapers and magazines. It was discovered that "few structural inconsistencies exist between SA and Classical Arabic; the major differences are stylistic and lexical rather than grammatical." (Ryding 2005: 9).

However, based on extensive research on intermediate varieties in Arabic, Boussofara-Omar expresses her concern that the research conducted on intermediate varieties failed to successfully explain this variation in Arabic and the 'mix' of the forms and varieties from a structural point of view (Boussofara-Omar 1999: 5). Furthermore, El-Hassan (1977) suggests that the strict assignment of functions to certain varieties proposed by Ferguson (1959) tends to be invalid due to the fact that both forms are used sometimes in the same context (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a). El-Hassan (1977: 113-115) gives political speeches as an example of this mixture of both H and L forms. The results of the present study based on data taken from newspapers support El-Hassan (1977): columnists sometimes tend to use both H and L forms in the same context and indeed sometimes for the same function. This contradicts Ferguson's (1959) proposal that certain varieties are strictly assigned to certain functions. Chapter 5 will provide further evidence in support of my claim that Ferguson's proposal may be idealized.

The concept of 'domains' was first introduced by Fishman (1972). This led to the establishment of connections between specific choices of language, institutions and "spheres of activity" (Fishman 1972: 435-436). Distinguishing between domains is

based on 'role relations' (i.e. the roles enacted by the participants; e.g. an employer/employee) as well as topic and locale, which play an important part in 'situational analysis' (Fishman 1972: 443-444). According to Fishman (1972: 251), "each domain can be differentiated into role-relations that are specifically crucial or typical of it in particular societies at particular times". Fishman (1972: 251) gives us a number of examples of the relationship between domains and role-relations, one of which is that of the religious domain (cleric-cleric, cleric-parishioner, parishioner-cleric and parishioner-parishioner). As for the relationship between domain and locale, Fishman (1972: 251) proposes that, initially, locale can have an effect on the topic and the role-relation in situational analysis (e.g. when the meeting of someone and his/her clergyman takes place at a race track). He also draws our attention to the fact that domains are related to locale, i.e. "most major social institutions are associated with a very few primary locales" (1972: 251). Moreover, since certain varieties are associated with certain domains, speakers in diglossic communities know that these varieties are associated with particular views, thus the H variety denotes certain relationships whereas the L variety denotes others in this type of community and the attempt to assign one of these varieties to "an additional domain" reflects the need to recognize the importance of the concept of 'domain' in the community (Fishman 1972: 261-262).

Scotton and Urry (1977) proposed a theory that is similar to Fishman's which attempts to explain and account for the social motivations for code-switching. Basing their theory on the concept of "social arenas", Scotton and Urry posited that a speaker chooses a specific code according to one of the following 'social arenas': power, identity or transaction. For instance, when trying to emphasize power differences between themselves and other participants, speakers may choose a code according to their power status in relation to the other interlocutors in the interaction. This depends on the power the speaker has over them or vice versa. Hence, a more powerful speaker will opt for a code that carries more power. The concept of 'social arenas' is further developed in interesting ways by the MM (Myers-Scotton 1993a), as I have already explored in Section 2.2.2.

2.3.1 Language attitudes and diglossic communities

Several linguists have attempted to assess attitudes to language varieties in diglossic communities (El-Dash and Tucker 1975, Carranza and Ryan 1975, Assaf 2001, Dakwar

2005, *inter alia*). El-Dash and Tucker (1975) conducted their study in Egypt, assessing language attitudes to three language varieties: Classical Arabic (H variety), English (H variety) and Colloquial Arabic (L variety). Even though their study did not concentrate on diglossia, it nevertheless revealed interesting diglossic patterns. The main traits respondents were asked to evaluate speakers on were: intelligence, leadership, religiousness and likeability. The matched-guise technique was used and respondents listened to speakers with three guises (Classical Arabic/English/Colloquial Arabic). Ratings showed a pattern reflecting the diglossic situation in Egypt: both H varieties received higher ratings than the L variety in the dimension of leadership. Moreover, Classical Arabic was rated significantly higher than the other two varieties, which is very typical of a diglossic situation. However, Colloquial Arabic (the L variety) did not receive higher ratings than the other two varieties on the dimension of likeability. On the other hand, it was the H variety, Classical Arabic, which received significantly higher ratings on this trait by comparison to English and Colloquial Arabic. Furthermore, the use of Classical Arabic and English was seen as more appropriate in formal settings, including radio and TV programmes.

A recent study was done on the use of Standard Arabic and the colloquial variety in the Arab world and the attitudes towards its use. Assaf (2001) investigated the language attitudes of Palestinian undergraduate students towards Modern Standard Arabic and Palestinian City Arabic. He found out that SA is viewed as "more appropriate" in formal situations, whereas PCA is seen as more appropriate for informal settings. Moreover, Assaf noted that the highly educated tend to use more SA in formal situations, whereas those who are less educated would tend to increase their use of PCA. Finally, it was observed that those who are more educated would use SA more than the less educated in informal situations, yet the less educated would tend to use more SA than they did in formal situations. In another study by Dakwar (2005) of the attitudes of Palestinian children towards the diglossic situation in the Arab world, it was found that most children associated the importance of Standard Arabic with learning and the ability to read and write.

2.3.2 Diglossic Code-switching

In this section, a number of issues relating to the phenomenon of diglossic code-switching will be discussed, mainly those that underlie the coinage of the term and the

application of this term in code-switching studies. An exploration of these concepts is central to my investigation of diglossic code-switching as the connection between the two concepts of diglossia and code-switching needs to be examined so that I can offer a more detailed overview of the phenomenon before using it in my analysis.

2.3.3 The term ‘diglossic code-switching’

The term ‘code-switching’ is not necessarily used in this study simply to refer to switching between two languages (as already noted in Section 2.2), but it can also be used to describe ‘diglossic code-switching’. It is well known that code-switching can be argued to occur between two dialects of the same language or between a language and a dialect to which it is not necessarily related. Romaine (2000: 523) suggests that *code* “is a neutral one and does not commit us to taking a decision as to whether the varieties or codes concerned constitute languages or dialects.” Similarly, Myers-Scotton (1998a: 18; italics in original) emphasizes that “*varieties* is a cover term for selections at all linguistic levels so that choices between varieties include, for example, choices of one language rather than another, one dialect over another, one style or register over another, and one form of a directive or refusal over another.”

Bassiouney (2009: 29) also draws our attention to Gumperz’s (1982: 59) definition of code-switching which is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. According to her, Gumperz “does not restrict code-switching to switching between different languages.” Thus, Bassiouney believes that the definitions proposed by Myers-Scotton and Gumperz are “more adaptable” and can also include cases of diglossic code-switching. I also find their definitions of the term code-switching very useful for my analysis as they can successfully account for speakers’ code choices in Kuwait when viewed from a community wide perspective. For example, the application of some code-switching frameworks, such as the MM, ties in well with the concept of code choice in Kuwait, as was discussed in Section 2.2.2. Moreover, studies by other researchers, such as Eid (1982), Scotton (1986) and Boussofara-Omar (2003), showed that alternating between H and L in a diglossic community resembles bilingual code-switching. In addition, Scotton’s (1986) suggestion that diglossic communities mirror bilingual communities in their motivations for code-switching is manifested in my data, thus proving the usefulness of adopting the term. Moreover, an investigation by

Khamis-Dakwar and Froud (2007) on speakers of Palestinian Arabic has shown, based on electrophysiological evidence, that responses to diglossic code-switching in Arabic closely match that of bilingual code-switching. Thus, this term is valuable since it can be based on a range of communities in linguistic investigations that have quite divergent orientations.

Auer (2011: 460), in addition, proposes that there is indeed a problem of terminology in the study of code-switching. He argues that “despite three decades of intensive research, the field is still lacking an accepted terminology [of code-switching], and there are serious disputes about issues that are partly terminological in nature”. Concerning the meaning of the term ‘code’, and - for reasons related to the difficult and risky task of differentiating between a language and other types of varieties, including dialects - Auer (2011: 461) posits that it is “more fitting to think of codes in terms of varieties.” Moreover, approaching the mixing of H and L varieties as a form of code-switching allows us to benefit from the insights offered by various frameworks that aim to explore different aspects of mixing. For the reasons listed here, the term 'diglossic code-switching' is adopted to account for any switches between SA and KA in this study.

2.3.4 A non-deterministic view of ‘diglossia’

The fact that the two diglossic varieties are associated with different domains that do not supposedly overlap makes diglossia a “deterministic” theory, whereby “individual behaviour [is] being determined by community norms for language use in each domain” (Sebba 2011: 451). Furthermore, Li Wei (1992: 10) suggests that Ferguson’s (1959) characterization of diglossia implies the impossibility of “rapid and frequent code-switching” in diglossic communities which are known for their “pre-determined society-wide norms.” Thus, Ferguson’s view of diglossia could make the term “diglossic code-switching” seem contradictory and unrepresentative of the diglossic nature of those Arabic-speaking communities where H and L are assigned different complementary functions and no code-switching is expected to occur, especially not deliberately. This view⁹ of the diglossic situation in Kuwait and some Arabic-speaking

⁹ Walters (2003: 96) suggests that Ferguson’s description of diglossia in the Arab world actually *implied* the occurrence of diglossic switching as part of the process of conventionalization that Ferguson referred to in his predictions for diglossia in the Arab world. Thus, Walters (2003: 103) believes, rightly so in my point of view, that Ferguson “pointed us in a poststructuralist direction that has enabled us to begin

countries is challenged in this study (see also, *inter alia*, Eid 1982, Bassiouney 2006; 2009, Boussofara-Omar 2003, Albirini 2011) (see further Section 2.3.5 below).

Early studies of bilingual communities began exploring language choice based on a deterministic view, emphasizing the role of domain, formality and interlocutors in governing language choice in speech communities. However, speakers may sometimes code-switch between both languages in one domain (Sebba 2011: 451). Martin-Jones (1991: 50) criticizes the deterministic view in bilingualism more generally:

‘As the empirical work in bilingual communities has developed, it has become clear that the languages within the communicative repertoire of bilingual minority groups do not necessarily fall into a neat pattern of complementary distribution across domains.’

Furthermore, Martin-Jones (1989: 108) also undermines the strictly deterministic view of the frameworks proposed by Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1972) that aim at accounting for diglossia. According to Martin-Jones (1989), such views place much emphasis on societal norms, implying that the linguistic choices that people make only reflect the values of the community they belong to. She finds this perspective, which takes norms as the centre of social interactions, as problematic. In this view, they are perceived as more central than power, which is seen as only of secondary importance (Martin-Jones 1989: 108-109). Kaye (2001: 120), on the other hand, stresses that Ferguson’s (1959, 1996) work lacks an analysis of code-switching in diglossic communities and proposes that even though switching between two diglossic varieties would be perceived as “ungrammatical”, switching can still occur in the Arab world. Numerous studies have been conducted by researchers that showed that code-switching to the L variety in domains where H is expected does indeed occur: e.g. political speeches by Egyptian presidents Abd Al-Nasir (Holes 1993) and Mubarak (Bassiouney 2006) and by Tunisian president Bourguiba (Boussofara-Omar 2003); sermons at the mosque (Saeed 1997; Bassiouney 2006; Soliman 2008) and newspaper articles (Ibrahim 2010). The following examples are taken from Ibrahim (2010), Boussofara-Omar (2003) and Bassiouney (2006) and demonstrate clearly the phenomenon across the Arab world. The matrix language in each case is presumed to be in the H variety and code-switches to the L variety are underlined:

tackling these issues in ways that are far more analytic than the simple dichotomy [...] to which diglossia is often reduced...”

- 1) Newspapers (the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Misri Al-Yawm*, April 30th; Ibrahim 2010: 32):

khubaraa': *alijazaat* *malhaash`ilaaqa* *bi iDraab 4 maayuw*

Experts: holidays has [sic] bears no relation to May 4th demonstrations

- 2) Political speeches (by Tunisian President Bourguiba; Boussofara-Omar 2003: 40):

maa- sa-ta-qif-sh

It will not cease [to be]

- 3) Religious sermons (by the religious scholar Sharawi cited in Bassiouney 2006: 217):

wa maa yanTiqu`an alhawaa [verse from the *Qur'an*]/(followed by) *`aayiz`auuwl luku*
Hikaaya barduw saaqhaa lanaa ilshiykh

'Nor speaks yet of caprice (the Prophet Mohammed).'/ (followed by) I want also to tell you a story recited by the Sheikh

These examples, according to Kaye (2001: 120), show that “native speakers possess an overall “communicative competence” rather than a mere “grammatical competence””. This communicative competence that Kaye (2001) refers to echoes Gumperz’s (1982: vii) suggestion that a speaker’s linguistic choice “has symbolic value and interpretive consequences that cannot be explained simply by [...] independently determined social and contextual categories”. According to Bassiouney (2009: 72), Mejdell’s (1999, 2006) findings regarding the code choices that speakers exploit show a lack of determinism, meaning that speakers are free in their code choices yet they remain restricted within limits set by social norms. This is also reflected in Scotton’s (1986) theory of code-switching in diglossic communities and Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) MM which presuppose that codes can be freely chosen but are still constrained by basic complementarity of functions as well as social interpretations of markedness. As will be shown in my subsequent exploration of the code choices of the Kuwaiti columnists, Myers-Scotton (1993a) and Scotton (1986) provide a more accurate picture of the situation in Kuwait. Social norms, as is evidenced by the data of the current study, still play a major role in placing limits on people’s code choices in Kuwait.

2.3.5 *The investigation of diglossic code-switching in the Arab world*

In the following sections, I present the views of several linguists who have investigated diglossic code-switching in the Arab world. The views expressed are central to this study, as they constitute a background as well as offer an opportunity to compare and contrast the findings of the current study with theirs.

Walters (1996) uses the term ‘diglossic switching’ to refer to the switching that takes place between SA (the H variety) and the local dialect (the L variety). In such cases, one of the varieties functions as the base (or matrix) variety and the other as the embedded one (Walters 2003: 92).¹⁰

Due to the fact that the current study will explore the morphosyntactic constraints on SA/KA code-switching in newspapers, I will now review some of the attempts to account for structural constraints on diglossic code-switching in the Arab world. One of the earliest serious attempts was Eid’s (1982, 1988) study of the structural constraints of diglossic code-switching. Eid (1982) proposed that variation between SA and the colloquial L varieties needs to be analysed in the light of code-switching models. In an attempt to test Ferguson’s (1963: 81) claim that the mixing between the two Arabic varieties (Standard vs. colloquial) is “embarrassingly random”, Eid (1982, 1988) investigated the randomness of diglossic code-switching between SA and Egyptian Arabic. Eid (1982: 54) found that switching between SA and Egyptian Arabic is constrained by switch position, category and language variety. For example, Eid (1988) found that code-switching is disallowed after the focal point if it is from SA¹¹ (SA: Standard Arabic, EA: Egyptian Arabic):

SA/EA/EA

- (i) **hadhaa** *bi-yrayyaH* *il’insaan*
this PRES-comfort the-person

¹⁰ What Walters (1996) proposed is encompassed by Myers-Scotton’s conceptualization of “code-switching” since the model she argues for not only includes switching between languages but also between the H and the L varieties that assume different functions in a diglossic community. This view appears to be commensurate with the notion of diglossic code-switching proposed by Walters (1996) (see also Scotton 1986; Myers-Scotton 1993a: 128).

¹¹ In examples (i) and (ii), SA is given in bold.

“This comforts a person”

SA/SA/EA

(ii)* *hadhaa sa-yrayyaH il'insaan*

this FUT-comfort the-person

“This will comfort a person”

(Eid 1988: 59-60)

In addition to finding that diglossic code-switching is far from random, Eid also found that the results of her study of structural constraints on diglossic code-switching are comparable to those of bilingual code-switching, especially those by Sankoff and Poplack (1981) and Hasselmo (1977). According to Eid (1982: 81), “the results also indicate that there is a significant relationship between the kind of switching that takes place between varieties of the same language and that which occurs between different languages in the speech of bilinguals”. This interesting observation by Eid (1982: 81) provides us with further evidence that diglossic code-switching resembles bilingual code-switching in some respects. This finding about the nature of diglossic code-switching, amongst others, encourages us to employ frameworks designed originally for bilingual data in an attempt to explore the structural constraints on diglossic code-switching.

Boussofara-Omar (1999, 2003, 2006) has also attempted to analyse diglossic code-switching in political speeches in Tunisia. Boussofara-Omar (2006) argued against the use of the terms ‘middle varieties’ and ‘third language’ which were proposed by different linguists to account for the mixture of SA and colloquial varieties that takes place in diglossic communities in the Arab world. Boussofara-Omar (2006: 62; 2003: 45) proposes that diglossic switching between SA and colloquial varieties is, in fact, a type of code-switching. She bases this argument on the fact that “diglossic switching, like any code-switching, is linguistically constrained [...] and socially motivated...” as well as predictable (cf. Eid 1988). My analysis of newspaper articles will show that code-switches to the L variety are often socially motivated, a finding that is similar to those described in Boussofara-Omar (2003) (see, *inter alia*, Myers-Scotton 1993a; Bassiouney 2006; Albirini 2011) (see further Chapter 5). Moreover, Boussofara-Omar

(2006: 63) argues, a view I share, that the use of diglossic code-switching is an act of “skilled performance” just like bilingual code-switching is deemed to be (cf. Milroy & Muysken 1995: 1). In addition, her suggestion that the use of the colloquial does not necessarily indicate incompetence in SA is supported by the analysis of articles and columnists’ interviews in this study (see Chapter 4), whereby both types of data proved that the switches are socially motivated and deliberate, in a similar way to many instances of bilingual code-switching (cf. Gumperz 1982a, 1982b; Auer 2011; Bassiouney 2006, 2009).

Moreover, Myers-Scotton (2010) revisits diglossic code-switching in terms of her MLF model. She argued that what Arabic speakers do when they code-switch from SA to a colloquial Arabic variety, and vice versa, can be explained in terms of the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 2010: 81). This is due to the fact that the same asymmetries that exist between the two participating languages in classic code-switching also exist in diglossic code-switching (Myers-Scotton 2010: 81).

Although Myers-Scotton (2010) bases her analysis on a different framework, her conclusion supports the main argument proposed in structural studies by Eid (1980, 1982, 1988) and Bousofara-Omar (1999, 2003, 2006) that mixing between the SA and colloquial varieties is diglossic code-switching and that it is similar in nature to bilingual code-switching. This study will investigate the application of the MLF model in a different context, namely diglossic code-switching between SA and KA in written discourse.

2.4 Studies of Code-switching in Written Discourse:

As this study looks at the use of code-switching in textual discourse, this section will present an overview of research on this topic. Sebba (2012: 3) proposes that early studies of written code-switching that aimed to investigate aspects relating to the syntax and pragmatics governing the phenomena were thought to be influencing spoken code-switching. This is due to the fact that at that time, written discourse was considered to be adequate evidence for spoken practices (see Argenter 2005 for a recent example demonstrating that this rather problematic congruence continues to be assumed). Furthermore, Sebba (2012: 3) suggests that as spoken code-switching became better understood, researchers began doing more comparisons between spoken language and its representations in written discourse. A really good example of this approach is

Moyer's (1998) study, which compared Spanish-English code-switching in written newspaper discourse with spoken data from the same language pair (see also Montes-Alcalá 2001a).

Despite the fact that code-switching phenomena have not received as much attention in writing as they have in speech its characteristics have nevertheless been explored in various sub-fields of linguistics. For instance, researchers have explored written code-switching in advertising (Chen 2006; Leung 2006), narratives (Montes-Alcalá 2001a), literary texts (Bandia 1996; Callahan 2003), historical texts (Nurmi and Pahta 2004; Pahta 2004), and press media (Shih and Sung 1998; Stott 2006; Kotze 2013). Moreover, research into code-switching in the texts associated with the boom in computer-mediated communication and social media has increased quite rapidly in recent years (see San 2009; Androutsopoulos 2013).

In the Arab world, more recent attempts at investigating code-switching in writing have also been conducted by researchers. For example, Ibrahim (2010) investigated written code-switching in Egyptian newspapers, and Abboud-Haggag (2010) explored code-switching in novels. The advent of new changes and events (i.e. the internet and the Arab Spring) also led to linguists interested in the Arab world investigating code-switching in both social media (Ababtain 2013) and political slogans (Amin 2013). For example, Amin (2013: 65) investigated diglossic code-switching between SA and Egyptian Arabic in written political slogans. Examples [1] and [2] demonstrate the mixing between the two varieties in these slogans (code-switches to Egyptian Arabic are in italics):

1) zuwzuw tarjuwk *imshiy ba'a ana `ayza `atfarrag `ala kartuwn*

Zuzu implores you: *Leave so that I can watch the cartoon*

2) `irHal `aawiz *atgawwiz*

Leave, I want to get married.

(Amin 2013: 65-69)

2.5 Conclusion:

In this section, I have reviewed a number of studies relating to different concepts explored in this thesis, namely code-switching, diglossia, language attitudes, motivations for and morphosyntactic constraints on code-switching. A glance at the previous literature on these areas has shown a dearth of investigations into these phenomena in the Arab world. For example, no study, to the best of my knowledge, has attempted to look at whether the attitudes of Kuwaitis towards diglossic code-switching are changing. More generally, this survey has shown that code-switching in newspapers is an under-explored area by comparison to code-switching in other genres. Furthermore, I have surveyed the successive developments that the MLF model has witnessed, especially the 4-M model. Testing this model with written data from newspapers allows us to explore new forms of data with one of the most well-established models in this field. This study attempts at filling some of those gaps.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodology and ethical considerations that underpin this dissertation. As previously noted, the research investigates diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles through a combination of methods. The methods used include an interview and a language attitude test, a qualitative analysis based on MM (Myers-Scotton 1993a), and a morphosyntactic analysis based on MLF (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 2002a). The study also employs a range of different testing techniques. Both the MM and MLF models complement each other and form an approach that aims to explore the morphosyntactic constraints and social motivations behind CS. Below, I will discuss in more detail the instruments used in this study alongside a rationale for their use. This combination of approaches aims to provide as complete a picture as possible of the diglossic situation in Kuwaiti newspapers. For example, the methods adopted in this study explore areas that have not been dealt with before, such as testing the applicability of the MLF in a new context (diglossic code-switching in newspapers), investigating changes in code-switching frequency in newspaper article as well as changes in the attitudes of Kuwaitis towards diglossic code-switching.

The first section of the methodology chapter introduces the key topics to be addressed and the manner in which it is organised. In section 2, I introduce and compare qualitative and quantitative analytical methods. The data collection methods used in this study are then discussed in section 3. The next section (4) explores a range of different sampling tests and methods, along with their drawbacks. Section 5 focuses on the ethical considerations that were taken into account when conceiving of the current investigation. An overview of the statistical tests used in this study is then provided in section 6. Finally, the last section (7) presents a discussion of the nature of the data, especially in relation to key differences between KA and SA.

3.2 Qualitative vs. quantitative methods

The current study employs a mixed methods approach, but I will first introduce both qualitative and quantitative methods before explaining why a combination of different techniques was chosen.

Qualitative research in general seeks to explore social or human problems through the procedures and questions that emerge throughout the analysis (Creswell 2014: 4). Data collection often takes place in the participants' immediate context and the analysis is largely inductive in nature. According to Creswell (2014: 4), engaging in this type of research reflects the researcher's support for "an inductive style [of research], a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation." This type of research is also described as open, interactive and lacking statistical representation and does not employ mathematical or statistical techniques. Also, when qualitative researchers analyse their subjects, their aim is to understand them (Corbetta 2003: 37). Some of the problems of qualitative research include the difficulty in remaining neutral or indifferent when studying subjects with whom intimate interaction is required in order to study them appropriately (Corbetta 2003: 40).

Quantitative research, on the other hand, seeks to investigate the relationship between the variables studied in order to test or formulate objective theories. To do so, quantitative researchers measure data by numbering them and subjecting them to statistical analysis. This type of research involves deductive testing of theories. The quantitative researcher aims at "building in protection against bias, controlling for alternative explanations and being able to generalize and replicate findings" (Creswell 2014: 4). One criticism directed against quantitative research is the difficulty in breaking down human behaviour into distinct elements that can be studied and that such behaviour should be approached within a global view. Another problem with quantitative research is that the hard data it produces does not always suit concepts with multi-dimensions, such as social class, due to the difficulty of standardising such notions (Corbetta 2003: 42-43).

Choosing an integrated approach that combines both qualitative and quantitative methods represents an attempt to employ a methodology that is comprehensive and multi-dimensional. This study could benefit from such an approach to capture the

attitudes of both readers and columnists and to explore different dimensions in the phenomenon of diglossia.

Thomas (2003: 6-7) proposes that "the best answer frequently results from using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods". Creswell (2014: 20) agrees, arguing that a combination of methods is particularly useful if using a single method may not be adequate enough to understand, in which case the mixed methods approach is best. Moreover, Creswell (2014: 14-15) notes that, to researchers, a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods would eliminate any biases or weaknesses of each type of data.

Table 10 compares the procedures of qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods (taken from Creswell 2014: 17):

Quantitative Methods	Mixed Methods	Qualitative Methods
Predetermined	Both predetermined and emerging methods	Emerging methods
Instrument-based questions	Both open- and close-ended questions	Open-ended questions
Performance data, attitude data, observational data, and census data	Multiple forms of data drawing on all possibilities	Interview data, observation data, document data, and audiovisual data
Statistical analysis	Statistical and text analysis	Text and image analysis
	Across databases	

Statistical interpretation	interpretation	Themes, patterns interpretation
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Table 10 Quantitative, Mixed, and Qualitative Methods

Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: 15) believe that quantitative research is mostly confirmatory and “involves theory verification” whereas qualitative research is often exploratory in nature and “involves theory generation” (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2003: 15). They also ask “what happens when you want to do both?” and answer this question by saying:

“A major advantage of mixed-methods research is that it enables the researcher to simultaneously answer confirmatory and exploratory questions, and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study.” (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2003: 15).

Furthermore, Johnson and Turner (2003: 299) maintain that one of the reasons for using a mixed-methods approach is “to elucidate the divergent aspects of a phenomenon.” Moreover, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: 17) propose that this approach provides different inferences and those inferences, in turn, “reflect different voices and perspectives.”

Recognising the importance and advantages of this strategy, I have adopted a mixed methods approach in this research. This is because I am not only investigating the attitudes of participants through the use of quantitative methods (matched-guise test/social attitudes survey), but I am also interested in the views and opinions of the columnists, for which a qualitative method (interviews) is more appropriate. Employing various data collection methods and making use of both audio interviews and questionnaire-based attitude surveys can help to elicit different types of data. A mixed methods approach benefits from aspects of both qualitative and quantitative methods: it allows for the inclusion of both closed questions and open-ended ones (where a participant is allowed to express his/her own views despite the fact that these will undoubtedly be harder to quantify than their closed equivalents). Using only qualitative methods for collecting the opinions of the readers could result in very lengthy and/or irrelevant answers. Moreover, the analyses employed here vary between the use of

quantitative statistical techniques (applied to questionnaire survey results, for example) to qualitative textual analysis (of newspaper articles). A comprehensive approach such as this allows me to avoid the limitations of confining the research to a single method. The qualitative methods used in this study are the columnists' interviews and MM and MLF analyses of the newspaper articles. The quantitative methods include the matched-guise test and the social attitudes survey.

3.3 Data collection

This section describes the data collection methods used in this study, which consist of four phases. The first and second phases of the data collection both involve sourcing articles from the online archives of *Al-Watan*, *Al-Qabas* and *Al-Rai* newspapers, which are accessible from the newspapers' official websites. Since these articles are made available to the public, no arrangements for obtaining consent from the authors were deemed to be necessary. All newspapers included in the study are written in SA and KA. None are written in English, although they may occasionally contain some instances of English or some other language.

Because the MM analysis has a broad aim, i.e. investigating the social motivations behind code-switching, and it involves the analysis of both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching to investigate the motivations behind linguistic choices, frequency of code-switching in articles and columnists was naturally used as a criterion for choosing the articles. Frequent instances of code-switching (i.e. more than three instances) in newspaper articles were hypothesised to reveal new insights into the notions of markedness and intentionality in a diglossic society such as Kuwait. Thus, only articles that contained several instances (i.e. at least three instances) of diglossic code-switching were chosen. Two articles by six columnists (three male and three female), were thus collected and analysed using the MM approach, making a total of 12 separate items:

Ahmad Al-Fahad	<i>maalik illa kabat alHajjiyyah</i> 'Then you have no better choice than the old lady's closet'
----------------	---

Male	<i>almalyuwn.. `aliyk b'alf `aafyah</i> 'The million.. enjoy them'
Azizah Al-Mufarrij	<i>yaa bakhatkum fiynnaa yaa ahl al`iraaq</i> 'How lucky you are, O people of Iraq [in having us as your neighbours]'
Female	<i>shu `uwn wa shujuwn</i> 'Matters and worries'
Jaafar Rajab	<i>riyuwg ma `a altarbiyah</i> 'Breakfast with the Education [i.e. Ministry of Education]'
<i>Al-Rai</i>	<i>fawDa altasliyf wa muHaafaZat alfarwaniyyah</i> 'The chaos of the Credit [i.e. The Credit and Savings Bank of Kuwait] and the Farwaniya Governorate'
Fawziyah Al-Sabah	<i>mahzalat almajlis wa alHukuwmah</i> 'The farce of the parliament and the government'
<i>Al-Rai</i>	<i>maTaar alkuwiyt wa altadkhiyn</i> 'Kuwait Airport and Smoking'
Eqbal Al-Ahmad	<i>aldaf Hatta bilma `aatim</i> 'The tambour [is used] even at funerals'
Female	<i>basnaa fasaad</i> 'We had enough with the corruption'
Ali Al-Baghli	<i>Dahaan alsiyr `ala alTariyqah alkuwriyyah yaHil mashaakilna alshawaari `iyyah</i> 'Giving financial rewards in the Korean way solves our street problems'
Male	<i>Taraa `if almunaaqSaata wa Daraa `if almumaarasaat</i> 'The humour of bidding and the amusement of practices'

Table 11 MM analysis sample

For tabulating the normalised frequency of diglossic code-switching across articles, a frequency index score was set up. This allows us to establish how frequent code-switching is in a given article. I adopted the following formula for the present study (see also Edwards 1986; Al-Dashti 1998 for similar but slightly different formulae):

$$\text{Code-switching Frequency Score} = \frac{\text{no. of Kuwaiti words}}{\text{total no. of Kuwaiti + SA words}} \times 100$$

After the diglossic code-switching frequency index score was set up, an analysis of articles in which code-switching was more frequent (in relation to other articles) was used to investigate the linguistic production of columnists based on the MM. For example, the highest frequency score, out of 100, in Ali Al-Baghli's articles is 4.3, whereas the lowest is 0.2. Thus, an article by one columnist can be compared with code-switching frequency scores in other articles written either by themselves or by others.

The second data collection phase involved the sourcing of articles for the MLF analysis. This time, publication date of articles was the main sampling criterion. This is because we are zooming in on the specific area of morphosyntactic constraints on CS regardless of the columnist. Signs of morphosyntactic constraints in the texts are important, thus it is more efficient to investigate a narrower spectrum of data, with more focus on the texts than on the columnists, since, unlike the MM analysis, we are not investigating the social motivations of the columnists' choices. For this analysis, a sample of nine articles by nine different columnists from both sexes is used (see Table 12):

Article no.	Title	Columnist
1	<i>buwHmuwd sakkar ildiyrah w ga`ad</i> "Bu Hmuud closed [the borders of] the country"	Fuad Al-Hashem
2	<i>takhaariyf almu`ariDiy aljudad</i> "The nonsense of the new opposition"	Abdullatif Alduaij
3	<i>riyuwg ma`a altarbiyah</i> "Breakfast with the [Ministry of] Education"	Jaafar Rajab
4	<i>lamiys wa alkidhb alkhasiys</i> "Lamiis and despicable lying"	Azizah Al-Mufarrij
5	<i>'aHadahum laa bud `ann yasquT</i> "One of them must fall"	Iqbal Al-Ahmad
6	<i>mahzalat almajlis wa alHukuwmah</i> "The farce of the Parliament and the Government"	Fawziyah Al-Subah

7	<i>maalik 'illa kabat ilHajjiyyah</i> “Then you have no better choice than the old lady’s closet”	Ahmad Al-Fahad
8	<i>al'uwmmah illiy mafiysh minha fayda!</i> “The nation that is useless”	Ali Al-Baghli
9	<i>La`naat almaSriyyin `ala almuHamiyn alkuwaytiyyin</i> “The Egyptian curses on the Kuwaiti lawyers”	Mohammad Al-Awadhi

Table 12 MLF analysis sample

The third phase in the data collection process involved designing a questionnaire and distributing it to participants. The questionnaire phase included a matched-guise test and a closed-question questionnaire that assesses the language attitudes of readers towards diglossic code-switching in newspapers (for more details see Sections from 3.4.4 to 3.4.7 and see Appendix A). The devising of this questionnaire is guided by Romaine’s (1995) comment on Dorian (1981). Here she proposed that one of the reasons for administering questionnaires in person is to avoid lack of control over the results, such as making sure that the person intended to fill out the questionnaire is the one who is going to perform this task, not anyone else on their behalf (Romaine 1995: 302). Moreover, the investigator's absence at the time when informants complete the questionnaire may lead to informants’ questions remaining unanswered or misunderstandings arising which the investigator could easily explain or disambiguate if they were present at that time (Romaine 1995: 302).

In relation to the current study, I did initially try to personally administer all the questionnaires to each columnist who agreed at the outset to participate. However, some participants felt somewhat uncertain about their participation in this part of the process due to the fact that they did not know how much personal information they would be asked to give or what the questionnaire would involve. This required me to explain and clarify any points that were unclear to participants early on but even then some participants remained reluctant to take part. Moreover, it was also difficult to personally administer questionnaires aimed at certain ethnic and religious minorities, such as Christian Kuwaitis or Hassaawis, since some of them would not be comfortable interacting with me given my own ethnic and religious background. In such cases, assistants proved particularly useful in helping me administer the tests. One of the problematic aspects of such an approach is the fact that one needs to really restrict the

length of the questionnaire. They have to be shorter than those employed in face-to-face interviews and the questions must be simpler as Corbetta (2003: 147) rightly points out. Another problem is the lack of control which the researcher then has over the response return rate, as it is not always possible to guarantee that all respondents targeted will eventually fully complete and return the questionnaire. Such problems in my case were mitigated through the use of assistants who acted as intermediaries between me and the participants and who helped ensure that a high number of fully complete questionnaires were eventually returned for analysis in those small number of cases where I was unable to administer the questionnaire personally in keeping with the good practice of the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985: 216). It should be noted, however, that there were a small number of cases where I encountered difficulties in gaining access to the subjects involved and most of these subsequently had to be removed from the statistical analysis due to their low level of participation (i.e. Christian Kuwaitis) (see Table 5).

In addition to the researcher herself, two such assistants were employed to collect data from participants. These individuals were generally used to help reduce any feelings of suspicion or potential misunderstanding by the participants as the assistants were always matched with subjects from a similar social and ethnic background. Crano and Brewer (2002: 240) report a number of studies that emphasize the importance of matching the race of both the interviewer and the interviewee (e.g. Hyman, Cobb, Feldman, Hart, & Stember 1954; Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star & Williams 1949). Moreover, the matching factor also proved very useful in gaining access to the community of columnists who, because they were approached by a person tied to them professionally (i.e. another columnist), the participants appeared to trust me more than they would have done if I had approached them personally. One of the assistants is a Kuwaiti male in his 40s and the other assistant is a Kuwaiti female, also in her 40s. The role they played was important as they helped ensure that the participants understood what was required of them and encouraged full participation. For distributing the questionnaires, it was taken into consideration that a Kuwaiti ought to distribute the questionnaires to reassure the participants and make them feel more comfortable expressing shared ethnicity especially regarding the requesting of some personal information.

The fourth phase is the interview with the columnists phase. During these interviews, the columnists were asked a number of questions and they were given a chance to state their opinions freely (see Section 3.4.3 for the list of questions). The

one-to-one interviews were all conducted by me in a relaxed atmosphere and involved a series of questions about diglossic code-switching in newspapers. Generally, these aimed to unearth information about: (i) opinions of and attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers; (ii) the function of the L variety in newspapers; (iii) the columnists' practices with regard to diglossic code-switching; (iv) the effect of diglossic code-switching on the readers and (v) newspaper policies on the use of diglossic code-switching (for a full list, see Appendix B).

The fifth and final phase involved sourcing articles for the language change study. In order to establish whether any changes to code-switching frequencies in newspaper articles have taken place, I compared two samples of output from newspaper columnists: the first sample is from 1985 and the second is from 2014–15. The decision to use the work of columnists in 1985 as the first data point was necessitated by the following interrelated reasons. The majority of newspapers in Kuwait were not established until the 1960s or 1970s. In those papers published during this period, an insufficient number of articles were written by native-speaking Kuwaitis.¹² Moreover, some of the newspaper archives relating to materials published in the 1960s and 1970s were destroyed during the Gulf War (e.g. the *Al-Seyassah* newspaper). Of those (few remaining) early newspapers that were available via archives, their managers proved not to be very cooperative and restricted all public access. For this reason, my options as a researcher were limited. Fortunately, since the 1980s, there has been a significant increase in the number of accessible newspaper articles which have been written by Kuwaitis and I was thus able to sample materials from this period in order to compare them with more recent publications. Comparing articles from the mid-1980s to those from the mid-2010s involves a time span of some 30 years. Notwithstanding the logistical problems listed above, this time span was, nevertheless, considered to be a sufficient time depth on account of the many economic, political and social changes, which have taken place in Kuwaiti society during this period.¹³

¹² An archive manager at one of the newspapers has also informed me of the very large number of Arab writers at Kuwaiti newspapers in the 1970s due to the low numbers of Kuwaitis who wrote for newspapers. For example, in my exploration of the archives of the *Al-Watan* newspaper in the 1970s – one of the most well-known newspapers in Kuwait – I found that only one Kuwaiti columnist wrote for this newspaper.

¹³ Kuwait witnessed a number of important events during these years, including: the rise of Islamism in the country in the 1980s, the Iran-Iraq war during which Kuwait supported Iraq between 1980 and 1988, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, numerous political and social changes, and finally the advent of the internet and technological advances, especially in the 2000s, which affected the Kuwaiti community as they did the rest of the world.

3.4 Sampling methods and tests:

3.4.1 Methods: *Quota/Judgment/Snowball*

In this section, the sampling methods used for the participants' matched-guise sample are discussed. The matched-guise test study relies mainly on quota sampling. Random sampling is not employed in this study for a number of reasons. First, a random sample is difficult to achieve when minority groups are involved (Lanza 2008: 82), as is the case in the current study (i.e. Christians and Shiites). Second, using geographical areas as a basis for the sample poses problems to the analysis as the researcher may end up "with the ones [i.e. participants] that actually respond" to the researcher's invitation only (Lanza 2008: 82). Milroy and Gordon (2003: 30) propose that variationist linguists have preferred the use of quota sampling instead of random sampling since Labov's (1966) contribution on the matter. They describe quota/judgment sampling as a method whereby "the researcher identifies in advance what types of speakers... [will] be studied and then seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the specified categories" (see also Chambers 2009). Deciding which criteria are to be included in the sample is usually done through the help of an expert or according to the researcher's opinion, as was the case here. Moser and Kalton (1972: 134) suggest that one of the advantages of quota sampling is the fact that it is useful in conducting fieldwork that needs to be carried out quickly. Obviously, given the restricted time frame of a PhD project, this approach is thus best suited. Moreover, quota sampling is considered to be an appropriate method for sampling a population that is "sparsely spread over the country" (Moser and Kalton 1972: 134) as in the case of Christian Kuwaitis.¹⁴ Additional advantages are the low costs of this method by comparison to other methods as well as the fact that it is not difficult to administer, since no random selection is required (Moser and Kalton 1972: 134).

The choice of sex, education, religion and ethnicity as independent variables was motivated by the objectives of this research as well as the factors examined in previous literature with which my results were to be compared. For example, it was

¹⁴ Judgement sampling accommodates for unique cases as well (Lanza 2008: 83).

demonstrated that ethnicity as a social factor plays an important role in language variation in Kuwait (see Taqi 2010). Also, as Chapter 2 already explained, the factors of gender, religion and education have shown interaction with diglossic variation across the Arab world. Moreover, in quota sampling, age and sex are deemed to be one of the “controlling factors” (Linn 1983: 240). Milroy and Gordon (2003: 31) put considerable emphasis on the role of the investigator if “the relevant social categories” cannot be easily specified by “demographic criteria”. According to them, it is for the investigator to know the community well enough through ethnographic methods in order for them to arrive at a suitable representative sample (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 31). Eckert (2000), for example, used judgment sampling in her ethnographic research into students in a secondary school in Chicago and it is thus difficult to challenge “the reliability” of her judgments due to the fact that she has “extensive knowledge of the community” (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 31). In my case, the knowledge that is needed to structure a sample that is representative of the population (readers of newspapers in Kuwait) has already been obtained throughout my life as a member of the educated Kuwaiti community. Basically, I endeavoured to ensure that all the matched-guise participants belonged to roughly equivalent social class groupings. It is difficult to determine the notion of ‘class’ in Kuwait since it is “complicated by the persistence of status markers such as family name in the determination of social status” (Dresch and Piscatori 2005: 272; cf. Bassiouney 2009). The notion of ‘class’ in Kuwait is indeed a complicated and fuzzy one, even to me as a native of that community. It is influenced by other, more stable social factors, such as ethnicity, religion, family name and even the time of one’s citizenship acquisition (see Longva 2000). This led me to rely on other social factors in my analysis of the results which will be further explored in Chapter 4.

Snowball sampling was another technique used for finding participants to fill my sample. It proved to be difficult to get access to some participants and some cells got filled much quicker than others, so a snowball technique was required in order to seek the rest of the participants for empty cells who had certain demographic characteristics. This method tends to be used by researchers who investigate social networks (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 32) and it is also often employed in judgment samples when the investigator asks the participants of the study to recommend other new participants. According to Tagliamonte (2006: 21), a “friend to a friend” approach offers a solution to situations where the researcher needs to gain access to a group of people with whom he/she has no “pre-existing personal ties”. Since “it is the ‘friend of a

friend' who helps you get the things you want", these 'intermediaries' are able to help you gain access to such people as well (Tagliamonte 2006: 21). Thus, the investigator is less likely to be turned down when approaching new participants as a "friend of a friend", which is considered one of the advantages of the snowball technique (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 32). Gordon (2001) used this technique very successfully to complete the quotas in his study of small communities in Michigan and recommended it for investigating "minority ethnic groups, immigrants" (2003: 32) of the kind that I am also targeting in this research.

In order to gain access to the community of columnists, I sought the help of a newspaper employee who is a friend of a relative of mine. Whereas quota sampling and the 'friend of a friend' technique were used to recruit readers as participants, only a 'friend of a friend' strategy was used to gain access to columnists. My journalist contact, having written for several newspapers and been in the field for a number of years, knows many fellow columnists and people working in both Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti newspapers. With his help, I was thus able to gain access to the columnists for the interviews and to be accepted as someone with whom they could feel comfortable working with.

3.4.2 Interviewing the Columnists

This research is interested in uncovering regular patterns of code-switching, thus I wanted to investigate the opinions of well-established columnists so wanted access to educated Kuwaiti columnists over the age of 30 from both sexes and with different religious affiliations who have been in the field for some time and who are still working in for Kuwaiti newspapers. Table 13 shows the sample used for this part of the study. It includes three Sunnis and three Shiites aged 30+. The non-inclusion of Christians as columnists is due to the fact that it is extremely rare to find one working in the Kuwaiti newspaper industry, yet one can frequently find Sunni and Shiite columnists engaged in this role. The fact that the sample includes far more male than female columnists is, unsurprisingly perhaps, due to the fact that Kuwait is a male-dominated society. A mathematical test was undertaken to examine the ratio of male to female columnists in three Kuwaiti newspapers: *Al-Watan*, *Al-Qabas* and *Al-Rai*. The numbers of male versus female columnists was observed for the calendar month of March 2011. The

percentage of the latter was as follows: *Al-Watan* (8.54%), *Al-Qabas* (12.77%) and *Al-Rai* (9.45%). As can be seen, the highest percentage of female columnists occurred in *Al-Qabas*, and the lowest was in *Al-Watan*. The total percentage of female columnists in these three newspapers over a period of a whole month was only 10% (134 out of 1291). The male-dominated sample that was thus eventually constructed for this study is therefore representative of the demography of newspaper columnists as a whole in Kuwait.

Sex	Sunni	Shiite
M	3	2
F	0	1

Table 13 Sample of newspaper columnists interviewed

Even though this is an imbalanced sample, it is not a problem since I am more interested in obtaining via the face-to-face interviews the columnists' individual thoughts and experiences about diglossic code-switching in newspapers.

3.4.3 Interviews

The columnists' perceptions and opinions are crucial and enrich our understanding of the diglossic code-switching phenomenon in newspaper articles. The interviews give the columnists a chance to explain their reasons for the use of such variation in articles. It should first be noted here that the interviews with the columnists were digitally recorded to facilitate the subsequent analysis process. The main purpose of these interviews is to understand how columnists explain and account for diglossic code-switching and how they think it might affect their readers. They are also asked about the columnists' community and newspaper policies and practices with regard to this issue.

In order to induce a relaxed and casual atmosphere in the interviews, I attempted to conduct them in social settings like coffee shops or in the columnists' own homes though even then my ability to socialize with them to any great degree was often constrained by their lack of time.

My interviews with the columnists were structured which, according to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006: 125), means that each of the participants will be asked the same questions. They also suggest that when using other methods to obtain data (e.g. surveys), structured interviews may be used as a confirmation method. This can be achieved through comparing the results of the interviews since “the resulting data has a higher degree of standardization”. Due to the fact that the interviewer maintains the same position and asks the same questions in all interviews, it will be easier to draw such a comparison between respondents and have some form of standardization and uniformity which makes it easier to make generalizations regarding the data in hand (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2006: 125). Again, due to the nature of the type of data sought, it would be more convenient, for research purposes, to adhere to the structured interview type, rather than semi-structured or open-ended interviews to obtain information about language attitudes, since certain questions need to be focused on and irrelevant answers might prove to be time-consuming.

Bernard (2006: 257) mentions one advantage of face-to-face interviews over questionnaires, in that during a structured interview a participant cannot “flip through the questionnaires” and see what there is on the other pages. I agree with Bernard (2006) on the importance of the interviewer’s presence as part of helping keep the process running smoothly without distractions or errors, such as straying from the topic or not adhering to the order of questions. Also, I believe that, for a small number of participants (such as the number of columnists we have here, i.e. 6), it is better to benefit from the use of interviews as opposed to questionnaires, which are more appropriate for larger numbers of participants (see Sections 3.4.6 and 3.4.7). However, one disadvantage of interviews, Codo (2008: 158) suggests, is that they are “more costly and time-consuming”. This disadvantage was clear when I was doing my own interviews with the columnists where I often had to hang around for long periods of time even when I had made fixed appointments with them. The strict set of 19 questions asked in the columnists’ interviews are given in Appendix (B) and these were mainly motivated by the research objectives, including uncovering attitudes and practices relating to diglossic code-switching.

3.4.4 The matched-guise test

The matched-guise technique has been a popular indirect method for assessing language attitudes and has been employed by many linguists (e.g. Lambert et al. 1960; El-Dash and Tucker 1975; see also Labov's 1984 subjective reaction test). The use of the matched-guise technique relied on the notion that "speech styles trigger certain social categorizations that will lead to a set of group-related trait-inferences" (Giles and Billings 2006: 189). Thus, for example, when a person hears someone speaking Arabic, a set of traits associated with this particular variety will come to his/her mind.

In the classic matched-guise test, the participants are presented with two speech samples (in two varieties or more) by the same person. These samples should not contain any variation that is speaker-related, and "the fact that one person is responsible for both samples is not recognized" in the process (Nortier 2008: 43). In a typical matched-guise test, audio-tape recording is used to test the participants, by having the same speaker read in different guises (Garrett 2010: 41). The researcher can elicit the informants' attitudes by asking them to rate the speakers based on a number of social traits using rating scales, which are easier to quantify than answers to open questions (Nortier 2008: 43; see Section 3.4.6 below for more on how the matched-guise test is constructed for the current study).

Numerous studies have been conducted for languages across the world. In the following, I will limit myself to review relevant studies conducted in the Arab world. A very important study that particularly investigates attitudes in a diglossic community using the matched-guise test is El-Dash and Tucker (1975). The study found that respondents held different attitudes towards Standard Arabic, Colloquial Arabic and English. In general, they rated Standard Arabic more favourably than Colloquial Arabic in all personality traits, namely intelligence, likeability, religiousness and leadership. In Lambert et al.'s (1965) study, which investigates the attitudes of Palestinians and Israelis, each group was actually found to degrade the other on the status dimension due to their rivalry. Reid interprets both cases as instances of "competition over status" (2012: 22). This issue is not expected to be a factor in the results of the current study due to its different nature. For example, both types of study mentioned by Reid (2012) involve attitudes towards the variety of either rival social groups or two groups in which one is more dominant than the other. In our case, SA is the variety of no particular social group. It is available to every person in the community who has access to education. Even though SA is no one's mother tongue, it still is associated with an Arab

identity. Thus, it would still be interesting to see how Ajams, an ethnic group with Persian origins who are sometimes perceived as non-Arabs, will react to diglossic code-switching in comparison to the other groups, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 4.

Matched-guise tests using written texts as stimuli have been used innovatively by Buchstaller (2006) in her study of the quotatives, *go* and *be like*, in the USA and the UK. An approach to applying the matched-guise test to written texts similar to that of Buchstaller (2006) will be adopted in my study. As Campbell-Kibler (2006: 65) notes, "while this [method] is not particularly effective for phonetic or phonological variables, it has the advantage of eliminating such factors from the performance [...]" Another advantage of using written material is the fact that it is easier to control linguistic features in this medium in comparison to spoken guises (Campbell-Kibler 2006: 65). However, Buchstaller (2006: 377) reports Dailey-O'Cain's suggestion that one of the disadvantages of using written stimuli for eliciting attitudes is the fact that it may be unusual to see some linguistic forms in the written media. Even though this could be true for testing forms that normally occur in the spoken medium, our case here is different as we are testing the written medium which has witnessed some use of the vernacular recently.

The matched-guise technique was used by some linguists in conjunction with direct methods, such as interviews and questionnaires. For example, Lieberman (1975) used a twofold approach, i.e. questionnaires alongside a matched-guise test. Her results revealed that, whereas bilinguals in St. Lucia had higher ratings for English sentences than Patois equivalents in questionnaires, the attitudes elicited from them when the matched-guise test was also applied differed in interesting ways. Patois received higher ratings than English did. In a study on Brazil, where both direct and indirect methods were used (a questionnaire and a matched-guise test again), El-Dash and Busnardo (2001) investigated attitudes towards English. They found that half of the respondents rated English as higher in prestige, whereas the other half unexpectedly rated English higher on the dimension of solidarity. Another study that combined both direct and indirect methods is the study of Pierson et al. (1980). In their study, they adopted a questionnaire of direct statements and indirectly assessed attitudes by using a scale of stereotypes. Their results indicated that English language attainment is associated with a number of attitudes. However, their study revealed that the direct techniques were more successful than indirect methods when it comes to English attainment and attitudes.

3.4.5 The drawbacks of the matched-guise test

The matched-guise technique is not without its drawbacks. One problem that has exercised researchers in general is the possibility of having other variables, other than the guise itself, influence the attitudes of the listeners/readers, e.g. the content of the text being read, the quality of the speaker's voice, etc. (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 146). In particular, several attempts were made by linguists to avoid having the topic of the text which carried the stimuli influence the listener/reader (see, *inter alia*, d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973, Wolck 1973, El-Dash and Tucker 1975, Harriman and Coupland 1990, Buchstaller 2006). To eliminate this problem, researchers tried to have both guises talk about a general and neutral topic. However, Garrett (2010) questions the effectiveness of such a method, as finding a neutral text can be easier said than done as demonstrated by Harriman and Coupland's (1990) attempt to do just that. Garrett (2010: 59) blames our "pre-existing social schemata" for our inability to neutrally judge a text. In this study, in order for me to minimize the effect of the content on the reader, the texts chosen are based on articles by the same writer discussing the same topic (Kuwaiti parliament elections) but are not exactly the same text. The main reason for that is to achieve consistency in topic across both texts, but not absolute resemblance. Newspaper articles in Kuwaiti newspapers tend to discuss politics and local affairs mostly and it is rare to find articles that could be described as 100% neutral as all of these are in fact expressing opinions of one type or another. What also complicated the process of finding the perfect text and narrowed down my options quite significantly is the fact that for the analysis I needed two articles discussing the same topic, one of which contains diglossic code-switching whereas the other did not. Thus, texts that discussed controversial issues (religion, sex, social traditions and so on) had to be avoided.

Second, Garrett (2010: 59) criticizes matched-guise tests for their lack of authenticity in relation to style. This is due to the fact that when guises are performed in a conventional matched-guise test through reading written texts aloud, the implications of reading aloud are overlooked. This problem, however, is not relevant to our study. The texts are already written and, unlike spoken guises, lack certain phonological information that may influence the readers' perceptions (see Buchstaller 2006).

Finally, artificiality, as has been suggested earlier in this thesis, is another problem for users of the matched-guise technique (see, *inter alia*, Robinson 1972, Masterson et al. 1983; cf. Edwards 1982). However, when using written texts as stimuli, this disadvantage will no longer be relevant since respondents would already be judging writers of texts in contexts similar to those in real life (like the context of reading a newspaper), which is unlike having two speakers read out a text in an artificial manner for the purpose of the test. Moreover, matched-guise tests based on spoken guises are criticized for their lack of authenticity when it comes to mimicking accents (Garrett 2010: 58). This problem is also eliminated in written stimuli due to the fact that the KA used in the stimuli is actually produced by a native speaker of KA.

Even though the matched-guise test was met by criticism by some linguists and was judged as artificial (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970; Robinson 1972), Edwards (1982: 22) proposes that it can nevertheless prove useful when used in conjunction with other ways of assessing attitudes (e.g. questionnaires). Similarly, McKenzie (2010: 52-53) emphasizes the importance of adopting an approach that combines both direct and indirect methods as I intend to do here.

Since using the matched-guise test in written texts has already been employed in other research to successfully elicit covert attitudes to language variation (see Buchstaller 2006), coupled with the fact that this study revolves around written material and does not aim to evaluate attitudes towards verbal language use, the matched-guise test of written stimuli was adopted in this study. An additional reason for the use of written stimuli is the fact that writing is mostly a domain in which SA is expected to occur, thus it reflects the diglossic nature of the community and the use of KA forms in such a domain presents the readers with a classic example of diglossic code-switching between the standard and the vernacular in Kuwait. Furthermore, the use of indirect methods of investigating language attitudes helps us bring out covert or subconscious attitudes in the participants that are not normally manifested with the use of direct methods (Garrett 2010: 43, Garret et al. 2003).

3.4.6 Designing the matched-guise test

The production of a well-designed questionnaire plays a major role in facilitating the collection of reliable data. The research tool used in this study is comprised of two main sections: the first part is a matched-guise test (I. Personality traits) and the second part is a questionnaire which contains the social attitudes survey test (II. Attitudinal Survey) and the personal information section (III. Personal Information) (see Appendix A). The matched-guise test is designed to elicit the covert attitudes of readers towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers. The social attitudes survey, on the other hand, attempts to elicit the overt attitudes of the respondents. In the personal information section, the respondents are asked personal questions, such as how old they are, their gender, their education level, their religious sect, and finally the ethnic group to which they belong.

The matched-guise test first investigates the way the respondents are going to evaluate the personality traits of both columnists. The two excerpts, one in SA and the other contains diglossic code-switching, are repeated on each page in order for the respondents to save time and find the excerpts conveniently. The adaptation of the matched-guise technique in this study will be based on the classic version of the test (Lambert et al. 1960) but with some modifications that suit the purpose of this study, namely the use of written guises.

In the matched-guise test, the respondents were presented with two modified excerpts based on articles written by the same person. They are told that the two excerpts are written by two different columnists and are asked to rate these columnists on a number of personality traits. The reason why articles were chosen as the basis of these excerpts is to present stimuli that are based on newspaper writing. However, our goal, which is to analyze the readers' attitudes, leads us to be careful with the stimuli presented to the readers. Even though the excerpts are largely based on the columnist's articles, they had to be modified in such a way so as not to influence the effect of the stimuli on the reader. They are thus modified in two ways: First, the excerpts are linguistically controlled on purpose (i.e. in terms of linguistic constructions, such as the use of numbers, relative clauses, length of the excerpts, removing code-switching markers such as brackets, etc.) to minimize the differences between both texts. One example of this is the bracketed expression *ySiyir khiyr* in the code-switched text. In the modified text, I removed the brackets to avoid having any cues that might skew the interpretations of the text (see Appendix A). Second, due to the fact that we need the participants to notice the presence of the L variety in the second text and react to its

presence, a high frequency of L is a very important factor that needs to be perceivable in the text (see Buchstaller 2006). This led to the introduction of some tokens of KA into the second text which contained diglossic code-switching. The introduction of the KA tokens was done mostly by using the KA equivalent of the already existing words in the article. The following sentence, for example, occurred originally with the SA word *faqaT*, meaning ‘only’. However, I used the KA word *bass* which is an equivalent of the SA word to achieve a higher frequency of KA:

“and the results come out, with only 50 members winning”

1. Original sentence:

وتأتي النتيجة بنجاح خمسين نائبا فقط

wa ta'tiy alnatiyja binajaaH khamsiyn naa'ibaN faqaT

2. Modified sentence:

وتأتي النتيجة بنجاح خمسين نائبا بين

wa ta'tiy alnatiyja binajaaH khamsiyn naa'ibaN bass

One KA token, *abkhaS* ‘more informed’, was introduced into the text without having an equivalent in the original version to achieve both coherence and a higher frequency of KA. However, the columnist used this word elsewhere in one of his other articles so there is some precedent for its inclusion. The texts were also judged by a linguist at Newcastle University and a pilot test, in which participants were asked to identify L tokens in both texts, was carried out to ensure that the tokens had the same effect across texts (see Buchstaller 2006, Campbell-Kibler 2006).

For a matched-guise test to yield useful results, the texts evaluated by the participants need to be representative as well. Biber (1993: 243) proposes that, in order for a text to be representative, it needs to include “the full range of variability in a population”. To reach representativeness in this study, the texts were taken from the articles of a regular newspaper columnist who, in addition to being fluent and

experienced in the writing of SA in newspapers, is a native speaker of KA. Moreover, the two texts presented reflect the regular situation in Kuwaiti newspapers, where some articles are written in SA exclusively and others in SA with instances of KA. This is the reason for the exclusion of texts that are written extensively in KA since this type of article is not very common. Also, there exist Kuwaiti columnists, for example, who are not as fluent in KA as other columnists, due to several reasons, which make their articles not as representatives as those of native KA speakers.

After the matched-guise test, the respondents are also presented with personality traits scales. The personality traits belong to two main categories: status-related (e.g. important, educated, rich) and solidarity-related (e.g. friendly, trustworthy; see Giles and Coupland 1991).

A semantic differential scale technique (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum 1957) was incorporated in the test so that the results might be analysed quantitatively. These scales consist of two opposite extremes of a certain trait with numbered scales between them. Ratings can be calculated manually but the advent of technological advances now permits such calculations to be conducted utilising a specialised computer application, such as SPSS (see further Section 3.6).

Garrett (2010: 78) proposes that the semantic differential scales when used in tests are proved to be “conducive to snap responses”, which makes them very suitable for studies that make use of indirect methods. Finally, it offers researchers a chance to carry out cross-cultural comparisons, the ability to conduct tests using semantic differential scales with different guises means that the number of comparable studies is increasing (see Heise 1970). For the previously mentioned reasons, the semantic differential scales technique will be used in the matched-guise test. More importantly, and in addition to those reasons, the semantic differential scale technique has been adopted by a number of studies and was proved useful (see e.g. Buchstaller 2006; Giles et al. 1995; Solmecke & Boosch 1979; d'Anglejan & Tucker 1973).

A pilot study was mainly conducted so as to arrive at the best and most relevant personality traits for the matched-guise test. Even though some of these were already chosen based on previous research (such as the traditional solidarity and status traits, e.g. *friendly* and *educated*), it was crucial to ask a group of participants to give their opinions about the personality traits that best describe the columnists in order for me to detect the traits that the participants did not react to. A total of 19 adult Kuwaiti

participants took part in the pilot study, from both sexes and both education levels (pre-university and university educated). The participants were asked a total of six questions, all revolving around personality traits that describe the columnists. Not only were they encouraged to provide their own suggestions, but they were also asked to rate existing personality traits that I provided, suggest traits that are relevant to the Kuwaiti culture as well as provide antonyms for the traits already chosen. Certain traits were widely chosen by the participants as appropriate and relevant to the context of diglossic code-switching in newspapers, such as: *confident*, *educated*, *linguistically competent*, etc. Other personality traits were not widely recommended by the participants but were included based on their significance in previous research, such as *religious* (see El-Dash and Tucker 1975). Some traits suggested by the participants, however, were not adopted in the survey due to the fact that they are heavily loaded, e.g. *ignorant* as a heavily loaded antonym to *educated*. In this case, more neutral traits were used, such as *uneducated*. Thus, the opinions of the pilot participants provided guidance in the design of the matched-guise test and were not the only factor in deciding what trait should be used.

Table 14 shows the matched-guise test questions of the personality traits that are adopted in this study:

relaxed	1...2...3...4...5...6	excited
sarcastic	1...2...3...4...5...6	unsarcastic
confident	1...2...3...4...5...6	unconfident
uneducated	1...2...3...4...5...6	educated
accurate	1...2...3...4...5...6	inaccurate
serious	1...2...3...4...5...6	funny
reliable	1...2...3...4...5...6	unreliable
stupid	1...2...3...4...5...6	intelligent
a good writing style	1...2...3...4...5...6	a bad writing style
irresponsible	1...2...3...4...5...6	responsible
religious	1...2...3...4...5...6	unreligious
linguistically incompetent	1...2...3...4...5...6	linguistically competent
moderate	1...2...3...4...5...6	extreme
friendly	1...2...3...4...5...6	unfriendly
talking to lower classes	1...2...3...4...5...6	talking to higher classes
good-natured	1...2...3...4...5...6	ill-natured

careless	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	careful
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Table 14 Personality traits of the matched-guise test

Two excerpts of two articles are provided on every page to allow the participants to refer to them when rating the two columnists. The participants are asked to circle the number which they think represents the personality type of the columnist. A scale of numbers is given for each columnist and the participants are given a chance to write any comments they want below their ratings.

Before moving to the Attitudinal Survey, or the social attitudes questionnaire, I will discuss first the design of the questionnaire that follows the matched-guise test.

3.4.7 Designing the questionnaire

A second method in addition to the matched-guise test is necessary to compare the overt attitudes obtained through the questionnaire to the covert ones obtained through the matched-guise test. Before administering a questionnaire, it is important that the participant is given some idea of the topic on which their attitude is going to be investigated (Robinson 1996: 75). In the current questionnaire and the matched-guise test, a brief description of the nature of the study was given as an introduction on the first page. The introduction not only included a description of the study, but it also included contact details if the participants required further information (see Appendix C). In addition, Oppenheim (1992: 101) stresses the importance of the relationship between the aims of measurement and the aims and objectives of the research stressing that "instrument building and questionnaire composition cannot proceed until we have a complete specification of the variables that need to be measured and of the types of instruments..." (e.g. check-lists, open-ended questions, etc.). Oppenheim (1992: 101) lists a number of factors that have to be taken into consideration before designing a questionnaire:

1. Type of data collection instruments: interviews, records content analysis, postal questionnaires, etc.

2. Method of approach to respondents: stated purpose of research, length and duration of questionnaire, confidentiality and anonymity, sponsorship, etc.
3. Build-up of question sequences: modules in the questionnaire, ordering of questions or scales, etc.
4. Order of questions: questions order within modules for every variable using certain approaches, e.g. funnelling.
5. Type of question: closed questions with pre-determined sets of answer choices vs. open-ended questions.

Questionnaires can contain two types of questions: open-ended and closed questions. Open-ended questions have a number of advantages. For example, they give respondents the chance to freely and spontaneously state their views (Oppenheim 1992: 113). Codo (2008: 173) further points out that open questions can be useful in conducting pilot research to “use the information collected to created [*sic*] closed questions”. It should be noted that an open question helps a researcher by giving the respondents a chance to answer 'why' questions which may "give us some great insights into people's opinions" (Rasinger 2008: 59). Open-ended questions are not without their drawbacks, however. In such questions, there is a risk of not obtaining a complete answer from the respondents (Oppenheim 1992: 113), leading to the problem of getting irrelevant or unnecessary information (Rasinger 2008: 59). Moreover, one problem with open-ended questions is that they require more effort on the part of the respondents as they have to write their thoughts and ideas which leads some people to skip them (Rasinger 2008: 59). They are also more difficult to analyze systematically by the researcher (Oppenheim 1992: 113).

Closed questions, on the other hand, restrict the respondents to answering in accordance with the researcher's aims and are much “easier to code and analyze” than open-ended questions (Schuman and Presser 1996: 7-8). It is also ideal for investigating the attitudes of a large number of participants (more than 20) since they offer more accuracy and are time efficient, in comparison to open-ended questions (Henerson et al. 1987: 61). In our case, open-ended questions would really pose a problem since the number of participants is large (n=100), and the subsequent analysis of such open questions would be very time-consuming.

The use of multiple choice questions has also been suggested by Rasinger (2008: 59) as another solution for measuring people's attitudes towards language. He emphasizes the importance of guidance provided by the researcher to their respondents when answering multiple choice questions (e.g. yes/no/I don't know) with an appropriate number of set of more detailed questions corresponding to 'yes' and 'no' choices. Moreover, it is also crucial that the multiple items included in the study "emanate from previous research findings" or a "small-scale qualitative study" (Rasinger 2008: 60-61). In relation to this study, items in multiple choice questions will be derived from previous research to help formulate closed question questionnaires (see Appendix A).

A number of considerations have been taken into account when designing the current questionnaire (Oppenheim 1992, Rasinger 2008, De Vaus 2002, Crano and Brewer 2002, Krosnick and Presser 2010). Oppenheim (1992: 122-128) makes a number of suggestions as to what should be considered when formulating questions. For example, he suggests that the length of the questionnaire is important as it should not be very long. Questions included in a questionnaire should not exceed twenty words, for example, and if this happens then the question needs to be broken up into several parts. Parts that give respondents space and time to "adjust", such as introductory parts, can be of help to the researcher. He also stresses the importance of encouraging participants to cooperate by avoiding participant humiliation by "baffling them with terminology, patronizing them or making them feel in the wrong" as well as the importance of politeness such as using polite forms of language (e.g. 'please', 'would you mind...'). For example, things were rather explained in a more general sense. Moreover, the attractiveness of questionnaires also plays a role: layout, paper quality, spacing, etc. The availability of 'don't know' and 'not applicable' choices could be of use since our aim is, indeed, not to "obtain 'forced' responses" from the participants (122). In this study as well, the participants were given 'not sure' and 'other' choices and space for their comments so as to avoid getting forced responses from them (see Appendix A).

Krosnick and Presser (2010: 264; see also Crano and Brewer (2002) and Rasinger (2008)) give us what they call "conventional wisdom" regarding the ordering of questions:

1. For the researcher to build a connection between him/her and the respondents, he/she should ask the "easy and pleasant" questions first.

2. Questions that clearly “address the topic of the survey” should be asked in the beginning.
3. The researcher must group questions that address the same topic together.
4. When questions are similar in topic, they must proceed “from general to specific”.
5. When a question is suspected to cause discomfort to participants because it addresses a sensitive issue, it must be asked in the end of the survey.
6. Researchers must use filter questions in their surveys so as not to ask participants non-applicable questions.

After reviewing questionnaire design methods proposed by a number of researchers (e.g. Rasinger 2008, Oppenheim 1992, Crano and Brewer 2002, etc.), the questionnaire design of this research is formulated by taking into account these proposals and suggestions as guidelines. For instance, the questions that are central to the research, i.e. rating the columnists based on personality traits, are asked at the beginning of the questionnaire. Questions that ask about the same topic are also grouped together, proceeding from more general questions to more specific ones. Moreover, more pleasant questions are asked before more sensitive ones (for more details, see Appendix A).

3.4.8 The Questionnaire

The section that follows the matched-guise test is the Attitudinal Survey section. Here, the respondents are asked to answer questions regarding their general overt attitudes towards diglossic code-switching (see Appendix A). Finally, the participants are asked the following questions about their personal information, ensuring them that such information is dealt with anonymously (see Appendices B and C).

The choice of the personality traits questions was mainly motivated by the need to elicit the covert attitudes of the participants through the use of a matched-guise test by using personality traits that are hypothesized to result in diglossic associations, which in turn allows us to examine the attitudes of the participants towards diglossic

code-switching. This, then, can be contrasted with the answers given in the Attitudinal Survey which aims to collect the overt attitudes of the participants. The personal information questions are asked at the end to avoid influencing the participants' answers and their purpose is to obtain information such as their education level, age, gender, religion and ethnicity.

3.4.9 The matched-guise test and questionnaire participants

The participants in the matched-guise test and questionnaire are all Kuwaiti citizens who are regular readers of Kuwaiti newspapers based on self-reports. Indeed, all participants in this study need to be literate in SA and KA and to be regular readers of newspapers in order for us to assess the influence of diglossic code-switching in newspapers on their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon. The participants were given two texts written by one columnist: one in SA, and the other containing diglossic code-switching, i.e. SA and KA. They are asked to rate a number of personality traits for each columnist. The participants are also presented with a social attitude survey which investigates their opinions towards diglossic code-switching. Social factors are one part of this study; thus the age, sex, education, religious sect and ethnicity of readers are all taken into account in the analysis of their attitudes. The participants will be divided into males/females, university educated/pre-university educated, Muslims (Sunni/Shiites)/Christians, Hadhar/Ajams/Hassawis and three age groups (18-22, 28-38, 40+). As can be noticed, the factor of 'class' is not included for the aforementioned reasons.

Table 15 shows the sampling matrix of the participants taking part in the matched-guise test and the social attitudes survey (SB: Sunni Bedouin, SH: Sunni Hadhar, SHA: Shiite Ajam, SHH: Shiite Hassawi, C: Christian, M: Male, F: Female, U: University Education, N: Non-university Education):

	SB				SH				SHA				SHH				C			
	M	M	F	F	M	M	F	F	M	M	F	F	M	M	F	F	M	M	F	F
	U	N	U	N	U	N	U	N	U	N	U	N	U	N	U	N	U	N	U	N

30-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	0
30+	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	1	1	1

Table 15 Sampling matrix of matched-guise test participants

As we can see, all cells were successfully filled except those associated with the Christian Kuwaiti sub-group. Due to their very low number in Kuwait, it was difficult to reach more of them in such a limited timescale, so only four Christian Kuwaitis took part in the study.

Following Tagliamonte’s (2006: 33) advice, the number of participants chosen in this study is “balanced with the available time and resources for data handling” in a Ph.D. According to Tagliamonte (2006: 31), regarding the number of participants to have per cell, “some statisticians say 3, some say 5” and that more than one is required in order to be able to know whether the participant’s behaviour reflects the group he/she belongs to or not. I have chosen 3 participants for each cell which I expect to produce reliable results in a sensible time frame.

3.5 Ethical considerations

In this section, ethical considerations will be discussed in relation to the study. According to Israel and Hay (2006: 2), ethical behaviour, in general, contributes to the protection of communities and individuals. It is a requirement by research institutions to take the ethical aspect of research into consideration when it involves human beings (Rasinger 2008: 52). Since this study will measure the attitudes of people and will require their direct participation in this study, relevant ethical considerations were naturally taken into account so as not to breach privacy. Therefore, total anonymity of respondents is respected throughout the study by assigning pseudonyms to them. To ensure compliance with the university’s guidelines with regard to the ethical aspect of the research, a project approval form was submitted (along with the consent form; see Appendix C) to the research project and supervisory team which included information about any ethical issues relating to the fieldwork.

At the end of each interview, all interviewees are asked to sign a written consent form since this allows the data obtained through interviews to be analysed for "scholarly purposes", a procedure which Feagin calls "an important legal matter" (2004: 32). Moreover, assessing the language attitudes anonymously through questionnaires again does not require informed consent (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 80). However, informed consent will still need to be obtained from participants in the social attitudes questionnaires after a short description of the study (which is not detailed enough to affect their responses) is given to the participants. Due to the sensitive nature of ethical issues involved in research studies requiring human participants, not only is it important to provide information regarding the study itself to the participants before they participate or give their consent, but also it is important to make sure that participants are already "in a position to exercise choice around whether or not to give their consent to participate" (Miller & Bell 2002: 54-55).

This study followed the guidelines proposed by Neuman (2006: 135-136) concerning what an informed consent should necessarily contain:

- 1) A short description of the study and its procedures that also includes the expected duration.
- 2) A description of the risks that may be involved when partaking in this study.
- 3) A statement that anonymity of the participant's identity and confidentiality of records will be guaranteed.
- 4) Contact information in case the participant wishes to enquire about their rights or about the study itself as well as an identification of the researcher.
- 5) An indication of the participation's voluntary nature and that the participant has the freedom to withdraw from the study anytime he/she wishes to.
- 6) An indication of any other possible alternative procedures.
- 7) A statement that describes the benefits or compensations for the subjects in case of their participation.

The columnists involved in this study belong to two groups: the first involves those whose articles were subject to detailed analysis and the second consists of those who were interviewed. As Milroy and Gordon (2003: 80) suggest, "informed consent is typically given with the understanding that the information provided by participants will remain confidential and that their identities will remain known only to the researcher".

The newspaper articles analysed here are already in the public domain and there is, therefore, no need to hide the columnists' identities or to deal anonymously with this type of data. The second group of columnists, however, were directly asked to give their opinions and talk about their experiences of diglossic code-switching. In this case, the columnists were asked to sign a consent form and their identities will be kept anonymous with all personal information being kept strictly confidential.

3.6 Statistical tests

In the following sections, I will discuss a number of topics related to the statistical analyses used on my data. First, I will introduce parametric and non-parametric tests and what mainly differentiates them. Second, I will talk about my data and the issues which it raises for quantitative analysis alongside the techniques I have used to address these. Third, I will discuss the tests used in the analyses and why they were the most appropriate.

3.6.1 Parametric vs. non-parametric tests

Parametric tests have a number of assumptions that need to be met in order for research to gain any benefit from their use. Assumptions are made about the data on which parametric tests are going to be used, and in order for us to be able to use them, the assumptions that these tests make must be correct about the data. The assumptions that the parametric tests make about data are: 1) normality of distribution; 2) homogeneity of variance; 3) interval data; 4) independence (Field 2009: 133).

Non-parametric tests are a different type of test. Gibbons (1993: 1) uses the term 'nonparametric statistics' to refer to the statistical methods that test hypotheses using "less restrictive assumptions" than their classical counterparts. As Field (2009: 540) puts it, "non-parametric tests are sometimes known as assumption-free tests because they make fewer assumptions about the type of data on which they can be used". Most non-parametric tests rely on ranking the data before using it, by assigning a rank of 1 to the smallest score and a rank of 2 to the next higher score and so on (Field 2009: 540).

According to Field (2009: 551; see also Pollard 1979, Bryman and Cramer 1990, Kerr et al. 2002, Gorard 2003 and Miller 2006 for similar views), non-parametric tests can be less powerful than parametric tests, meaning that a parametric test has a greater chance of detecting a genuine difference in the data than a non-parametric test does. However, Sheskin (2000: 34) proposes that “the power advantage of a parametric test [in comparison to a nonparametric one] may be negated if one or more of its assumptions are violated” (cf. Field 2009). Furthermore, Field (2009: 551) suggests that non-parametric tests may have higher Type II error rates (i.e. not detecting a difference which really exists and assuming there is no difference when, in fact, there is), but this is only possible when the data is normally distributed. Both of these disadvantages do not apply to my data as I am using a non-parametric test for data that is not normally distributed. Moreover, nonparametric methods have the advantage of being “quick and easy to apply, since they involve extremely simple arithmetic” (Gibbons and Chakraborti 1992: 4). Furthermore, Gibbons and Chakraborti describe nonparametric tests as “inherently robust” since the assumptions they require are very general (1992: 6).

3.6.2 My data and the issues it raises

The problem with the data that we have at hand is that it violates some of the basic assumptions of parametric tests, which means that we cannot use these techniques for the analysis of the data. If the data is not normally distributed which this is not, a number of solutions are generally offered to the researcher, as Field (2009: 344-345) suggests. The first fix is to make use of the “central limit theorem” which assumes that, as long as the sample is large then the distribution is normal. Another solution is to transform the data in order to correct the distribution. Finally, robust methods, such as bootstraps or trimmed means, could be used to investigate the differences between the means (Field 2009: 345). After consulting a statistician at Newcastle University, I decided to use non-parametric tests for my data.

3.6.3 The tests used and rationale behind their use

Three tests were mainly used for the analysis of the data of the matched-guise test. These tests are the Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test, the Mann-Whitney test and the Kruskal-Wallis test. These tests are used to determine a number of assumptions. The first of these was used to ascertain whether there were any differences between the attitudes of readers in general towards the text which contains no diglossic code-switching (NDC-S text) and the text that contains instances of diglossic code-switching (DC-S text). The Mann-Whitney and Kruskal-Wallis test are best suited for determining whether different social groups show diverse attitudes towards diglossic code-switching (the former is for the comparison of two groups and the latter is for the comparison of three groups or more). The significance of any differences uncovered by these techniques is going to be estimated using the Monte Carlo method, which is better suited for large samples (Field 2009: 547). The Monte Carlo method is a mathematical tool that is used to calculate the p value and it “gives an unbiased estimate of the exact p ” (Hinton et al. 2004: 265). Each of the aforementioned tests will be explained and discussed in further detail below.

3.6.4 Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test:

For the purpose of comparing the mean ratings each trait received across two texts (text 1 NDC-S and text 2 DC-S), a Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test was used. This test was conducted via the statistical programme SPSS. The Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test is a non-parametric test that is equivalent to the paired-samples t-test. Note that a paired-samples t-test, also known as a dependent t-test, is usually used when the same participants take part in both of the experiment’s conditions (Field 2009: 325, 345). According to Field (2009: 552), the Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test is used to compare two score sets that are from the same subjects. Moreover, the Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test calculates the scores by looking at the difference between the same person’s scores in both samples (Hinton et al. 2004: 130). This is achieved by comparing the total of the added up positive ranks against the total of the added up negative ranks and then “ranks the size of the difference (...) from lowest to highest” (Hinton et al. 2004: 130). It is possible to know how the participant groups differ by looking at their value: “the group with the highest scores will have the highest ranks” (Field 2009: 551).

3.6.5 Mann-Whitney and Kruskal-Wallis tests

The Mann-Whitney test will be used in this study to see how each social group reacts to both texts (DC-S and NDC-S). Moreover, the Mann-Whitney performs a comparison within a social group instead of performing a comparison across different social groups. It is the non-parametric equivalent of the independent samples t-test and it basically works by “rank[ing] the complete set of scores [of both groups] from the lowest to the highest” then looks at the clustering of ranks at the top or bottom ranks to test for any difference (Hinton et al. 2004: 125). Similarly, the Kruskal-Wallis test resembles the Mann-Whitney test but it allows us to test more than two groups at once (Cramer 1998: 339). This means that, instead of using the Mann-Whitney test to test each pair, a Kruskal-Wallis can save us time by running a comparison between all pairs of groups. Even though the Kruskal-Wallis tells us if there is a difference between the groups tested, it does not tell us exactly which pair of groups differ (Cramer 1998: 342). In order to identify which pair of groups shows the difference, we need to use a *post hoc*¹⁵ test as a follow up to the Kruskal-Wallis test. The Mann-Whitney tests can be used here as *post hoc* tests but, since using many Mann-Whitney tests increases the chance of Type I error rate, we need to perform the Bonferroni correction, which involves dividing the critical value of .05 “by the number of [Mann-Whitney] tests [...]” performed (Field 2009: 565). This procedure will be used in our investigation of some of the groups.

