EXPLORING THE EMERGENCE OF AN INCIPIENT ENGLISH PIDGIN IN KUWAIT: A
CONTINUUM OF BILINGUAL BEHAVIOUR

BY

MARYAM ALMUHANNA

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Teaching of English as a Second Language
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2018

Urbana, Illinois

Advisers:

    Professor Randall Sadler
    Professor Rakesh Bhatt

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the situation of increasing linguistic hybridity in the Arab Gulf state of Kuwait. With an Arabic-speaking country hosting to an influx of migrant workers since the 1960's, a foundation for language contact was created. Despite the literature presenting pidginization as an extreme form of language restructuring, it has become increasingly widespread around the world (Rickford & McWhorter, 1997). The occurrence of an incipient trade pidgin variety is investigated, focusing on Kuwaiti-Migrant interactions in the context of a continuum of English-Arabic bilingual behavior. In order to explore such issues, the following research questions were used to guide the research: What kind of code-switching behavior manifests among migrants in Kuwait?; second, what are the principles motivating such code-switching behavior; and, third, what deductions can be made about the code-switching behavior motivated by *intelligibility*?

Bhatt & Bolonyai's (2011) framework of code-switching principles was adopted in analyzing the data in response to the first and second research question. Once the intelligibility-driven speech data was detected, it was analyzed within the frame of the third research question, and the hypothesis of it being indicative of a manifesting pidgin. With reference to the language contact literature, patterns of structural features illustrative of pidginization were identified, also with suggestion of a pidgin lexified by English as opposed to the previously investigated Arabic lexified Gulf Pidgin Arabic (Smart, 1990). The structural features mainly consist of omission of copulas and reduplication of different effects, as well as indications of the frequent use of Arabic function words, discourse particles more specifically, not only for pragmatic purposes, but also the pidgin users' attempt to add structure to the utterances at hand.

This study's investigation of a Kuwait English pidgin consists of illustrations that can be drawn upon and used as a foundation for subsequent research on bilingual behavior in the such a context, given it is a highly underreported issue in the field of language contact.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: ABBREVIATIONS & DEFINITIONS

KPE	Kuwait Pidgin English
GPA	Gulf Pidgin Arabic
GA	Gulf Arabic
CS	Code-switching

Gulf Arabic: This is used as an umbrella term to encompass all Arabic dialects spoken in the Arab Gulf those being: The dialects of Saudi Arabia, The Emirates, Kuwait, Oman, and Qatar.

Language Contact: The emergence of any type of pidgin is a form of compromise between groups of different native languages in order to reach a level of comprehensibility regardless of what region is in question. This compromise is referred to as *language contact*, and is likely to arise in multiple ways (Sebba, 1997). In the past, language contact was often caused by colonization. However, more recently, it is the phenomenon of globalization that has caused an increase in migration for purposes such as employment and trade, and therefore facilitates for the process of language contact.

Lexifier Language: This is one of the source languages to a pidgin or creole that is considered dominant and the source of most of the vocabulary utilized.

CHAPTER 2: INTRODUCTION

The rise of fields such as *language and globalization* called for a focus on "linguistic hybridity rather than uniformity … and borders instead of interiors" (Hall & Nilep, 2015, p. 597). Prior to the rise of globalization, forms of linguistic hybridity such as the emergence of pidgins and creoles were abundantly studied in many previously colonized countries, or any communities that experienced a sudden need of linguistic communication with another newly arriving speech community. Such linguistic situations include the cases of West African Pidgin and English-Japanese Pidgin. With the rise of the phenomenon of globalization, highly migrated countries such as Singapore are investigated for emergence of their multiple varieties of English, including their own English pidgin. However, researchers gave little attention to Arab countries, and more specifically, Arab Gulf countries in this regard, despite the high influx of net migration since the 1960's, which has led to the issues of language contact being highly underreported in this region, hence the incentive of this present study.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the range of English-Arabic bilingual behavior used among Kuwait's population, with a focus on Kuwaiti-Migrant dyadic interactions. In order to explore such issues, the following research questions were used to guide the research: What kind of CS behavior manifests among migrants in Kuwait?; second, what are the principles motivating such bilingual CS behavior?; whether it is due to macro-social factors (such as displaying *Solidarity, Faith, Perspective, Power*) or a need for *intelligibility* due to competence-based gaps in the linguistic repertoire (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011); and, third, what deductions can be made about the CS behavior motivated by *intelligibility*?