3.7 Nature of Data

Arabic exhibits a number of characteristics that need to be taken into consideration in cases of linguistic analysis. For example, Arabic, in general, behaves differently from English with regard to finiteness and tense. Aoun et al. (2010: 26) suggest that “tense in Arabic seems to be an abstract morpheme generated in T and the affixes observed on the verbs in Arabic are reflexes of agreement features”. They also add that the term “non-finite” which is generally used to mean that a clause cannot have an “independent temporal interpretation”, resulting in the belief that Arabic does not have infinitives.

¹⁵ Hinton et al. (2004: 156) define *post hoc* tests as tests that “allow us to undertake pair-wise comparisons, that is, compare one condition with another.”

Fassi Fehri (1993: 158) further emphasizes that “[i]n Arabic, there are no bare verbs, no non-finite participles, and no infinitives” (see also Fassi Fehri 2012).

As for structures in Arabic that occur in positions which are supposed to be non-finite in English, such as those headed by the complementizer ‘*an* (that), subject-verb agreement is still overt. Thus, constructions that occur in what is equivalent to a non-finite environment in languages such as English, were still considered for the analysis of MLF in this study. Verbless constructions, however, were not considered with the exception of specific examples where case-marking is applied. This is for two main reasons: 1) the fact that the Morpheme Order Principle of MLF is not applicable due to the shared word order by both varieties, and 2) that there is a lack of information emanating from such constructions because of the absence of overt verbs.

Moreover, ‘action nominalizations’ are constructions that are analyzed in this study as NPs. Hazout provides an example of ‘action nominalizations’ in Arabic. Example (1) below features the action nominal ‘*ightiyaal*’ (assassination) which is taken from Hazout (and adapted to this study’s system of transliteration), whereas example (2) features the action nominal ‘*alwuSuwl*’ and is from my data:

(1)

ra’aytu ightiyaala alwaziyyi

see.1S.PERF assassination-ACC DET-minister-GEN

“I saw the assassination of the minister”

(2)

Siraa’ ‘ala ‘ashadih ‘ala almanaaSib
struggle on hardest.PRO.3SM on DET-position.PL

wa almaSaaliH alkhaSSah min duwn
and DET-interest.PL DET-private from without

alwuSuwl 'ila natiyah...
DET-arriving to result

“A struggle in its worst form for positions and private interests without arriving at a result”

Hazout (1995) proposes that action nominals have the properties of nouns and verbs as well. She suggests that they relate to their syntactic environments as a noun but that their internal structure can sometimes resemble that of a verb as its head can take objects and so on. Therefore, for the purpose of my clausal analysis, I adopted Hazout's (1995) approach in analyzing action nominalizations as NPs.

In the next section, I will talk about the main differences between SA and KA, as these differences can be crucial in the identification of either variety.

3.7.1 Differences between SA and KA:

It is crucial to look at some of the main differences between SA and KA with regard to this discussion of code-switching in the MLF model. Looking at the relative pronoun systems of both varieties reveals how different SA and KA can be.

Relative pronouns in KA differ from relative pronouns in SA in that they do not exhibit any number, gender or case agreement with their relativized nominal. Table 16 shows the complexity of the relative pronoun system in SA by comparison to KA. The first three columns show the SA word, its gender/number and its case (respectively). The final column shows the KA equivalent of every relative pronoun. Even though SA has 8 relative pronouns, varying in gender, number and case, KA has only one relative pronoun that is the equivalent of all these 8 in SA:

SA	Gender/Number	Case	KA
<i>alladhiy</i>	Masculine/Singular	-	<i>'illiy</i>

<i>allatiy</i>	Feminine/Singular	-	
<i>alladhaani</i>	Masculine/Dual	Nominative	
<i>alladhayni</i>	Masculine/Dual	Accusative/Genitive	
<i>allataani</i>	Feminine/Dual	Nominative	
<i>allatayni</i>	Feminine/Dual	Accusative/Genitive	
<i>alladhiyna</i>	Masculine/Plural	-	
<i>allaatiy/allaa'iy</i>	Feminine/Plural	-	

Table 16 Relative pronoun system in SA and KA

One of the most obvious differences between SA and KA in relation to the morphosyntactic structures of both varieties is the case system and marking of subject-verb agreement. These two differences will be discussed in more detail below.

Subject-verb agreement in Arabic is complex due to the fact that agreement between the subject and verb in Arabic sentences can include person, number and gender correlates (Mohammed 1990; Jelinek 2002; Ryding 2005; Alhawary 2007; Aoun et al. 2010, *inter alia*). However, researchers generally make a distinction between SA and Arabic dialects based on the fact that the subject-verb agreement system is richer in SA than in its dialects: the former shows dual subject-verb agreement whereas the latter do not (Ferguson 1959; Al- Qenaie 2011; Aoun et al. 2010, *inter alia*). Aoun et al. (2010: 73) refer to the fact that differences exist between dialects in different Arab regions as well. In Lebanese Arabic and KA, for example, gender distinctions exist in second person singular forms whereas in Moroccan Arabic they do not. Aoun et al. (2010: 73-74) gives examples of the gender distinctions incorporated in these forms in Moroccan vs. Lebanese: the former uses *-ti* suffix to indicate both genders in the 2nd person singular perfective form, e.g. *ktabti*. In the latter, on the other hand, different suffixes are used to express gender distinctions. Hence, the masculine form takes the suffix *-t* as in *katabt*, whereas the feminine form ends with the suffix *-te* as in *katabte*. As for KA, the masculine form takes the *-t* suffix as in *kitabt*, whereas the feminine form is *-tay* as in *kitabtay*. I provide more detailed examples of KA in tables (17-22) below.

Subject-verb agreement in Arabic is always shown, whether the subject is explicit or implicit. However, realization of subject-verb agreement differs depending on whether the verb is in the perfective or the imperfective form. According to Gadalla (2000: 89), in Arabic “[t]he perfect form of verbs takes only suffixes, while the imperfect form receives either prefixes only or non-sequential affixes, i.e. including both prefixes and suffixes.” An example of subject suffixes in SA and KA in the imperfective form are, respectively, *aktubu* and *aktib*, whereby a prefix and a suffix are used on the SA verb (*a-* and *-u*) but only a prefix is used on the KA verb (*a-*). Examples of subject affixes on the perfective in SA and KA, respectively, are as follows: *katabtu* [*-tu*] and *kitabt* [*-t*]. The following tables show the differences between subject affixes on imperfect verbs in SA in contrast to KA in singular, dual, and plural forms; the affixes in question are written in bold:

Singular	SA	KA
1 st (m. and f.)	aktubu	aktib
2 nd m.	taktubu	taktib
2 nd f.	taktubiyna	taktibiyn
3 rd m.	yaktubu	yaktib
3 rd f.	taktubu	taktib

Table 17 Imperfect in SA and KA (Singular)

Dual	SA	KA
2nd (m. and f.)	taktubaani	taktubuwn
3rd m.	yaktubaani	yaktubuwn
3rd f.	taktubaani	yaktubuwn

Table 18 Imperfect in SA and KA (Dual)

Plural	SA	KA

1st (m. and f.)	naktubu	naktib
2nd m.	taktubuwna	taktubuwn
2nd f.	taktubna	taktubuwn
3rd m.	yaktubuwna	yaktubuwn
3rd f.	yaktubna	yaktubuwn

Table 19 Imperfect in SA and KA (Plural)

One of the most noticeable differences that can be seen in these tables between forms for the imperfect in SA and KA is that while the former makes a distinction between the dual and the plural forms, the latter does not make such a distinction. KA simply uses the plural marker for the dual form. Furthermore, SA has different markers for the 3rd person masculine and 3rd person feminine plural forms. KA, on the other hand, uses an identical marker (the 3rd person plural) for both of them. The same process is used in KA to deal with the 2nd person plural forms: the masculine 2nd person plural is actually used for both masculine and feminine referents, unlike in SA, which consistently makes a clear grammatical gender distinction.

Differences also exist between SA and KA in their subject affixes for perfect verbs, as shown by the following tables (20-22):

Singular	SA	KA
1st (m. and f.)	katabtu	kitabt
2nd m.	katabta	kitabt
2nd f.	kabati	kitabtay
3rd m.	kataba	kitab
3rd f.	kabat	iktibat

Table 20 Perfect in SA and KA (Singular)

Dual	SA	KA
2nd (m. and f.)	katab tumaa	kitab taw
3rd m.	katab aa	iktib aw
3rd f.	katab ataa	iktib aw

Table 21 Perfect in SA and KA (Dual)

Plural	SA	KA
1st (m. and f.)	katab naa	kitab na
2nd m.	katab tum	kitab taw
2nd f.	katab tunna	kitab taw
3rd m.	katab uw	iktib aw
3rd f.	katab na	iktib aw

Table 22 Perfect in SA and KA (Plural)

Some of the observations above concerning the imperfective form also apply to the perfect. For example, in the 2nd person dual forms, KA does not distinguish the plural and the dual forms in perfectives but instead uses the plural marker alone to indicate duality. Moreover, KA does not distinguish between feminine and masculine forms in the 3rd person as SA does. Rather, it uses the masculine plural marker for both the feminine and masculine plural forms of the perfect verb.

Word order is crucial as a criterion for identifying the ML in code-switching. However, in this analysis it is not as useful as indicators marking case and subject-verb agreement because of the relative flexibility of word order patterns in both varieties. For example, many linguists agree that SA and dialectal varieties of Arabic allow both VSO and SVO word order (Versteegh 2001; Brustad 2000; Holes 2004; Aljenaie & Farghal 2009, *inter alia*; see below for examples (1-3) of such variations from both varieties). However, some scholars suggest that the difference between SA and other dialectal varieties usually lies in the preference of one word order type over others. It has been widely argued that the preferred word order in KA and other dialectal varieties is SVO,

whereas SA favours VSO (see Elgibali 1993; Aljenaie & Farghal 2009; Al-Qenaie 2011). To situate KA and SA more globally, a look at The World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) shows that SOV is the most predominant word order amongst the world's languages (565), followed by SVO (488) and VSO (95), amongst others (Dryer 2013). Al-Qenaie (2011: 124) gives a list of possible word orders in KA for the sentence “Maryam went to the supermarket”, stating that the usual word order in KA is SVO¹⁶: (Al-Qenaie 2011: 124; adapted to this study's system of transliteration):

1- SVO:

KA:	<i>maryam</i>	<i>raaHat</i>	<i>iljam`iyyah</i>	
	Maryam	went	[the] the supermarket	
SA:	<i>maryamu</i>	<i>dhahabat</i>	<i>ila</i>	<i>alsouqi almarkaziy</i>
	Maryam	went	to	the supermarket

2- VOS:

KA:	<i>raaHat</i>	<i>iljam`iyyah</i>	<i>Maryam</i>
	went	[to] the supermarket	Maryam
SA:	<i>dhahabat</i>	<i>ila alsouqi almarkaziy</i>	<i>maryamu</i>
	went	to the supermarket	Maryam

3- VSO:

KA:	<i>raaHat</i>	<i>Maryam</i>	<i>iljam`iyyah</i>
	went	Maryam	[to] the supermarket
SA:	<i>dhahabat</i>	<i>maryamu</i>	<i>ila alsouqi almarkaziy</i>

¹⁶ The SA equivalents of these examples are provided by me; the word order in each variety that is allegedly preferred is given in bold.

went Maryam to the supermarket

On the other hand, Brustad (2000) and Holes (2004) argue that this view is rather simplistic. Brustad (2000: 318-361), for example, claims that Arabic dialects have managed to preserve the VSO word order and that Arabic dialects, including KA, have both VSO and SVO as basic word orders. She also argues that alternation between VSO and SVO is based on discourse functions as it can be seen from her data that interlocutors use the word order VS in narration whereas the SV word order was used in “descriptive and interactional” discourse (Brustad 2000: 325). Thus, she concludes that the idea that the basic word order in dialects is SVO may have been formulated based on conversational texts whereby “the topic of discourse would shift frequently” (Brustad 2000: 328). Brustad’s (2000) analysis of word order in KA differs from that of other researchers who support the idea that SVO is the favoured word order in KA and I believe her analysis offers valuable insights into this aspect of KA. This is because her study includes not only an analysis of the frequency of word order types in KA, but also their occurrences across different types of discourse, and thus provides evidence for how word order manifests itself differently based on type of discourse.

Similarly, Holes (2004: 259) proposes that the differences that exist between possible word orders in SA also depend on discourse and syntactic functions. However, Holes (2004: p. 264) still stresses that “[u]nlike MSA [i.e. SA], agreement between V[erb] and S[ubject] in the modern dialects is not dependent on word order: an initial V agrees with a following S in the same way as it does when S is initial.” Aoun et al. (2010: 75-76) discuss the sentence ‘the teachers ate’ in Arabic to show how the verb follows the subject in number but not in gender and person in SA and that this possibility is connected to the VS word order pattern (see 1-2):

(1) *'akala almu'alimuwn*
ate.3SM the-teacher-MP.NOM

(2) **'akaluw almu'alimuwn*
ate.3PM the-teacher-MP.NOM

(Aoun, Choueiri & Benmamoun 2010: 76)

However, in SA when using SV word order, there is full agreement between the subject and the verb (see 3-4):

- (3) *almu'alimuwn* *'akaluw*
 the-teacher-MP.NOM ate.3PM
- (4) **almu'alimuwn* *'akala*
 the-teacher-MP.NOM ate.3SM

In contrast, subject-verb agreement in either word order are both are well-formed in KA as there is full agreement between the subject and the verb. Lack of full agreement between subject and verb results in an ill-formed sentence in KA (see examples 7 and 8)¹⁷:

- (5) *kalaw* *ilmudarsiyn*
 ate.3PM the-teacher-MP
- (6) *ilmudarsiyn* *kalaw*
 the-teacher-MP ate.3MP
- (7) **'akal* *ilmudarsiyn*
 ate.3SM the-teacher-MP
- (8) **ilmudarsiyn* *'akal*
 the-teacher-MP ate.3SM

Another difference exists between SA and KA with regard to verbal Topic-Comment sentences (Aljenaie & Farghal 2009). In such structures, the comment contains a resumptive pronoun in object case that shows co-referentiality with the topic (Aljenaie & Farghal 2009: 496). Even though both SA and KA can produce verbal Topic-Comment sentences, SA allows OVS word order whereas KA does not (Aljenaie & Farghal 2009: 496). Due to the ability of SA to assign case markers, the following OVS sentence is perfectly legitimate and well-formed (see example 1):

- (1) *alrisalata* *kataba* *aHmadu*
 the-letter.ACC wrote.3PM ahmad.NOM

¹⁷ The KA examples and the ungrammaticality judgments indicated in examples 7 and 8 are based on my intuitions as a native speaker of KA.

However, example 2 shows that when this word order is produced in KA, this results in an ill-formed sentence due to the lack of case marking¹⁸:

(2) <i>*ilrisala</i>	<i>kitab</i>	<i>aHmad</i>
the-letter	wrote.3PM	ahmad

These observations shed some light on the differences between SA and dialectal varieties of Arabic in terms of word order and subject-verb agreement. Due to the relative flexibility of word order in SA and KA, word order is not used to identify the role each variety is playing, as the Morpheme Order Principle of the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 2002: 59) cannot fully apply in this context.

Another category of system morphemes, is that associated with clitics and I would argue that this diagnostic could prove helpful in identifying the ML in my analysis, specifically with respect to subjectival affixes in Arabic. Even though SA and KA share some of these features, we can still find differences between the two varieties in the subject affixes used on verbs. According to Myers-Scotton et al. (1996: 31), “any subject affixes in Arabic are system morphemes because they are not in argument position within the IP in which they occur and hence do not participate in the thematic grid of the clause.”

The differences (outlined in tables 17-22 above) can be useful in identifying the extent of influence which one variety exerts on the other. This is because subject-verb agreement plays an important role in the identification of the ML in code-switching. Myers-Scotton (2008: 34) suggests that, in the majority of cases, aspect markers could be considered early system morphemes. As for the Arabic language, Myers-Scotton & Jake (2001: 109) posit that “an Arabic verb does not “exist” as a verb, even at the conceptual level, without this specification for tense/aspect.” They also claim that both tense and aspect are bundled with the semantic/pragmatic complex, so that when an Arabic verb is activated, both the semantic/pragmatic and the tense/aspect features are also activated (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001: 109). In other words, there is “no entry for an uninflected verb stem” in Arabic (Jake and Myers-Scotton 1997: 33). Due to their early activation, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001: 109) propose that both tense and aspect

¹⁸ Examples 1 and 2 are adopted from Aljenaie & Farghal (2009) and adapted to the current study’s system of transliteration.

markers in Arabic are early system morphemes. This contrasts with agreement markers, which are considered to be outsider late system morphemes (Myers-Scotton 2008: 34). In some other languages, such as English, tense and aspect are thought to be activated later in the content/morpheme activation process, making them late system morphemes (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001: 109). Thus, for the purposes of my analysis, and the MLF model in general, tense and aspect markers are not as interesting as subject-verb agreement markers, which seek information outside their maximal projections.

In this chapter, I have presented the procedures followed and the methodological approach adopted in the collection of data for this research. The use of a mixed methods orientation is central to this study, which is why much of the discussion focused on the various tools I exploited in the research. These tools allow for the investigation of different types of data, including interviews and matched-guise tests. Naturally, space was also devoted to considering the ethical issues involved in conducting research of this kind. Likewise, I examined in some detail the statistical tests employed in the data analysis, outlining my rationale for choosing certain kinds of test over others. This examination of statistical tests resulted in the choice of non-parametric tests as the type most suitable for this data, which is not normally distributed. In the final section of this chapter, I explored the nature of the data obtained for the research, focusing on the differences between SA and KA and how they impact (both positively and negatively) on my subsequent analyses. An overview of these differences led to the exclusion of tense and aspect markers in the MLF analysis due to their early activation in the production process and the adoption of subject-verb agreement markers as key indicators of the Matrix Language. In the next chapter, I will present the results obtained from the analysis of readers' and columnists' language attitudes towards diglossic code-switching.

Chapter 4. The Changing Status of Diglossia: Language Attitudes and Language Use

This chapter will present and discuss the language attitudes of both Kuwaiti columnists and readers of their articles, as well as changes in language attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers. The first section will discuss my findings with respect to the opinions of columnists. The second section will analyse the results for readers. The third section will present an analysis of the changes of code-switching frequencies over the last 29-30 years. An analysis of this kind is useful for gaining a better understanding of the status of diglossia as it applies to Kuwait, especially in the context of newspaper articles.

4.1 The Columnists' Interview

In the columnists' interview, they are asked about their attitudes to diglossic code-switching in general. For the analysis of the columnists' interviews, a computer-assisted programme was used, namely, NVivo which is especially designed to qualitatively interrogate databases (Gibbs 2002: 10). Such software "enables the researcher to keep good records of their hunches, ideas, searches and analyses and gives access to data so they can be examined and analysed" as well as helping the researcher explore the relationships in the text (Gibbs 2002: 10-11). NVivo performs two main functions: "it supports the storing and manipulation of texts or documents and it supports the creation and manipulation of codes, known in NVivo as nodes" (Gibbs 2002: 16). This is in addition to its ability to help the researcher to create and explore ideas in the data (e.g. searching, linking, etc.) and reporting findings (Gibbs 2002: 17).

In order to see what themes recur in the columnists' answers, specific themes were coded using NVivo. These were then compared based on the frequency of their occurrence in the columnists' interviews. Figure 3 shows the number of times a theme occurred with the exact number of counts for each theme in brackets:

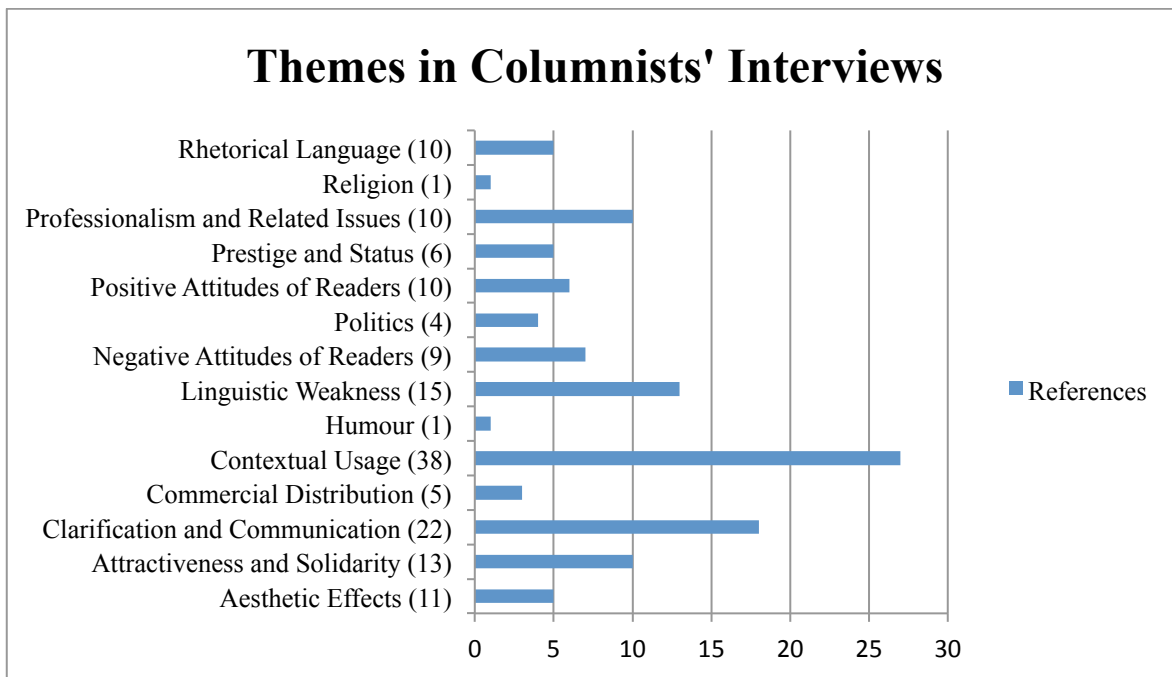


Figure 3 Themes occurring in the columnists' interviews

The columnists made the most references to the theme of 'contextual usage' of language. As is seen in this section, they seem to put strong emphasis on the influence of diglossia on their writing, implying that the context somehow predetermines their linguistic choices. This is followed in frequency by the next theme, namely, 'clarification and communication'. Communicating an idea or a certain message was referred to many times by the columnists to account for diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles. This also highlights the gap between the H and the L varieties in the community in relation to their diglossic roles, since one is the people's language whereas the other is the learned, detached and more difficult form. Themes related to the readers'/columnists' attitudes came after that: 'linguistic weakness', 'attractiveness', 'attitudes' and 'solidarity'. Amongst the themes that were frequently mentioned was a concern for the 'professionalism' of newspapers and columnists in relation to the use of language. Other themes that also occurred, but to a lesser extent, were 'prestige', 'commercial distribution', 'politics', 'humour' and 'religion'. In general, it is interesting to find that the theme of 'religion' was mentioned significantly less than the other themes. It was expected of the columnists to make more references to this theme, given the strong historical relationship between the standard and religion in general and the reflection of this relationship in the attitudes of Arabs more generally (cf. Ferguson 1959, El-Dash and Tucker 1975, Versteegh 2001, Bassiouney 2009).

A word frequency test in NVivo was run to determine the most numerous words (relevant to this investigation) used by the columnists in the interview with reference to the presence of CS or lack thereof. Table 23 shows the word frequency list along with their number (in Ns) and the percentage of their occurrence:

Word	Number	Weighted Percentage (%)
context	23	4.23
convey	22	3.95
message	15	2.76
acceptable	14	2.57
effect	12	1.72
idea	12	2.21
positive	10	1.84
meaning	9	1.65
professionalism	9	1.65
topic	9	1.16

Table 23 Word frequency

Based on the frequency of their occurrence, the top ten words used by the columnists were: ‘context’, ‘convey’, ‘message’, ‘acceptable’, ‘effect’, ‘idea’, ‘positive’, ‘meaning’, ‘professionalism’ and ‘topic’. From this data, we can tell that the columnists were emphasizing the role of context in the determination of the language used, the importance of conveying ideas or clarifying meanings to the readers, as well as the role of professionalism in the whole process of writing. This ties in with the themes identified in Figure 2 and reflects the columnists’ general approval of the diglossic patterns that govern language use in Kuwait.

The next section will explore and discuss the summaries of the columnists’ answers. The columnists themselves are referred to using codes based on their names to avoid revealing their identities. The summaries serve to provide us with useful insights into the attitudes and opinions of columnists towards diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles. These general patterns distract from important differences across individual columnists.

Interview summaries:

- K1: This columnist places great emphasis on the notion of dialect vs. language and opposes the use of dialect in newspapers. He seems to have strongly positive views and attitudes towards Arab national identity and, as a result, prefers SA to

the use of dialect. K1 also seems to hold the view that Arabic is a sanctified language which should not be polluted by foreign elements. The link the columnist is trying to establish between KA and SA is very strong, whereas he downplays that between Egyptian Arabic or Lebanese Arabic and SA.¹⁹ Moreover, he finds it crucial to separate the spoken variety (the dialect) from the written variety (SA), the columnist seems to implicitly approve of the diglossic patterns ruling linguistic behaviour in the Arab world and opposes any type of change to this behaviour. Furthermore, he specifically accuses other Arab media of ‘spoiling’ the Arabic language. As discussed below, a number of columnists have similarly negative attitudes, accusing some Arab media of ‘degrading’ the Arabic language by the increasing use of the vernacular as opposed to the standard in the media. Also, as will be seen later in the research, columnist K1 is the only one who proposes that some KA can be accepted based on the origin of the word (Arabic origin vs. non-Arabic origin). In addition, this columnist seems to have a negative view of Kuwaiti columnists, saying that they are incapable of writing correctly and suffer from linguistic weaknesses, which are concealed by proof-reading and editing at the newspaper. K1 also links levels of education, culture, knowledge, and national identity with religious roots to the favouring of SA to KA or even other foreign languages, such as English. He stresses the factors of religiousness and national identity in relation to the defence and protection of the Arabic language.

- Y1: This columnist generally has no strong views against the use of dialect. He almost invariably uses context as an indication of whether dialect should be used or not. The idea of ‘weakness’ occurs again in this interview as the columnist sees the use of less SA as a sign of ‘weakness’, particularly in the writings of academics (and, as we will see, this idea is a recurring theme in the interviews with other columnists as well). Y1 also introduces another dimension to the discussion of diglossic code-switching: the issue of ‘prestige’. Unlike other columnists, Y1 does not seem to place great emphasis on Arab or Islamic identity as a factor in the use of SA vs. the vernacular. He is more concerned with context and appropriateness of usage. For example, he does not seem to

¹⁹ Ferguson (1968) discusses this issue in more detail when he proposes that speakers of Arabic tend to believe that their own dialect is closer to the standard than other Arabic dialects are.

mind using words from local dialects when addressing other Arabs, e.g. using EA to Egyptians. He also adds a political dimension to what is happening in the Arab world with regard to diglossic code-switching, i.e. the weakening of SA and strengthening of the vernacular (some other columnists share this view too). He also repeats the idea of the prestige of academics several times during the interview, perhaps because he is an academic himself. Apart from that, Y1 seems to be much more flexible regarding the use of diglossic code-switching in newspapers in comparison to other columnists interviewed. Whereas other columnists believe that some newspaper genres should not contain diglossic code-switching at all, (editorials, for example), Y1 does not object to the use of diglossic code-switching in any genre as long as it is used appropriately within context. The notions of correctness and appropriateness suggested by the columnist seem vague as he stresses the role of the context at one time and ‘the need for a vernacular word’ at another. However, the vagueness of Y1’s attitude clears towards the end, when he links lowly language to the use of the vernacular and describes frequent diglossic code-switchers in newspapers as belonging to a low level of writers. The columnist denies that there are editorial policies for each newspaper on this matter, and argues that the use of the vernacular may arouse discussions at newspapers. This view greatly differs from those of his fellow writers, as we have seen with K1, and as we will see with other columnists. Agreeing with most columnists in the sample, Y1 believes that education plays a role in the preference and the production of SA vs. the vernacular.

- A1: This columnist believes that it is necessary to have certain rules for the language used in newspapers. Adopting a political point of view, A1 emphasizes the importance of adhering to the first article of the Kuwaiti constitution and to an Arab national identity, a theme that occurs in the views of many columnists in the sample. A1 adopts the view that the body of the article should show no diglossic code-switching, except where absolutely necessary, but that the title of the article could show some diglossic code-switching. The ‘weakness in SA’ idea seems to recur as the columnist believes that diglossic code-switching happens for two main reasons: the columnist’s weakness in SA and an attempt to reach a larger audience. This columnist sees the use of the vernacular in newspapers as a potentially confusing and useless practice. The columnist’s

description of the vernacular as ‘useless’ in newspapers is understandable if we link this to what he believes about people’s reactions to diglossic code-switching in general, i.e. not positive. Another feature that A1 shares with other columnists in the sample is that he does not write only for a Kuwaiti audience but also for other Arabs, hence the avoidance of the vernacular in their articles. The notion of professionalism features frequently in the interviews of many columnists in the sample, including A1. He seems to categorise newspapers and compare them openly in terms of the frequency with which they use diglossic code-switching and the places where it occurs. In addition to linking professionalism to the use of SA, the columnist connects an interest in popular issues to the use of the vernacular. This pattern reminds us of the traditional role diglossia plays in the Arab world, where education and formality are related to the H variety, whereas the L variety is used to discuss informal issues. A1 seems to approve of this pattern. Moreover, he confirms that people’s reactions have an influence on editors-in-chief and their policies and reports that this led one editor-in-chief to adhere to a certain type of linguistic behaviour in his writings. Furthermore, he describes the use of the vernacular in place of SA in printed media as ‘shameful’ which is another indication of the attitude the columnist exhibits towards the use of the vernacular where its use is not expected. A1, like some other columnists, claims that the Lebanese media emphasizes its local identity vs. an Arab identity and he disapproves of that. A high valuation of Arabic as a multi-purpose language, and reasons related to the national and religious identity of Arabs, lead this columnist to call for the preservation of the Arabic language.

- S1: This journalist emphasizes the role of professionalism in the writing of newspaper articles. He introduces the idea of ‘outsiders’ vs. ‘insiders’ in journalism, specifically newspaper writing, and links the extensive use of the vernacular to people outside the profession. In addition, the columnist stresses, like other columnists, that use of the vernacular is due to a poor command of SA. S1 denies the use of diglossic code-switching in his articles. He also seems to be concerned about making his writing accessible to non-Kuwaiti readers, which gives him another reason to avoid KA. Apparently, S1 has a mission and is investing in an audience which he can influence to ‘change’ and he believes that in order to access this audience, one must use SA. Furthermore, this columnist expresses the idea of the grammaticality of SA vs. the Kuwaiti dialect.

He seems to indirectly classify the dialect as a non-grammatical variety compared with SA, which is characteristic of many Arabic speakers' perceptions of diglossia (cf. Ferguson 1959). Holding a slightly different point of view to A1, S1 does not believe that satirical articles have to contain diglossic code-switching. The link S1 establishes between insults and the vernacular shows the negative attitude of this columnist towards the use of the L variety in articles. Again, this shows his approval and positive attitude towards the diglossic patterns that govern our linguistic behaviour in general.

- K2: Holding a very positive view of SA as being a 'comprehensive, dimensional, colourful and strong language that is rich in sounds', K2 actually states a preference for SA to the vernacular. She views the vernacular as a variety that is restricted whereas SA covers the whole Arab world, which makes it superior. K2 introduces the idea of 'intimacy' as a reason for diglossic code-switching in articles and thinks that it has a positive effect when appealing to the senses. However, she seems to view it negatively when the columnist is appealing to the mind of the reader, where she favours SA. Thus, she gives labels to the vernacular and SA: 'the language of instinct' to the former and 'the language of science and intellect' to the latter. This dichotomy becomes evident when the columnist expresses her disapproval of the use of the vernacular to arouse the instincts of the readers. Moreover, K2 seems to believe that the vernacular may be easier for some columnists to use than SA, which is related to the idea of 'weakness' in SA, proposed by other columnists as a possible reason for the use of the vernacular. The theme of "colour" occurs several times in the answers of this columnist to describe the use of the vernacular. It is obvious that she thinks positively of the vernacular when it is used briefly to serve a certain purpose. K2 suggests that the use of a KA word off topic and out of context is an indicator of the writer's limited vocabulary. Moreover, she establishes a connection between SA and 'objectivity'. It seems that this columnist views the vernacular as a 'subjective' language, probably due to the closeness of the vernacular to the speaker/columnist in daily life. The views held by K2 towards the complementary functions that the two varieties serve, indicate that she generally approves of the diglossic situation. This columnist's belief that SA is 'the mother tongue' of Arabs shows that she views it as an essential part of her identity. This high valuation of SA is interesting as SA is not actually the mother

tongue of Kuwaitis: they acquire KA as their mother tongue but learn SA in schools. The fact that K2 only accepts articles written in SA and only accepts the vernacular in limited cases and serving specific purposes, shows that she is against the extensive use of the vernacular. Importantly K2 said that she ‘allies with the audience, their needs, the goal of the message and the objective reality’. It is difficult in practice to meet all those criteria, as some of them contradict each other: e.g. the audience needs, which may require the vernacular, may at some point conflict with the need for objectivity, for which, K2 argues, SA should be used. This, however, could be understood more clearly if we assume that the columnist is referring to the contextual usage of both varieties, which other columnists refer to as well. K2 also seems to believe that her own perception of the value of SA and the vernacular are widely shared. The attitudes of the columnist become clearer towards the end of the interview as she suggests that extensive use of the vernacular in editorials is like ‘the language of teenage boys’, and that it is not viewed with respect. This shows the very negative attitude of the columnist towards the vernacular, especially in editorials. Moreover, saying that the editorial should be written in ‘a classy language such as the mother tongue’ (i.e. SA) shows again the deep respect this columnist holds for SA, which they repeatedly refer to as ‘the mother tongue’. The notion of ‘weakness of the eloquence of the writer’ occurs frankly in the speech of this columnist as she describes the extensive use of diglossic code-switching. K2 stresses that education is linked to the use of ‘classy language’, i.e. SA. She also believes that it is possible that religion may play a role in the preference for SA as it is closer to the language of the Qur’an and the the Prophet’s sayings.

- A2: This columnist sees SA as the basis of any article, allowing for a limited use of the vernacular in order to convey a certain message. He also strongly differentiates between specific parts of the article: in some sub-sections KA is allowed whereas in others it is not. It is not clear where his view with respect to the sanctity of the headlines and the titles of the articles comes from, as this columnist regards the violation of those by the vernacular very negatively (he describes such a practice as ‘insulting’ and ‘harmful’). Like other columnists, A2 believes that SA is more suited to the task of addressing other Arabs, a

reason many columnists use as an explanation for their preference for SA. According to A2, the use of SA is a necessity: it has no social dimensions and is not connected to the prestigious status of some writers. A2 also believes that the use of the vernacular widens the audience of the writer since most readers prefer the vernacular for its simplicity, easiness and use of humour. The columnist seems very tolerant of the vernacular when used in articles in a limited fashion for a specific purpose, as he believes it can yield positive results. He is also concerned about reaching a large audience in the Arab world and this notion recurs several times in his interview. Professionalism is also emphasized by A2 as a factor in the use of the vernacular in newspapers. Moreover, A2 believes that the change of editorial staff from Lebanese to Kuwaiti may have had a role in the increased use of SA in one newspaper he wrote for. This columnist believes that there is no real influence of social factors on the attitudes columnists have towards diglossic code-switching. For example, he believes education does not have an influence on the preference for SA. However, the columnist believes that the religious sect one belongs to could cause a difference in the degree of preference for SA by Sunnis and Shiites. He suggests that Sunnis rely on an historical methodology that is based on SA, as an indication of religiousness. That is, the religious history and literature Sunnis rely on is based on SA. However, Shiite religiousness has a dimension related to the vernacular, in that the religious history is related to Iraq and Iraqi Arabic or a local variety. Thus the religious factor could have an influence on Sunnis even though he does not discern this in Kuwait extensively yet he clearly sees it in Saudi Arabia.

No columnist showed total support for the use of the vernacular in articles but it was very common to find columnists who were supporters of writing exclusively in SA. Also, even though the columnists were against the idea of using the L variety extensively, they still generally allowed for the restricted use of the L variety in articles.

An exploration of the readers' attitudes will be provided in the next section. These attitudes of Kuwaiti readers have not been explored before, so such an investigation is crucial for our understanding of the diglossic situation in Kuwait.

4.2 The Readers' Attitudes Towards Diglossic Code-switching in Newspaper Articles

This section sets out to uncover Kuwaiti participants' overt and covert attitudes (i.e. the readers) towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. Five statistical tests²⁰ were administered and questionnaire data were collected for the purpose of this part of my investigating. The participants were selected using a quota/judgement sampling method (for more details on the sample of participants as well as the tests used, see Chapter 3). Because of the divergent roles assumed by readers and columnists, the readers were hypothesised to have attitudes that differed from those of the columnists, mainly that their attitudes to diglossic code-switching may be more relaxed than that of the columnists'. The influence of social factors on the participants' attitudes and their potential interaction was also taken into account by stratifying the reader sample by sex, education, religion and ethnicity. Moreover, the age of participants is used to examine/explore any changes in language attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. This investigation has been carried out due to the lack of studies done on diglossia attitudes in the Kuwaiti community.

This section is divided into four parts. The first part gives a discussion of previous work on attitudes to the L varieties (i.e. colloquial varieties). The second part presents the overt attitudes of all participants, as well as the attitudes of participants according to social variable, towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. The third part examines the results of the matched-guise test devised to reveal participants' covert attitudes towards diglossic code-switching. The final part provides an analysis of changes in the participants' language attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles.

A number of studies were conducted by linguists to investigate language attitudes towards some diglossic varieties (El-Dash and Tucker 1975, Dakwar 2005, Assaf 2001, *inter alia*). Even though these studies provided researchers with an understanding of diglossic attitudes in general, there is still more needed to know about the nature of attitudes to diglossia, particularly in the Arab world. First, there is a lack of investigation of language attitudes towards diglossia in speech communities which

²⁰ These tests are: Chi-square, Comparing Column Proportions, Wilcoxon Signed Ranks, Mann-Whitney, and Kruskal-Wallis tests.

were never investigated in relation to this aspect. Second, there is also a need to explore the relationship between different social factors with diglossia. Thus, my research aims to investigate: (1) the overt/covert attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles in Kuwait; (2) the influence of social factors on language attitudes towards diglossic code-switching; (3) whether language change is taking place and in what direction. I hypothesise that traditional attitudes to diglossia exist and persist in Kuwait and that different social groups react differently to the presence of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles. I also hypothesise that a change is taking place in the attitudes of Kuwaitis towards diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles.

4.2.1 Attitudes to the Colloquial

In Paraguay, Cyprus, Switzerland, Réunion and Denmark, attitudes have changed to the colloquial, i.e. varieties of language which do not enjoy much prestige or popularity, and/or are restricted to certain informal domains only (see, *inter alia*, Clyne 1995, Kounnapi 2006, Steinberg 2010,). This change of attitude is manifested in different forms from one community to another, as we shall see below. This highlights the importance of looking at the Kuwaiti situation and not generalizing based on other speech communities. Language attitudes can be an indication of how healthy a language is in a speech community (Baker 1992: 30). Thus, it is crucial to observe how attitudes to the colloquial variety, KA, are changing in this investigation of diglossia and the status of KA in the case of diglossia under investigation here. In order to place the diglossic situation in Kuwait within a larger picture and to see whether attitudes have changed to L varieties, an overview of the status of colloquial language and attitudes towards it in different speech communities is provided in this section. The following sections will firstly discuss communities in which the H variety is being associated with domains that were previously dominated by the L variety, followed by communities in which the L variety is gaining more status and positive attitudes.

A change in attitudes towards diglossia has been observed especially among the younger generations in Paraguay where Spanish dominates some domains as an H variety, with the indigenous Guarani language as an L variety. Steinberg (2010: 35) reports that among young people in Paraguay the H variety previously associated with employment and literacy is now increasingly associated with domains of intimacy such as friendship. In my comparison of Paraguay to the Kuwaiti community, I have never

seen the H variety in Kuwait being used in domains of friendship or intimacy (unless it is in written and somewhat formulaic form), based on my experience as a member of the Kuwaiti speech community.

Another community in which the H variety is associated with more domains than the L variety is Cyprus where we find two varieties of Greek, each accorded different degrees of status and acquired differently, resulting in a diglossic situation. Standard Greek is learned in schools and used in formal settings, while the Greek Cypriot variety is acquired at home and used in informal settings. Kounnapi (2006) argues that, unlike the attitudes usually demonstrated by Greek Cypriots in previous studies (see Papapavlou (1998) who reports more favourable attitudes towards the H rather than the L), primary school students are now showing differences in their attitudes. Even though they still demonstrate favourable attitudes towards the H variety, they do not do so with the same consistency as groups in previous studies (Papapavlou 1998; Pavlou 1999). Kounnapi (2006: 697) emphasizes the fact that previous studies had been carried out at least six years prior to her own and she argues that this could explain the reason for such a change in attitudes:

The last six years were critical for the diffusion of the Cypriot dialect, as the effect of the SMG [Standard Modern Greek] language has occupied most of the Greek Cypriots' everyday language communication contacts. Before 1970, attitudes towards SMG and the Cypriot dialect were probably linked mostly to Cypriots' inability to express themselves fully in SMG and therefore their attitude was one of 'reverence' and 'respect' toward something that they have never been able to master completely [...]. This consistent SMG language use is affecting the speech of young generations and mostly of younger children which leads the Cypriot dialect to an every day [*sic*] inevitable attrition.

Switzerland, Réunion and Denmark are three communities in which changes have been noted in language attitudes in favour of the L variety, in Switzerland. Swiss German, i.e. the L variety, is gaining popularity and dominance in settings that used to be exclusive to the H variety, Standard German, and it has a prestigious status locally as an identity marker (Clyne 1995: 42). For example, Clyne (1995: 43) suggests that the L variety is reported to have been used at weddings and in church services, for death notices in newspapers, addresses on National Day, and in some other formal speeches.

This leads Clyne to question the usefulness of continuing to apply the concept of diglossia in relation to the language situation in Switzerland. As for the attitudes of Swiss German speakers towards the H variety, Barbour and Stevenson (1990: 214) emphasize the importance of studying the younger generation's attitudes in investigations of future language change in the Swiss diglossic community. They report that studies have so far shown that women and army recruits of the same age do not show a strong preference for Standard German, their H variety, when compared to other non-Swiss languages, rating it low for necessity and popularity.

Furthermore, French and Creole are in a diglossic relationship in Réunion, whereby the former plays the role of the H variety and the latter, the L variety. Oakes (2013: 33) reports that a change in language attitudes has been observed in the younger generation who show a different attitude and a preference for Creole in school, and based on this evidence, Oakes believes that Réunion could be “moving beyond diglossia” and experiencing a slow language shift.

In some speech communities that are not diglossic, it has been observed that the colloquial variety has begun to garner more positive attitudes. In Denmark, the *rigsdansk*, “Standard Danish”, is considered to be the H variety and it enjoys top ranking as a language variety, as opposed to *københavnsk*, or “low Copenhagen”, which is normally at the bottom of the rankings (Kristiansen 2003: 64). However, Kristiansen (2003: 67) suggests that younger Danes from Næstved possess a more covert tolerance for the “low” variety, upgrading it and reacting to it more favourably than to Standard Danish. Kristiansen (2003: 67) notes that this upgrading of the “low” variety by the younger participants “was general and present on competence as well as sociability [levels]”. Moreover, the fact that the variety scored highly for traits relating to dynamic personality could be attributed to the fact that the “low” variety has been commonly used since the 1970s in mass media, which sought to cultivate a younger image featuring a “laid-back and dynamic informality”, rather than one of formality (Kristiansen 2003: 67).

In comparison to some of the cases reviewed above, the Kuwaiti community differs from them in nature as SA (the H variety) is not the mother tongue in any (other) speech community. The fact that SA is not spoken anywhere in the Arab world as a mother tongue shows the different nature of diglossia in Kuwait, the community under investigation here. In German-speaking Switzerland and Cypriot, for example, attitudes

to the H varieties are sometimes influenced by perceptions of the community of speakers of the H variety, such as Germany and Greece respectively. SA, on the other hand, is a variety that can be equally shared amongst all Arabs and enjoys the highest prestige in the community (Ferguson 1959; Alshamrani 2012). Table 24 shows the summary of the communities discussed here, according to the type of change:

In favour of the H variety	In favour of the L variety
Paraguay	Switzerland
Cyprus	Réunion
	Denmark

Table 24 Communities According to the Type of Language Change

According to Schnepel (2004: 30), it is argued that “diglossia is present in all societies where there is dialectal variation” of all types. Given that the L status is occupied by the dialect of KA in Kuwait, it is worth investigating whether attitudes are changing to dialectal varieties in other speech communities. In the UK, for example, attitudes to dialects have changed and ‘age’ has proven to be a good indicator of a change in language attitudes. Drawing on the data collected by Giles (1970) and the BBC Voices Project (2005), Garrett (2010: 175) reports on the change in attitudes of English speakers over time towards Standard English (SE). He shows that the oldest participants viewed SE as the most prestigious variety. Even though younger participants still consider SE to be a prestigious variety, the attribution of prestige to SE has lessened over the years. Furthermore, as Garrett (2010: 172) argues, globalization can play an important role in the status of languages. On the one hand, it can lessen the deference for standard varieties and, on the other hand, it helps to reduce the negative attitudes that people usually hold towards non-standard varieties. One example provided by Garrett (2010) concerns the status of RP in the English-speaking world. Garrett suggests that RP now enjoys less popularity than it did many years ago, and this can be explained by the fact that news reporters from the BBC were discriminated against for their RP accents as they sounded too ‘posh’. As for Arab speech communities, Daoudi (2011) suggests that the use of e-Arabic²¹ (including Arabizi²²) involves an engagement with

²¹ Daoudi (2011) uses the term “e-Arabic” to refer to the type of Arabic used in Computer Mediated Communication (CMC).

“globalized discourse” and is now evident in literature throughout the Arab world. Similarly, Sperrazza (2011: 102) believes that users of Arabizi are a part of “the modern constructs of a globalized world”. As noted in these studies, the influence of globalization on the changing status of both colloquial language and the use of Arabizi has been highlighted, with a greater focus on the youth as active players in both practices.²³ It has been argued that such a practice is also common in Kuwait, and is dominated by the younger generation in text messaging (Haggan 2007). The written medium is a domain usually dominated by the H variety, but with such practices and varieties available to a writer, SA may have more competition than before. In fact, these practices have led some linguists such as Attwa (2012: 41) to call for further investigation into whether a process of “synchronic digraphia”²⁴ is underway in Arabic. These observations show the need for an investigation of any changes that may be taking place in attitudes towards SA and diglossia due to the factors mentioned above.

Some speech communities in the Arab world have also shown some interesting changes concerning patterns of language use or attitudes to diglossia or colloquial varieties. In Egypt, for instance, the fact that OTV²⁵ aired news in Egyptian Arabic (an L variety in Egypt) as opposed to the H variety, SA, drew severe criticism from the Muslim Brotherhood²⁶ which accused the channel of involvement in a conspiracy because they had chosen the colloquial variety over SA to broadcast news (see Kamal 2008, as cited in Bassiouney 2009: 252). The findings of Doss (2010: 138) show that there is, in fact, no absolute support for using the colloquial variety in news broadcasting amongst the staff at OTV, but this practice is often justified by the fact that such language is used to “attract the youth sitting at cafes [...] who otherwise would not be interested in hearing the news”. Doss (2010: 138) also highlighted the enthusiasm of young editors and translators for this practice. Abu Elhij’a (2012) observes that the last fifteen years have seen the beginning of using the vernacular in electronic devices (e.g.

²² Yaghan (2008: 39) defines “Arabizi” as a writing system of Arabic that utilises English characters, hence the term “Arabizi”, which is based on a combination of the words *arabi* “Arabic” and *engliszi* “English”.

²³ In my experience as a member of the community, I have been asked on a number of occasions (always by older members) to “interpret” some messages that others had received in Arabizi, as they could not understand what was written.

²⁴ Dale’s (1980: 5) definition of synchronic digraphia is the use of “more than one writing system [...] contemporaneously for the same language”.

²⁵ ‘OTV’ is an Egyptian TV channel.

²⁶ An Islamist organization.

chat programs, SMS, Facebook, and so on) by young speakers of Arabic. She emphasizes that this new practice is not exclusive to Arabic speakers, but can also be seen in other parts of the world, such as in Japan and China (Abu Elhij'a 2012: 69).

In 2014, a number of news items covering the 39th Kuwait Book Fair highlighted what was perceived as an “alarming” increase in the use of KA in novels and books written by young Kuwaiti writers. Apparently, the increase in the use of colloquial language by the younger generation of writers in Kuwait has caught the attention of writers, novelists and news agencies. For example, Al-Watan TV aired reports about “the dangerous prevalent tendency towards using the colloquial in Kuwaiti literature”. The featured writers argued for and against the use of the colloquial in novels and short stories. Similarly, the Saudi TV news channel, Al-Arabiyah, reported on the rise in the use of colloquial language in books at the latest book fair in Kuwait and the popularity of this practice amongst the younger generation of both writers and readers. The Kuwaiti writer, Taleb Al-Rifai, has also publicly spoken out against the practice in a newspaper article, arguing that it is a form of linguistic weakness and harms the unity of the Arab world by isolating Kuwaiti literature, restricting it to a Kuwaiti audience only (*Al-Jarida* 17/12/2014). The overall picture that one can get from this review is the impression that there is, indeed, a rise in the use of the vernacular and that media outlets as well as writers and media personalities have negative attitudes towards the use of the vernacular.

To the best of my knowledge, no study into language attitude has yet been conducted in the Kuwaiti community to investigate Kuwaiti attitudes towards the use of the colloquial in formal domains, or in writing specifically. The present study sets out to fill this gap. The media attention given to this type of language use and the huge popularity of books and novels written in the colloquial variety could possibly indicate some underlying changes in language attitudes which are worth exploring further. Baker (1992: 16) claims that “attitudes may be better predictors of future behaviour than observation of current behaviour”. Thus, studying the changes (or lack thereof) in the language attitudes of a community, coupled with an investigation into current language use, could provide the basis for some relatively reliable predictions for future linguistic practices in that community. This allows policy makers, as well as writers, to take into account the type of attitudes being formed in the community, thus improving communication.

One important factor in understanding whether change is underway in the community is the way in which current practices and trends in society are influencing perceptions of SA in Kuwait. In particular, there is a phenomenon noted by a number of linguists in the Arab world (Mejdell 2008; Al-Rubaie 2010) which involves many parents enrolling their children in private schools in which the language of instruction is not Arabic but mostly English, and this is thought to undermine the position of Arabic in Kuwaiti society. Al-Rubaie (2010: 29), for example, notes that after the Gulf War, and especially more recently, the number of private schools in Kuwait in which the language of instruction is English has increased dramatically. Similarly, Bassiouney (2009: 252) suggests that, in Egypt, “knowledge of SA is downplayed and knowledge of English specifically is becoming a must” due to the privatization in Egypt and the fact that the private sector, which requires job applicants to speak English, offers more jobs compared to the government which has not been successful in creating job opportunities. According to Dahan’s (2014: 112) study of Arab youths in the United Arab Emirates, young Arabs appear to show less concern regarding “the lessening of Arabic usage in their daily lives”. These factors could play a role in the perception of diglossic patterns, whereby the younger generation, who have experienced this “downplaying” of SA, may have different attitudes and language practices than other age cohorts.

It is crucial that we examine what is happening in the Kuwaiti community with regard to language use, given that the attitudes of Kuwaitis to the colloquial have not been previously investigated. There are possible factors that may have contributed to the increase in the use of colloquial language by Kuwaitis in some novels and books. As some columnists interviewed in this study suggest, it could be due to the decline of Arab nationalism after the Iraqi invasion, when Kuwaitis began to see their own identity as one which was quite distinct from that of the rest of the Arab world. Furthermore, there has been some speculation as to whether the perceived difficulties associated with SA and issues relating to lower educational standards in state schools could result in changes to attitude and language behaviours, as suggested by some of this study’s participants, and by Kuwaiti writers in general. Moreover, another reason for that could be what Bassiouney (2009) describes as the reason in Egypt, which is the increased popularity of Kuwaiti private schools in which the language of instruction is English.

In this section, it can be observed that, in general, age affects language attitudes. The younger generation in these studies generally show marked differences in their

language attitudes in comparison to their older counterparts. This leads to the investigation of whether there are any similar changes in language attitudes towards the vernacular in the Kuwaiti community. This is carried out by taking careful consideration of the factor of age and by interpreting results within the ‘apparent time’ paradigm.

4.2.2 Overt Attitudes:

The overt attitudes to diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles discussed in this section were elicited by asking the participants direct questions about their perceptions of and attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles. The questionnaire is presented in Appendix A (for the columnists’ attitudes, see Section 4.1 and Appendix B). I first discuss all participants’ attitudes before exploring the effect of social factors on attitudes. Thereafter, I will explore any changes in language attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles in the community, using the age of participants as a lens through which to view the changes that are happening in the community.

4.2.2.1 Overt Attitudes of All the Participants:

The participants were asked whether they like to see code-switching between SA and KA in newspaper articles. As shown in Table 25, 23% of the participants said that they do not like to see diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles, compared to 21% of participants who said that they do. However, over half of the participants (56%) said that they sometimes liked to see diglossic code-switching in articles.²⁷ These differences are statistically significant ($\chi^2 (2) = 22.750, p < .0005$).

	%	N
All Participants (N= 96) ²⁸		
Yes	21%	20

²⁷ The results in this table (and in all tables in this section) are carried out by the chi-square test. There is a significant difference in the answers of the participants, with more participants saying that they like to see diglossic code-switching sometimes, compared to the answers ‘yes’ and ‘no’.

²⁸ As mentioned previously, Christians had to be removed from the quantitative analysis due to their small number.

No	23%	22
Sometimes	56%	54

Table 25 Showing a liking for diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles

The second question asked whether the use of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles influenced the participants' choice of columnists to read. Table 26 shows that the majority of participants (62%) said that diglossic code-switching could influence their choice of columnist, whereas a relatively small number (27%) said that it played no role. The remaining 11% of respondents said that they were not sure. These differences are statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = 37.688, p < .0005$.

All Participants (N= 96)	%	N
Yes	62%	59
No	27%	26
Not sure	11%	11

Table 26 Effect of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist

The last question related to how positively or negatively diglossic code-switching can influence the participants' choice of columnist. As shown in Table 27, almost half of all participants said that the use of diglossic code-switching positively influenced their choice of columnist. The participants who said that their choice would be negatively influenced constituted 20% of the sample, while 31% were not sure. These differences are statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = 12.438, p < .05$.

All Participants (N= 96)	%	N
Positively	49%	47
Negatively	20%	19
Not sure	31%	30

Table 27 Degree of influence of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist

It was hypothesised that in a diglossic community such as Kuwait, readers would be more hesitant in expressing their favourable attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspapers for fear of being judged negatively. This is due to the fact that in diglossic communities the L variety is regarded less favourably than the H variety in formal contexts such as newspapers. However, as shown in Tables 9-11, the majority of

people who completed the questionnaire reported that they sometimes like to see code-switching to the vernacular variety, and almost half of the participants said that diglossic code-switching influenced their choice of columnist positively. These findings can be contrasted with those obtained from the columnists: the columnists were more conservative and reluctant to support the use of the vernacular in newspapers. This could be due to several factors. The first of these is the role assumed by the columnist in relation to the reader. It has been shown in the columnists' interviews in the current study that some columnists portray themselves as members of the cultured, well-educated classes in society, and some of them stated how important it was for them to express their academic or intellectual status through their language use. Others said that they have certain intellectual agendas and messages to deliver. However, the participants, or those who assume the role of readers, did not have such social pressure to deal with, which could perhaps have led to their more relaxed attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers. Moreover, the interviews with columnists revealed that some columnists harbour some concerns that KA may not be comprehensible enough for their non-Kuwaiti readers, a concern that is not shared by a Kuwaiti-speaking reader.

An exploration of overt attitudes in relation to social variables is given in the next section.

4.2.2.2 Exploring Overt Attitudes in Relation to Social Variables:

I will now turn to explore social differences in readers' overt attitudes to diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. The social variables included in the study are categorised according to: sex (male/female), education (pre-university/university educated), religion (Sunnis/Shiites/Christians) and ethnicity (Badu/Hadhar/Ajams/Hassawis).

In this section, I will first discuss the social variable 'sex'. The reason why sex is chosen here as one of the variables is because of the importance of such variable in relation to language (cf. Gardner-Chloros 2009), as well as the role sex differences play in social life in Kuwait (cf. Altamimi 2004; Al-Ghabra 2011). Previous studies in Western societies have shown that there is a strong relationship between sex and language attitudes. For example, Labov (1966), Trudgill (1975) and Milroy (1980) argued that females tend to show positive attitudes to prestigious language forms, resulting in the adoption of more standard features by females than by males. Similarly,

in an attitude questionnaire, Ladegaard (2000) found that males hold more positive attitudes towards vernacular varieties than females do. There is a general lack of studies that investigate differences between both sexes in their attitudes towards code-switching specifically. According to Gardner-Chloros (2009: 82), there is still a need for more research to understand attitudes to code-switching. However, a number of studies carried out in the West have shown that females tend to have more favourable attitudes to code-switching than males (Swotinsky 2013; Dewaele and Wei 2014). In the Arab world, the relationship between attitudes towards diglossic code-switching and the social variable of sex have not been specifically investigated. Sadiqi (2006: 294) argued that code-switching between French and Moroccan Arabic in Morocco is not necessarily related to speaker sex, even though women were generally found to use French/MA code-switching more than males for various purposes, including self-empowerment. In Egypt and Saudi Arabia, however, females were found to be more associated with the use of SA in public spheres. In Egypt for example, women were found to use SA to assert their authority and show their sophistication (Bassiouney 2010: 119). In Saudi Arabia, Ababtain (2013) found that Saudi females tend to use more SA and less code-switching than their male counterparts in the social networking website 'Twitter'. These patterns in the Arab world show that there is indeed regional variation in code-switching in relation to sex. Even though these findings do not directly relate to our discussion here of attitudes, it does highlight the differences between how Arab men and women differ in their code-switching practices, and even attitudes as well.

Several studies have shown that women in the Arab world behave differently from their Western counterparts in terms of use of standard varieties (Abdel-Jawad 1983; Bakir 1986; Al-Wer 1991; Haeri 1991; Daher 1998; Sadiqi 2005, 2007, *inter alia*). Female Arabic speakers were found to use more non-standard forms in comparison to male speakers (Sadiqi 2005, 2007). Bakir (1986) argued that the main reason for such a tendency is that men in the Arab world have more access to public life than women, and are more socially active, resulting in the fact that men use more standard linguistic features. Haeri (1987, 2000) proposed, however, that access to public life or education could not account for the difference between men and women in this regard, as the same level of education was attained by both sexes in the aforementioned studies. Moreover, a very important observation by Haeri (2000: 68; cf. Al-Wer 1997) is that while there is a relationship between written English and the language used by the higher classes, no such relationship exists between SA and any particular class in

Arab societies. In fact, those in higher socio-economic groups tend to send their children to foreign language schools, where SA may not be one of the languages they actually learn (Haeri 2000: 69). This, of course, highlights the fact that SA is not exclusively related to any socio-economic group, which is one of the main differences between Western societies and the Arab world regarding the notion of prestige and standard language. However, it is crucial to take into consideration the role of context in relation to the prestige of a language variety. A newspaper columnist is expected to be literate and knowledgeable enough in the standard form of the language in order to qualify for writing for an Arabic newspaper.²⁹ This view is expressed explicitly in the columnists' interviews. Thus, in formal contexts requiring the H variety, individuals who are educated and well versed in this form generally enjoy a higher status, as they are believed to be better suited than others for the task of public writing or speaking. This emphasises the prestigious status the standard variety holds in the domain of newspaper writing.

Table 28 shows that in response to whether they like to see diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles, male participants demonstrated slightly more negative attitudes towards CS than females.³⁰ The female participants were divided equally between 'yes' and 'no' responses (19% in each category). On the whole, half of the male participants (50%), and the majority of female participants (62%), said that they sometimes like to see diglossic code-switching. Despite minor differences in response distributions, the sex differences in attitudes are not statistically significant ($\chi^2 (2) = 1.594, > .05$).

Sex		%	N
Males	Yes	23%	11
	No	27%	13
	Sometimes	50%	24

²⁹ Particularly as a writer of opinion articles.

³⁰ In my analysis of the attitudes of male vs. female participants, it is important to recall Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (2003: 292) warning regarding the study of language and sex: "[g]iven differences in [...] histories and conditions, generalisations about the relation between [sex] and the use of standard or vernacular features will be highly problematic." Thus, the interpretation of such a relationship may vary according to cultural differences. An analysis of the attitudes of male vs. female respondents is given below with this proviso in mind.

Females	Yes	19%	9
	No	19%	9
	Sometimes	62%	30

Table 28 Showing a liking for diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles (Sex)

As shown in Table 29, the answers given by the two sexes to the question of whether diglossic code-switching influenced their choice of columnist reveal the differing attitudes of men and women on this subject. Females seem to respond more positively to this question males: 71% of female participants gave an affirmative answer, compared to only 52% of male participants. Similarly, whereas 38% of male participants said diglossic code-switching had no influence on their choice of columnists, only 17% of female participants shared that view. However, these differences are not statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = 5.310, p > .05$.

Sex		%	N
Males	Yes	52%	25
	No	38%	18
	Sometimes	10%	5
Females	Yes	71%	34
	No	17%	8
	Sometimes	12%	6

Table 29 Effect of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist (Sex)

Table 30 shows that both sexes respond similarly to the question of the influence of diglossic code-switching on their choice of columnist, except that the female participants seem to respond slightly more positively to the question (56% for females vs. 42% for males). Moreover, more male participants said that they were negatively influenced by code-switching (27%) than female participants (13%). Again, these differences are not statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = 3.622, p > .05$.

Sex		%	N
Males	Positively	42%	20
	Negatively	27%	13
	Not sure	31%	15

Females	Positively	56%	27
	Negatively	13%	6
	Not sure	31%	15

Table 30 Degree of influence of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist (Sex)

This analysis of the overt attitudes of males vs. females initially gives the impression of an overall more favourable attitude from females towards diglossic code-switching in comparison to the male respondents. However, this difference is not statistically significant. As a result of the lack of studies that investigate the relationship between sex and diglossia in Kuwait, Dashti and Dashti (2015) call on researchers to pay more attention to this area.

Next, I will discuss the attitudes of respondents based on the variable of education. Education is one of the most crucial dimensions of diglossia (cf. Ferguson 1959, Hashem-Aramouni 2011). It is usually only through schooling that an Arab learns SA, as it is not acquired at home. My investigation here considers whether the participants' level of education affects their attitudes towards code-switching. The two participant groups investigated here are: (1) university-educated participants (henceforth 'university ps'); (2) those who have received pre-university education only (henceforth 'pre-university ps'). It is important for my analysis to identify any attitudinal differences between participants with different levels of education in relation to SA. Scientific majors at university tend to be taught in English rather than in Arabic. However, other majors are still taught in Arabic, and it still plays a major role in general university life (e.g. political and social seminars held at university and aimed at students tend to be delivered in Arabic). This highlights the importance of Arabic as a language of communication and as a language associated with scholarly seminars, which could, in turn, have an influence on the perceptions of a university-educated participant. Studies have shown that SA is generally associated with a higher level of education (cf. Amara 1999; Versteegh 2001). Thus, I hypothesise that university ps have less favourable attitudes towards diglossic code-switching than those with a lower level of education.

Table 31 shows that the pre-university ps show more favourable attitudes towards seeing diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles in comparison to the university ps (26% vs. 16%). A small majority of both education groups said that they sometimes like to see diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles (university ps: 57%, pre-university ps: 55%). However, the differences in the two ratings are not

statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = 1.560, p > .05$. The results do not therefore confirm my hypothesis that those with a higher level of education would like to see the exclusive use of the H variety in newspaper columns.

Level of education		%	N
University	Yes	16%	8
	No	27%	13
	Sometimes	57%	28
Pre-university	Yes	26%	12
	No	19%	9
	Sometimes	55%	26

Table 31 Showing a liking for diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles (Education level)

Table 32 shows that the majority of people in both levels said that diglossic code-switching played a role in their choice of columnist (university ps: 69%, pre-university ps: 53%). Additionally, the proportion of university-educated ps who said that diglossic code-switching had no influence on their choice of columnist (20%) was smaller than in the pre-university ps (34%). The difference in the two ratings, however, is again not statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = 2.808, p > .05$.

Level of education		%	N
University	Yes	69%	34
	No	20%	10
	Sometimes	10%	5
Pre-university	Yes	53%	25
	No	34%	16
	Sometimes	13%	6

Table 32 Effect of diglossic code-switching on newspaper articles (Education level)

Table 33 shows that, as hypothesised, the majority of the pre-university ps said that diglossic code-switching influenced them positively (68%), with only a small percentage saying that it had a negative influence on their choice of columnist (13%).

Surprisingly, however, 43% of the university ps were not sure about the influence diglossic code-switching had on their choice of columnist, and only 26% of them said it had a negative influence. The fact that the percentage of university-educated ps who think that code-switching has a positive influence on them (at 31%) is greater than that of those who view it as a negative influence is an interesting result. The difference in the ratings of the two education groups is statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = 13.492, p < .005$.

Level of education		%	N
University	Positively	31%	15
	Negatively	26%	13
	Not sure	43%	21
Pre-university	Positively	68%	32
	Negatively	13%	6
	Not sure	19%	9

Table 33 Degree of influence of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist (Education level)

The first two questions posed to the participants did not turn out to be significant for both education groups. However, the third question with regard to the degree of influence diglossic code-switching has on choice of columnist proved to be statistically significant, showing that the choice of columnist by pre-university ps are more positively influenced by the presence of diglossic code-switching than the university ps. Thus, the third question confirms my hypothesis that those with a higher education are less positively influenced by diglossic code-switching. This finding can be contrasted with that of Alshamrani (2012: 62) which posits that a high level of education is associated with having a liking for the H variety, as opposed to the L variety. An investigation of the covert attitudes of both education groups is also given in Section 4.2.3.

In contrast to other social variables, relatively few linguistic studies have investigated the influence of religion on language use. Previous research has shown that

there is an interaction between religion as a social factor (or religious networks,³¹ cf. Chatterton 2008) and language use (see Holes 1983, 1984, 1995; Meechan 1998; Chatterton 2008; Baker and Bowie 2010). However, the effect of religion on language attitudes has not received much attention. According to Labov (2001: 245), the freedom of religion in some countries could weaken the effect of religious affiliation on the linguistic behaviour of the speaker, and could restrict this effect to the lexicon. However, in a country like Kuwait where freedom to change one's religion is not socially tolerated, religious affiliation could be hypothesised to have a strong effect on people's linguistic attitudes.³² According to Baker and Bowie (2010: 2), "to examine the effects of religion [...] we need communities where religion is a salient characteristic, but where different religious orientations are integrated." This description could be applied to the situation in Kuwait, where religion is prominent, and where people of different religious beliefs have lived together ever since the country was established.³³ Below, the attitudes of Sunnis (the majority of Kuwaitis) and Shiites (the largest religious minority in Kuwait) towards the use of diglossic code-switching in newspapers will be examined to shed some light on the influence of religion on the overt attitudes of Sunnis and Shiites in Kuwait.³⁴

Table 34 shows that, in response to the question of whether or not they like seeing diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles, respondents belonging to both religious orientations gave comparable answers. A very small difference exists between both religious groups, as 25% of Sunnis said they do not like to code-switching, compared with 21% of Shiites. A majority of both Sunnis and Shiites said that they sometimes like diglossic code-switching (Sunnis: 54%, Shiites: 58%). However, the difference between the Sunnis and Shiites in their answers is not statistically significant: $\chi^2(2) = .256, p > .05$.

³¹ Social networks are defined by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 117) as "the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking many individuals, sometimes remotely". See Chapter 1 for more on Religion.

³² Even though freedom of religion is guaranteed by the Kuwaiti constitution, the conversion of the Muslim Kuwaiti citizen "Robert Hussein Qambar Ali" to Christianity was widely frowned upon in Kuwait. He was called an "apostate" by an Islamic family court, received death threats, and was under verbal attack from Islamist members of parliament (Amnesty International 1996). However, Qambar Ali did not receive any threats from the State of Kuwait itself (Hashemi 2008: 77).

³³ See Almubailish (2007).

³⁴ Kuwaiti Christians are not considered in the analysis due to their small numbers.

Religion		%	N
Sunnis	Yes	21%	10
	No	25%	12
	Sometimes	54%	26
Shiites	Yes	21%	10
	No	21%	10
	Sometimes	58%	28

Table 34 Showing a liking for diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles (Religious orientation)

As shown in Table 35, the majority of Sunnis and Shiites said that diglossic code-switching had an influence on their choice of columnist. A larger proportion of Sunnis than Shiites answered ‘yes’ (71% vs. 52%). The Sunnis and Shiites also differed in saying ‘no’ to whether diglossic code-switching had an influence on their choice of columnist (19% for the Sunnis vs. 35% for the Shiites). However, these differences are not statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = 3.925, p > .05$.

Religion		%	N
Sunnis	Yes	71%	34
	No	19%	9
	Sometimes	10%	5
Shiites	Yes	52%	25
	No	35%	17
	Sometimes	13%	6

Table 35 Effect of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist (Religious orientation)

Furthermore, Sunnis and Shiites gave largely similar answers as to how the presence of diglossic code-switching influenced their choices, as shown in Table 36. Half of the Shiite participants (50%) and almost half of the Sunni participants (48%) said that they were positively influenced diglossic code-switching. Although the Sunnis showed a greater tendency to see diglossic code-switching as having a negative influence on their choice in comparison to the Shiites (23%, compared with 17%), the differences between

the ratings of the Shiites and the Sunnis are not statistically significant: $\chi^2 (2) = .628, p > .05$.

Religion		%	N
Sunnis	Positively	48%	23
	Negatively	23%	11
	Not sure	29%	14
Shiites	Positively	50%	24
	Negatively	17%	8
	Not sure	33%	16

Table 36 Degree of influence of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist (Religious orientation)

This first attempt to elicit the attitudes of Kuwaiti Sunnis and Shiites ties in with the findings of Holes (2006) with regard to differences in the languages spoken by speakers of both religious orientations in Kuwait.³⁵ According to Holes (2006), Kuwaitis from both religious sects do not exhibit major dialectal differences, unlike Sunnis and Shiites in Bahrain where clear linguistic differences can be observed between both religious sects. Since Kuwait and Bahrain are both Arab Gulf countries and share similarities in terms of culture, language and religious sects, it is worth comparing both linguistic communities with regard to the influence of religion on language use. One of the important differences that could have led to the different patterns found in Bahrain and Kuwait in terms of language use (based on Holes' (1995, 2006) findings) is the fact that there are differences in the relationships between the two religious sects in both countries. Holes (1995: 273) claimed that in Bahrain, the difference between Sunnis and Shiites is geographical, but is strengthened by economic and social factors, such as the segregation between the two sects in terms of employment, marriage and areas in which they live. This led the Sunnis' variety to gain more prestige than the Shiites' in the Bahraini community, thus affecting attitudes. Even though there is some form of religious segregation between Sunnis and Shiites in Kuwait (i.e. both sects have

³⁵ In his discussion of 'Kuwaiti Arabic', Holes (2006) compares the Kuwaiti speech community with the Bahraini one due to the many similarities in language, culture, religion and geographical closeness.

different places of worship and they tend to inter-marry), there is a much more relaxed attitude between both sects in terms of places in which they live or work. This could have led to similar overt attitudes as both sects are equal members of this diglossic community.

Ethnicity has been found to significantly influence people's attitudes to language (Lambert 1967; Kraemer & Birenbaum 1993; Ó Laoire 2007, *inter alia*). For example, Kraemer and Birenbaum (1993) found that the attitudes Arab and Jewish high school students held for language varieties were influenced by their ethnic identity. Similarly, Ó Laoire's (2007) findings show that participants demonstrated positive attitudes to Irish for its identification with their ethnicity. Below I explore the attitudes of Kuwaitis of different ethnicities towards the use of diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers, a research topic which has not been previously investigated. One of the ethnicities that could be hypothesised to yield interesting results is the Ajams. This is due to both their Persian origins and the way they are regarded by other Kuwaitis (cf. Hassan 2009).³⁶ The Ajams originally migrated from Iran and their ancestors, when they first arrived in Kuwait, spoke Farsi, not Arabic (see Chapter 1). Ajam families still contain some older family members who speak Farsi and who may not yet have mastered KA or SA. This connection between the Ajams and their linguistic history, which is connected to Farsi, could play a role in their attitudes to the SA, due to the social pressure exerted on them by some Kuwaitis of other ethnicities who still do not see the Ajams as real Arabs. Some of these Kuwaitis even believe that the Ajams know how to speak in Farsi, because of their origin, which, according to Taqi (2009), is inaccurate.

Table 37 shows that the Badu topped the list of the participants who said that they like to see diglossic code-switching, with the percentage of 32%, followed by the Hassawis with 29%, the Ajams with 12% and the Hadhars with 9%. The majority of the Hadhars (65%) and the Ajams (71%) said that they sometimes like diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles, as opposed to only 44% of the Badu and 46% of the Hassawis. However, the difference between the ratings is not statistically significant: $\chi^2(6) = 7.657, p > .05$.

³⁶ Even though Kuwaitis who belong to this ethnicity have Persian origins, the majority of the young adults of this ethnicity do not speak Farsi like their grandparents do (cf. Taqi 2009).

Ethnicity		%	N
Badu	Yes	32%	8
	No	24%	6
	Sometimes	44%	11
Hadhar	Yes	9%	2
	No	26%	6
	Sometimes	65%	15
Ajam	Yes	12%	3
	No	17%	4
	Sometimes	71%	17
Hassawi	Yes	29%	7
	No	25%	6
	Sometimes	46%	11

Table 37 Showing a liking for diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles (Ethnicity)

Table 38 shows that the majority of all the respondents, except the Hassawis, said that diglossic code-switching had an influence on their choice of columnist. The ethnicity with the highest percentage of respondents stating that diglossic code-switching affected their choice was the Hadhar (78%), followed by the Badu (64%), then the Ajams (54%) and, finally, the Hassawis (50%). However, the ethnicity with the highest percentage of respondents saying that diglossic code-switching had no influence on them was the Hassawis with a percentage of 42%, followed by the Ajams (29%), the Badu (28%) and, finally, the Hadhars (9%). A Fisher's exact significance test was carried out due to the poor distribution of the data. The test showed that the differences are not statistically significant: Fisher's Exact Test= .229, $p > 5$.

Ethnicity		%	N
Badu	Yes	64%	16
	No	28%	7
	Sometimes	8%	2
Hadhar	Yes	78%	18
	No	9%	2
	Sometimes	13%	3

Ajam	Yes	54%	13
	No	29%	7
	Sometimes	17%	4
Hassawi	Yes	50%	12
	No	42%	10
	Sometimes	8%	2

Table 38 Effect of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist (Ethnicity)

Table 39 shows that, when asked how diglossic code-switching influenced their choice of columnist, the majority of the Hassawis said that it influenced them positively (54%, compared with 25% who said it influenced them negatively). The other ethnicities, similarly, had higher percentages for a positive influence vs. a negative one (Badu: 48% vs. 24%, Hadhar: 48% vs. 22%, Ajam: 46% vs. 8%). The differences between the ethnicities again turned out to be not statistically significant: Fisher's Exact Test= .549, $p > .5$.

Ethnicity		%	N
Badu	Positively	48%	12
	Negatively	24%	6
	Not sure	28%	7
Hadhar	Positively	48%	11
	Negatively	22%	5
	Not sure	30%	7
Ajam	Positively	46%	11
	Negatively	8%	2
	Not sure	46%	11
Hassawi	Positively	54%	13
	Negatively	25%	6
	Not sure	21%	5

Table 39 Degree of influence of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist (Ethnicity)

Looking at the attitudes of respondents who differ ethnically with regard to the influence of diglossic code-switching on their choices, we can see that all of these

ethnicities show fairly similar perceptions with no statistically significant differences in overt attitudes. This is an interesting finding that shows that the Ajams do not differ in their overt attitudes from the rest of the ethnic groups. For this reason, I intend to revisit these perceptions in the covert attitudes section below.

The overt attitudes uncovered in this section do not always vary according to social variable. It was found that, with one exception for the education variable, social variables in general have no effect on the overt language attitudes in the community. The only statistically significant difference was found between the pre-university ps and the university ps: the former were found to believe that diglossic code-switching has a more positive effect on their choice of columnist in comparison to their counterparts.

The fact that the education variable was found to be the only significant social variable in the overt attitudes analysis could be explained by the strong relationship between education and diglossia as hypothesised earlier. The strong effect of diglossia on education is widely-known by researchers. A manifestation of such an effect is the lower rates of literacy and education levels, which are thought to be a result of the intricate nature of diglossia (Cote 2009: 79).

In the next section, I will discuss the covert attitudes of participants to diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. Participants' perceptions are revealed through the matched-guise test (see Chapter 3 for methods that aims to elicit the covert attitudes of the participants).

4.2.3 Covert Attitudes:

This section will provide an overview of the covert attitudes of participants (see Chapter 3 for more about the methods that are used to obtain such attitudes). There are 17 personality traits and their antonyms included for the study. The themes included for the personality traits are: 'excitability', 'sarcasm', 'confidence', 'education', 'accuracy', 'funniness', 'reliability', 'religiousness', 'linguistic 'competence', 'moderateness', 'intelligence', 'quality of writing style', 'friendliness', 'type of audience', 'good-naturedness' and 'carefulness'. A number of statistical tests are used for analyzing the covert attitudes of the participants, namely the Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test, the Mann-Whitney U test and the Kruskal-Wallis test (Field 2009. See also Chapter 3). The Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test is used to compare the ratings that the first columnist (NDC-S text; i.e. the text that does not contain diglossic code-switching) and the second columnist (DC-S text; i.e. the text that contains diglossic code-switching) received from

all the participants according to the personality traits chosen for the study (see Appendix A for both texts).

I introduce here two tables (Table 40 and Table 41) that show the ratings of the personality traits that each text received.³⁷ First, I will introduce the traits in which the DC-S columnist received higher ratings than the NDC-S columnist (see Chapter 3 for more information on how the texts were controlled to ensure that participants are reacting to the presence of diglossic code-switching only). Table 40 shows that these traits are: ‘sarcastic’, ‘funny’, ‘friendly’, ‘unconfident’, ‘unreliable’, ‘having a bad writing style’, ‘unreligious’, ‘extreme’, ‘speaking to lower classes’³⁸ and ‘careless’.

Trait	Ranks	Z score³⁹	P value
Sarcastic	NDC-S (Positive): 22 DC-S (Negative): 60	-4.172	< .001
Funny	NDC-S (Positive): 22 DC-S (Negative): 65	-4.874	< .001
Friendly	NDC-S (Positive): 24 DC-S (Negative): 47	-2.288	< .05

³⁷ Some of the traits mentioned in Table 24 occur in their antonymic forms just like they originally occurred in the matched-guise test presented to the participants.

³⁸ The fact that the columnist who used diglossic code-switching was perceived to be speaking to the lower classes is interesting. As discussed previously, access to SA and literacy is available to all Kuwaitis, whether they are affluent or not. However, the participants seem to associate the standard with the cultured class of society (i.e. intellectuals, academics and so on), which they refer to as a ‘higher class’. The same idea is expressed by some of the columnists.

³⁹ Z-scores can be positive (+) if they are above the mean, or negative (-) if they are below the mean in standard deviation (Urdan 2005: 33).

Unconfident	NDC-S (Positive):	-2.044	< .05
	26		
	DC-S (Negative):		
	49		
Unreliable	NDC-S (Positive):	-3.450	< .001
	23		
	DC-S (Negative):		
	50		
Having a bad writing style	NDC-S (Positive):	-3.104	< .005
	22		
	DC-S (Negative):		
	49		
Unreligious	NDC-S (Positive):	-2.475	< .05
	20		
	DC-S (Negative):		
	35		
Extreme	NDC-S (Positive):	-2.983	< .005
	19		
	DC-S (Negative):		
	45		
Speaking to lower classes	NDC-S (Positive):	8 -5.655	< .001
	DC-S (Negative):		
	60		
Careless	NDC-S (Positive):	-4.361	< .001
	20		
	DC-S (Negative):		
	50		

Table 40 Traits in which the DC-S columnist received higher ratings than NDC-S columnist

On the other hand, the traits in which the NDC-S columnist received higher ratings than the DC-S columnist are ‘educated’, ‘intelligent’, ‘responsible’ and ‘linguistically competent’ (see Table 41). Traits that were found to be statistically insignificant for both texts are: ‘relaxed/excited’, ‘accurate/inaccurate’ and ‘good-natured/ill-natured’.