Contributions to the study of pidgins in the Arab Gulf have indeed been sparse, but nevertheless have pursued the topic of a GPA, it's manifestation with relation to social and demographic context of the region, its phonological, lexical, and morph-syntactic nature (Smart, 1990, Bakir, 2014, Naes, 2008). Upon distinguishing between CS that is driven by macro-social factors as opposed to that driven by seeking intelligibility, it is valuable to draw from these studies on GPA in attempt to contrast its structural features to the features that come to light in the emerging KPE.

Like many countries in the Arab Gulf, Kuwait happens to be heavily dependent on foreign migrant labor and therefore hosts a large population of workers from several countries, predominantly from the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia (Smart, 1990; Bakir, 2010; Avram, 2014). Due to the Kuwaiti government's settled agreements with governments of developing countries such as The Philippines, Sri Lanka, and India, a large number of people from the latter countries migrate to Kuwait to join the labor force. As reflected by a population pyramid in a study on the patterns and policies of migration to Kuwait, the migrant population presents itself in a very irregular shape with a major concentration of individuals in working ages, males more prevalent than females (Shah, 2007). Evidently, employment and a source of income are the main motivations behind the presence of these migrants (Fernandez, 2014; Shah, 2007). Not only have they comprised of mainly 'working ages' in Kuwait, but they have also consistently made-up over 80% of the labor force despite an increasingly higher number of Kuwaiti females joining the labor force (Shah, 2007).

Figure 1: Map of Kuwait

(World Factbook, 2018).

Political relations between Kuwait and other nations as well as allegiances formed during the Gulf war and Iraq's occupation of Kuwait are contributing factors to the influx of people joining the labor force from Southeast Asian countries. Before the Gulf war, Palestinians made up the majority of the migrant worker population in Kuwait. However due to the majority of Palestinians' claim to Jordanian nationality and Jordan's ties to Iraq during the occupation, they were one of the five nationalities no longer permitted to re-enter to country after it had been liberated in 1991. As Shah (2007) reported, "Such historical circumstances led to major changes in the nationality composition of foreign residents" (p 5). From this point on, migrants of Asian origin gradually dominated the labor force of Kuwait, while political relations rendered Arab migrants to become a minority (Roper & Barria 2014; Shah, 2007). This Asian to Arab ratio is illustrated in the staggering statistic of the decade between 1995-2005 when Asians comprised of 59% of the migrant population (Shah, 2007, p. 6).

Research in migration to Gulf states present numerous reasons for this shift in nationality pattern among Gulf migrants. One of the most salient reasons for this pattern is that Asian migrants simply accept lower wages and offer a more diverse skill set than Arab migrants, particularly for blue-collar jobs (Kapiszewski, 2001; Shah & Al-Qudsi, 1989). Asian migrants have also proven to be highly efficient in establishing a system of chain migration in Kuwait that benefits new coming employees as well as providing more profitable investments for sponsors/employers (Shah, 2007). Some of the major exporters to Kuwait are India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and Egypt. Migrant workers take on different occupations, with those arriving from India claiming jobs in carpentry, tailoring, and many other jobs relating to production and mechanics, while most migrant workers from Sri Lanka take on domestic jobs (Fernandez, 2014; Shah, 2007).

Furthermore, by inspecting the contrast of jobs that Kuwaitis and migrants take on provides some explanation for the country and the region's continued reliance on foreign labor (Shah, 2007). Although there are some migrants who come from educated backgrounds, a large percentage of people from the regions at hand take on blue-collar jobs that are either considered *semi-skilled* such as, carpenters, mechanics, beauticians and tailors or *low-skilled* such as cleaners, housekeepers, and sales clerks. The country also hosts a class of migrant workers referred to by Smart (1990) as the *clerical* class, who are highly skilled and educated, and those of such category typically obtain opportunities to work in software or even the financial sector in Kuwait. This is indicative of a migrant community with a wide range of cultural and educational backgrounds, as well as a diverse range of language use. One the other hand, Kuwaitis have different opportunities in the job market, whether it be guaranteed employment in governmental sectors and ministries or jobs in the private sector where it is generally more demanding,

competitive, and diverse, as citizens are not prioritized for employment. It is rare that Kuwaitis would take on blue-collar jobs and they are privileged with the right to free education from early years to higher education levels which grants them the chance to enter the white-collar workforce. That being said, these socio-economic factors contribute to the stark contrast in language use between Kuwaitis and migrants.