As can be observed from Table 25, the NDC-S columnist received higher ratings on the traits that are associated with status-dimensions, such as ‘intelligence’, ‘education’, ‘reliability’, ‘religiousness’, ‘linguistic competence’, ‘good writing style’, ‘confidence’⁴⁰, ‘moderateness’⁴¹, ‘carefulness’ and ‘speaking to higher classes’. The DC-S columnist, however, only was rated better in terms of traits that indicate social attractiveness, such as ‘sarcasm’, ‘funniness/humour’ and ‘friendliness’.

Trait	Ranks	Z score	P value
Educated	NDC-S (Positive): 48 DC-S (Negative): 28	-3.139	< .001
Intelligent	NDC-S (Positive): 39 DC-S (Negative): 22	-2.757	< .05
Responsible	NDC-S (Positive): 45 DC-S (Negative): 28	-2.611	< .05
Linguistically competent	NDC-S (Positive): 55 DC-S (Negative): 21	-4.057	< .001

Table 41 Traits in which the NDC-S columnist received higher ratings than the DC-S text

In this section, we looked at participants’ reactions towards the DC-S and NDC-S texts, and how diglossic code-switching plays an important role in shaping people’s

⁴⁰ Perhaps the association of ‘confidence’ with the exclusive use of SA in an article could be related to the perceived difficulty of using SA. As mentioned earlier, maintaining SA in speech is regarded as a difficult task (cf. Abdulaziz 1986, Kaye 2001).

⁴¹ ‘Moderateness’ and ‘extremism’ are used frequently in religious contexts in Kuwait. For example, ‘moderate’ can be used to describe someone who is religious yet is not a fanatic or an extremist.

perceptions of the columnist who employs it in his/her newspaper articles. In general, the participants' attitudes towards both texts show a strongly traditional view of diglossia.⁴² The NDC-S columnist generally scored significantly higher on the status and competence dimensions (i.e. 'intelligent', 'educated'), the personal integrity dimension (i.e. 'reliable', 'religious'), as well as the dimension of linguistic attractiveness (i.e. 'linguistic competence', 'good writing style'). By contrast, the NDC-S columnist scored lower on the social attractiveness dimension (i.e. 'funny', 'friendly').

The covert attitudes elicited in the matched-guise test (the indirect approach) confirm the results obtained through the questionnaire (the direct approach). The H variety is regarded very highly and enjoys much respect in the community, which grants its user a higher status. However, there is still some appreciation of the L variety as the language of humour, sarcasm and friendliness. The covert attitudes reveal a more complex picture than anticipated. It might seem surprising that, with a considerable number of participants liking to see diglossic code-switching in a formal context and reacting positively to it in the overt attitudes, KA is still associated with solidarity-dimensions, even though it is welcomed and its use is encouraged by many readers.

The lack of the participants' leniency towards KA in status-dimensions is more reflected in the 'language change' investigation below in Section 4.2.5. As previously noted, covert attitudes can sometimes be used to uncover language change patterns that are happening in the community (Maegaard 2005). A closer look at language change by exploring the 'age' variable, based on an 'apparent-time' hypothesis and an indirect approach is given in Section 4.2.5. Such an investigation could provide further support for the stability, and even perhaps the rise of the H variety in the Kuwaiti community. In the following sections, we will consider the effect of social factors (sex, education, religion and ethnicity) on participants' attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles.

⁴² A traditional view of diglossia is when the H variety is held in high regard in status-dimensions, whereas the L variety is only perceived positively solidarity-dimensions.

4.2.3.1 Effect of Social Factors on the Participants' Attitudes

A Mann-Whitney U test and a Kruskal-Wallis test were used to see whether social variables have any effect on the ratings of the respondents (for more on these tests, see Chapter 3).⁴³ I will only concentrate on the significant results in this section.

Male and female participants differed significantly in their ratings of the DC-S columnist with regard to two personality traits: 'responsible' and 'friendly'. The two sexes did not differ significantly in their ratings of the NDC-S columnist. Table 42 shows that the female participants had a more positive attitude towards the columnist who code-switched: they perceived him to be more responsible and friendlier than did their male counterparts.

Sex	Responsible	Friendly
	DCS*	DCS*
Males	41.94 U= 837	40.36 U= 761.5
Females	55.06 p= .019	55.80 p= .005

Table 42 Significant differences between sexes

Respondents having different education levels showed significant differences in their attitudes towards the DC-S columnist in terms of three personality traits: 'educated', 'responsible' and 'linguistically competent', as shown in Table 43. The university-educated ps perceived the diglossic code-switching columnist as less 'educated', 'responsible' and 'linguistically competent' than the columnist who did not code-switch.

Education level	Educated	Responsible	Linguistically Competent
	DCS*	DCS*	DCS*

⁴³ The social factors that are analysed in the Mann-Whitney U test are sex, education and religion. Ethnicity is going to be analysed using the Kruskal-Wallis test. Kruskal-Wallis can test for the difference between social variables, just like the Mann-Whitney U test can, but it can perform a comparison across three groups or more, unlike the Mann-Whitney U test, which only tests for two groups. In our case, ethnicity has four groups, so the Kruskal-Wallis test is adopted.

University	41.66	U= 816.5	40.48	U= 758.5	40.04	U= 737
Pre-university	55.63	<i>p</i> = .013	56.86	<i>p</i> = .003	57.32	<i>p</i> = .002

Table 43 Significant differences between education levels

The Sunnis and the Shiites also differed significantly in their attitudes towards the two texts. Table 44 shows that the Sunni participants associate sarcasm with the use of diglossic code-switching more than their Shiite counterparts. For the second trait, ‘linguistically competent’, the Sunni and Shiite participants did not differ significantly in their rating of the DC-S columnist. They differed, rather, in their ratings of the columnist who used only SA. These results show that the Shiites perceive columnists who use SA only and refrain from diglossic code-switching as linguistically competent to a significantly greater degree than Sunnis do. However, for the final trait, ‘careless’, the Sunnis show a more positive attitude towards the NDC-S columnist than their Shiite counterparts do. This is interesting, as it might have been hypothesised that the Shiites would rate the NDC-S columnist as more careful than the Sunnis would, in accordance with their rating of this columnist as more linguistically competent. However, the Shiites gave the NDC-S columnist a mean rating that was not very high for the trait of ‘careless’, and the Sunnis were even more conservative in their mean rating for this trait.

Religion	Sarcastic	Linguistically Competent	Careless
	DCS*	NDC-S*	NDC-S*
Sunnis	54.61 U= 858.5	42.57 U= 867.5	41.10 U= 797
Shiites	42.39 <i>p</i> = .027	54.43 <i>p</i> = .033	55.90 <i>p</i> = .008

Table 44 Significant differences between Sunnis and Shiites

For the ethnicity variable, a Kruskal-Wallis test was used. Table 45 shows the initial Kruskal-Wallis results for the four ethnicities: Badu, Hadhar, Ajam and Hassawi. Three personality traits show significant differences amongst the respondents’ ratings: ‘excited’ and ‘responsible’ for the NDC-S columnist, and ‘funny’ for the DC-S columnist.

Ethnicity	Excited	Funny	Responsible
	NDC-S	DCS	NDC-S
Badu	45.02	47.69	37.72
Hadhar	48.57	50.52	55.11
Ajam	61.06	58.21	58.54
Hassawi	39.50	35.69	43.35
	H(3) = 8.135 <i>p</i> = .043	H(3) = 8.600 <i>p</i> = .035	H(3) = 9.333 <i>p</i> = .025

Table 45 Significant differences between Badu, Hadhar, Ajam and Hassawis (1/3)

Even though the Kruskal-Wallis test tells us which traits are statistically significant, it does not identify where exactly the significance lies. In other words, we do not really know which respondents behave differently from other respondents in their ratings of the traits. In this case, we can do a post hoc test in order to determine precisely where the differences lie.⁴⁴ The value of significance for the Kruskal-Wallis post hoc tests was .008, so such a test was conducted and the results are given in Table 46 below:

Ethnicity	Excited
	NDC-S
Ajams	30.02
Hassawis	18.98

⁴⁴ One way of doing a non-parametric post hoc test for Kruskal-Wallis is to do several Mann-Whitney U tests (Field 2009: 565). However, performing multiple Mann-Whitney U tests increases the rate of Type 1 error. A Type 1 error is defined by Field (2009: 56) as an error which “occurs when we believe that there is a genuine effect in our population, when in fact there isn’t”. If a researcher needs to perform several post hoc tests, a Bonferroni correction is recommended as an adjustment to control the Type 1 error rate, keeping it below .05 (Field 2009: 565). This can be achieved by dividing the significance value of .05 by the total number of tests performed (Field 2009: 565). To get the significance value of the results, I divided the .05 value by the number of tests conducted on the ethnicity factor, i.e. 6 tests.

Table 46 Significant differences between Badu, Hadhar, Ajam and Hassawi (2/3)

The post hoc tests comparing the different ethnicities show that the only significant difference exists between two ethnicities – the Ajams and the Hassawis. These results indicate that the Hassawi participants gave the NDC-S columnist a significantly lower rating for ‘excited’ than the Ajam participants, $U = 155.500, p = .005$. No differences at all were found amongst the different ethnicities towards the DC-S text. These results suggest that Ajams and Hassawis react very differently to the absence of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles. Unlike the Ajams who view the columnist that refrains from code-switching as more excited, the Hassawis tend to view the same columnist as more relaxed. This suggests that Ajams and Hassawis seem to impose different interpretations on the use/absence of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles. In other words, whereas the Ajams seem to link excitability with the absence of code-switching, the Hassawis tend to link it to relaxedness.

The DC-S columnist was rated quite differently by respondents belonging to different ethnicities in relation to another personality trait: humour/funniness. Since the initial Kruskal-Wallis test gave no indication of where the difference between ethnicities might lie, a post hoc test was run between the different ethnicities. This post hoc test showed that the significant difference lay specifically between the Ajams and the Hassawis again, as shown in Table 47. These results show that the Ajams gave the DC-S columnist a significantly higher rating for the trait ‘funny’ than the Hassawis, $U = 150.500, p = .004$. No significant differences were shown between the other ethnicities. the Ajams and the Hassawis perceive the columnist who uses diglossic code-switching differently in terms of funniness: Ajams see them as funnier than Hassawis do. In other words, the Ajams seem to link funniness with the practice of diglossic code-switching more than the Hassawis do.

Ethnicity	Funny
	DCS
Ajams	30.23
Hassawis	18.77

Table 47 Significant differences between Badu, Hadhar, Ajam and Hassawis (3/3)

The final personality trait that showed a significant difference in the ethnicities' ratings is 'responsibility'. However, a post hoc test showed that there was no significant difference between ethnicities in their attitudes towards the NDC-S columnist for the trait 'responsible'.

No significant differences were found with other personality traits. In summary, the personality traits that were found to have a significant interaction with certain ethnicities were: excitability for the NDC-S text and funniness for the DC-S text.

4.2.4 Summary of results:

The results obtained from the matched-guise test show that the covert attitudes reveal differences in perceptions that the overt questions did not reveal. The direct method (the questionnaire) has shown that there are significant differences in the overt attitudes of all the participants towards diglossic code-switching. It was found that more than half of the respondents like to see diglossic code-switching, more than half say that it has an effect on their choice of columnist and almost half say that their choice of columnist is positively affected by the presence of diglossic code-switching. However, it was shown that the overt attitudes of participants did not significantly differ across social groups. An exception, however, is the education variable that was found to be statistically significant. It was found that the pre-university ps have more positive attitudes with regard to the type of influence diglossic code-switching has on their choice of columnist in comparison to their university-educated counterparts.. In contrast, an examination of participants' covert attitudes obtained by means of a matched-guise test revealed that with almost every social group, there are significant differences between the participants towards diglossic code-switching. Respondent sex affected the attitudes of respondents towards the DC-S text: the female participants showed more positive attitudes in terms of responsibility and friendliness than the male participants. University-educated ps, and those who received pre-university education, differed in their attitudes towards the DC-S text only: the pre-university ps hold more positive attitudes towards the DC-S columnist than the university ps with regard to the traits education, responsibility and linguistic competence. Sunnis and Shiites also showed divergent attitudes towards both texts: the Sunnis thought that the DC-S columnist is more sarcastic than their Shiite counterparts, whereas the Shiites rated the NDC-S text more positively in terms of linguistic competence and less positively for carelessness

than the Sunnis. Finally, as for the ethnicity variable, a significant difference in attitudes was only found between the Ajams and the Hassawis, namely the Ajams rated NDC-S text more than the Hassawis in terms of excitability, and also thought that the DC-S columnist is funnier than their Hassawi counterparts.

These results present a novel finding. Researchers in the Arab world have previously highlighted the differences between men and women and respondents of different religious orientations in the Arab world. They noted the relationship between the speech of their research subjects and SA (see, for example, Holes 1983; Daher 1998). However, the research presented here provides the first look into the role played by various social variables in the perception of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles. As shown in this chapter, diglossic code-switching can be perceived differently by participants based on their social background. This reveals the complex nature of diglossia and that it should not be approached as a societal phenomenon that does not have implications in relation to social factors. After presenting an overview of the general attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspapers in Kuwait, I will turn now to the investigation of whether any language attitude changes are taking place in the community.

4.2.5 Change in Language Attitudes:

Change in language attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwait has not, to the best of my knowledge, been investigated before. This section sets out to establish whether Kuwaiti readers' attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles are changing. It does so by using the 'apparent-time' hypothesis, which involves the sampling of respondents based on their age. Different age cohorts will be used as a departure point for the tracking of any change in language attitudes that may have occurred over time (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003; Cukor-Avila and Bailey 2013). One of the problems of the 'apparent-time' hypothesis is that the change observed might be merely a case of age-grading. Age-grading is "the instability of an individual's use of a feature over the lifespan against a backdrop of community for the stability for the same feature" (Wagner 2012: 373). According to Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2013: 253), this could be more related to the speech features of children and adolescents, and "are thus less relevant to the apparent-time construct than they might otherwise be." They also argue that the possibility of an age-grading does not affect the hypothesis as the changes

“only affect the rate of change and not whether the change actually takes place.” (Cukor-Avila and Bailey 2013: 254).

Another potential problem that could face researchers when they employ the ‘apparent-time’ construct concerns the generality of it (Cukor-Avila and Bailey 2013: 241). This refers to the question of how generally an the apparent-time construct account for linguistic change in the community. However, Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2013) suggest that real-time data “provides strong support for the generality of the apparent-time construct” in various studies, including those investigating morphosyntax, phonology and discourse-pragmatic features.

The ‘apparent-time hypothesis’ is a principle that allows linguists to look for signs of language change by seeing whether any differences exist between different generations (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 35). The principle mainly postulates that respondents who are different in age can be said to represent different times (the older participants representing an earlier period than the one the younger participants represent), leading to the assumption that a 75-year-old speaker is representative of a time period different from that of a 50-year old or a 25-year-old speaker (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 35). Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 76) proposed that this method is ‘more immediate’ than its alternative, the real time method whereby researchers investigate linguistic change in the same community over a long period of time. Several studies of language change have been conducted using this method (Bailey et al. 1991; Cukor-Avila 2002; Hollett 2006; Beal and Corrigan 2007; Barbieri 2009, *inter alia*).

Real-time study of changes, in contrast to the apparent-time construct, refers to studying a community for ongoing changes and after a long period of time (e.g. twenty years) conduct another study to see if there is an actual change (Chambers and Trudgill 2004: 76). According to Cuckor-Avila and Bailey (2013: 254), real time seems to be the ideal construct to investigate changes in the community, however the problems that face such a method is the need to re-survey the same community after a long period of time or to compare the results to those of a pre-existing study. Due to the fact that there is a lack of linguistic studies of attitudes towards diglossia in Kuwait, there are no pre-existing studies to which we can compare the current findings to track language changes using the real-time construct. Thus, for this reason and the other reasons mentioned previously, the apparent-time hypothesis is adopted to investigate attitudes in the community.

I take a life-stage approach to age categorisation that is influenced by the Kuwaiti community (Eckert 1998). Eckert (1998: 151) proposed that ageing is not just an individual experience, but that people experience age and ageing “as a part of a cohort of people who share a life stage”. This approach is also known as an ‘emic’ approach,⁴⁵ whereby age is characterised by life stages (Eckert 1998: 155) (see also Wolfram 1969; Horvath 1985; Podhovník 2010). The adoption of such an approach, rather than a ‘decade approach’, is based on the fact that, for a young state like Kuwait, in which changes take place continuously in various aspects of life, a person’s age is mostly defined in terms of their social experience, such as education, independence, employment and so on. Thus, background knowledge of Kuwaiti society and its social organisation was used in designing the age sample to reflect different age cohorts of respondents. In order to investigate how language attitudes to colloquial Arabic are changing, I decided to break age down into three main divisions, i.e. 18–22, 28–38 and 40 and above. Using my own experience as a member of the community, the cohorts were based on social factors as defined by job status, education and housing status, which are all cultural indicators of life stages in Kuwait.

Table 48 below shows the divisions adopted for the participants included in the language attitudes change study. The table demonstrates: (i) the three main life stage characteristics; (ii) the age of the participants and (iii) the relevant number of participants for each life stage. Life stages for the purposes of this research are taken to be participants who are still in education and receive allowances from the government, those who are still at an early stage in their careers and either live in rented properties or live with their families and, finally, participants who are established in their careers and eligible for housing loans or units.⁴⁶ As noted previously, these life stage characteristics correspond to certain age cohorts in the Kuwaiti community, representing the age range when members normally achieve these stages. The participants who are included in this sample are the same as those whose attitudes were discussed in Section 4.2.2.

⁴⁵ An ‘etic’ approach, on the other hand, is an arbitrary characterisation of ‘age’ based on equal age spans (e.g. decades) (Eckert 1998: 155).

⁴⁶ Housing units here refer to ‘home units’.

As shown in Table 48, the life stage characteristics outlined generate the following age cohorts (the age gaps between the age cohorts are used to maintain homogenous cohorts in terms of ideal age groups for such life stage characteristics).⁴⁷

Life stage characteristics	Age of participants	No. of participants
Participants who are still in education and live off an allowance.	18–22 years old	26
Participants who are at an early stage in their careers and live with their families or in rented properties.	28–38	24
Participants who are more firmly established in their careers and receive housing loans or units. ⁴⁸	40 years old and above	25

Table 48 Age cohorts in the 'change in language attitudes' sample

A similar approach to the one used in the sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 is adopted here due to the nature of the data collected. Thus, for the language attitude change study, two aspects of attitudes are investigated: overt and covert.

The following tables show the percentages for the overt attitudes of participants towards the use of diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. The statistical significance of the following results is given using a chi-square test, availing of a Fisher's exact method because the tables contain expected frequencies that are too low.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Twenty-one participants were thus excluded to achieve this effect. Even though the sample becomes smaller with this exclusion, this change ensures that the groups reacting to the texts are homogenous along with ensuring that enough participants are included for each cell.

⁴⁸ Housing welfare is provided to eligible Kuwaitis and, under normal circumstances, most of them receive housing units or loans after the age of 40 (Public Authority for Housing Welfare 2011), making them more independent in terms of housing.

⁴⁹ A Fisher's exact method test aims to produce an accurate calculation of probability in chi-square testing (Field 2009: 690). Fisher's exact test was used with tables that have less cell counts than 5. However, for the post hoc tests, I have used the Bonferroni corrections method and the Column Proportions Comparison test.

Table 49 shows that there was a small difference between the respondents with regard to whether they like to see diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles: those aged 28–38 and those aged 40+ were more likely to approve of CS in Kuwaiti newspapers (29% and 23%, respectively) than those aged 18–22 (16%). The majority of respondents in all three age cohorts said that they sometimes like to see diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. A statistical analysis of these outcomes has shown that the differences in ratings between participants are not statistically significant, though (2.423, $p = .688$).

Age		%	N
18–22	Yes	16%	4
	No	32%	8
	Sometimes	52%	13
28–38	Yes	29%	7
	No	17%	4
	Sometimes	54%	13
40+	Yes	23%	6
	No	19%	5
	Sometimes	58%	15

Table 49 Showing a liking for diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles

Table 50 shows that the answers from the participants exhibited a different pattern when individuals were asked whether diglossic code-switching influenced their preferences for choosing one columnist over another. The majority of participants in the 18–22 and 40+ age cohorts answered ‘yes’ (72% for those aged 18–22 and 77% for those aged 40 or above), meaning that diglossic code-switching appears to have an effect on their

choice, while the answers of the 28–38 year olds to this question were more varied than those of the other cohorts, with the majority of participants in this age range responding with ‘no’ (42%), indicating that it seems not to have an effect on their choice. Likewise, the 28–38 year old respondents showed the most uncertainty with regard to the effect of the diglossic code-switching on their choice (21% for the this cohort, as opposed to 12% for the youngest respondents, and 4% for the 40+ age range). These differences are statistically significant (10.051, $p = .032$). A proportions comparison by SPSS shows where the statistical differences lie exactly in terms of the responses from all age cohorts. In comparison to their younger and older counterparts, the 28–38 year old respondents are more unaffected by diglossic code-switching when it comes to their choice of columnists (37% for the 28–38 cohort, as opposed to 72% and 77% for the 18–22 and 40+ cohorts, respectively).

		Age		
		18–22	28–38	40+
Effect	Yes	72% _a	37% _b	77% _a
	No	16% _a	42% _a	19% _a
	Not sure	12% _a	21% _a	4% _a

Table 50 Effect of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist

Note: Values in the same row and sub-table not sharing the same subscript are significantly different at $p < .05$ in the two-sided test of equality for column proportions.

In response to the final question posed to participants, the three age cohorts appeared to show some differences in their answers, as shown in Table 50: while question [2] explores whether diglossic code-switching has an affect on the participants’ choice of columnists, question [3], in turn, explores what kind of impact that might be.

Whereas the majority of the 18–22 year old respondents (56%) said that they are not sure whether a columnist’s use of diglossic code-switching has an influence on whether they would read columns written by them, the rest of the participants responded that diglossic code-switching has a positive influence on their choice, meaning that they

are more likely to choose to read a columnist who code-switches (54% for the 28–38 year olds, and 65% for the 40+ age range). In fact, the age cohort with the highest percentage of responses indicating that diglossic code-switching has a positive influence on them was that of those who are aged 40 years old and above. This difference is statistically significant between the 40+ respondents vs. the youngest cohort in the sample in relation to the answers ‘positively’ and ‘not sure’ (10.238, $p = .033$).

		Age		
		18–22	28–38	40+
Type of Influence	Positively	28% _a	54% _{a,b}	65% _b
	Negatively	16% _a	16% _a	19% _a
	Not sure	56% _a	29% _{a,b}	16% _b

Table 51 Degree of influence of diglossic code-switching on choice of columnist

Note: Values in the same row and sub-table not sharing the same subscript are significantly different at $p < .05$ in the two-sided test of equality for column proportions.

One possible explanation for the high percentage of the ‘not sure’ answer by the 18–22 year old informants is provided by Oskamp and Schultz’s (2005) theory of ‘attitude formation’. An attitude goes through several stages, the initial phase of which is to go from having no attitude towards an object to having some attitude towards it (either negative or positive) (Oskamp and Schultz 2005: 161). Thus, the lack of an attitude towards something implies that one has either not experienced the object/idea yet, or has not thought about it in an evaluative manner. Such a theory could help explain what is going on with the youngest respondents: they have already formed an attitude towards diglossic code-switching as having an influence on their choice of columnist, but they have not yet formed an attitude regarding whether this influences their choices negatively or positively.

Given the fact that the 18–22 year olds responded in their answers question [2] that diglossic code-switching does have an affect on their choice of columnist, it is surprising to see their responses to question [3] indicate that they are not sure whether

this effect is positive or negative. These results will thus be revisited in the covert attitudes section for the independent variable 'age'.

As can be observed from the tables above, overt attitudes show that preference for DC-S over no code-switching is declining. Changes in attitudes from the oldest generation to the youngest in this sample show that the youngest participants exhibit a less consistent liking for DC-S than their older counterparts do.

These overt attitudes show patterns that go against the widespread impression in Kuwait that the younger generations have more liking for the presence of the colloquial in newspaper articles by comparison to the older generations, based on my experience as a member of the community. Due to a lack of precedent studies on the subject of language attitudes in Kuwait towards diglossic code-switching, these findings can only be compared with studies conducted in different parts of the world. As has already been seen in this chapter, speech communities in other parts of the world are of two types: communities in which the L is gaining popularity in status-related domains and communities in which the H variety is being extended to L domains. Thus, it can be argued that changing attitudes towards the L or the H varieties is not an uncommon phenomenon. When compared to other studies and some observations by Kuwaiti writers, the patterns found in the overt attitudes studies of the three age groups show that change is taking place in the community but towards an unexpected direction: more positive attitudes for SA in formal contexts. It was hypothesised that, based on the existence of a new writing system (i.e. Arabizi), the competition of foreign languages with SA and the general impressions held by Kuwaitis, more positive attitudes would be garnered by the younger generation towards KA in the formal context of newspaper writing. However, it was found out that the younger generations are having more positive attitudes to the H variety in a formal context. This resembles the situation in Paraguay and Cyprus, whereby the H variety is gaining a stronger ground. However, a number of differences exist between these communities and the Kuwaiti speech community. The first is that the H variety in these communities are, in fact, languages spoken in other communities, whereas the H variety in Kuwait is not the mother tongue of any speech community. The second is that in the current study, attitudes are being observed in one domain only, which is newspaper writing, unlike that of other studies whereby several domains are investigated. Furthermore, in the case of Cyprus, it is in fact the consistent use of the standard that is leading to the attrition of the L variety. This, in fact, is contrary to the situation in Kuwait, whereby KA still strongly dominates

informal domains, particularly street conversations. There is indeed a lack of studies that investigate the extent to which attitudes to the H are favourable, by looking at the attitudes of Kuwaitis towards both varieties in a number of domains.

I will now turn to the covert attitudes of the three age cohorts included in the language attitudes study.

4.2.5.1 Covert attitudes of different age cohorts:

This section presents the covert attitudes of respondents based on social variables elicited by indirect methods (i.e. the matched-guise test introduced in Chapter 3). These results are interpreted within an ‘apparent-time’ paradigm that seeks to investigate any possible changes in language attitudes in the community. The investigation is divided into two types of analyses, the first is between age cohorts and the other is across social variables.

Ratings that the three age cohorts gave to both texts (the DC-S text which contains code-switching and the NDC-S text which does not) are discussed in this section. A Mann-Whitney U test was used to establish how respondents belonging to different age cohorts reacted (more details on the test are given in Chapter 3).

Table 52 shows a summary of the ratings given to the NDC-S⁵⁰ and DC-S texts by the three age cohorts: 18–22 years old, 28–38 years old and 40 years old and above. Respondents belonging to the three age cohorts exhibit different attitudes towards the use/absence of diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. I will discuss the results for each age cohort in turn before discussing the implications of these findings.

The ratings of the 18–22 year olds (the youngest) produced more significant differences between attitudes towards the two texts (the NDC-S and DC-S texts) than any other age cohort. They rated the DC-S columnist significantly more favourably than the NDC-S columnist for the following traits: ‘sarcastic’, ‘funny’, ‘unreliable’, ‘has a bad writing style’, ‘unreligious’, ‘extreme’, ‘speaking to lower classes’ and ‘careless’. However, they rated the NDC-S columnist significantly more favourably than the DC-S

⁵⁰ NDC-S refers to texts without code-switching, whereas DC-S refers to texts with code-switching.

columnist for the following traits: ‘educated’, ‘intelligent’, ‘responsible’ and ‘linguistically competent’.

Amongst the 28–38 cohort, the DC-S columnist received significantly more favourable ratings than the NDC-S columnist for the following traits: ‘sarcastic’ and ‘funny’. However, this age cohort did not give the NDC-S columnist significantly more favourable ratings than the DC-S columnist.

The 40+ respondents (the oldest) rated the DC-S columnist significantly more favourably than the NDC-S columnist for the following traits: ‘funny’, ‘unreliable’, ‘friendly’ and ‘careless’. The NDC-S columnist was given ratings that were not significantly more favourable than the DC-S columnist.

Trait		18–22	28–38	40+
Excited	NDC-S	23.83	24.52	28.10
	DCS	27.62 <i>p</i> = .296	24.48 <i>p</i> = .992	24.90 <i>p</i> = .433
Sarcastic	NDC-S	19.76	20.31	23.17
	DCS	31.24 <i>p</i> = .004	28.69 <i>p</i> = .035	29.83 <i>p</i> = .107
Unconfident	NDC-S	21.66	21.06	24.08
	DCS	29.34 <i>p</i> = .058	27.07 <i>p</i> = .126	28.92 <i>p</i> = .240
Educated	NDC-S	31.68	26.67	27.35
	DCS	19.32 <i>p</i> = .002	22.33 <i>p</i> = .276	25.65 <i>p</i> = .683
Inaccurate	NDC-S	23.52	20.83	27.92
	DCS	27.48 <i>p</i> = .328	28.17 <i>p</i> = .065	25.08 <i>p</i> = .491
Funny	NDC-S	17.34	18.44	21.10
	DCS	33.66 <i>p</i> = .000	30.56 <i>p</i> = .002	31.10 <i>p</i> = .015
Unreliable	NDC-S	20.64	23.92	21.37
	DCS	30.36 <i>p</i> = .016	25.08 <i>p</i> = .768	30.82 <i>p</i> = .021
Intelligent	NDC-S	29.63	25.88	27.12
	DCS	19.38 <i>p</i> = .009	23.13 <i>p</i> = .485	25.88 <i>p</i> = .765
Bad Writing Style	NDC-S	20.52	23.54	22.46
	DCS	30.48 <i>p</i> = .014	25.46 <i>p</i> = .627	28.54 <i>p</i> = .131
Responsible	NDC-S	31.60	26.10	27.88
	DCS	19.40 <i>p</i> = .003	22.90 <i>p</i> = .417	25.12 <i>p</i> = .503
Unreligious	NDC-S	16.71	23.85	28.40
	DCS	32.29 <i>p</i> = .000	23.15 <i>p</i> = .856	24.60 <i>p</i> = .353

Linguistically Competent	NDC-S	34.50	25.13	30.38
	DCS	16.50 <i>p</i> = .000	23.88 <i>p</i> = .753	20.62 <i>p</i> = .060
Extreme	NDC-S	20.74	23.08	23.46
	DCS	30.26 <i>p</i> = .018	25.92 <i>p</i> = .469	29.54 <i>p</i> = .135
Friendly	NDC-S	25.08	23.08	21.96
	DCS	25.92 <i>p</i> = .836	24.96 <i>p</i> = .633	31.04 <i>p</i> = .028
Speaking to Lower Classes	NDC-S	18.38	17.75	23.50
	DCS	32.62 <i>p</i> = .000	31.25 <i>p</i> = .001	29.50 <i>p</i> = .145
Good-natured	NDC-S	26.52	22.63	24.27
	DCS	24.48 <i>p</i> = .612	26.38 <i>p</i> = .339	28.73 <i>p</i> = .279
Careless	NDC-S	18.56	21.54	22.35
	DCS	32.44 <i>p</i> = .001	27.46 <i>p</i> = .135	30.65 <i>p</i> = .044

Table 52 Ratings for NDC-S and DC-S texts by age profile

A Kruskal-Wallis test is used here to look at the difference between the age cohorts (as an independent variable) and the ratings that the columnists received (as the dependent variable).

I have analysed the responses of the three age cohorts with regard to their ratings of all personality traits. Using the Kruskal-Wallis test, the ratings of the participants were calculated, which resulted in the mean figures presented in Tables 38-40. The figures shown in the tables yield the mean rating given to each personality trait for the columnist in question (the NDC-S columnist for ‘unreligious’ and the DC-S columnist for ‘linguistically competent’).

The differences in the ratings of the two texts across the age cohorts are displayed in Table 53. It shows, specifically, the three traits that were rated significantly differently by the three age cohorts, 18–22, 28–38 and 40+. These traits are: ‘educated’ and ‘unreligious’ for the NDC-S text and ‘linguistically competent’ for the DCS text. Table 53 shows that the youngest participants rated the NDC-S columnist as more educated and religious than the other two age cohorts. However, they rated the DCS columnist as less linguistically competent by comparison to the other two age cohorts.

As will be discussed below, these results present an interesting pattern that could have implications for the change of attitudes in the community.⁵¹

Age	Educated NDC-S	Unreligious NDC-S	Linguistically Competent DCS
18–22	46.06	24.02	30.20
28–38	36.69	42.39	45.56
40+	31.46	44.21	38.52
	<i>p</i> = 0.47	<i>p</i> = .001	<i>p</i> = .042

Table 53 Significant differences between age cohorts (1/3)

A post hoc test was carried out for the religiousness trait for the columnist who did not code-switch to see exactly where the difference lies in the ratings of the three age cohorts. As shall be demonstrated in Table 54, respondents who belong to different age cohorts did indeed differ significantly in their ratings for the columnist who did not code-switch:

Age	Unreligious NDC-S
18–22 vs. 28–39	18.15 vs. 30.11 <i>p</i> = .002

⁵¹ As the Kruskal-Wallis test does not tell us where the significance lies, and since I cannot repeat the Mann-Whitney U test for fear of increasing Type 1 errors (see Section 4.2.3.1 above), I had to obtain the significance value of the results by dividing the .05 value by the number of tests conducted on the age factor, i.e. 3 (due to 3 tests). Thus, the value of significance for the Kruskal-Wallis post hoc tests was .016. Thus, such a test was conducted and only significant results are discussed in this section.

18–22 vs. 40+	18.15 vs. 32.08 $p= .001$
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Table 54 Significant differences between age cohorts (2/3)

The first significant difference lies in the ratings of the 18–22 year olds vs. the ratings of the 28–38 age range in Table 54. The younger respondents rated the NDC-S columnist as more religious than the 28–38-year-old participants did. A similar significant difference exists between the youngest informants (18–22 years old) and the oldest (40+ years old). The same pattern occurs with the youngest participants rating the columnist as more religious in comparison to the oldest cohort. This suggests that younger participants seem to associate the absence of diglossic code-switching with religiousness more than those who are older do. It can be thus observed that the participants’ ratings for this trait pattern with age.

Another post hoc test was carried out to find out where exactly a significant difference lies in the ratings of the age cohorts for the code-switching columnist with regard to the trait of linguistic competence: a significant difference can be found between the ratings of the 18–22 year olds and respondents belonging to the 28–38 year old cohort.⁵² As Table 55 shows, the younger respondents here rated the code-switching columnist as less linguistically competent than their older counterparts.

Age	Linguistically Competent DCS
18–22	20.06
28–38	30.15
	$p= .012$

Table 55 Significant differences between age cohorts (3/3)

⁵² Even though it is shown in Table 53 that the 28–38 participants had a higher rating for ‘linguistically competent’ for the DC-S text than the 40+ participants did, this difference is not statistically significant in a post hoc test.

Judging by the covert attitudes of the youngest respondents demonstrated here, they show a more negative attitude towards the DC-S columnist in comparison to the other respondents of other age cohorts. This may be taken as an indication that their negative attitude is being formed at the subconscious level (see Section 4.2.5). Such changes could have implications for studies of language change in the community, as covert attitudes have been shown to play an important role in such processes (see Kristiansen 2014). Thus, it is crucial to take into consideration the negative covert attitudes shown by the youngest respondents when investigating language change in the community. A combination of factors may have contributed to a trend that may have resulted in the lack of a significant difference between the youngest cohort (18–22) and the oldest (40+) with regard to the ‘linguistically competent’ trait. These factors are related to the social changes that took place at one point in time in the Kuwaiti community that I would suggest might be reflected in the behaviour of the 28–38 year olds in this sample, who demonstrated a favourable rating for the diglossic code-switching columnist for the trait ‘linguistically competent’. The changes mainly include a very active period of political activism (Al-Nakib 2014),⁵³ in which the main participants used various media outlets to express their views (i.e. newspapers, social networking and so on) (see Al-Mubarak 2012). This coincided with the increased popularity of Internet-based platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Whatsapp. It is true that these platforms are still used to this day, but, at that time of heightened political activity, many citizens used these platforms to voice their opinions and concerns in public, becoming writers themselves.⁵⁴ The two factors that may explain the lenient attitude that members of the middle aged cohort have towards the DC-S text with regard to ‘linguistic competence’ are that an Arab finds it difficult to speak/write in SA (as it is not a variety acquired from birth) (Abdulaziz 1986; Kaye 2001), and that this age cohort were the main target of political activism.

As can be observed from Tables 53 to 55, a change in attitudes is noticeable towards code-switching into the vernacular in terms of perceptions of religiousness and linguistic competence. Growing intolerance has been observed towards code-switching into the vernacular in Kuwaiti newspaper articles, both in participants’ overt and covert

⁵³ This period coincided with the Arab Spring (a revolutionary movement in the Arab world), during which Kuwait witnessed a series of demonstrations by some opposition groups and a highly intense and unusual political atmosphere.

⁵⁴ In fact, it is reported that Kuwait has the highest Twitter users/population ratio amongst all Gulf States (Al-Mubarak 2012).

attitudes. Positive attitudes towards the use of the vernacular in Kuwaiti newspapers are on the decrease, with more uncertainty towards liking (or lack thereof) for diglossic code-switching displayed by the younger generations than the older ones.

One of the possible reasons for such towards code-switching to the vernacular in Kuwaiti newspaper articles, as evidenced by these findings, could be the sudden increase in private universities and internal and external scholarships in Kuwait. This gives a very large number of students who could not get into competitive governmental universities and colleges the opportunity to obtain a bachelor's degree. This easy access to an educational status upgrade may have an effect on the attitude towards learnedness and SA (as previously shown, learnedness and academia are often seen as traits associated with SA, see Section 4.2.5). The reason for this is that SA has been the dominant language in a very long history of classical and highly respected literature and has always been associated with literacy. This is compounded by the fact that the vernacular in Kuwait has no writing system, which means that an illiterate person needs to learn how to use the writing system of SA in order to be considered a member of the literati. Additionally, although the media portray the younger generations as having more positive attitudes towards the vernacular than their older counterparts, and that they are often accused of promoting the use of the vernacular instead of SA, the attitudes of the younger generations towards diglossic code-switching have never been thoroughly investigated before as far as I can tell (see section 4.2.1). I now turn to the discussion of the analysis of changes in diglossic code-switching frequencies.

4.3 Changes in the use of diglossic code-switching (1985 vs. 2014-15)

This section presents the findings of the study of diglossic code-switching change in newspaper articles. It specifically investigates how diglossic code-switching to KA has become common in newspaper articles over the last 29–30 years. I will firstly discuss the samples used for this investigation, followed by a presentation of the findings and finally a discussion of the results obtained from the study.

It has been reported in previous research that linguistic features in newspaper discourse change over time. Changes have been observed in various areas of the world, including the UK, Italy and Taiwan, for a variety of reasons (Westin and Geisler, 2002;

Kuo, 2007; Lundin, 2013; Spina, 2013, *inter alia*). In her study, Spina (2013) found that linguistic changes in Italian newspapers reflect a change towards styles that are more realistic and oral-like. Similarly, a study by Clark (2013) shows that the language used in British newspapers features an increasing number of spoken forms. Most importantly, a change in the frequency of diglossic code-switching has been observed in the Arab world, more specifically Egypt. According to Ibrahim (2010: 23), diglossic code-switching has recently increased in Egyptian newspapers. As previously noted, this study will examine the code-switching frequencies in two different time periods in an attempt to investigate any language changes that may have occurred over time. In the following section, I will detail the size and constitution of my columnist sample for each time point.

4.3.1 The 1985 sample

I adopted an approach that consists of examining the output of three columnists per time period because of the limited number of Kuwaiti columnists who wrote regularly for newspapers around 30 years ago. Since there were only four regular writers of Kuwaiti origin (N=4) whose work was published in the *Al-Qabas* newspaper at least weekly over a three-month period, the 1985 columnist sample includes three of these four writers. The fourth columnist could not be included in the sample because he did not produce a single instance of the phenomenon under investigation in his published work. The remaining three columnists included in the 1985 sample constitute a religiously and ethnically homogeneous group of columnists, with all of them belonging to the Sunni religious sect and being of Hadhar ethnicity. They can all be assumed to be over the age of 25 as they were in paid employment and would have required some training after leaving secondary school.⁵⁵

In order to provide representativeness of CS frequencies, the number of articles per columnist included in this study is three (see also Tagliamonte 2006; Ibrahim 2010). As one article per columnist may not be representative enough, a sample of three articles per columnist (a total of nine articles per time period) is adopted given the time

⁵⁵ The concept of class is not used as a criterion for selection in the current study due to the reasons outlined in Chapter 3.

frame of the study. The columnists whose articles make up the 1985 sample are Salah Alsayer, Faysal Alzamil and Saleh Alshayji.

4.3.2 The 2014–15 sample

The aim of this comparison was to investigate whether any changes have taken place during this time period with regard to CS practices; thus, the 2014–15 sample was designed with this in mind. In 2014–15, a large number [N= 72] of Kuwaiti writers from different social backgrounds wrote for the *Al-Qabas* newspaper. To ensure the comparability of the 2014–15 data set with that of 1985, it was crucial to choose columnists from the 2014–15 data who match the demographic characteristics of those in the 1985 sample. As a result, it was not possible to design a larger sample for the period 2014–15 as it was constrained by the limited number of columnists present in the 1985 sample. Thus, in order to maintain consistency in terms of the number of columnists, three articles per columnist was considered to be the optimal data set for a comparison of CS frequency, given the data set restrictions already outlined. This allows for an apparent-time comparison of CS practices in nine articles composed by three different columnists and produced for *Al-Qabas* in the twentieth century vs. nine articles written by three different columnists and published in *Al-Qabas* in the twenty-first century. One of the limitations of such an approach is that, in all likelihood, a larger sample would have indeed been more useful in investigating the phenomenon, as it would have provided more data. However, the current approach can still provide a first overview of the situation of CS practices in the community across two time periods, paving the way for more comparisons in the future.

From the 2014–15 data, I selected those columnists who are Sunni, Hadhar, male and over 25 years old. This method produced 11 columnists and from these I selected those writers whose CS frequencies were representative of the patterns found in the writings of their peers from the same period. To this end, I first calculated the production of CS for 37 columnists over a period of six days in December 2014 in order to see how all the 2014–15 columnists behaved in terms of CS frequency. This enabled

me to establish how frequent CS was, in general, in *Al-Qabas* at this time slot.⁵⁶ As the aim was to gauge the average frequency of CS, any text with CS was included in the initial tabulations. This investigation revealed that the average CS frequency was 0.6%. The formula used to calculate the CS percentages is as follows (see also Section 3.3):

$$\text{Code-Switching Frequency Score} = \frac{\text{no. of KA words}}{\text{total no. of KA + SA words}} \times 100$$

I subsequently examined the frequency counts of CS of all 23 2014–15 columnists who matched those from 1985 in terms of religion, ethnicity and sex. From this subsample, I then selected for inclusion in my final sample the writers who: (1) wrote at least three articles or more from December 2014; and (2) have comparable CS frequencies to their peers from the same period, i.e. an overall average CS frequency of 0.6% (see the shaded names in Table 56).

Alduaij ⁵⁷	1.42%
Altuwaijry	0.45%
Alghanim	0.15%
Rajab	2.41%
Alsanea	0.04%
Alothman	1.1%
Alshaibani	0.15%

⁵⁶ The reason behind choosing December as a starting point for the first step was convenience, given the limited period of time I had to gather sufficient data for this study.

⁵⁷ The names listed in the table are the real names of the columnists (no pseudonyms are used).

Al-Asfour	0.88%
Almusharji	0.82%
Altukhaim	0.09%
Alkhurafi	0.04%

Table 56 Code-switching frequency of all eligible columnists over a one-month period (December 2014)

After reviewing the CS frequencies of the columnists, I will now turn to the findings obtained from the 1985 vs. 2014–15 comparison.

4.3.3 Findings

The CS frequencies in the articles by the three columnists from the 1985 sample are outlined in Table 57 below. The selection (for this sample and the one from 2014–15) was based on publication date and each of their articles having at least one instance of CS.

Salah Alsayer	2.43%
Faysal Alzamil	1.072%
Saleh Alshayji	1.53%

Table 57 Code-switching frequency of the 1985 sample columnists.

A calculation of the overall CS percentage of all three columnists in 1985 reveals that the CS percentage of this sample was 1.7% (only 42 CS instances out of a total of 2,485 words).

Similarly, three articles by each columnist were chosen to form the basis of the 2014–15 sample, which can then be compared to the 1985 sample. The total number of CS frequencies in their articles is displayed in Table 58 below.

Altuwaijry	1.20%
Alothman	1.82%
Al-Asfour	1.50%

Table 58 Code-switching frequency of the 2014-15 sample columnists.

The total CS percentage in the 2014–15 sample was 1.51% (only 48 CS instances out of a total of 3,124 words).

To test whether there was an increase (or lack thereof) of CS in newspaper articles over these years, a statistical test was carried out, namely an independent samples t-test, and no significant difference between 1.7% and 1.51% was found, $p=0.716$ (>0.05). This suggests that, even though the initial impression is that CS decreased over the years, this change is not significant.

According to Leech et al. (2009: 239), language in the media has undergone colloquialization and informalization in the twentieth century.⁵⁸ This interesting observation clearly shows the influence of speech on writing, as forms associated with speech are increasingly finding their way into written language. However, there is lack of research in the Arab world in this field, especially concerning code-switching in newspapers (however, see Ibrahim 2010). This study makes the first attempt to analyse how code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers has changed over the years. The findings of the current study show that, despite the trend that is occurring globally, the frequency of diglossic code-switching is not shown to significantly change in Kuwaiti newspapers. Ibrahim’s (2010) study suggests that the increase in diglossic code-switching manifested in her data is in fact only taking place in opposition newspapers and not governmental ones. This brings into our focus the influence of politics or even the distinction between state-owned newspapers and those owned by the opposition. Even though this finding by Ibrahim (2010) is significant, her study cannot be replicated in Kuwait as a different media situation exists there. The Kuwaiti government has

⁵⁸ Colloquialization and informalization are differentiated by Leech et al. (2009); the former is defined as “the shift to a more speech-like style” whereas the latter refers to the reduced distance between interlocutors (Leech et al. 2009: 239).

previously tried to publish newspapers but it has failed to compete with privately owned newspapers (Al-Jaber and Gunter 2013: 26). Nowadays, the daily newspapers that are widely distributed are privately owned (with the exception of the official government gazette *Al-Kuwayt Al-Yawm*).⁵⁹

In my exploration of the attitudes of readers, it has been shown that there is a change in their attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspapers: there is a less positive attitude towards this phenomenon. The results from my comparison of CS frequency in newspapers across time shows that the slight decrease in diglossic code-switching is not statistically significant, meaning that we cannot assume a change has taken place in the use of diglossic code-switching during this period. Although this finding focuses on the language production of columnists with regard to diglossic code-switching, this can also have a bearing on the attitudes of readers. As observed in the section concerning attitudes towards language, a change is indeed taking place in the attitudes of newspaper readers in Kuwait. It could be hypothesized that we may witness an onset of change in the future and that columnists will produce less diglossic code-switching due to the decline of positive attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in the community. This finding strengthens the idea that the manifestations of diglossia can be shaped according to the social environment in which it exists. Even though diglossia is initially thought of by researchers as a relatively stable phenomenon (see Ferguson 1959), it can still manifest itself differently from one community to another (cf. Ibrahim 2010 and this study). This study also highlights the importance of investigating diglossia individually in Arab communities as each one may constitute a different experience of diglossia based on their social, political and historical experiences. I now turn to a discussion of the findings in this chapter and their implications.

4.4 Discussion:

In their study of attitudes to diglossia in Egypt, El-Dash and Tucker (1975) observed that the H variety not only scored highly on the intelligence, religiousness and leadership dimensions, but also on the likeability dimension. Their findings contrast with widely reported attitudes, where the “standard varieties are usually rated high on

⁵⁹ *Al-Kuwayt Al-Yawm* (Kuwait Today) specializes in the announcement of the laws and decrees of the country's ministries.

status and competence but fairly low on social attractiveness” (Ladegaard 2000: 222, cf. Edwards and Jacobsen 1987). However, we should not overlook the relationship between this finding and the fact that the standard is generally held in high regard in the Arab world. The results of the matched-guise test conducted for this study show, unlike El-Dash and Tucker’s (1975) study, that the respondents rated the L variety higher in general on the social attractiveness dimension. This is consistent with the general patterns of attitudes towards standard vs. regional/vernacular varieties reported for Western societies (cf. Garrett 2010). This comparison of Western and non-Western societies is of course not without its problems, thus it is crucial to bring the nature of both societies into the focus of the analysis. The current study differs from those investigating attitudes towards standard and regional varieties in the West in that the standard variety in the Arab world has religious and political associations and that the vernaculars are spoken in different countries. Nevertheless, the traditional distinction between the L and H varieties in diglossia resembles the distinction made between standard and regional varieties (cf. Ferguson 1959). Overall, there is a lack of comparative studies on the influence of social factors on attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in the Arab world (but see El-Dash and Tucker 1975, Assaf 2001), so that this study makes the first attempt to do so in the Gulf region.

The literature associates the use of standard with the notion of prestige in society. Ibrahim (1983), Al-Wer (1997) and Haeri (2000) argued that the connection made in previous research between prestige and SA does not hold true for everyday spoken language due to the existence of spoken varieties in Arabic that carry prestige (e.g. Cairene Arabic is a prestigious variety of spoken Arabic in Egypt). Despite their importance, these findings only reflect the status of SA in relation to speech, which explains the reason why SA is the prestigious variety in writing. The context of newspapers is different to that of spoken interactions, as the domain of print journalism is more formal and can carry ideological connotations related to education, religion, politics, etc. Thus, I would argue that SA, in the context of newspapers and written language, is a more prestigious variety than the vernacular, not only because it is more appropriate for this setting than KA, but also because of the positive connotations associated with the ability to use it fluently (i.e. being educated, intelligent, etc.). Moreover, the participants in the questionnaire (and later in the matched-guise test) are evaluating the texts as readers and are not the actual producers of the texts, which could account for the difference in attitudes between the columnists and the readers (both for sex and other social variables).

With the two sexes considered, the overt attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles have shown no significant differences in the attitudes of the male and female participants towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. Their covert attitudes, however, were inconsistent with their overt ones such that the females' ratings resulted in more significant differences towards the personality traits. Their ratings of both texts resulted in 11 significant traits, compared with only 9 significant traits for the males. More importantly, female participants were found to perceive the diglossic code-switcher more favourably for the traits of 'responsibility' and 'friendliness' than their male counterparts. This has important implications for the role that the factor of 'sex' has on the attitudes towards diglossic code-switching and shows that both sexes perceive diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers differently.

Assaf (2001) found that not only does setting play an important role in the perceptions of language choice in a diglossic community, but that the level of education of the respondent can influence their interlocutors' expectations of the language choice as well. The more highly educated a respondent is, the more he/she is hypothesised to employ the H variety in formal settings. The education variable was shown to have an important influence on the attitudes of the participants. The overt attitudes of the university and pre-university participants have shown that the two types of participants do not significantly differ in their liking for diglossic code-switching, or whether or not it affects their choice of columnist. However, the pre-university ps' choice of columnist was shown to be more positively influenced by diglossic code-switching than that of their university-educated counterparts. As for their covert attitudes, the ratings of the university-educated ps resulted in more significant traits (13 significant traits) than did those of the pre-university ones (8 significant traits). More importantly, the results for the covert attitudes were consistent with the overt attitudes expressed with regard to the type of influence, as the pre-university ps perceive diglossic code-switching more favourably than their university counterparts for the traits of 'education', 'responsibility' and 'linguistic competence'.

The overt attitudes of respondents who differ in their religious orientations do not show any significant differences. However, the covert attitudes of Sunni and Shiite respondents showed that the Sunnis' ratings showed more significant differences between NDC-S and DC-S texts in terms of personality traits than the Shiites did (12 significant traits vs. only 7). An interesting pattern is found, however, when we look at the differences between the Sunnis and the Shiites in their attitudes towards the two

columnists. The Sunnis perceived the diglossic code-switcher to be more sarcastic than did their Shiite peers. However, it is difficult to assess whether this perception is a positive or a negative one. Sarcasm can be used and perceived differently across different social communities (cf. Cheang 2008, Dress et al. 2008). This is further complicated by the fact that these participants are evaluating the writers, not from the perspective of the speaker or the target of such sarcasm, but as observers or overhearers. More research is needed on the understanding of sarcasm in relation to language use/perception by religious groups in the Arab world to understand the influence of certain linguistic practices of columnists on their target audience.

Another difference that was revealed was that the Shiites viewed the NDC-S columnist more favourably than did their Sunni counterparts with regard to 'linguistic competence', but less favourably on 'carefulness'. The Christians showed a different pattern when rating the columnists. Even though I had to remove them from the main study due to the fact that their small number might skew the results, their pattern of rating is worth mentioning and highlights the importance of investigating the influence of religious orientation on attitudes towards code-switching, especially with regard to smaller religious communities. The Christians differed in their ratings from both the Sunnis and the Shiites as they showed a more favourable attitude towards the NDC-S columnist for the trait of carefulness. They also showed a more favourable attitude towards the DC-S columnist than the other respondents of other religious orientations for the following personality traits: 'religious' and 'careful'. Thus, we could suggest that Kuwaiti Christians may show a pattern of greater tolerance towards the DC-S columnist in comparison to Sunnis and Shiites for the traits of 'religiousness' and 'carefulness'. The patterns demonstrated by the Kuwaiti Christians initially indicate that they pattern differently from the other two religious groups. Thus, as a group that is often neglected due to their very small size, this finding should further encourage researchers to explore this community more deeply in relation to language use and perception.

The ethnically diverse respondents showed no statistically significant differences in their attitudes. The results for the question of whether the respondents like to see diglossic code-switching and the that which asks them about what type of influence it has on them were statistically insignificant. It was not possible to run a significance test for the second question (i.e. whether diglossic code-switching has an influence on their choice of columnist), where the results showed no trends towards differences, as already explained. However, the covert attitudes of the respondents from

different ethnic backgrounds showed more interesting results and these were sometimes revealed when the influence of ethnicity on attitudes towards diglossic code-switching was explored. The covert attitudes also revealed that there were only two significant differences in attitude, both of which involved the Ajams and the Hassawis: the Ajams saw the NDC-S columnist as more excited than the Hassawis did and also perceived the DC-S columnist to be funnier.

These findings suggest that the attitudes of the participants towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles are complex. In a context where diglossic attitudes are hypothesised to appear homogeneously for all groups, the participants do not simply show similar diglossic attitudes to each other, but they also subtly differ depending on various social factors. It is crucial that writers, newspaper publishers and public opinion shapers take these findings about the dynamic nature of the perception of diglossia into consideration, given that language has been previously shown to influence public opinion (Deguilhem and Claudot-Hawad 2012).

The analysis of changes in language attitudes showed a clearly different pattern by the youngest participants that is different from that of their older counterparts. While the older participants show more tolerance towards the use of diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles, this tolerance increasingly declined for younger age cohorts.

Furthermore, an investigation of the use of diglossic code-switching over the last 30 years showed that no changes exist in the frequencies of code-switching in 1985 vs. 2014-15. Implications for the notion of diglossia in Kuwait can be sought from this investigation. The main findings we can relate to in this investigation are that diglossic code-switching has not significantly increased throughout the years in newspaper articles, that also corresponds to the language attitudes of the younger generation, which are pointing towards favouring a diglossic pattern. These findings may reveal a strengthening of the pattern of diglossia in Kuwait, whereby the L remains very restricted in newspaper articles throughout the years and is also becoming even less tolerated by readers, as demonstrated by the youngest group in this study.

The results summarised above demonstrate the importance of investigating attitudes towards diglossic code-switching across social variables. Even though the majority of the participants' attitudes reveal that a traditional view of diglossia⁶⁰ still

⁶⁰ A traditional view of diglossia in Kuwait is the one where SA is the H variety that enjoys prestige and is used in formal domains whereas KA is the L variety that is less prestigious and is associated with informal domains.

exists, differences still emerge when the attitudes of socially diverse participants are compared with one another, and when indirect methods like the matched-guise technique are employed. These findings have important implications for the understanding of diglossia in Kuwait. The fact that differences in perception were found to exist between people who have diverse social backgrounds provides a clearer picture of columnist-reader communication and improves understanding through uncovering how certain linguistic choices are interpreted. Moreover, the results of the change in language attitudes study show that there seems to be an increasing intolerance towards diglossic code-switching in the community, which is still in favour of a traditional diglossic situation where the L variety is not tolerated in settings normally dominated by the H variety. Finally, the analysis of the language use in 1985 vs. 2014-15 newspaper articles showed that there is indeed no increase in the use of diglossic code-switching by columnists.

In this chapter, I have discussed the attitudes of both columnists and readers towards the use of diglossic code-switching in newspapers as well as changes in the attitudes towards and language use of diglossic code-switching. In the next chapter, a qualitative analysis of a selection of Kuwaiti newspaper articles will be provided using the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton (1993a) *inter alia*.

Chapter 5. Qualitative Analysis of Newspaper Articles

This section presents a qualitative analysis using the Markedness Model of newspaper articles⁶¹ containing diglossic code-switching (DCS). A number of articles, from different newspapers (*Al-Watan*, *Al-Qabas*, and *Al-Rai*), have been selected for analysis on the basis of the frequency of DCS found in them. They were written by six different columnists. The analysis attempts to identify and explain significant instances of code-switching (CS), and to account for the writers' code choices. For each article, a summary of the content is given and then examples of DCS are presented together with a discussion of each example. This allows for a more focused analysis of each instance of code-switching, based on the background information of the article.

5.1 Analysis

Article 1:

maalik illa kabat ilHajjiyyah

'Then you have no better choice than the old lady's closet'

Author: Ahmad Al-Fahad

Date of publication: 24th September 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Watan*

Summary:

The first part of the article presents an anecdote told by the MP Musallam Al-Barrak in the context of an investigation into claims that some MPs had received bribes. In this

⁶¹ The articles have been chosen objectively, irrespective of their content, based on the sampling methods indicated in Chapter 3.

anecdote an MP, when asked where the four million Kuwaiti dinars in his bank account had come from, replied that he had found them in the closet of his mother, who was planning to build two mosques before she died. In his comment, Al-Fahad, the columnist, ridicules the MP for telling such a bad lie. In the second part of the article, the columnist relates the best comment (a joke) that he has heard about this incident. The third and final part of the article discusses a fatwa issued by an Islamic scholar regarding the payment of *zakaat* (i.e. alms-giving) from the money kept for buying a house, and the columnist details the reply to this fatwa by another Islamic scholar.

The columnist chooses to use KA in the title of the article. The phrase *maalik illa kabat ilHajjiyyah* (Then you have no better choice than the old lady's closet) is adapted from the advertisement for a traditional souk in Kuwait called Souq Al-Mubarakkiyya. The original advertisement contained a phrase spoken by a man to his friend when this friend fails to find what he wants in other souks: *maalik illa soug almubarakkiyyah ya wild ilHajjiyyah* (Then you have no better choice than Souk Al-Mubarakkiyya, O son of the old lady). The columnist here does two noteworthy things: he uses a marked code-switch to KA, and he phrases his title to evoke a well-known advertisement. The first element of interest here is the columnist's choice of code: whereas the expected rights and obligations (RO) set between a columnist and his/her newspaper audience would suggest that he should use SA, the columnist chooses instead to negotiate this set and introduces a new RO set instead. The effect of this type of marked CS is to minimize the social distance between the columnist and his reader, emphasizing shared ethnicity by use of an expression constructed with Kuwaiti words and familiar to Kuwaitis. More importantly, the columnist achieves a comic effect through the use of vernacular words such as *ilHajjiyyah* (literally: a woman who has performed the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca), which is a title that is used when one is addressing or referring to an old lady one does not know. Moreover, the columnist uses this word as a rhyme with 'Al-Mubarakkiyya' to evoke the utterance used in the advertisement. Writing the title in KA has the immediate function of attracting the attention of the reader. As we have previously seen in the columnists' interviews (see Chapter 4), some columnists see an article's title as a sacred part of the text where no vernacular words should occur (see the interview of columnist A2). But Al-Fahad does exactly the opposite: he immediately connects with his readers by using their dialect in

the title. A very important point here is that Al-Fahad's use of *ilHajjiyya* mocks the claims of the MP. The columnist portrays the mother as a simple old lady in order to illustrate the improbability of the old lady's closet containing this huge sum of money.

Another type of DCS as a marked choice is manifested in the use of two different forms of code-switching in the article.

Ex. 1:

*wa akthar gharaabah min qissat alfataat aljamiylah allatiy kaanat taqif `ala alkhaT
alsaree` wa "it'ashshir" lilmarkabaat fa'idhaa waqafuw lahaa wajaduw anfusahum
amaam fataat talbis al`abaa'a wa lahaa yad wa arjul mi`zah*

'And it (the MP's story) is weirder than the story of the beautiful girl who was standing at the high road and was "waving" for cars and when they stop for her, they find themselves standing before a girl wearing an abaya (a black robe) and who has the hands and legs of a goat.'

Ex. 2:

laakinnahu lam yakun ya`rif yakdhib `ala albank kidhba afDal min haadhi

'But he did not know how to give the bank a better lie than this'

The markedness of the two words *it'ashshir* (waving) and *haadhi* (this) in the text seems to derive from cumulative effect. Neither word has individual markedness, as their use does not show any attempt by the columnist to invoke solidarity, power differences or even humour. What can be inferred from the use of these words throughout the text is that the columnist is trying to negotiate the RO set in general. Thus, he is trying to introduce the RO set that he wishes to be effective between himself and the audience. It is true that he already does this by the use of clearly marked code-switches elsewhere in the text, which negotiate different dimensions of both the

character he projects to his readers, as a fellow Kuwaiti, and of his close relationship with them as a columnist. These code-switches effect a reduction in the social distance between them which allows him to joke with his audience. The repeated use of these two words throughout the text, even though not clearly indicative of the intentions of the columnist, contributes to and reinforces the negotiating of the social relationship between the columnist and his readers that is already taking place. Holes (2004: 381-382) reports a similar usage by some Egyptian writers who mix the SA and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) varieties in the narrative parts of their writings. According to Holes (2004: 381-382), in such cases “it does not seem to be the case that MSA⁶² and the ECA are allocated to specific and separate types of rhetorical or discourse functions.” Holes (2004: 382) explains such usage by stressing that it is “evidently an intentional choice” and that the writer, when he/she does so, is trying to get closer to the audience by using speech features used in their everyday lives, in a strategy similar to that employed by Al-Fahad in examples [1] and [2].

The columnist repeatedly uses the word *kabat* (*kabat*, *kabat'haa*, i.e. the closet of, her closet) throughout the text instead of the SA word (*khazanat malabis*, *khazanat'haa*). We can clearly observe that the columnist is not trying to appeal to the readers here as much as he is trying to ridicule the claims of the MP and stress his lack of credibility by repeating the word. In the following example, we will see the effect of mockery being achieved through this use of *kabat*:

Ex. 3:

*wa yadriy anna kabat waalidatih laysa bihi ghaiyr ilkhalaajiyn wa malafi` wa ilch
ilbaan wa vex wa baqaaya dahaan buw faas*

‘And he knows that his mother’s closet contains nothing but clothes, head scarves, ilbaan chewing gum, Vicks and the remnants of Bu Faas oil (i.e. Axe Brand Universal Oil)’

⁶² ‘Modern Standard Arabic’, also known as ‘SA’ or ‘Standard Arabic’.

The columnist lists things likely to be found in the closet of the MP's mother. The purpose of the list is to emphasise the improbability of the closet of a simple old lady containing a large amount of money. The mockery is further heightened by the use of the dialect to name the items. In particular, the word *khalaajiyn* (clothes) is of special importance here. Instead of using the SA word for 'clothes', which is *malaabis* or even the KA word for 'clothes', which is *hdoom*, the columnist uses the word *khalaajiyn*, which carries both a pejorative and a humorous meaning. This word implies that the clothes are not of high quality and it is usually used to disparage someone's appearance. Myers-Scotton (1983: 129) proposes that when someone is making a marked choice, he/she is negotiating to introduce a new RO set, which could index a smaller social distance. Less social distance can result either in a sense of warmth or in an insult (Myers-Scotton 1983: 129). Even though the columnist is not directing insults at the MP, he is using this new set of RO to reduce the social distance between himself and the MP in order to mock him.

Ex. 4:

afDal ta`liyq qara`tah `ala mawDoo` kabat wild ilHajjiyyah...anna alnaa`ib lammaa fataH kabat waalidatih wa wajada alfuluws fiy kull baab wa `ala kull raff sa`alaha: yumma waiyn malaabsich?! fa raddat `alaiyh: ya "wlaydi" malabsiy khashatt`haa fiy albank!

'The best comment I've read on the matter of the closet of the son of the old lady is that when the MP opened his mother's closet and found the money in every drawer and on every rack, he asked her: Mom, where are your clothes?! And she replied: O son! I'm hiding my clothes in the bank!'

In the second part of the article, the columnist tells a joke that he has read about the story. The joke is related mostly in KA. It might have been told originally in KA, due to the fact that jokes amongst Kuwaitis are often told in the L variety, i.e. KA. However, the fact that the columnist "read" the joke rather than heard it could also

mean that it might originally have been written partly or wholly in SA. As seen above, the joke is in the form of a single spoken exchange between the MP and his mother. Al-Fahad chooses to use mainly KA to quote the MP and his mother but uses SA when introducing the joke and telling us what happened (except for the word *kabat*, i.e. *the closet*, which, again, shows the columnist's insistence on the deliberate use of the KA word for emphasis). Telling the joke in the vernacular after an introduction in SA helps the columnist achieve the maximum effect of humour and realism. He reserves the most extensive use of the vernacular for reporting the spoken exchange between the son and his mother in the joke, thus drawing more attention to this particular part of the exchange. According to Schiffman (2010: 458), the L variety is "the language of intimacy, humour" as well as the speaker's mother tongue. It also constitutes the language of "natural communication" (Schiffman 2010: 458). Thus, telling a joke in the vernacular helps achieve a humorous effect for the readers.

In the last paragraph of the article, Al-Fahad introduces a totally new subject. He discusses a fatwa issued by Dr Mohammed Al-Tabtabaie. The columnist indicates that there is a difference of opinion between Dr Al-Tabtabaie and another Islamic scholar regarding the Zakat matter, and he incorporates that scholar's letter into his article as a response to the fatwa. It may immediately strike the reader that, in contrast with the previous two sections of the article, this third and final section dealing with the fatwa totally lacks any type of CS. The reader would expect this, since the discussion of such Islamic ideas tends to be carried out in the H variety due to the diglossic nature of the community. It is also important to note that the audience here differs from the audience of the previous two sections: whereas in the first two sections of the article the intended audience were Kuwaitis in general, in this paragraph the columnist is presenting a reply to a scholar, in what appears to be a mini Islamic debate, thus requiring a dignified and scholarly language such as SA for the discussion of this matter. It should be noted, however, that the columnist did not refer to Dr Mohammed Al-Tabtabaie, with whom he disagrees, by the title "Dr" or even the religious honorific "Sheikh", but chose rather to refer to him as "the brother." On the other hand, he used the title "Sheikh" to refer to the other two scholars, whom he supports. Moreover, the code-switching to SA here is another re-negotiation of the previous RO set that was in place. However, this time it is an unmarked choice due to the fact that "special respect is called for by circumstances" (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 147). Even though we do not see any special respect being held for Dr Mohammed Al-Tabtabaie by the columnist,

we can perceive his respect for the two other Islamic scholars and the religious matter being discussed.

The “deference maxim” proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a) relates this unmarked change of code to the “societal norms” that call for such language. An important note to take into consideration is that “deference” can take several forms, from using honorific titles (as in this case), and indirect requests, to tailoring one’s speech according to the addressee’s (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 148). Moreover, after making several marked choices and introducing a new RO set in the first two sections to reduce social distance for the purpose of humour and mockery, the columnist then re-introduces the old RO set in order to increase the social distance again and project the persona of a columnist who is part of a religious discussion. Even though this code is unmarked (or expected), it does actually negotiate the existing RO set, especially after a number of marked choices has been made. Bassiouney (2006: 221) comments on the use of SA as fulfilling the function of “creat[ing] a dramatic atmosphere and add[ing] an aura of significance and seriousness to a topic.” As previously mentioned, a certain code may be chosen by a speaker in order to assume a certain persona or relationship with the listener. This is to, a large extent, what our columnist is doing here, in addition to showing deference to the scholars. We can also see that Al-Fahad is making a rational, unmarked, “safer” choice (i.e. SA) in his discussion of the fatwa. An unmarked choice here and an adherence to deference show that the speaker is acting rationally by trying to minimize the costs and maximize the benefits (see Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001). This is done by accepting the norms of addressing Islamic scholars and discussing religious matters in a respectful manner.

Article 2:

yaa bakhatkum fiynna yaa ahal al`iraaq

‘How lucky you are, O people of Iraq (in having us as your neighbours)’

Author: Azizah Al-Mufarrij

Date of publication: 2nd October 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Watan*

Summary:

The article discusses a single topic, namely the relationship between Kuwait and Iraq. More specifically, the columnist examines the difference in attitudes between Kuwaitis and Iraqis and gives her opinion that no matter how much help Kuwait offers to Iraq, Iraqis will never be grateful to Kuwaitis. At the end of the article, Al-Mufarrij addresses Kuwaiti officials and tells them that what they are doing (i.e. helping Iraqis) is useless.

The columnist begins her DCS in the title of the article. On the face of it, the message *yaa bakhatkum fiynnaa yaa ahl al`iraaq* (How lucky you are, O people of Iraq [in having us as your neighbours]) is addressed to Iraqis (however, we will see later on that the article itself is not addressed to Iraqis but rather to Kuwaitis and the Kuwaiti government). The phrase *yaa bakhatkum fiynnaa* is used in the vernacular for the negotiation of a new RO set in place of the customary one between a columnist and his/her readers. The columnist engages in this negotiation for the purpose of solidarity, reducing the social distance between herself and the audience. As we will see, the columnist tries repeatedly to invoke a sense of solidarity and shared ethnicity with her readers.

Ex. 1:

wifq ma`ayir `amal almahshiy wa rafiyqatih albaachah wa saaHibih alTirshiy lan tajid man huwa afDal minhum, fa hum fiy alduwlma asaaticidha wa fiy albaachah shiTtaar wa fiy al`achaar mu`allimiyn

‘According to the standards of making almahshi [stuffed food] and its companion albaacha [a cooked lamb’s head] and its friend altirshi [pickled food], you will not find anyone better than them at this. They are masters at the making of dolma [stuffed vine leaves], and excellent in the making of albaacha, and masters in the making of alachaar [pickled food]’

The columnist starts the body of her article by listing the good things that Iraqis can do, in her opinion. All the things she lists are skills at making types of food (mainly pickled or stuffed items). She claims, after listing all these types of food, that this is all Iraqis are good at, in contrast to Kuwaitis, who are, she argues, different in a better way.

Ex. 2:

fiy ma `ada dhaalik, hum ka althawr, ma yinHilib walaa yinjilib, ya `niy maa yinshadd alZahar fiyhum, amma iHnaa, allah yaHrisna, fa shayi' mukhtalif tamaamaN

'Except for that, they are like an ox, it can neither be milked nor controlled, that is, they are not reliable [literally: a back cannot be tightened by them]. As for us, may God protect us, that is a totally different matter'

Ex. 3:

'ilaaqatna ma3ahum yanTabiq `alaiha almatal alqaa `il algara `ymid lbarrah, algara `iHnaa alkuwaitiyyn aw `ala al aSaH khairuna, wa `uhum al`iraqiyeen illiy barrah

'The saying "the squash nut extends outwardly" [i.e. someone who benefits outsiders more than insiders] applies to our relationship with them. The squash nut is us, Kuwaitis, or more appropriately our good deeds, and they, the Iraqis, are the outsiders.'

In example [2], we can see that after the columnist tells the readers what she thinks about Iraqis, she code-switches to the dialect for what appears to be 'insider' talk. The code-switch here establishes the reduced social distance which the columnist has evoked earlier and she begins to explain to her readers in the dialect what was meant by her previous words. This type of CS has been discussed by a number of linguists (e.g. Holes 1993). Medjell (1996) found that CS to the dialect can be used by speakers to rephrase, explain, or comment on what has previously been said.

Furthermore, the columnist's attempts at establishing solidarity and shared identity between herself and her readers is evident when we examine her use of CS in pronouns (Ex. 2 and 3) to distinguish between Kuwaitis and Iraqis with code-switches such as *iHnaa* (i.e. 'we' in KA; the SA equivalent is *naHnu*) and *uhum* (i.e. 'they' in KA; the SA equivalent is *hum*). According to Zwickl (2002: 7), language carries the social values that are assigned to it by society and thus it plays a major role in the formation of identity. Moreover, two processes underlie the formation of identity, namely 'identification' and 'demarcation.' The identification process means that a member of a group identifies with the group he/she associates himself/herself with. The demarcation process, however, is based on the "individual differences from group members" (Zwickl 2002: 7). Wodak et al. (2009: 35-38), in their discussion of the construction of ethnic and national identity, refer to the use of anthroponymic terms and personal pronouns (i.e. 'we' and 'they') by speakers in the construction of their identity. According to Wodak et al. (2009: 38), the use of personal pronouns, such as 'they, those, them', serve the function of exclusion (i.e. state-internal vs. state-external) and can convey a message that "*they are inferior compared to us.*" Similar instances of the use of marked CS as an ethnically exclusive strategy have been reported by Myers-Scotton (1993a: 135). The clearly marked code-switches of the pronouns that denote the "we" and "they" division perform two functions simultaneously in the article: they bring the columnist socially closer to her audience, and they project her persona as an insider, which helps her gain the trust of the readers and may subsequently help to convince them of the validity of her opinions.

The high frequency of certain items in a text could be taken as a "rough indication of markedness" (Wilt 1998: 91). The high frequency of the use of vernacular idiomatic expressions and sayings in Al-Mufarrij's article shows the markedness of the style adopted by this columnist. The use of these vernacular idioms and sayings gives a sense of warmth and familiarity to the reader, an effect that has been referred to by Myers-Scotton (1983: 129) in her Markedness Model as one of the results of reduced social distance which can be brought about by the use of a marked code-switch. The meaning behind most of Al-Mufarrij's idiomatic expressions in the dialect support her advice at the end of the article, which centres around the idea that it is unwise to expect relations with Iraq to improve simply by offering a helping hand.

A brief look at these idiomatic expressions and sayings will support this stance (note that the columnist also makes use of non-Kuwaiti Arabic sayings when she seems

to be unable to find a Kuwaiti equivalent for these). All these idioms give a sense of the alleged ungratefulness of Iraqis and are used by the columnist to bolster her claims:

Ex. 5:

hum ka althawr, ma yinHilib walaa yinjilib

‘They are like an ox, it can neither be milked nor controlled’

Ex. 6:

ma yinshadd ilZahar fiihum

‘They are not reliable’

Ex. 7:

algara`ymid lbarrah

‘The squash nut extends outwardly’

Ex. 8:

illi maat'athir fiyh kilmah, maa it'athir fiyh lugmah

‘He who is unaffected by a word, is unaffected by a bite [of food]’

It can be observed that, even though a large number of proverbs and sayings exist in SA, the columnist seems to favour the vernacular ones. According to Norrick (1985: 29), proverbs do have a “didactic” and “authoritative” nature. More importantly, “the

traditional character of proverbs imbues their ideational meaning with authority” and this also leads to the fading of the speaker “into the general community opinion” (Norrick 1985: 29). Being didactic and authoritative in nature, proverbs give the speaker an advantageous position in relation to the hearer. Norrick (1985: 25) suggests that the use of proverbs could be a signal that the speaker wishes to play the role of “teacher/advisor of his hearer”, which is why, for example, children are rarely expected to use proverbs when addressing their parents (Norrick 1985: 25). Norrick also proposes that this type of relationship can still create a sense of bonding between the speaker and the hearer: “a one-up person can offer his advice as a way of establishing a bond” thus entering into “a parent-child or teacher-student relation” (1985: 25). This is what the columnist appears to be doing in this case: assuming the role of an advisor to the readers and even the government on the matter of foreign relations with Iraq. Thus, the linguistic usage of the columnist here is marked for both her choice of vernacular proverbs instead of SA ones and the high frequency of proverbs and idiomatic expressions in the text, all serving the purpose of giving advice.

In addition to their “authoritative” character, Meider (2004: 151) suggests that the sense of familiarity that proverbs create leads to them being used in advertising. Through her use of proverbs Al-Mufarrij advertises her own opinions, her own a point of view that she urges the audience to accept and adopt.

The columnist ends her article by addressing the government with a brief message: a proverb that sums up her article and constitutes a piece of advice (see example [8]).

Article 3:

riyuwg ma`a altarbiyah

‘Breakfast with the Education (i.e. the Ministry of Education)’

Author: Jaafar Rajab

Date of publication: 25th September 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Rai*

Summary:

This article was published in *Al-Rai* newspaper on 25th September 2011 and was written by Jaafar Rajab. The article is divided into nine subsections. The topic of the article is a single one, namely criticism of decisions taken by the Minister for Education, but each part contains a different criticism. The first paragraph concerns the lawsuit brought by the Ministry of Education against the columnist for publishing a school principal's complaint. The second paragraph discusses the delay in giving teachers their pay rise. The third criticises the chaos in issuing certificates of salaries. In the fourth paragraph the columnist ridicules the Minister's decision to provide students with flash memory sticks. In the fifth paragraph he also makes fun of the Minister's suggestion regarding the distribution of laptops to students. In the sixth paragraph, the columnist poses a question regarding the delay in installing cameras in schools. The seventh paragraph contains a complaint regarding unfairness in the selection of teachers for adult education in the Hawalli district. In the eighth paragraph, Rajab answers an imaginary response to his article: "isn't there anything good to mention?" He says that there are indeed people who are working hard in the ministry and argues that the publication of these complaints will help the Minister and do not compromise his work. In the final paragraph, the columnist thanks the Minister for listening.

Ex. 1:

Title of article

riyuwg ma`a altarbiyah

'Breakfast with the Education (i.e. Ministry of Education)'

Rajab starts the title of his article with a KA word *riyuwg* (breakfast; the SA word is *ifTaar*). In doing this, he is trying to negotiate the existing RO set of a columnist and his readers for another set that indexes informality with the readers. This use of CS creates the feeling that the columnist is about to start a chat with his readers about the Ministry of Education. However, the body of the article contains a number of criticisms directed towards the Minister for Education himself. In the first part of the article, the

columnist greets the Minister and indicates that he is writing about the Ministry of Education for two reasons, one of which is that he had a lawsuit brought against him by the Ministry. This is a strong hint that he is now defying the authority and power of the Minister, indicating that he has not been silenced.

Starting from the second section of the article, the columnist begins a series of criticisms that are accompanied by a number of code-switches to KA, and an ironic use of an honorific that is used mostly for addressing Sheikhs of the royal family of very high status in Kuwait, which is *Taal `umrik*⁶³ (literally: may your life be long). Even though this honorific is mostly associated with addressing Sheikhs of the royal family, it can sometimes be used when addressing someone in a very powerful position, separated from the speaker by a considerable social and professional distance. However, in my experience as a member of the Kuwaiti community, it is not the norm nowadays to use this honorific when addressing a minister, especially by columnists who often make use of other terms such as ‘the respectful minister’, ‘the brother’ or ‘your Excellency’ in newspaper articles. This gives further indication the columnist’s use of this title was intended ironically.