2.1 OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL & LANGAUGE USE

The prominent population of migrants bring a diverse range of skill sets from their home countries in compensation for the limited white-collar and clerical positions that Kuwaiti citizens take on. Among Shah's (2007) statistics, more than half of Kuwaitis comprised of clerical positions, with professional positions being next in line, whereas, the 54% of migrants have taken on production and labor-intensive positions (p. 6-7). However, for the majority of these blue-collar positions that migrants acquire, there is no compelling need for solid English language skills, and if they develop their skills in Arabic, which generally means they pick up on GPA, it is generally accepted and understood by society in Kuwait. In some cases, the migrants' language use can depend on what kind of customers they have if they work as salespeople. With many private commercial shopping centers, employees are expected to have an adequate command of English in order to appeal to both Arab and non-Arab customers, as well as internationalized Arabs and Kuwaitis. In contrast there are many local businesses that mainly cater to the local public's needs and in these cases, the owner would not be as concerned to hire employees with command of English so long as they demonstrate the command of some form of Arabic that is intelligible to the public, GPA being one of them. Taking into account the small population of migrants in clerical and other highly skilled and specialized job positions, an

6

adequate command of English is a given, however, it seems less of a necessity for those in low-skilled positions, and this is indicative of a continuum of language use between the codes of English and Arabic amongst Kuwait's migrant population. Such ethnic, educational, and occupational diversity in a labor force and its influence of language use and language choice is also reflective of the linguistic situation in Singapore, and how a Singapore English speech continuum has emerged as a result (Platt, 1975). Although the background information of speakers of this continuum is not the driving force of its occurrence, it remains a significant trend that is not isolated to one particular case study, such that of Kuwait.

As posited in previous studies examining the inception of GPA, with such a prevalent population of migrants in Gulf countries such as Kuwait, there is a well-established culture of pidginization (Smart, 1990). The process of pidginization can occur when two or more different speech communities are in need to interact and communicate. While acknowledging the current use of relatively established GPA in Kuwait, this current study will also account for the population's increasingly prevalent use of English, at varying degrees, and how it has contributed to emergence of an English variety. This study will distinguish Kuwaitis and migrants as the two main distinct groups and consider the wide range of migrants depending on their socio-economic, linguistic and educational backgrounds. This present study also outlines the use of the codes English and Arabic on a continuum based on collected speech data. This continuum ranges from the majority of language use being English on one end and the majority of language use being Arabic on the other, with implications of a novel variety emerging in the middle of the continuum. The speech data of participants at the first end (*Mostly English)* of the continuum essentially presents itself as code-switching, deeming the minimal use of Arabic as supplemental. On the other end of the continuum *(Mostly Arabic)*, the speech data suggests the

use of GPA, a relatively established Arabic pidgin in Kuwait and Gulf States. By presenting a contrastive analysis of speech data between three different levels of the continuum, with a focus on sociolinguistic code-switching functions and structural features of different bilingual behavior, this paper will suggest the emergence of a KPE variety.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 USE OF TERMS

The two main groups/speech communities that this study concerns are referred to as Kuwaitis and migrants. As suggested by the name, Kuwaitis are individuals who are citizens of Kuwait, while migrants are individuals with renewable work contracts which determine their length of stay in the country. Unlike the United States, the process of naturalization is very rare and was a more prevalent procedure before the Gulf War, therefore, Kuwait society makes quite a clear distinction between these groups. Despite the Kuwait government's claims of supporting the integration of migrants, this does not seem to be reflected in reality, particularly with the non-permanency of migrants as residents due to work contracts, thus facilitating the manifestation of a pidgin culture. In a previous study "*Pidginization in Gulf Arabic: A First Report,*" Smart (1990) utilized the term *non-nationals* interchangeably with *immigrant workers* and the term *nationals* interchangeably with *indigenous Arabs*. In his study "Migration to Kuwait: trends, patterns, and policies," Shah (2007) refers to these two groups of people as Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti. This present study attempts to take a less exclusionary approach of referring to the latter group as either non-local or non-Kuwaiti since many of them would in fact identify as local or Kuwaiti regardless of national policies put in place. However, for the sake of clarity and consistency in this study, some distinction must be made, and the terms *Kuwaitis* and *Migrants* will be used to do so.

3.2 THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION ON LANGUAGE USE & CHOICE

Although in many contexts studies have shown that hierarchical dynamics can dictate which language or variety is used as the norm between two different speech communities, the phenomenon of globalization has proven to have a greater impact. In the fields of the social sciences, research on globalization has illustrated numerous impacts of recent social and economic arrangements that are significant to the analysis of language, society, and culture (Hall & Nilep, 2015). For as long as Kuwait has been hosting migrants coming from the countries of South and Southeast Asia, there has been an evolving language dynamic between Kuwaitis and migrants. It is emphasized amongst linguists that one of the two languages from which a pidgin develops tends to be dominant, and this is typically the language of the prevailing speech community (Goodman, 1967). Since it is the nationals with the upper hand in terms of the power structure, migrants who arrived to Kuwait were typically the ones to compromise and tried to learn the local language. Nonetheless, with generations of migrants being accommodated overtime, there developed a pidgin variety that acts as a middle ground for the two speech communities, GPA, a simplified rendition of Gulf Arabic dialects (Saudi, Kuwaiti, Omani, Qatari, Bahraini Arabic).

Despite the language contact that has occurred between Arabic and the languages of migrants with GPA in attempt to have a common form of communication, Kuwait and its citizens have recently shown an increase in motivation to attain English through education and more recently by other means such as the internet, social media and western popular culture. Although Kuwait's ministry of Education provided English language learning long before the 1990's, it took this initiative further by introducing it as early as the first grade of public elementary schools in the academic year of 1993/94 (Barro & Lee, 2013, p.8). Kuwait's policy in

promoting the attainment of English may not have been as thorough as language policies

implemented by other countries such as Singapore, but has yielded in results of the similar

trends, with the youth of the nation leading a motivation to possess an adequate command

of English, the global language, while utilizing it in their own local way. On the other hand, in

Singapore, a policy of bilingual primary and secondary education was introduced in 1956, stating

that each child be taught English, Chinese (Mandarin), Malay or Tamil. Families are given the

choice of which language be considered the first for their children, so long as English is either

the first or second, and overtime, there has been a rise in preference for English to be the first

language (Platt, 1975).

With such initiatives and an increase in the Kuwaiti public's interest to use English, a

shift in language demand has been occurring which some may argue puts migrants in an obliging

position to adjust to this change. The response of Kuwait's migrants to the force of globalization

by adopting the English language very much depends on whether daily interactions and

workplace dynamic solely depended on it. Given the diverse range of migrants, some working in

the private sector, commercial vendors and retailers, and others hired by local businesses and as

domestic workers, there is a diverse range of language use with the codes of English and Arabic.

Migrants of the former classification enter the workplace with relatively adequate command of

English and typically belong to countries of the *Outer Circle* of Kachru's (1988) Circles Model

of World Englishes, such as India and the Philippines, meaning they have previous background

and exposure to English unlike migrants of the latter classification who typically belong to the

Expanding Circle. There are two contradicting views in the literature of language and

globalization, with the intention of both being the spread of linguistic diversity despite them

having different the same definitions of the term. One of these opposing views in the literature

interprets the global spread of English as linguistic colonialism, causing less common languages to become endangered. While the second view perceives this spread of English as positive in that linguistic resources become locally accessible to many people worldwide (Jacquemet, 2016). The second view is not completely reflective of the presence of the English language in Kuwait since free English language education is only available to Kuwait's citizens and there are not many ways migrants of the *'Expanding Circle'* can access resources to develop either their English or Arabic for the matter, and alternatively pick up on simplified forms of the two codes which can ultimately lead them to the use of pidgin forms.