Farghal and Shakir (1994: 240) claim that honorifics have been subject to sociolinguistic analysis mainly within the dimensions of power and solidarity. A distant and unequal relationship between the addressee and the speaker would call more for the use of an honorific, in comparison with a less distant and a less unequal relationship (Farghal and Shakir 1994: 240). More importantly, Farghal and Shakir point out that the presence or absence of the addressee has an influence on the power and solidarity dimensions of an honorific: “speakers usually opt for more power and are less conservative about solidarity when referents are not present” (Farghal and Shakir 1994: 240). Thus, we would expect the columnist to use fewer honorifics in the absence of the Minister. This makes the very high frequency and repetition of the honorific *Taal `umrik* in itself a very marked choice, apart from its use in the vernacular (it is repeated six times throughout the article, and its variants are repeated twice). This marked choice is clearly being made in order to undermine the power and authority of the Minister by challenging what the term *Taal `umrik* indexes, i.e. the RO set of discrepancy of power and social status.

⁶³ This KA idiomatic expression belongs to a sub-category of idioms, referred to by Yassin (1978: 69) as ‘functional idioms’.

Ex. 2:

*Taal `umrik, min bayn kul `ashir mu`amalaat “iSdaar shahadat raatib”, tabayyan
anna “khamista`ash” mu`aamala ghayr saaliHah*

‘May your life be long, out of every ten “salary certificates” issued, it turned out that “fifteen” of them are invalid’

In this example, the columnist makes two contrasting marked choices. The first is *Taal `umrik* which, as indicated above, is used repeatedly. The second is the KA word ‘*khamista`ash*, (i.e. fifteen; the SA equivalent is *khamsata `ashar*). This word is not usually used in its written form so what the columnist is doing, in effect, is simply writing the pronunciation of the number fifteen. These two marked choices stand in contrast to each other: the first is usually used when expressing respect to someone of higher authority, the second sounds extremely colloquial. The columnist is definitely aware of this as he puts the word in quotation marks, thus differentiating the word. According to Bassiouney (2010: 116), the CS that takes place between the standard and the dialect may be used by the speaker “to draw attention to what is being said.” In these cases, the code-switched words may be used to stress the arguments presented by the speaker to his/her audience (Bassiouney 2010: 116). The first code-switch in this sentence already signals a challenge to the authority of the Minister, which is followed up by the second code-switch which draws attention to the large number of mistakes occurring at the Ministry of Education of which the addressee (i.e. the Minister) is in charge.

In the penultimate section of the article, the columnist answers an imaginary question posed to him by his readers after he has listed all his criticisms. The question is: “aren't there any good points to mention?” In his attempt to answer the question, Rajab refrains from CS and adheres to the usage of SA. The absence of the vernacular is in direct contrast with the varied language used throughout the article. It can also be observed that he does not attempt to use any type of wordplay. In this section, the columnist addresses his readers directly, (rather than the Minister for Education), and his choice of code seems to indicate an absence of the sarcasm and ridicule which filled the previous sections of the article. This code choice is unmarked and the columnist

seems to re-negotiate for the RO set that was originally in place between himself and his readers to engage in a serious discussion. A customary RO set between a writer in a newspaper and readers indexes a large social distance which restricts the writings of the columnist and calls for the use of the H variety, i.e. SA. As we have seen, the columnist has negotiated this social distance throughout the article for several purposes. In the end, after fulfilling these functions, he decides to go back to the customary RO set that increases the social distance. It is as if the columnist has given up his sarcastic and humorous persona and opted for a new, serious persona. This linguistic behaviour also shows the influence of the audience on the linguistic choices made by the columnist: the change of addressee signalled a change of style. Similar observations have been made by Bell (1984) regarding the changing of the speaker's style according to a change of audience.

Article 4:

“aldaff Hatta blma’aatim”

‘The tambour (is used) even at funerals’

Author: Eqbal Al-Ahmad

Date of publication: 9th October 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Qabas*

Summary:

The subject of this article is an announcement made by an MP regarding the participation of the former politicians and opposition figures Ahmad Al-Khatib and Hamad Al-Jaw'aan in a protest. The columnist criticizes the MP's announcement by arguing that they [the opposition figures] do not need him to announce anything on their behalf. She claims that the way these figures deal with protests is responsible, unlike those who break the law or hurt people's dignity while protesting.

Ex. 1:

“hadhaan alkabiyyaan lam yaqHimaa nafsayhumaa bi'idhrabaat min Tag Tablah gaal ana gablah”

‘These two important figures did not get involved in the “I struck my tambour first” strikes’

The columnist makes use of a Kuwaiti idiom, namely *min Tag Tablah gaal ana gablah* (literally: ‘that who struck his tambour says I did it [i.e. struck my tambour] before he did’), in order to mock the named MP and those who participate in that type of protest. The idiom is used as an adjective to the word ‘protest’. The columnist is, therefore, relating these protests to the kind of people described by the idiom. These are generally people who, upon hearing that someone intends to do something, engage in a race with him/her to do it first. Al-Ahmad uses this idiom to emphasize the pointless nature of their actions and the lack of logic of the people she criticizes. The use of quotation marks to mark the beginning and end of the Kuwaiti idiom in the article shows that the columnist (or the editor) is aware of the markedness of the use of this variety in newspaper articles. In a study by Bernsten (1998: 189) on the language used at an automobile factory, it was found that speakers/hearers use their knowledge of marked/unmarked choices to carry out cognitive calculations and produce language/respond accordingly (see also Myers-Scotton 1998a).

When compared with the use of idioms in Article [2] by Al-Mufarrij, we can see how the use of idioms demonstrated a “didactic” nature in [2] whereas in Article [4] it is used for mockery and disparagement. As we have seen before, the vernacular variety in which the idiom is produced constitutes an RO negotiation that indexes a reduced social distance between Al-Ahmad and her readers, enabling her to mock the MP and others (Myers-Scotton 1998b: 31).

Another note to be emphasized is that, in comparison with other columnists and articles, there is a lack of diglossic code-switching in Article [4] except for a single instance, which is idiomatic. This could be due to the fact that Al-Ahmad does not code-switch as frequently as other columnists in the corpus (the percentage of CS in her articles is 0.64%; compare this, for example, with Al-Mufarrij: 3.08%, Al-Fahad: 3.0%, and Rajab: 1.91%).

Article 5:

“*shu’awn wa shujuwn*”

‘Matters and worries’

Author: Azizah Al-Mufarrij

Date of publication: 3rd October 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Watan*

Summary:

This article discusses family visit visas that are granted to foreigners in order to enter Kuwait, especially those which can later be converted into work visas. The columnist complains throughout the article about a range of problems that arise as a result of the lack of supervision of the process of granting visas to visitors in Kuwait. She holds the Ministry of Social Affairs responsible for these difficulties and claims that traffic jams, unemployment, and lack of services result from these administrative errors. She finally wonders who, specifically, is responsible for these errors at the Ministry.

Ex.1:

“ya waylhaa min allah wazarat alshu’awn fiyna iHnaa ahl alkuwayt”

‘It will evoke God’s wrath, the Ministry of [Social] Affairs, because of us the people of Kuwait’

Al-Mufarrij starts her DCS in the first sentence of the body of the article. In example [1], the columnist negotiates the existing RO set and introduces a new one, (that of a Kuwaiti), by code-switching to KA. She does so for two purposes: in order to warn the

Ministry of Social Affairs of God’s wrath, and to intensify the awareness of Kuwaitis as people who are suffering injustice. In an attempt to attract the readers’ attention and to amplify the effect of the markedness on the readers, Al-Mufarrij uses the vernacular variety in her warning of God’s wrath and then emphasizes Kuwaiti identity, by mentioning Kuwaitis, with her use of both the vernacular variety and the “us” pronoun (i.e. *iHnaa*). In Article [2], she does something very similar: she stresses the difference between Kuwaitis and Iraqis. In this article, she marks the difference between Kuwaitis and foreigners in general. Even though, in the former case, she does this in relation to the diplomatic tensions that exist between Kuwait and Iraq, in this article she does so because of the effect of the growing number of foreigners in Kuwait. The theme of outsider/insider seems to recur in her articles in different contexts. The use of the words *fiyna iHnaa* (‘because of us’) in KA reminds us of the columnist’s use of the word *iHnaa* (‘us’) earlier in Article [2]. This seems to associate the columnist’s use of the vernacular with her references to Kuwaitis or with anything that can be seen to relate to Kuwaiti identity.

Ex. 3:

“atmanna a`rif minuw illiy katab hatayn almuthakaratayn, wa ghayrahuma min almuthakaraat, wa man amarahu bidhaalik, wa limadhaa, wa ‘in kaan dhalika tamm fabi`anaaSir wa aydiN kuwaytiyyah fa hal hadhihi al`anaaSir imkhabigat`yuwn w`amya ma itshuwfilli ga`diin killinaa inshuwfa?!!”

‘I wish to know who wrote these two laws, and other laws, and who ordered them to do so, and why, and if this happened with the knowledge of Kuwaitis then do these Kuwaitis have pricked blind eyes and cannot see what all of us are seeing?!!’

In example [3], we can see that the columnist code-switches to KA twice. The first time she does so is for the introduction of the sentence and the code-switch serves as a tool to attract the readers’ attention to what will be said afterwards. The second time the

columnist code-switches to the L variety, she does so with a clear intention to mock and ridicule the Kuwaitis who are involved in this matter. The use of the words *`amya* ('blind') and *imkhabigat `yuwn* ('pricked eyes') in the marked variety as well as the use of two exclamation marks are all marked choices that the columnist makes to disrupt the existing RO set in order to index and heighten her feelings of anger and frustration.

Ex. 4:

“*aal ya `niy illiy Hayiyguw ba `d kidah ziyarit `hum mish HatitHawwil iqaamah*”

‘As if the ones who are going to visit...their visas will not be transformed into working visas’

Even though we are mainly looking at the alternation between the H variety in Kuwait (SA) and the L variety (KA) in this research, it is also important to look at the columnist’s uses of other varieties, such as, for instance, Egyptian Arabic (EA), which is considered to be an L variety in Egypt but a foreign Arabic dialect in Kuwait.

It is not entirely clear why Al-Mufarrij chose EA instead of KA in this case. Other instances of code-switches to EA in Kuwaiti articles in the corpus are mainly quotations, jokes, idiomatic expressions or attempts to accommodate to a referee/audience. As this example does not fit any of the aforementioned categories we can only surmise that the columnist is probably hinting at what is actually happening behind the scenes, evoking the dialect of the people she thinks may be involved or who may be benefitting from what is going on. The use of their dialect seems to constitute a subtle message on the part of the columnist, hinting something like: “these are the culprits.” Even though this use is not in KA or in the L variety of the Kuwaiti community, it is still a vernacular L variety that is in contrast with a H variety in a diglossic community in the Arab world. It also remains a marked choice for disrupting the expectations of the readers, or the RO set, and attracts the attention of the readers to what is being said.

Article 6:

“almalyuwn.. ‘alaik ib’alf`afya”

‘The million.. enjoy them’

Author: Ahmad Al-Fahad

Date of publication: 27th September 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Watan*

Summary:

This article is divided into three parts. The first section discusses the visit to Kuwait of Tony Blair, former PM of Great Britain, on the invitation of the Kuwaiti government to act as a consultant on the government’s development plans. It describes the reactions of Kuwaitis to his visit and compares his remuneration with bribes accepted by MPs in Kuwait. The second part of the article is shorter and addresses statements made by King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia regarding the security of the Kingdom of Bahrain in the aftermath of protests in that country. The columnist expresses approval of these statements. In the third and final part of the article, the columnist congratulates the Islamic Coalition (Salafis and the Muslim Brotherhood) for winning the student union elections at Kuwait University and the Public Authority of Applied Education and Training. He also gives opinion on the next parliamentary elections. The first and second sections of the article contain DCS but the last section does not.

Ex. 1:

“almalyuwn.. ‘alaik ib’alf`afya”

‘The million.. enjoy them’

Al-Fahad starts using DCS in the title of his article. On the face of it, the columnist seems to be addressing Tony Blair and saying that he deserves the one million dinars he received from the Kuwaiti government. However, the fact that the message is written in KA produces a sarcastic effect since Tony Blair is not Kuwaiti and there is no reason to switch to the vernacular when addressing a British politician. It would be more appropriate to use SA instead, which is more commonly used in formal settings. This use of KA creates a false and ironic sense of reduced social distance between the columnist and Tony Blair. Thus, what the columnist is really doing is negotiating the RO set between himself and the readers to reduce the social distance between them and produce a sarcastic and humorous effect.

Ex. 2:

“wa laakin bisi`ir ma`quwl wa maqbuwl, li`anna almyizaaniyyah “Haddah gaddah””

‘But with a reasonable and acceptable price, because the budget is “barely sufficient”’

In these two instances, the columnist mocks and criticizes the plans and actions of the government through disrupting the RO set to use the L variety. As Albirni (2011: 552) suggests, code-switching to the L variety constitutes “a shift in tone from serious to comic” and is closely related to “joking, sarcasm, or underhanded criticism.” It is also important to note that the columnist is aware of such marked use and uses quotation marks in both examples to add further marking to the marked usage of the vernacular in his article.

Ex. 3:

“wa kaanat radat alfi`il alkuwayitiyyah `alaa alshayk, ghaaDibah wa “mishtaTTah” wa munfa`ilah.. wa “maHmuw`ah awiy”!”

‘And the Kuwaiti reaction to the cheque story, [was] angry and “incensed”.. and “very incensed”!’

The mere repetition of the word ‘angry’ and its related variant ‘incensed’ in SA, KA, and Egyptian Arabic, (which is unnecessary since the first word gives the same meaning), is a marked linguistic behaviour (cf. Wilt 1998). Moreover, as Gumperz (1982: 78) suggests, repetition can either result in the clarification of what is said earlier or in the emphasis and amplification of the message being delivered. In this case, Al-Fahad is emphasizing the angry reaction of Kuwaitis. Furthermore, in addition to the fact that the article focuses on a British politician and is addressed to Kuwaitis, it is unnecessary to use Egyptian Arabic, which makes it an unexpected act and, in turn, a marked one. The repetition of the word angry in a number of varieties draws the attention of the readers to the fact that Kuwaitis were angry at the government. The use of Egyptian Arabic, however, could also give a humorous effect to what the reader is saying about the reaction of Kuwaitis since Egyptian Arabic is mostly associated with humour in Kuwait. According to Myers-Scotton (1998d: 64), ideas can be evoked through linguistic choices. In this instance, the idea of humour is evoked through the use of Egyptian Arabic. This is done by calling to mind the social attributes of Egyptians (i.e. a good sense of humour) by using their dialect, Egyptian Arabic. The humour and emphasis build up the sarcastic effect that the columnist is trying to produce through these RO negotiations: Kuwaitis are angry at the government because of Blair’s cheque when they should be angry at the bribes accepted by MPs.

Ex. 4:

*“li’anna toniy blayr lam ya’tiy bijadiyd fiy diraasatih, iTlaaqaN wa abadaN wa
“killish” – biduwn tanwiyn-!!”*

‘Because Tony Blair did not come up with something new in his study,
absolutely and never and “not at all” – without NUNATION-!!’

In this example, Al-Fahad maintains his linguistic behaviour of repeating synonyms of a word and switching to KA when doing so. These repeated code-switches disrupt the RO set further for the purpose of emphasis; they also present the columnist as being

matey with his readers through his joking about the use of nunation for the KA word (see also example [4]).

The following excerpts from the article discuss the comparison between Tony Blair and the MPs and what they were both reported to have received from the government:

Ex. 5:

“law kaana aHad alkuwaytiyyn katabaha, lamaa a`Tat`hu alhukuwmah alrashiydah Hatta 50 `alf dinaar.. kay yuwda`hum fiy “kabat”ilHajjiyyah um alnaa`ib “alfaltah”?!”

‘If one of the Kuwaitis wrote it [the study], the wise government would not even give him 50 thousand dinars.. to deposit them into “the closet” of the old lady, the mother of the “super” MP?!’

Ex. 6:

“alyawm wa ba`d faZiiHat al`ida`aat almalyuwniyyah lilnuwaab, wa qissat “kabat” wild ilHajjiyyah...”

‘Today and after the deposits of millions [of dinars] of the MPs, and the story of ‘the closet’ of the son of the old lady...’

In these examples ([5] and [6]), Al-Fahad repeats the linguistic strategy employed in Article [1]: disrupting the existing RO set to reduce the social distance between him and the MP accused of accepting a bribe, in order to mock him. Al-Fahad mentions the tale of the MP’s mother, in whose closet a huge sum of money was found (see Article [1]). KA is used here again, to ridicule the claims of the MP.

Ex. 7:

“anna alsayyid toniy blayr “imHallal” w `alayh ib alf `afya alshayk alladhiy akhadhah”

‘That Mr. Tony Blair “can have it as halal [money]” and he can enjoy the cheque he took’

Ex. 8:

“maadha fa`aluw ghayr altamthiyl `ala alsha`b, wa aldhiHk `ala `uquul alnakhibyin.. w iTraH althiqah ya `ammiy!”

‘What did they [MPs] do other than acting in front of the people and deceiving the electors.. Grill them dude! [literally ‘grill them, O uncle!’]’

After his attempt to compare the bribed MPs with Tony Blair, the columnist concludes that Tony Blair deserves the money more than they do. In example [7], the word *imHallal* literally means that Kuwaitis will not ask God to judge Blair for the money he took and that it is *halal* (i.e. ‘religiously acceptable’) for him to take it. These switches in the vernacular emphasize the comparison between the MPs and Tony Blair, and produce a humorous effect by the extremely marked colloquial religious expression *imHallal* being used when talking about someone who is neither a Kuwaiti nor a Muslim.

In example [8], Al-Fahad criticizes the MPs and advises the readers or Kuwaitis in general to stop trusting them. When the columnist starts to advise or instruct his readers, he switches to KA. The specific instructive message is offered in people’s everyday language, in an attempt to introduce a new RO set of a fellow Kuwaiti friend. Moreover, the phrase *ya `ammiy* (‘dude’) is an informal way of speaking that is only used between male speakers who know each other very well. Projecting this persona

can only be done through the use of readers' everyday language, which enables the columnist to influence his addressees and evoke a sense of warmth and trust.

Ex. 9:

“taSriyH jalaalat malik alsa`uwdiyyah alshaqiyqah `an amn alkhaliy bi`annahu kulluN laa yataja`za` wa rafD altadakhul fiy shu`awn albaHrayn.. narfa` lahu alghitrah wa ali`gaal.. wa algaHfiyyah! wa nahdiyh likull khaa`in wa ghayr shariyf yatamanna altadakhul al iraanii...”

‘The statement of His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia regarding the security of the Gulf [countries] and that it cannot be disintegrated, as well as the rejection of any interference in the Bahraini affairs.. make us raise the headdress and the head cord.. and the head cap! And we dedicate it to every traitor and ignoble person who wishes for the Iranian interference...’

In this section of the article, the columnist praises King Abdullah's statements regarding the security of the Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia's attitudes towards the situation in Bahrain. In order to show his appreciation for what King Abdullah has stated, the columnist uses the expression ‘raise one's hat’ yet with the words *ghitrah*, *`gaal* and *gaHfiyyah*, all parts of the national dress code of Kuwaiti men (Alrushaid 2012: 387, 423, 372). The act of raising one's head cord or *`gaal* (an accessory cord that helps secure the *ghitrah* or headdress on the wearer's head) for someone else, is a token of veneration for that person to whom the cord is raised. As previously mentioned, the columnist chooses not only to raise the head cord, but the headdress itself and the head cap. Even though it is unmarked to refer to these items in KA, the columnist's listing of all parts of the headdress, instead of the *`gaal* only which is usually used for such an expression, is an indication of the markedness of the expression and the ulterior message the columnist is trying to deliver. Thus, the listing of all these items of clothing, as well as doing so in KA, constitutes a marked use that indexes a strong sense of solidarity with Saudi Arabia and respect for the King's statements.

Article 7:

“fawDa altasliyf wa muHafaZat alfarwaniyyah”

‘The chaos of the Credit (i.e. The Credit and Savings Bank of Kuwait) and the Farwaniya Governorate’

Author: Jafaar Rajab

Date of publication: 28th September 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Rai*

Summary:

This article is divided into three parts. In the first part, the columnist provides an overview of the article. He tries to justify his reasons for reporting two complaints in this article, and attempts to joke about it. In the second part, he talks about the conditions which a divorced woman must meet in order to be eligible for a loan in the Credit and Savings Bank of Kuwait, and criticizes the difficulties a divorced woman has to go through in order to be able to receive financial support. The third and final part of the article discusses the working conditions of the Farwaniya Governorate department offices. He also reports employees’ questions about colleagues who are paid without turning up for work. Finally, he raises questions about an employee in the finance department, who is suspected by his colleagues of embezzlement. Instances of DCS can be found in all parts of the article.

Ex. 1:

“wa laakin bima inniy Sawt alHaq wa al’insaniyyah, wa nibraas lilnuwr wa alDiyaa’, wa aHsan waaHid fi al`aalam, fa laa bud an aktib wa uDaHiy”

‘But as long as I am the voice of truth and humanity, and the lamp of light and splendour, and the best person in the world, I have to write and make a sacrifice’

Rajab does not code-switch to the L variety in the title, and only starts doing so in the first part of the article (compare, for example, with Article [3]). In example [1], the columnist provides an overview of the article and tries to justify his reasons for discussing complaints in his articles, despite not being a specialist in the field of complaints. Rajab attempts to justify publishing complaints by producing a comic effect. This is achieved by the exaggeration of self-praise in SA. This praise is also followed by a code-switch to the L variety which helps him reach the highest level of praise by saying that he is *aHsan waaHid fi al`aalam* (‘the best person in the world’), in an attempt to highlight this exaggeration and create humour by employing DCS. This use of humour can also be employed as a technique to relieve the columnist’s own tension regarding the dedication of his article to something that he is not a specialist in: the discussion of complaints. Both the act of justifying what he is going to do and code-switching to the L variety could be used as softening strategies by the columnist to mitigate a threat to his positive face (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987).

Ex. 2:

“yabduw innaha lan tantahiy, wa ma`a kthrat alqawaniyn wa allawaa`iH wa alshuruwT, thaa`at alTaasah, minmman yahimahun alqarD al`iskaaniy”

‘It seems that it [the problem of the loans] will not end, and with the high number of laws, regulations and conditions, those who need the housing loan will lose the vessel [i.e. ‘things will be chaotic’]’

In his criticism of the laws and conditions that women must meet in order to be able to apply for a housing loan, the columnist uses a vernacular proverb to describe the chaos that can result from these laws. The nature of this proverb is not didactic, authoritative

or mocking. However, what it does in this context is to add imagery and colour to the text, which is one function of proverbs. Mieder (2004: 152) lists a number of proverbial uses in mass media communication, including their use by journalists to attract the attention of readers to headlines. He also remarks upon how politicians use proverbs to add “imagery and colour” to their speeches (Mieder: 181). The idiomatic expression used here, *thaa`at alTaasah*, indeed makes the picture more colourful due to its colloquial nature. The columnist likens the chaos resulting from these laws to the chaos from the loss of the water vessel that people used in public toilets in the past. This comparison is effected by the use of the proverb *thaa`at alTaasah* (‘the vessel is lost’, i.e. ‘the situation is chaotic’), creating an image of chaos and loss of control. According to Kreml (1998: 53), the use of a marked style leads to “the sudden realization of the greater dimensions of actions.” It can also be used to assign significance to events (Kreml 1998: 53). Similarly, the columnist here is trying to index the importance of the event being discussed through the use of a marked proverb.

Ex. 3:

“wa al’istifsaar min almuwaZafiyn fiy alwizaarah, alladhiyna yujibawn bijawaab waaHid “ma nadriy, w ma wiSal lana shay’ Hatta al’aan”!”

‘And inquiring about it from the employees in the ministry, who reply with one answer “we don’t know, we haven’t received anything yet!”’”

In order to give his readers a vivid picture of the chaos at the ministry, Rajab quotes the employees’ imagined answers to people’s enquiries about rules and regulations in example [3]. This type of code-switching to the L variety helps the columnist achieve the effect he is aiming for: showing how chaotic measures really are at the Ministry. This is achieved by quoting the people in their everyday language which appears to give more authenticity to the columnist’s claims as well as creating a sense of immediacy and vividness. It is notable here that the columnist is aware of the diglossic nature of the linguistic situation in Kuwait. Myers-Scotton (1993a) suggests that reported speech is an unmarked choice. This is due to the fact that the choice of words was already

unmarked when it was uttered in the original RO set (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 117). Thus, according to Myers-Scotton's (1993a) claims, the choice of KA is an unmarked choice in the RO set effective between the participants in the conversation. Even though in the case of reported speech it constitutes an unmarked choice, Myers-Scotton (1993a: 117) suggests that it still "makes the narration more vivid because it makes it 'closer to the real thing.'"

Ex. 4:

"wa kull muwadhaffah tudaawim "w shaylah mahafat'haa ma 'aahaa" , li'anna almuHaafaZah la tamluk miyzaniyat iSlaaH mukayyif!"

'And every female employee who works there "is carrying her hand fan with her", because the governorate does not have enough budget to fix the air conditioning!'

A humorous and sarcastic effect is produced in this example by the use of KA. The columnist pictures the female employees carrying hand fans using KA, which creates a comic effect, and sarcastically claims that the governorate is unable to pay for the fixing of the air conditioner (A/C) due to budgetary restraints. Both the columnists and the readers are aware that the governorate can easily afford such an inexpensive and simple maintenance task and that the real reason for not carrying out the repairs is carelessness. However, the columnist violates the readers' expectations about what the reasons are, in order to express sarcasm and humour.

Ex. 5:

"wa anna ba`Dahum daawam awwal yawm faqaT, wakhtifaa' wa ma`aashah maashiy w shaghaal wa yanzil fii Hisaabih bilwaqt almuHaddad!"

‘And that some of them went to work for just one day, then disappeared and he is still receiving and getting his salary at the designated time!’

In order to draw the readers’ attention to the significance of the fact that the employee, who does not go to work, still receives his salary, Rajab code-switches to the L variety and repeats the notion by the use of two synonymous words *maashiy*, *shaghaal* (‘ongoing’). The marked use of the L variety, in addition to the marked use of repetition, helps the columnist mark the words *maashiy* and *shaghaal* from the surrounding text, thus emphasizing them (cf. Wilt 1998). Rajab, through the use of this rhetorical device in the L variety, attempts to convey his negative attitude towards the story.

Ex. 6:

“sayyidiy muHaafiZ alfarwaniyyah, taHaqqaq binafsik, w idhaa maalik khilg`awaar alraas, `ala il`aqal rakkib luhum mukayyif!”

‘Sir, the governor of Al-Farwaniyya, you [need to] personally make sure of that, and if you don’t want to go through all the pain, at least install an A/C for them [the employees]!’

After the columnist has discussed the possibility of the involvement of one of the employees in a case of embezzlement, he asks the governor to verify these claims and then changes his focus to the issue of the A/C problem. When he does so, he code-switches to the L variety, saying that if the governor does not want to investigate this matter (i.e. the alleged embezzlement case) then at least he should do what is much easier: fix the A/C for the employees. It is noticeable in this example that there is a contrast in the style adopted by the columnist in addressing the governor. In the first part of the example, the columnist uses both the honorific ‘Sir’ and the H variety (SA), both indexing an increased social distance between the columnist and the addressee to

indicate his respect and deference for the governor. However, the columnist then suddenly and unexpectedly calls for a negotiation of the RO set in place, to index a reduced social distance through the use of the L variety (KA). What the columnist is doing here is playing on the RO sets that index the social distance between himself and the governor, increasing it at some points and decreasing it at others, challenging the position of the governor and ridiculing his alleged failure in the fulfilment of his responsibilities. This linguistic behaviour by the columnist is a recurrent feature of his work. As we have seen, it was also adopted by him in one of his previous articles (see Article [3]). Rajab further highlights the markedness of his code choice by ending the sentence with an exclamation mark.

Article 8:

“mahzalat almajlis wa alHukuwma”

‘The farce of the parliament and the government’

Author: Fawziyah Al-Sabah

Date of publication: 9th June 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Rai*

Summary:

The columnist discusses one main topic in this article: the struggle between the government and the MPs. Al-Sabah criticizes the role that the government and the MPs play in this dispute and how it affects Kuwait in its internal and foreign affairs. She also reminds Kuwaitis of the importance of being grateful to God and says that Kuwait is a small country facing numerous foreign threats and the only way to protect themselves/Kuwaiti interests is to abide by the law.

Even though Al-Sabah refrains from using DCS in the title, she starts the first paragraph of her article with a sentence in KA:

Ex. 1:

“*“laa`at chbuwdnaa” min mahzalat alHukuwma wa almajlis*”

“We are fed up” with the farce of the government and the parliament’

In an attempt to demonstrate how fed up she is with what the government and the opposition MPs are doing, the columnist code-switches to the L variety. The use of the phrase *laa`at chbuwdnaa* (‘we are fed up’) itself indicates how unsatisfied the speaker is. The switch to the L variety, a marked choice in the context of newspaper articles, negotiates the RO set in place between the columnist and her readers, allowing her to reduce the social distance between them and express her annoyance and anger with this political disagreement. As Myers-Scotton (1993a: 132-133) suggests, a marked (unexpected) choice can be used by a speaker to negotiate the RO set to indicate his/her authority, anger or annoyance. The use of quotation marks further highlights the markedness of the phrase and makes it stand out as a statement and a central idea in the article.

Article 9:

“*dahaan sayr`ala alTariyqah alkuwriyyah yaHil mashaakilnaa alshawaari`iyyah*”

‘Giving financial rewards in the Korean way solves our street problems’

Author: Ali Al-Baghli

Date of publication: 10th October 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Qabas*

Summary:

This article is divided into three parts. In the first section, the columnist complains about drivers and youths who break traffic laws in Kuwait and how they do so. The

second part of the article discusses the measures that South Korea has taken to reduce the number of traffic law violations by rewarding those who report them. In the third and last part of the article, the columnist discusses his/her different views on the implementation of these measures in Kuwait and advises the Kuwaiti government and MPs to enact similar traffic laws. Code-switches to the L variety can be found in all parts of the article.

Ex. 1:

“dahaan sayr `ala alTariyqah alkuwriyyah...”

‘Giving financial rewards in the Korean way...’

The columnist begins code-switching to the L variety in the title of the article, a strategy that is used to attract the attention of the reader (cf. Bassiouney 2010: 116). This creates a rhyme in the title of the article (see *alkuwriyyah*: ‘Korean’, *alshawaari`iyyah*: ‘pertaining to streets’). Al-Baghli also makes use of the Kuwaiti phrase *dahaan sayr* (i.e. ‘to bribe someone’). This phrase is extremely colloquial and is usually used when bribing someone for a service (cf. Alrushaid 2012: 234). Both acts (the creation of a rhyme and the use of a vernacular expression) produce an aesthetic effect. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 139) has reported the use of marked choices to produce these type of aesthetic effects, which, according to her, are a demonstration of “the creativity in making marked choices.” Even though this is the title of a newspaper article, Al-Baghli used a literary device (i.e. rhyming) to attract the readers’ attention. In addition to attracting attention, code-switching here to the marked choice, the L variety, along with the use of poetic rhyming creates an element of surprise, which is an aesthetic pleasure mostly associated with poetry (cf. Aviram 1998; see also Myers-Scotton 1993a concerning marked CS for aesthetic effect). In this respect, it is important to refer to Lipski’s (1982: 191) observations in relation to code-switching. He suggests that code-switching, or the juxtaposition of two codes, could be used to “achieve some literary effect, an exercise of self-consciousness” and emphasizes that code-switching is not necessarily a result of confusion (Lipski 1982: 191). The fact that written code-switching gives the writer more time to process his/her ideas and language than they

would have in spoken discourse, increases the likelihood of producing literary effects compared with the more spontaneous production of oral code-switching (see Montes-Alcalá 2001b). However, having a literary or stylistic effect does not mean that it is purely stylistic in nature: it could serve other purposes as well. This idea is highlighted by Montes-Alcalá since “stylistic purposes are communicative purposes themselves” (2001b: 208).

Ex. 2:

“la tastaTiy` an taf`al shay`aN ma`a anna “widdik itnatfah”!”

‘You cannot do anything although “you wish you could tear him apart”!’

The columnist writes here about waiting for the traffic lights to change and seeing the driver in front throw garbage out of the window on to the street. He describes how furious this makes him feel. It is noticeable that the code-switch to the L variety only takes place when the columnist talks about his (or the readers’) feelings towards such an act. The use of the L variety here is based on the intimate nature of the L variety (KA) for its speakers (Kuwaitis). Thus, an expression of anger and fury would seem more realistic, expressive and spontaneous when used in KA than in a variety that is associated with reason and detachment (i.e. the H variety ‘SA’). By making such a marked and unexpected choice, Al-Baghli attempts to redefine his relationship with the readers to index a reduced social distance which allows him to express the depth of his anger.

Ex. 3:

“albagiyyaat Summimat lilshawaaTi` alramliyyah wa alSaHaariy wa laysat lilmudun, wa laakin “hathiy likwayt Sal`ala ilnibiy”!”

‘The off-road buggies are designed for sand beaches and deserts and not for use in cities, but “this is Kuwait, send prayers on the Prophet”!’

Al-Baghli complains about the use of off-road buggies by teenagers in the streets of Kuwait. He informs his readers that these vehicles should not be used in the streets and that they are designed for off-road use but he then code-switches to the L variety to produce a sarcastic effect. The expression *hathiy likwayt Sal `ala ilnibiy* is taken from an old, well-known, national song. Even though the original line is meant to praise Kuwait (the prayers to the Prophet are meant to ward off any envy), Al-Baghli sarcastically uses the same expression to tell his readers that this is normal behaviour in Kuwait and hints that a lack of adherence to the law is the norm. He also challenges the idea of satisfaction evoked by the song. As Myers-Scotton (1993a: 140) argues, “the exact communicative intent of a marked choice may be more ambiguous than explicit, but the intent always depends on existing ‘scripts’ within the societal system for which the marked choice would be unmarked.” Obviously, this is not a mere quotation from a song. The columnist is not trying to introduce new information to the readers or to tell them what the singer was singing about in that national operetta. The columnist is using the quotation to deliver a covert message to readers. To an outsider, the line quoted will only have one meaning, i.e. ‘praise be to Kuwait.’ An insider, however, knows that this is not the case due to his/her pre-existing knowledge about the sarcastic use of this expression in the Kuwaiti community. What the columnist is doing here can be explained in terms of Auer’s (1984) and Volosinov’s (1973) arguments regarding the use of quotations. They claim that quotations not only give us insight into the situations in which they were originally used but also into the minds of those who report the quotation. It is best to view such use of quotations in the Bakhtinian sense of ‘multivoicedness’ (Bakhtin 1984) which emphasizes the vari-directionality and double-voicing of quotations. Bakhtin (1984: 193) distinguishes between uni-directional and vari-directional double-voicing. Whereas uni-directional double-voicing implies that the speaker is following “in the direction of its [the original discourse] own particular aspirations,” vari-directional double-voicing differs in that a semantic intention is added by the speaker to the original discourse, implying a contrasting intention (Bakhtin 1984: 193). We notice the strongly sarcastic voice of Al-Baghli in the quotation that stresses the opposite meaning as opposed to the singer’s weak, uni-directional interpretation. Through this marked choice, the columnist delivers a covert message of sarcasm. Moreover, he re-negotiates the RO to reduce social distance and portrays

himself as an insider who shares a body of cultural and linguistic knowledge with his readers.

Ex. 5:

“kuwryaa aljanuwbiyyah, alnimr alasyawiy almutawathib, wajadat HallaN li’amthaalinaa “liybarrid chabdah” la... w Hal fiyh mukaafa’ah ba’ad!”

‘South Korea, the jumping Asian tiger, has found a solution for people like us “to be satisfied” not only that...but it also involves a reward too !”

The expression *ybarrid chabdah* (‘be satisfied’) is a colloquial expression that is used to express a feeling of satisfaction and relief that usually follows after the resolution of dissatisfaction. Al-Baghli uses this colloquial expression in relation, and as a reaction, to the state of anger and fury that he expressed earlier. In this way he is trying to say that his proposed solution will come as a relief to those who suffer from traffic law violations. In this section, the columnist attempts to convince the readers of the effectiveness of the South Korean solution to the problem he is about to present. In doing so, we can see that the columnist is attempting to fulfil three functions in the same stretch of discourse. Firstly, he creates a trustworthy image of South Korea as an emerging power in the world, (i.e. the image of a powerful jumping tiger), through the use of SA, the language of seriousness and significance (cf. Bassiouney 2006: 221; Saeed 1997; Albirni 2011). This new, significant, powerful country, as Al-Baghli pictures it for his readers, has finally found a solution to the problem suffered by Kuwaitis. The image of a powerful saviour is further enhanced by the use of the H variety, SA. However, when the columnist attempts to remind the readers of their anger and frustration, he calls for a negotiation of the RO set between himself and the readers through the use of KA to reduce social distance and project himself as a fellow Kuwaiti. By this means, he projects the persona of an insider who is well-aware of the problem and shares their sense of anger. The use of the L variety not only reduces the social distance between them, but also involves the writer and the readers in the event. Bassiouney (2006: 221) has observed in her data that the vernacular tends “to be related

to intimacy and involvement more than MSA.” Anger, frustration, and complaining are all intimate feelings and states of mind, requiring an equally intimate language and a reduced social distance. Finally, the columnist surprises readers by telling them that there is a financial reward if they adopt the South Korean solution to this problem. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 75) argues that unmarked choices offer no surprises to the hearer/reader. Thus, by making a marked choice, the speaker/writer is, in fact, creating a surprise by the mere use of that choice. To fulfil this function, the columnist chooses not only to surprise his readers with new information, but also with his marked choice of code. The projection of the persona of a fellow Kuwaiti is extended here to Al-Baghli’s discussion of the financial reward that will come with the adoption of his suggested solution.

Ex. 6:

*“aHad mudiriy ma`had litadriyb Saa`idiy aljawaa`iz almustaqbaliyyin yaquwl:
innaalnaas fiy kuwriyaa aljanuwbiyyah yartakibuwn alkathiyar min al`akhTaa`
(law yijiy likwayt chan shiguwl?!) bisabab ma yattasimuwn bihi min qillat
Sabir...”*

‘One of the directors of the future Bounty Hunters institutions says: people in South Korea make many mistakes (what would he say, then, if he came to Kuwait?!) due to their lack of patience...’

Ex. 7:

*“lidhaalik nad`uu ila an yaqtadiy aS`Haab alqaraar hunaa fiy alkuwayt min
a`thaa` majlis ummah wa Hukuumah (maalik amal!) bitilk aldawla
almutaHaDirah..”*

‘So we ask that decision-makers in Kuwait, including MPs and the government, to model after (forget it!) that civilized country’

In example [6], Al-Baghli simply reports the words of the director of one of the Bounty Hunters institutions. In reporting, Al-Baghli maintains his use of SA, an unmarked choice in Kuwaiti newspapers. However, he suddenly departs from the expected to the unexpected: he abandons the unmarked choice (SA) for a marked choice (KA) when he sarcastically comments on the director’s words. Both the use of brackets and the code-switch to the L variety are marked and signal a change in voice (the voice of the columnist appears throughout his comment). Similarly, the columnist intervenes in example [7], when he advises Kuwaiti MPs and the Kuwaiti government that they should adopt this suggestion, by expressing his hopelessness. Al-Baghli employs irony by urging the parliament and government to adopt the South Korean solution while knowing that they will not do so and expressing this knowledge explicitly. Marino’s (1998) discussion of irony sheds some light on the use of this feature in newspaper articles. According to Marino (1998: 409), “instances of irony might be best generalized as being set by a secondary representation that is in an opposition to a primary representation of the same territory; ironization occurs at the realization of a discrepancy between the two.” The columnist is being ironic here as he realizes the gap between his wishful request and the reality of the situation and he expresses this realization to the audience. Marino (1998: 409) adds that there are three participants in an ironic instance: the ironist (the speaker), the audience, and finally the victim of the irony. In example [7], the ironist is the columnist, the audience are the readers and the victims of irony are the Kuwaiti MPs and the Kuwaiti government.

Article 10:

“basnaa fasaad”

‘We had enough with the corruption’

Author: Eqbal Al-Ahmad

Date of publication: 28th September 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Qabas*

Summary:

This article discusses one topic only: corruption. First, the columnist discusses her membership of the ‘Writers Against Corruption’ committee, part of the Transparency Society in Kuwait, and their task of finding the best article written against corruption. Al-Ahmad then discusses the conclusions drawn by these articles i.e. that fighting corruption in Kuwait can be solved only when its laws are strictly implemented. Al-Ahmad uses DCS in the title of the article and in the concluding statement.

The columnist chooses to use the word *basnaa* (i.e. ‘we had enough’). The word *bas* ‘enough’ is shared between SA and KA (cf. Omar 2008: 202), both meaning ‘enough’. However, we could say that the columnist here is making a marked choice in the title. This is due to the fact that, as we will see below, the columnist is actually quoting a character in a famous Kuwaiti TV show who uttered these words while speaking in KA. By doing so, Al-Ahmad challenges the expected RO set between a columnist and his/her readers by using the marked variety in the title and body of the article. This code choice shows her anger and annoyance as it creates a shock effect. As we will see below, the columnist only makes marked choices with the word *basnaa* (‘we had enough’) which is quoted from a well-known comedy TV show called *darb alzalag* (‘the slippery road’).

Ex. 1:

“*wa kama kaan sa`ad yaquul li`akhiyh iHsaynuwh fiy “darb alzalag”: basnaa qawaniyn, basnaa tashriy`aat, basnaa lijaan, ...”*

‘And as Saad used to say to his brother Hsainooh in “Darb Alzalag”: we have had enough with the laws, we have had enough with the legislations, we have had enough with the committees,’

In this example, Al-Ahmad makes two types of diglossic code-switches, an unmarked one and a marked one. The first code-switch is to KA, *darb alzalag*, which is an unmarked choice. This is due to the fact that, by this code-switch, the columnist is not attempting to negotiate the RO set or imply a new social message. She is simply quoting the name of the TV show, which is in KA. According to Myers-Scotton (1993a: 128), unmarked CS is not expected to occur in certain Arabic-speaking Middle Eastern diglossic countries (as in our case here in Kuwait). She argues that because the H variety and the L variety do not normally co-occur in the same interactions in the Arab world, it is highly unlikely that any occurrences are unmarked (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 128). Such a code-switch is, therefore, most likely to be a marked one. However, Myers-Scotton (1993a: 117) also emphasizes that the use of quotations that are in another variety carry the unmarked RO set for its original occurrence. Thus, the phrase *darb alzalag* carries the unmarked RO set of its original occurrence as the name of a Kuwaiti comedy TV show, regardless of the RO set of the code used before and after this code-switch.

For the second type of code-switching, that which is marked, we will first look at the source of the word *basnaa* ('we had enough') and the context in which it occurred. Originally, in the TV show *darb alzalag*, one of the characters says to his brother while he is in a state of disbelief: *basnaa fluws!* ('Enough with the money!'). The exclamation occurs when they are counting their money after they suddenly got rich. Al-Ahmad does not quote the exact words of the character, Saad, *basnaa fluws*, but instead manipulates the expression to fit her intentions: she rewords Saad's expression into *basnaa qawaniyn*, *basnaa tashriy`aat*...etc. Thus, the columnist is no longer quoting Saad unmarkedly anymore, but using his word *basnaa* as a marked choice to disrupt the RO set and introduce a reduced social distance. This is a deliberate strategy to openly object to corruption and express her annoyance, which is amplified by repetition.

Article 11:

“maTaar alkuwayt wa altadkhyin”

‘Kuwait Airport and Smoking’

Author: Fawziyah Al-Sabah

Date of publication: 13th August 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Rai*

Summary:

This article is divided into five parts. The first part of the article deals with the lack of respect for the law regarding the smoking ban in Kuwait Airport. The second section discusses the lack of medicines at the Military Hospital which has led to people buying their own medication. In the third part of the article, Al-Sabah complains about the unavailability of medication for thyroid gland disorders at the Ministry of Health. The fourth section deals with the waste left by a construction contractor after the completion of a commercial building. In the fifth and final part of the article, the columnist addresses a message to the Ministry of Interior regarding the delays that visitors to Kuwait have to endure in order to obtain their visas at the airport. Unlike other parts of the article, parts two and three contain no instances of DCS.

Ex. 1:

*“anaa binafsiy shaahadt `adadaN min almuwaaTiniyn yash`iluwn sajaa`irahum,
wa sama`t aHadahum yaquwl wallah law kunna fii maTaar ghayr maTaar
alkuwayt chaan isHabuwanna”*

‘And I, myself, witnessed a couple of citizens lighting their cigarettes, and heard one of them say I swear if we were in an airport other than Kuwait airport they would have detained us (literally ‘they would have pulled us’)’

The columnist is telling her readers what she saw at the airport in this example. When she quotes the smoker, Al-Sabah code-switches to KA. Due to the fact that there is a large amount of shared vocabulary between SA and KA (although with differences in pronunciation), the sentence may not look like it is written in SA. However, the presence of words and expressions, such as *kaan isHabuwna*, which is, in fact, the Kuwaiti expression *chaan isHabuwna* (*la`taqaluwnaa* is an SA equivalent), is an indication that the speech of the smoker is being reported in KA. This constitutes an unmarked choice since KA in this case indexes the previous RO set in which the original quotation occurred. However, it still has the effect of adding a sense of vividness and reality to the act of reporting that person's words (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a).

Ex. 2:

“w`alayh bil`afyah man yastaTiy` tajaawuz alqanuwn wa kharqih”

‘And let whoever can break the law and breach it enjoy doing that’

Al-Sabah is suggesting that breaking the law and going unpunished is now a reality in Kuwait due to widespread abuse of power and influence. However, she argues that people should still have some sense of nationalism or respect that prevents most of them from doing such things. The columnist expresses ironic understanding in her attitude towards breaking the law yet she severely criticizes those people who do so for not acting in a way compatible with love for their country. The marked expression *`alayh bil`afyah* (‘let him/her enjoy it’) indicates contentment, and the columnist uses it to sarcastically express her temporary contentment with the abuse of power, but not with the lack of nationalism towards one's country.

Ex. 3:

“allah yrHam alHaal wa ya`iynanaa `ala haadha altasayyub”

‘May God have mercy on us and assist us in fighting this negligence’

The vernacular expression *allah yrHam alHaal* (‘may God have mercy...’) is sometimes used to indicate how bad a situation is. Even though, on the face of it, the expression looks like a religious prayer asking for mercy, it can be used in a sarcastic way to imply that the person/thing discussed evokes scornful pity. The markedness of the expression derives from its use in the L variety in addition to the sarcastic voice it usually carries.

The fact that the second and third parts lack any DCS could be explained in terms of the factors which call for ‘sequential unmarked CS’, a concept proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a: 114). She suggests that code-switching to another unmarked variety can take place when “the situational factors change *within the course of a conversation*,” factors such as participants and topic, and that it can sometimes mark “a change in tone, rather than a literal change in situational factors” (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 114-116; italics in original). Even though Al-Sabah code-switches to the marked variety (KA) in the first, fourth, and fifth parts sporadically, she maintains the unmarked variety, SA, for the second and third parts (except for an unmarked code-switch to English for the name of a medication), thus this is not a case of sequential unmarked CS. However, the importance of ‘topic’ as a factor that can give rise to unmarked CS is reflected in these parts: when the topic changes to the discussion of the availability of medicines in Kuwait, the columnist chooses to adhere to the unmarked variety, SA. Since the topic requires an expression of the columnist’s seriousness towards the subject, she maintains SA, which denotes seriousness. Even though the columnist is merely maintaining the expected, unmarked variety, this act, in itself, could be interpreted as marked in the context of this article, since all other parts contain DCS, except for these two which share a similar topic.

Article 12:

“Taraa’if almunaqaSaat wa Zaraa’if almunarasaat”

‘The humour of bidding and the amusement of practices’

Author: Ali Al-Baghli

Date of publication: 8th October 2011

Newspaper: *Al-Qabas*

Summary:

This article is divided into two main parts. The first part presents claims that the government shows favouritism in awarding government contract bids. Al-Baghli tries to avoid placing all the blame on the government, insisting that government employees and some MPs should also share the blame. In the second part, the columnist writes about three incidents regarding government contract bids that he has heard about and found amusing and ironic. The first incident concerns a contractor who won a government contract bid and manipulated the prices. The second incident concerns the importation for one of the ministries of a SONAR device for the diagnosis of horse pregnancy. The third and final incident concerns the importation of PVC pipes for the spring camp organised by the deputy minister of the previously mentioned ministry. Al-Baghli code-switches to KA in both parts of the article.

Ex. 1:

*“wa qadd takuwn al’itharah min alTaraf al’aakhar – ayy min alTaraf
almutaDarrir min itharat alwadaa’i` almalyuwniyyah Didd alTaraf allathiy
athaar alwadaa’i` almaluwniyyah! laa nadriy, faqad Di`naa bilTuwshah”*

‘And this case could have been brought up by another party – i.e. the party who is affected by bringing up the Million [dinars] Deposits case, against the party who brought up the Million Deposits case! We do not know, since we have been lost in chaos’

Al-Baghli comments in this example on claims that the government helps some bidders to win its contracts. He wonders who has made such claims, and then says that he is not sure due to the chaotic situation. When the columnist answers himself by stating that he does not know who exactly made these claims, he code-switches to marked KA and uses the expression *Di`naa bilTuwshah* which indicates a state of chaos and lack of clarity. The use of this marked choice along with the proverb indexes the columnist's annoyance at the chaotic situation and not being able to tell who did what.

Ex. 2:

“na`am fa muwaZafiukum wasi`uw aldhimmah wa aldhamiyr, humm alsabab fiy fashal aghlab mashaariy`na wa dhalika muqaabil qabD “ilmagsuwm aw ilma`luwm” ...”

‘Yes, your employees lack conscience, they are the reason behind the failure of most of our projects and they do this after they get “the agreed amount [of money]”...’

Ex. 3:

“fa hadhihi min takhaSuSaat albashar wa muhimaatihim min dhawiy althimam wa alZamaa`ir “ilkhriTiy”!”

‘As this is one of the specialities and missions of people who have a “lousy” conscience!’

In example [2], Al-Baghli puts the blame for the bribery on pro-government MPs and government employees. The words *ilmagsuwm* and *ilma`luwm* are both euphemisms that refer to money. Allan and Burrige (1991: 14) define euphemisms as “alternatives to dispreferred expression, and are used in order to avoid possible loss of face.” The word for which a euphemism is used could be “taboo, fearsome, distasteful, or for some

other reasons have too many negative connotations.” The word ‘money’ (or *fluws*) when used in relation to giving or receiving is distasteful in Kuwait for cultural reasons. Similarly, the word *rashwah* or bribe has a strong negative connotation and so the same euphemism for money, *ilmagsuwm*, is used instead. Marked code-switching to another variety sometimes takes place for the purpose of using euphemisms or the avoidance of losing face (cf. Thomanek 1996; Ge 2007; San 2009). In this case, the columnist code-switched to the L variety for a marked usage of the euphemisms *ilmagsuwm* and *ilma`luwm* to show his knowledge of the culture and of the dialect and to project himself as an insider who is knowledgeable about the situation. However, after a few lines the columnist uses the unmarked word *rashwah*. This implies that the columnist is manipulating the expectations of the reader: once by using marked code-switching for a euphemism, and once by using the unmarked code choice of a columnist who is discussing the matter in an objective way. This is achieved by different negotiations of the RO set. By doing this, the columnist is, in fact, questioning the assumptions that underlie the use of these euphemisms, calling for a discussion of the matter in an objective way.

In example [3], Al-Baghli continues with the same topic and places the blame on individuals in the government, not the government itself or the directors. Al-Baghli performs another negotiation of the RO set between himself and the readers, calling for a reduced social distance to mock these individuals by using an extremely colloquial mocking word, i.e. *khriTiy* (‘lousy’) (cf. Alrushaid 2012: 179). In addition to creating a humorous effect due to its extremely colloquial nature and its use in a setting that requires an H variety (cf. Siegel 1995), the word is also strongly disparaging in tone.

Ex. 4:

“*yarwiy liy Sadiyq yaskin fiy manTaqah hadhariyyah (kashkhah) innahu fuwji’
bi`ummaal yurammimuwn almasjid alqariyb min manzilih...*”

‘A friend, who lives in a sedentary (posh) area, told me that he was shocked to see construction workers rebuilding the mosque near his house...’

When the columnist tells his readers about the story he heard from his friend, he gives them some information about where this friend lives. Al-Baghli specifies the type of area his friend lives in, because of its relevance to the topic he is discussing. He then code-switches to KA to comment on the phrase *sedentary area* by saying that it is *kashkhah* or posh. As we have already seen in this analysis (cf. discussion of Article [2]; Holes 1993; Medjell 1996; Albirni 2011), switching to the L variety can be used to comment on or explain what has been previously said in SA. Even though sedentary areas (internal) are generally perceived as having higher social status than other (external) areas, the columnist makes sure that the reader understands what he is trying to indicate by this term and states his intention explicitly, i.e. a posh area. The use of the marked L variety serves the purpose of emphasizing the poshness of the area in addition to providing the reader with further clarification.

Ex. 5:

*“fa mumaarasah TuriHat litawriyd jihaaz suwnaar Tibbiy likashf alHaml
lilkhiyl luzuwm alwizaarah! ya`niy allah yahdiy alwazarah, maa kaanat
tastaTiy`ann tarsil khyuwlha “ilHimmal” li`idaarat albayTarah...”*

‘And the importation of a medical SONAR device for the ministry was discussed for the diagnosis of horse pregnancies! You know, may God grant the ministry guidance, wasn’t it able to send the “pregnant” horses to the veterinary medicine department...’

Ex. 6:

*“liyakhshifuw `an alkhayl allatiy fiy nawaaSiyhaa alkhayr, “Haamil willaa la`?!
badal maa it`anny nafs`haa w tishtiriy suwnaar HiSin?!””*

‘To check the horses that look promising [in relation to pregnancy], “pregnant or not?! Instead of making an effort and buying a horse SONAR?!”’

Both example [5] and example [6] discuss the same topic: the importation of a SONAR device for the diagnosis of horse pregnancies. However, Al-Baghli code-switches to the L variety for different purposes in each example. In example [5], the columnist engages with his readers in a chatty style and, after he tells the readers about the incident, he states his opinion by posing a sarcastic rhetorical question. The social distance is reduced by the columnist adopting the persona of a friend who is having an informal conversation with the readers. The second example of code-switching to the L variety is the word *ilHimmal* ('pregnant') which produces a sarcastic effect. The use of the L variety highlights the stupidity of the ministry in wasting money on a trivial matter, such as SONAR for horse pregnancies, when it could, according to the columnist, simply send them for a check-up at the veterinary medicine department. As Saeed (1997) suggests, the discussion of some topics that are thought by the speaker to be unimportant is usually accompanied by a switch to the L variety, which is what Al-Baghli is doing here. In example [6], the columnist code-switches to the L variety to emphasize his point. First, Al-Baghli attempts to exemplify the solution he advocates and he tries to show the readers how uncomplicated his solution is by switching to the L variety: "*Haamil willaa la`?! badal ma it`anniy nafs`haa w tishtiriy suwnaar HiSin?!*" ('pregnant or not?! Instead of making an effort and buying a horse SONAR?!') The L variety is "supposed to be the easier code" for the readers, so its use for the simplification of ideas here is expected (cf. Albirini 2011: 550).

5.2 Conclusion:

The investigation of these newspaper articles in light of the MM has yielded very useful results and reflects the interplay of powerful social norms, markedness, and intentionality on the columnists' linguistic choices. Being a rational choice model, as argued by Myers-Scotton (1998c), the MM can account for the speaker's choices and intentions as they are driven by rationality.

Applying the MM to newspaper articles has revealed the strong force of societal norms that still apply in Kuwait. Even though the admission of the L variety into the written, formal context violates the expectations for a diglossic community, this

analysis shows how central the notion of markedness is to the understanding of the complex linguistic environment in Kuwait. Moreover, the skilful manipulation of the unmarked/marked choices of diglossic varieties reflects the rational, cognitive calculations behind the writers' linguistic behaviour, and demonstrates that their choices are not determined merely by their group memberships (cf. Myers-Scotton 1998c: 77). As was documented earlier in this chapter, the goals of the writers varied from one article to another, resulting in the making of different choices with markedness in mind.

This analysis of articles shows the importance of the notion of markedness. The choice of a marked variety over an unmarked one, especially in a diglossic community, could result in either costs to or rewards for the speaker. For example, disrupting the RO set between the speaker and the addressee could result in an interpretation of disrespect or ridicule. When the speaker believes such an interpretation would serve his/her goal, a marked choice may be made (e.g. see Article [7]). An analysis of the articles also provides support for Myers-Scotton's (1998c) suggestion that even though norms have an influence on speakers' choices, it is still the speakers themselves who make the choice either to disrupt an existing RO set or not. This is evident in the newspaper articles analysed above, where it can be seen that diglossic norms result in the majority of articles being written in the unmarked variety, i.e. SA, yet columnists still code-switch to a marked variety, i.e. KA, at certain times in an attempt to achieve their objectives.

The fact that the columnists generally restrict their use of KA to a minimum could also be explained by the 'risk aversion' factor suggested by Myers-Scotton (1998c, 1999). The columnists all seem to realize the consequences associated with going against the norm in article writing, and, to avoid having to face the consequences for that, they frequently resort to the unmarked choice. Their behaviour in this regard is also consistent with the attitudes expressed by the columnists interviewed in Chapter 4. Columnists seem to believe that the extensive use of a marked choice will result in an undesirable view being taken of them by other columnists in their community and even perhaps by their readers, including a questioning of their language skills or social status as intellectuals.

One thing that should not be overlooked here is the importance of the addressee's response in shaping one's choices, especially in the case here where immediate feedback from the audience is not available. Even though feedback from an

addressee can influence a speaker's choices, the speaker's goal may not necessarily rely on the addressee's response, making one's code choice independent of such a factor (Myers-Scotton 1998c: 77). Even though the columnists in our case do not receive immediate feedback from their readers with regard to their code choices, they are still able to evaluate the costs and benefits of their choices based on their experience of the community norms and then they act accordingly. Thus, the MM can still successfully account for the columnists' code choices in the context of newspaper articles.

The filters proposed by Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) as part of the newer reformulation of MM can neatly account for the process one goes through in making choices in a diglossic context. The first filter of the MM, namely the social context, situational and linguistic factors, can influence, but not determine, the speaker's repertoire. To apply this concept to the case here, the Kuwaiti columnists' repertoires are influenced by the social context in which they are produced, so, for example, they know that their audience is composed mostly of Kuwaiti readers, so the available repertoire for them is probably SA or KA. The second filter is the markedness evaluator, which biases the code choice of the speaker based on his/her experience. Thus, a Kuwaiti columnist knows, from experience, that SA is the unmarked choice in Kuwaiti newspapers and that using KA, a marked choice, will be interpreted differently. The third and final filter is rationality: a speaker makes sure that his/her beliefs and/or desires are consistent, taking into account the current evidence (including norms) before deciding on a choice, making his/her choice rational. The columnist, for example, checks his/her desires and beliefs in the light of evidence he/she has with regard to diglossic norms and then rationally weighs his/her choices of SA or KA in terms of the costs and benefits associated with the use of each code.

Finally, Sebba (2012) emphasizes the importance of studying code-switching in written texts, but argues against doing so by approaching it as a text only. Most types of texts should, he argues, be evaluated taking their visual context into consideration. He criticizes the models that attempt to explain the motivations behind code-switching, (including MM), for not exploring the visual aspects of code-switched texts. He, however, distinguishes between different types of text, as some of them, (e-mails, for example) appear to be more or less standardized in terms of positioning or font and may not offer much in the way of interesting visual context. Newspaper articles are, I believe, one example of this type of text, as they are highly standardized, especially in terms of font, colour and lack of images. We must, however, consider the importance

of the use of brackets, for example, as a visual element that can act as a contextualization cue in conjunction with code-switching, as we have seen in some examples analysed in the current study (cf. Sebba 2012: 12). Due to the highly standardized form of written code-switching we have in the data I am using, applying the MM to the texts did not actually pose any serious problems for the analysis.

In the following chapter, I will explore other newspaper articles in the light of the MLF model.

Chapter 6. A Matrix Language Frame Analysis of Newspaper Articles

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results obtained from the application of the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) (Myers-Scotton and associates, 1993b, 1998, 2001, 2002) to instances of diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. Based on the claim that MLF is universally applicable (cf. Callahan 2002; Jake et al. 2005), the model is used here to assess its applicability to the analysis of diglossic code-switching from the H variety (SA) to the L variety (KA) in Kuwaiti newspapers. The first part of this chapter looks at the approach used in the data analysis. The second part examines cases of bilingual clauses by using a textual analysis based on the MLF model. The third part of this chapter presents the results of the quantitative analysis of the occurrences of monolingual vs. bilingual clauses in the newspaper corpus, especially in relation to the Matrix Language (ML) concept of the MLF model. Both of these analyses, as shall be seen below, uncover the peculiarity of Arabic diglossic code-switching in newspaper discourse.

6.2 Data Analysis

In the quantitative analysis, I will establish the proportional frequency of monolingual and bilingual clauses in newspaper articles and establish the ML of each clause in accordance with the MLF model. I also closely examine some of the bilingual clauses within an MLF-based approach (see Chapter 2). In this chapter, I attempt to extend the model to the analysis of Arabic written language data in order to explore diglossic code-switching in newspaper discourse within the MLF model and to test its applicability in a novel context. The data consists of nine articles taken from three different newspapers (*Al-Watan*, *Al-Rai*, and *Al-Qabas*), written by nine different columnists of both sexes (see Chapter 3 for fuller details).

Code-switching can be of two types, intra-sentential code-switching and inter-sentential code-switching. The former is associated with code-switching which occurs between sentences whereas the latter refers to code-switching that occurs within

sentence boundaries (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 4).⁶⁴ The following examples of both types of CS are given by Myers-Scotton (1993b):

(1) Inter-sentential code-switching:

You know, this is a Luyia land and therefore most of the people who live in rural areas do visit this town often. *Kwa hiyvo huwa sana sana wanatumia Kiluyia na Kiswahili.*

“[...] Therefore, they use Luyia and Swahili very much.”

(Swahili/English)

(2) Intra-sentential code-switching:

Lakini ni-ko sure ukienda after two days utaipata ‘Uchumi’ supermarket kwa wingi

“But I’m sure if you go after two days you will get it [Omo] at ‘Uchumi’ supermarket in abundance.”

(Swahili/English)

For the purpose of my MLF analysis I am particularly interested in intra-sentential code-switching. The unit of analysis adopted here is the Projection of Complementizer, also known as Complementizer Phrase (CP), based on the MLF model. This constitutes an approximate equivalent to a clause (Carter et al. 2011: 156). More specifically, the simple bilingual clause is the focus of my investigation. In the case of a complex clause consisting of two clauses or more, I approached every clause separately as a different unit of analysis and quantified them accordingly as separate units (see Carter et al. 2011).⁶⁵ The following example from my corpus shows how a complex clause (consisting of two clauses) was marked:

[C1 *waziyr khaarijyyatanaa*

SarraH

⁶⁴ Since CP [Complementizer Phrase] is the unit of analysis, code-switched IPs [Inflectional Phrases] are still considered examples of intra-sentential code-switching.

⁶⁵ Simple clauses are marked by two brackets that signify the beginning and the end of the clause ‘[...]’. In the case of complex clauses, however, brackets are numbered to indicate the number of clauses in a complex clause ‘[C1 [C2...]]’.

minister foreign-ministry.POSS.1PL state.3SM.PERF

[C2 *ann hadhaa sha'n maSriy khaaS*]
that this matter egyptian private

“Our Foreign Minister stated that this is a private Egyptian matter”

After deciding what the unit of analysis is, I grouped clauses as being either monolingual (containing only elements from KA or containing only elements from SA) (see ex. 1-2 below) or bilingual (clauses which contain elements from both languages) (see ex. 3 below). The main purpose of this strategy was to determine whether the ML of a clause is SA or KA, based on criteria set forth by Myers-Scotton (1993b; 2002) concerning the morphosyntactic structure of the clause. There are four possible outcomes of the analysis of bilingual clauses in relation to the ML concept. The ML of a bilingual clause can be SA (ex. 4) or KA (ex. 5). It can also alternatively be ambiguous, meaning that a single ML cannot be identified as the unequivocal contributor of morphosyntactic structure to the clause. And finally, there are nominal sentences, the structure of which in Arabic lacks the necessary information for identifying an ML, unless case-marking is utilised (ex. 6).

The examples below (1-6) show the different types of clauses that may occur in the corpus:

(1) Monolingual SA clause (contains morphemes from SA only):

alHukuwmah lam tu'alliq
DET-government NEG 3SF-comment.IMPERF

‘The government did not comment’

(2) Monolingual KA clause (contains morphemes from KA only):

yummah wiyn <<malaabsich>>?!

mum where cloth.PL-POSS.2SF

‘Mum, where are your clothes?!’

(3) Bilingual clauses (contain morphemes from both SA and KA):

'idhn <<sakkarhaa-buwHmud>> tamaamaN

so close.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF-buHmoud completely

‘So Bu Hmoud closed the borders of the country completely’

(4) Bilingual clause (SA ML) (SA is the ML of the clause):

albintaan tataghashmaraan

DET-girl.DUAL 3DF-joke.IMPERF

‘The two girls are joking’

(5) Bilingual clause (KA ML) (KA is the ML of the clause):

Taal 'umr ma'aaliykum

elongate.3SM.PERF age highness.POSS.2PLM

‘May your life be long, your Highness’

(6) Nominal bilingual clause (contains morphemes from both languages but it is verbless):

ann <<khamista'ash>> mu'aamalah ghayr SaaliHah, wa khaaTi'ah

that fifteen procedure NEG valid and wrong

‘There are fifteen invalid and wrong procedures’

All verbs in Arabic are considered finite (see Chapter 3 for more on the nature of the data). Due to the fact that the language used here differs from the languages on which the model is usually applied (both typologically and also as a written variety), by necessity I sometimes have to use analogy and comparisons to explain the nature of the constituents involved in the analysis. A clear example of that is the translation of the texts (see Appendix D). For example, the translations provided both in the appendix and throughout the thesis may not fully capture some of the features of the Arabic language. One instance is the expression *bi-ma'na* (literally: by-meaning) (see Appendix D), which is best translated as 'which means' yet this construction in Arabic does not in fact constitute a relative clause but rather a prepositional phrase. Another example is the translation of the *fa-* particle in Arabic. This particle can have different functions depending on the context and meaning intended by the speaker. These functions are: sequential (then), resultative (so/therefore), explanatory (for example), causal (because), and adversative (but) (Saeed and Fareh 2006: 26-29), thus the translation of this particle may vary from one context to another. Furthermore, it is also important to note that in translating the texts, I had to use a coherent translation of the Arabic text into English, which means that it was necessary to produce some English translations that may not conform exactly to the precise structures of the Arabic original (such as the issue of finiteness, see Chapter 4), as these are manifested in the transliteration of the Arabic text, so that the English translation is closer in structure to English.

6.3 Analysis of Clauses

In this section, I present the results of the MLF analysis. Several studies have been carried out by a number of researchers to test the code-switching model, MLF, on various languages (Schmitt (2000) on Russian/English; Callahan (2002) on Spanish/English; Kabasele (2011) on French/Lingala; Rahimi and Dabaghi (2013) on Persian/English, *inter alia*). Some researchers have examined diglossic code-switching in Arabic (Boussofara-Omar 2003; Bassiouney 2003). Bassiouney (2003), for example, has suggested that her data of SA/Egyptian Arabic code-switching reveals a case of ‘composite code-switching’ whereby both the ML, SA, and the EL, Egyptian Arabic, are actively contributing outsider late system morphemes into the morphosyntactic frame of the sentence (a process that can, according to the MLF model, only be carried out by the ML). However, Bassiouney (2003) argues that different processes may occur in different Arabic-speaking communities due to the fact that exposure to SA may vary from one community to another. Thus, overgeneralizing such patterns and extending them to all Arabic-speaking communities may only undermine the potential for new insights in relation to this area.

According to Myers-Scotton, code-switching features surface-level morphemes from both participating languages but the morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual CP (Projection of Complementizer) is wholly controlled by the ML (2002: 8). In the MLF model, the System Morpheme Principle emphasizes that “all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent [...] will come from the ML” (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001: 91).

The adoption of the MLF model, in conjunction with the Markedness Model (MM) (Myers-Scotton 1993a; 1993b; 2002), allows us to approach diglossic code-switching from a two-dimensional perspective. By utilising the framework of the MM, Myers-Scotton (1993a) aims to account for the social motivations behind code-switching. The MLF model complements the MM by looking at the morphosyntactic processes that take place during code-switching. I believe both models offer an opportunity for explaining the use of code-switching through the concepts of the matrix language from the MLF model and that of unmarkedness from MM, especially in a community like Kuwait, where the use of language is constrained by diglossia.

In order to assess the extent to which the MLF provides us with insights into the

structural constraints on diglossic code-switching, a wide range of articles were selected for this study. First, I will attempt to identify the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL) using the criteria set forth by Myers-Scotton and I will then try to evaluate to what extent the notion of ML applies to the data (see Chapter 2). Based on the MLF criteria, we would expect to see that the type of ML at work here is one derived from a single grammatical system. This means that only the ML would need to provide the morphosyntactic structure of the clause. Based on an interpretation that takes into consideration the social dimension as well, more specifically the MM model, the unmarked variety in a community is considered to be the ML (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 67).

This section will analyse examples⁶⁶ of code-switching between Standard Arabic (SA) and Kuwaiti Arabic (KA) found in newspaper articles. Since these are written predominantly in SA, only instances of code-switches to KA are analysed. Moreover, clauses which are completely in KA (i.e. monolingual clauses) are excluded, as I am interested only in clauses in which both SA and KA occur⁶⁷.

The examples analysed are going to be grouped and presented according to type of ML in the following section.⁶⁸ Parts of the examples in bold analysed in this section denote units that are approached as KA. However, some morphemes within these units may be ambiguous or may, in fact, arguably be in SA. These will be differentiated and explored in the analysis of the relevant example where it is relevant below:

1- KA ML:

The first example contains a mixed CP that includes morphemes from both varieties. The phrase *sakkarhaa buwHmuwd* does not constitute a maximal projection within

⁶⁶ One of the articles (Article (2) “*takhaarifyf almu’ariDiyN aljudad*” by Abdullatif Alduaij) is excluded from the textual analysis in this chapter since it contains no bilingual clauses.

⁶⁷ Some examples are excluded from the textual analysis here (but not from the frequency analysis) due to the fact that the verbs used are identical to some of those in the sentences analysed in this chapter. See, for example, the CPs *idhn sakkarhaa-buwHmud tamaamaN* and *ba’d ‘ann sakkarhaa aHmad alHumoud*, both from Article (1).

⁶⁸ No instances of SA ML were found in the corpus, thus this category is not included in the MLF analysis.

which only EL morphemes appear. Content morphemes in this CP are supplied by both SA (*idhn*) and KA (*sakkar, buw*). In this example, it can be observed that *tanwiyn*⁶⁹ (-*aN*) is used on *tamaamaN*, a shared morpheme between KA and SA. However, it should be noted that case marking is generally absent in dialectal Arabic, except for *tanwiyn* in some fixed adverbials (-*aN*), a remnant of the case system used in formal Arabic (Brustad 2000: 27). Diacritics that are used to denote case are not widely used (case markers are not used at all in the corpus of newspaper articles included in this study, though case could be inferred through other means, i.e. by certain cases of *tanwiyn*). According to Boussofara-Omar (2003: 37), one can speak SA without using case endings. Due to the fact that the accusative case shown on *tamaamaN* could be a case of what is termed ‘uninflectional’ fixed forms (see Al-Shurafa 2005: 90), identification is made solely on the basis of subject-verb agreement markers.

Code-switching in (1/1) is evident in the CP as lexical items are used from both varieties: (*bu*, for example, is unambiguously KA here and is used instead of the SA *'abu* and there is also the unambiguously SA *idhn*). However, this could be considered a case of KA ML due to the idiomatic and metaphoric nature of the expression. The brackets used by the columnist also seem to mark the expression as different from the rest of the article.

(1/1)⁷⁰

[*'idhn* <<**sakkarhaa-buwHmud**>> *tamaamaN*]

so close.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF-buHmoud completely

“So Bu Hmoud closed the borders of the country completely”

⁶⁹ *Tanwiyn*, or nunation, is a process that is marked by “a doubling of the relevant vowel” (Badawi et al. 2004: 31-32). This marking of the short vowel occurs at the end of a word and can be used to denote case-marking (Ryding 2005: 161).

⁷⁰ The first number in the brackets refers to the number of the example in the category. The second number refers to the article number to which the example belongs.

In (4/4), we have the IP *simHiylinaa* placed after the topicalized adjunct *d. lamiys ... al'wrbit*. (There is a brief code-switch to Egyptian Arabic within the topicalized adjunct, bringing into focus the name of the show, *dsTuwr ya syaadnaa*, which will be ignored here as it is not the focus of the analysis.) In SA, the only acceptable realization of the imperative is *ismaHiy lanaa*, which differs from the KA word in this example (*si-* in KA, *is-* in SA). Also, we can observe in this example that the subcategorization rules of KA are observed here (i.e. the object pronoun is realized differently in both languages: *-linaa*, a bound morpheme in KA, *lanaa*, a free morpheme in SA). Moreover, there are also distinctions in the semantic structure of the verb. It is used as a polite form of disagreement here and in KA more generally whereas the SA equivalent usually does not occur without a complement when conveying this meaning. The subject-verb agreement comes from one variety, KA, which makes KA the ML of the clause.

(4/4)

[*d. lamiys jaabir muqadimmat barnaamaj <<dsTuwr yaa syaadnaa>>*

d. lamis jaber presenter.SF programme.SM dstoor ya syadna

'ala qanaat al'uwrbit, simHiylinaa]

on channel.SF DET-orbit permit.3SF.IMP-to-PRO.1PL

“Dr. Lamees Jaber, presenter of the programme “dsToor ya syadna” on the Orbit Channel, allow us to disagree with you”

The bracketed, unambiguously KA expression *laa`at ichbuwdna* in (5/6), is a formulaic phrase indicating that one is fed up with something. It is well-formed according to the rules of KA. The main differences between the two varieties in the use of this

expression are in case marking and the use of definite articles.⁷¹ The rest of the CP contains items that are unambiguously SA, such as *alwusuwl* and *Siraa'*, and ones that are shared between KA and SA, such as *'ala*, *min*, and *almajlis*. The formulaic nature of this expression, however, suggests that the subject-verb agreement comes from KA and that KA is, therefore, the ML of this CP.

(5/6)

[<<*la'at* *ichbuwdnaa*>> *min mahzalat almajlis* *wa*
 upset.3SF.PERF stomach.PL.POSS.1PL from farce DET-parliament and

alHukuwmah, *'inaad* *min duwn mubarir wa Siraa'* *'ala*
 DET-government stubbornness from without excuse and struggle on

'ashaddih *'ala almanaaSib* *wa almaSaaliH* *alkhaSSah* *min*
 hardest.PRO.3SM on DET-position.PL and DET-interests DET-private from

duwn alwuSuwl 'ila natiyah...]
 without DET-arriving to result

“We are fed up with the farce of this parliament and the government, with stubbornness without an excuse, and a struggle in its worst form for positions and private interests without arriving at a result.”

⁷¹ As with most of the other examples, case marking is not indicated here through the use of diacritics, which would have been a good criterion by which to judge whether a word was in SA or KA. Moreover, the written form of the definite article in KA and SA is the same as I have already noted *passim*.

The main CP in (6/8) contains two unambiguously SA morphemes, namely, *alHaaliy* and the complementizer *fa-'innahu*. Even though both the connector *fa-* and the subordinating conjunction *'inna* exist in KA, the expression *fa-'innah* is not usually used in KA: *fa 'uhwa* would be considered more appropriate in this context. This leads me to postulate that the expression used here is, in fact, the SA form *fa-'innahu*. The complementizer *fa-'innahu* is followed by the IP *la'abhaa SaH*, a semi-formulaic expression that changes depending on the number, person and gender of the referent. As this expression is formulaic in nature and is one that carries subject-verb agreement, I find it likely that this whole expression is, in fact, in KA, which means that KA is also the variety that determines the morphosyntactic frame of this CP.

(6/8)

[*flaadiymiyr buwtiyn, ra'iys wuzaraa' ruwsyaa alHaaliy, wa [raghm*

vladimir putin head ministers russia DET-present and despite

innahu min kibaar almutajahimiyn alruws,]

that-PRO.3SM from biggest DET-frowning.PL DET-russians

fa'innah la'abhaa SaH]

so-that-PRO.3SM play.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF right

“Vladimir Putin, the current Prime Minister of Russia, despite him being one of the biggest stern Russian leaders, he played it well”

2- Nominal sentences:

Nominal sentences, for the most part, do not offer much insight for the analysis due to the fact that they generally lack information that helps us identify the ML in a clause, due to their verbless nature. However, in some cases, case assigners could point to the role of the ML in the formation of the morphosyntactic structure of a clause. In this category, I will explore one example in which a case assigner, the complementizer *anna*, is used.

The most important part of this CP in (1/3) below for my analysis is the NP *khamista`ash mu`aamala* because of the use of the highly colloquial KA word *khamista`ash*, which is already highlighted by the columnist through the use of bracketing. This is a nominal sentence which contains no verb, so subject-verb agreement marking does not apply here because the sentence is verbless. The only source of information through which we could identify the language that contributes to the morphosyntactic frame is case marking.

(1/3)

[*anna* <<***khamista`ash***>> *mu`aamala ghayr SaaliHah, wa khaaTi`ah*]

that fifteen procedure NEG valid and wrong

“That fifteen procedures are invalid and wrong”

The word *mu`aamala* is a shared word between both varieties, the only difference being that in SA the word should receive case depending on its position in the sentence, which in this example is the accusative form (*-tan*), because it is in the subject position of the complementizer (*‘anna*) which assigns accusative to its subject (see Ryding 2005: 177). In KA, however, the word is caseless as far as its morpheme structure is concerned. Agreement rules for numbers (from 11-19) are quite complex in SA when compared to KA: the SA equivalent of the KA word *khamista`ash*, for instance, would be *khamisa`ashrata*. This means that the word in KA consists of two conjoined words but in SA it is made up of two separate words (e.g. the number ‘fifteen’ in SA is made up of two units that are written down as two separate words: *khamisa*, i.e. five, and *‘ashrata*, i.e.

ten). According to the agreement rules of SA for numbers from 13-19, the first unit does not agree with the counted noun, unlike the second unit, or the ‘ten’ part, which agrees with the noun it modifies (Badawi et al. 2004: 261). So, if we apply this SA rule to the phrase “fifteen procedures”, then the first part of the number (*khamisa* m.) should not agree in gender with the noun it modifies (*mu`amaala* f.), unlike the second part of the number (*`ashrata* f.) which does agree with the noun.

If the phrase *khamista`ash mu`aamala(tan?)* is considered to be a mixed constituent, then it is assumed that *khamista`ash* lacks case, number and gender agreement according to KA rules. Thus, the accusative case is not assigned to the word *mu`aamala(?)*⁷² because numbers do not assign case to their complements in KA. If an accusative case *is* assigned, (which cannot be done with any certainty due to the lack of overt markers), then it could be argued that SA is contributing to the morphosyntactic frame and is, in fact, the ML of the clause.

In contrast, if *khamista`ash mu`aamala* is an EL island, then we expect both nouns to lack case marking, according to the rules of KA. Myers-Scotton (2002: 70) argues that quantification is an essential trait of system morphemes. She classifies quantifiers as early system morphemes but emphasizes their importance in the making of the constituent: “if a quantifier is to be produced in the Embedded Language, then the phrase must be ‘finished’ in the Embedded Language, too.” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 70). This means that there is a preference for an EL noun complement to an EL quantifier. This preference for completing the phrase in the EL is “to maintain uniform structure” according to the Uniform Structure Principle (Myers-Scotton 2002: 148). However, the lack of overt case marking on the word *mu`aamala* in example (1/3) above means that this claim cannot be effectively tested due to the ambiguity that accompanies the orthographic representation of the morphemes. Example (1/3) above illustrates this problem more clearly. The written form of the noun *mu`aamala* in Arabic is *معاملة*. The same form could be used in SA or KA. However, if *mu`aamala* is in SA and it receives accusative case, then it takes the *-n* suffix (*tanwiyn*) because it is an indefinite noun, resulting in *mu`aamalatan*. *Tanwiyn* is marked by “a doubling of the relevant vowel” (Badawi et al. 2004: 31-32). This marking of the short vowel occurs at the end

⁷² A question mark, here and elsewhere, denotes uncertainty regarding whether an accusative case was applied or not. This ambiguity results from the lack of diacritics in the writing of the article, as already noted.

of a word (Ryding 2005: 161). In the example here, the *tanwiyn* marker that would be used in SA is ً on the end of the word, i.e. two *fatHas* (representing the short vowel /a/) (Ryding 2005: 161), resulting in *معاملةً*. Since this *tanwiyn* marker is not always used in writing (as is also the case with other diacritics), it is sometimes difficult to tell whether a noun is nunated or not. The lack of such markers thus creates ambiguity concerning the variety which has contributed to the morphosyntactic frame if both varieties share the same written form. Thus, this example does not offer any decisive evidence as to whether the ML in example (1/3) is KA or SA, resulting in an ambiguous case.