It is crucial to acknowledge the demographics of Kuwait as a leading factor in the normalization of English use as lingua franca. Not only does Kuwait host a large migrant population, it also has a generally youthful population with the median age at 33.4 years in 2015[1]. Shah's (2007) study of Kuwait's migration patterns contains a population pyramid which delineates a triangular shape of the Kuwaiti population, where 40% of the population represented those aged 15 and under, and only 5% at the age of 60 and above (p. 3). These are two aspects of the country's demography that have generated a motivation toward English language attainment, and its use as a lingua franca is gradually becoming a norm in Kuwait. Kachru (1992) asserted, and Crystal (2003) alike, that once people achieve the accomplishment of learning English, they consider it as communicative power and perhaps even prestige in their possession. As a result, it can be proposed that the population's younger age groups are becoming increasingly accustomed to using English as a lingua franca rather than the locally established GPA with non-Arabic-speaking migrants. Seeing as the English language is a form of power that connects its users to the rest of the world, Kuwaitis who acknowledge this value pride themselves on their command of English and take advantage of using the lingua franca with

migrants in Kuwait. As pointed out by Bruthiaux (2003) models of English use need to be developed that do not merely rely on geographic and historical interpretations of the spread of English and are more synchronic is nature with consideration to the factors: of geopolitical power and size; culturally homogeneous and heterogeneous contexts; as well as contexts with administrative roles given to the English language (as cited in Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 31). Countries of the Arab Gulf, Kuwait included, cannot necessarily be included as an *Inner Circle* country, given that it was not a previous British colony, not does it hold English as an official language such as the *Inner Circle* members of India, Sri Lanka, and Singapore. Nonetheless, Kachru's (1988) model may not properly accommodate for such cases considering that Kuwait, like some other Gulf countries, having had previous involvement with the British, eventually adopted English as a medium of administration.

Despite the increasing exposure to English that the youthful population of Kuwait receives through their access to language education and mass media, the migrants of Kuwait do not necessarily gain the same level of exposure. There are some migrants who have access to English language training from their local schools in their home country, the agencies that recruit them for domestic jobs in Kuwait, or through immediate exposure that allows them to practice on a daily basis. However, this cannot possibly be generalized across Kuwait's migrants even when the individuals in question come from the same home country or city. Taking the Philippines as a case study, English is one of the five core subjects given the most emphasis from primary school stages, however, it is not the medium of instruction in all schools and there are even cases of low achievement when it *is* in fact implemented as the language of instruction (Yanagihara, 2007). The speech data collected for this present study demonstrates that there are migrants of the same backgrounds and home countries whose speech resides at different levels of the continuum.

Therefore, this study distinguishes between the different levels of bilingual language use on the continuum in terms of sociolinguistic functions and purposes rather than referring to participants' backgrounds.

3.3 CODE-SWITCHING AND OTHER DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

As stated in Hall & Nilep's (2015) study, "Linguistic scholarship acknowledging the diversity of sociality amid accelerating globalization has focused on linguistic hybridity instead of uniformity, movement instead of stasis, and borders instead of interiors" (p.597). Their chapter touches on how there have been many discursive practices such as *borrowing*, *code-mixing*, *interference*, *diglossia*, *style-shifting*, *crossing*, *mock language*, *bivalency*, and *hybridity* that have often been subsumed with code-switching (Hall & Nilep, 2015). There are different discursive practices that are encompassed by code-switching yet hold various functions depending on the context and interlocutors of the interaction. In the context of Kuwait, the increase in English use stimulates the notion of an English-Arabic continuum whereby the top level demonstrates interactions between Kuwaitis and migrants with the majority of language use being in English. This end of the continuum represents members of Kuwait's society with an adequate command of English in that they can use it to convey a message without the need of an additional code in order to do so fluidly and intelligibly. Speakers of this category may not only be using English because they are 'capable' of doing so, but also in attempt to portray a sense of cosmopolitanism (Hall & Nilep 2015; Bucholtz & Hall 2005), which they feel English brings to the context they are in (Crystal 2003; Jacquemet, 2016). This linguistic behavior occurs in reaction to the rise of globalization, such as cases where individuals of different languages interact regularly whether it is in a workplace in Kuwait, elsewhere, or when multilinguals like many Kuwaitis interact with "globally circulating texts, broadcasts and popular music" from

mainstream western popular culture (Jacquemet, 2005; Hall & Nilep, 2015, p. 613).

In Bucholtz & Hall's (2005) study, they illustrated that the emerging area of language and globalization was beginning to bring "language choice" to the forefront in the research and literature. Initially, the majority of studies conducted on these matters were not interactional in nature, considering how vast globalization exists as a phenomenon. To take into account a study conducted by Besnier (2004), he examines the way identity in interactions is influenced by the macro-scale process of globalization. Exemplified below is a seller/buyer interaction between Tongans in a 'fea', which is what they refer to as a flea-market.

(Besnier,2004:29–30)
Seller: *Sai ia kia koe, Soʻnia.*
                 "Looks good on you, Soʻnia."
Customer: Yeah- if it fits =
Seller: ((ignoring customer's contingency)) = Ni::ce. (10.0)
                 What size is it? (2.0)
Customer: Eight. (3.0)
Seller: Ohh. (4.0) Too small. (2.0)
                 'E hao 'ia Maʻlia. (2.0) 'Ia me'a. (2.0)
                 "It'll fit Maʻlia. I mean, what's-her-name." It's might fit you, cuz it looks big! *'E
                 hao 'ia Maʻlia. (2.0) 'Ia me'a. (2.0)*
                 "It'll fit Maʻlia. I mean, what's-her-name." It's might fit you, cuz it looks big!
Customer: *'Io?* "Yes?"
Seller: Yeah! (2.0) The waist, look!
Customer: I know-
Seller: I think it's one of those one that it has to show the bellybutton. Customer: No
                 way!
Seller: Aaaha-ha-haa!
Customer: Haa-ha-hah!
Seller: That's the in-thing in New Zealand now. Even my kids say,
                 "Mummy, see, it has to show the b-!" Huh! I say, "No::::, no::!" Ahahahuh-hh!
                 Cuz that's the look now!

Besnier (2004) analyzed this interaction in his study that demonstrates the switching from a Tongan code to English which adds a shade of cosmopolitanism to their identity. The context of this situation is also a significant factor which gives speakers in the interaction more reason to be

15

compelled towards to use of English. The setting, to the Tongans, is more modern than their local settings (Besnier, 2004). Likewise, the speech of participants at the former end of the continuum of this present study use English despite the available option of using the local dialect of Kuwaiti Arabic, because their context, whether it be a workplace or commercial market setting, prompts the use of a code considered more modern and cosmopolitan. The interlocutors of the above excerpt demonstrate language choice by mostly using the code of English to sound modern, given that it is associated with employment, education, and transnationalism (Besnier, 2004, p. 31). This interaction portrays the way global phenomena, such as the spread of English, can influence and intervene the daily rituals of people from all corners of the world (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

3.4 SHIFTING TOWARDS LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY

Theorists of language and globalization have presented a view that languages have connected different communities together, and (Tomlinson, 1999) referred to this as "deterritorialization" of language within globalization. Nonetheless, as Jacquemet (2005) pointed out, all language behavior takes place in some locality: "Since all human practices are embodied and physically located in a particular lifeworld, the dynamics of deterritorialization produce processes of reterritorialization: the anchoring and recontextualizing of global cultural processes into their everyday life" (p. 263). This reterritorialization suggests the reinterpretation of available languages and using them applicably to the context at hand, whether it be code-switching, using a hybrid code, or a pidgin.

Cases can be taken from countries of the *Outer* or even *Expanding Circle* in which the *global spread of English* is evident, but locals have eventually taken it upon them to use the lingua franca in a local manner that either conveniences their daily rituals or incorporates their

fingerprint of identity. Some of these cases constitute as interactions of code-switching, where although English is used as the main language, speakers switch to a second code despite their ability to use English entirely. Rather than staying with uniformity in language use, they consciously or subconsciously choose to use an additional code for various purposes depending on the context. The adscititious use of the second code can indicate something about the speaker's identity depending on the context of the interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