Having demonstrated the problem with CPs of this kind, sentences like this, (i.e. nominal sentences), are excluded from the analysis of MLF based on the fact that we cannot verify which language is the ML due to the lack of essential indicators such as subject-verb agreement or case marking.

3- Ambiguous ML:

Example (1/4) below contains the phrase *alHannah wa almannah* which appears to be an internal Noun Phrase (NP) Embedded Language (EL) island, occurring after an unambiguously SA preposition *raghm*, i.e. it is within a Prepositional Phrase (PP) [*raghm alHannah wa almannah*]. The rest of the sentence is also in SA. However, the relative pronoun, SA *allatiy*, which occurs after the EL island, agrees with the EL island in gender.

The use of SA *allatiy* instead of KA *illiy* marks the boundaries of the constituent. Moreover, the following morphemes *SaaHabat* and *al'araj* are unambiguously SA in origin. It is unclear, however, whether the subject-verb agreement of the verb *SaaHabat* comes from SA or KA. This is because both varieties share the same written representation for the 3rd person feminine singular form for the perfective, *-at*. This makes the ML of the clause ambiguous, as we cannot determine where the subject-verb agreement is coming from.

(1/3)

[*raghm alHannah wa almannah,*

despite DET-nagging and DET-annoyance

allatiy SaaHabat kaadar almu'alimiyn al'araj]

which.3SF accompany.3SF.PERF cadre DET-teacher.PL DET-limp

“Despite the nagging which has accompanied the limp cadre of teachers”

Example (2/4) below also contains code-switching to KA. The unambiguously KA words here are the coordinated nouns, *kharabiyT wa ikhriTiy*, which are highly colloquial. It is difficult to tell which language is contributing the morphosyntactic frame of the CP, as both varieties share the same orthographic representation of subject-verb agreement, *ta-* in SA or *ti-* in KA on the verb *taHtaaj*. If it is SA that provides the subject-verb agreement for the clause, then the expression *kharabiyT wa ikhriTiy* can be considered an EL NP island. However, as there is no clear marking of subject-verb agreement in this case, the ML could be either variety.

(2/4)

[*ma'luwmaatik 'an alkuwyit wa manTaqat alkhalijj*

information-POSS.2SF about DET-kuwait and area DET-gulf

kharabiyT wa khriTiy, wa taHtaaj ila taHdiyth]

drivel and nonsense and 3S.F-need.IMPERF to updating

“But your information about Kuwait and the Gulf area is drivel and nonsense, and needs updating”

The only unequivocally KA morpheme in the CP in (3/4) is the word *balaawiy*. The rest of the CP contains some clearly SA items (e.g. *allatiy*, *kaahil*, *bijamiy`*) and some shared morphemes (*'ala*, *alkhaliyj*, *al'arabiy*). The phrase of special interest to this analysis is: *bijamiy` balaawiy wa mushkilaat alwaTan al'arabiy*. It occurs in SA as a (genitive) construct state or an example of annexation, whereby different nouns come together to form an NP. This example can be analysed as a mixed constituent consisting of an ML morpheme annexed to a coordinated clause with an EL morpheme and an ML morpheme. This means that *bijamiy`* is an SA morpheme, followed by the EL *balaawiy* which is coordinated with the ML *mushkilaat*. The content morpheme *balaawiy* is unambiguously KA as the SA equivalent would be *balaaya*, *balaawin* or *balaawa* (Omar 2008: 245). According to SA rules, we expect *balawiy* to be assigned the genitive case because it is annexed to the quantifier *bijamiy`*, and *bijamiy`* is also expected to take the genitive case because it has a genitive prefix *bi-*. However, the EL morpheme does not show any sign of being assigned a genitive case. On the surface, the constituent does not seem to be ambiguous as the morphemes *bijamiy`* and *mushkilaat* are both ML morphemes, as their KA equivalents are *kill* and *mashaakil*. This could lead to a case where the ML here is KA, as case assigning seems to be suspended. However, the fact that the subject-verb agreement on the verb *tulqiy* is orthographically shared, means that this is, in fact, an ambiguous case in which we cannot be sure that all morphosyntactic contribution is coming from only one language.

The most interesting morpheme in example (3/4) below is the word *altibilliy*, the SA equivalent of which is *altajanniy*. This results in a mixed NP constituent in which both SA and KA morphemes occur. As to which language variety is the ML of the clause, this is again ambiguous due to the nature of written data in which some subject-verb agreement morphemes are the same in both languages, more specifically the SA *tu-* prefix which shares the same written form of KA *it-* (both are 3rd person singular feminine forms).

(3/4)

[*allatiy tulqiy bijamiy' balaawiy wa mushkilaat*

which.3SF 3SF-lay-IMPERF with-all catastrophe.PL and problem.PL

alwaTan al'arabiy 'ala kaahil alkhalijj wa duwalih wa

DET-homeland DET-arabic on shoulder DET-gulf and country.POSS.3SM and

Hukkaamah]

ruler.PL.-POSS.3SM

“Which lays all the catastrophes and problems of the Arab world on the shoulders of Arab countries and their rulers.”

The CP in (4/7) below contains an unambiguously KA morpheme, *taashir*, and some other unambiguously SA morphemes, such as *markabaat* and *allatiy*. The brackets used to distinguish the KA word from the rest of the article could indicate that the columnist is doing so to draw attention to the fact that he is using a KA word or simply to place emphasis on the act of waving. Subject-verb agreement in this CP is shown on three verbs (the auxiliary *kaanat*, *taqif* and *taashir*). It is, however, difficult to claim that one language dominates the morphosyntactic frame of this CP as it is not clear from where the subject-verb agreement comes. Even though *taashir* is a KA word, due to the shared orthographic representation of the subject-verb agreement marker for the 3rd person feminine singular between SA and KA (the SA prefix is *tu-* and the KA prefix is *it-* or *t-*), we cannot decisively say that KA determines the subject-verb agreement of this CP.

(4/7)

[*allatiy kaanat taqif 'ala alkhaT alsariy'*

who.SF be.3SF.PERF 3SF-stand.IMPERF on DET-road DET-fast

wa <<*taashir*>> *lilmarkabaat*]

and 3SF-wave.IMPERF to-DET-vehicle

“Who was standing on the main road and was “waving” at cars”

In the CP in (5/7) below, the unambiguously KA word is *kabat'haa*, the equivalent of which in SA is *khazaanatahaa*. However, we cannot analyse the bracketed constituent *kabat'haa* as an NP EL island in a CP in which SA is the ML for two reasons. First, the use of brackets by the columnist may not be intended to demarcate KA words from SA ones, as he code-switches to KA elsewhere in the article without using brackets to isolate his code-switches. Second, the subject-verb agreement on the perfective verbs *fataH* and *wajad* are difficult to distinguish when the word is written. This makes it impossible to make strong claims about the exact contribution of either variety in this example to the morphosyntactic structure. Thus, the ML of this CP must be categorized as ambiguous.

(5/7)

[*'annahu fataH <<kabat'haa>> fawajad*

that-PRO.3SM open.3SM.PERF closet.POSS.3SF so-find.3SM.PERF

'arba'at malayin diyenaar!]

four millions dinar

“That he opened her “wardrobe” and found four million dinars!”

Like example (5/7) above from the same article, both of the CPs in article (6/7) have ambiguous MLs. They both contain morphemes from both languages. The main CP contains an unambiguous KA morpheme, *alHajiyyah*, and some SA morphemes, such as *hiya* and *kaarithah*. Similarly, the subordinate CP contains KA morphemes, such as *tujuwriy* and *kabat*, as well as SA morphemes, such as *arba'at* (this word is opposite in gender to the noun it modifies, which goes against the rules of KA sentence structure). The subject-verb agreement markers on *kaan* and *ya'taqid* for the main CP and *yaSluH* for the subordinate CP could belong to either SA or KA, and one cannot claim with certainty that either language is the ML in these cases. The question could only be resolved if diacritics had been used in the print article or if the writer were to speak the words aloud.

(6/7)

[*naa'ibanaa* *wild* *alHajiyyah* *idhaa* *kaan*
 member-POSS.1PL son DET-pilgrim if be.3SM.PERF

ya'taqid [*ann* <<*kabat*>> *waalidatihi*
 3SM-believe.IMPERF that closet mother-POSS.3SM

'akbar *min* *tujuwriy* *albunuwk*, *wa* *yaSluH*
 bigger from safe DET-banks and 3SM-suit.IMPERF

litakhziyn *arba'at* *malayin* *diybaar..]* *fahiya* *kaarithah!]*
 to-storing four millions dinar so-PRO.3SF calamity

<<*tiliggif*>> *almuHamiyn alkuwyitiyin almutaTawi'iyn lildifaa' 'an*

nosiness DET-lawyers DET-kuwaitis DET-volunteers to-DET-defence of

mubaarak wa tadakhulhum bisha'n maSriy daakhiliy.]

mubarak and interference in-matter egyptian internal

“That condemns and denounces the “nosiness” of the Kuwaiti volunteer lawyers defending Mubarak, and their interference in an internal Egyptian matter.”

The most noticeable element in the CP in (8/9) is the KA negative particle *maa*, which is used instead of its SA equivalent *laa*. In KA, verbs indicating the present tense can be negated using the *maa* negative particle (Brustad 2000: 279; Holes 2006: 614- 615). For non-verbal negation, however, KA employs the negative particle *muw* (Brustad 2000: 280; Holes 2006: 615). SA, on the other hand, negates verbs in the present tense using the negative particle *laa* (Gadalla 2000: 226; Ryding 2005: 644). In this example, we cannot identify the boundaries of the code-switched constituent due to the large number of ambiguous lexical items that could belong to either variety. In fact, the only unambiguously KA morpheme in this CP is the negative particle *maa*, which is an early system morpheme. One possibility is that this could be a mixed VP in which the negative particle comes from KA *maa*, and the subject-verb agreement comes from either SA or KA *yu-/y-* or *yi-*. Thus, the lack of information about subject-verb agreement makes it almost impossible to identify the ML of this CP as either SA or KA.

(8/9)

[*li'ann almaSriy maa yufarriq bayn*

because DET-egyptian NEG 3SM-distinguish.IMPERF between

kuwyitiy wa qaTariy alkull khaliyyiy]

kuwaiti and qatari DET-all khaleeji

“Because the Egyptian cannot tell the difference between the Kuwaiti and the Qatari, as all of them are Khaleejis”

Having established the nuances of deciding on the code-switching possibilities exploited by these newspaper columnists, I now turn to the quantitative analysis of all clauses in this newspaper corpus.

6.4 Quantitative Analysis

After examining the ML distribution between the SA/KA varieties, I look at the general distribution of monolingual vs. bilingual clauses. An examination of all clauses in the MLF corpus shows that there are 405 clauses in total across the nine articles analysed (see Chapter 3 for further details). As discussed previously in Chapter 3, these articles were chosen based on publication date from three different newspapers. They are also written by different columnists. The motivation of such a methodology is my interest in morphosyntactic constraints rather the columnist per se (see Chapter 3). As KA is the L variety in this domain, it is hypothesized to play a more limited role than the H variety in formal domains, such as the one I am investigating (cf. Wong 2005; Ibrahim 2010). The table is divided into three main sections, the first shows the number of monolingual clauses in SA, the second monolingual clauses in KA, and the third shows bilingual clauses that contain elements from both SA and KA. Moreover, the total number of clauses are given for all articles in the last column (for more information about the articles, see Chapter 3). Table 59 shows the overall distribution of clauses of different types (Table 60, below, provides a more detailed breakdown of the types of bilingual clauses). As is shown in Table 61, the majority of the clauses are monolingual in SA (91% of all clauses). The finding that monolingual SA clauses have the highest

percentage of occurrence meets the expectation that the H variety (SA) dominates newspaper discourse, as it is the variety that is associated with this domain. Monolingual KA clauses constitute only 3% of the data. Bilingual clauses, which are the most important to the current analysis, are only 6% of clauses in the corpus:

Article No.	SA-only clauses	KA-only clauses	SA/KA clauses	Total
Article 1	60 (94%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	64
Article 2	51 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	51
Article 3	56 (83%)	8 (12%)	4 (5%)	68
Article 4	52 (90%)	2 (3%)	4 (7%)	58
Article 5	43 (98%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	44
Article 6	38 (97%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	39
Article 7	20 (66%)	2 (7%)	8 (27%)	30
Article 8	22 (96%)	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	23
Article 9	26 (93%)	0 (0%)	2 (7%)	28
TOTAL	368 (91%)	14 (3%)	23 (6%)	405

Table 59 Identification of clauses in MLF sample

Table 60 shows the percentages of ML types in bilingual clauses that occurred in the corpus. The MLF model posits that only one language contributes the morphosyntactic structure (the ML) of the clause, thus cases whereby the two participating languages contribute to the morphosyntax are disallowed. The majority of bilingual clauses in the sample did not have an unambiguous ML (57%). This was followed by a KA ML, which dominated 30% of bilingual clauses. Nominal bilingual sentences, which lack subject-verb agreement marking, constituted a mere 13% of the total number of bilingual clauses. Finally, no bilingual clauses were found to have a clearly SA ML.

Type of ML	Number of occurrences
SA ML	0 (0%)
KA ML	7 (30%)
Nominal sentences	3 (13%)
Ambiguous	13 (57%)
Total	23

Table 60 Matrix language in bilingual CPs in MLF sample

Such a quantitative analysis can be used in the testing of the Asymmetry Principle (Myers-Scotton 2002) which is based on the assumption that asymmetry is found in the contribution of the two languages, as one language is generally more dominant. In a study by Deuchar (2006), a quantitative analysis was carried out on English/Welsh bilingual clauses and it was found that it was possible to identify one language, i.e. Welsh, as the ML of the majority of clauses. Deuchar's (2006: 2003) data provided support for the Asymmetry Principle (Myers-Scotton 2002), showing that most clauses were identified as having an unambiguous ML, i.e. Welsh. When compared to the findings of the current study, a difference can be noticed with regard to the high number of ambiguous clauses. According to Deuchar (2006: 2002), cases where the ML of the majority of clauses is ambiguous can go against the Asymmetry Principle. A further exploration of this finding will be given in the next section, which employs a textual analysis of the newspaper articles in my specific study.

As for cases where an unambiguous ML was identified, which in these data was always KA, these clauses contain idiomatic and formulaic expressions such as the clause, *Taal 'umrik* "May your life be long" (see Example (2/3) and (3/3) under KA ML

in Section 6.3). The fact that all ambiguous cases were disambiguated only because of idiomatic expressions reveals the complex nature of written KA/SA code-switching, as both languages have shared orthographic representations that make it difficult to apply the quantitative analysis to this type of data, except for fixed, idiomatic expressions (see also Section 6.3). These difficulties will be revisited in Section 6.5 below.

6.5 Discussion

I have carried out both a quantitative analysis and an MLF-based analysis of the data. In the first analysis, it has been revealed that a methodological difficulty exists, showing that written data prove problematic in relation to theory testing. This does not, however, constitute evidence either for or against the MLF model in terms of quantitative analysis, but rather raises questions about how much written Arabic in newspaper discourse can reveal about morphosyntactic processes of language production. Similarly, the MLF-based analysis of the examples above illustrates the special nature of written diglossic code-switching between SA and KA. Historically speaking, the fact that the standard was conserved through the “force of a script”, resulted in the relative instability of vernaculars by comparison with the standard, which led, in turn, to syntactic, lexical and phonological divergences between the standard and vernacular varieties (Haas 1982: 25-26).

It is important to consider these results in relation to the special nature of writing compared to speech. According to Neef (2012: 217), while a spoken language does not need a writing system, the latter cannot exist without speech because it always depends on a specific spoken language system for its existence. Based on the definition of graphematics as “the component that encompasses the means that allows the derivation of the phonological form of a word from its spelling,” Neef (2012: 220) suggests that, while the spelling <fite> to denote the word *fight* is orthographically wrong, it can, nevertheless, be considered to be graphematically correct. The example of *khamista`ash* in article 3, can similarly be explained using Neef’s (2012) analysis of graphematics and orthography. Whereas the spelling *khamista`ash* is orthographically wrong, it is graphematically correct because of its ability to reflect the phonological form of the spoken word in KA. Even though an orthographically well-formed spelling is available to the columnist, he/she willingly chooses to produce an orthographically ill-formed

spelling in pursuit of a more accurate graphematic representation that adds specificity to the word, i.e. ensuring an unambiguously KA word.

A number of observations can be made regarding the type of written discourse focused upon in this thesis. Firstly, a comparison between this research and studies on diglossic code-switching in spoken data shows that the latter can yield much richer information about the interaction of the grammars of both varieties. This study constitutes the first attempt to analyse written code-switching in Arabic in light of the MLF model. The application of the model to written discourse has yielded results that differ from those of spoken data in the Arab world. For example, several researchers in studies of spoken diglossic code-switching in Arabic (Al-Batal 2002; Boussofara-Omar 2003; Bassiouney 2003, 2009, *inter alia*), were more easily able to identify to which variety of Arabic different content or system morphemes belonged. Content morphemes, case markers, verb mood⁷⁴ and subject-verb agreement morphemes were more easily and unequivocally identified as belonging to one variety or the other in this mode. Even though some shared items existed in their data, the number was minimal by comparison to my corpus and did not significantly interfere with the analysis. For me, however, the disambiguation of shared items has presented a great challenge as noted in the instances outlined above. In written diglossic code-switching, it was difficult at times to know exactly when the columnist is employing the H variety and when he/she starts to code-switch to the L variety. This has important implications for the application of the models I use to analyse written discourse.

Secondly, the very few examples of code-switching to KA per article means that the available data is relatively limited. Furthermore, it is, by its nature, not nearly as spontaneous as spoken data, which reflects less clearly the interaction between the grammars of both varieties due to the lack of total access to the morphosyntax of SA.

Callahan's (2002) study of written code-switching using the MLF model is one of the most serious attempts at analysing the morphosyntactic constraints on written code-switching. Her study relates specifically to the research presented here with regard to written code-switching and in the utilisation of the same framework, i.e. MLF.

⁷⁴ In fact, some speakers of SA tend to avoid using case markers and verb moods altogether in spoken discourse (Mitchell 1982; Boussofara-Omar 2003). However, this does not conflict with the fact that spoken discourse is amenable to MLF analysis due to the fact that the status of morphemes is more disambiguated in speech as opposed to writing.

Callahan (2002: 2) dismisses the view that written code-switching is artificial based on the results of her MLF-based analysis of code-switching in fiction. According to her/him (2002), her research on written Spanish/English code-switching data shows that this type of material can be analysed using the MLF model, just as with spoken data. She argues that “oral vs. written is not a crucial factor in predicting the syntactic patterns of codeswitching.”

The different results found by my study, compared with those of Callahan (2002) could be attributed to one significant difference. Callahan’s (2002) data consist of fictional writing, whereas my data is taken from newspaper articles constituting a more regulated and censored type of data. Censorship and control are exerted in relation to two aspects of this research: content and language.⁷⁵ The involvement of a proof-reader in the production of the newspaper articles adds to the superficiality of the language used and places many constraints on the use of grammar which are interesting in their own right. Indeed, according to some of the columnists interviewed for this study (see also Chapter 4), a proof-reader checks all articles before publication to ensure that the texts are grammatically sound.⁷⁶ As Stepp (2008: 107; italics in original) points out, the language structure of the writing “affects *credibility*”, the lack of which can arouse mistrust and make the reader question the integrity of the piece they are reading.

Stepp’s (2008: 106) comment about the language of this medium shows how much attention it receives: “[e]very comma, period, and space; every word, phrase, and clause; every sentence, paragraph, and link requires scrutiny.” He claims that grammar and spelling are “[a]mong the most common danger zones” in the process of editing material to be published (Stepp 2008: 106). He further states that editors play a major role, being the last people to see the copy to be published and having to ensure the correctness of everything “down to the finest details.” This gives us some idea of the complicated process that could precede the publication of a newspaper article. For

⁷⁵ In recent years, lawsuits have been brought against a number of individual columnists, such as Fuad Al-Hashem and Ahmad Al-Baghdadi, as well as the newspapers which publish their work, for reasons which include attacking Islamic values or criticizing powerful political figures (IPI report: <http://www.freemedia.at/archives/singleview/article/wpfr-kuwait.html> accessed on 02/09/2013; Jawad 2001: 1373). There have also been several cases where newspapers are known to have practiced self-censorship by rejecting certain types of article. *Alaan*, an electronic newspaper, has published a number of articles by professional columnists, which were previously rejected by the newspapers they write for (e.g. see <http://www.alaan.cc/categorypage.asp?cid=71&PageNo=3> accessed on 02/09/2013).

⁷⁶ In future research, I would very much like to examine the different stages in the process in order to discern more clearly exactly what interventions are made by proof-readers and what criteria exactly govern these decisions.

instance, the interference of a proof-reader in the examples we have seen may have contributed to the control of the extensive influence of KA grammar and the allowance of only a limited number of KA morphemes in order to produce what is perceived in the community to be a coherent, linguistically sound article, i.e. one that is SA-dominant.

Moreover, the Spanish and English data analysed by Callahan derive from quite separate language families with very different linguistic systems, unlike SA and KA in which one variety depends wholly on the writing system of the other and both varieties show major similarities at all levels that are lexical in nature. I agree, however, with Callahan (2004: 71) that code-switching in the written medium remains one way of going “against convention by not following the standards for the written language”, due to the fact that it may be perceived negatively (see Chapter 4). I believe such a claim carries greater and more evident social than morphosyntactic implications.

Finally, it would be rash to make sweeping claims about written diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers as the current analysis has shown that it can be hard to apply Myers-Scotton’s MLF model (in the case of Arabic diglossic code-switching) beyond the remit of speech data, for which it was originally developed. In particular, it is written data in Arabic which poses particular research problems arising from the reliance of the vernacular on the writing system of the standard. However, the language of newspaper articles does provide promising insights into the linguistic practices of columnists and the social motivations behind code-switching within the framework of the Markedness Model (MM).

Chapter 7. Conclusion

This thesis sought to investigate different aspects of diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. It approached this phenomenon through an exploration of: changes in attitudes towards and use of diglossic code-switching, the social motivations for it and the morphosyntactic constraints operating on its use. The exploration of changes in attitudes towards the phenomenon and usage changes entailed an investigation into the general attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in written contexts across a representative sub-sample of the Kuwaiti community so as to establish whether attitudinal change was taking place, and how common diglossic code-switching in these contexts has become over the last 29-30 years. The study of the social motivations behind the columnists' code-switches to the L variety, (i.e. KA), was carried out using Myers-Scotton's (1993a) MM approach in a broad sense. The morphosyntactic constraints on diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers were explored employing Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 2002a) MLF. A number of factors were taken into consideration in this investigation of diglossia. These included: prevailing social norms, social factors that could potentially influence attitudes towards diglossia, the status and functions of the L and H varieties, and the morphosyntactic structures of both varieties involved.

This chapter provides a summary of the main findings of the study, a discussion of its contribution to the field, an outline of the implications of the findings, and suggestions for future research.

7.1 Summary of findings

In order to investigate the attitudes of Kuwaitis towards diglossic code-switching in newspapers, this study was designed to address a number of key research questions including: "What are the attitudes of columnists and readers of newspapers in Kuwait towards diglossia?"; "Are language attitudes towards diglossia changing in the community?"; "How common has diglossic code-switching become over the last 30 years?" and "What governs the practice of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles?"

These issues are principally explored in Chapter 4, which discusses my investigation of the changing status of diglossia (in terms of language attitudes and use of code-switching) conveyed by my participants. These research questions were addressed using the following key methodological tools. A direct method, i.e. an interview, was used to elicit the columnists' attitudes and opinions concerning their own

CS practices and about diglossic code-switching in general. To gauge the readers' attitudes, a mixed methods approach was adopted which allowed for a deeper understanding of their views. This approach consisted of a questionnaire containing direct questions about readers' overt attitudes and a matched-guise test that interrogated readers' covert attitudes and perceptions. The 'apparent time' hypothesis was also used to investigate changes in the attitudes of participants across the generations.

With regard to readers' attitudes, the results show that traditional views towards diglossic code-switching still exist in Kuwait. By 'traditional attitudes' I mean that the H variety is associated with dimensions related to status while the L variety is rated more highly for social attractiveness. In their assessment of a sample article which contained no code-switching, readers rated the columnist positively with regard to the following traits: 'educated', 'confident', 'reliable', 'intelligent', 'responsible', 'religious', 'moderate', 'linguistically competent', 'careful', 'addressing a higher class', and 'having a better writing style'. On the other hand, the columnist whose work contained samples of code-switching was perceived as 'funnier', 'friendlier', and 'more sarcastic'. In other words, sole use of the H variety receives higher ratings on dimensions known to be typical of standard varieties, such as 'status', 'competence', 'personal integrity', and 'linguistic attractiveness', whereas occasional use of the L variety alongside the H variety scores more highly on the social attractiveness dimension. Furthermore, an analysis of language attitudes using the 'apparent time' paradigm was also undertaken to establish the extent to which these findings were or were not shared by different generations of Kuwaitis. This analysis investigated the attitudes of three specific age groups: 18-22, 28-38, 40+. My findings revealed that there is a change occurring in the community in the attitudes of participants. It particularly showed that favourable attitudes towards diglossic code-switching are decreasing, in favour of SA, especially in terms of perceived traits associated with that variety such as 'religiousness' and 'linguistic competence'.

To answer the research question about the columnists' attitudes, interviews were conducted with a sample of them. The results from this part of the investigation show that the columnists' writing is still largely constrained by Kuwaiti linguistic and social norms. Even though they admit that sometimes columnists make marked linguistic choices that go against linguistic expectations in a diglossic community, they still strongly oppose using the L variety extensively or exclusively in a newspaper article. Moreover, the interviews suggest that columnists tend to hold the H variety in high regard in comparison with the L variety. During the interviews, the columnists

suggested different reasons for their use of the vernacular L variety. In general, special emphasis was placed on the contextual use of the L variety as well as its usefulness for clarifying or conveying a message. The columnists also generally expressed quite negative attitudes towards others who use the L variety extensively or regularly in their articles and one of them, as we have seen in Chapter 4, remarked that he associates such practices with what he perceives as columnists who belong to the lower strata of Kuwaiti society. The columnists who were interviewed also cite numerous motivations for their use of the L variety, including humour, attracting readers, and reaching a wide-ranging audience, amongst other reasons.

The thesis also investigates whether social factors (i.e. religion, gender, education, ethnicity) influence readers' attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwait. To address this research question, two types of attitude were elicited from the participants, namely, overt attitudes and covert ones. The former show that most social factors have little impact on the overt perceptions of diglossic code-switching in Kuwait. The results for education, however, do show that the group who did not have third level education were more positively influenced by diglossic code-switching when compared with their university-educated peers. By contrast, an investigation of the covert attitudes of the participants revealed that social factors do sometimes influence views towards diglossic code-switching. Significant differences in perceptions of CS were found in all social groups to varying degrees. For example, males and females differed in their perceptions of the code-switched text in terms of the perceived responsibility and friendliness of its author. Likewise, university-educated participants had different attitudes in comparison with those who had not had university-level educational opportunities. They perceived the code-switching columnist differently in terms of his/her levels of education, responsibility, and linguistic competence. Shiites and Sunnis, the two main Muslim religious groups in Kuwait, also differed significantly in their attitudes towards both columnists with respect to three traits in particular: sarcasm, linguistic competence, and carelessness. Finally, two ethnic groups, the Ajams and the Hassawis, have shown that they hold different attitudes towards texts with and without code-switching. The columnist's personality trait that was rated significantly differently for the text without code-switching was 'excitability' while the text that included code-switching was rated differently for 'funniness' by the two groups.

Another research question explored in Chapter 5 was: 'Can the MM explain diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles?' Adopting Myers-Scotton's (1993a) concepts of negotiation, rights-and-obligations (RO) sets, and MM maxims, an analysis

was carried out on a sample of 12 articles from Kuwaiti newspapers. The analysis revealed that the MM can provide us with very useful insights into the nature of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles. In particular, the idea of markedness plays an important role in explaining the H vs. L dichotomy in diglossic Kuwait. Some of the main concepts outlined in the MM, such as rationality and intentionality, were also helpful in explaining the columnists' code choices in the articles analysed. I have provided evidence to demonstrate that the MM helps to provide a deeper understanding of the columnists' exploitation of the markedness of the L variety to achieve their goals rationally, to maximize their benefits and minimize any possible costs. I have found that the code-switches of the columnists can, in fact, be accounted for by the MM despite the drawbacks indicated by Sebba (2012).

The final research question addressed by this dissertation relates to the notion of 'morphosyntactic constraints' of the MLF model. In particular, I wished to ascertain whether or not the MLF could account for written MSA/KA diglossic code-switching. In chapter 6, I provide a quantitative analysis of all clauses in the MLF corpus. This analysis includes the distribution of clause types as well as ML types that occur in the MLF data. My investigation showed that SA monolingual clauses constituted the majority of clauses in the MLF corpus (91%), followed by bilingual clauses (6%), and finally KA monolingual clauses (3%). Of the bilingual clauses that occurred, clauses with an ambiguous ML constituted the majority (57%), followed by those with a KA ML (30%). Interestingly, clauses that have SA ML did not occur in the corpus. A textual analysis of the data also showed that the nature of written diglossic code-switching hindered the application of the MLF to the data. A good example of such a problem is the difficulty in identifying some morphemes as belonging to either one or the other variety, due to shared orthographic representation. This is a crucial procedure in the MLF model. However, I was able to demonstrate that the context of diglossic code-switching in newspapers could still help us identify the areas which could potentially pose problems for a morphosyntactic analysis of the phenomenon, which is an important contribution to the field.

7.2 Limitations

Had it not been for the limited timescale of a PhD, I would have widened the investigation of diglossia in newspapers to include diglossic code-switching across different genres. This type of study could include not only newspaper articles, but also

different sections of the newspaper, such as advertisements, news reporting, and editorials, amongst others. The models employed here could be extended to analyse different genres of newspaper writing, which deal with a wide range of subject matters and are aimed at different audiences. This study could also have benefited from an analysis using the Minimalist approach vs. the MLF model to compare the applicability of both models to diglossic code-switching in written language. Since these two models are based on different principles and theories, such an attempt could have offered a more insightful view of the nature of written diglossic code-switching. Time constraints also meant that I could not arrange for better access to the Christian community in Kuwait or to interview the columnists whose articles I have analysed here. A more wide-ranging investigation of the Christian community in Kuwait could have revealed interesting results about their linguistic behaviour as this group is one of the smallest minority communities in the country yet also one of the least investigated ones. The study would also have been strengthened by the inclusion of different levels of educational attainment to provide a better understanding of the relationship between education and the perception of diglossic code-switching. For example, a further breakdown of the 'pre-university' group would allow us to investigate the differences within this group, which includes not only those with the most basic literacy skills, but also those who have obtained a high school diploma. Furthermore, the difference in how some pairs (the traits and their antonyms), which were used in the semantic differential scales in the matched-guise test, were presented to the participants could have had a weakening effect on the scale; thus, a better presentation of pairs could be used in the future to avoid any such limitations. Despite these limitations, the results obtained from the current study do offer new insights into the diglossic situation in Kuwait and it explores dimensions that have not been investigated before, broadening our understanding of the complex language situation in Kuwait.

7.3 Implications

Diglossic code-switching in Kuwait is still an under-researched area and, even though the media play an important role in the distribution of information and ideas and in influencing public opinion, there is still a lack of serious investigation into linguistic practices in this context.

- 1) The changing status of diglossia

Studies that investigate Arabic diglossia show that the assigning of complementary functions to diglossic varieties in the Arab world is not always strictly observed (cf. Holes 1993, Soliman 2008, Albiniri 2011, *inter alia*). Despite the use of diglossic code-switching in domains traditionally reserved for the H variety, in this study, readers and columnists alike tend to accept the use of limited code-switching. Despite this, both groups still exhibit markedly traditional attitudes towards the phenomenon. As mentioned previously, the H variety is still the one that enjoys the highest status and prestige in the community, whereas speakers of the L variety are always associated with socially attractive personality traits. This clearly shows that, even if the boundaries between the complementarity of functions in diglossic communities are not strictly maintained, the status of both diglossic varieties remain almost unchanged. That is, the mixing of the two varieties does not affect the traditional status of each one in the diglossic community. Moreover, changes in attitudes towards this phenomenon have still not been investigated in sufficient detail. In this study, it has been revealed that attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in Kuwait are in fact changing in favour of even more traditional views (in favour of SA). Less favourable attitudes towards the mixing of SA/KA are observed in younger generations, especially in relation to the traits of 'linguistic competence' and 'religiousness'. Use and frequency of diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles by columnists is another important dimension of the diglossic phenomenon in the community. An investigation of the frequency of diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspaper articles shows that there is a decrease of diglossic code-switching in the writings of columnists yet this decrease is still not statistically significant. This finding could lead to predicting an even greater decrease in diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles, especially in response to the readers' attitudes which show an increasingly less favourable attitude towards diglossic code-switching in the community.

2) The reactions of different social groups to diglossic code-switching

The social factor of education, with literacy as one of its central components, is strongly associated with the linguistic phenomenon of diglossia. Some social factors, such as gender, are not usually directly linked to diglossia in the classic version. As this study has shown, most social groups in Kuwait hold different covert views towards the users of diglossic code-switching. This is an important observation as this aspect of code-switching is rarely considered in investigations of diglossia. Thus, more attention needs to be paid to such factors in future studies. Moreover, this finding enhances our

understanding of audience needs and the relationship between their needs and language choice, particularly in studies that involve media contexts.

3) Markedness as an evaluator of diglossia

Markedness, as I indicated earlier, is a concept that is closely related to the phenomenon of diglossia (cf. Scotton 1986). The fact that social norms largely influence the allocation of varieties to certain functions or settings, results, in turn, in people's expectations of a certain linguistic reality based on such norms. Thus, the MM which employs the concept of 'markedness' as an explanation for people's motivations for and understanding of language choices, is indeed an effective tool for the understanding of language use in diglossic communities. This concept can not only help us understand why a code-switcher makes a certain language choice, but it also helps to disambiguate how the recipient understands those decisions.

4) Written diglossic code-switching and morphosyntactic constraints

Research concerning the morphosyntactic constraints on diglossic code-switching has focused mainly on spoken language. Written diglossic code-switching, however, has not received an equivalent level of attention. In fact, Sebba (2013: 99) suggests that, unlike spoken code-switching, written code-switching has not been theorised before. Thus, researchers have used models developed originally for spoken code-switching to account for instances of code-switching in written language. In this research, MLF, a morphosyntactic constraints model, was adopted to account for code-switching in written language but this proved problematic due to the nature of written Arabic code-switching. Nevertheless, its use in this research sheds some light on the complex nature of written diglossic code-switching in relation to the morphosyntactic operations that take place during the switching of the two varieties.

7.4 Contribution to the Field

In this section, I will discuss the key contributions of my study to the field. Kuwait, as a diglossic speech community, has not been studied before in terms of language attitudes towards diglossia, whether in terms of a general description of attitudes or in terms of whether there is a change in language attitudes in the community. There have been other studies that investigate diglossia, broadly considered, in Kuwait (Elgibali 1985 and Al-Qenaie 2011), but the present study offers the first opportunity to examine how

Kuwaitis, both readers and columnists, view diglossic code-switching in newspaper articles and what characteristics they usually assign to users of either variety in a given context. To obtain information regarding the participants' attitudes, a matched-guise test was used, which was also employed for the first time in the context of SA/KA written code-switching. Such an approach made use of the innovative use of the matched-guise test on written language in Buchstaller (2006) and extended it to novel contexts, such as that of newspaper writing within a diglossic setting.

This study also investigated the attitudes of social groups that have been omitted from linguistic studies on Kuwait because of their minority status in society, namely the Hassawi ethnic group and the Christian religious group. Whereas the Christian group turned out to be too small for statistical analysis, the Hassawi group was not and an analysis of their responses revealed important attitudinal differences between them and other ethnic groups in Kuwait. These results emphasize the importance of studying minority social groups in the Kuwaiti community and the need to take into consideration the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the Shiite religious group, which is often approached as a monoethnic religious group (i.e. focusing on the Ajams only).

Diglossia is often approached as a feature of society, rather than individuals (Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967, Sebba 2011). The fact that social groups in this study sometimes varied in their perceptions of diglossic code-switching, even though they are all members of the same diglossic community, reveals the dynamic status of diglossia in society. This should encourage the development of research into the interplay between diglossia and different social factors in the Arab world. Moreover, an investigation of the status of diglossia in Kuwait across different generations of speakers has revealed, for the first time, that attitudes to diglossia are indeed changing in the community, with increasingly less positive attitudes towards diglossic code-switching. This study has also tested the frequency with which diglossic code-switching is used as a strategy against claims made by the media that code-switching to the colloquial, L variety has been on the increase in recent times in Kuwait. I have also sought in this study to employ an integrated approach to diglossia in which I offer a comprehensive view of diglossic code-switching in Kuwaiti newspapers. In order to fulfil this goal, a combination of methods was used for the investigation of attitudes, social motivations and structural constraints. Such an approach, which included direct and indirect data elicitation methods as well as different code-switching models (MM and MLF), was formulated specifically to provide us with new insights into the phenomenon of diglossia and to investigate some of its unexplored dimensions. This highlighted the

need to reformulate theoretical constructs or offer alternative theories to account for ambiguous instances of diglossic code-switching in written Arabic, particularly with regard to morphosyntactic constraints.

7.5 Suggestions for Future Research

This study has explored dimensions that were either under-investigated or never researched in relation to diglossic code-switching in the Kuwaiti community, such as attitudes, social motivations and morphosyntactic constraints. However, in order to improve our understanding of diglossic code-switching, a number of suggestions for further research can be made. An investigation of spoken diglossic code-switching in Kuwait using the MLF model could provide researchers with more comparable results to investigate the differences between spoken and written diglossic code-switching practices. Such an investigation in Kuwait could also be used to compare different types of spoken code-switching occurring in the Arab world, for example, in Egypt (Bassiouney 2003) or Tunisia (Bousofara-Omar 2003). One of the questions that this research raises is whether the methodology adopted here could also be applied to other types of written discourse containing diglossic code-switching, such as fiction (cf. Callahan 2002). Attempts have been made by various Kuwaiti authors to incorporate the vernacular into their writings in fiction. The application of a methodological approach that tests various dimensions of diglossic code-switching could reveal the robustness (or otherwise) of these methods. Another area that could yield interesting results is to apply the methodologies adopted here to test newspaper discourse in western contexts, where linguistic and cultural differences exist. Such research would make it possible to carry out a comparison of the usefulness of this methodology across cultural contexts. If the adoption of this methodology were to prove successful, it could provide us with a systematic tool to explore and compare different cultural and linguistic contexts, providing a clearer picture of both the similarities and differences of linguistic practices across contexts. Language attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in spoken language constitute an under-explored area in Kuwait and could reveal interesting perceptions and insights into the phenomenon of diglossia in this speech community. Since different types of settings play an important role in the use of diglossia, studies on attitudes towards spoken diglossic code-switching could reveal interesting and productive results. A quick but an important comparison in this study between the results obtained here and those of Callahan (2004) on Spanish/English

code-switching showed that typological differences between languages could result in different interpretations or applications of theoretical models. One example is the fact that Callahan (2004) faced no difficulties identifying morphemes as belonging to one variety or the other due to the different orthographic forms of the morphemes have in both languages. Thus, it could prove useful to investigate, on a larger scale, the influence of typological differences on the efficacy of code-switching models that are claimed to be universal. If researchers do indeed find that typological differences affect the efficacy of code-switching models, then this constitutes a research gap in the area of universal code-switching theories.

Appendix A. The Matched-Guise Test and Questionnaire

English version

Thank you for filling out this survey. I am currently studying the attitudes which Kuwaiti Arabic speakers have towards certain characteristics of the language used in newspapers. Please view and fill out each page one after the other in the order they are given to you as the survey is designed with a particular sequence of questions in mind and you would invalidate your responses by completing these in random order.

Below are two excerpts from newspaper articles. Both columnists talk about politics. Please read each example carefully, then answer the questions that follow in sequence.

Excerpt 1

columnist A

Some of the candidates started announcing their latest talks on Tuesday and Wednesday, and it is their right, as it is also the right of the candidates to rest after the voices of candidates have been raised to criticize the government and to promise accomplishing miracles. The candidates have started to talk in a loud voice to convince electors, even though it is not necessarily the person with the loudest voice who is right, and whose words are correct, and whose promises will be fulfilled by the end of 2008, and I do not think that more speeches and talks in what is left of the days leading up to the election date are enough to gain the support of new voters because every citizen will have already made a decision.

Excerpt 2

columnist B

The number of candidates reached 263 by yesterday, Friday. These candidates have all registered themselves as candidates based on the wishes of the citizens and after the insistence of diwaniya-goers. The outcome is the success of fifty MPs **only**, and the failure of others, despite the insistence of their audience, as the Kuwaiti citizen does **not** say no, but instead encourages the candidate to get into chaos, and this is why one candidate said that he used to have twelve assistants, whose mission is publicity in favor of the candidate and convincing people of the importance of voting for him or her. I think that hundreds have registered themselves as a response to the requests of diwaniya-goers, since they believe that they are **more knowledgeable**, and those who like to compliment do **not** say no to the candidate, but rather “**we’ll see**”.

I. Personality Traits

Please rank columnists A and B from the excerpts above on a scale from 1-6 with respect to the following personality traits (opposing traits will be at the extreme ends of the scale). For each excerpt, please indicate the number on the scale which you think most closely represents the personality type of columnist A and the personality type of columnist B.

For Example: Let's assume the personality trait in this sample case is 'humour':

If you think columnist A is extremely humorous, you would represent this by giving this columnist the highest score possible on the first line of the scale, i.e. write or circle '6'. If you find columnist B much less humorous – let's say just mildly humorous as opposed to not humorous at all (for which a score of '1' would be most appropriate), then columnist B would be given the score of '2' in the second line.

	Not humorous	Humorous	Your score
Columnist A:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....	6	6
Columnist B:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6		2

If you'd like to comment on the traits I have chosen, please do so below each one. For example, if you feel that humour is not culturally relevant for describing the writing style of a Kuwaiti journalist, then please advise me of this.

I will repeat the texts on every page for your convenience – the texts will always remain the same though the traits describing the columnists who wrote them will of course change.

Remember: don't look ahead as I need you to answer these questions in the right order!

Excerpt 1

columnist A

Some of the candidates started announcing their latest talks on Tuesday and Wednesday, and it is their right, as it is also the right of the candidates to rest after the voices of candidates have been raised to criticize the government and to promise accomplishing miracles. The candidates have started to talk in a loud voice to convince electors, even though it is not necessarily the person with the loudest voice who is right, and whose words are correct, and whose promises will be fulfilled by the end of 2008, and I do not think that more speeches and talks in what is left of the days leading up to the election date are enough to gain the support of new voters because every citizen will have already made a decision.

Excerpt 2

columnist B

The number of candidates reached 263 by yesterday, Friday. These candidates have all registered themselves as candidates based on the wishes of the citizens and after the insistence of diwaniya-goers. The outcome is the success of fifty MPs **only**, and the failure of others, despite the insistence of their audience, as the Kuwaiti citizen does **not** say no, but instead encourages the candidate to get into chaos, and this is why one candidate said that he used to have twelve assistants, whose mission is publicity in favor of the candidate and convincing people of the importance of voting for him or her. I think that hundreds have registered themselves as a response to the requests of diwaniya-goers, since they believe that they are **more knowledgeable**, and those who like to compliment do **not** say no to the candidate, but rather “we’ll see”.

relaxed

excited

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

sarcastic

unsarcastic

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

confident

unconfident

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

Survey continues on next pageRemember: don't look ahead!

Excerpt 1

columnist A

ome of the candidates started announcing their test talks on Tuesday and Wednesday, and it is eir right, as it is also the right of the candidates rest after the voices of candidates have been ised to criticize the government and to promise complishing miracles. The candidates have arted to talk in a loud voice to convince electors, en though it is not necessarily the person with e loudest voice who is right, and whose words e correct, and whose promises will be fulfilled / the end of 2008, and I do not think that more eeches and talks in what is left of the days ading up to the election date are enough to gain e support of new voters because every citizen ill have already made a decision.

Excerpt 2

columnist B

The number of candidates reached 263 by yesterday, Friday. These candidates have all registered themselves as candidates based on the wishes of the citizens and after the insistence of diwaniya-goers. The outcome is the success of fifty MPs **only**, and the failure of others, despite the insistence of their audience, as the Kuwaiti citizen does **not** say no, but instead encourages the candidate to get into chaos, and this is why one candidate said that he used to have twelve assistants, whose mission is publicity in favor of the candidate and convincing people of the importance of voting for him or her. I think that hundreds have registered themselves as a response to the requests of diwaniya-goers, since they believe that they are **more knowledgeable**, and those who like to compliment do **not** say no to the candidate, but rather “we’ll see”.

uneducated

educated

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

accurate

inaccurate

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

serious

funny

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

Survey continues on next pageRemember: don't look ahead!

Excerpt 1

columnist A

Some of the candidates started announcing their latest talks on Tuesday and Wednesday, and it is their right, as it is also the right of the candidates to rest after the voices of candidates have been raised to criticize the government and to promise accomplishing miracles. The candidates have started to talk in a loud voice to convince electors, even though it is not necessarily the person with the loudest voice who is right, and whose words are correct, and whose promises will be fulfilled by the end of 2008, and I do not think that more speeches and talks in what is left of the days leading up to the election date are enough to gain the support of new voters because every citizen will have already made a decision.

Excerpt 2

columnist B

The number of candidates reached 263 by yesterday, Friday. These candidates have all registered themselves as candidates based on the wishes of the citizens and after the insistence of diwaniya-goers. The outcome is the success of fifty MPs **only**, and the failure of others, despite the insistence of their audience, as the Kuwaiti citizen does **not** say no, but instead encourages the candidate to get into chaos, and this is why one candidate said that he used to have twelve assistants, whose mission is publicity in favor of the candidate and convincing people of the importance of voting for him or her. I think that hundreds have registered themselves as a response to the requests of diwaniya-goers, since they believe that they are **more knowledgeable**, and those who like to compliment do **not** say no to the candidate, but rather “we’ll see”.

reliable

unreliable

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Comments:

stupid

intelligent

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Comments:

a good writing style

a bad writing style

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Comments:

Survey continues on next pageRemember: don't look ahead!

Excerpt 1

columnist A

Some of the candidates started announcing their test talks on Tuesday and Wednesday, and it is their right, as it is also the right of the candidates to rest after the voices of candidates have been used to criticize the government and to promise accomplishing miracles. The candidates have started to talk in a loud voice to convince electors, even though it is not necessarily the person with the loudest voice who is right, and whose words are correct, and whose promises will be fulfilled by the end of 2008, and I do not think that more speeches and talks in what is left of the days leading up to the election date are enough to gain the support of new voters because every citizen will have already made a decision.

Excerpt 2

columnist B

The number of candidates reached 263 by yesterday, Friday. These candidates have all registered themselves as candidates based on the wishes of the citizens and after the insistence of diwaniya-goers. The outcome is the success of fifty MPs **only**, and the failure of others, despite the insistence of their audience, as the Kuwaiti citizen does **not** say no, but instead encourages the candidate to get into chaos, and this is why one candidate said that he used to have twelve assistants, whose mission is publicity in favor of the candidate and convincing people of the importance of voting for him or her. I think that hundreds have registered themselves as a response to the requests of diwaniya-goers, since they believe that they are **more knowledgeable**, and those who like to compliment do **not** say no to the candidate, but rather “we’ll see”.

irresponsible

responsible

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

religious

unreligious

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

linguistically incompetent

linguistically competent

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6 your score:

Comments:

Survey continues on next pageRemember: don't look ahead!

Excerpt 1

columnist A

Some of the candidates started announcing their latest talks on Tuesday and Wednesday, and it is their right, as it is also the right of the candidates to rest after the voices of candidates have been raised to criticize the government and to promise accomplishing miracles. The candidates have started to talk in a loud voice to convince electors, even though it is not necessarily the person with the loudest voice who is right, and whose words are correct, and whose promises will be fulfilled by the end of 2008, and I do not think that more speeches and talks in what is left of the days leading up to the election date are enough to gain the support of new voters because every citizen will have already made a decision.

Excerpt 2

columnist B

The number of candidates reached 263 by yesterday, Friday. These candidates have all registered themselves as candidates based on the wishes of the citizens and after the insistence of diwaniya-goers. The outcome is the success of fifty MPs **only**, and the failure of others, despite the insistence of their audience, as the Kuwaiti citizen does **not** say no, but instead encourages the candidate to get into chaos, and this is why one candidate said that he used to have twelve assistants, whose mission is publicity in favor of the candidate and convincing people of the importance of voting for him or her. I think that hundreds have registered themselves as a response to the requests of diwaniya-goers, since they believe that they are **more knowledgeable**, and those who like to compliment do **not** say no to the candidate, but rather “we’ll see”.

moderate

extreme

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Comments:

friendly

unfriendly

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Comments:

talking to lower classes

talking to higher classes

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Comments:

Survey continues on next pageRemember: don't look ahead!

Excerpt 1

columnist A

Some of the candidates started announcing their test talks on Tuesday and Wednesday, and it is their right, as it is also the right of the candidates to rest after the voices of candidates have been used to criticize the government and to promise accomplishing miracles. The candidates have started to talk in a loud voice to convince electors, even though it is not necessarily the person with the loudest voice who is right, and whose words are correct, and whose promises will be fulfilled by the end of 2008, and I do not think that more speeches and talks in what is left of the days leading up to the election date are enough to gain the support of new voters because every citizen will have already made a decision.

Excerpt 2

columnist B

The number of candidates reached 263 by yesterday, Friday. These candidates have all registered themselves as candidates based on the wishes of the citizens and after the insistence of diwaniya-goers. The outcome is the success of fifty MPs **only**, and the failure of others, despite the insistence of their audience, as the Kuwaiti citizen does **not** say no, but instead encourages the candidate to get into chaos, and this is why one candidate said that he used to have twelve assistants, whose mission is publicity in favor of the candidate and convincing people of the importance of voting for him or her. I think that hundreds have registered themselves as a response to the requests of diwaniya-goers, since they believe that they are **more knowledgeable**, and those who like to compliment do **not** say no to the candidate, but rather “we’ll see”.

good-natured

ill-natured

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Comments:

careless

careful

Writer A: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Writer B: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

your score:

Comments:

Survey continues on next pageRemember: don't look ahead!

Do you prefer to see code-switching between Modern Standard Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic in newspaper columns?

Yes No Sometimes Not sure

Does code-switching in newspaper columns influence your choice of the newspaper columnists you like to read?

Yes No Not sure

If a newspaper contains codes-switching, you would view it more...

Positively Negatively Not sure

II. Personal Information

Please fill out the following few questions about your personal background. Rest assured that this questionnaire is completely anonymous and that I require the following information for purely statistical reasons.

How old are you?

Are you: Male Female (please underline one)

What is your educational level? (please choose one answer)

Pre-university education University or higher education

To which religious persuasion do you belong? (please underline one; if you choose 'Other' please specify which persuasion)

Sunni Shiite Christian Other _____

How do you describe yourself?

Bedouin Ajam Hadhari Hassawi

Thank you very much for participating in this survey.

Arabic Version

نشكركم على مشاركتكم في هذا الإستبيان. حالياً أقوم بدراسة مواقف متحدثي اللهجة الكويتية تجاه بعض الخصائص اللغوية المستخدمة في الصحف. نرجو منكم أن تلتزموا بترتيب الصفحات لأننا قمنا بترتيب هذه الأسئلة ترتيباً معيناً وبإجابتك على هذه الأسئلة بشكل عشوائي سوف تبطل ورقة الإستبيان

يوجد بالأسفل نصين من مقالات صحفية لكاتبين يتحدثون عن السياسة. نرجو منكم أن تقوموا بقراءة كل نص بروية ثم تجيبوا على الأسئلة التالية بنفس الترتيب.

النص الأول

النص الثاني

الكاتب الأول

الكاتب الثاني

بدأ بعض المرشحين يعلنون عن ندواتهم الأخيرة يومي الثلاثاء والأربعاء، ومن حقهم كما أن من حق الناخبين الاستراحة بعد ان علت أصوات المرشحين بنقد الحكومة ووعود بتحقيق المعجزات... حيث صار المرشحون يتحدثون بصوت مرتفع لإقناع الناخبين، علماً بأنه ليس بالضرورة أن يكون صاحب الصوت المرتفع معه حق وكلامه صحيح ووعوده سيقققها في نهاية عام 2008، ولا أعتقد ان المزيد من الأحاديث والخطب في ما تبقى من أيام على موعد الانتخاب قادرة على كسب أصوات ناخبين جدد، لأن كل مواطن قد كون قناعاته.

حتى يوم أمس الجمعة بلغ عدد المرشحين 263، هؤلاء جميعهم رشحوا أنفسهم بناء على رغبة المواطنين وبعد إلحاح من رواد الدواوين، وتأتي النتيجة بنجاح خمسين نانبا بس والباقي سقوط رغم إلحاح الجماهير.. فالمواطن الكويتي ما يقول لا بل يشجع المرشح على الدخول في المعركة ولهذا كما يقول أحد المرشحين انه كان لديه 12 مفتاحاً مهمتهم الدعاية واقناع الناس بأهمية انتخابه.. أظن ان المنادى رشحوا انفسهم استجابة لرواد الدواوين بإعتبارهم أبخص، و المجاملين ما يقولون لا للمرشح.. بل يصير خير.

1. الصفات الشخصية:

نرجو منك تقييم شخصية الكاتب الأول والكاتب الثاني باستخدام الأرقام من 1 إلى 6 (الصفات المتضادة سوف تكون على طرفي خط التقييم) ولكل مثال نرجو منك أن تشير إلى الرقم على خط التقييم الذي تعتقد بأنه يمثل شخصية الكاتب الأول والرقم الذي يمثل شخصية الكاتب الثاني.

على سبيل المثال: لنفترض بأن الصفة الشخصية هي "الفكاهة"

إذا كنت تعتقد بأن الكاتب الأول مضحك للغاية فستقوم بإعطاء هذا الكاتب أكبر رقم ممكن في الخط الأول للتقييم، أي ترسم دائرة حول رقم 6.

إذا كنت تعتقد بأن الكاتب الثاني أقل من الأول فكاهة ولكن ليس بدرجة كبيرة فستقوم بإعطاء الكاتب الثاني تقييم 2 في الخط الثاني.

تقييمك

مضحك

غير مضحك

6

الكاتب الأول: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

2

الكاتب الثاني: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

إذا كنت أن تريد أن تعلق على هذه الصفات، نرجو منك أن تفعل ذلك في الخانة المخصصة للتعليق تحت كل صفة. على سبيل المثال، إذا كنت تشعر بأن الفكاهة ليست شيء له علاقة ثقافية بوصف أسلوب الكتابة لكاتب كويتي، فنرجو منك أن تعلمنا بذلك.

سوف أقوم بتكرار النصوص على كل صفحة لكي يتسنى لك أن تقرأ النصوص بدون الرجوع للصفحة الأولى. سوف تبقى النصوص كما هي بدون أي تغيير ولكن الصفات التي سنسألك عنها هي التي ستغير.

تذكر: لا تنظر إلى الصفحات التالية لأننا نحتاج أن تجيب على هذه الأسئلة بالترتيب الصحيح!

Excerpt 1

columnist A:

بدأ بعض المرشحين يعلنون عن ندواتهم الأخيرة يومي الثلاثاء والأربعاء، ومن حقهم كما أن من حق الناخبين الاستراحة بعد ان علت أصوات المرشحين بنقد الحكومة ووعود بتحقيق المعجزات... حيث صار المرشحون يتحدثون بصوت مرتفع لإقناع الناخبين، علماً بأنه ليس بالضرورة أن يكون صاحب الصوت المرتفع معه حق وكلامه صحيح ووعوده سيحققها في نهاية عام 2008، ولا أعتقد ان المزيد من الأحاديث والخطب في ما تبقى من أيام على موعد الانتخاب قادرة على كسب أصوات ناخبين جدد، لأن كل مواطن قد كون قناعاته.

Excerpt 2

columnist B:

حتى يوم أمس الجمعة بلغ عدد المرشحين 263، هؤلاء جميعهم رشحوا أنفسهم بناء على رغبة المواطنين وبعد إلحاح من رواد الدواوين، وتأتي النتيجة بنجاح خمسين نائباً بس والباقي سقوط رغم إلحاح الجماهير.. فالمواطن الكويتي ما يقول لا بل يشجع المرشح على الدخول في المعركة ولهذا كما يقول احد المرشحين انه كان لديه 12 مفتاحاً مهمتهم الدعاية واقتناع الناس بأهمية انتخابه.. أظن ان المئات رشحوا انفسهم استجابة لرواد الدواوين بإعتبارهم أبخص، و المجاملين ما يقولون لا للمرشح.. بل يصير خير.

	منفعل	مسترخ
الكاتب الأول:	6.....5.....4.....3.....2.....1	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
الكاتب الثاني:	6.....5.....4.....3.....2.....1	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
		التعليق:

	غير لطيف	لطيف
الكاتب الأول:	6.....5.....4.....3.....2.....1	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
الكاتب الثاني:	6.....5.....4.....3.....2.....1	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
		التعليق:

	غير واثق	واثق
الكاتب الأول:	6.....5.....4.....3.....2.....1	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
الكاتب الثاني:	6.....5.....4.....3.....2.....1	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
		التعليق:

	غير مثقف	مثقف
الكاتب الأول:	6.....5.....4.....3.....2.....1	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
الكاتب الثاني:	6.....5.....4.....3.....2.....1	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
		التعليق:

تذكر: لا تنظر إلى الصفحات التالية لأننا نحتاج أن تجيب على هذه الأسئلة بالترتيب الصحيح!

Excerpt 1

columnist A:

بدأ بعض المرشحين يعلنون عن ندواتهم الأخيرة يومي الثلاثاء والأربعاء، ومن حقهم كما أن من حق الناخبين الاستراحة بعد ان علت أصوات المرشحين بنقد الحكومة ووعود بتحقيق المعجزات... حيث صار المرشحون يتحدثون بصوت مرتفع لإقناع الناخبين، علماً بأنه ليس بالضرورة أن يكون صاحب الصوت المرتفع معه حق وكلامه صحيح ووعوده سيقفها في نهاية عام 2008، ولا أعتقد ان المزيد من الأحاديث والخطب في ما تبقى من أيام على موعد الانتخاب قادرة على كسب أصوات ناخبين جدد، لأن كل مواطن قد كون قناعاته.

Excerpt 2

columnist B:

حتى يوم أمس الجمعة بلغ عدد المرشحين 263، هؤلاء جميعهم رشحوا أنفسهم بناء على رغبة المواطنين وبعد إلحاح من رواد الدواوين، وتأتي النتيجة بنجاح خمسين نائباً بس والباقي سقوط رغم إلحاح الجماهير.. فال مواطن الكويتي ما يقول لا بل يشجع المرشح على الدخول في المعركة ولهذا كما يقول أحد المرشحين انه كان لديه 12 مفتاحاً مهمتهم الدعاية واقناع الناس بأهمية انتخابه.. أظن ان المئات رشحوا انفسهم استجابة لرواد الدواوين باعتبارهم أبخص، و المجاملين ما يقولون لا للمرشح بل يصير خير.

	ممتع	ممل
الكاتب الأول:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	تقييمك:
الكاتب الثاني:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	تقييمك:
التعليق:		
	مضحك	غير مضحك
الكاتب الأول:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	تقييمك:
الكاتب الثاني:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	تقييمك:
التعليق:		
	يمكن الإعتماد عليه	لا يمكن الإعتماد عليه
الكاتب الأول:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	تقييمك:
الكاتب الثاني:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	تقييمك:
التعليق:		
	غبي	ذكي
الكاتب الأول:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	تقييمك:
الكاتب الثاني:	1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6	تقييمك:
التعليق:		

تذكر: لا تنظر إلى الصفحات التالية لأننا نحتاج أن تجيب على هذه الأسئلة بالترتيب الصحيح!

Excerpt 1

columnist A:

بدأ بعض المرشحين يعلنون عن ندواتهم الأخيرة يومي الثلاثاء والأربعاء، ومن حقهم كما أن من حق الناخبين الاستراحة بعد ان علت أصوات المرشحين بنقد الحكومة ووعود بتحقيق المعجزات... حيث صار المرشحون يتحدثون بصوت مرتفع لإقناع الناخبين، علماً بأنه ليس بالضرورة أن يكون صاحب الصوت المرتفع معه حق وكلامه صحيح ووعوده سيحققها في نهاية عام 2008، ولا أعتقد ان المزيد من الأحاديث والخطب في ما تبقى من أيام على موعد الانتخاب قادرة على كسب أصوات ناخبين جدد، لأن كل مواطن قد كون قناعاته.

Excerpt 2

columnist B:

حتى يوم أمس الجمعة بلغ عدد المرشحين 263، هؤلاء جميعهم رشحوا أنفسهم بناء على رغبة المواطنين وبعد إلحاح من رواد الدواوين، وتأتي النتيجة بنجاح خمسين نائباً بس والباقي سقوط رغم إلحاح الجماهير.. فالمواطن الكويتي ما يقول لا بل يشجع المرشح على الدخول في المعركة ولهذا كما يقول احد المرشحين انه كان لديه 12 مفتاحاً مهمتهم الدعاية واقتناع الناس بأهمية انتخابه.. أظن ان المئات رشحوا انفسهم استجابة لرواد الدواوين باعتبارهم أبخص، و المجاملين ما يقولون لا للمرشح.. بل يصير خير.

غير محترف

محترف

الكاتب الأول: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
تقييمك:

الكاتب الثاني: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
تقييمك:

التعليق:

غير مسؤول

مسؤول

الكاتب الأول: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
تقييمك:

الكاتب الثاني: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
تقييمك:

التعليق:

غير متدين

متدين

الكاتب الأول: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
تقييمك:

الكاتب الثاني: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
تقييمك:

التعليق:

متمكن لغويا

غير متمكن لغويا

الكاتب الأول: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
تقييمك:

الكاتب الثاني: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6
تقييمك:

التعليق:

الإستبيان يستمر في الصفحة التالية.... تذكر: إلتزم بترتيب الصفحات، شكرا

Excerpt 1

columnist A:

بدأ بعض المرشحين يعلنون عن ندواتهم الأخيرة يومي الثلاثاء والأربعاء، ومن حقهم كما أن من حق الناخبين الاستراحة بعد ان علت أصوات المرشحين بنقد الحكومة ووعود بتحقيق المعجزات... حيث صار المرشحون يتحدثون بصوت مرتفع لإقناع الناخبين، علماً بأنه ليس بالضرورة أن يكون صاحب الصوت المرتفع معه حق وكلامه صحيح ووعوده سيقققها في نهاية عام 2008، ولا أعتقد ان المزيد من الأحاديث والخطب في ما تبقى من أيام على موعد الانتخاب قادرة على كسب أصوات ناخبين جدد، لأن كل مواطن قد كون قناعاته.

Excerpt 2

columnist B:

حتى يوم أمس الجمعة بلغ عدد المرشحين 263، هؤلاء جميعهم رشحوا أنفسهم بناء على رغبة المواطنين وبعد إلحاح من رواد الدواوين، وتأتي النتيجة بنجاح خمسين نائباً بس والباقي سقوط رغم إلحاح الجماهير.. فالمواطن الكويتي ما يقول لا بل يشجع المرشح على الدخول في المعركة ولهذا كما يقول احد المرشحين انه كان لديه 12 مفتاحاً مهمتهم الدعاية واقناع الناس بأهمية انتخابه.. أظن ان المئات رشحوا انفسهم استجابة لرواد الدواوين باعتبارهم أبخص، و المجاملين ما يقولون لا للمرشح.. بل يصير خير.

متطرف

معتدل

تقييمك:

الكاتب الأول: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

تقييمك:

الكاتب الثاني: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6

التعليق:

تذكر: لا تنظر إلى الصفحات التالية لأننا نحتاج أن تجيب على هذه الأسئلة بالترتيب الصحيح!

إستبيان المواقف

هل تحب رؤية استخدام كلاً من اللغة العربية الفصحى واللهجة الكويتية في مقالات الصحف؟

نعم لا أحياناً لست متأكدًا

هل استخدام كلاً من اللغة العربية الفصحى واللهجة الكويتية معاً في مقالات الصحف يؤثر على اختيارك لكاتبتي المقالات الذين تقرأ لهم؟

نعم لا لست متأكدًا

إذا كانت إجابتك هي "نعم"، فكيف يؤثر ذلك عليك؟

إيجابياً سلبياً لست متأكدًا

المعلومات الشخصية

نرجو منك أن تجيب على الأسئلة التالية المتعلقة ببعض معلوماتك الشخصية. نود منك أن تتأكد بأن هذا الإستبيان يحافظ على السرية التامة وإخفاء هوية المشارك وإننا نحتاج هذه المعلومات لأسباب إحصائية بحثية.

كم تبلغ من العمر؟

الجنس: ذكر أنثى (إجابة واحدة فقط)

المستوى العلمي (إجابة واحدة فقط)

غير جامعي جامعي أو تعليم عال

الإستبيان يستمر في الصفحة التالية..... تذكر: إلتمز بترتيب الصفحات، شكراً

لأي دين أو مذهب تنتمي؟ (إختر إجابة واحدة فقط: إذا قمت باختيار "آخر" نرجو منك أن تحدد الدين أو المذهب)

سني شيعي مسيحي آخر _____

كيف تصف نفسك؟

بدوي عيمي حضري حساوي

شكرا جزيلاً لمشارككنم في هذا الإستبيان.

Appendix B. The Columnists' Interviews

English version

1. What do you think of the practice of using Kuwaiti Arabic alongside Standard Arabic in newspaper articles?
2. What function(s) do you think Kuwaiti Arabic is performing when it is used in newspaper articles?
3. Do you use Kuwaiti Arabic in your newspaper articles?
4. Why do you use Kuwaiti Arabic in your columns?
5. What do you think the effect on your readers will be when you use Kuwaiti Arabic? Do you believe they will react positively to your use of the vernacular?
6. In what type of newspaper genres do you think diglossic code-switching can be used and why? (e.g. obituaries, editorials, articles, advertisements)?
7. Would you accept diglossic code-switching in articles from certain columnists but not from others?
8. What do you think about these results (attitudinal survey)?
9. Did you expect people's perceptions to be like this? How do you feel about this?
10. Would you still use the vernacular in your articles / has this given you a different reason to use the vernacular in your articles? And why?
11. Are there columnists or certain newspapers that are prolific in diglossic code-switching?
12. Are there some columnists or newspapers that were prolific code switchers and stopped?
13. What are the policies used in the newspaper you write for regarding diglossic code-switching?
14. Do different newspapers have different practices? For instance, do certain newspapers encourage their columnists to use diglossic code-switching?
15. Does the editor-in-chief always approve of the use of Kuwaiti Arabic in articles?
16. In what cases does the editor-in-chief disapprove of the use of Kuwaiti Arabic in articles?
17. Have you experienced a different policy throughout the years you wrote for the newspaper?
18. Do people at the newspaper talk about the use of diglossic code-switching? What are their reactions?
19. According to your colleagues at the newspaper, are there topics that lend themselves to diglossic code-switching strategies? e.g. advertisements or obituaries show more diglossic code-switching?

- 1 ما هو رأيك بظاهرة استخدام اللهجة الكويتية مع اللغة العربية الفصحى في مقالات الصحف؟
- 2 ما هي الوظيفة/الوظائف التي تقوم بها اللهجة الكويتية عند استخدامها في مقالات الصحف؟
- 3 هل تستخدم اللهجة الكويتية في مقالاتك الصحفية؟
- 4 لماذا تستخدم اللهجة الكويتية في مقالاتك؟
- 5 باعتقادك، كيف سيكون التأثير على كتابك عند استخدامك للهجة الكويتية؟ هل تعتقد بأنهم قد يتفاعلون إيجابياً لإستخدامك اللهجة؟
- 6 في أي نوع من أقسام الصحف تعتقد بأن التحول اللغوي ما بين اللهجة والفصحى يمكن أن تستخدم الإزدواجية اللغوية ولماذا؟ (الوفيات، افتتاحية الصحيفة، المقالات، الإعلانات)
- 7 هل ستقبل الإزدواجية اللغوية في مقالات بعض الكتاب ولكن ليس في مقالات آخرين؟
- 8 ما رأيك في هذه النتائج (نتائج اختبار الهوية الخفية)؟
- 9 هل كنت تتوقع أن تكون تصورات الناس بهذا الشكل؟ ما هو شعورك تجاه ذلك؟
- 10 هل ستستمر باستخدامك للهجة في مقالاتك؟ هل اعطتلك تلك النتائج اسباب اضافية لاستخدامك اللهجة في مقالاتك؟ ولماذا؟
- 11 هل هناك كتاب أو صحف يستخدمون الإزدواجية اللغوية بكثرة؟
- 12 هل هناك بعض الكتاب أو الصحف كانوا يستخدمون الإزدواجية اللغوية ولكن توقفوا عن ذلك؟
- 13 ما هي سياسة الصحيفة التي تكتب بها بخصوص الإزدواجية اللغوية؟
- 14 هل لدى مختلف الصحف سياسات مختلفة تجاه استخدام الإزدواجية اللغوية؟ على سبيل المثال، هل هناك صحف تشجع كتابها على استخدام الإزدواجية اللغوية؟
- 15 هل يوافق رئيس التحرير دائماً على استخدام اللهجة الكويتية في المقالات؟
- 16 في أي حالة قد يعارض رئيس التحرير استخدام اللهجة الكويتية في المقالات؟
- 17 خلال المدة التي قضيتها تكتب للصحيفة، هل شعرت بتغيير سياسة الصحيفة التي تكتب بها تجاه استخدام اللهجة في المقالات؟
- 18 هل يتحدث الناس في الصحيفة عن استخدام الإزدواجية اللغوية؟ ما هي ردة فعلهم؟
- 19 بالنسبة للزملاء في الصحيفة، هل هناك مواضيع تصلح لاستخدام الإزدواجية اللغوية؟ مثلاً أن تكون الاعلانات أو صفحة الوفيات أكثر استخداماً للإزدواجية اللغوية؟

Appendix C. Description and Consent Form

English version

UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE



School of English Literature,

Language and Linguistics,

Percy Building,

Newcastle upon Tyne,

NE1 7RU, UK

DESCRIPTION: You are invited to participate in a study of Diglossic Switching in Kuwaiti newspapers by a PhD student at the School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics at Newcastle University. Your participation is entirely voluntary and anonymous and all information will remain confidential.

If you do agree to participate, you will be asked a few questions about yourself and your opinions about newspapers in Kuwait. However, you are also free to talk about anything related to that matter. The interview is expected to take approximately 30 minutes.

The interview will be recorded on a digital recording device. The recordings will be used as part of the analysis and short extracts of your interview may be used in future research and for teaching purposes, played in scientific meetings (such as conferences), or in public forums.

All recordings will remain anonymous and, if used, all names will be changed and deleted.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: All recordings and transcriptions will be used for academic purposes only. Your personal information and identity will be kept strictly confidential and not revealed to any third party without your written permission.

The study does not involve any risks or discomfort for you other than talking to the interviewer. You might not be able to foresee any immediate benefits of your participation as you will not receive any payment. However, researchers are dependent on voluntary participation in order to understand human behaviour, such as language and the student interviewer will fulfil the requirements of her degree.

SUBJECT'S RIGHTS: If, upon reading this form, you have decided to participate in this project, please understand that your participation is completely voluntary, that you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time, and that the interviewer is aware of this. If you at any point during the interview change your mind about your participation, please let the student interviewer know. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions and your personal information will be kept private and confidential in all written data resulting from the study whether published or not.

CONTACT INFORMATION:

Questions: If you have any questions, concerns, or complaints about this research, its procedures, risks and benefits, contact one of my supervisors: Lecturer Isabelle Buchstaller at i.buchstaller@newcastle.ac.uk

Independent Contact: If you have any questions regarding the interview, please feel free to contact the interviewer Marwah Alruwayeh at marwah.alruwayeh@ncl.ac.uk

The extra copy of this consent form is for you to keep.

AGREEMENT

I agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material may be:

1. Made available to academic researchers.
2. May be quoted in published work or used in public in full or in part.
3. Used for teaching purposes.

Signature of Interviewer: _____

Signature of Interviewee: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Arabic version

UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE



School of English Literature,

Language and Linguistics,

Percy Building,

Newcastle upon Tyne,

NE1 7RU, UK

وصف الدراسة: أنتم مدعوون للمشاركة في دراسة تختص بظاهرة الازدواجية اللغوية في الصحف الكويتية والتي تتم من قبل طالبة دكتوراة في قسم الادب الانجليزي واللغة الانجليزية واللغويات في جامعة نيوكاسل. مشاركتكم في هذا البحث تطوعية تماما و سنتم المحافظة على سريتها و سرية جميع المعلومات. اذا وافقتم على المشاركة، سوف نسألکم بعض الأسئلة عنكم و عن آرائكم فيما يتعلق بالصحف الكويتية ويمكنكم ايضا ان تتحدثوا عن أي شيء متعلق بهذا الموضوع والمقابلة من المتوقع ان تستمر لثلاثين دقيقة تقريبا.

سوف تقوم الباحثة بأخذ بعض الملاحظات خلال المحادثة و من الممكن أن تستخدم هذه الملاحظات كجزء من التحليل و من الممكن أن تستخدم لبحوث مستقبلية و لأغراض تدريسية وللقراءة في المقابلات العلمية (كالمؤتمرات) او في المنتديات العامة.

سنتم المحافظة على سرية جميع هذه الملاحظات و اذا تم استخدام الاسماء فإنها سوف تغيّر وتحذف.

المخاطر والفوائد: سوف تستخدم جميع هذه الملاحظات لأغراض أكاديمية فقط. سوف تتم المحافظة على سرية معلوماتك الشخصية و هويتك بشكل جدي و لن يتم الكشف عنها لأي جهة ثالثة بدون موافقة خطية منك.

لا تحتوي هذه الدراسة على أية مخاطر أو مضايقات باستثناء أن من المطلوب منك أن تتحدث للباحثة. من الممكن ألا ترى أن هناك فائدة حالية لمشاركتك بما إنك لن تحصل على أية مكافأة مادية ولكن يعتمد الباحثون على المشاركات التطوعية لكي تسنح لهم الفرصة بدراسة السلوك البشري، مما يشمل اللغة، وبطبيعة الحال سوف تسنح الفرصة للباحثة أن تستكمل شروط الحصول على الدرجة العلمية.

حقوق المشاركين في الدراسة:

إذا قررت و أنت تقرأ هذه الاستمارة المشاركة في هذه الدراسة، نرجو منك أن تعلم بأن مشاركتك تطوعية تماما و بأنك تملك الحق بأن تتسحب من الدراسة و تسحب موافقتك في أي وقت تحب من مشاركتك و أن الباحثة تعلم ذلك. إذا قمت بتغيير رأيك فيما يخص مشاركتك في هذه الدراسة، نرجو منك أن تقول ذلك للباحثة. لديك الحق بأنك ترفض الإجابة على أسئلة معينة وسوف تتم المحافظة على سرية معلوماتك الشخصية في كل المعلومات المكتوبة التي سوف تنشأ من الدراسة سواء طبعت الدراسة أو لم تطبع.

جهة الاتصال:

الاسئلة: إذا كانت لديك أية اسئلة او ما يقلقك او أية شكوى بخصوص هذه الدراسة أو طرقها أو مخاطرها و منافعها فبإمكانك الاتصال بإحدى المشرفات على الرسالة

Isabelle Buchstaller

و إذا كانت لديك أية أسئلة بخصوص المقابلة نرجو منك أن تتصل بالباحثة مروة الرويح
marwah.alruwayeh@ncl.ac.uk

النسخة الاضافية لاستمارة الموافقة هي لك

الموافقة:

أوافق على أن تسجيل مقابلي و المواد المرافقة لها من الممكن:

- 1 أن تتاح للباحثين الأكاديميين.
- 2 أن يتم اقتباسها في الاعمال المنشورة أو أن تستخدم في الأماكن العامة بشكل جزئي أو كامل.
- 3 أن تستخدم لأغراض تعليمية.

توقيع الباحثة:

توقيع المشارك في المقابلة:

تاريخ المقابلة:

Appendix D. Newspaper Articles

مالك الاكبت الحجية

أحمد الفهد

في تجمع الراشي والمرتشي أثار النائب مسلم البراك قصة غريبة عجيبة.. وأكثر غرابة من قصة الفتاة الجميلة التي كانت تقف على الخط السريع و«تأشر» للمركبات، فأذا وقفوا لها وجدوا.. انفسهم امام فتاة تلبس العباة ولها يد وارجل معزة!! فالنائب مسلم البراك قال ان احد القبيضة استدعاه البنك الذي اودع فيه امواله.. وسأله من أين اتيت بمبلغ اربعة ملايين دينار فرد عليهم: ان والدته كانت تريد بناء مسجدين، وانه فتح «كبتها» فوجد أربعة ملايين دينار هذه القصة ان كان البراك قالها مازحا الشارع والجمهور الذي حضر للندوة فهي مصيبة.. وان كان صادقا وفعلا سمعها من مسؤولين في البنك.. فالمصيبة اكبر! لان نانبنا ولد الحجية اذا كان يعتقد ان «كبت» والدته، اكبر من تجوري البنوك، ويصلح لتخزين أربعة ملايين دينار.. فهي كارثة! واذا كان لا يعتقد ذاك ويديري ان كبت والدته ليس به غير الخلاجين وملافع وعلج البان و«فكس» وبقايا دهان بو فاس.. لكنه لم يعرف يكذب على البنك كذبة افضل من هذي فالمصيبة اعظم! فنوابنا فاقوا الافلام الهندية في الخيال الواسع

أفضل تعليق قرأته على موضوع كبت ولد الحجية.. ان النائب لما فتح كبت والدته، ووجد الفلوس في كل باب، وعلى كل .!رف.. سأله: يمه وين «ملايسج»؟! فردت عليه: يا «وليدي» ملايسي خاشتها في البنك

بعد انتهاء مدته كرئيس للحكومة البريطانية، فتح السيد توني بليير مكتباً للدراسات والاستشارات، في دار السعد.. لندن!
ولان أمه تدعو له ليلاً ونهاراً.. فقد تزامن افتتاح مكتبة العامرة، مع احساس حكومتنا الرشيدة، بالحاجة لدراسة عن
تحويلها من مركز في «محلك رايح».. الى مركز مالي واقتصادي يا سبحان الله فطلبت منه تقديم المساعدة، ومد يد
العون، ولكن بسعر معقول ومقبول، لان الميزانية «حده قده».. فوافق «الجنتمان» لانه «قال» الصبح!! وحجز تذكرته،
وقدم الى الكويت على أول طائرة، ثم نسق لاجتماعات مع القيادات الكويتية، وناقشهم في التنمية، والاقتصاد، والتعليم،
والصحة بالصاد طبعاً! ثم كتب تقريره، وسلمه للحكومة الرشيدة.. فاستلم شيكاً ب750 الف دينار، ورجع الى دار
السعد.. لندن! وكانت ردة الفعل الكويتية على الشيك، غاضبة و«مشتطة» ومنفعلة.. و«مجموعة اوي»! لان الكويت فيها
عقول نيرة ومستنيرة، وعقول تنافس توني بليير في دراسته.. ولان توني بليير لم يأت بجديد في دراسته، اطلاقاً وأبدأ
و«كلش» بدون تنوين!! وما أتى به عبارة عن تجميع آراء كويتية.. وطباعتها في كراسة انجليزية فقط لا غير،
ونحن نقبلناها لاننا نحب ما يكتبه «الخواجات»! ولو كان احد الكويتيين كتبها، لما اعطته الحكومة الرشيدة حتى 50 الف
دينار.. كي يودعهم في «كبت» الحجية ام النائب «الفلته»؟! اليوم وبعد فضيحة الايداعات المليونية للنواب، وقصة
«كبت» ولد الحجية، اعتقد ان العقول الكويتية تقول في قرارة نفسها: ان السيد توني بليير «مخلل»، وعليه بالف عافية
الشيك الذي اخذه، وعليه بمليون عافية الساعات والاقلام والعطورات والهدايا التي وصلتته من محل واحد بالكويت.. تقع
عليه كل مناقصات الهدايا والعطايا؟! لانه انت يا توني بليير على الاقل اجتمع بالقيادات واستمع لهم، وقدم دراسته،
ورسم خارطة الطريق.. واعطاهم من خبرته، واعطوه من حركاتهم.. الى آخره، اما نواب مجلسنا فماذا قدموا كي يحصلوا
على الملايين؟! فلان اربعة ملايين وعلان خمسة ملايين، ومنهم من لم يعرف حتى كيف يدخلها في حسابه! ماذا فعلوا
!غير التمثيل على الشعب، والضحك على عقول الناخبين.. واطرح الثقة يا عمي

تصريح جلالة ملك السعودية الشقيقة عن امن الخليج بأنه كل لا يتجزأ ورفض التدخل في شؤون البحرين.. نرفع له الغترة
والعقال.. والقحفية! ونهديه لكل خانن وغير شريف يتمنى التدخل الايراني في الشأن البحريني او الاعتداء عليها

يا بختكم فينا يا أهل العراق

عزيزة المفرج

وفق معايير عمل المحشي ورفيقتة الباجة وصاحبه الطرشي، لن تجد من هو أفضل منهم، فهم في الدولة أساتذة، وفي الباجة شطار، وفي الأجار معلّمين، فيما عدا ذلك، هم كالثور، ما ينحلب ولا ينجلب. يعني ما ينشد الظهر فيهم، أما احنا، الله يحرسنا، فشيء مختلف تماما

أهل العراق محظوظون فينا، نحن جيرانهم في الجنوب، ولو بحثوا دبّ الدهر، فلن يجدوا لأنفسهم جيرانا مثلنا، فنحن ان شرفنا محلبة، وان غرنا بسبوسة

العراقيون الذين أعطاهم الله من كل النعم أكواماً، الأثرياء بالمياه والمعادن والبترو، الأغنياء بالزراعات والتمور والجبال والتاريخ والحضارة، يابون الا النظر بطمع للأرض الصغيرة التي نسكن عليها. أراضي بلدهم شاسعة، واسعة، ممتدة أمام أعينهم الى حد يستوعب مساحة بلدنا عشرين مرة، ومع ذلك لا يكتفون، ويطلبون المزيد. جشع، اللهم يا كافي

جيراننا في الشمال مصابون بمرض مزمن سببه هالنتفة الوافقة على رأس الخليج، وعيونهم عليها، وعلى شوية النفط التي تحتضنها أراضيها، ولو كان بأيديهم لشفطوه من زمان يعود مصاص من النوع العملاق، ولقاموا بحقته في أراضيهم لتكون زيادة الخير خيرين

علاقتنا معهم ينطبق عليها المثل القائل القرع يمد لبرا. القرع، احنا الكويتيين أو على الأصح خيرنا، واهم، العراقيين، اللي برا

هؤلاء الجيران يسرقون منا فكرهم، ويؤذوننا فمساعدهم، ويضايقوننا فنعطيهم. هؤلاء الجيران يكيدون لنا، فنرحب بزياراتهم، ويدعون علينا فسهّل أمورهم، ويطعنون بأملنا، فنقدّرهم

يرسل لنا هؤلاء الجيران الخمور والمخدرات وأعمال السحر والشعوذة، ونرسل لهم، بوساطة نسايم عندنا، تمويننا من حليب ورز وسكر وزيت وعدس. مقايضة يعني غير أننا نعطيهم الصحة، ويمنحوننا المرض

الأسخف من هذا كله أنهم قتلوا من قتلوا من أبنائنا، بعد تعذيبهم والتنكيل بهم فكافأناهم بالمزيد من التناسب معهم، وأخذنا ما تيسر من بناتهم زوجات لشبابنا، ليكونوا بعد حين مواطنات لبلدنا

أمانة الأوقاف الكويتية أهدت جمعية المعاقين في العراق 1000 كرسي متحرك و500 مصحف للمكفوفين، عطية ما منها جزية. هذا العطاء جاء تزامنا مع ذكرى استقلال الكويت، وأيضا ذكرى تحريرها من غزوهم لنا، شوف الحكمة. يغزون

أراضيها، ويفعلون بنا النون وما يعلمون، فيهبون كرامتنا، ويسرقون مقدراتنا، ويدوسون على رقابنا، فنبادر الى مكافأتهم بالعطايا والجزايا، كأن هؤلاء سيحمدون صنيعنا هذا، وسيشكروننا عليه. نسي مسؤولونا الماء العزيز عندنا الذي انتزعناه من أفواهنا، وسقيناهم اياه بعد سقوط نظام صدام، فاتهمونا بأننا نرسل لهم مياها ملوثة، مسمومة، لكي نقتلهم بواسطتها. عموما، ما نقول لحكومتنا المتفائلة بهؤلاء الناس الا مثل ما قال المثل (اللي ما تأثر فيه كلمة، ما تأثر فيه لقمة).

يا ويلها من الله وزارة الشؤون فينا إحنا أهل الكويت فحتمنا، وصدقنا، ولاشك أنها هي الأساس في إصابة أكثرنا بالضغط والسكر وأمراض القلب، وإصابة بعضنا الآخر بالاكتئاب وضيق النفس والوسواس القهري وزارة الشؤون لا تعرف متى وكيف تقول لا، وإذا، في ساعة عودة للوعي، قالتها فسرعان ما سترجع في كلمتها ولا أصغرها عيّل، ولن تعوزها المبررات لذلك

يشكو وزيرها الدكتور العفاسي في إعلان كتبتة الصحف قبل سفره الأخير بأنه على الرغم من قرار إيقاف تحويل الزيارة الى اقامة عمل، نجح 15 ألف زائر في تجاوز هذا القرار، وصاروا مقيمين دائمين في الدولة بعد ان حصلوا على وظائف فيها. 15 ألف شخص جديد، يعني في المستقبل القريب 15 ألف زوجة، مع كل منهن طفلان أو أكثر، يضافون بسياراتهم الى تلك المهزلة في الشوارع، ويعني كروت زيارة لأقارب آخرين تتحول الى أدونات عمل، ثم زوجات وأبناء جدد يتم استقدامهم، لنجد أنفسنا في الكويت وقد تفاقمت مشكلاتنا من بطالة وازدحام وضغوط على الخدمات، وتأخير على الدوامات، وقلة انجاز، دع عنك المشكلة الكبرى بانخفاض عددا مقارنة بالوافدين الى حد يندّر بالخطر الشديد حاولت هناك اليوم ان أتذكي على زحمة الدائري الرابع للوصول الى أحد محلات بيع الأجهزة الكهربائية في منطقة الري، فكسرت بسيارتي الى المناطق الداخلية لاختصار الوقت، فتورطت وتبين لي ان عمير أخو بلال، فأخذت ما أخذت من وقت لانجاز المهمة، والعودة للمنزل، وكالعادة لعنت في داخلي أبو سنسفيّل تجار الاقامات، وبياعي الكفالات، ووزارة الشؤون ووزارة الداخلية، وكل كويتي حول الكويت الى هذا الشكل بعد ان كانت سهوداً ومهوداً أعود للمنزل وأفتح الجرائد واذا بخبر من وزارة الشجون الاجتماعية والقهر تعلن فيه عن توجيهها لتحويل الزيارات التجارية الى اقامة لمن صدرت لهم قبل أول سبتمبر، آل يعني اللي حبيجوا بعد كده زيارتهم مش حتتحول اقامة يقول الخبر ان قطاع العمل أعد مذكرة خاصة بهذا الشأن، وحتى الذين دخلوا بعد الأول من سبتمبر بفيزا سابقة سوف يسمح لهم بتحويل كروت الزيارة الخاصة بهم الى اقامة عمل، وهناك مذكرة أخرى تعد بهذا الخصوص أتمنى أعرف منو اللي كتب هاتين المذكرتين، وغيرهما من مذكرات، ومن أمره بذلك، ولماذا، وان كان ذلك تم بعناصر !!وأيد كويتية فهل هذه العناصر مخبقة عيون وعميا ما تشوف اللي قاعدين كلنا نشوفه؟

صباح جميل معالي وزير التربية، اليوم سأكتب عن التربية بمناسبة أول يوم في الاسبوع، وبمناسبة ذهابنا الى النيابة العامة لاننا كتبنا شكوى لمديرة مدرسة على وزارتها في نهاية الاسبوع الفائت، وأتمنى الا تكون سياسة جديدة تمارسها الوزارة لإرهاب الصحفيين... افتح الباب على هموم المعلمين

طال عمرك، رغم الحنة والمنة، التي صاحبت كادر المعلمين الاعرج، الا ان وزارتك الموقرة الى الآن لم تستطع ان تصرف الكوادر بأثر رجعي للكثير من المعلمين والمعلمات، والسبب طبعا كثرة المعلمين... اقترح التخلص منهم فورا

طال عمرك، من بين كل عشر معاملات «إصدار شهادة راتب»، تبين أن «خمسستش» معاملة غير صالحة، وخاطئة،! «والسبب الكمبيوتر اللعين طبعا، وبسبب الفوضى واللخبطة يقال، إن اقدمهم طلب «شهادة راتب» فأعطوه «جميل راتب

طال عمر معاليكم، الى الآن لا أحد يعرف قصة «الFLASH ميموري» وكيف ستوزع مع الـ«آي باد»؟! ولماذا اساسا يريدون من التلميذ استخدام الكمبيوتر في الدراسة؟! طال عمرك في المانيا وهي المانيا لم يستعملوا الكمبيوتر في مدارس الاطفال، ليس لانهم متخلفون، بل لانهم يعرفون أن التطور ليس في وجود الاجهزة، بل في كيفية التعامل معها

طال عمر معاليكم، ماذا سيفعل الطالب بـ«لابتوب» متخلف لا يهش ولا ينش؟! اذا كنتم تريدون بالفعل التطور، فعليكم
«بتوزيع أي فون 5

طال عمرك، هل صحيح ما يتداول عن تأخر تركيب الكاميرات في المدارس، ان سببه كما بررت الشركة هو «تسونامي» الذي ضرب اليابان ومصنع الكاميرات فيها، ما يعني ان الشركة مضطرة للذهاب الى شركات ومصانع اخرى، وبالتالي
استرتفع تكلفة الكاميرات... إنه مجرد سؤال

طال عمرك، هناك شكوى من منطقة حولي التعليمية، حول ما فيا «تعليم الكبار»، حيث تتم عملية تسجيل وشطب اسماء بطريقة مزاجية، فلا وجود لأي مقياس للاختيار، لا بالاقدمية ولا بالكفاءة ولا حتى بالتخصص، معيار التسجيل الوساطة وقيل بـ«الاتاوة»، «يقولون» طال عمرك، وقد اكتشفنا إن أصدق وكالة بالكويت، هي وكالة يقولون، يحتاج الى حل عاجل
إطال عمرك

قد يسأل البعض، لماذا النظرة السلبية؟ الا توجد جوانب ايجابية؟ الاجابة نعم الكثير، ومنها ان الوزير يحاول الاصلاح بقدر الامكان في وزارة افسدها الدهر، والشكاوى المنشورة تدعم عمله ولا تعرقله، وهناك الكثير من الكفاءات في وزارة التربية، تعمل وتضحى وتجتهد في سبيل الرقي بالعملية التربوية، ولعل منطقة حولي التعليمية خير مثال على المهنية، ووليد العمري مراقب التعليم الثانوي في منطقة حولي، احد الذين يميزون بحسن التدبير والحرفية، رغم ظروف العمل
!«والنقص في هيئة التدريس، وقائمة المجتهدين تطول... لهم كل «الشكر»، وللغاسدين «الملح

شكرا معاليكم على الاستماع

جعفر رجب

في كل مكان قصة، وسالفة، ومصيبة، اليوم انشر عن حالتين، رغم اني لا احب كثيرا نشر الشكاوى في هذه الزاوية لعدم الاختصاص، ولكن بما اني صوت الحق والانسانية، ونبراس للنور والضياء، واحسن واحد في العالم، فلا بد ان اكتب
!وأضحى، واكون شمعة تحترق في سبيل الجماهير

بنك التسليف وقصة قروض الارامل والمطلقات والمتزوجات من غير الكويتيين، يبدو انها لن تنتهي، ومع كثرة القوانين واللوائح والشروط، ضاعت الطاسة، ممن يهمن القرض الاسكاني، ومن اين يبدأ حتى يحصلن على القرض الاسكاني فلم تفهم، لماذا المتزوجة من غير كويتي تأخذ 70 ألف دينار، والمطلقة تتسلم 45 ألفا فقط، مع انه المفروض بالعكس، لانها بلا معيل

ولم تفهم لماذا الوزارة هي التي تختار مكان السكن وليست المرأة المعنية بالمشكلة، يعني لو اهلها في ام الهيمان مثلا، الوزارة قد تختار لها سكنا في الجهراء، واختيار السكن يعني تغييرا في المدارس وخمسين ألف مشكلة اخرى تتبعها ولم تفهم لماذا القانون لا يشمل من انجبت البنات، فلو كانت مطلقة وعندها بنات لا تعطى قرضا اسكانيا الا اذا كانت احدى بناتها قد تجاوزت الثلاثين سنة ولم تتزوج... القانون يقول ولست أنا

ولم تفهم، لماذا لا يحق لها ان تقدم على دعم اسكاني إلا إذا مضى على طلاقها ثلاث سنوات، مع ان المطلقة قد تكون في السنوات الاولى احوج ماتكون الى دعم، وليس بعد ثلاث سنوات، وما هو السر في الثلاث سنوات، وليس أربع سنوات أو
!!خمس

وصلتني شكاوى، وقرأت المؤتمر الصحافي، بتفاصيله، ولم افهم بصراحة القوانين والشروط، لذلك اتمنى من مديري التسليف ان يقوموا من النوم، ويرسلوا للصحف، توضيحا سهلا حتى يفهمها أصحاب الشأن بدلا من السؤال والاستفسار
!«من الموظفين في الوزارة، الذين يجيبون بجواب واحد «ما ندري، وما وصل لنا شيء حتى الان

:تحياتي لمحافظة الفروانية العتيدة، ولمحافظها المحترم، ونلخص الوضع هناك

يداوم الموظفون والموظفات في ادارات بلا تكييف منذ اشهر، في حالة مأسوية وكل موظفة تداوم و«شايلة مهفتها
!معاه»، لان المحافظة لا تملك ميزانية اصلاح مكيف

!مازال العاملون هناك بانتظار كوادرم التي لم تصرف، ويسألون عن ساعة الافراج عن كادرم المعتقل
ويسألون عن سر اختفاء الموظفين، وان بعضهم داوم اول يوم فقط، واختفى ومعاشه ماشي وشغال وينزل في حسابه
!بالوقت المحدد

ويتساءلون عن سر وضع الرجل غير المناسب، في المكان غير المناسب، والحساس ايضا، وهي الادارة المالية، ما ساهم
!في اشاعة بعض الاخبار، حول شبهة التعدي على المال العام

!سيدي محافظ الفروانية، تحقق بنفسك، واذا مالك خلق عوار الراس، على الاقل ركب لهم مكيف

لاعت جبودنا» من مهزلة المجلس والحكومة، عناد من دون ميرر وصراع على أشده على المناصب والمصالح الخاصة « من دون الوصول إلى نتيجة... فالتطاحن مستمر وكل واحد راكب رأسه، فالحكومة تتدخل باختصاصات المجلس بدءاً من الانتخابات البرلمانية ودعم بعض المرشحين، وصولاً إلى التدخل في انتخابات لجان المجلس ورئيسه، والمجلس يتدخل بأعمال الحكومة وسياساتها الداخلية والخارجية، والشعب هو الضحية وهو في النهاية من سيدفع الثمن أنا اسأل وغيري يسأل إلى متى ستستمر معاناة المواطن في ظل هذا التطاحن والتخبط بين الجانبين، وإلى متى يبقى الوضع على ما هو عليه، ومتى يسير بنا قطار التطور والتنمية؟ نعم هذه المهزلة بين المجلس والحكومة ليست في طريقها إلى الحل، فكل القراءات تدل وتؤكد أن الوضع يزداد سوءاً يوماً بعد يوم لا أحد يفهم كيف يفكر بعض أعضاء البرلمان، ولا أحد يفهم كيف تخطط الحكومة للمستقبل، الوضع الدولي والعالمي في غاية الخطورة، ففي العام الماضي انهار الاقتصاد العالمي ودفعنا الثمن غالياً، وفي هذا العام انهارت بعض الأنظمة العربية ونشبت الحروب الأهلية وتغيرت خريطة القوى. نعم المنطقة في حالة خطر شديد، فالثورات في كل مكان ولا أحد يعرف إلى أين ستمتد وما هي نتائجها، والخطر الإقليمي في أشده.. ولنعطي مثلاً واحداً فلو انطلق صاروخ من لبنان وأسقط عدداً كبيراً من القتلى الصهاينة وقام الصهاينة بقصف أحد المفاعلات النووية الإيرانية وانتشر الإشعاع النووي ليصيب الشجر والبحر والبشر فما نحن فاعلون؟ وإذا لا سمح الله انتشرت حرب إيرانية أميركية في الخليج وتم إغلاق المضيق وتعرضت محطة الكهرباء للقصف وتوقفت عن توليد الكهرباء وتحلية المياه فمن أين نأتي بالكهرباء، ومن أين نشرب المياه؟

مطار الكويت... والتدخين

فوزية سالم الصباح

لماذا أصبح خرق القانون ثقافة نتباهي بها، لما نمنح الزائر إلى الكويت بدءاً من المطار صورة بأننا حكومة وشعباً لا نحترم القانون وندوس عليه بأقدامنا، لو نظرنا إلى مطارات الدول الآسيوية الفقيرة وليس إلى المطارات الأوروبية نجد جميع المسافرين يحترمون القوانين ومنهم الكويتيون المتواجدون هناك، وأهمها عدم التدخين لأن القوانين هناك صارمة ولا ترحم، ولكن ما أن تهبط الطائرة في مطار الكويت ويخرج المسافرون من الطائرات حتى يشعلوا سجاثرهم من دون مبالاة ودون احترام للقانون، أنا بنفسى شاهدت عدداً من المواطنين يشعلون سجاثرهم، وسمعت أحدهم يقول والله لو كنا في مطار غير مطار الكويت كان سحبونا، أنا أتمنى أن أجد مؤسسة حكومية واحدة تحترم القانون وتطبقه، لكن الفساد والفوضى عمت وانتشرت كما ينتشر الورم السرطاني

أدوية المستشفى العسكري

خلال الأشهر الثلاثة الماضية فوجئ مرضى المستشفى العسكري بنقص حاد في كثير من الأدوية الضرورية كأدوية الضغط وغيرها فاضطروا لشراؤها من حسابهم الخاص من الصيدليات الخاصة. نحن مع حسن التنظيم والتقنين ولكن ليس على حساب المرضى

دواء الغدة في وزارة الصحة

الدولة ملزمة قانوناً ووفق حكم محكمة التمييز بتوفير الدواء ليس فقط لمواطنيها بل حتى للمقيمين، ومن ثم فمن غير في وزارة الصحة للمواطنين منذ أشهر عدة! المرضى راجعوا (tertroxin t3) المعقول عدم وجود دواء الغدة الدرقية مخازن صباحان دون فائدة حيث ان المسؤولين في مخازن الصحة في صباحان يدعون أن مكتب لندن متكاسل في احضار هذا الدواء، فلماذا هذا الاستهتار بصحة الناس؟ فهذا الدواء غير متوافر بالصيدليات الخاصة لذلك فالمرضى مجبرون على احضاره من لندن على حسابهم الخاص لأن اعراض هذا المرض خطيرة جداً على صحة الإنسان ما لم يتم تداركه بالعلاج. وأنا اسأل ولو كان المريض أحد أقارب المسؤولين في وزارة الصحة، خصوصاً في مخازن صباحان أو مكتب لندن الصحي، ألم يكونوا ليسارعوا في احضار الدواء وتوفيره... ولكن كما يقولون من أمن العقوبة أساء الأدب

مجمع أولمبيا

نحن نؤمن بالواسطة التي أصبحت رغباً عنا جزءاً من حياتنا وتراثنا، وعليه بالعافية من يستطيع تجاوز القانون وخرقه جهاراً نهاراً تحت مسمى الاستثناء، ولكن يجب أن يكون هناك شيء من الاحساس بالوطنية، فعندما تم عمل شارع جانبي في شارع الخليج لمجمع اولمبيا بهدف خدمة المطعم فقد ترك المقاول مخلفاته على جانب الطريق منذ أكثر من ستة أشهر فلا القانمون على هذا المجمع طلبوا منه إزالة هذه المخلفات ولا جهات الدولة أزالنها... فأين هي الوطنية التي تدعونها؟ هذا وطنكم فيكفيكم فساداً وتدميراً له

انهما لا يحتاجان الى وكيل اعلان عندما يريدان النزول الى الشارع...وهما ايضا لا يحتاجان الى امثال ذلك النائب ليتحدث باسمهما او يعبر عن رغبتهما في المشاركة من عدمها في قضايا تهم الكويت

الكبيران احمد الخطيب وحمد الجوعان ليسا في مستوى من نقل عنهما رغبتهما في النزول الى الشارع والمشاركة في الاعتصام امس من حيث طريقة التعبير عن الرأي والمشاركة في اي فاعلية شعبية، بغض النظر عن موضوعها وهدفها

هذان الكبيران لم يقحما نفسيهما باضرابات «من طق طبله قال انا قبله»...فهما شخصيتان لا نراهما الا في الامور الجادة والفاعلة...لا يتحدثان الا عندما يدرسان كل كلمة ويقيمانها...ولا يقولان الا القليل المفيد...لم يصبهما اسهال التصريحات والتهديدات والصراخ والتعدي على كرامات الآخرين وسمعتهم

هاتان الشخصيتان الكبيرتان لا نرى صورهما على صدر الصفحات من دون عقل رافعين ايديهما فاغرين حنجرتيهما... يدفعان برجال الامن متعددين على القانون بأي شكل من الاشكال

أشارك منذ فترة طويلة في عضوية لجنة «كُتَاب ضد الفساد» المنبثقة عن جمعية الشفافية، التي تتولى فرز كل المقالات التي تناولت موضوع الفساد في كل الصحف الكويتية، لاختيار أفضلها بناء على معايير معينة، وقد غصت، وقرأت المنات منها منذ سنوات، بكل النكهات والتوجهات، ووصلت الى نتيجة واحدة

الفساد وما ادراك ما الفساد، منذ سنوات طويلة والاقلام الصحفية المهنية وغير المهنية تكتب عن هذا الموضوع، لعل وعسى ان تجد من يستمع لها ويرد عليها، لعلها تجد من يستحي ويخجل مما يقوم به، ولكن ما وصلت اليه الحال في الكويت جاء عكس كل النظريات في العالم

فضيحة الحسابات المليونية اثبتت ان قدر ما نكتب كلنا عن أي قضية لا يؤثر ولا يهز شعرة من رأس المجرم في أي موضوع، كنا نتحدث ونكتب عن فساد البلدية والتجارة والداخلية والشؤون، فساد الرشى وتسيير المعاملات، فساد الغش بالبناء والمناقصات، فساد الانتخابات، فساد الفرعيات، فساد وراء فساد وراء فساد، حتى اعلن عن قيام الهيئة الوطنية لمكافحة الفساد، ثم ماذا؟

في اصغر مخالفة في المرور الى اكبر مخالفة فساد في الدولة لا يقضي عليها الا شيء واحد، شيء واحد لا يحتاج الى تشكيل لجان او طلب رئيس وزراء عربي سابق وفريقه، او تغيير وزراء، او حل برلمان، او عقد اجتماعات، او اصدار مراسيم، او الغاء مراسيم

القضاء على مخالفات رمي الاوساخ من نافذة السيارة، او التعدي بالكلام على الاخرين، او هضم حقوق العاملين بكل مستوياتهم، وقف المعاملات من دون وجه حق، وطلب تغيير اطارات السيارة مقابل التوقيع على معاملة صحيحة مائة في المائة وعدم تعطيلها، او طلب نسبة من قيمة مناقصة تزيد اصفارها على الستة مقابل الفوز بها، لا تحتاج الا شيئا واحدا

لا لجان ولا قوانين جديدة، ولا تشريعات، ولا وزارة جديدة، ولا برلمان جديد.. تنفع. تطبيق القانون بكل حزم ومن دون تردد هو الدواء للداء الذي انهكنا وقضى على قوتنا ونخر عظامنا وافقدنا شهية الحياة، وتركنا جثثا تتنفس ببطء قبل ان يعلن وفاتها.. قريبا

وكما كان سعد يقول لأخيه حسينوه في «درب الزلق»: بسنا قوانين، بسنا تشريعات، بسنا لجان، بسنا حكومات، بسنا مجالس. أنا أقول. وكثيرين كثيرين يقولون بسنا فساد، بسنا فساد

إقبال الأحمد

دهان السير على الطريقة الكورية يحل مشاكلنا الشوارعية!

علي أحمد البغلي

تقف عند إشارة المرور، ترى المتخلف الذي أمامك يرمي بسلة قمامة كاملة على الرصيف أسفل الإشارة! لا تستطيع أن تفعل شيئاً مع أن «ودك تنتفه»! تقف عند الإشارة «دهراً» حتى يفتح لك اللون الأخضر، وإذا بسيارة عملاقة يقودها شاب أحمرق، يقطع عليك الطريق من الجهة المقابلة مع أن اشارته صار لها «قرن وهي حمراء»! تمشي ووراءك وأمامك صفوف متراصة من السيارات، وإذا بشباب في سن المراهقة الغضة يقودون دراجاتهم البخارية ذات الدفع الثلاثي يقطعون عليك الطريق بعد اعتلاء الرصيف! وهذه الدراجات المسماة بـ«البقيات» أو «البجيات» صممت للشواطئ الرملية والصحارى وليست للمدن، ولكن «هذي الكويت صل على النبي»! هؤلاء الشباب بالقيات تراهم اثنين اثنين (مترادفين!) حتى تتكشف الكارثة إن حدثت! وقد حدثت منات المرات، فقد فيها هؤلاء الشباب في سن غضة أرواحهم، أو حياتهم التي انقلبت من شاب مليء بالصحة والحياة، الى شاب طريح الفراش يعاني من شلل، أو شاب يلزم كرسيه ولا يكتفي هؤلاء الشباب بقيادة وسيلة ترفيه بالأماكن الخلوية، في الشوارع العادية، بل تراهم يقودون تلك **Weel Chair** المدولب الآلات القبيحة بطريقة بهلوانية خطيرة، وأعني هنا رفع الإطارات الأمامية وترك تلك الآلة تعتمد على الإطارات الخلفية فقط ، وهي طريقة قيادة بهلوانية أكثر من خطيرة! والاحتمال وارد بنسبة كبيرة باختلال توازن تلك الآلة، ليفقد اثنان من شباب **Weeling** الكويت زهرة شبابهما بفقدان حياتهما، أو جسديهما، وتجلس أنت وراء المقود تلعن «سنسفيل» ذلك الوالد وتلك الوالدة اللذين سهلا !لغدة كبديةما طريقة الموت أو الإعاقة

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نحن كلنا نواجه تلك الظواهر المؤلمة، لنتألم منها، من دون أن نحرك ساكناً، لأنه ليس بيدنا شيء نعمله للحد من تلك الممارسات غير المتحضرة

!كوريا الجنوبية، النمر الآسيوي المتوثب، وجدت حلاً لأمثالنا «ليبرد جيده»، لا.. وحل فيه مكافأة بعد

ففي كوريا الجنوبية أعدت هيئات حكومية برامج تتضمن الإبلاغ عن جرائم تافهة، مثل الإبلاغ عن جرائم علنية مثل إلقاء أعقاب سجانر أو قمامة خارج السيارة، أو قطع إشارة مرور حمراء، لقاء مكافأة لا بأس بها للمبلغ، الذي يوثق تلك المخالفة بالصورة والصوت أحياناً، في كوريا! حيث يطارد هؤلاء «البابارتزي» ضحاياهم **Bounty hunters** وخلق ذلك الأمر ظاهرة اسمها «صيادو الجوائز ويلتقطون صوراً لهم، ولكن الضحايا هذه المرة ليسوا من المشاهير أو السياسيين أو المجرمين المحترفين، بل يجوب هؤلاء المصورون المدن لتصوير المواطنين الذين يخرقون القانون ثم يقدمون الأدلة إلى المسؤولين للحصول على المال

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وسأستشهد على نجاح هذا الأسلوب بأقوال لمسؤولين عن تلك الممارسة الصحية الناجعة.. أحد مديري معهد لتدريب صاندي الجوائز المستقبليين يقول: إن الناس في كوريا الجنوبية يرتكبون الكثير من الأخطاء (لو يجي الكويت جان شيقول؟!)، بسبب ما يتسمون به من قلة صبر وعجلة، مثل السير اثناء الإشارة الحمراء، والانتقال بين الحارات المرورية بشكل غير قانوني، وعدم الالتزام بالصف، وإلقاء «أعقاب السجانر. ويستطرد بالقول: «طالما وجدت هذه الصفات سيجد المصورون للمخالفات عملاً

هذا التعهد في مجال تطبيق القانون أصبح نعمة بالنسبة للمجالس المحلية، حيث يقولون إنهم يوفرون المال، الذي يدفع كرواتب للضباط! وغالباً ما تفوق الغرامات التي تفرض على المخالفين، المال الذي يدفع للمبلغين، فعلى سبيل المثال، تبلغ مكافأة الإبلاغ عن إلقاء القمامة، نحو 40 دولاراً، بينما تفوق الغرامة هذا المبلغ بمقدار عشرة أمثال، ولذلك فإن الكثير من أبناء كوريا الجنوبية في ظل الأزمة الاقتصادية المتفاقمة، أصبحوا يعتمدون على ذلك المصدر القانوني في الدخل

لذلك ندعو إلى ان يقتدي أصحاب القرار هنا في الكويت من اعضاء مجلس أمة وحكومة (مالك أمل!) بتلك الدولة المتحضرة، وان يشرعوا لنا مثل تلك القوانين للحد من انتهاك القوانين! فدهان سير المواطنين على الطريقة الكورية قد يكون أفضل حل لمشاكلنا الشوارعية

ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم

في قضية ودائع النواب المليونية، أثرت قضية أخرى مرتبطة وقد تكون الإثارة من الطرف الآخر أي من الطرف المتضرر من إثارة الودائع المليونية ضد الطرف الذي أثار الودائع المليونية! لا ندري فقد ضعنا بالطوشة، واختلط الحابل بالنابل، في ظل طغيان الجرعة السياسية على كل تصرفات ساستنا وتجارنا

مقولة ان الحكومة «تبر» البعض بالمناقصات هي مقولة ليست بالسهولة المتصورة، فلم يحدث، كما قال رئيس لجنة المناقصات المركزية الأخ الفاضل أحمد الكليب في اللجنة المالية عندما وجه بهذه المقولة، فرد بالقول: «إذا لديكم معلومات موثقة أعطونا اياها.. ولم يحدث قط ان كلمني سمو رئيس مجلس الوزراء، أو أحد الوزراء موصيا بترسية مناقصة من دون وجه حق لطرف غير مستحق بموجب مواصفات المناقصة التي تعدها جهة الإدارة».. وكلمة مواصفات المناقصة يجب وضع عشرات الخطوط الحمر حولها، فبيبت الداء بالمناقصات هو مواصفاتها التي يعدها الفنيون والمختصون في الوزارات، فهذه المواصفات بالإمكان تفصيلها تفصيلا لا ينطبق إلا على هذا الطرف، أما باقي الأطراف فلتشرب من البحر

وذلك مقابل قبض «المقسوم أو المعلوم»، نعم فموظفوكم واسعو الذمة والضمير، هم السبب في فشل أغلب مشاريعنا وتوريداتنا والمغالاة في أسعارها من دون وجه حق، وليس الحكومة أو جهة الإدارة، لأن الحكومة لا تقبض عمولة أو «كوموشن» أو رشوة، فهذه لمن تخصصات البشر ومهامهم من ذوي الذمم والضمان «الخرطي»! من نواب الحكومة وموظفيها

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:الأسبوع الماضي اطلعت على وقائع 3 مناقصات أو ممارسات تثير الضحك والسخرية عن طريقة طرحها والسير فيها

المناقصة الأولى، يروي لي صديق يسكن في منطقة سكنية حضرية (كشخة) انه فوجئ بعمال يرمون المسجد القريب من منزله، الذي لم يجاوز عدة سنوات من العمر! فصادف شخصاً يبدو من هيئته انه المقاول المسؤول (مصري) عن أعمال الترميم التي يقوم بها العمال، فاستفسر منه عن طبيعة العمل والأسعار.. أبلغه المقاول انه يقوم بأعمال المقاوله المطلوبة مقابل 12.5 ديناراً للمتر المربع بصفته مقاول باطن، أما المقاول الذي رست عليه الأعمال نفسها، فيقبض أو نص في أوراق المناقصة على أن سعر المتر 65 ديناراً بالتام والكمال!.. ولكم أن تتخيلوا! فمن رست عليه المناقصة بذلك السعر المرتفع وباعها بذلك السعر البخس من المؤكد انه لن يبخص إحق من وافق أو فصل له ذلك السعر

الممارسة الثانية طرحتها وزارة سيادية، ولكنني عجزت عن فهم المغزى منها عندما اطلعت عليها في الجريدة الرسمية (الكويت اليوم)، فممارسة طرحت لتوريد جهاز سونار طبي لكشف الحمل للخيل لزوم الوزارة! يعني الله يهدي الوزارة، ما كانت تستطيع أن ترسل خيولها «الحمل» لإدارة البيطرة في هيئة الزراعة والثروة السمكية ليكشفوا عن الخيل التي في نواصيها الخير، «حامل والا؟! بدل ما . «!تعني نفسها وتشترى سونار حصن؟

من عادة الزملاء «المطوعة» ان اغلبهم يبدأ موضوعه بجملة.. «بعد مغادرتي للمسجد عقب صلاة المغرب..» أو .. «بينما كنت أهم بالدخول الى المسجد لصلاة العصر..»، أو.. «ما ان انتهيت من صلاة الظهر..»، الى آخره وكأنهم هم المسلمون فقط وبقية أهل الديرة من.. «نصارى نجران زمن النجاشي»!! لذلك، تطبيقا لشعار.. «وأنا بعد.. وياهم» الخالد، سأبدأ مقال اليوم بـ.. «بعد ان انتهيت من اداء صلاة العشاء في المسجد مساء أمس».. جاءني اتصال من سيدة كويتية لديها ابن لبناني متزوج من سورية ذهبت الى بلدها لتضع مولودها الاول بين اهلها وذويها، فوقع ما وقع من احداث هناك، فبقيت حتى انتهت اقامتها المسجلة على جوازها، فأضطر زوجها لإدخالها الى الكويت بـ«كرت زيارة» ظلت تجدهه عدة مرات حتى تجاوزت المهلة المحددة، وتراكت الغرامات مع رفض «الداخلية» بأوامر من الوزير الشيخ «أحمد الحمود» منحها إقامة كانت اصلا ممنوحة لها، ولولا «بشار النعجة» وما فعلته عصابة المخابرات السورية من «ماهر النعجة»، و«رامي مخلوف»، و«أصف شوكت» من «ظلم و ظلمات» بحق شعبهم، لما تورطت هذه الزوجة السورية المسكينة التي أنجبت حفيدة لمواطنة كويتية!! أعرف الشيخ «أحمد الحمود» منذ أن كان وزيرا للداخلية للمرة الاولى في عام 1992، وقد تسبب دون قصد منه في صدور حكم قضائي ضدي بالحبس لمدة ثلاثة أشهر ارتبط والله الحمد بغرامة قدرها 500 دينار «لوقف التنفيذ» دفعتها سيدة كويتية ذهبت الى المحكمة وسدنتها.. دون ان أعلم، ولولاها لدخلت السجن المركزي.. «وانا أطق أصبع» لانني لم اكن راغبا في تسديد مبلغ الغرامة اصلا.. وكل ذلك بسبب مقال كتبتة على خلفية قرار أصدره الشيخ «احمد الحمود» بصفته وزيرا للداخلية في ذلك الزمان، وتعلق بتأشيرات خدم المنازل، اذ «سكرها بوحمود» تماما ومنع اصدار أي نوع منها لأي سائق أو خادم أو طبّاخ أو مربية لأي مواطن كويتي، فأغلق الكويت «بالضربة والمفتاح» لمدة تزيد على ثلاثة اشهر.. «حسب ذاكرتي»، فضجت الناس والاسر والعوائل، وانهاالت الاتصالات علينا في الجريدة «وكنت وقتها في صحيفة صوت الكويت المملوكة للحكومة والتي اصدرتها خلال الغزو واغلقها وزير الاعلام الاسبق الشيخ سعود الناصر بعد نشر مقالي هذا بعدة اسابيع» وكذلك بقية الصحف الكويتية، وكلها تشكو من قرار الوزير، ولأن «الكويتي من غير خادمة».. كالولايات المتحدة الامريكية من دون.. «ساب واي» و«ماكدونالذ» و.. «بيتزا دايموند»!! مقالي الذي ارسلني الى السجن لمدة ثلاثة اشهر كان تصويرا لحلم حلمته بأنني قد توفيت ودفنت، فبدأت اصف احوال القبر وسماع اصوات المشيعين وهي تبتعد عن قبري وكذلك محركات سياراتهم وعجلاتها! كنت اهدف من وراء ما كتبت تبيان مدى صعوبة الحصول على تأشيرات دخول كائنا من كان للكويت بعد ان.. «سكرها احمد الحمود»، فتحرك ثلاثة مطاوعة لهم ملامح معتقلي «غوانتانامو» ومقاتلي «طالبان» على هيئة «مبارك البذالي» وتوجهوا الى وزارة الاعلام.. ليشتكوني حول المقال، والوزارة «مشكورة» احالنتي الى النيابة، ومنها الى المحكمة، وبعدها، الى السجن.. لولا رحمة ربك

كثرت الحديث في الاونة الاخيرة عن «الامارة الدستورية» وضرورة انتقال الكويت الى هذا المستوى من «التطور» السياسي، خصوصا بعد مرور اكثر من نصف قرن من «الحكم الديموقراطي».

لا يخفى على احد انني «رجعي جدا ومتخلف جدا» عند الحديث عن اي تطوير للنظام السياسي هنا. فانا كنت ولا ازال ضد حتى فصل ولاية العهد عن منصب رئيس مجلس الوزراء، حذرت منها وقد ثبت بالملحوس الاثر السلبي لهذا الفصل. انا ضد رئيس وزراء شعبي، وبالتأكيد ضد تحويل الكويت «الآن» الى حكم دستوري - نيابي كامل. هذه وجهة نظري ولن اخفيها او اماري فيها كما فعل البعض الذي مال الى تأييد هذا الانتقال الفجائي في الحكم، فمضى يكذب ويلفق تمهيدا ودعما لهذا الوهم. لكن... انا في النهاية مع الحكم الدستوري، وحتى مع جمهورية افلاطون ان امكن... لكن ليس الآن.. وليس في ظل تسيد التعصب الديني والقبلي، وليس في غياب الحس الوطني والرغبة الشعبية في الانتماء، وليس في ظل سحق شخصية المواطن وفرديته فدءاً للطائفة او القبيلة او جنات عدن في العالم الاخر. وبالتأكيد ليس تحت وطأة الحكم الشمولي المتمثل في فرض واملاء الاتجاه الديني الرجعي بالقوة في التربية وفي السياسة وحتى في الاقتصاد والقانون.

الانتقال الى الحكم الدستوري يتطلب الايمان الكامل بالصراع الديموقراطي الذي تكفله وتحدده مبادئ الانتقال والتداول السلمي للسلطة، هذا الانتقال وهذا التداول اللذان تمهد لهما وتضمنهما «الحرثيات» المتاحة بشكل عادل ومتساو امام جميع المنتمين للوطن، من اجل طرح وجهة نظرهم و«الترويج» الحر لمعتقداتهم ومبادئهم. ان المؤسف ان بعض المنتمين ووطنيا وديموقراطيا، اما بحسن نية او ببلاهة، ساروا ويسيروا مع مقولة الحكم الدستوري، رغم ان مردي ومخترعي والمتحمسين والمروجين تدليسا وكذبا لهذا الوهم هم اشد اعداء الحرية واشد الناس تمسكا بالمفاهيم التراثية والعقائد البالية. ان المطالبين بالامارة الدستورية من امثال «شباب» حدس - في ساحة البلدية - هم وليس احد غيرهم من اقر المادة المذكورة اعلاه من قانون المطبوعات، وهم ومعهم متخلفو ساحة الارادة «جميعهم ولا استثنى حتى مدعي الليبرالية» من يتمسك بـ«ثوابت الامة» ويقا تل ضد اي تغيير سلمي او تداول حر للسلطة او للعقائد والمفاهيم. ليس صعبا على هذه الاشكال المغرقة في الرجعية شتم رئيس مجلس الوزراء واهانته او الدعوة الى اقالته، وتغيير ثوابت الحكم السياسي وقواعده، في الوقت الذي يتمسكون فيه باكاذيبهم وخز عيالاتهم ووصايتهم الاجتماعية اللامتناهية على المجتمع، ليس غريبا هذا على هؤلاء، فهذه تربيتهم «الدينية»، وهذا معتقدهم وما يسعون اليه... لكن الغريب كل الغريب ان يجدوا اذنا صاغية تستمع لهم وكتفا يستندون اليه ممن يدعون الوطنية والتقدمية

نشرت احدى صحفنا يوم امس الاول الآتي «.. ومن جانبه، قال مصدر في كتلة العمل الشعبي ان كتلة النواب والمجاميع المعارضة فتحت تنسيقا مع بعض النقابات لتوظيف استيائها من عدم اقرار كوادرها وحقوقها ونقمتها تجاه ذلك في حشد النقابات في الندوات المقبلة للضغط على الحكومة وحملها على الاستقالة». هكذا تمت صياغة الخبر، لكن الواضح ان النقابات دخلت على خط الابتزاز السياسي بمباركة كالعادة من التكتل الشعبي.. لهذا فان تضخمت بعد سنوات ارسدة بعض قياديي النقابات او احيل بعض «العمال» الى النيابة بتهمة غسل الاموال... فلا تستغربوا

عبداللطيف الدعيج

د. لميس جابر مقدمة برنامج «دستور ياسيادنا» على قناة الأوربت، سمحيلنا ولكن معلوماتك عن الكويت ومنطقة الخليج خرابيط وخرطي، وتحتاج الى تحديث، هذا اذا كنت حقا دكتورة تهمها الحقيقة، وتسعى وراءها كما تفعلين في محاولاتك لتبييض تاريخ الملك فاروق، واثبات تعرضه للغبن والظلم من قبل شعبه في مصر.

في حديثك عن دول الخليج في برنامج يوم الاثنين 26/9 عرفنا أنك تنتمين لجوقة القوميين العرب التي تلقي بجميع بلاوي ومشكلات الوطن العربي على كاهل الخليج ودوله وحكامه، وقد ادعيت في البرنامج قيام تلك الدول بتدبير الانقلابات التي طالت جمهوريات ذات نظام شبه ديموقراطي، وحولتها الى دول عسكرية. سبحانك ربي. دول صغيرة، ضعيفة، يسكنها عدد قليل من السكان مشغولين بالبحث عن لقمة العيش بالغوص والسفر، تقلب أنظمة الحكم في بلاد عريقة، شاسعة، واسعة، لهاالدرجة احنا أقوىاء واحنا ما my God Oh يسكنها ملايين الناس، فتقضي على ديموقراطياتها وتجعلها دولا عسكرية، ندرى.

من أخطائك أيضا ادعاؤك ان الكويت والبحرين وقطر والامارات نشأت نتيجة لاتفاقية سايكس بيكو عقب انتصار الحلفاء على دول المحور في الحرب العالمية الأولى، وقيام فرنسا وبريطانيا بتقاسم الأراضي العربية حسب مشتهاة كل وحدة، فتلك تأخذ فخذة من هنا، والثانية تفتنص جناحا من هناك، وهكذا

أختنا المحترمة، أنت تحملين شهادة الدكتوراه ولو أتعبت نفسك قليلا، وبحثت في تاريخ دول الخليج لعرفت ان الكويت، على سبيل المثال، بلد قائم بذاته منذ القرن السادس عشر، يحكمها شيوخ من آل الصباح اتفق على حكمهم جميع أبناء الشعب الكويتي، وحتى وقتنا الحاضر حكمها ثلاثة عشر أميراً، وكانت لها معاهدة مع بريطانيا عقدتها سنة 1899، ل حمايتها من الدول الطامعة فيها، ثم طلبت الغاءها سنة 61 بعد شعورها بعدم الحاجة لها، وأنها لا علاقة لها بسايكس ورفيقه بيكو اللذين تقاسما العراق ومصر وبلاد الشام، ووزعا أراضيها حسب رغبة كل منهم

مؤلف عراقي يدعى عباس بغدادي كتب كتابا يصف فيه بغداد في العشرينات كما رآها وعاشها. في صفحة 23 من كتابه بغداد في العشرينات كتب المؤلف عن نفسه فقرة نقتطف منها التالي «ملكت وأفلست وسقمت وعوفيت وصعدت ونزلت، ولقيت من الأمور ما لقيت، ولبست العرقجين والكشيدة والطروش والسدارة والبرنيطة، وشرقت وغربت وسكنت خارج «بغداد سنين عديدة، وعرفت سورية ولبنان ومصر وايران وتركيا والأردن والسعودية والكويت والبحرين وأوروبا

وسؤال نوجهه للدكتورة المحترمة، ومن هم على شاكلتها، هل كان الكاتب سيذكر الكويت ضمن الدول التي زارها لو لم إتكن كيانا قائما بذاته لا جزءا من العراق كما أردت ان تمرر للمشاهدين متجاوزة بذلك أمانتها العلمية؟

أحدهم لا بد أن يسقط

إقبال الأحمد

أحدهم لا بد أن يسقط.. وستعلن البراءة للباقيين.. لأنهم لن يسقطوا كلهم بالتأكيد

القبس نشرت خبر حسابات النواب المليونية.. ولم تحدد من هم أصحاب هذه الحسابات.. والبنك المركزي دافع عن نفسه..
نواب أرددوا وأزيدوا.. ونواب حذروا.. ونواب شككوا.. ونواب التزموا الصمت.. والحكومة لم تعلق

بالتأكيد في نهاية الأمر، وبعد أن تتضح الأمور لا بد أن يسقط طرفا.. أي طرف يثبت خطأ في الموضوع مثل أصحاب
الحسابات المليونية إذا أثبتت عليهم.. أو الحكومة إذا ثبت أنها دفعت.. أو الصحيفة التي نشرت عن الموضوع إذا ثبت أن
معلوماتها ملفقة وغير صحيحة

بمعنى أن واحدا من أضلاع المربع الراشي أو المرتشي أو الجهة التي تصب فيها تلك الأموال أو الناشر.. لا بد أن يقع
عندما تتضح الرؤية.. ففضيحة الحسابات المليونية لا يمكن أن تمر من دون أن يعاقب أي بطل من أبطالها

شيء طبيعي أن الراشي والمرتشي هما البطلان الرئيسيان واللذين لا بد أن يطالهما القصاص إذا ثبت عليهما شيء.. أما
البنك المركزي ففي حال وجود قوانين تلزمه بالتبليغ في مثل هذه الحالات، فلا بد أن يتم الوقوف عنده أيضا.. أما إذا ثبت
أن تلك المعلومة الخطيرة لم تكون في مكانها، وأن ما ورد فيها من معلومات لا يتعدى التبليغ على بعض النواب وإثارة
زوبعة أو فقاعة لا أثر لها.. فلا بد أن يحاسب أيضا من قام بالنشر

الأمة اللي ما فيش منها فايذة!

علي البغلي

لم يتبق من دكتاتوريات في هذا العالم من أقصاه الى أقصاه إلا أمة بني يعرب، فالعالم كله أصبحت الديمقراطية وصناديق الانتخابات هي التي تحدد مصير حكامه، ما عدا بعض دولنا العربية التي خرج بعض حكامها وتركوا كراسيهم خائبين، وما زال البعض منهم يمسك بالكرسي من تلايبه، مهما كانت التضحيات والثمن أو الخسائر بالأرواح.

قلعة دكتاتورية الحزب الواحد، الاتحاد السوفيتي، الذي كان يحكم شعوبه بالـ «كي.جي.بي» والحديد والنار، تخلت عن كل ذلك والتجأت — كباقي خلق الله — الى صناديق الاقتراع والانتخاب الحر المباشر والمشاركات الحزبية والشعبية.. فلاديمير بوتين، رئيس وزراء روسيا الحالي، رغم انه خرج من رحم الـ «كي.جي.بي» (رمز القمع السوفيتي)، ورغم انه من كبار المتجهمين الروس، فإنه لعبها صح، فلم يعدل دستور دولته ليحكم أكثر من ولايتين متتاليتين عندما كان رئيساً، وسلم الحكم لمساعدته ديميتري مدفيديف الذي يصغره بعشر سنوات. الآن بوتين ومدفيديف أصبحا يلعبان، كمهاجمي خط الوسط في نادي برشلونة الاسباني، فمدفيديف صرح بالأمس بأنه يرشح رئيس الوزراء الحالي بوتين لكرسي الرئاسة في الانتخابات المقبلة، ليرد عليه بوتين التحية بمثلها قائلاً ان مرشحه لرئاسة مجلس الوزراء هو مدفيديف، ولا يملك المراقب الا الاعجاب من سرعة استيعاب الروس للعبة الديمقراطية، وهم من المستجدين عليها، دخلوا فيها بعد سقوط حائط برلين في تسعينات القرن الماضي، بعكس جماعتنا، فيشار سوريا يعد جماهيره المتعطشة للمشاركة في الحكم والديموقراطية باصلاحات ورقية غير ذات مفعول، ولا ينفذها على أرض الواقع!

لعنات المصريين... على المحامين الكويتيين...

محمد العوضي

لا يجوز بأي حالة من الأحوال ان تنطلق الألسنة الحداد بصب اللعنات على من ظنت به سوءا او استشاطت غضبا من موافقه وسلوكه... فالمؤمن كما قال الحبيب المصطفى: «ليس باللّعان...»، وتفهمنا لغضب المصريين من المحامين الكويتيين المتطوعين للدفاع عن الطاغية يدفعنا للتوضيح والنقد والادانة لمحامي بلدنا دون لعن.

> أولا هؤلاء المحامون يمثلون أنفسهم ولا يحق لهم ان يتكلموا باسم الكويت، والكويتيون وأنا واحد من المواطنين الذين يتبرؤون من فعل هؤلاء براءة الذنب من دم ابن يعقوب عليهما السلام.

> القيادة السياسية الكويتية باركت ثورة وخيار الشعب المصري ووزير خارجيتنا صرح ان هذا شأن مصري خاص.

(ان اتحاد طلبة الكويت في مصر سيصدر بيانا kuw777 > ذكر الزميل سليمان السعيد في تغريدته الاخيرة) يشجب خلاله ويستنكر «تلقف» المحامين الكويتيين المتطوعين للدفاع عن مبارك وتدخلهم بشأن مصري داخلي.

وأهم ما سيتضمنه البيان ان تصرف هؤلاء المحامين المدافعين عن مبارك سيتسبب بمضايقات للكويتيين بشكل عام في مصر.

(وأنا أكتب المقال تقول: (هذا الموقف أثر وسيؤثر على كل الطلاب moody200941 > جاءتني تغريدة من حساب) الخليجيين بمصر وأنا كنت واحدا منهم لأن المصري ما يفرق بين كويتي وقطري الكل خليجي)، يعني أذية المحامين لم يسلم منها أحد.

MM Corpus

Article 1

dahaan alsiyr 'ala alTariyqah alkuwriyyah yaHil mashaakilna alshawaari'iyah
Ali Ahmad Al-Baghli

dahaan alsiyr 'alaa alTariyqah alkuwriyyah yaHil
ointment DET-bellybutton on DET-way DET-korean 3SM-solve.IMPERF

mashaakilna alshawaari'iyah
problem.PL-PRO.1PL DET-street

“Giving financial rewards the Korean way solves our street problems”

taqiff 'ind ishaarat almuwr, taraa almutakhallif alladhiy
2SM-stop.IMPERF at signal DET-traffic 2SM-see.IMPERF DET-retard who

amaamak yarmiy bisallat qumaamah kaamilah 'alaa alraSiyf
front.PRO.2SM 2SM-throw.IMPERF by-basket trash complete on DET-pavement

'asfal al'ishaarah!
below DET-signal

“You stop at the traffic signal, and you see the retard in front of you throwing a bag full of trash onto the pavement below the traffic signal!”

laa tastaTiy' ann taf'al shay'aN ma'a inna
NEG 2SM-can.IMPERF that 2SM-do.IMPERF thing.ACC with that

<<widdik itnatfah>>! taqiff 'ind al'ishaarah
want.PRO.2SM.IMPERF 2SM-tear.IMPERF 2SM-stop.IMPERF at DET-signal

<<dahraN>> Hatta yaftaH lak alluwn al'akhDar,
age.ACC until 3SM-open.IMPERF for-PRO.2SM DET-colour DET-green

wa idha bisayyarah 'imlaaqah yaquudaha shaab aHmaq,
and if by-car huge 3SM-drive.IMPERF-PRO.3SF young-man idiot

yaqTa' 'alayk alTariyq min aljihah almuqaabilah
3SM-cut.IMPERF on-PRO.2SM DET-way from DET-side DET-opposite

ma'a anna ishaaratah Saar laha <<qarn wa hiya
with that signal-PRO.3SM happen.3SM.PERF to-PRO.3SF century and PRO.3SF

Hamraa'>>!
red

“You can't do a thing, even though “you wish you could tear him apart”! You stop at the traffic signal for ages, waiting for the green light, then a huge car driven by an idiot young man cuts you up from the opposite side even though his signal has been “red for a century”!”

tamshiy wa waraa'ak wa amaamak Sufuwf
2SM-walk.IMPERF and behind-PRO.2SM and front-PRO.2SM lines

mutaraaSSah min alsayaraat, wa idha bishabaab fiy sinn almuraahaqah
packed from DET-cars and if by-young.men in age DET-teenage

alghaDDah yaquwduwn darrajaatahum albukhaariyah dhaat
DET-tender 3PLM-drive.IMPERF motorcycle.PL-PRO.3PLM DET-steam of

aldaf' althulaathiy yaqTa'uwn 'aliyk alTariyq ba'd
DET-drive DET-ternary 3PLM-cut.IMPERF on-PRO.2SM DET-way after

i'tilaa' alraSiyf!
mounting DET-pavement

“You walk, and behind and in front of you there are parked cars, and then teenage boys at a tender age, who are driving steam-powered three-wheeled motorcycles, and who cut up the road by mounting the pavement.”

wa hadhihi aldarajaat almusammaat bi
and this DET-motorcycles DET-called by

<<albaggyaat>> aw <<albajjyaat>> Summimat lilshawaaTi'
DET-buggies or DET-buggys design.3SF.PERF.PASS to-DET-beachs

alramliyyah wa alSaHaariy wa laysat lilmudun, wa lakin
DET-sandy and DET-deserts and NEG-PRO.3SF to-DET-cities and but

<<*hadhiy likwayt Sal 'ala alnibiy*>>!
This DET-kuwait pray.IMPER.2SM on DET-prophet

“And these motorcycles, which are called "buggies", are designed for sandy beaches and deserts and are not for driving in the city but "this is Kuwait, send prayers to the Prophet!".”

hau'laa' alshabaab bilbaggyaat taraahum
those DET-young-men in-buggies 2SM-see.IMPERF-PRO.3PLM

ithniyn ithniyn (mutaraadifiyn!) Hatta tatakashaf
two two together even 3SF.reveal.IMPERF

alkaarithah inn Hadathat! wa qad
DET-disaster if happen.PERF.3SF and already

Hadathat mi'aat almarraat, faqad fiyha
happen.PERF.3SF hundreds DET-times lose.3PLM.PERF in-PRO.3SF

ha'ulaa' alshabaab fiy sinn ghaDDah arwaaHahum, aw
those DET-young men in age tender soul.PL-POSS.3PLM or

Hayaatahum allatiy inqalabat min shaab maliy'
life.PL-POSS.3PLM which turn.3SF.PERF from young man full

bilSiHHah wa alHayaat, ilaa shaab
in-DET-health and DET-life to young man

TariyH alfiraash yu'aaniy min shalal aw
confined DET-bed 3SM-suffer.IMPERF from paralysis or

shaab yulaazim kirsiiyyih almudawlab Weel Chair [sic]
young-man 3SM-stay.IMPERF chair-PRO.3SM DET-wheeled wheel chair

“These young men with their buggies, you see them driving together, two by two, until a disaster happens, and disasters have already happened a hundred times in which young men lost their lives at a tender age, turning them from young men full of health and life into young men who are confined to their wheelchairs.”

wa laa yaktafiy ha'ula' alshabab biqiyaaadat
 and NEG 3SM-suffice.IMPERF those DET-young-men in-driving

wasiyat tarfiyh bil'amaakin alkhawiyah,
 means entertainment in-DET-places DET-empty

fiy alshawaariy' al'aadiyyah, bal
 in DET-street DET-normal but

taraahum yaquduwn tilk
 3SM-see.IMPERF-PRO.3PLM 3PLM-drive.IMPERF that

al'alaat alqabiyHah biTariyyah bahlawaaniyah khaTirah,
 DET-machine.PL DET-ugly in-way in-acrobatic dangerous

“And those young men do not find it sufficient to drive this means of entertainment in empty spaces or normal streets, but you also see them driving these ugly machines in acrobatic and dangerous ways.”

wa 'a'niy hunaa raf' al'iTaraat al'amaamiyah wa tark
 and 1S-mean.IMPERF here lifting DET-wheels DET-frontal and leaving

tilk al'aalah ta'tamid 'ala al'iTaraat alkhalfiyah
 that DET-machine 3SF-depend.IMPERF on DET-wheels DET-back

faqaT Weeling [sic], wa hiya Tariyyat qiyaadah bahlawaaniyah akthar min
 only wheeling and PRO.3SF way driving acrobatic more than

khaTirah! wa al'iHtimaal waarid binisbah kabiyrah bikhtilaal tawaazun
 dangerous and DET-possibility likely in-percentage big in-imbalance balance

tilk al'aalah, liyafqid ithnaan min shabaab alkwayt
 that DET-machine to-3SM-lose.IMPERF two from young.men DET-kuwait

zahrat shabaabahumaa bifiqdaan Hayaatahumaa, aw
 flower youth-POSS.3DUALM in-losing life-POSS.3DUALM or

jasadihumaa, wa tajlis anta waraa'
 body-PRO.3DUALM and 2SM-sit.IMPERF PRO.2SM behind

almuqwad tal'an <<sansafiyl>> dhalik alwaalid wa tilk
 DET-wheel 2SM-curse.IMPERF grandfathers that DET-father and that

alwaalidah alladhiyn sahhalaa
 DET-mother who facilitate.3DUALM.PERF

lifaldhat kabdiyhumaa Tariyqat almawt aw al'i'aaqah
 to-part liver-PRO.3DUALM way DET-death or DET-paralysis

“And I mean here lifting the front wheels and depending on the back wheels only, and this acrobatic way of driving is more than dangerous, and there is a likely possibility - and a big percentage - of disrupting the balance of that vehicle, so that two young Kuwaiti men lose the lives of their bodies and you sit behind the wheel cursing “the grandfathers” of that father and mother who facilitated for their children the path to paralysis and death.”

naHnu kullunaa nuwaajih tilk alZawaahir almu'limah,
 PRO.1PL all-PRO.1PL 1PL-face.IMPERF that DET-phenomena DET-painful

linata'allam minhaa, min duwn ann nuHarrik
 to-1PL-learn.IMPERF from-PRO.1PL from without that 1PL-move.IMPERF

saakinaN, li'annahu laysa biyadinaa shay' na'malahu
 still.ACC to-that-PRO.3SM NEG in-hand-POSS.1PL thing 1PL-do.IMPERF

lilHadd min tilk almunarasaat ghiyr almutaHaDirah.
 to-DET-limit from that DET-practice.PL NEG DET-civilized

“We are all facing these painful phenomena, learning from them, without doing a thing, because there is nothing in our hands we can do to stop these uncivilized practices.”

kuwriyaa aljanuwbiyyah, alnimr al'asyawiy almutawathib,
korea DET-southern DET-tiger DET-asian DET-jumping

wajadat HallaN li'amthaalinaa <<liybarrid chabdah>>,
find.3SF.PERF solution.ACC to-likes-PRO.1PL to-3SM-cool.IMPERF liver-POSS.1SM

laa.. wa Hal fiyh mukaafa'ah ba'ad!
NEG and solution in-PRO.3SM reward also

“South Korea, the jumping tiger, has found a solution for people like us to "be satisfied"... and not only that, but there's a reward too!”

fafiy kuwriyaa aljanuwbiyyah a'addat hay'aat Hukuwmiyyah
as-in korea DET-southern prepare.3SF.PERF authorities governmental

baraamij tataDamman al'iblaagh 'an jaraa'im taafihah, mithl
programmes 3SF-include.IMPERF DET-reporting of crimes petty like

al'iblaagh 'an jaraa'im 'alaniyyah mithl 'ilqaa' 'aqaab sajaa'ir aw
DET-reporting of crimes public like throwing butts cigarettes or

qumaamah khaarj alsayyarah, aw qaT' ishaarat muruwr Hamraa',
litter outside DET-car or crossing signal traffic red

liqaa' mukaafa'ah la ba's bihaa lilmuballigh,
for reward NEG hurt in-PRO.3SF to-DET-reporter

alladhiy yuwathiq tilk almukhaalafah bilSuwrah
who 3SM-document.IMPERF that DET-breach in-DET-picture

wa alSawt aHyanaN, wa khalaq
and DET-sound sometimes and create.3SM.PERF

dhaalik al'amr Zaahirah ismahaa <<Sayaduw aljawaa'iz
that DET-matter phenomenon name-POSS.3SF hunters DET-rewards

Bounty hunters>> *fiy kuwriyaa! Haythu yuTaarid* *ha'ulaa'* <<*albabaratziy*>>
bounty hunters in korea where 3SM-chase.IMPERF those paparazzi

ZaHayaahum *wa yaltaqiTuwn* *SuwaraN* *lahum,*
victims-POSS.3PLM and 3PLM-take.IMPERF pictures-ACC of-PRO.3PLM

wa lakin alZaHaayaa hadhihiy almarrah laysuw min almashahiyr
and but DET-victims this DET-time NEG-3PLM from DET-celebrities

aw alsiyasiyin *aw almujrimiyn* *almuHtarifiyn,* *bal yajuwb*
or DET-politicians or DET-criminals DET-professional but 3PLM-cruise.IMPERF

ha'ulaa' almuSawiruwn *almudun* *litaSwiyr* *almuwaTiniyn*
those DET-photographers DET-cities to-photographing DET-civilians

alladhiyn yakhrquwn *alqanuwn thum yuqadimuwn* *al'adillah*
who 3PLM-break.IMPERF DET-law then 3PLM-present.IMPERF DET-evidence

ila almas'uwliyn lilHusuwl *'ala almaal!*
to DET-officials to-DET-getting on DET-money

“In South Korea, government authorities have prepared programmes that include reporting petty crimes, like reporting public crimes, such as throwing cigarette butts or litter out of the car or crossing red traffic lights, for a reasonable reward for the informer, who documents that breach of law in pictures and sometimes in sound. And this matter has created a phenomenon of “Bounty Hunters” in South Korea! Those "paparazzi" chase their victims and take pictures of them, but the victims this time are not celebrities, or politicians, or professional criminals, but these photographers cruise the city to photograph civilians who breach the law and then present the evidence to officials to get money!”

wa sa'astashhid *'ala najaaH* *hadhaa al'usluwb bi'aqwaal*
and FUT-1S-invoke.IMPERF on success this DET-way by-sayings

limas'uwliyn 'an tilk almumaarasah alSiHiyyahalnaaji'ah.. aHad
to-officials about that DET-practice DET-healthy DET-beneficial one

mudiriyy ma'had litadriyb Sa'idiy aljawaa'iz almustaqbaliyyin
directors institute to-training hunters DET-rewards DET-futures

yaqawl: innalnaas fiy kuwriyaa aljanuwbiyyah yartakibuwn
3SM-say.IMPERF that DET-people in korea DET-southern 3PLM-commit.IMPERF

alkathiy min al'akhTaa' (law yijiy alkwyit chaan
DET-plenty from DET-mistakes if 3SM-come.IMPERF DET-kuwait would

shiguwl?!) bisabab maa yattasimuwn bihi min
what-3SM-say.IMPERF because what 3PLM-possess.IMPERF in-it from

qillat Sabr wa 'jlah, mithl alsiy athnaa' al'ishaarah alHamraa', wa
lack patience and haste like DET-driving during DET-signal DET-red and

al'intiqaal biyn alHaraat almuwriyyah bishakl ghiyr qanuwniy,
DET-transition between DET-lanes DET-traffic in-way NEG lawful

wa 'adam al'iltizaam bilSaff, wa 'ilqaa' a'qaab alsajaa'ir.
and nullity DET-adhering in-DET-lane and throwing butts cigarettes

wa yastaTrid bilqawl: <<Taalaamaa wujudat hadhihiy
and 3SM-continue.IMPERF in-DET-saying while exist.3SF.PERF.PASS these

alSifaat sayajid almuSawiruwn lilmukhalafaat
DET-traits FUT-3SM-find.IMPERF DET-photographers to-DET-breaches

'amalaN>>!
work-ACC

“And I will invoke, as an example of the success of this method, what the officials said about this healthy and beneficial practice. One of the directors at the institute of training for future bounty hunters said that people in South Korea commit a lot of crimes (if he came to Kuwait, what would he say then?!) because of what they possess in terms of traits, such as their lack of patience and their haste, such as driving through red lights and moving across traffic lanes in an unlawful manner, and such as not adhering to lines and throwing cigarette butts, and he continued, saying: “as long as these traits exist, the photographers of law breaches will find a job!”.”

hadhaa alta'ahhud fiy majaal taTbiyq alqanuwn aSbaH ni'mah
this DET-commitment in field enforcing DET-law become.3SM.PERF blessing

bilnisbah lilmajaalis almaHalliyyah, Hayth yaquluwn
in-DET-regard to-DET-councils DET-local where 3PLM-say.IMPERF

innahum yuwafiruwn almaal, alladhiy
that-PRO.3SM 3PLM-provide.IMPERF DET-money who

yudfa' karawaatib lilZubbaaT!
3SM-pay.IMPERF.PASS as-salaries to-DET-officers

wa ghaaliban ma tafuwq algharamaat allatiy
and mostly what 3SF-exceed.IMPERF DET-fines which

tufraD 'ala almukhalifiyn, almaal
3SF-enforce.IMPERF on DET-breachers DET-money

alladhiy yudfa' lilmubalighiyn,
which 3SM-pay.IMPERF.PASS to-DET-reporters

fa 'ala sabiyl almithaal, tablagh mukaafa'at
so on way DET-example 3SF-cost.IMPERF fines

al'iblaagh 'an ilqaa' alqumaamah, naHwa 40 duwlaaraN, baynamaa
DET-reporting that throwing DET-trash about 40 dollar while

tafuwq algharaamah hadhaa almablagh bimiqdaar 'ashrat amthaal,
3SF-exceed.IMPERF DET-fine this DET-cost by-measure ten examples

wa lidhaalik fa'inna alkathiyir min abnaa' kuwriyaa aljanuwbiiyyah fiy
and to-that so-that DET-much from sons korea DET-southern in

Zil al'azmah al'qtiSaadiyyah almutafaaqimah, aSbaHuw
shadow DET-crisis DET-economic DET-aggravating become.3PLM.PERF

ya'tamiduwn 'ala dhaalik almaSdar alqanuwniy fiy aldakhl!
3PLM-depend.IMPERF on that DET-source DET-lawful in DET-income

“This commitment in the field of law enforcement has become a blessing with regard to the local councils, where they say that they provide the money that is paid as salaries for the officers! And mostly, the money that is paid to the reporters exceeds the fines that are enforced on the law breakers, so, as an example, the reward for reporting the breach of throwing trash is about 40 dollars, whereas the cost of this fine is ten times more, and so a lot of the people of South Korea, in the shadow of the aggravating economic crisis, have depended on this lawful source of income!”

lidhaalik nad'uw ila an yaqtadiy aSHAab alqaraar hunaa
for-that 1PL-call.IMPERF to that 3SM-imitate.IMPERF owner DET-decision here

fiy alkwayt min a'Daa' majlis 'ummah wa Hukuwmah (maalik
in DET-kuwait from members council nation and government NEG-for-PRO.2SM

amal!) bitilk aldawlah almutaHaDirah, wa an yushari'uw
hope in-that DET-country DET-civilized and that 3PLM-legislate.IMPERF

lanaa mithl tilk alqawaniyn lilHadd min intihaak alqawaniyn!
for-PRO.1PL like this DET-laws to-DET-limiting from violating DET-laws

fadahaan siyr almuwaaTiniyn 'ala alTariyqah alkuwriyyah qad
so-ointment belly-button DET-civilians on DET-way DET-korean already

yakuwn afDal Hal limashaakilnaa alshawaari'iyyah!
3SM-become.IMPERF better solution to-problem-POSS.1PL DET-street

wa laa hawla walaa quwwata illaa billah al'aliy al'aZiym.
and NEG might and-NEG power except in-god DET-high DET-great

“And for that reason, we call on those in charge of making decisions here in Kuwait, from National Assembly members to members of the government, to model ourselves after (forget it!) that civilized country and to legislate for us laws like these to stop people from breaching the laws! Bribing citizens in the South Korean way may be the best solution to our street problems! And there is no power or might except by God.”

Article 2

almalyuwn.. 'aliyk bi'alf 'afyah
DET-million on-PRO.2SM in-thousand health

Ahmad Alfahad

'The million... enjoy them'

ba'd intihaa' muddatih kara'iys lilHukuwmah albriyTaaniyyah,
after ending term-POSS.3SM as-president to-DET-government DET-british

fataH alsayyid toniy bliyr maktabaN lildirasaat wa
al'istisharaat,
open.3SM.PERF DET-mister tony blair office.ACC to-DET-studies and DET-
counseling

fiy daar alsa'ad.. landan! wa li'anna 'ummah tad'uw
in home DET-happiness london and because mother-POSS.3SM 3SF-pray.IMPERF

lah liylaN wa nahaaraN.. faqad tazaaman
for-PRO.3SM night-ACC and morning-ACC so-already 3SM-coincide.IMPERF

iftitaaH maktabat al'aamirah, ma'a iHsaas Hukuwmatnaa alrashiydah
opening office DET-flourishing with feeling government-POSS.1PL DET-wise

bilHaajah lidiraasah 'an taHwiylhaa min markaz fiy <<maHallak
in-DET-need to-study about transferring-PRO.3SF from centre in place-
POSS.2SM

raawiH>>.. ila markaz maaliy wa iqtisaadiy - ya subHaan -
rest.2SM.IMPER to centre monetary and financial O glorified

“After the end of his term as Prime Minister of the British Government, Mr. Tony Blair opened an office for studies and consulting in London, the city of happiness, and because his mother prays for him, day and night, the opening of his office coincided with our wise government's

feeling that it needed a study on transferring it from a "resting" city to a monetary and financial centre - Oh Glorified”

faTalabat minh taqdiym almusaa'adah,
so-order.3SF.PERF from-PRO.3SM presenting DET-help

wa mad yad al'awn, wa lakin bisir
and extending hand DET-assistance and but in-price

ma'quwl wa maqbuwl, li'anna almiyzaniyyah <<Hadda gaddah>>..
reasonable and acceptable because DET-budget barely sufficient

“So she asked him to help and extend his hand in assistance, but for a reasonable and acceptable price because the budget is “barely sufficient”.”

fa waafaq <<aljintilmaan>> li'annah <<faal>> alSibH!! wa
so accept.3SM.PERF DET-gentleman because luck DET-morning and

Hajaz tadhkirtah, wa qadam ila alkwyit 'ala
book.3SM.PERF ticket-POSS.3SM and come.3SM.PERF to DET-kuwait on

awwal Taa'irah, thumm nassaq lijtima'aat ma'a alqiyaadaat
first plane then coordinate.3SM.PERF to-meetings with DET-leaders

alkwyitiyah, wa naaqashahum fiy altanmiyah, wa
DET-kuwaitiyah and discuss.3SM.PERF-PRO.3PLM in DET-development and

al'iqtiSaad, wa alta'liym, wa alSiHHah - bilSaad Tab'aN-!
DET-economy and DET-education and DET-health in-Saad certainly

“So the gentleman agreed because he is lucky, and he booked his flight and came to Kuwait on the first flight. Then he coordinated a meeting with the leaders of Kuwait Airways, and discussed with them plans for development, and economy, and health - with an S⁷⁷ of course”

⁷⁷ This refers to the [s^s] sound in Arabic.

thumm katab taqriyrah, wa sallamah
then write.3SM.PERF report-POSS.3SM and deliver.3SM.PERF

liHukuwmah alrashidah..fastalam shiykaN
to-DET-government DET-wise so-receive.3SM.PERF cheque-ACC

bi 750 alf dinaar, wa raja' ila daar als'aad..
in 750 thousand dinar and return.3SM.PERF to home DET-happiness

landan! wa kaanat raddat alfi'il alkuwiytiyyah 'ala alshyik,
london and be.3SF.PERF return DET-action DET-kuwaiti on DET-cheque

ghaaDibah wa <<mishtaTTah>> wa munfa'ilah.. wa <<maHmuw'ah awiy>>!
angry.SF and incensed and incensed and incensed much

“Then he wrote his report and delivered it to the wise government, and so he received a cheque for 750 thousand dinars, and returned to the city of happiness... London! And the Kuwaiti reaction to the matter of the cheque was angry, and very, very “incensed”!”

li'ann alkwyit fiyha 'uquwl nayyirah wa mustaniyrah,
because DET-kuwait in-PRO.3SF minds bright and brilliant

wa 'uquwl tunaafis toniy blyir fiy diraasatih.. wa li'ann toniy
and minds 3SF-compete.IMPERF tony blair in study-POSS.3SM and because tony

blyir lam ya'tiy bijadiyd fiy diraasatih, iTlaaqaN wa abadaN
blair NEG 3SM-come.IMPERF in-new in study-POSS.3SM absolutely and never

wa <<killish>> - biduwn tanwyin -!!
and not.at.all without nunation

“That is because Kuwait has bright and brilliant minds that compete with Tony Blair in his study... and because Tony Blair did not come up with anything new in his study - absolutely and never and not at all - without nunation!!”

wa maa 'utiya bihi
and what bring.3SM.PERF.PASS by-PRO.3SM

'ibaarah 'an tajmiy' li'araa' kuwiytiyyah.. wa Tibaa'atihaa fiy
expression of collecting to-views kuwaiti and printing-PRO.3SF in

karrasah injiliyyiyah faqaT la ghiyr, wa naHnu taqabbalnaahaa
notebook english only NEG other and PRO.1PL 3PLM-accept.IMPERF-
PRO.3SF

li'annanaa nuHib ma yaktibhu
<<alkhawaajaat>>!
because-PRO.1PL 1PL-love.IMPERF what 3SM-write.IMPERF-PRO.3SM DET-foreigners

wa law kaan aHad alkwyitiyyin katabahaa, lamaa
and if be.3SM.PERF one DET-Kuwaitis write.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF NEG

a'Tat'hu alHukuwmah alrashiydah Hatta 50 alf dinar.. kay
give.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SM DET-government DET-wise even 50 thousand dinar to

yuwdi'hum fiy <<kabat>> alHajjiyyah umm alnaa'ib
3SM-deposit.IMPERF-PRO.3PLM in closet DET-pilgrim mother DET-member

<<alfaltah>>?!
DET-super

“Moreover, what was brought together was just a collection of Kuwaiti views, which were printed in an English book, and we accepted it because we love what the “foreigners” write! And if it was a Kuwaiti who wrote that, the wise government would not have given him even fifty thousand dinars to deposit into the “wardrobe” of the old lady, the mother of the super MP?!”

alyawm wa ba'd faDiyHat al'iyda'aat almalyuwniyyah
DET-today and after scandal DET-deposits DET-millionth

lilnuwwaab, wa qiSSat <<kabat>> wild alHajjiyyah, a'taqid ann
to-DET-members and story closet son DET-pilgrim 1S-think.IMPERF that

al'uquwl alkuwiytiyyah taquwl fiy qaraarat nafsahaa:
DET-minds DET-kuwaiti 3SF-say.IMPERF in decisions same-PRO.3SF

ann alsayyid toniy blyir <<imHallal>>, wa 'aliyh bi'alf
that DET-mister tony blair halal.3SM.PERF.PASS and on-PRO.3SM by-thousand

'aafiyah alshiyk alladhiy akhadhah, wa 'aliyh bimalyuwn
health DET-cheque who take.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SM and on-PRO.3SM in-million

'aafiyah alsa'aat wa al'aqlaam wa al'uTuwraat wa alhadaayaa allatiy
health DET-watch and DET-pens and DET-cognes and DET-gifts which

waSalat'hu min maHal waaHid bilkwyit.. taqa'
reach.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SM from store one in-DET-kuwait 3SF-fall.IMPERF

'aliyh kull munaqaSaat alhadaayaa wa al'aTaayaa?! li'annahu
on-PRO.3SM all bids DET-gifts and DET-presents because-PRO.3SM

ant yaa toniy blyir - 'ala al'aqal ijtaama' bilqiyadaat
PRO.2SM O tony blair on DET-least meet.3SM.PERF by-DET-leaders

wa istama' lahum,
and listen.3SM.PERF to-PRO.3PLM

“Today, and after the scandal of the deposits of millions of the MPs, and the story of the “wardrobe” of the son of the old lady, I believe that the Kuwaiti minds say to themselves that Mr. Tony Blair “can have it as halal”, and he can enjoy the cheque which he took as well as the watches and pens and colognes and the gifts which he received from one store in Kuwait, which gets all the bids on gifts... Because at least Tony Blair had a meeting with the leaders and listened to them,”

wa qaddam diraasatih, wa
and present.3SM.PERF study-POSS.3SM and

rasam khaariTat alTariyq.. wa a'Taahum min khibratih,
paint.3SM.PERF map DET-way and give.3SM.PERF from experience-POSS.3SM

wa a'Tuwḥ min Harakaatihim.. ila aakhirih,
and give.3PLM.PERF-PRO.3SM from moves-PRO.3PLM to last-POSS.3SM

amma nuwaab majlisnaa famaadhaa qaddamuw kay
but members council-POSS.1PL so-what present.3PLM.PERF to

yaHSiluw 'ala almalayiin?! flaan arba'at malayin wa 'laan
3PLM-get.IMPERF on DET-millions one four millions and another

khamsat malayiin, wa minhum man lam ya'rif Hatta kayf
five millions and from-PRO.3PLM who NEG 3SM-know.IMPERF even how

yudkhillaa fiy Hisaabih! maadhaa fa'aluw ghiyr
3SM-deposit.IMPERF-PRO.3SF in account-POSS.3SM what do.3PLM.PERF except

altamthiyḥ 'ala alsha'b wa alDiHk 'ala 'uquwl alnakhibiyn..
DET-acting on DET-people and DET-laughing on minds DET-candidates

wiTtraH althiqah ya 'ammiy!
and-drop.2SM.IMPER DET-trust O uncle

“And presented his study and drew up a plan... and shared his experience and they, in exchange, shared their moves... et cetera, whereas our MPs - what did they put forward so they could get millions for themselves?! One got four million and the other got five million, and some of them didn't even know how to deposit it into their accounts! What did they do except pretending and laughing at the candidates.. and grill them dude!”

taSriyH jalaalat malik alsu'urwdiyyah alshaqiyqah 'an amn
statement majesty king DET-saudi DET-sister that security

alkhaliyḥ bi'annahu kull la yatajazza' wa rafD altadakhul
DET-gulf by-that-PRO.3SM whole NEG 3SM-part.IMPERF and rejection DET-interference

fiy shu'uwn albaHriyn.. narfa' lahu alghitrah wa al'iqaal..
in matters DET-bahrain 1PL-lift.IMPERF to-PRO.3SM DET-ghitra and DET-iqaal

wa algaHfiyyah! wa nahdiyh likull khaa'in wa
and DET-gahfiyyah and 1PL-present.IMPERF-PRO.3SM to-every traitor and

ghiyr shariyf yatamanna altakhadul al'iraniy fiy alsha'n
NEG honorable 3SM.wish.IMPERF DET-interference DET-iranian in DET-matter

albaHriyiy aw al'i'tidaa' 'aliyhaa.
DET-bahraini or DET-aggressing on-PRO.3SF

“The statement made by the King of our sister, Saudi Arabia, that the security of the gulf is one whole that cannot be divided, and the rejection of the interference in the matters of Bahrain... we live for that statement, our ghitra and iqaal... and the gahfiyah! And we present it to every traitor and dishonourable person who wishes for Iranian interference in Bahraini matters, and aggression against them.”

Article 3

Taraa'if almunaqaSaat wa Zaraa'if almumaarasaat!
humour.PL DET-bidding.PL and amusement.PL DET-practice.PL

“The humour of bidding and the amusement of practices”

fiy qaDiyat wadaa'i' alnuwwaab almalyuwniyyah, 'uthiyrat qaDiyah
in issue deposits DET-members DET-millionth raise.3SF.PERF.PASS issue

'ukhrah murtabiTah - wa qad takuwn al'ithaarah min alTaraf
other related and maybe 3SF-be.IMPERF DET-raising from DET-side

al'aakhar - 'ay min alTaraf almutaDarir min 'ithaarat alwadaa'i'
DET-other i.e. from DET-side DET-affected from raising DET-deposit.PL

almalyuwniyyah Did alTaraf alladhiy 'athaar alwadaa'i'
DET-millionth against DET-side who raise.3SM.PERF DET-deposit.PL

almalyuwniyyah! laa nadriy faqad Di'naa bilTuwshah,
DET-millionth NEG 1PL.know.IMPERF so-already lose.1PL.PERF in-DET-chaos

wakhtalaT alHaabil bilnaabil, fiy Zil Tighyaan aljur'ah
and-mix.3SM.PERF DET-hunter by-DET-archer in shadow tyranny DET-audacity

alsiyaasiyyah 'ala kull taSaarrufaat saasatna wa tujjarnaa!
DET-political on all practice.PL leader.PL-POSS.1PL and merchant.PL-POSS.1PL

“In the deposits of millions issue, another related issue was raised - and maybe the raising of the issue was done by the other side, that is, from the side affected by the raising of the deposits of millions rather than the side which raised the issue! We do not know, as we have been lost in chaos and matters were mixed up in political tyranny, and audacity manifested itself in the behaviour of our leaders and merchants!”

maquwlat ann alHukuwmah <<tabur>> alba'D bilmunaqaSaat
saying that DET-government 3SF.favor.IMPERF DET-some in-DET-bidding.PL

hiya maquwlah laysat bilsuhwlah almutaSawwirah, fa lam
PRO.3SF saying NEG.SF in-DET-easiness DET-imagined so NEG

yaHduth, kamaa qaal ra'iys lajnat almunaqaSaat
3SM.happen.IMPERF as say.3SM.PERF president committee DET-bidding.PL

almarkaziyyah al'akh alfaaDil 'aHmad alkliyb fiy allajnah
DET-central DET-brother DET-honourable ahmad alkulaib in DET-committee

almaaliyah 'indamaa wuujiḥ bihadhiy almaquwlah,
DET-monetary when confront.3SM.PERF.PASS in-this.SF DET-saying

farad bilqawl: <<idhaa ladaykum ma'lumaat muwathaqaḥ
so-answer.3SM.PERF by-DET-saying if with-PRO.2PLM information documented

'aTuwnaa iyyahaa.. wa lam yaHduth qaT an
give.2PLM.IMPER PRO.3SF and NEG 3SM.happen.IMPERF ever that

kallamaniy sumuw ra'iys majlis alwuzaraa', aw
talk.3SM.PERF-PRO.1S highness president council DET-minister.PL or

'aHad alwuzaraa' muwSiyyaN bitarsiyat munaqaSah - min
one DET-minister.PL recommending.ACC in-placing bidding from

duwn wajh Haq - liTaraf ghiyr mustaHiq bimuwjab muwaaSafaat almunaqaSah
without face law to-side NEG deserving by-virtue specification.PL DET-bidding

allatiy ta'iduhaa jihat al'idaarah>>..
which.SF 3SF.prepare.IMPERF-PRO.3SF authority DET-management

“Saying that the government “favors” some by placing bids with them is not as easy as expected, as it has never happened, as the president of the bidding central committee has said, the honorable brother Ahmad Alkulaib of the financial committee, when he was confronted with this statement, he replied by saying: “if you have documented information, then provide it to use and, it has never happened that the Prime Minister has spoken to me, or one of the ministers, to recommend placing a bid - unfairly - to a side that does not deserve it, based on the specifications of bids as specified by the management authorities.””

wa kalimat muwaaSafaat almunaaqaSah yajib waD' 'asharaat
and word specification.PL DET-bidding 3SM.oblige.IMPERF placing ten.PL

alkhuTuwT alHumr Hawlahaa, fabayt aldaa' bilmunaaqaSaat
DET-line.PL DET-red around-PRO.3SF as-house DET-disease by-DET-bidding.PL

huwa muwaaSafaat'haa allatiy ya'iduhaa
PRO.3SM specification.PL-POSS.3SF which.SF 3SM.prepare.IMPERF-PRO.3SF

alfanniyuwn wa almukhtaSuwn fiy alwuzaraat, fa hadhihiy
DET-technician.PL and DET-specialized in DET-ministry.PL so this.SF

almuwaaSafaat bil'imkaan tafSiylhaa tafSiylaN laa
DET-specification.PL by-DET-possibility detailing-PRO.3SF detailing.ACC NEG

yanTabiq ilaa 'ala hadhaa alTarf, 'ammaa baaqiy al'aTraaf
3SM.apply.IMPERF except on this DET-side whereas rest DET-side

faltashrab min albaHr!
so-let-3SF.drink.IMPERF from DET-sea

“And the word “bidding” needs to have tens of red lines put around it, as the problem with bidding is that the specifications called for by the technicians and the specialized personnel at the ministry - these specifications can be tailored according to the wishes of one party, but not the others!”

wa dhaalik muqaabil qabD <<almagsuwm aw alma'luwm>>, na'm
and that in-exchange getting DET-agreed or DET-known yes

famuwaZafuwkum waasi'uw aldhimmah wa alDamiyr,
so-employer.PL-POSS.2PL wide.PLM DET-moral-sense and DET-conscience

hum alsabab fiy fashal 'aghlab mashaari'iyanaa wa
PRO.3PLM DET-reason in failing most project.PL-POSS.1PL and

tawriydaatnaa wa almughalaat fiy 'as'arhaa min duwn wajh Haq,
importation-PRO.1PL and DET-exaggeration in price.PL-PRO.1PL from without side right

“Yes, your employees lack conscience. They are the reason behind the failure of most of our projects and they do this after they get “the agreed amount of money”. Yes, your employers have a bad moral compass and conscience, and they are the reason for the failure of most of our projects, and for the imports and the unfair exaggeration of their prices”

wa lays alHukuwmah 'aw jihat al'idaarah, li'anna alHukuwmah
and NEG DET-government or party DET-administration because DET-government

laa taqbiD 'umuwlah 'aw <<kuwmuwshn>> 'aw rashwah, fahadhihiy
NEG 3SF.get.IMPERF commition or commotion or bribery so-this.SF

min takhaSuSaat albashar wa muhimaatihim min Zawiy
from specialization.PL DET-people and mission.PL-POSS.3PLM from owner.PL

alZimam wa alDamaa'ir <<alkhriTiy>>! min nuwwaab alHukuwmah
DET-moral-sense.PL and DET-conscience.PL DET-lousy from member.PL DET-government

wa muwaZafiyhaa!
and employer.PL-POSS.3SF

“And not the government or the administration because the government does not receive a bribe, so this is one of the specializations of human beings who have a lousy conscience and their missions from the members of the government and its employees.”

al'isbuw' almaaDiy 'iTtala't 'ala waqaa'i' 3 munaqaSaat 'aw mumaarasaat
DET-week DET-past inform.3SM.PERF on minute.PL 3 bidding.PL or practice.PL

tuthiy alDiHk wa alsukhriyah 'an Tariyq TarHihaa
3SF.incite.IMPERF DET-laughter and DET-sarcasm about way presenting-PRO.3SF

wa alsiyar fiyha: almunaaqasah al'uwlah, yarwiy
and DET-proceeding in-PRO.3SF DET-bidding DET-first 3SM.narrate.IMPERF

liy Sadiyq yaskin fiy manTaqah sakaniyyah HaDariyyah
for-PRO.1S friend 3SM-live.IMPERF in area residential sedentary

(kashkhah) innahu fuuji' bi'ummaal yurammimuwn
posh that-PRO.3SM surprise.3SM.PERF.PASS by-worker.PL 3PLM-repair.IMPERF

almasjid alqariyb min manzilih, alladhiy lam yujaawiz
DET-mosque DET-close from house-POSS.3SM which.SM NEG 3SM.exceed.IMPERF

'iddat sanawaat min al'umr!
several age.PL from DET-age

“I was informed last week of the minutes of three biddings, or practices, which incited laughter and sarcasm because of the way they were presented, and proceeded. At the first bidding, a friend, who lives in a well-to-do area, told me that he was shocked to see construction workers rebuilding the mosque near his house, which has not exceeded a few years in age!”

faSaadaf shakhSaN yabduw min hay'atihi
so-coincide.3SM.PERF person.ACC 3SM.appear.IMPERF from looks-POSS.3SM

innahu almuqaawil almas'uwl (maSriy) 'an 'amaal altarmiym
that-PRO.3SM DET-contractor DET-responsible egyptian of work.PL DET-repair

allatiy yaquwm bihaa al'ummaal, fastafsar
which.SF 3SM.handle.IMPERF in-PRO.3SF DET-worker.PL so-ask.3SM.PERF

minhu 'an Tabiy'at al'amal wa al'as'aar.. 'ablaghahu
from-PRO.3SM that nature DET-work.PL and DET-price.P inform.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SM

almuqaawil annahu yaquwm bi'amaal almuqaawalah

DET-contractor that-PRO.3SM 3SM.handle.IMPERF by-work.PL DET-contracting

almaTluwbah muqaabil 12.5 diynaraN lilmitr almurabba' biSifatih
DET-required in-exchange 12.5 dinars to-DET-metre DET-square by-character-PRO.3SM

muqaawil baaTin, 'ammaa almuqaawil alladhiy rasat 'aliyh
contractor secret whereas DET-contractor who.SM land.3SF.PERF on-PRO.3SM

al'amaal nafsahaa, fa yaqbiD fiy awraaq almunaaqasah
DET-work.PL same-PRO.3SF so 3SM.get.IMPERF in paper.PL DET-bidding

'ala 'ann si'r almitr 65 diynaraN biltamaam wa alkamaal!..
on that price DET-metre 65 dinar by-DET-whole and DET-complete

“So he came across a person who looks like the contractor responsible for the repair works (an Egyptian) which are carried out by the workers, and so he asked him about the nature of the work and their cost... the contractor informed him that he does all the contracting work required in exchange for 12.5 dinars per square meter as a secret contractor, whereas the contractor who does the same work, and actually won the bidding process, gets exactly 65 dinars per meter in the paperwork for the bidding.”

wa lakum 'an tatakhayyaluw! faman rasat 'aliyh
and for-PRO.2PLM that 2PLM.imagine.IMPERF so-who land.3SM.PERF on-PRO.3SM

almunaaqasah bidhaalik alsir almurtafi' wa baa'ahaa bidhaalik
DET-bidding by-that DET-price DET-high and sell.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF by-that

alsir albakhs min almu'akkad annahu lan yabkhis
DET-price DET-cheap from DET-certain that-PRO.3SM NEG 3SM.depreciate.IMPERF

Haq man waafaq 'aw faSSal lahu dhalik alsir! almumaarah
right who agree.3SM.PERF or design to-PRO.3SM that DET-price DET-practice

althaniyah TaraHat'haa wizaarah siyaadiyyah, wa laakinniy
DET-second present.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SF ministry sovereign and but-PRO.1S

'ajazt 'an fahm almaghzaa minhaa 'indamaa 'iTala't

fail.1S.PERF that understanding DET-purpose from-PRO.3SF when acquaint.1S.PERF

'aliyhaa fiy aljariydah alrasmiiyyah (alkwyit alyawm), famumaarasah
on-PRO.3SF in DET-newspaper DET-official DET-kuwait DET-today so-practice

TuriHat litawriyd jihaaz suwnaar Tibbiy likashf alHaml
present.3SF.PERF.PASS to-importing device sonar medical to-revealing DET-pregnancy

likhiyl luzuwm alwizaarah! ya'niy allah yahdiy
to-DET-horse.PL obligation DET-ministry 3SM.mean.IMPERF god 3SM.guide.IMPERF

alwizaarah, maa kanat tastaTiy' 'an tarsil
DET-ministry NEG be.3SF.PERF 3SF.can.IMPERF that 3SF.send.IMPERF

khiyuwlahaa <<alHimmel>> li'idaarat albiyTarah fiy hay'at
horse.PL-POSS.3SF DET-pregnant to-beau.PL DET-veterinary in authority

alziraa'ah wa altharwah alsamakiyyah liyakshifuw 'an
DET-agriculture and DET-resource DET-fish to-3PLM.discover.IMPERF that

alkhiyl allatiy fiy nawaaSiyhaa alkhiyr, <<Haamil
DET-horse.PL who.SF in forelock.PL-POSS.3SF DET-goodness pregnant

willa la'? badal ma it'anniy nafs'haa w tishtiriy
or NEG instead that 3SF.bother.IMPERF self-POSS.3SF and 3SF.buy.IMPERF

suwnaar HiSin?!>>.
sonar horse.PL

“And you can imagine! The person who won the bidding at a high price and sold it at a cheap price will certainly not depreciate the right of he who agreed, and offered it to him at this price! The second example was offered by a sovereign ministry, but I was baffled and could not understand the purpose of it when I read about it in the official newspaper (Kuwait Today), so the practice that was offered was the importing of a medical SONAR device for the ministry and was discussed for the diagnosis of horse pregnancies! You know, may God grant the ministry guidance, wasn't it able to send the “pregnant” horses to the veterinary medicine department to check the ones that looked promising, pregnant or not, instead of going to the trouble of buying a horse SONAR?!”

Article 4

aldaff Hatta bilma'aatim
DET-tambour even in-DET-funeral.PL

“The tambour is used even in funerals”

Eqbal Al-Ahmad

innahumaa laa yaHtajaan ila wakiyl i'laan 'indamaa
that-PRO.3DUALM NEG 3DUALM.need.IMPERF to representative advertising when

yuridaan alnuzuwl ila alshaari'... wa humaa 'ayDaN laa
3DUALM-want.IMPERF DET-descending to DET-street and PRO.3DUALM also NEG

yaHtajaan ila 'amthaal dhalik alnaa'ib liyataHaddath
3DUALM-need.IMPERF to likes that DET-member to-3SM-speak.IMPERF

bi'ismahumaa 'aw yu'abbir 'an raghbatahumaa fiy
in-name-POSS.3DUALM or 3SM-express.IMPERF of wish-POSS.3DUALM in

qaDaayaa tahum alkuwiyt.
issue.PL 3SF-concern.IMPERF DET-kuwait

“They do not need a representative for advertising or for when they want to take to the streets... and they also do not need the likes of this MP to speak on their behalf or express their wishes on issues that concern Kuwait.”

alkabiyaan 'aHmad alkhaTiyb wa Hamad aljuw'aan
DET-big.DUALM ahmad alkhathib and hamad aljuw'aan

laysaa fiy mustawa man naqal 'anhumaa
NEG.DUALM in level who transfer.3SM.PERF that-PRO.3DUALM

raghbatahumaa fiy alnuzuwl ila alshaari' wa almusharakah fiy
wish-POSS.3DUALM in DET-descending to DET-street and DET-participating in

al'i'tiSaam ams min Hayth Tariyyat alta'biyr 'an alra'y wa
DET-strike yesterday from where way DET-expressing of DET-opinion and

almusharakah fiy 'ay faa'aliyyah sha'biyyah, bighaDalnaZar 'an
DET-participating in any event popular in-spite DET-viewpoint of

mawDuw'ahaa wa hadafahaa. hadhaan alkabiyraan lam
topic-POSS.3SF and goal-POSS.3SF those.DUALM DET-big.DUALM NEG

yaqHumaa nafsiyhumaa bi'iDrabaat <<min Tag
3DUALM-interfere.IMPERF self-POSS.3DUALM in-strike.PL who strike.3SM.PERF

Tablah gaal 'ana gablah>>....
drum-POSS.3SM say.3SM.PERF PRO.1S before-PRO.3SM

“The big figures, Ahmad Alkhatib and Hamad Aljouan, do not belong on the same level as those who reported their wishes to take to the streets and participate in the strike yesterday with regard to the way they express their opinions and participate in any popular event regardless of its topic and its purpose. These two important figures did not get involved in the "I struck my tambour first" strikes”

fahumaa shakhSiyataan laa
so-PRO.3DUALM personality.DUALF NEG

naraahumaa illaa fiy al'umuwr
1PL-see.IMPERF-PRO.3DUALM except in DET-matter.PL

aljaadah wa alfaa'ilah... laa yataHadathan ilaa 'indamaa
DET-serious and DET-efficient NEG 3DUALM-speak.IMPERF only when

yadrisaan kull kalmah wa yuqayumaanahaa... wa laa
3DUALM-study.IMPERF every word and 3DUALM-evaluate.IMPERF and NEG

yaquwlaan ilaa alqaliyl almufiyd... lam yuSibhumaa
3DUALM-say.IMPERF except DET-little DET-useful NEG 3SM-strike.IMPERF-
PRO.3DUALM

'is'haal altaSriyHaat wa altahdiydaat wa alSiraakh wa alta'addiy
diarrhea DET-statement.PL and DET-threat.PL and DET-screaming and DET-violation

'ala karamaat al'akhariyn wa sum'atihim.
on dignity.PL DET-other.PL and reputation-POSS.3PLM

“As we don't see these figures except in serious and influential events. They do not speak unless they study every word and evaluate it... and they do not say anything except that which is little and useful... they have not been inflicted with the diarrhoea of statements, and threats and shouting, and the violation of the dignity and reputations of others.”

hataan alshakhSiyyataan alkabiyataan
those.DUALF DET-personality.DUALF DET-big.DUALF

laa nara Suwarihima
NEG 1PL-see.IMPERF picture.PL-POSS.3DUALM

'ala Sadr alSafHaat min duwn 'uql rafi'iyin 'aydihimaa
on front DET-page.PL from without iqaal.PL raising.PL hand.PL-POSS.3DUALM

faghiriyn Hunjaraytihima?.. yadfa'aan birijaal
opening.PLM throat.DUAL-POSS.3DUALM 3DUALM-push.IMPERF by-man.PL

al'amn mu'tadiyn 'ala alqanuwn bi'ay shakhl min al'ashkaal.
DET-security attacking.PL on DET-law by-any form from DET-form.PL

“We do not see the pictures of these two important figures on the front of newspapers without “uqul”, raising their hands, and opening their mouths wide, and pushing the security men, and breaching the law in any way possible.”

Article 5

basnaa fasaad
enough-PRO.1PL corruption

“Enough with the corruption”

Eqbal Al-Ahmad

'ushaarik mindhu fatrah Tawiylah fiy 'uDwiyyat lajnat <<kuttaab
1S-participate.IMPERF since period long in membership committee writer.PL

Did alfasaad>> almunbathiqah 'an jam'iyyat alshafaafiyyah, allatiy
against DET-corruption DET-springing from society DET-transparency which.SF

tatawalla farz kull almaqalaat allatiy tanaawalat
3SF-handle.IMPERF sorting all DET-article.PL which.SF 3SF-tackle.IMPERF

mawDuu' alfasaad fiy kull alSuHuf alkuwyitiyyah, likhtiyaar
topic DET-corruption in all DET-newspaper.PL DET-kuwaiti to-choosing

'afDalhaa binaa' 'alaa ma'ayiir mu'ayyanah, wa qad ghuSSi,
best-PRO.3SF based on criterion.PL certain and already dive.1S.PERF

wa qara't almi'aat wa almi'aat minhaa mindhu
and read.1S.PERF DET-hundred.PL and DET-hundred.PL from-PRO.3SF since

sanawaat, bikull alnakahaat wa altawajuhaat, wa waSalt
year.PL by-all DET-flavor.PL and DET-direction.PL and arrive.1S.PERF

'ila natiyah waaHidah.
to result one

“I have been participating in the “Writers against Corruption” committee for a long time. It springs from the Transparency Society, which handles sorting all the articles which tackle the subject of corruption in Kuwaiti newspapers, and chooses the best amongst them based on certain criteria, and I have already dived into them and read hundreds and hundreds of them over the years, including all the flavors and directions and I have arrived at one conclusion.”

alfasaad wa maa 'adraak ma alfasaad, mindhu sanawaat
DET-corruption and what 2SM-know.IMPERF what DET-corruption since year.PL

Tawiyilah wa al'aqlaam alSaHafiyah almihaniyyah wa ghayr
long and DET-pen.PL DET-newspaper DET-professional and NEG

almihaniyyah taktib 'an hadhaa almawDuw', la'al wa 'asa
DET-professional 3SF-write.IMPERF about this DET-topic maybe and hopefully

'an tajid man yastami' lahaa wa yarid
that 3SF-find.IMPERF who 3SM-listen.IMPERF to-PRO.3SF and 3SM-answer.IMPERF

'alayhaa, la'alahaa tajid man yastaHiy
on-PRO.3SF maybe-PRO.3SF 3SF-find.IMPERF who 3SM-feel-shy.IMPERF

wa yakhjal mimmaa yaquwm bihi, wa lakin
and 3SM-feel-ashamed.IMPERF from-what 3SM-do.IMPERF by-PRO.3SM and but

ma waSalat 'illayh alHaal fiy alkuwyit jaa'
what arrive.3SF.PERF to-PRO.3SM DET-condition in DET-kuwait come.3SM.PERF

'aks kullalnaZariyyaat fiy al'aalam.
opposite all DET-theory.PL in DET-world

“Corruption – oh, and you do not know what corruption really is - has been written about for many long years and both the professional and non-professional newspaper pens write about this topic in the hope that maybe they will find someone who listens to them and answers them, and that maybe they will find that some of those who are corrupt will feel shy and ashamed, but the level of the condition reached in Kuwait has gone against all the theories in the world.”

faDiyHat alHisabaat almalyuwniyyah 'athbatat 'ann qadr maa
scandal DET-account.PL DET-millionth prove.3SF.PERF that degree what

naktib kullunaa 'an 'ay qaDiyyah laa yu'athir
1PL.write.IMPERF all-PRO.1PL that any issue NEG 3SM-influence.IMPERF

wa laa yahiz sha'rah min ra's almujrim fiy 'ay mawDu',
and NEG 3SM-move.IMPERF hair.S from head DET-criminal in any topic

kunnaa naHadath wa naktib 'an fasaad
be.1PL.PERF 1PL-speak.IMPERF and 1PL-write.IMPERF about corruption

albaladiyyah wa altijaarah wa aldaakhiliyyah wa alshu'uwn fasaad
DET-municipality and DET-commerce and DET-interior and DET-affair.PL corruption

alrashwa wa tasyir almu'amalaat, fasaad alghash bilbinaa'
DET-bribery and handling DET-application.PL corruption DET-cheating in-DET-building

wa almunaqaSaat, fasaad al'intikhabaat, fasaad alfar'iyyaat,
and DET-bidding.PL corruption DET-election.PL corruption DET-subsidiary.PL

fasaad waraa' fasaad waraa' fasaad, Hatta 'ulin
corruption after corruption after corruption until announce.3SM.PERF.PASS

'an qiyaam alhay'ah alwaTaniyyah limukaafaHat alfasaad, thumm maadhaa?!
of rising DET-authority DET-national to-combatting DET-corruption after what

“The scandal of the accounts of millions has proved that no matter how much all of us write about an issue, this does not influence them or move a hair on the head of a criminal in any area. We used to talk and write about corruption in the Ministry of Municipality, the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Social Affairs, about the corruption of bribery, and handling applications, and the corruption of cheating in construction, and in bidding, and the corruption of elections, the corruption of subsidiary elections - about corruption upon corruption upon corruption, until a national authority for combatting corruption was announced - then what?!”

fiy aSghar mukhaalafah fiy almuwr 'ilaa 'akbar mukhaalafat fasaad
in smallest contravention in DET-passing to biggest contravention.PL corruption

fiy aldawlah laa yaqDiy 'alayhaa 'illaa shay' waaHid, shay'
in DET-country NEG 3SM-end.IMPERF on-PRO.3SF except thing one thing

laa yaHtaaj 'ila tashkiyl lijaan 'aw Talab ra'iys wuzaraa'
NEG 3SM-need.IMPERF except forming committee.PL or ordering president
ministry.PL

gharbiy saabiq wa fariyqih, 'aw taghyir wuzaraa'. 'aw Hal
foreigner previous and team-POSS.3SM or changing minister.PL or dissolving

barlamaan, 'aw 'aqd 'ijtima'aat, 'aw 'iSdaar marasiym, 'aw 'ilghaa' marasiym.
parliament or holding meeting.PL or issuing decree.PL or cancelling decree.PL

“From the smallest breach of traffic law to the biggest breach in corruption in the country, these cannot be beaten but by one thing: something that does not need the forming of committees, or need requesting a foreign PM and his team, or changing ministers, or dissolving parliament, or holding meetings, or issuing decrees or cancelling them.”

alqaDaa' 'ala mukhalafaat ramy al'awsaakh min naafidhat
DET-ending on contravention.PL throwing DET-trash from window

alsayyarah, 'aw alta'addiy bilkalaam 'ala al'akhariyn, 'aw
DET-car or DET-attacking by-DET-talking on DET-other.PL or

haDm Huquwq al'amiliyn bikull mustawayaatihim, waqf almu'amalaat
violating law.PL DET-worker.PL by-all level.PL-POSS.3PLM stopping DET-
application.PL

min duwn wajh Haq, wa Talab taghyir iTaraat alsayyarah muqaabil
from without face right and requesting changing wheel.PL DET-car in-exchange

altawqiy' 'ala mu'aamalah SaHiyHah ma'ah fiy alma'ah wa 'adam
DET-signing on application right hundred in DET-hundred and nullity

ta'Tiylihaa, 'aw Talab nisbah min qiymat munaaqqaSah
impeding-PRO.3SF or requesting percentage from price bidding

taziyd aSfaarihaa 'ala alsittah muqaabil alfawz
3SF-exceed.IMPERF zero.PL-POSS.3SF on DET-six in-exchange DET-winning

bihaa, laa taHtaaj 'illaa shay'aN waaHidaN.
by-PRO.3SF NEG 3SF-need.IMPERF except one.ACC one.ACC

“The ending of the breaches of law that involves a lot: throwing trash out of the car window or attacking others verbally, or depriving workers of their rights at all levels, or stopping applications from below unjustly, and requesting changing the wheels of the car in exchange for signing an application that is one hundred percent right and not impeding the application or requesting to be paid the percentage of the price of a bidding the zeros in the price of which exceeds six figures in exchange for winning it. Then for that you only have to do one thing.”

laa lijaan wa laa qawaniyn jadiydah, wa laa tashriy'aat, wa laa
NEG committee.PL and NEG law.PL new and NEG legislation.PL and NEG

wuzaarah jadiydah wa laa barlamaan jadiyd.. tanfa' taTbiyq
ministry new and NEG parliament new 3SF-be-useful.IMPERF applying

alqanuwn bikull Hazm wa min duwn taradud huwa aldawaa'a
DET-law in-all strictness and from without hesitation PRO.3SM DET-medicine

lilddaa' alladhiy 'anhakanaa wa qaDa 'ala
to-DET-disease which tire.3SM.PERF-PRO.1PL and end.3SM.PERF on

quwwatanaa wa nakhar 'iZaamanaa wa
power-POSS.1PL and erode.3SM.PERF bone.PL-POSS.1PL and

'afqadanaa shahiyyat alHayaat, wa tarakanaa
dispossess.3SM.PERF-PRO.1PL appetite DET-life and leave.3SM.PERF-PRO.1PL

jithathaN tatanaffas bibuT' qabl 'an yu'lan
body.ACC 3SF-breathe.IMPERF slowly before that advertise.3SM.PERF.PASS

wafatahaa.. qariybaN.
death-POSS.3SF soon

“No new committee, or laws, or legislation, and no new ministry, and no new parliament will be useful. Applying the law strictly and without hesitation is the medicine for the disease which has made us tired and has destroyed our power and made our bones erode, and has dispossessed us of an appetite for life and left us a lifeless body that breathes slowly before it is pronounced dead... soon.”

wa kamaa kaan sa'ad yaquwl li'akhiyh Hsaynuwh
 and as be.3SM.PERF saad 3SM-say.IMPERF to-brother.POSS3SM hussainouh

fiy <<darb alzalag>>: basnaa qawaniyn, basnaa tashriy'aat,
 in darb alzalag enough-PRO.1PL law.PL enough-PRO.1PL legislation.PL

basnaa lijaan, basnaa Hukuwmaat, basnaa
 enough-PRO.1PL committee.PL enough-PRO.1PL government.PL enough-PRO.1PL

majaalis. 'anaa 'aquwl wa kathiyriyn kathiyriyn yaquwluwn
 council.PL PRO.1S 1S-say.IMPERF and many many 3PLM-say.IMPERF

basnaa fasaad, basnaa fasaad.
 enough-PRO.1PL corruption enough-PRO.1PL corruption

“And as Saad used to say to his brother Hussainouh in “darb alzala”: “Enough with the laws, enough with the legislation, enough with the committees, enough with the governments, enough with the parliaments. I say enough, and many, many say: enough with the corruption, enough with the corruption.”.”

Article 7

shu'uwn wa shujuwn
matter.PL and worry.PL

“Matters and Worries”

Azizah Almufarrij

yaa wiyhaa min allah wizaarat alshu'uwn fiynaa 'iHnaa 'ahal
O woe-POSS.3SF from god ministry DET-matter.PL in-PRO.1PL PRO.1PL people

alkuwyit faHatmaN, wa SidqaN, wa laa shak 'innahaa hiya
DET-kuwait so-certainly and truly and NEG doubt that-PRO.3SF PRO.3SF

al'asaas fiy 'iSaabat 'aktharanaa bilDaghT wa alsukkar wa
DET-basis in afflicting most-PRO.1PL by-DET-pressure and DET-diabetes and

'amraaD alqalb, wa 'iSaabat ba'Dinaa al'aakhar bil'ikti'aab wa
disease.PL DET-heart and afflicting some-PRO.1PL DET-other by-DET-depression and

Diyq alnafas wa alwuswaas alqahariy. wizaarat alshu'uwn
shortness DET-breath and DET-obsession DET-compulsive ministry DET-matter.PL

laa ta'rif mata wa kayf taquwl laa, wa 'idhaa,
NEG 3SF-know.IMPERF when and how 3SF-say.IMPERF no and if

fiy saa'at 'awdah lilwa'iy, qaalat'haa fasur'aan
in hour return to-DET-consciousness say.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SF so-quickly

maa satarja' fiy kilmatihaa wa laa 'aSgharhaa 'ayyil, wa
that FUT-3SF-return.IMPERF in word-POSS.3SF and NEG youngest child and

lan ta'uwzahaal almubarraraat lidhaalik.
NEG 3SF-lack.IMPERF DET-excuse.PL for-that

yashkuw wazyruhaa alduktuwr al'ifaasiy fiy 'ilaan
3SM-complain.IMPERF minister-POSS.3SF DET-doctor al'ifaasy in announcement

katabat'hu alSuHuf qabl safarih al'akhiyr
write.3SF.PERF DET-newspaper.PL before travel-POSS.3SM DET-latest

bi'annahu 'ala alraghm min qaraar 'iyqaf taHwiyl alziyaarah
by-that-PRO.3SM on DET-exception from decision stopping transferring DET-visiting

'ila 'iqaamat 'amal, najaH 15 'alf zaa'ir fiy tajaawuz
to visa work succeed.3SM.PERF 15 thousand visitor.PL in exceeding

hadhaa alqaraar, wa Saaruw muqiyimyn da'imiyn fiy aldawlah
this DET-decision and become.3PLM.PERF resident.PL permanent.PL in DET-
country

ba'd 'an HaSaluw 'ala waZaa'if fiyhaa.
after that get.3PLM.PERF on job.PL in-PRO.3SF

“It will evoke God’s wrath, the Ministry of Social Affairs, because of us, the people of Kuwait, as certainly and truly there is no doubt that it is the reason why most of us get high blood pressure, and diabetes, and heart disease, and why some of us get depression, and shortness of breath, and OCD. The Ministry of Social Affairs does not know when and how to say no, and if, in a moment of consciousness, it says it, then it quickly recants its word just like a child, and it will not be short of excuses. Its minister, Dr. Al-Afasy, complains in the latest announcement written in the newspapers before his recent travels that, despite the decision to prohibit the conversion of visitor visas to work visas, fifteen thousand visitors have succeeded in overriding this decision and have become permanent residents in the country after obtaining jobs in the country.”

15 'alf shakhs jadiyd, ya'niy fiy almustaqbal alqariyb 15 'alf
15 thousand person new 3SM-mean.IMPERF in DET-future DET-near 15 thousand

zawjah, ma'a kull minhun Tiflaan 'aw 'akthar, yuDafuwn
wife with all from-PRO.3PLF child.DUALM or more 3PLM-add.IMPERF.PASS

bisayyaaratihim 'ila tilk almahZlah fiy alshawaari', wa ya'niy
by-car.PL-POSS.3PLM to that DET-farce in DET-street.PL and 3SM-mean.IMPERF

kuruwt ziyarah li'aqaarib 'akhariyn tataHawwal 'ila 'adhuwnaat
card.PL visitor to-relative.PL other.PL 3SF-turn.IMPERF to permission.PL

'amal, thum zawjaat wa 'abnaa' judad yatim 'istiqaamahumm
work then wife.PL and child.PL new.PL 3SM-do.IMPERF recruiting-PRO.3PLM

linajid 'anfusanaa fiy alkuwyit wa qad tafaaqamat
to-1PL-find.IMPERF ourselves in DET-kuwait and already worsen.3SF.PERF

mushkilaatunaa min baTaalah wa 'izdiHaam wa Zughuwt 'ala
problem.PL-POSS.1PL from unemployment and congestion and pressure on

alkhadamaat wa ta'khiyr 'ala aldawamaat, wa qillat 'injaaz,
DET-service.PL and lateness on DET-work.PL and lack accomplishment

da' 'annik almushkilah alkubra bi'nhifaaD
leave.2SM.IMPER of-PRO.2SM DET-problem DET-biggest by-decrease

'adadnaa muqaaranataN bilwafidiyn 'ila Had
number-POSS.1PL comparison.ACC by-DET-foreigner.PL to limit

yundhir bilkhaTar alshadiyd.
3SM-warn.IMPERF by-DET-danger DET-extreme

“Fifteen thousand new persons, which means, in the near future, fifteen thousand wives each with two children or more, and, in addition to them, factor in their cars to this farce in the streets. This also means visitor visas for other relatives that turn to work permits, and then their new wives and sons that are recruited, and we find ourselves in Kuwait with our problems worsening - unemployment, congestion, pressure on services, lateness to work, and lack of accomplishment - let alone our diminishing numbers to an alarming extent in comparison with foreigners in Kuwait.”

Haawalt hadhaak alyawm 'an atadhaaka 'ala zahmat
attempt.1S.PERF that DET-day to 1S-outsmart.IMPERF on congestion

aldaa'iriy alraabi' lilwuSuwl 'ila 'aHad maHalaat bay' al'ajhizah
DET-ring DET-fourth to-DET-arriving to one shop.PL selling DET-device.PL

alkahrabaa'iyyah fiy manTaqat alray, fakasart bisayyaaratiy
DET-electronic in area alrai so-detour.1S.PERF by-car-POSS.1S

'ila almanaaTiq aldaakhiliyyah likhtiSaar alwaqt, fatawarraTt
to DET-area.PL DET-internal to-shortening DET-time so-entangle.1S.PERF

wa tabayyan liy 'ann 'ambar 'akhuw bilaal, fa'akhadht
and reveal.3SM.PERF to-PRO.1S that ambar brother bilal so-take.1S.PERF

maa 'akhadht min waqt li'injaaz almuhimmah, wa al'awdah
what take.1S.PERF from time to-accomplishing DET-mission and DET-returning

lilmanzil, wa kal'aadah la'ant fiy dakhiliy 'abu sansafiyl
to-DET-house.PL and as-usual curse.1S.PERF in interior-POSS.1S father grandfather.PL

tujjaar al'iqamaat, wa bayya'iy alkifalaat wa wuzaarat alshu'uwn
merchant.PL DET-residence.PL and seller.PL DET-guaranty.PL and ministry DET-
affair.PL

wa wuzaarat aldaakhiliyyah wa kul kuwyitiy Hawwal alkuwyit 'ila
and ministry DET-internal and every kuwaiti transfer.3SM.PERF DET-kuwait to

hadhaa alshakil ba'd 'an kaanat suhuwdaN wa muhuwdaN.
this DET-form after that be.3SF.PERF sleeplessness.ACC and preparedness.ACC

“I tried, that day, to outsmart the congestion of the Fourth Ring Road to arrive at one of the electronic device stores in the Alrai area, so I took a detour into the internal areas to take a shortcut, but I got snarled up, and it was revealed to me that Ambar is the brother of Bilal⁷⁸, so I took as much time as I needed to accomplish the mission, and then to return home, and, as usual, I cursed the grandfathers of the visa merchants and those who sell guaranties, as well as the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior and every Kuwaiti who rendered Kuwait in this state.”

'auwd lilmanzil wa 'aftaH aljaraa'id wa 'idhaa

⁷⁸ This expression is used to denote the uselessness of an action.

1S-return.IMPERF to-DET-house and 1S-open.IMPERF DET-newspaper.PL and if

bikhabar min wuzarat alshujuwn al'ijtimaa'iyah wa alqahar
by-news from ministry DET-worry.PL DET-social and DET-oppression

tu'lin fiyh 'an tawajuhahaa litaHwiyl
3SF-announce.IMPERF in-PRO.3SM that tendency-POSS.3SF to-transferring

alziyaraat altijaariyyah 'ila 'iqaamah liman Sadarat lahum
DET-visit.PL DET-commercial to residence to-who issue.3SF.PERF to-PRO.3PLM

qabl 'awwal sibtambar, 'aal ya'niy 'illiy
before beginning september say.3SM.PERF 3SM-mean.IMPERF who

Hayiyjuw ba'd kidah ziyaarit'hum mush HatitHawwil
FUT-3PLM-come.IMPERF after like-this visit-POSS.3PLM NEG FUT-
3SF.transfer.IMPERF

'iqaamah. yaquwl alkhabar 'ann qiTaa' al'amal 'a'ad
residence 3SM-say.IMPERF DET-news that sector DET-work prepare.3SM.PERF

mudhakarrah khaaSah bihadhaa alsha'n, wa Hatta alladhiyn dakhaluw
memorandum special by-this DET-matter and even who enter.3PLM.PERF

ba'd 'alawwal min sibtambar bifiyzaH saabiqah sawfa yusmaH
after DET-first from september by-visa previous FUT 3SM-allow.IMPERF.PASS

lahum bitaHwiyl kuruwt alziyaarah alkhaaSah bihim 'ila
to-PRO.3PLM by-transferring card.PL DET-visit DET-special by-PRO.3PLM to

'iqaamat 'amal, wa hunaak mudhakarrah 'ukhra tu'ad bihadhaa
residence work and there memorandum other 3SF-prepare.IMPERF.PASS by-this

alkhuSuwS 'atamanna 'arif minuw 'illiy katab
DET-specialization 1S-wish.IMPERF 1S-know.IMPERF who that write.3SM.PERF

hatayn almudhakaratayn, wa ghayrahumaa min

those.DUAL DET-memorandum.DUAL and other-PRO.DUAL from

mudhakaraat, wa man 'amarau bidhalik, wa limadha wa
memorandum.PL and from order.3PLM.PERF by-that and why and

'in kaan dhalik tam bi'anaaSir wa 'aydiN kuwyitiyyah
that be.3SM.PERF that do.3SM.PERF by-element.PL and hand.PL-GEN kuwaiti

fahal hadhihi al'anaaSir imkhabbigat 'uyuwn wa 'amyaa
so-is this DET-element.PL pricked eye.PL and blind

maa tshuwf 'illiy ga'diyn killinaa nshuwfah?!!
NEG 3SF-see.IMPERF what sitting.PL all-PRO.1PL 1PL-see.IMPERF-PRO.3SM

“I return home and I open the newspapers only to see news about the Ministry of Social Affairs’ worries and oppression, announcing in them its intention to convert commercial visas to those who already got them in early September to residence permits, as if the visas of those who will come afterwards will not be transferred to residence permits. That piece of news mentions that the work sector has prepared a memorandum especially for this matter, and even those who entered the country after September with a previous visa will be allowed to transfer their own visitor cards to a work residence permit, and that there is another memorandum that is being prepared with regards to this matter. I would like to know who wrote these two memoranda, and other ones as well, and who ordered this, and why, and if this has taken place through Kuwaiti elements and hands, then do these elements have pricked eyes and so are blind and cannot see what we all can?!”

Article 8

fawDa altasliyf wa muHaafaZat alfarwaaniyyah
chaos DET-credit and governorate DET-farwaniya

“The chaos of the Credit [i.e. The Credit and Savings Bank of Kuwait] and the Farwaniya Governorate”

Jaafar Rajab

fiy kul makaan qiSSah, wa saalfah, wa muwSiybah, alyawm 'anshur
in every place story and chit-chat and tragedy DET-today 1S-publish.IMPERF

'an Halatayn, raghm 'iniy laa 'uHib kathiyaN nashr
about case.DUAL despite that-PRO.1S NEG 1S-love.IMPERF a-lot publishing

alshakaawiy fiy hadhihi alzawiyah li'adam al'ikhtiSaaS, walaakin bima
DET-complaint.PL in this DET-column to-nullity DET-expertise but since

'iniy Sawt alHaq wa al'insaaniyyah, wa nibraas lilnuwr wa
that-PRO.1S voice DET-truth and DET-humanity and lamp to-DET-light and

alDiyaa', wa 'aHsan waaHid fiy al'aalamm falaabud 'an 'aktub
DET-brightness and best one in DET-world so-must that 1S-write.IMPERF

wa 'uDaHiy, wa 'akuwn sham'ah taHtariq fiy
and 1S-sacrifice.IMPERF and 1S-be.IMPERF candle 3SF-burn.IMPERF in

sabiyl aljamaahiyr!
way DET-audience

“In every place, there is a story, and chit-chat, and a tragedy, so today I publish regarding two cases, despite the fact that I do not really like to publish complaints in this column for lack of expertise, but, since I am the voice of truth and humanity, and the lamp of light and brightness, and the best person in the world, I must write, and sacrifice, and be a candle that burns for the audience!”

bank altasliyf wa qiSSat quruwD al'araamil wa almuTalaqaat wa
bank DET-credit and story loan.PL DET-widow.PL and DET-divorced.PL and

almutazawijaat min ghayr alkuwyitiyiin, yabduw 'innahaa lan
DET-married.PL from non DET-kuwaiti.PL 3SM-seem.IMPERF that-PRO.3SF NEG

tantahiy, wa ma'a kithrat alqawaniyn wa allawaa'iH
3SF-end.IMPERF and with abundance DET-law.PL and DET-regulation.PL

wa alshuruwT, Daa'at alTaasah, mimman yahimahun
and DET-condition.PL lose.3SF.PERF DET-vessel from-who 3SM-care.IMPERF-
PRO.3PLF

alqarD al'iskaaniy, wa man 'ayn yabda'ana Hatta yaHSilna
DET-loan DET-residential and from where 3PLF-start.IMPERF even 3PLF-
get.IMPERF

'ala alqarD al'iskaaniy falam tafham, limaadha
on DET-loan DET-residential so-NEG 2SM-understand.IMPERF why

almutazawijah min ghayr kuwyitiy ta'khudh 70 'alf diybaar, wa
DET-married.SF from non kuwaiti 3SF-take.IMPERF 70 thousand dinar and

almuTallaqah tatasallam 45 'alfaN faqaT, ma'a 'innahu
DET-divorced.SF 3SF.get.IMPERF 45 thousand only even that-PRO.3SM

almafruwD bil'aks li'annahaa bilaa mu'iy!
DET-supposed by-opposite because-PRO.3SF without breadwinner

“The story of the Bank of Credit and the loans of widows and divorced women, and those who are married to non-Kuwaitis seems like it will not end, and with the abundance of laws and regulations and conditions, the boat has sailed for those who care about the residential loan, and where do people have to start to get a residential loan? So you do not understand why the woman who is married to a non-Kuwaiti takes seventy thousand dinars whereas the divorced one gets forty-five thousand only, despite

the fact that it is supposed to be the other way around because she is without a breadwinner!”

wa lam tafham limaadhaa alwuzarah hiya allatiy
and NEG 2SM-understand.IMPERF why aDET-ministry PRO.3SF who.SF

takhtaar makan alsakan wa laysat
3SF-choose.IMPERF place DET-residence and NEG

laysat almar'ah alma'niyyah bilmushkilah, ya'niy law
NEG DET-woman DET-meant by-DET-problem 3SM-mean.IMPERF if

'ahlaha fiy 'umm alhaymaan mathalaN, alwuzarah qad takhtaar
family-POSS.3SF in um alhayman example DET-ministry may 3SF-choose.IMPERF

lahaa sakanaN fiy aljahraa', wa 'ikhtiyaar alsakan
for-PRO.3SF residence-ACC in aljahra and choosing DET-residence

ya'niy ta'ghyiraN fiy almadaaris wa khamsiyn 'alf
3SM-mean.IMPERF change-ACC in DET-house.PL and fifty thousand

mushkilah 'ukhra tatabi'uhaa wa lam tafham
problem other 3SF-follow.IMPERF-PRO.3SF and NEG 2SM-understand.IMPERF

limaadhaa alqanuwn laa yashmil man 'anjabat albanaat,
why DET-law NEG 3SM-include.IMPERF who beget.3SF.PERF DET-girl.PL

falaw kaanat muTallaqah wa 'indahaa banaat laa tu'Ta
so-if be.3SF.PERF divorced.SF and with-PRO.3SF girl.PL NEG give.3SF.PERF.PASS

qarDaN 'iskaaniyyaN 'ila 'idhaa kaanat 'iHda banaata'haa
loan.ACC residence.ACC except if be.3SF.PERF one girl.PL-POSS.3SF

qad tajaawazat althalathiyn sanah wa lam tatazawwaj...
already 3SF-exceed.IMPERF DET-thirties year and NEG 3SF-get.married.IMPERF

alqanuwn yaquwl wa lastu 'anaa! wa lam tafham,

DET-law 3SM-say.IMPERF and NEG PRO.1S and NEG 3SF-understand.IMPERF

limaadhaa laa yaHiq lahaa 'an tuqaddim
why NEG 3SM-be.entitled.IMPERF for-PRO.3SF that 3SF-present.IMPERF

'ala da'm 'iskaaniy 'illa 'idhaa maDa 'ala Talaaqihaa
on support residential except if pass.3SM.PERF on divorce-POSS.3SF

thalaath sanawaat, ma'a 'ann almuTalaqah qad takuwn fiy alsanawaat
three year.PL with that DET-divorced may 3SF-be.IMPERF in DET-year.PL

al'uwlah 'aHwaj ma takuwn 'ila da'm, wa laysa ba'ad thalaath sanawaat,
DET-first neediest what 3SF-be.IMPERF to support and NEG after three year.PL

wa maa huwa alsir fiy thalaath sanawaat, wa laysa 'arba' sanawaat
and what PRO.3SM DET-secret in three year.PL and NEG four years

'aw khams!! waSalatniy shakaawa, wa qara't almu'tamar
or five arrive.3SF.PERF-PRO.1S complaint.PL and read.1S.PERF DET-conference

alSaHafiy, bitafaaSiylah wa lam 'afham
DET-newspaper by-detail.PL-POSS.3SM and NEG 1S-understand.IMPERF

biSaraaHah alqaawaniyn wa alshuruwT, lidhalik 'atamana min
by-honesty DET-law.PL and DET-condition.PL for-that 1S-wish.IMPERF from

mudiyriy altasliyf 'an yaquwmuw min alnawm wa
director.PL DET-credit that 3PLM-wake.up.IMPERF from DET-sleep and

yarsiluw lilSuHuf tawDiyHaN sahlaN Hatta
3PLM-send.IMPERF to-DET-newspaper.PL clarification.ACC easy.ACC even

yafhamuhaa 'aSHaab alsha'n badalaN min alsu'aal wa
3SF-understand.IMPERF owner.PL DET-matter instead.ACC from DET-asking and

al'istifsaar min almuwaZafiyn fiy alwuzarah, alladhiyn yujawibuwn

DET-querying from DET-employee.PL in DET-ministry who.PL 3PLM-
answer.IMPERF

bijawaab waaHid <<maa nadriy wa maa wiSal lanaa
by-answer one NEG 1PL-know.IMPERF and NEG arrive.3SM.PERF to-
PRO.1PL

shay' Hatta al'aan>>!
thing until DET-now

“And you do not understand why the Ministry is the one who chooses the place of residence, and not the woman who has the problem, so if the woman's family live in Um Alhayman, for example, the ministry may choose a place in Aljahra for her, and the choice of residence means a change of schools and fifteen thousand other problems that follow it, and you do not understand why the law does not include those who have only daughters, since if a woman is divorced and has daughters, she is not granted a residential loan unless one of her daughters is above thirty years old and has never been married... the law says that, not me! And you do not understand why she has no right to apply for residential support unless three years have passed since her divorce, even though the divorced woman may be needier for support in the first years of her divorce than after three years, and what is the secret behind the three year period, and not four years or five? I have received a complaint and I read the newspaper conference, with its details, and you do not understand, honestly, the laws and conditions, so for that I wish from the directors of the Credit bank that they wake up from their sleep and send an easy clarification to the newspapers so those involved in the matter can understand it, instead of asking and enquiring from the employees at the Ministry - those who answer with one answer “we do not know and we did not receive anything yet”!”

taHiyaatiy limuHaafaZat alfarwaniyah al'atiydah, wa
greeting.PL-POSS.1S to-governorate alfarwaniyah DET-prepared and

limuHaafiZhaa almuHtaram, wa nulakhis alwaD'
to-governor-POSS.3SF DET-respectful and 1PL-summarize.IMPERF DET-situation

hunaak: yudaawim almuwaZafuwn wa almuwaZafaat
there 3SM-persevere.IMPERF DET-employee.PL and DET-employee.PLF

fiy 'idaraat bilaa takyif mindhu 'ashhur, fiy Haalah ma'saawiyyah wa

in bureau.PL without air.conditioning since month.PL in case tragic and

kull muwaZafah tudaawim wa <<shaylah mahafat'haa
every employee.SF 3Asf-presevere.IMPERF and carrying.SF fan-POSS.3SF

ma'aahaa>> li'anna almuHaafaZah laa tamlik miyzaniyyat 'iSlaaH
with-PRO.3SF because DET-governorate NEG 3SF-own.IMPERF budget fixing

mukayyif!
air.conditioner

“My greetings to the well-prepared governorate of Alfarwaniyah and its respectful governor, and we summarize the situation there: the male and female employees go to work in bureaus that have had no air conditioning for several months now, in a tragic case, and every female employee goes to work “carrying her fan with her” because the governorate does not have the sufficient budget to fix the air conditioning!”

maazaal al'amiluwn hunaak bintiZaar kawaadirahum allatiy lam
still DET-worker.PL there by-waiting cadre.PL-POSS.3PLM which.SF NEG

tuSraf, wa yas'aluwn 'an saa'at al'ifraaj 'an
3SF-spend.IMPERF.PASS and 3PLM-ask.IMPERF about hour.PL DET-release of

kaadiraHum almu'taqal! wa yas'aluwn 'an sir 'ikhtifaa'
cadre-POSS.3PLM DET-detained and 3PLM-ask.IMPERF about security disappearance

almuwaZafiyn, wa 'an ba'Dahum yudaawum 'awwal
DET-employee.PL and that some-PRO.3PLM 3SM-persevere.IMPERF first

yawm faqaT, wa 'ikhtafa wa ma'aashah mashiy wa shaghaal
day only and disappear.3SM.PERF and salary-POSS.3SM ongoing and continuing

wa yanzil fiy Hisaabih bilwaqt almuHaddad!
and 3SM-deposit.IMPERF in account-POSS.3SM by-DET-time DET-specified

“The workers there are still waiting for their cadres, which were not deposited into their accounts, and they ask about the hours of payment for their delayed cadres! And they

ask about the secret of the disappearance of employees, and that some of them went to work for just one day, but then disappeared and yet he still receives his salary at the designated time!”

wa yatasaa'aluwn 'an sir waD' alrajul ghayr almunaasib,
and 3PLM-wonder.IMPERF about secret putting DET-man non DET-appropriate

fiy almakaan ghayr almunaasib, wa alHassaas ayDaN, wa hiya
in DET-place non DET-appropriate and DET-sensitive also and she

al'idaarah almaaliyyah, maa saaham fiy 'ishaa'at
DET-administration DET-financial what contribute.3SM.PERF in rumour.PL

ba'D al'akhbaar Hawla shubhat alta'addiy 'ala almaal al'aam!
some DET-news concerning suspicion DET-violation on DET-money DET-
public

sayyidiy muHaafiZ alfarwaaniyyah, taHaqaq binafsik,
mister.-POSS.1S governor alfarwaaniyyah 2SM-check.IMPER by-yourself

wa idhaa maalik khilg 'awaar alraas, 'ala al'aqal rakkib
and if NEG-PRO.2SM capacity pain DET-head at DET-least 2SM-install.IMPER

luhum mukayyif!
for-PRO.3PLM air-conditioner

“And they wonder about the secret behind installing an unsuitable man for an unsuitable and sensitive job, which is in financial administration, and which contributed to some rumors about suspicions of public money violations! Mr.-the governor-of-Alfarwaniyah, check for yourself, and if you do not want to have a headache, then at least install an air conditioner for these people!”

Article 9

maTaar alkuwyit... wa altadkhiyn
airport DET-kuwait and DET-smoking

“Kuwait Airport and Smoking”

Fawziyah Alsabab

limadhaa 'aSbaH kharq alqanuwn thaqaafah natabaaha
why become.3SM.PERF violation DET-law culture 1PL-brag.IMPERF

bihaa, limaa namnaH alzaa'ir 'ila alkuwyit bid'aN min
almaTaar
by-PRO3SF why 1PL-grant.IMPERF DET-visitor to DET-kuwait starting from DET-airport

Suwrah bi'annanaa Hukuwmah wa sha'baN laa naHtarim
picture by-that-PRO.1PL government and people.ACC NEG 1PL-respect.IMPERF

alqanuwn wa naduws 'alayh bi'aqdaamanaa, law
DET-law and 1PL-step.IMPERF on-PRO.3SM by-feet-POSS.1PL if

naZarnaa 'ila maTaraat alduwal al'asyawiyyah alfaqiyrah wa laysa
see.1PL.PERF to airport.PL DET-country.PL DET-asian DET-poor and NEG

'ila almaTaraat al'uwrubbiyyah najid jamiy' almusafiriyn
to DET-airport.PL DET-european 1PL-find.IMPERF all DET-traveller.PL

yaHtarimuwn alqawaniyn wa minhum alkuwyitiyuwn
3PLM-respect.IMPERF DET-law.PL and from-PRO.3PLM DET-kuwaiti.PLM

almutawajiduwn hunaak, wa 'ahamaaa 'adam altadkhiyn
DET-available.PLM there and important.SUP-PRO.3SF nullity DET-smoking

li'ann alqawaniyn hunaak Saarimah wa laa tarHam,
because DET-law.PL there strict and NEG 3SF-have.mercy.IMPERF

wa laakin maa 'in tahbiT *alTaa'irah* *fiy maTaar alkuwyit* *wa*
and but what if 3SF-land.IMPERF DET-airplane in airport DET-kuwait and

yakhrij *almusafiruwn* *min alTaa'iraat* *Hatta* *yash'iluw*
3SM-exit.IMPERF DET-traveller.PL from DET-airplane.PL so 3PLM-light.IMPERF

sajaa'irahum *min duwn mubalaat wa duwn 'iHtiraam lilqanuwn,*
cigarette.PL-POSS.3PLM from without care and without respect to-DET-law

'anaa binafsiy shaahadt *'adadaN* *min almuwaTiniyn*
PRO.1S by-myself witness.1S.PERF number.ACC from DET-civilian.PL

yash'iluwn *sajaa'irahum,* *wa sama't* *'aHadahum*
3PLM-light.IMPERF cigarette.PL-POSS.3PLM and hear.1S.PERF one-PRO.3PLM

yaquwl *wallah law kinnaa* *fiy maTaar ghayr maTaar alkuwyit*
3SM-say.IMPERF by-god if be.1PL.PERF in airport except airport DET-kuwait

kaan *is'Habuwnaa* *'anaa 'atamanna* *'ann 'ajid*
be.3SM.PERF drag.3PLM.PERF-PRO.1PL PRO.1S 1S-wish.IMPERF that 1S-
find.IMPERF

mu'asasah Hukuwmiyyah waaHidah taHtarim *alqanuwn wa*
institution govermental one 3SF-respect.IMPERF DET-law and

tuTabiqah, *lakin alfasaad* *wa alfawDa* *'ammat*
3SF-apply.IMPERF-PRO.3SF but DET-corruption and DET-chaos prevail.3SF.PERF

wa 'intasharat *kamaa yantashir* *alwaram* *alsaraTaaniy.*
and spread.3SF.PERF as 3SM-spread.IMPERF DET-tumor DET-cancerous

“Why is violating the law a culture that we brag about, and why do we give visitors to Kuwait, starting from the airport, a picture of us as a government and people who do not respect the law and who step on it with our feet? If we take a look at poor Asian airports, and not even European ones, we will notice that travellers there respect the laws, including Kuwaitis, and the most important law respected there is the non-smoking law, because laws there are strict and are merciless, but as soon as the airplane

lands in Kuwait Airport and travellers disembark the airplanes, the travellers light up their cigarettes carelessly and without respect for the law. I have personally witnessed a number of travellers lighting up their cigarettes, and I have heard one of the travellers saying that if they were at an airport other than Kuwait airport, they would have been arrested. I wish to find one governmental institution which respects the law and applies it, but the corruption and chaos have prevailed just like a cancerous tumor.”

'adwiyat almustashfa al'askariy
 medicine.PL DET-hospital DET-military

“Medicines of the Military Hospital”

khilaal al'ashhir althalaathah almaaDiyah fuwji' marDa
 during DET-month.PL DET-three DET-previous surprise.3SM.PERF.PASS patient.PL

almustashfa al'askariy binaqS Haad fiy kathiyr min al'adwiH
 DET-hospital DET-military by-shortage extreme in many from DET-medicine.PL

alDaruwriyyah ka'adwiyat alDaght wa ghayrihaa faDTarruw
 DET-necessary as-medicine.PL DET-pressure and other-PRO.3SF so-compel.3PLM.PERF

lishiraa'ihaa min Hisaabihim alkhaaS min alSaydaliyyaat
 to-buying-PRO.3SF from account-POSS.3PLM DET-private from DET-pharmacy.PL

alkhaSSah. naHnu ma'a Husn altanZiym wa altaqniyn wa
 DET-private PRO.1PL with goodness DET-management and DET-rationing and

lakin laysa 'ala Hisaab almarDa.
 but NEG on expense DET-patient.PL

“During the previous three months, the patients at the Military Hospital were surprised by the extreme lack of many necessary medications, such as blood pressure medication, among others, so they had to buy it at their own expense from private pharmacies. We are for good management and rationing, but not at the expense of the patients.”

dawaa' alghuddah fiy wuzaarat alSiHHah
 medication DET-gland in ministry DET-health

“The gland medications in the Ministry of Health”

aldawlah mulzamah qanuwnaN wa wifq Hukum maHkamat altamyiiz
DET-state obliged lawfully and according ruling court DET-supreme

bitawfiyr aldawaa' laysa faqaT limuwaaTiniyhaa bal Hatta
by-providing DET-medicine NEG only to-citizen-POSS.3SF but even

lilmuqiymiyn, wa min thum fa min ghayr alma'quwl 'adam
to-DET-resident.PL and from then so from without DET-rational nullity

wujuwd dawaa' alghuddah aldaraqiyah (tertroxin t3) fiy wuzarat alSiHHah
existence medicine DET-gland DET-thyroid tertroxin t3 in ministry DET-health

lilmuwaaTiniyn mindhu 'ashhir 'iddah! almarDa raaja'uw
to-DET-citizen.PL since month.PL several DET-patient.PL check.3PLM.PERF

makhaazin SabHaan duwn faa'idah Haythu 'ann almas'uwliyn
warehouse.PL sabhaan without usefulness wherein that DET-official.PL

fiy makhaazin alSiHHah fiy SabHaan yadda'uwn 'ann maktab
in warehouse.PL DET-health in sabhaan 3PLM-claim.IMPERF that office

landan mutakaasil fiy 'iHDaar hadhaa aldawaa', falimadhaa hadhaa
london lazy in bringing this DET-medicine so-why this

al'istihtaahr biSiHHat alnaas? fahadhaa aldawaa' ghayr
DET-recklessness by-health DET-people so-this DET-medicine non

mutawaaqfir bilSaydaliyyaat alkhaSSah lidhalik falmarDa
available by-DET-pharmacy.PL DET-private for-that so-DET-patient.PL

mujbaruwn 'ala 'iHDaarah min landan 'ala Hisaabihim alkhaaS
obliged.PL on bringing-PRO.3SM from london on expense-POSS.3PLM DET-private

li'an a'araaD hadhaa almarad khaTiyrah jiddaN 'ala SiHHat al'insaan
because symptom.PL this DET-disease dangerous very on health DET-human

maa lam yatim tadaarukah bil'ilaaj. wa 'anaa
if NEG 3SM-do.IMPERF rectifying-PRO.3SM by-DET-curing and PRO.1S

a'sal wa law kaan almariyD 'aHad aqaarib almas'uwliyn
fiy
1S.ask.IMPERF and if be.3SM.PERF DET-patient one relative.PL DET-official.PL
in

wuzaarat alSiHHah, khuSuwSan fiy makhaazin SabHaan 'aw
ministry DET-health especially in warehouse.PL sabhaan or

maktab landan alSiHHiy, 'alam yakunuw liyusaari'uw fiy
office london DET-health Q-NEG 3PLM-be.IMPERF to-3PLM-hurry.IMPERF in

'iHDaar aldawaa' wa tawfiyrih... wa laakin kamaa yaquluwn
bringing DET-medicine and providing-PRO.3SM and but as 3PLM-say.IMPERF

man 'aman al'uquwbah 'asaa' al'adab.
who feel.secure.3SM.PERF DET-punishment misuse.3SM.PERF DET-manners

“The state is obliged by law, and according to the ruling of the Supreme Court, to provide medicine not only for its citizens but also for its residents, so the unavailability of the thyroid gland medicine, Tertroxin T3, for the citizens at the Ministry of Health for several months is unacceptable! The patients checked themselves with Sabhaan warehouses to no avail, as the directors at the Sabhaan warehouses claim that the health office in London is too lazy to import this medicine - so why this recklessness towards people's health? This medicine is not available in private pharmacies, so patients are obliged to bring it from London at their own expense because the symptoms of this disease are very dangerous to a person's health unless the problem is rectified by curing it. And I ask, if the patient is one of the relatives of an official at the Ministry of Health, especially in Sabhaan warehouses or at the London health office, wouldn't they hurry in bringing the medicine and providing it? But as they say, those who are sure that they will not be punished will exhibit bad manners.”

mujamma' 'uwlimbyaa
complex olympia

'Olympia Complex'

naHnu nu'min bilwaasTah allatiy 'aSbaHat raghmaN
PRO.1PL 1PL-believe.IMPERF in-DET-reference which.SF be.3SF.PERF despite

'annaa jiz'aN min Hayaatinaa wa turaathinaa, wa 'alayh
of-PRO.1PL part.ACC from life-POSS.1PL and tradition-POSS.1PL and on-PRO.3SM

bil'afyaah man yastaTiy' tajaawuz alqanuwn wa kharqih
by-DET-health who 3SM-can.IMPERF exceeding DET-law and violating-PRO.3SM

jahaaraN nahaaraN taHt musamma al'istithnaa', wa lakin yajib
publicly explicitly under name DET-exception and but 3SM-must.IMPERF

'an yakuwn hunaak shay' min al'iHsaas bilwaTaniyyah fa
'indamaa
that 3SM.be.IMPERF there thing from DET-feeling in-DET-nationalism so when

tam 'amal shaari' jaanibiy fiy shaari' alkhalij limujamma'
finish.3SM.PERF doing street side in street DET-gulf to-complex

'uwlimbyaa bihadaf khidmat almaT'am faqad tarak almuqaawil
olympia by-goal servicing DET-restaurant so-already leave.3SM.PERF DET-
contractor

mukhallafaatah 'ala jaanib alTariyq mindhu 'akthar min sittat
waste.PL-POSS.3SM on side DET-road since more from six

'ashhur falaa alqa'imuwun 'ala hadhaa almujamma' Talabuwn
month.PL so-NEG DET-official.PL on this DET-complex request.3PLM.PERF

minh 'izaalat hadhihi almukhallafaat wa laa jihaat aldawlah
from-PRO.3SM removing this DET-waste.PL and NEG authority.PL DET-state

'azaalat'haa... fa'ayn hiya alwaTaniyyah allatiy
remove.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SF so-where PRO.3SF DET-nationalism which.SF

tadda'uwnahaa? hadhaa waTanakum
2PLM-claim.IMPERF-PRO.3SF this home-POSS.2PLM

MLF Corpus

Article 1

[<<buw Hmuwd>>.. <<sakkar aldiyrah wa ga'ad>>!!]
<<father-of Hmuwd>>.. <<close.3SM.PERF DET-country and sit.3SM.PERF

“Buhmuwd closed the borders of the country”

Fuad Alhashem

[C1 min 'aadat alzumalaa' <<almuTaaw'ah>> [C2 'ann 'aghlabahum
from habit DET-colleague.PL <<DET-religious.M.PL>> that most.3PL-
PRON.3PLM

yabda' mawDuw'ah bijumlat.. <<ba'd mughaadaratiy
3S-start.IMPERF topic-POSS.3SM with-sentence <<after departure-POSS.1S

lilmasjid 'aqib Salaat almaghrib..>> 'aw.. <<baynamaa kunt
to-DET-mosque after prayer DET-dawn or while be.1S.PERF

'ahim bildukhuwl 'ila almasjid liSalaat al'aSr.>>],
1S-start.IMPERF in-entering to DET.mosque for-prayer DET-afternoon

, 'aw .. [C3 <<maa 'inn 'intahayt min Salaat alZahir.>>], 'ila 'aakhirih]]
or NEG if finish.1S.PERF from prayer DET-noon to latest-gen

“Our religious colleagues have a habit of starting their conversations with the sentences
“after I left the mosque after the dawn prayer” or “while I was about to enter the
mosque for the afternoon prayer” or “just after I finished the noon prayer” et cetera”

[wa ka'annahum hum almuslimuwn - faqaT - wa baqiyyat
and as-if-PRON.3PLM PRON.3PLM DET-muslim.PL only and rest

'ahl aldiyrah min.. <<naSaara najraan zaman alnajaashiy>>!!]
family DET-country from christian.PL najraan time DET-najaashiy

“As if they're the only Muslims, and the rest of the nationals are the Christians of Najraan at the time of Alnajaashy.”

[C1 lidhalik, taTbiyqaN lishi'ar.. [C2 <<wa'anaa ba'ad.. wiyyahum>>]
for-that applying for-slogan.S.M and-PRON.1S also with-PRON.3PLM

alkhaalid, sa'abda' maqaal alyawm bi.. <<ba'd 'an
DET-immortal.S.M FUT-1S.start.IMPERF article DET-today with after that

intahayt min 'adaa' Salaat al'ishaa' fiy almasjid masaa' 'ams>>..]
finish.1S.PERF from performing prayer DET-evening in DET-mosque evening
yesterday

“For that, and to apply the immortal slogan "I, too, support them", I will start today's article with “after I finished the Isha prayer at the mosque yesterday evening...”

[C1 jaa'aniy 'itiSaal min sayyidah kuwyitiyyah [C2 ladayhaa
come.PERF.3SM-PRON.1S call from lady kuwaiti.S.F with-PRO.3SF

'ibn libnaaniy [C3 mutazawwij min suwriyyaH [C4 dhahabat 'ila
son lebanese married from syrian.S.F go.S.F.PERF to

baladihaa [C5 litaDa' mawluwdahaa al'awwal
country-POSS.S.F to-3SF.IMPERF.put newborn-POSS.3SF DET-first

bayn 'ahlahaaw wa dhawiyhaa]]]],
between family-POSS.3SF and relative.PL-POSS.3SF

“I received a call from a Kuwaiti lady who has a Lebanese son who is married to a Syrian lady who went to her country to give birth to her first child and be amongst her family and relatives”

[C1 fawaqa' [C2 maa waqa' min 'aHdaath hunaak]],

so-happen.3SM.PERF what happen.3SM.PERF from event.PL there

“So the events started there”

[C1 fabaqiyat [C2 Hatta 'intahat 'iqaamat'haa [C3 almusajjalah 'ala
so-stay.3SF.PERF until expire.3SF.PERF visa-POSS.3SF DET-registered on
jawaazihaa]]],
passport-POSS.3SF

“And so the Syrian lady stayed until the visa registered to her passport expired.”

[C1 fa'idTar zawjuhaa li'idkhaalaha 'ila
so-compel.3SM.PASS.PERF husband-POSS.3SF to-entering-PRO.3SF to
alkuwyit bi <<kart ziyaarah>> [C2 Zallat tujadidah
DET-kuwait with card visiting continue.3SF.PERF 3SF-renew.IMPERF-PRO.3SM
'iddat marraat [C3 Hatta tajaawazat almuhlah almuHaddadah
several times until exceed.3SF.PERF DET-term DET-specified
wa taraakamat algharamaat ma'a rafD <<aldaakhiliyyah>> - bi'awaamir
and 3SF-pile.PERF DET-fine.PL with rejection DET-interior with-order.PL
min alwaziyr alshaykh <<'aHmad alHumuud>> - manHahaa 'iqaamah
from DET-minister DET-sheikh Ahmad Alhumoud giving-PRO.3SF residence
[C4 kaanat - 'aSlan - mamnuwHah lahaa]]]]
be.3SF.PERF already award.PASS.3SF.PERF to-PRO.3S.

“So her husband had to let her enter Kuwait with a visitors’ visa that she had to renew several times until she exceeded the deadline, and fines piled up because of the Ministry of the Interior's refusal - based on orders from Sheikh Ahmad Alhumoud - to give her a permit that was already hers.”

wa [C1 [C2 lawlaa <<bashaar -alna'jah>> [C3 wa maa fa'alat'huw 'iSaabat
and if-NEG bashar DET-goat and what do.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SM gang.PL

almukhaabaraat alsuwriyyah min <<maahir -alna'jah>>, wa <<raamiy -
makhlouf>>,
DET-intelligence.PL DET-syrian.S.F from mahir DET-goat and ramy makhlouf

wa <<'aaSif shawkat>> min <<Zulm wa Zulumaat>> biHaq sha'bihim]]
and asif shawkat from injustice and injustice.PL with-right people-POSS.3PLM

lamaa tawarraTat hadhihi alzawjah alsuwriyyah almaskiynah
NEG 3SF-entangle.PERF this.S.F DET-wife DET-syrian.S.F DET-poor.S.F

[C4 allatiy 'anjabat Hafiydah limuwaaTinah kuwyitiyyah!!!]
who.S.F beget.3SF.PERF granddaughter to-citizen.S.F kuwaiti.S.F

“Had it not been due to the injustice of Bashar the goat, and what the gangs of the Syrian intelligence, including “Maher the goat” and “Ramy Makhlouf”, did towards their people, this poor Syrian wife, who gave birth to a Kuwaiti citizen's daughter, would not have got entangled with this situation.”

[C1 'arif alshaykh <<aHmad alHumuwd>> [C2 mindhu 'an
1S.know.IMPERF DET-sheikh ahmad alhumuwd since that

kaan waziyaN lildaakhiliyyaH - lilmarrah al'uwlah - fiy
be.3SM.PERF minister.SM-ACC to-interior to-time.SF first.S.F in

'aam 1992]],
year 1992

“I have known Sheikh Ahmad Alhumoud since he became the Interior Minister for the first time in the year 1992”

[C1 wa qad tasabbab - duwn qasd minh - fiy Suduwr
and already cause.3SF.PERF without intent from-PRO.3SM in issuance

Hukum qaDaa'iy Diddiy bilHabs limuddat thalaathat 'ashhir
sentence judicial against-PRO.1S with-imprisonment to-period three month.PL

[C2 'urtibiTa - wa lillah alHamd - bigharaamah
connect.3SM.PASS and to-god DET-praise with-fine

[C3 qadruhaa 500 diynaar] <<liwaqf altanfiydh>> [C4 dafa'at'haa

cost-POSS.3SF 500 dinar to-stop DET-execution pay.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SF

sayyidah kuwyitiyyah [C5 dhahabat 'ila almaHkamah wa
lady kuwaiti.S.F go.3SF.PERF to DET-court and

saddadat'haa ..duwn [C6 'an 'a'lam]]]]]
settle.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SF without that 1S.IMPERF.know

“And he unintentionally led to my three month sentence, which was suspended - thank God – due to a 500 dinar fine that was paid by a Kuwaiti lady who went to the court and settled it without my knowledge.”

wa [C1 [C2 lawlaahaa] ladakhalt alsijn almarkaziy..
if-NEG-PRO.3SF would-enter.1S.PERF DET-prison DET-central

[C3 <<wa'anaa 'aTig 'iSbi'>>] [C4 li'annaniy lam
and-PRO.1S beat.1S.IMPERF finger because-PRO.1S NEG

'akun raaghibaN fiy tasdiy mablagh algharaamah 'aSlaN..]]
be.1S.IMPERF.JUSS wilful.ACC in settling sum DET-fine originally

“And, had it not been for her, I would have been sent to prison for sure because I was already not willing to pay the fine”

wa [C1 kull dhalik bisabab maqaal [C2 katabtah 'ala
and every that because article write.1S.PERF-PRO.3SM on

khalfiyyat qaraar [C3 'aSdarahu alshiykh
background decision issue.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SM DET-sheikh

<<'aHmad alHumuwd>> biSifatih wazyraN lildaakhiliyyah
ahmad alhumuwd with-attribute-POSS.3SM minister.ACC to-interior

fiy dhalik alzamaan, wa ta'allaq bita'shiyraat khadam almanaazil]]],
in that DET-time and relate.3SM.PERF with-visa.PL servant.PL DET-house.PL

“And everything happened because of an article that I wrote about a decision made by Sheikh Ahmad Alhumoud as an Interior Minister at that time, and it was related to the domestic workers' visas”

[ʻidhn <<sa^{kk}arhaa-bu^Hmud>> tamaamaN]
so close.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF-buHmoud completely

“So Bu Hmoud closed the borders of the country completely”

[wa mana' ʻiSdaar ʻay nuw' minhaa liʻay saaʻiq aw
and prohibit.3SM.PERF issuing any type from-PRO.3SF for-any driver or

khaadim ʻaw Tabbaakh ʻaw murabiyyah liʻay muwaaTin kuwyitiy,]
servant or cook or nanny for-any citizen kuwaiti

“And he prohibited the issuing of any type of visa to drivers, servants, cooks, or nannies to any Kuwaiti citizen.”

[C1 faʻaghlaq alkuwyit <<bilDubbah wa almuftaaH>> limuddah
so-close.3SM.PERF DET-kuwait with-DET-latch and DET-key to-period

[C2 taziyd ʻan thalaathat ʻashhur.. <<Hasab dhaakiratiy>>
exceed.3SF.IMPERF about three month.PL according memory.POSS.1S

[C3 faDajjatalnaas wa alʻusar wa alʻawaaʻil]
so-clamor.3PLF.PERF DET-people and DET-household.PL and DET-family.PL

[C4 wa ʻinhaalat alʻitiSalaat ʻalaynaa fiy aljariydH]]
and pour.3PLF.PERF DET-call.PL on-PRO.1PL in DET-newspaper

“So he closed Kuwait with a latch and a key for a period that exceeded three months, according to my memory, so people and families clamoured and pleas fell on us at the newspaper,”

<<wa [C1 kunt waqtahaa fiy Sahiyfat Sawt alkuwyit almamluwkah
and be.1S.PERF time-POSS.3SF in newspaper voice DET-kuwait DET-owned

lilHukuwmah wa [C2 allatiy 'aSdarat'haa khilaal alghazuw
to-DET-government and which.SF issue.3SF.PERF-PRO.3SF during DET-invasion

wa 'aghlaqhaa waziyr al'i'laam a'asbaq alshiykh
and close.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF minister DET-information DET-former DET-sheikh

s'uwd alnaaSir ba'd nashr maqaaliy hadhaa bi'iddat 'asabiy'>>
s'uwd alnaasir after publishing article.POSS.1S this with-several week.PL

- wa kadhalik baqiyyat alSuHuf alkuwyitiyyah,]]
and as-that rest DET-newspaper.PL DET-kuwaiti.SF

“And, at that time, I was working at the Sawt Alkuwayt newspaper, which was owned by the government and which was issued during the invasion and was closed by the former Minister of Information, Sheikh Saud Alnasser, after the publishing of this article of mine after several weeks.”

wa [kullahaa tashkuw min qaraar alwaziyr],
and all-PRO.3SF 3SF-complain.IMPERF from decision DET-minister

wa [C1 [C2 li'ann <<alkuwiyyiy min ghayr khaadimah>>..
and because DET-kuwaiti from other servant

ka alwilayaat almutaHidah al'amriykiyyah min down..
as DET-state.PL DET-united.SF DET-american.SF from without

<<saab-waay>> wa <<maakdownaldz>> wa.. <<pizza - daaymuwnd>>!!]]
sub-way and mcdonald's and pizza-diamond

“And also, the rest of the Kuwaiti newspapers - all of them complained about the minister's decision, and because a Kuwaiti without his servants is like the United States of America without Subway, Mcdonald's and Pizza-Diamond.”

[C1 maqaaliy [C2 alladiy 'arsalaniy 'ila alsijn limuddat
article-POSS.1S which send.3SM.PERF-PRO.1S to DET-prison to-period

thalaathat 'ashhir] kaan taSwiyrān liHim Halamtahu
three month.PL be.3SM.PERF depiction.ACC to-dream dream.1S.PERF-PRO.3SM

[C3 bi'annaniy qad tawafayt wa dufint]]
with-that-PRO.1S already 3SM-die.PERF and bury.1S.PASS.PERF

“My article, which sent me to prison for a period of three months, was a depiction of a dream that I had already died and was buried”

[C1 fabada'at [C2 'aSif 'aHwaal alqabir] [C3 wa samaa' 'aSwaat
so-start.1S.PERF 1S-describe.PERF state.PL DET-grave and hearing voice.PL

almushayyi'iyin [C4 wa hiya tabta'id 'an qabriy] wa
DET-mourner.PL and PRO.1SF 3SF-leave.IMPERF about grave-POSS.1S and

kadhālik muHarikaat sayyaraatihim wa 'ajalaatihāa!]]
also engine.PL car.PL-POSS.3PLM and wheel.PL-POSS.3SF

“So I started describing the after-death experience and hearing the voices of the mourners as they were moving away from my grave - and also the engines of their cars and the sound of their wheels!”

[C1 kunt 'ahdif min waraa' [C2 maa katabtah]
be.1S.PERF 1S-aim.IMPERF from behind what write.1S.PERF-PRO.3SM

tibyaan mada Su'uwbat alHuSuwl 'ala ta'shiyrat dukhuwl
clarification extent difficulty DET-obtaining upon visa.PL entering

- [C3 kaa'inaN man kaan] - lilkuwyit ba'd [C4 'ann..
entity.ACC who be.3SM.PERF to-kuwait after that

<< sakkarhaa 'aHmad alhumoud]]
close.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF ahmad alhumoud

“I was aiming to clarify the extent to which it was difficult for anyone to obtain a visa for entering Kuwait after Ahmad Alhumoud had closed the borders of the country,”

[fataHarrak thalaathat muTaaw'ah lahum malaamiH mu'taqaliy
so-move.3SM.PERF three religious.PL fo-them feature.PL detainee.PL

<<ghwantaanaamuw>> wa muqatiliy <<Taalibaan>> 'ala hay'at <<mubarak
albadhaaliy>>]
guantanamo and fighter.PL taliban on appearance mubarak albadhaly

‘So three religious people, with the appearance of Guantanamo and Taliban fighters like
Mubarak Albathaly, made a move’

wa [C1 tawajahuw 'ila wuzaarat al'ilaam.. [C2 liyashtakuwniy
and head.3PLM.PERF to ministry DET-information to-complain.3PLM-PRO.1S

Hawl almaqaal,]]
about DET-article

‘And headed to the Ministry of Information to complain about me with regard to the
article’

[wa alwuzaarah - <<mashkuwrah>> - 'aHaalatniy 'ila alniyaabah,
and DET-ministry thank.3SF.PASS refer.3SF.PERF-PRO.1S to DET-prosecutor

wa minhaa 'ila almaHkamahm wa ba'dahaam 'ila alsijin..
and from-PRO.3SF to DET-court and after-PRO.3SF to DET-prison

lawlaa raHmat rabbk!]
if-NEG mercy god-PRO.2SM

“But the ministry, to whom I'm grateful, referred my case to the public prosecutor, who
referred my case to the court and then to prison... had it not been for your God's mercy!”

Article 2

[takhaariyf almu'aariDiyn aljudad]

nonsense.PL DET-opponent.PL DET-new.PL

'The nonsense of the new opposition.'

Abdullatif Alduaij

[kathura alHadiyth fiy al'aawinah al'akhiyah 'an <<al'imaarah

increase.3SM.PERF DET-talk in DET-time DET-last about DET-emirate

aldistuwriyyah>> wa Daruwrat 'intiqaal alkwyit 'ila hadhaa almustawa min

DET-constitutional and necessity transfer DET-kuwait to this DET-level
from

<<altaTawwur>> alsiyaasiy, khuSuwSaN ba'd muruwr 'akthar min niSf
qarn

DET-development DET-political especially after passing more from half
century

min <<alHukm aldiymuqraaTiy>>.]

from DET-rule DET-democratic

‘There has been more talk, during recent times, about the constitutional emirate and the necessity of transferring Kuwait away from this level of political development, especially since more than half century has passed since the advent of democratic rule.’

[C1 laa yakhfa 'ala 'aHad [C2 'innaniy <<raj'iy
NEG 3SM-conceal.IMPERF on one that-PRO.1S reactionary

jiddaN wa mutakhallif jiddaN>> 'ind alHadiyth 'an 'ay taTwiyr
lilniZaam

very and backward very when DET-talk about any development to-
system

alsiyaasiy hunaa.]]

DET-political here

‘And it is not a secret to anyone that I am a very reactionary and a very backward person when it comes to talking about improving the political system here.’

[fa'anaa kunt wa laa 'aZaal Did Hatta faSl wilaayat
so-PRO.1S be.1S.PERF and NEG continue against even separation reign

al'ahd 'an manSib ra'iys majlis alwuzaraa'],

DET-heir from position president council DET-ministers

‘As I was, and still am, even against separating the Crown Prince’s position from the Prime Minister’s.’

[Hadhdhart minhaa] wa [qad thabat bilmalmuws
warn.1S.PERF from-PRO.3SF and already prove.3SM.PERF with-DET-tangible

al'athar alsalbiy lihaadha alfaSl.]

DET-effect DET-negative to-this DET-separation

'I warned against it and the negative effect has been tangibly proved.'

['anaa Did ra'iys wuzaraa' sha'biy, wa bilta'kiyd Did
TaHwiyl

PRO.1S against president minister.PL popular and with-certainty against
transferring

alkwyit <<al'aan>> 'ila Hukum distuwriy-niyaabiy kaamil.]

DET-kuwait now to rule constitutional-parliamentary complete

'I am against having a popular Prime Minister and am certainly against transferring
Kuwait "now" to a constitutional-parliamentary rule.'

[hadhihi wujhat naZariy] wa [C1 lan 'akhfiyhaa 'aw 'umaariy

this.SF perspective view.POSS.1S and NEG 1S-hide-PRO.3SF or 1S-
argue.IMPERF

fiyha [C2 kamaa fa'al alba'D [C3 alladhiy maal 'ila
ta'yid

in-PRO.3SF as do.3SM.PERF DET-some who.3SM lean.3SM.PERF to
supporting

hadhaa al'intiqaal alfujaa'iy fiy alHukum,]]]

this.SM DET-transfer DET-sudden in DET-rule

'This is my viewpoint and I will not hide it or argue about it as some, who have leaned
towards this sudden transfer in rule, have done.'

[famaDaa yukadhib wa yulaffiq tamhiydaN
so-proceed.3SM.PERF 3SM-lie.IMPERF and 3SM-concoct.IMPERF perlude.ACC

wa da'maN lihadhaa alwalm.]

and support.ACC to-this DET-illusion

'So he proceeded with lying and concocting as a prelude to, and to support, this
illusion.'

[C1 lakin... 'anaa fiyalnihaayah ma'a alHukum aldustuwriy,

but PRO.1S in DET-end with DET-rule DET-constitutional

wa Hatta ma'a jumhuwriyyat 'aflaTuwn [C2 'inn 'amkan...]]

and even with republic plato if possible

‘But... in the end, I am with the constitutional rule, and even with Plato's republic if it's possible.’

[lakin laysa al'aan].. [wa laysa fiy Zil tasayyud alta'aSSub aldiyniy

but NEG now and NEG in shadow prevailing DET-bigotry DET-religious

wa alqabaliy,] [wa laysa fiy ghiyaab alHis alwaTaniy wa alraghbah

and DET-tribal and NEG in absence DET-sense DET-national and DET-wish

alsha'biyyah fiy al'intimaa',]

DET-popular in DET-belonging

‘But not now... and not under the current religious and tribal bigotry, and not in the absence of patriotic sense and the popular wish to belong.’

[walaysa fiy Zil saHq shakhsiyyat almuwaaTin wa

and-NEG in shadow eradication character DET-citizen and

fardiyyatih fidaa'aN liITaa'ifah 'aw alqabiylah 'aw jannaat

uniqueness-POSS.3SM sacrifice.ACC to-DET-sect or DET-tribe or garden.PL

'adan fiy al'aalam al'aakhar.]

eden in DET-life DET-last

‘And not in the eradication of the citizen's character and his or her uniqueness as a sacrifice to the sect or the tribe one belongs to, or to the Gardens of Eden in the afterlife.’

[wa bilta'kiyd laysa taHat waT'at alHukum alshumuwliy almutamathil
and with-certainty NEG under burden DET-rule DET-totalitarian DET-modelled

fiy farD wa 'imlaa' al'itijaah aldiyniy alraj'iy
in enforcement and dictating DET-direction DET-religious DET-reactionary

bilquwwah fiy altarbiyah wa alsiyaasah wa Hatta fiy al'iqtisaad
wa

with-DET-force in DET-education and DET-politics and even in DET-
economics and

alqanuwn.]

DET-law

‘And, with certainty, not under the burden of the totalitarian rule which is evident in enforcing and dictating a religious direction in education and politics, and even in economy and law.’

[C1 al'intiqaal 'ila alHukum aldustuwriy yataTallab

DET-transfer to DET-rule DET-constitutional 3SM-require.IMPERF

al'imaan alkaamil bilSiraa' aldiymuqraaTiy [C2 alladhiy

DET-belief DET-complete with-DET-conflict DET-democratic which

takfilhu wa tuHaddidhu mabaadi'

3SF-guarantee.IMPERF-PRO.3SM and 3SF-define.IMPERF-PRO.3SM principle.PL

al'intiqaal wa altadaawul alsilmiy lilsulTah,]]

DET-transfer and DET-transition DET-peaceful to-DET-power

'The transition to constitutional rule requires complete faith in the democratic struggle, which is guaranteed by and defined by the principles of peaceful transition of power.'

[C1 hadhaa al'intiqaal wa haadha altadaawul [C2 alladhaan

this DET-transfer and this DET-transition which.DUAL

tumahid lahumaa wa taDmanhumaa

3SF-pave.IMPERF to-PRO.3DUALM and 3SF-guarantee.IMPERF-PRO.3DUALM

<<alHurriyaat>> almutaaHah bishakl 'aadil wa mutasaawi 'amaam jamiy'

DET-liberty.PL DET-available by-form just and even before all

almuntamiyn lilwaTan,] min 'ajl TarH wujhat naZarhum

DET-member.PL to-DET-home from for presenting perspective view.POSS.3PLM

wa <<altarwiyj>> alHur limu'taqadaatihim wa mabaadi'ahum.]

and DET-publicizing DET-free to-belief.PL.POSS.3PLM and
principle.PL.POSS.3PLM

'This transfer and this transition, to which the way is paved and guaranteed by the available freedom in a just and even form in front of all those who belong to the country, is for presenting the citizens' points of view, and to freely publicize their beliefs and principles.'

[C1 'inn almu'sif [C2 'anna ba'D almunjamiyn waTaniyyaN

that DET-regrettable that after DET-member.PL nationally

wa diymuqraaTiyyaN, 'ammaa biHisn

and democratically either with-goodness

niyyah 'aw bibalaahah, saaraw wa

intent or with-foolishness walk.3PLM.PERF and

yasiruwn ma'a maquwlat alHukm aldustuwriy,

3PLM-walk.IMEPRF with saying DET-rule DET-constitutional

[C3 raghm 'ann muradidiy wa mukhtari'iy wa almutaHamisiyn wa

despite that repeater.PL and inventor.PL and DET-enthusiast.PL and

wa almurawijiyn tadiyahaN wa kidhbaN lihadhaa alwahn

and DET-dissemenator.PL deceptively and falsely to-this DET-deception

hum 'alad 'adaa' alHurriyah wa 'ashad alnaas tamasukaN

PRO.3PLM worst enemy.PL DET-freedom and most DET-people sticking

bilmafaahiym alturaathiyah wa al'aqaa'id albaaliyah.]]]

with-DET-concept.PL DET-traditional and DET-belief.PL DET-old

'It is regrettable that the national and democratic citizens were, or are, supporting constitutional rule, either with good intent or foolishly, despite the fact that those who repeat this deception and are the inventors of it and falsely and deceptively disseminate this deception enthusiastically are the worst enemies of freedom, and are those who strongly stick to the old cultural concepts and beliefs.'

[C1 'inn almuTaaliibyn bil'imaarah aldustuwriyyah min 'amthaal

that DET-claimant.PL with-DET-emirate DET-constitutional from example.PL

<<shabaab>> Hadas - fiy saaHat albaladiyyah - hum [C2 wa laysa

youth.PL hadas in yard.PL DET-municipality PRO.3PLM and NEG

'aHad ghayrihim] [C3 man 'aqar almaadah almadhkuwrah

one other-PRO.3PLM who decide.3SM.PERF DET-article DET-mentioned

'alaah min qanuwn almaTbuw'aat,] wa hum wa ma'ahum

above from law DET-printed.PL and PRO.3PLM and with-PRO.3PLM

mutakhalifuw saaHat al'iraadah <<jamiy'ahum [C4 wa
reactionary.PL yard DET-iraadah all-PRO.3PLM and

laa 'astathniy Hatta muda'iy
NEG exclude-PRO.1S even claimer.PL

alliybraaliyyah>>] [C5 man yatamassak bi<<thawaabit al'ummah>>
DET-liberalism who 3SM-stick.IMPERF with-basic.PL DET-nation

wa yuqaatil Did 'ay taghyir silmiy 'aw tadaawul Hur
and 3SM-fight.IMPERF against any change peaceful or transition free

lilsulTah 'aw lil'aqaa'id wa almafaahiym.]]
to-DET-power or to-DET-belief.PL or DET-concept.PL

‘Those who ask for the constitutional emirate, like the youths of HADAS, in the courtyards of the Ministry of Municipality are those who passed the aforementioned article of Media Law, as well as the reactionaries who were with them in the Al-Eraadah yard (all of them with no exception, even those who claim to be liberals), who stick to “thawaabit al-ummah” and fight against any peaceful change or free transition of power, or of beliefs and concepts.’

[C1 laysa Sa'baN 'ala hadhihi al'ashkaal [C2 almughraqah fiy
NEG difficult.ACC on this.SF DET-form.PL DET-drowned in

alraj'iyyah] shatm ra'iys majlis alwuzaraa' wa

DET-reactionism insulting president council DET-minister.PL and

'ihaanatih 'aw alda'wah 'ila 'iqaalatih, wa taghyir

offending-PRO.3SM or DET-calling to firing-PRO.3SM and changing

thawaabit alHukum alsiyaasiy wa qawaa'idah, [C3 fiy alwaqt

basic.PL DET-rule DET-political and foundation.PL-POSS.3SM in DET-time

alladhiy yatamasakuwn fiy bi'akaadhiybahim wa

which.3SM 3SM-stick.IMPERF-PRO.3PLM in with-lie.PL-POSS.3PLM and

khuza'balaatihim wa wuSaayatihim al'ijtimaa'iyyah

hocus-pocus.PL-POSS.3PLM and guardianship-POSS.3PLM DET-social

allaamutanaahiyah 'ala almujtama',]]

DET-endless on DET-society

‘It's not difficult for these kinds of people, who are extremely reactionary, to insult the Prime Minister and to offend him and to call for his dismissal, as well as for change of political rule and its fundamentals, while they stick to their lies and their hocus-pocus, and their endless guardianship over society.’

[laysa ghariybaN hadhaa 'ala ha'uwlaa']

NEG strange-ACC this on those

‘It's not strange for these people’

[fahadhihiy tarbiyatihim <<aldiyyah>>] wa

this.3SF upbringing-POSS.3PLM DET-religious and

[C1 hadhaa mu'taqadihim] wa

this belief.POSS.3PLM and

[C2 maa yas'uuwn 'ilyh...]]

what 3PLM-pursue.IMPERF to-it

‘This is their religious upbringing, and these are their beliefs and what they are after.’

lakin [C1 alghariyb kull alghariyb [C2 'ann yajiduw 'idhnaN

but DET-strange every DET-strange that 3PLM-find.IMPERF ear.ACC

Saaghiyah [C3 tastami' lahum] wa katfaN

hearing 3SF-listen.IMPERF to-PRO.3PLM and shoulder.ACC

[C4 yastaniduwn 'iliyh] [C5 mimmaN yadda'uwn

3PLM-lean.IMPERF on-PRO.3SM from-who 3PLM-claim.IMPER

alwaTaniyyah wa altaqadumiyyah.]]]

DET-patriotism and DET-progressiveness

‘But what is really strange is that they find a sympathetic ear and a shoulder on which they can lean in those who claim to be patriotic and progressive.’

[nasharat 'aHad SuHufinaa yawm 'ams al'awwal
publish.3SF.PERF one newspaper.PL.POSS.1PL day yesterday DET-first

al'aatiy]

DET-following

‘One of our newspapers published the day before yesterday the following’

[C1 <<.. wa min jaanibih, qaal maSdar fiy kitlat al'amal
and from side-POSS.3SM say.3SM.PERF source in bloc DET-action

alsha'biy [C2 'inn kitlat alnuwwaab wa almajamiy' almu'aariDah
DET-popular that bloc DET-member.PL and DET-group.PL DET-opponent

fataHat tansiyqaN ma'a ba'D alnaqabaat litawZiyf
open.3SF.PERF coordination.ACC with some DET-union.PL for-using

'istiyaa'ihaa min 'adam 'iqraar kawaadirahaa wa
discontent-POSS.3SF from nullity approval cadre.PL-POSS.3SF and

Huquwqahaa wa niqmatihaa tijaah dhaalik fiy Hashd
right.PL-POSS.3SF and spite-POSS.3SF towards that in mobilisation

alnaqabaat fiy alnadawaat almuqbilah lilZaghT 'ala
DET-union.PL in DET-forum.PL DET-next to-DET-pressuring on

alHukuwmah wa Hamlihaa 'ala al'istiqaalah>>.]
DET-government and force-PRO.3SF on DET-resignation

‘On a side note, a source from the Popular Action Bloc said that the Members of Parliament Bloc and the opposition groups have begun to coordinate with some of the unions to utilise the unions’ discontent with not approving their cadres and rights and their anger by mobilising unions in future forums to put pressure on the government and to force it to resign.’

[hakadhaa tammat Siyaaghat alkhabar.]

like-this 3SF-do.PERF formulating DET-news

‘And this is how this piece of news was formulated.’

lakin [C1 alwaaZih [C2 'ann alniqabaat dakhalat 'ala khaT

but DET-clear that DET-union.PL enter.3SF.PERF on line

al'ibtizaaz alsiiyaasiy bimubaarakah kal'aadah min altakatul

DET-blackmailing DET-political with-blessing as-DET-usual from DET-bloc

alsha'biy..]]

DET-popular

‘But what is clear is that the unions have started political blackmail with the blessing of the Popular Bloc...’

[C1 lihadhaa [C2 fa'inn taDakhamat ba'd sanawaat

for-this so-if swell.3SF.PERF after year.PL

'arSidaT ba'D qiyadiiy alnaqabaat aw 'uHiyl

account.PL some leader.PL DET-union.PL or refer.3PLM.PASS.PERF

ba'D <<al'ummaal>> 'ila alniyaabah bituhmat ghasiyl al'amwaal...]

some DET-worker.PL to DET-prosecutor with-accusation laundry DET-money

falaa tastaghribuw.]

so-NEG 2PL-wonder.IMPERF

‘And for that reason, don't be shocked if, after several years, the bank accounts of the union leaders have swelled, or if some of "the workers" are questioned by the Public Prosecutor for money laundering.’

Article 3

riyuwg ma'a altarbiyah
breakfast with DET-education

“Breakfast with the [Ministry of] Education”

Jaafar Rajab

[Sabaah jamiyl ma'aaliy waziyr altarbiyah], [C1 alyawm sa'aktib
morning beautiful highness minister DET-education DET-today FUT-1S-write.IMPERF

'an altarbiyah bimunaasabat awwal yawm fiy al'isbuw',
about DET-education with-occassion first day in DET-week

wa bimunaasabat dhahaabanaa 'ila alniyaabah al'aamah [C2 li'annanaa
and with-occassion going-POSS.1PL to DET-prosecutor DET-public because-PRO.1PL

katabnaa shakwa limudiyrat madrasah 'ala wuzaaratihaa fiy nihaayat
write.1PL.PERF complaint to-head school on ministry-POSS.3SF in end

al'usbuw' alfaa'it,]]
DET-week DET-passed

“Good morning your highness, the Minister of Education. Today I will write about the Ministry of Education on the occasion of the first day of the week. And on the occasion of going to the Public Prosecutor because we published a complaint by a headmistress against her ministry at the end of last week.”

[C1 wa 'atamanna [C2 allaa takuwn siyaasah jadiydah
and 1S-wish.IMPERF NEG 3SF-be.IMPERF policy new

[C3 tumaaris'haa alwuzaarah li'irhaab alSaHaafiyiin...]]]
3SF-practice.IMPERF-PRO.3SF DET-ministry to-terrorizing DET-journalist.PL

[iftaH albaab 'ala humuwm almu'alimiyin!]
open.2S.M.IMP DET-door on worry.PL DET-teacher.PL

“And I wish that this were not new policy practiced by the ministry to terrorize journalists... open the door to the teachers' worries!”

[**Taal** **'umrik,**] [C1 [C2 raghm **alHannah** **wa almannah,**
elongate.3SM.PERF age.POSS.2S.M despite DET-nagging and DET-annoyance

allatiy SaaHabat kaadar almu'alimiyn al'araj,] illaa 'ann
which.3SF accompany.3SF.PERF cadre DET-teacher.PL DET-limp except that

wuzaaratak almuwaqqarah ila al'aan lam tastaTi' [C3 'an
ministry.POSS.3.S.M DET-respectful until now NEG 3SF-can.IMPERF.JUSS that

taSrif alkawaadir bi'athar raj'iy lilkathiy min
3SF-spend.IMPERF DET-cadre.PL with-effect retrospect to-DET-many from

almu'alimiyyin wa almu'alimaat,])
DET-teacher.M.PL and DET-teacher.F.PL

“May your life be long, despite the nagging which has accompanied the limp cadre of teachers. Your respectful ministry until now has not been able to give many of the teachers the cadre, in retrospective”

wa [alsabab Tab'aN kuthrat almu'alimiyyin...] [aqtariH altakhalluS
and DET-reason certainly abundance DET-teacher.PL 1S-suggest.IMPERF DET-riddance

minhum fawraN!]
from-PRO.3PLM immediately

“And the reason, of course, is the abundance of teachers... I suggest that we get rid of them immediately!”

[**Taal** 'umrik,] [C1 min bayn kull 'ashr mu'amalaat <<'iSdaar
elongate.3SM.PERF age.POSS.2S.M from among every ten procedure.PL issuance

shahaadat raatib>>, tabayyan [C2 ann <<khamista'ash>> mu'aamalah
certificate.PL salary indicate.3SM.PERF that fifteen procedure

ghayr SaaliHah, wa khaaTi'ah,]] [<<wa alsabab alkambyuwtar
NEG valid and wrong and DET-reason DET-computer

alla'iyin Tab'aN,] [C1 wa bisabab alfawDa wa allakhbaTah
damned certainly and because DET-chaos and DET-confusion

yuqaal, 'inna [C2 aHadahum Talab <<shahaadat raatib>>]
3SM.say.IMPERF.PASS that one-PRO.3PLM order.3SM.PERF procedure salary

[C3 fa'a'Tuwah <<jamiyl raatib>>!]
so-give.3PLM-PRO.3SM jamil ratib

'May your life be long - it has been shown that in every ten procedures of issuing a salary certificate, there are fifteen invalid and wrong procedures, and the reason is, of course, the damned computer, and, because of the chaos and the confusion, it has been suggested that one of them ordered a salary certificate (shahadat ratib) but was given instead Jamil Ratib (an actor)!

[**Taal** 'umr ma'aaliykum], ['ila al'aan laa aHad
elongate.3S.M.PERF age highness.POSS.2PLM until now NEG one

ya'rif qiSSat <<alflaash miymuwriy>>] wa [kayf
3SM-know.IMPERF story DET-flash memory and how

satuwazza' ma'a al <<'ay baad>>?!]
FUT-3SF-distribute.IMPERF.PASS with DET-ipad

wa [limaadha 'asaasaN turiyduwn min altlimiyth
and why originally 2S.PL-want.IMPERF from DET-student

'istikhdaam alkambyuwtr fiy aldiraasah?!]
using DET-computer in DET-studying

'May your life be long - until now, no one knows the story of the "flash memory" and how it will be distributed with the "iPad"?! And why, in the first place, do you want the student to use the computer in studying?!'

[**Taal** 'umrik] [fiy 'almaanyaa wa hiya 'almaanyaa
elongate.3S.M.PERF age-PRO.2S.M in germany and PRO.3SF germany

lam yasta'miluw alkambyuwtr fiy madaaris al'aTfaal,]
NEG 3PLM-use.IMPERF.JUSS DET-computer in school.PL DET-children

'May your life be long - in Germany, and it is Germany, they did not use the computer in children's schools'

[laysa li'annahum mutakhalifuwn,] bal [C1 li'annahum ya'rifuwn
NEG because-PRO.3PLM reactionary.PL but because-PRO.3PLM 3PLM-
know.IMPERF

[C2 'ann altaTawwur laysa fiy wujuwd al'ajhizah, bal fiy kayfiyyat
that DET-development NEG in existence DET-device.PL but in manner

alta'aamul ma'ahaa]]!
DET-dealing with-PRO.3SF

'Not because they are reactionary, but because they know that development is not about the existence of devices, but about how to deal with them!'

[**Taal** 'umr ma'aaliyikum,] [C1 maadha sayaf'al
elongate.3S.M.PERF age highness-POSS.2S.M what FUT-3SM-do.IMPERF

alTaalib bi<<laabtuwb>> mutakhallif [C2 **laa** **yhish** **wa**
DET-student with-laptop reactionary NEG 3SM-drive.IMPERF and

laa **yhish**?!!!] [C1 [C2 'idhaa kuntum
NEG 3SM-repel.IMPERF if be.2PL.M.PERF

turiyduwn bilfi'l altaTawwur,]
2PL.M-want.IMPERF actually DET-progress

fa'alaykum bitawziy' <<'ay fuwn 5>>!]
so-on-PRO.2PL.M with-distribution iphone 5

'May your life be long, your highness - what will a student do with a stupid "laptop" that is useful for nothing?! If you really want progress, then you should distribute the iPhone 5!'

[**Taal** **'umrik,**] [C1 hal SaHiyH [C2 maa yutadaawal 'an
elongate.3S.M.PERF age.POSS.2S.M Q true what 3SM-talk.PERF.PASS about

ta'akhur tarkiyb alkaamyraat fiy almadaaris, [C3 'ann sababih [C4 kamaa
delay installing DET-camera.PL in DET-school.PL that reason.POSS.3SM as

barrarat alsharikah] huwa <<tsuwnaamiy>> [C5 alladhiy Darab
justify.3SF.PERF DET-company PRO.3SM tsunami which.S.M hit.3SM.PERF

alyabaan wa maSna' alkaamyraat fiyhaa,
DET-japan and factory DET-camera.PL in-PRO.3SF

'May your life be long - is what people are saying true with regard to the installation of cameras at schools? I.e. that the reason for the delay is the tsunami that has hit Japan and the camera factory there,'

[C6 maa ya'niy [C7 'ann alsharikah muDTarraH lildhahaab
which 3SM-mean.IMPERF that DET-company impelled to-DET-going

'ila sharikaat wa maSaani' 'ukhra,]]]]]] [wa biltaaliy
to company.PL and factory.PL else and with-DET-following

satartafi' taklifat
FUT-3SF-raise.IMPERF cost

alkamyraat...] ['innahu mujarrad su'aal!]
DET-camera.PL that-PRO.3SM just question

‘Which means that the company is impelled to go to other companies and factories,
which in turn means that the cost of the cameras will rise..? It is just a question!’

[**Taal** 'umrik,] [C1 hunaak shakwa min manTaqat Hawalli
elongate.3SM.PERF age.POSS.2S.M there complaint from district hawally

alta'liymiyyah, Hawl maafyaa <<ta'liym alkibaar>>, [C2 Haythu tatim
DET-educational about mafia education DET-elderly where 3SF-do.IMPERF

'amaliyyat tasjiyl wa shaTb 'asmaa' biTariyqah mazaajiyyah,]
operation.PL registration and removal name.PL with-way moody

‘May your life be long - there is a complaint from the Hawally education district, about
the mafia of “elderly education”, where operations of registering and removing names
are carried out moodily,’

[fa laa wujuwd li'ay miqyaas lil'ikhtiyaar, laa bil'aqdamiyyah wa laa
so NEG existence to-any criterion to-DET-choice NEG by-DET-seniority and NEG

bilkafaa'ah wa la Hatta biltakhaSuS,]
by-DET-efficiency and NEG even by-DET-speciality

‘So there is no existence for any criterion of choice, neither by seniority, nor by efficiency, nor even by speciality.’

[mi'yaar altasjiyl alwaasTah] wa [qiy] bi<<al'ataawah>>,
criterion DET-registration DET-reference and tell.3SM.PASS by-DET-bribery

[C1 <<yaquwluwn>> [C2 **Taal** 'umrik,] wa [C3 qad
3PLM-say.IMPERF elongate.3SM.PERF age.POSS.2SM and already

iktashafnaa inn aSdaq wukaalah bilkwyit, hiya wukaalat yaquwluwn,
discover.1PL.PERF that truest agency in-kuwait PRO.3SF agency 3PLM-say.IMPERF

[C4 yaHtaaj ila Hal 'aajil [C5 **Taal** 'umrik!]]
3SM-need.IMPER to solution speedy elongate.3SM.PERF age.POSS.2SM

‘The criterion of registration is reference, but it has been said that it is also through “bribery”, “they say” - may your life be long - and we have already discovered that the truest agency in Kuwait is the “they say” agency. It needs a speedy solution - may your life be long!’

[C1 qad yas'al alba'D [C2 limaadhaa alnaZrah alsalbiyyah?]
may 3SM-ask.IMPERF DET-some why DET-viewpoint DET-negative

[C3 'alaa tuwjad jawaanib 'iyjaabiyah?]] [C1 al'ijaabah na'am
QPRT-NEG 3SF-exist.IMPERF.PASS angle.PL positive DET-answer yes

alkathiyir, wa minhaa [C2 ann alwaziyr yuHaawil al'iSlaaH
DET-much and from-PRO.3SF that DET-minister 3SM-try.IMPERF DET-reform

biqadr al'imkaan fiy wuzaarah [C3 afsadahaa aldahr,]]
by-measurement DET-possible in ministry spoil.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF DET-time

‘Some may ask: why the negative viewpoint? Aren’t there any positive viewpoints? The answer is “yes, a lot”. And one of which is the fact that the minister is trying to fix as much as possible in a ministry that has been spoiled by time,’

[wa alshakaawa almanshuwrah tad'am 'amalah
and DET-complaint.PL DET-published 3SF-support.IMPERF work-POSS.3SM

wa laa tu'arqilah,] wa [C1 hunaak alkathiyir min
and NEG 3SF-impede.IMPERF-PRO.3SM and there DET-much from

alkafa'aat fiy wuzaarat altarbiyah, [C2 ta'mal
DET-competent.PL in ministry DET-education 3SF-work.IMPERF

wa tuDaHiy wa tajtahid
and 3SF-sacrifice.IMPERF and 3SF-endeavour.IMPERF

fiy sabiyil alruqiy bil'amaliyyah altarbawiyah,]]
in path DET-advancement by-DET-process DET-educational

‘And the complaints published support his work and do not impede it, and there are many competent employees at the Ministry of Education, working, sacrificing and striving for progress in ‘the educational process.’

[wa la'al manTaaqat Hawalliy alta'limiyyah khayr mithaal 'ala almihaniyyah,]
and maybe district hawally DET-educational best example on DET-professionalism

wa [C1 waliyd al'uwmiy muraaqib alta'liym althaanawiy fiy manTaaqat Hawalliy,
and waleed aloumy supervisor DET-education highschool in district hawally

aHad [C2 alladhiyn yatamayyazuwn biHisn altadbiyr
one who.3PLM 3PLM-stand-out.IMPERF by-goodness DET-management

wa alHirafiyyah, raghm Zuruwf al'amal <<wa alnaqS
and DET-professionalism despite circumstance.PL DET-work and DET-shortage

fiy hay'at altadriys,]] wa [qaa'imat almujtahidiyn taTuwl...
in staff DET-teaching and list DET-hardworking.PL 3SF-elongate.IMPERF

lahum kul <<alshukur>>, wa lilfasidiyn <<almilH>>!]
to-PRO.3PLM every DET-gratitude and to-DET-corrupt.PL DET-salt

‘And maybe the educational district of Hawally is good example of professionalism, and Waleed Al-Oumy, the supervisor of high school education in the district of Hawally, is one of those who stand out for their good management and professionalism, despite the work circumstances and the shortage of teaching staff, and the list of hardworking employees goes on... we are grateful to them, but to the corrupt ones, we are not!’

[shukraN lima'aaliykum 'ala al'istimaa']
thanks to-highness.POSS.2PL.M on DET-listening

“Thank you, your highness, for listening!”

Article 4

lamiys wa alkidhb alkhasiys
lamis and DET-lying DET-despicable

'Lamees and Despicable'

Azizah Almufarrij

[d. lamiys jaabir muqadimmat barnaamaj <<dusTuwr yaa syaadnaa>>
d. lamis jaber presenter.S.F programme.S.M dstoor ya syadna

syaadnaa>> 'ala qanaat al'uwrbit, **simHiylinaa**] wa lakin
syadna on channel.S.F DET-orbit permit.3S.F.IMP-to-PRO.1PL and but

[C1 ma'luwmaatik 'an alkuwyit wa manTaqat alkhalijj
information-POSS.2SF about DET-kuwait and area DET-gulf

kharabiyT wa **khriTiy**, wa taHtaaj ila taHdiyth,
drivel and nonsense and 3S.F-need.IMPERF to updating

[C2 hadhaa idhaa kunti HaqqaN
this if be.2SF.PERF really

duktuwrah [C3 tahumahaa alHaqiyqah, wa tas'aa waraa'ahaa
doctor.S.F 3S.F-care.IMPERF DET-truth and 3SF-pursue.IMPERF behind-PRO.3SF

[C4 kamaa taf'aliyn fiy muHawalaatik tabyiiD tariykh almalik
faruwq,
as 2SF-do.IMPERF in attempt.PL-POSS.2SF whitening history DET-king
farouq

wa 'ithbaat ta'arruDih lilghubn wa alZulm min qibal
and proving facing-PRO.3S.M to-DET-wrongdoing and DET-injustice from side

sha'bih fiy maSr.]]]]
people-POSS.3SM in egypt

‘Dr. Lamees Jaber, presenter of the programme “dsToor ya syadna” on the Orbit Channel, allow us to disagree with you, but your information about Kuwait and the Gulf area is drivel and nonsense, and it needs updating - this is if you are really a doctor who really cares to know the truth and who pursues it as you do in your attempts to whiten the history of King Farouq, and to prove that he has faced wrongdoing and injustice from his people in Egypt.’

[C1 fiy Hadiythik 'an duwal alkhaliyj fiy barnaamaj yawm al'ithnayn
in talk.POSS.2SF about country.PL DET-gulf in programme day DET-monday

26/9 'arafnaa [C2 'innaki tantamiyn lijawqat alqawmiyim
26/9 know.1PL.PERF that-PRO.2SF 2SF-belong-IMPERF to-group DET-nationalist.PL

al'arab [C3 allatiy talqiy bijamiy' **balaawiy** wa mushkilaat
DET-arab which.3SF 3SF-lay-IMPERF with-all catastrophe.PL and problem.PL

alwaTan al'arabiy 'ala kaahil alkhaliyj wa duwalih wa
DET-homeland DET-arabic on shoulder DET-gulf and country.POSS.3SM and

Hukkaamih]]]
ruler.PL.-POSS.3S.M

‘In your talk about the Gulf countries in the Monday programme on the 26th of September, we could tell that you belonged to the Arab Nationalists group which lays all the catastrophes and problems of the Arab world on the shoulders of Arab countries and their rulers.’

[C1 wa qad 'idda'ayti fiy albarnaamaj qiyaam tilk alduwal
and already claim.2SF.PERF in DET-programme undertaking those DET-country.PL

bitadbiyr al'inqilabaat [C2 allatiy Taalat jumhuwriyyaat dhaat niZaam
by-managing DET-coup.PL which.S.F reach.3SF-PERF republic.PL of system

shibh diymuwqraaTiy, wa Hawwalat'haa 'ila duwal 'askariyyah.
semi democratic and transform.3SF.PERF to country.PL military

subHaanak rabbiy.]]
glory.POSS.2SM god.POSS.1S

‘And you have already claimed in the programme that these countries have planned out the coups that reached the semi-democratic republics and transformed them into countries with martial rule - oh your Glory, my God.’

[C1 duwal Saghiyrah, Da'iyfah, [C2 yaskunhaa 'adad qaliyl min
country.PL small.SF weak.SF 3SF-inhabit.IMPERF-PRO.3SF number low from

alsukkaan [C3 mashghuwliyn bilbaHth 'an luqmat al'aysh bilghawS
DET-inhabitant.PL busy.PL by-DET-searching for bite DET-bread by-DET-
diving

wa alsafar,]] taqlub 'anZimat alHukum fiy bilaad
and DET-travelling 3SF-turn-IMPERF system.PL DET-rule in country.PL

'ariyqah, shaasi'ah, waasi'ah [C4 yaskunhaa
ancient vast wide 3SM-inhabit.IMPERF-PRO.3SF

malayiin alnaas,]] [C5 fataqDiy 'ala
million.PL DET-people so-3SF-destroy.IMPERF on

diymuqraaTiyat'haa wa taj'alhaa duwalaN 'askariyyah,]
democracy.POSS.3SF and 3SF-make.IMPERF-PRO.3SF country.PL.ACC martial

oh my God [C1 lihaddarajah 'iHnaa 'aqwiyya'] wa
oh my god to-DET-degree PRO.1PL powerful and

[C2 'iHnaa maa nadriy.]
PRO.1PL NEG 1PL-know.IMPERF

‘Small, weak countries with only a small number of inhabitants who are busy looking for food through pearl-diving and travelling can overthrow ruling systems in wide, vast countries with ancient histories that are inhabited by millions of people, and so they destroy their democracies and turn them into martial countries. Oh, my God, so strong are we and we don't even know it.’

[wa qiyaam faransaa wa briyTaaniyaa bitaqaasum al'araaDiy al'arabiyyah
and undertaking france and britain of-dividing DET-land.PL DET-arab.SF

Hasab mishtahaat kul waaHidah,] [fatilk ta'khudh fikhdhah min
according desire each one.SF so-that 3SF-take.IMPERF thigh.SF from

hunaak,] wa [althaaniyah taqtaniS janaaHaN min hunaak, wa hakadhaa.]
here and DET-second.SF 3SF-snipe.IMPERF wing.ACC from there and like-that

‘And, France and Britain divided these Arab lands as they wished, one taking a thigh, and the other a wing, and so on.’

['ukhtinaa almuHtaramah, 'anti taHmiliyn shahaadat alduktuwraah]
sister.POSS.1PL DET-respectful PRO.2SF 3SF-carry.IMPERF certificate DET-doctorate

wa [C1 [C2 law at'abti nafski qaliylaN, wa baHathtiy fiy tariykh
and if tire.2SF-PERF self.POSS.2SF little and search.3SF-PERF in history

duwal alkhaliyy] la'arafti [C3 ann alkuwyit, 'ala sabiyl almithaal,
country.PL DET-gulf would-know.2SF.PERF that DET-kuwait on for DET-example

balad [C4 qaa'im bidhaatih mindhu alqarn alsaadis 'ashar],
country standing independently since DET-century DET-sixth tenth

[C5 yaHkumhaa shuyuwkh min aal alSabaaH
3SM-rule.IMPERF-PRO.3SF sheikh.PL from family DET-sabah

[C6 'ittafaq 'ala Hukmihim jamiy' abnaa' alsha'b alkuwyitiy,]]
agree.3SM.PERF on rule.POSS.3PL all children DET-people DET-kuwaiti

wa [C7 Hatta waqtunaa alHaaDir Hakamahaa thalaathata
and even time.POSS.1PL DET-present rule.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF three

'ashara amiyrAN,] wa [C8 kaanat lahaa mu'aahadah ma'a briyTanyaa
ten prince.PL and be.3SF.PERF to-PRO.3SF treaty with britain

[C9 'aqadat'haa sanat 1899, liHimaayatihaa min alduwal alTaami'ah
sign.3SF-PRO.3SF year 1899 to-protection.PRO.3SF from DET-country.PL DET-greedy

fiyhaa,]] [C10 thumm Talabat 'ilghaa'ihaa sanat 61 ba'ad
in-PRO.3SF then request.3SF.PERF cancelling.PRO.3SF year 61 after

shu'uwrihaa bi'adam alHaajah lahaa,]
feeling.POSS.3SF by-nullity DET-need for-PRO.3SF

wa [C11 annahaa laa 'ilaaqah lahaa bisayks wa rafiyyihi biykuw
and that-PRO.3SF NEG relation to-PRO.3SF with-sykes and friend.POSS.3SM picot

[CP12 alladhaan taqaasamaa al'iraaq wa maSr wa bilaad alshaam,
who.3DUALM 3DUAL-divide.IMPERF DET-iraq and egypt and country DET-
levantine

wa waza'aa araaDiyhaa Hasab raghat kull minhum.]]]
and distribute.3DUAL.PERF land.PL-POSS.3SF according wish every from-3PLM

‘Our respectful sister, you hold a PhD, and if you had bothered yourself a bit, and explored the history of the Gulf countries, you would have known that Kuwait, for example, has been an independent country since the sixteenth century, and is ruled by Sheikhs from the Al-Sabah family, on whom all Kuwaiti people have agreed, and, even

at the present time, thirteen Emirs reign over them, and the country had a treaty with Britain which was signed in 1899 to protect it from greedy countries. And then Kuwait requested the cancellation of the treaty in the year 1961 after it felt that it no longer needed it and that it bore no relation to Sykes and his friend Picot who divided Iraq, Egypt, and the Levantine, and distributed these lands according to their wishes.'

[C1 mu'allif 'iraqiy [C2 yud'a 'abbaas baghdaadiy]
author iraqi 3SM-call.IMPER.PASS abbas baghdadi

katab kitaabaN [C3 yaSif
write.3SM.PERF book.ACC 3SM-describe.IMPERF

fiyh baghdaad fiy al'ishriynaat [C4 kamaa
in-PRO.3SM baghdad in DET-twenty.PL as

ra'aahaa wa 'aashahaa.]] [C1 fiy SafHah 23 min
see.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF and live.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF in page 23 from

kitaabih baghdaad fiy al'ishriynaat katab almu'allif
book.POSS.3SM baghdad in DET-twenty.PL write.3SM.PERF DET-author

'an nafsih faqrah [C2 naqtaTif minhaa altaaliy]]
about himself section 1PL-pick.IMPERF from-PRO.3SF DET-following

'An Iraqi author called Abbas Baghdadi wrote a book in which he describes Baghdad as he saw and experienced it in the Twenties. On page twenty-three of his book "Baghdad in the Twenties", the author wrote about himself in a section from which we quote the following:'

<<[malakt] wa [aflast] wa [suqimt] wa
own.1S.PERF and go-bankrupt.1S.PERF and sicken.1S.PERF.PASS and

[u'wfiyt] wa [Sa'adt] wa [nazalt,] wa [C1 laqayt
heal.1S.PERF.PASS and ascend.1S.PERF and descend.1S.PERF and find.1S.PERF

min al'umuwr [C2 maa laqayt,]] wa [labast al'arqajiyn wa
from DET-matter.PL what find.1S.PERF and wear.1S.PERF DET-arqajiin and

alkashiidah wa alTuruwsh wa alsidaarah wa albirmiyTah]
DET-kashiidah and DET-turuush and DET-sidaarah and DET-birnitah

wa [sharraqt] wa [gharrabt] wa [sakant khaarij baghdaad
and go-east.1S.PERF and go-west.1S.PERF and live.1S.PERF outside baghdad

siniyn 'adiydaah,] wa ['araft surriyah wa lubnaan wa maSr wa iyraan
year.PL many and know.1S.PERF syria and lebanon and egypt and iran

wa turkiyaa wa al'urdun wa alsu'uwdiyyah wa alkuwyit wa
and turkey and DET-jordan and DET-saudi and DET-kuwait and

albaHrayn wa uwrubbaa>>.]
DET-bahrain and europe

“I owned a lot, and I went bankrupt, and I got sick, and I got healed, and I went up, and I went down, and I experienced different matters, and I wore the Arqajiin, and the Kashiidah, and the Turuush, and the Sidaarah, and the Birnitah, and I went east, and west, and lived outside Baghdad for many years, and have known Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Europe.”

[wa su'aal nuwajihah lilduktuwrah almuHtaramah, wa man hum
and question 1PL-direct.IMPERF to-DET-doctor DET-respectful and who PRO.3PLM

'ala shaakilatihaa,] [C1 hal kaan alkaatib sayadhkir
on form.POSS.3SF Q be.3SM.PERF DET-writer FUT-3SM-mention.IMPERF

alkuwyit Dimn alduwal [C2 allatiy zaarahaa] [C3 law lam
DET-kuwait amongst DET-country.PL which.SF visit.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF if NEG

takun kayaanaN qaa'imaN bidhaatih laa jiz'aN
3SF-be.IMPERF.JUSS entity.ACC independent.ACC by-itself NEG part.ACC

min al'iraq [C4 kamaa araadat [C5 an tumarir lilmushaahidiyn
from DET-iraq as want.3SF.PERF that 3SF-pass.IMPERF to-DET-viewer.PL

mutajaawizah bidhalik amaanatihaa al'ilmiiyah?!]]]]
disregarding by-this integrity.POSS.3SF DET-scientific

‘And a question that we ask the respectful doctor, and those who are like her, is: was the author going to mention Kuwait amongst the countries which he visited if it was not an independent entity, rather than a part of Iraq, as she wanted to tell the viewers while disregarding her scientific integrity?!’

wa azbaduw..] wa [nuwwaab Hadharuw..] wa [nuwwaab
and foam.3PLM.PERF and member.PL warn.3PLM and member.PLM

shakakuw..] wa [nuwwaab iltazamuw alSamt..] wa
cast.doubt.3PLM.PERF and member.PL abide.3PL.PERF DET-silence and

[alHukuwmah lam tu'alliq.]
DET-government NEG 3SF-comment.IMPERF

'Al-Qabas published the story of the members' accounts of millions but did not specify whose accounts these were... and the Central Bank defended itself... there were members who trembled and fumed, and members who warned, and members who cast doubts on this issue, and members who remained silent... and the government did not comment.'

[C1 bilta'kiyd fiy nihayat al'amr, wa ba'd [C2 an
certainly in end DET-matter and after that

tattaDiH al'umuwr,]
3SF-clear.IMPERF DET-matter.PL

laabud [C3 an yasqiT Tarf.. [C4 ay Tarf yuthbit khaTa' fiy
NEG-choice that 3SM-fall.IMPERF part any part 3SM-prove.IMPERF mistake in

almawDu' mithl aSHAab alHisabaat almaluwmiyyah 'idhaa
DET-matter like owner.PL DET-account.PL DET-millionth if

'uthbit 'aliyhum..] 'aw [C6 alHukuwmah idhaa thabat
prove.3SM.PERF.PASS on-PRO.3PLM or DET-government if prove.3SM.PERF

[C7 innahaa dafa'at..] aw [C8 alSaHiyfah [C9 allatiy nasharat] idhaa
that-PRO.3SF pay.3SF.PERF or DET-newspaper which.SF publish.3SF.PERF if

'an almawDuw' thubit [C10 'ann ma'luwmaatahaa mulaffaqah
about DET-subject prove.3SM.PERF.PASS that information.POSS.3SF fabricated

wa ghiyr SaHiyHah.]] bima'na [C11 ann waaHidaN min aDlaa' almurabba'

and NEG true.SF by-meaning that one.ACC from side.PL DET-square

alrashiy aw almurtashiy aw aljihah [C12 allatiy taSib fiyhaa
DET-briber or DET-bribed or DET-authority which.SF 3SF-flow.IMPERF in-PRO.3SF

tilk al'amwaal awalnaashir.. labudd [C13 an yaqa' [C14 'indamaa
that DET-money or DET-publisher NEG-choice that 3SM-fall.IMPERF when

tattaDiH alru'yah..]]]]]]]
3SF-clear.IMPERF DET-vision

‘Certainly, at the end of this matter, and after this matter is cleared, one side must fall... any side who is proven wrong in this matter, such as the owners of the accounts with the millions, - if this is proved against them - or the government, if it is proven that she paid... or the newspaper which published on the subject if it is proven that its information was fabricated and not true. This means that one of the parties out of the briber and the bribed, or the authority into which all this money flows, or the publisher - they must fall when the vision is clear.’

[C1 fafaDiyHat alHisabaat almalyuwniyah laa yumkin [C2 an
as-scandal DET-account.PL DET-millionth NEG 3SM-can.IMPERF that

tamur minduwn [C3 an yu'aaqab 'ay baTal min
3SF-pass.IMPERF without that 3SM-punish.IMPERF.PASS any protagonist from

abTaalihaa]]].
from protagonist.PL.POSS.3SF

‘The scandal of the accounts with millions cannot pass without punishing one of its protagonists.’

[C1 shay' Tabi'iy [C2 ann alrashiy wa almurtashiy humaa
thing normal that DET-briber and DET-bribed PRO.3DUALM

albaTalaan alra'isiyyaan wa [C3 alladhiyn labudd [C4 ann
DET-protagonist.DUALM DET-main.DUALM and DET-who.PL NEG-choice that

yaTaalhumaa alqaSaaS
3SM-reach.IMPERF-PRO.3DUALM DET-punishment

[C5 idhaa 'uthbit 'alayhumaa shay'..]]]]
if prove.3SM.PERF.PASS on-PRO.3DUALM thing

[C1 ammaa albank almarkaziy fafiy Haal wujuwd qawaniyn
whereas DET-bank DET-central so-in case existence law.PL

[C2 talzimahu biltabligh fiy mithl hadhihi alHalaat,
3SF-oblige.IMPERF-PRO.3SM by-DET-reporting in like this DET-case.PL

fa laabud [C3 an yatim alwuquf 'indah ayDaN..]]]
so NEG-choice that 3SM-do.IMPERF DET-stopping by-it also

'It is a normal thing that the briber and the bribed are the main protagonists, as are the ones who must be punished if something is proved against them. As for the Central Bank, if there are laws that require it to report these cases, this matter should also be kept in mind.'

'ammaa [C1 [C2 idhaa thabat [C3 ann tilk alma'luwmah alkhaTiyrah lam
but if prove.3SM.PERF that that DET-information DET-dangerous
NEG

takuwn fiy makaanihaa,] wa [C4 'ann [C5 maa warad fiyha
3SF-be.IMPERF in place.POSS.3SF and that what feature.3SF.PERF in-PRO.3SF

min ma'luwmaat la yata'adda **altibilliy** 'ala ba'D
from information NEG 3SM-exceed.IMPERF DET-victimization on some

alnuwwaab wa ithaarat zawba'ah 'aw fuqaa'ah laa athar
DET-member.PL and arousing controversy or bubble NEG effect

lahaa..]]] falaabud [C6 an yuHaasab ayDan [C7 man
to-PRO.3SF so-NEG-choice that 3SM-hold-accountable.IMPERF.PASS also who

qaam bilnashr.]]]

do.3SM.PERF of-DET-publishing

‘Whereas if it were proven that revealing that dangerous piece of information were not appropriate and that the information that was featured does not exceed the victimization of some of the PMs and create a controversy and a bubble that has no effect, then the one who published this information should also be held accountable.’

Article 6

mahzalat almajlis wa alHukuwmah
farce DET-parliament and DET-government

'the farce of the parliament and the government'

Fawziyah Al-Sabah

[<<la'at ichbuwdnaa>> min mahzalat almajlis wa
upset.3SF.PERF stomach.PL.POSS.1PL from farce DET-parliament and

alHukuwmah, 'inaad min duwn mubarir wa Siraa' 'ala
DET-government stubbornness from without excuse and struggle on

'ashadih 'ala almanaaSib wa almaSaaliH alkhaSSah min duwn
hardest.PRO.3SM on DET-position.PL and DET-interest.PL DET-private from without

alwuSuwl 'ila natiyah...]
DET-arriving to result

'We are fed up with the farce of this parliament and the government, with stubbornness without an excuse, and a struggle in its worst form for positions and private interests without arriving at a result.'

[faltaTaaHun mustamir] wa [kul waaHid raakib ra'sah,]
as-DET-conflict continuous and every one riding head.POSS.3SM

[falHukuwmah tatadakhhal bikhtiSaSaat almajlis
as-DET-government 3SF-interfere.IMPERF in-specialization.PL DET-parliament

bid'aN min al'intikhabaat albarlamaaniyyah wa da'm ba'D
start.ACC from DET-election.PL DET-parliamentary and supporting some

almurashaHiyn, wuSuwlaN 'ila altadakhul fiy 'intikhabaat lijaan
DET-candidate.PL arriving.ACC to DET-interfering in election.PL committee.PL

almajlis wa ra'iysih]
DET-parliament and president.POSS.3SM

‘The conflict is continuous and everyone is being stubborn, and the government interferes in the specialities of parliament, starting from the parliamentary elections and supporting some candidates to interfere in the parliament committee elections and the elections of its president.’

wa [almajlis yatadakhul bi'amaal alHukuwmah wa
and DET-parliament 3SM-interfere.IMPERF in-work.PL DET-government and

siyaasatihaa aldakhiliyyah wa alkhaarijiyyah,] wa [alsha'b huwa
policy.PL.POSS.3SF DET-internal and DET-external and DET-people PRO.3SM

alDaHiyyah] wa [C1 huwa fiy alnihaayah [C2 man sayadfa'
DET-victim and PRO.3SM in DET-end who FUT-3SM-pay.IMPERF

althaman.]]
DET-price

‘And the parliament interferes in the government's work and in internal and external policies, and the people are the victims, and are eventually the ones who will pay the price.’

['anaa 'as'al] wa [C1 ghayriy yas'al [C2 'ila mata
PRO.1S 1S-ask.IMPERF and other-PRO.1S 3SM-ask.IMPERF to when

satastamir mu'anaat almuwaaTin fiy Zil hadhaa altaTaaHin
FUT-3SF-continue-IMPERF suffering DET-citizen in shadow this DET-conflict

wa altakhabbuT bayn aljanibayn,] wa [C3 'ila mata yabqa
and DET-mess between DET-side.DUAL and until when 3SM-stay.IMPERF

alwaD' 'ala [C4 maa huwa 'alayh,]] wa [C5 mata yasiyr
DET-situation on what PRO.3SM on-PRO.3SM and when 3SM-walk-IMPERF

binaa qiTaar altaTawwur wa altanmiyah?]]
by-PRO.1PL train DET-progress and DET-development

'I ask, and others ask as well, until when will the suffering of the citizen continue under this conflict and under the mess between both sides, and until when will this matter remain unchanged, and when will the train of progress and development move us forward?'

[na'm hadhihi almahzalah bayn almajlis wa alHukuwmah laysat fiy
yes this DET-farce between DET-parliament and DET-government NEG.3SF in

Tariyqihaa 'ila alHal,] [C1 fakull alqira'aat tadil
way.POSS.3SF to DET-solution as-every DET-reading.PL 3SF-indicate-IMPERF

wa tu'akkid [C2 'ann alwaD' yazdaad suw'aN yawmaN
and 3SF-confirm.IMPERF that DET-situation 3SM-increase.IMPERF badly day

ba'd yawm.]]
after day

'Yes, this farce between the parliament and the government is not on its way to being solved, as all the readings indicate and confirm that the situation is worsening day after day.'

[C1 laa 'aHad yafham [C2 kayf yufakir ba'D a'Daa'
NEG one 3SM-understand.IMPERF how 3SM-think.IMPERF some member.PL

albarlamaan,] wa [C1 laa aHad yafham [C2 kayf tukhaTTiT
DET-parliament and NEG one 3SM-understand.IMPERF how 3SF-plan.IMPERF

alHukuwmah lilmustaqbal,] [alwaD' alduwaliy wa al'aalamiy fiy
DET-government to-DET-future DET-situation DET-international and DET-global in

ghaayat alkhuTuwrah,] [fafiy al'aam almaaDiy 'inhaar al'iqtisaad
uttermost DET-danger as-in DET-year DET-previous collapse.3SM.PERF DET-economy

al'aalamiy,] wa [dafa'naa althaman ghaaliyaN,] wa [fiy hadhaa
DET-global and pay.1PL.PERF DET-price expensively and in this

al'aam 'inhaarat ba'D al'anZimah al'arabiyyah wa nashabat
DET-year collapse.3SF.PERF some DET-regime.PL DET-arab and start.3SF.PERF

alHuruwb al'ahliyyah wa taghayarat khariyTat alquwa.] [na'm
DET-war.PL DET-civil and change.3SF.PERF map DET-power yes

almanTaqah fiy Haalat khaTar shadiyd,]
DET-area in state danger grave

'Nobody understands how some MPs think, and nobody understands how the government plans for the future. The international and global situation is in extreme danger, as, in the previous year, the global economy collapsed, and we paid a dear price for that, and in this year, some of the Arab regimes collapsed, and civil wars started, and the power map has changed. Yes, the area is in grave danger.'

[falthawraat fiy kull makaan] wa [C1 laa aHad ya'rif [C2 'ila 'ayn
as-DET-revolution.PL in every place and NEG one 3SM-know.IMPERF to where

satamtad wa [C3 maa hiya nataa'ijhaa,]] wa [alkhaTar
FUT-3SF-extend.IMPERF and what PRO.3SF result.PL.POSS.3SF and DET-danger

al'iqliymiy fiy ashaddih..] [walina'Tiy mithaalaN waaHidaN]
regional in uttermost and-to-1PL.give.IMPERF example.ACC one.ACC

[C1 falaw inTalaq Saruwkh min libnaan wa asqaT
so-if launch.3SM.PERF rocket from lebanon and take.out.3SM.PERF

'adadaN kabiyran min alqatla alSahaayinah] wa [C2 qaam
number.ACC big.ACC from DET-dead.PL DET-zionist.PL and do.3SM.PERF

alSahaayinah biqaSf aHad almufaa'ilaat alnawawiyah al'iyraniyyah]
DET-zionist.PL by-striking one DET-reactor.PL DET-nuclear DET-iranian

wa [C3 intashar al'ish'aa' alnawawiy liyuSiyb alshajar
and spread.3SM.PERF DET-radiation DET-nuclear to-3SM-afflict-IMPERF DET-tree

wa albaHar wa albashar] fama naHnu faa'iluwn?]
and DET-sea and DET-people so-what PRO.1PL doing

‘Revolutions are everywhere and nobody knows where they will extend to and what their results will be, and regional danger is at its worst... and to give one example, if a rocket was launched from Lebanon and killed a large number of Zionists, and then the Zionists struck one of the nuclear reactors in Iran and the radiation spread to afflict the trees, and the sea, and the people, what will we do about that?’

wa [C1 [C2 'idhaa [C3 laa samaH allah] 'intasharat Harb 'iyraniyyah
and if NEG allow.3SM.PERF god spread.3SF.PERF war iranian

'amrikiyyah fiy alkhalij wa tam 'ighlaaq almaDiyq wa ta'arraDat
american in DET-gulf and do.3SM.PERF closing DET-strait and expose.3SF.PERF

maHaTat alkahrabaa' lilqaSf wa tawaqafat 'an tawliyd
station DET-electricity to-DET-striking and stop.3SF.PERF of generating

alkahrabaa' wa taHliyat almiyaah] famin 'ayn na'tiy
DET-electricity and desalinising DET-water so-from where 1PL-bring.IMPERF

bilkahrabaa', wa min 'ayn nashrab almiyaah?]
by-DET-electricity and from where 1PL-drink.IMPERF DET-water

‘And if, God forbid, an Iranian-American war broke out in the Gulf, and the strait was closed and the power station was struck and stopped generating electricity and desalinating water, from where would we get electricity, and from where would we obtain drinking water?’

Article 7

maalik illaa kabat ilHajjiyyah
NEG-for.PRO.2SM except closet DET-pilgrim

'then you have no better choice than the old lady's closet'

Ahmad Alfahad

[C1 fiy tajamu' alraashiy wa almurtashiy athaar alnaa'ib
in gathering DET-briber and DET-bribed raise.3SM.PERF DET-member

msallam albaraak qiSSah ghariyah 'ajiybah.. wa akthar gharaabah
musallam albarak story strange weird and more strangeness

min qiSSat alfataat aljamiyah [C2 allatiy kaanat taqif 'ala
from story DET-girl DET-beautiful who.SF be.3SF.PERF 3SF-stand.IMPERF on

alkhaT alsariy' wa <<taashir>> lilmarkabaat,]] [C1 [C2 fa idhaa
DET-road DET-fast and 3SF-wave.IMPERF to-DET-vehicle.PL so if

waqafuw lahaa] wajuww.. anfasahum amaam fataat
stop.3SM.PERF to-PRO.3SF find.3SM.PERF themselves in.front.of girl

[C3 talbis al'abaa'ah wa laha yad wa arjul mi'zah!!]
3SF-wear.IMPERF DET-robe and to-PRO.3SF hand and feet goat

'In the gathering of the briber and the bribed, the MP Musallam Al-Barrak brought up a strange and weird story, and it was stranger than the story of the beautiful girl who was standing on the main road and was "waving" at cars, and if the cars stopped for her, the drivers would find themselves... in front of a girl who wears the *abayah* and has a goat's hand and leg!!'

[C1 fa alnaa'ib msallam albaraak qaal [C2 ann aHad alqibiyDah
so DET-member musallam albarak say.3SM.PERF that one DET-bribed

istad'aah albank [C3 allaZiy awda' fiyh
summon.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SM DET-bank which.SM deposit.3SM.PERF in-PRO.3SM

amwaalih..] wa sa'alah [C4 min ayn atayt
money.POSS.3SM and ask.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SM from where bring.2SM.PERF

bimablagh arba'at malayin diynaar] [C5 farad 'aliyhum:
with-amount four million.PL dinar so-answer.3SM.PERF on-PRO.3PLM

[C6 ann waalidatih kaanat turiyd
that mother-POSS.3SM be.3SF.PERF 3SF-want.IMPERF

binaa' masjidayn,] wa [C7 'annahu fataH
building mosque.DUAL and that-PRO.3SM open.3SM.PERF

<<kabat'haa>> fawajad 'arba'at malayin diynaar!]]]]
closet.POSS.3SF so-find.3SM.PERF four million.PL dinar

‘So the MP Musallam Al-Barrak said that one of the bribed was summoned by the bank in which he deposited his money... and they asked him from whence he had obtained the four million dinars, and so he replied to them that his mother wanted to build two mosques, and that he opened her “wardrobe” and found four million dinars!’

[C1 [C2 hadhihi alqiSSah inn kaan albaraak qaalahaa
this DET-story that be.3SM.PERF albarrak say.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF

mumaaziHaN alshaari' wa aljumhuwr
joking.SM DET-public and DET-audience

[C3 allaZiy HaDar lilnadwah]] fahiya
who.SM attend.3SM.PERF to-DET-forum so-PRO.3SF

muSiybah..] wa [C1 [C2 in kaan SaadiqaN wa fi'laN
tragedy and if be.3SM.PERF truthful.3SM.ACC and actually

sama'haa min mas'uwliyn fiy albank..]
hear.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF from manager.PL in DET-bank

falmuSiybah akbar! [C3 li'ann [C4 naa'ibanaa wild
so-DET-tragedy bigger because member-POSS.1PL son

alHajjiyyah idhaa kaan ya'taqid [C5 ann <<**kabat**>>
DET-pilgrim if be.3SM.PERF 3SM-believe.IMPERF that closet

waalidatihi, 'akbar min tujuwriy albunuwk,
mother-POSS.3SM bigger from safe DET-bank.PL

wa yaSluH litakhziyn arba'at malayin diybaar..] fahiya kaarithah!]]
and 3SM-suit.IMPERF to-storing four million.PL dinar so-PRO.3SF calamity

wa [C6 [C7 idhaa kaan laa ya'taqid Zaalk wa yadriy
and if be.3SM.PERF NEG 3SM-believe.IMPERF that and 3SM-know.IMPERF

[C8 'ann **kabat** waalidatihi laysa bihi ghiyr **alkhalajiyn** wa
that closet mother.POSS.3SM NEG in-PRO.3SM except DET-cloth.PL and

malaafi' wa '**ilch albaan** wa <<fiks>> wa baqaayaa dahaan
DET-scarf.PL and gum DET-baan and vex and remnant.PL cream

buw faas..]] [C9 lakinnahu lam ya'rif yakZib 'ala albank
bu faas but-PRO.3SM NEG 3SM-know.IMPERF 3SM-lie.IMPERF on DET-bank

kiZbah afDal min **hadhiy]]** falmuSiybah a'Zam [C10 fanuwwaabanaa
lie better from this so-DET-tragedy greater so-member.PL-POSS.1PL

faquw al'aflaam alhindiyyah fiy alkhayaal alwaasi'!]]
exceed.3PLM.PERF DET-film.PL DET-indian in DET-imagination DET-wide

'If this story were told by Al-Barrak as a joke to the public and the attendants of the forum, then this is a tragedy... and if he were being truthful and really heard it from the bank managers, then the tragedy is even bigger! Because our MP, the son of the old lady, if he was thinking that "the wardrobe" of his mother was bigger than the bank's safes and is suitable for storing four million dinars, then it is a tragedy! And if he did not think that and knows that his mother's wardrobe does not contain anything but clothes, headscarves, chewing gum and "vex", and the remnants of Bu Fas ointment, but

he did not know how to tell the bank a better lie than this one, then this tragedy is worse, as our MPs have exceeded Indian films in their vast imaginations!’

[C1 'afDal ta'liyq qara'tah 'ala mawDu' **kabat** wild **alHajjiyyah**..
best comment read.1S.PERF-PRO.3SM on subject closet son DET-pilgrim

[C2 ann alnaa'ib [C3 lamaa fataH **kabat** waalidatihi,
that DET-member when open.3SM.PERF closet mother.POSS.3SM

wa wajaad alfuluws fiy kul baab, wa 'ala kull raf..]
and find.3SM.PERF DET-money in every door and on every rack

sa'alaha: [C4 yummah wiyn
ask.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF mom where

<<malaabsich>>?!] [C5 faraddat 'aliyh: [C6 yaa <<wliydiy>>
cloth.PL-POSS.2SF so-answer.3SF.PERF to-PRO.3SM o son.POSS.1S

malaabsiy khashat'haa fiy albank!]]]]
cloth.PL-POSS.1S hiding-PRO.3SF in DET-bank

‘The best comment I've read about the wardrobe of the old lady's son was that when the MP opened his mother's wardrobe, and found the money in every door, and on every rack, he asked her: “Mom, where are your clothes?”, and she then said: “Oh, my son, I'm hiding my clothes at the bank!”.’

Article 8

al'ummah 'illiy maafiysh minhaa faaydah!
DET-nation which NEG-in from-PRO.3SF benefit

'The nation that is useless'

Ali Albaghli

[lam yatabaqqa min diktaatuwriyyaat fiy hadhaa al'aalam
NEG 3SM-remain.IMPERF from dictatorship.PL in this DET-world

min aqSaah ila aqSaah illa ummat baniy ya'rib,] [C1 fal'aalam
from end to end except nation of arab so-DET-world

kullah aSbaHat aldiymuwqraaTiyyah wa Sanadiyq al'intikhabaat
all-PRO.3SM become.3SF.PERF DET-democracy and box.PL DET-election.PL

hiya [C2 allatiy tuHadid maSiy Hukkaamih,] maa'adaa
PRO.3SF who.3SF 3SF-specify.IMPERF fate ruler.PL.POSS.3SM except

ba'D duwalinaa al'arabiyyah [C3 allatiy kharaj ba'D
some country.PL-POSS.1PL DET-arabic which.3SF come-out.3SM.PERF some

Hukkaamahaa wa tarakuw karaasiyhim kha'ibiyn,
ruler.PL-POSS.3SF and leave.3PLM.PERF chair.PL.POSS.3PLM disappointed

[C4 minhum yamsik bilkirsiy min talaabiybih],
from-PRO.3PLM 3SM-hold.IMPERF by-DET-chair from lapel.PL-POSS.3SM

[C5 mahmaa kaanat altaDHiyaat wa alDamaan aw alkhasaa'ir
whatecer be.3SF.PERF DET-sacrifice.PL and DET-guarantee and DET-loss.PL

bil'arwaaH.]]]]
by-DET-life.PL

'No dictatorships remain in this world, from one end to the other, except in the world of Arabs, as the whole world is now full of democracy and the election boxes are the ones that decide the fate of rulers, except in some of our Arab countries in which rulers have

come out and left their chairs, disappointed, and some of them still hold on to their positions, despite any sacrifices or losses of life.’

[C1 qal'at diktaatuwriyyat alHizb alwaaHid, al'ittiHaad alsuwfyitiy,
stronghold dictatorship.PL DET-party DET-single DET-union DET-soviet

[C2 alladhiy kaan yaHkum shu'uwbih bil<<kiy.jiy.biy>>
who.SM be.3SM.PERF 3SM-rule.IMPERF people.POSS.3SM by-DET-kgb

wa alHadiyd waalnaar,] takhallat 'an kull dhalik wa iltaja'at -
and DET-iron and DET-fire gave-up.3SF.PERF about all that and resort.3SM.PERF

kabaaqiy khalq allah - ila Sanadiyq al'iqtiraa' wa al'intikhaab
as-rest creature.PL god to box.PL DET-polling and DET-voting

alHurr almubaashir wa almusharakah alHizbiyyah wa alsha'biyyah..]
DET-free DET-direct and DET-participation DET-partisan and DET-popular

‘The stronghold of one-party dictatorship, the Soviet Union, which used to rule its people with the “KGB” and with iron and fire, has given all that up and has resorted - as have the rest of the world’s people - to the boxes of free and direct polling, and voting, and to partisan and popular participation.’

[C1 fladiymiyr buwtiyn, ra'iys wuzaraa' ruwsyaa alHaaliy, wa [C2 raghm
vladimir putin head ministry.PL russia DET-present and despite

innahu min kibaar almutajahimiyn alruws,]
that-PRO.3SM from biggest DET-frowning.PL DET-russian.PL

fa'innah[u] la'abhaa SaH,
so-that-PRO.3SM play.3SM.PERF-PRO.3SF right

[C3 falam yu'addil dustuwr dawlatih liyaHkum
as-NEG 3SM-amend.IMPERF constitution country.POSS.3SM to-3SM-rule.IMPERF

'akthar min wilayatayn mutataaliyatayn [C4 'indamaa kaan ra'iysaN,]
more from period.DUAL successive.DUAL when be.3SM.PERF president.ACC

wa sallam alHukum limusaa'idih diymiytriy midfiydiyf [C5 alladhiy
and deliver.3SM.PERF DET-rule to-assistant.POSS.3SM dimitri medeved who.SM

yaSghirahu bi'ashr sanawaat.]]]
3SM-be.smaller.IMPERF-PRO.3SM by-ten year.PL

‘Vladimir Putin, the current Prime Minister of Russia, despite him being one of the biggest stern Russian leaders, he played it well, as he did not amend the constitution of his country to rule for more than two successive periods when he was a president, and has passed on rule to his decade younger assistant, Dimitri Medeved.’

[al'aan buwtiyn wa midfiydiyf aSbaHaa yal'abaan,
now putin and medeved become.3DUALM.PERF 3DUALM-play.IMPERF

kamuhaajimiy khaT alwasaT fiy naadiy barshaluwnah al'asbaaniy,]
as-forward.PLM line DET-middle in club barcelona DET-spanish

[C1 famidfiydiyf SarraH bil'ams [C2 bi'annahu
as-medved state.3SM.PERF by-DET-yesterday by-that-PRO.3SM

yurashiH ra'iys alwuzaraa'
3SM-nominate.IMPERF president minister.PL

alHaaliy buwtiyn likirsiy alri'aasah fiy
DET-current putin to-DET-chair DET-presidency in

al'intikhabaat almuqbilah,]] [C1 liyarud 'alayh buwtiyn
DET-election.PL DET-future then-3SM-reply.IMPERF to-PRO.3SM putin

altaHiyyah bimithlihaa qaa'ilaN [C2 ann murashaHih
DET-greeting by-similar.PRO.3SF saying that candidate-POSS.3SM

liri'aasat majlis alwuzaraa' huwa midfiydiyf,]]
to-presidency council DET-minister.PL PRO.3SM medeved

‘Now Putin and Medvedev are acting as mid-field forward players at the Spanish club Barcelona, as Medvedev has stated yesterday that he nominates the current Prime Minister for presidency in the forthcoming elections, only to be similarly greeted back by Putin, who nominated the former for the position of Prime Minister.’

wa [laa yamluk almuraaqib ila al'ijaab min
and NEG 3SM-own.IMPERF DET-watcher except DET-fascination from

sur'at istiy'aab alruws lili'bat aldiymuwqraaTiyyah], wa
quickness understanding DET-russian.PL to-game DET-democracy and

[hum min almustajidiyn 'alayhaa.] [dakhaluw
PRO.3PLM from DET-novice.PL on-PRO.3SF enter.3PLM.PERF

fiyhaa ba'd suquwT Haa'iT birliynnfiy tis'iynaat alqarn almaaDiy, bi'aks
in-PRO.3SF after falling wall berlin nineties DET-century DET-previous unlike

jamaa'atinaa.] [fabashaar suwryaa ya'id jamaahiyrahu
group.POSS.1PL bashar syria 3SM-promise.IMPERF mass.PL-POSS.3SM

almuta'aTTishah lilmushaarakah fiy alHukum wa aldiymuqraaTiyyah
DET-thirsty.PL to-DET-participation in DET-rule and DET-democracy

bi'iSlaHaat waraqiyyah ghayr dhaat maf'uwI, wa [laa
by-reform.PL paper except of effect and NEG

yunafidh'haa 'ala arD alwaaqi!]
3SM-execute.IMPERF-PRO.3SF on ground DET-reality

‘And anyone who watches this situation can only be fascinated by the quick understanding of the Russians of the game of democracy, despite being new to it, as they only entered this field after the fall of the Berlin Wall in the nineties, unlike our own kind, as Bashar of Syria promises his thirsty masses participation in the rule of the country and democracy through paper reforms that are useless, and are not executed in reality!’

Article 9

la'naat almaSriyin... 'ala almuHamiyn alkwyitiyin...
curse.PL DET-egyptian.PL on DET-lawyer.PL DET-kuwaiti.PL

'The curses of Egyptians... on the Kuwaiti Lawyers...'

Mohammed Al-Awadhi

[C1 la yajuwz b'ay Haalah min al'aHwaal [C2 an
NEG 3SM-allow.IMPERF by-any case from DET-case.PL that

tanTaliq al'alsinah alHidaad biSab alla'anaat 'ala
3SF-launch.IMPERF DET-tongue.PL DET-sharp.PL by-pouring DET-curse.PL on

[C3 man Zannant bih suw'aN aw istaashaTt ghadabaN
who suspect.2SM.PERF in-PRO.3SM bad.ACC or incite.2SM.PERF angry.ACC

min mawaaqifih wa suluwkih...]]]
from attitude-POSS.3SM and behaviour-POSS.3SM

'It is not possible, in any case, that sharp tongues launch curses on those whom you suspected, or got angry at because of their attitudes or behaviour,'

[C1 falmu'min [C2 kamaa qaal alHabiyyb almuSTafa]: <<laysa
as-DET-believer as say.3SM.PERF DET-beloved DET-chosen NEG

billa'aan...>>] wa [tafahhumanaa lighaDab almaSriyiin min
curser and understanding.POSS.1PL to-anger DET-egyptian.PL from

almuHamiyn alkuwiytiyin almutaTawi'iyn lildifaa' 'an alTaaghiyah
DET-lawyer.PL DET-kuwaiti DET-volunteer to-DET-defence about DET-tyrant

yadfa'unaa liltawdiyH wa alnaqd wa
3SM-push.IMPERF-PRO.1PL to-DET-clarification and DET-criticism and

al'idaanah limuHamiyy baladinaa duwn la'n.]
DET-condemnation to-lawyer.PL country.POSS.1PL without cursing

‘Since the believer, as the beloved chosen said, “is not a curser”, and our understanding of the anger of the Egyptians towards the Kuwaiti lawyers who volunteered to defend the tyrant has forced us to clarify, and criticize, and condemn our country's lawyers without cursing.’

[C1 <awalaN ha'ulaa' almuHamuwn yumathiluw anfusahum wa laa
first those DET-lawyer.PL 3SM-represent.IMPERF themselves and NEG

yaHiq lahum [C2 an yatakallamuw bi'ism
3PLM-be-entitled.IMPERF to-PRO.3PLM that 3PL-M-speak.IMPERF by-name

alkuwyit, wa alkuwiytiyuwn]] wa [C1 anaa waaHid min almuwaaTiniyn
DET-kuwait and DET-kuwaiti.PL and PRO.1S one from DET-citizen.PL

[C2 alladhiyn yatabarra'uwn min fi'l ha'uwlaa' baraa'at aldhi'b
who.PL 3PLM-repudiate.PERF from deed those innocence DET-wolf

min dam ibn ya'quwb 'alayhumaa alsalaam.]]
from blood son jacob on-PRO.DUALM DET-peace

‘First, those lawyers represent themselves and have no right to speak on behalf of Kuwait, and Kuwaitis, and I am one of the citizens who is innocent of the doing of those just like the wolf is innocent of the blood of the son of Jacob - peace be upon them both.’

[<alqiyaadah alsiyaasiyyah alkuwiytiyyah baarakat thawrat
DET-leadership DET-political DET-kuwaiti bless.3SF.PERF revolution

wa khiyaar alsha'b almaSriy] wa [C1 waziyr khaarijiyyatanaa
and choice DET-people DET-egyptian and minister foreign-ministry.POSS.1PL

SarraH [C2 ann hadhaa sha'n maSriy khaaS.]] [C1 dhakar
state.3SM.PERF that this matter egyptian private mention.3SM.PERF

alzamiyl suliymaan (kuw777) alsai'diy fiy taghriydatih al'akhiyrah [C2 ann
DET-colleague sulaiman kuw777 alsaidi in tweet.POSS.3SM DET-last that

itiHaad Talabat alkuwyit fiy maSr sayaSdur bayaanaN
union student.PL DET-kuwait in egypt FUT-issue.IMPERF statement.ACC

[C3 yashjib khilaalah wa yastankir <<tiligif>>
3SM-condemn.IMPERF through-PRO.3SM and 3SM-denounce.IMPERF nosiness

almuHamiyn alkuwyitiyin almutaTawi'iyn lildifaa' 'an mubaarak
DET-lawyer.PL DET-kuwaiti.PL DET-volunteer.PL to-DET-defence of mubarak

wa tadakhulhum bisha'n maSriy daakhiliy.]]]
and interference in-matter egyptian internal

'The Kuwaiti political leadership has blessed the revolution and the choice of the Egyptian people, and our Prime Minister has declared that this is a private Egyptian matter. Our colleague Sulaiman Alsaedi, in his latest tweet, writes that the union of Kuwaiti students in Egypt will issue a statement that condemns and denounces the "nosiness" of the Kuwaiti volunteer lawyers defending Mubarak, and their interference in an internal Egyptian matter.'

[C1 wa aham [C2 maa sayataDamanhu albayaan
and important.SUP what FUT-3SM-include.IMPERF-PRO.3SM DET-statement

[C3 ann taSarruf ha'uwlalaa' almuHamiyn
that conduct those DET-lawyer.PL

almudafi'iyn 'an mubaarak]] sayatasabbab
DET-defendant.PL of mubarak FUT-3SM-incite.IMPERF

bimuDaayaqaat lilkuwyitiyin bishakl 'aam fiy maSr.]
in-harrasment.PL to-DET-kuwaiti.PL by-form general in egypt

‘And the most important thing that the statement will include about the conduct of those lawyers defending Mubarak will result in harassment towards Kuwaitis in general in Egypt.’

[C1 <jaa'atniy taghriydah min Hisaab (moody200941) wa [C2 anaa
come.3SF.PERF-PRO.1S tweet from account moody200941 and PRO.1S

aktub almaqaal] [C3 taquwl: [C4 (hadhaa almawqif athaar
1S-write.IMPERF DET-article 3SF-say.IMPERF this DET-situation affect.3SM.PERF

wa sayu'athiyr 'ala kull alTullaab alkhalijiin bimaSr
and FUT-3SM-affect.IMPERF on all DET-student.PL DET-khaleeji.PL in-egypt

wa [C5 anaa kunt waaHidaN minhum] [C6 li'ann almaSriy
and PRO.1S be.1S.PERF one.ACC from-PRO.3PLM because DET-egyptian

maa yufarriq bayn kuwyitiy wa qaTariy alkull khaliyjiy),]
NEG 3SM-distinguish.IMPERF between kuwaiti and qatari DET-all khaleeji

[C1 ya'niy [C2 athiyyat almuHamiyn lam yaslim
3SM-mean.IMPERF harm DET-lawyer.PL NEG 3SM-be-safe.IMPERF

minhaa aHad.]]
from-PRO.3SF one

‘A tweet came to me from an account called @moody200941 while I was writing the article, and it said: “this situation has affected and will affect all the Khaleeji students in Egypt and I was one of them, because the Egyptian cannot tell the difference between the Kuwaiti and the Qatari, as all of them are Khaleejis”, so the harm done by the lawyers has not excluded anyone.’

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