There are multiple reasons behind bilinguals' code-switching behavior and there can be a distinction in types of code-switching among inter-communities (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011). Rather than approaching CS as essentially based on the background of interlocutors in an interaction, examining its function would demonstrate a motivation behind it. It is absolutely central to acknowledge that linguistic diversity can be used as a communicative tool by speakers to demonstrate their intentions, make implications and the like (Gumperz, 1982). Once this is established, the conventional approaches of sociolinguistics that conflate linguistic behavior based on entire social, ethnic, occupational groups can be replaced with the inspection of purely *individual* behavior (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1992). This renders the factor of interlocutors' backgrounds (ethnic, national, social etc.) as secondary, and as not necessarily generalizable. Bhatt & Bolonyai's (2011) paper strived to identify how "'local' functions of CS turn out to be specific instantiations of the interactions of these 'global' principles, or (products of) their interaction" (p. 523). When analyzing patterns of CS in certain interactions, that can be of different contexts and linguistic/national backgrounds, one can draw from the functions of *power, solidarity, faith, perspective, and face* (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011) to determine the motivations of speakers in an interaction. In some cases, alternating to another language can be for the purpose of demonstrating some sort of power in the dynamic of the interaction. In the

context of language use in the Malinche volcano region, investigated by (Hill,1985, as cited in Hall & Nilep, 2015) there has been an association of power and hierarchical superiority with the use of Spanish as opposed to the locally utilized 'Mexicano'. "The use of Spanish loanwords conveys seriousness and power, a connotation that comes from the place of the Spanish language in the broader Mexican society" (Hall & Nilep, 2015, p. 604). Zentella's (1997) "Growing up Bilingual" illustrates an instantiation of CS performed by a female adolescent which conveys her dual Puerto Rican and New Yorker identity as she code-switches from English to Spanish. The micro-analysis of the CS in this instance aligns with the principle of *perspective* from Bhatt & Bolonyai's (2011) framework in that some code-switches to Spanish as interpreted as direct and indirect quotations, and the use of both codes for certain words as a form of emphasis (Zentella, 1997). In both of the cases outlined above, the motivation behind CS is purely supplemental and to add a 'special effect', and not the speaker's attempt to convey an intelligible message, as would be the case for a pidgin variety.

3.5 LINGUISTIC RESOURCES

To echo Bourdieu's (1977) "The economics of Linguistic Exchanges," there are interactions, particularly at the top of the continuum of this current study, that represent the use of code-switching as a linguistic resource by migrants to achieve access to other symbolic or material resources. That is to say that the migrants performing these interactions have access to the linguistic resources, such as code-switching between English and Kuwaiti Arabic, possibly due to their exposure to these codes, or indebted to a background in language education. The further down you travel toward the center of the continuum, the less access interlocutors seem to have to these resources, or their need to access the symbolic and material resources in question

does not solely depend on code-switching between between English and Kuwaiti-Arabic. For instance, at the top of the spectrum, the bilingual interactions include buyer/seller dynamics, colleague interactions in the workplace, and casual conversation between domestic workers and household family members. Regardless of how serious the situation is among the mentioned interactions, there is something at stake for all three of them, whether it be achieving to sell products, performing a duty, or maintaining a sense of solidarity or rapport with people you interact with on a daily basis. These consequences are considered either symbolic or material resources that have certain value attached to them in the overall scheme of this particular society (Bourdieu 1977; Heller 1992).

There are multiple interpretations of what is considered access to such linguistic resources (Heller, 1992). There are some individuals who come from privileged enough backgrounds to afford them some form of language training, such as English as a second or foreign language training. In the case of migrant participants investigated in this study, they come from a number of South and Southeast Asian countries: (India, Sri Lanka, The Philippines etc.), but have a diverse range of backgrounds when it comes to language training and education (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1992). The factor of socioeconomic status does contribute to their educational level, as many of these migrants who resort to joining the labor force in the Arab Gulf were obliged to leave their schooling during their childhood in order to financially support their families. Moreover, once they are recruited to join Kuwait's labor force for instance, the agencies, local or non-local businesses that hire them do not necessarily offer language training, and if so, is not always formal or adequate enough. The linguistic resource that remains for the migrants of Kuwait is the possible exposure or immersion into environments of rich language use. This can very much depend on what kind of occupation the migrants take on. For instance,

those who have jobs as domestic workers (housemaids, drivers, gardeners) are typically exposed to the use of Kuwaiti Arabic daily, while for those who work in sales, it is contingent on who their customers are.

However, it is crucial to bare in mind that being exposed to these languages does not necessarily mean one is practicing them. With the dominant groups of society who "control the spread and distribution of linguistic resources" there could be some reservation to share their language or variety as a way of distinguishing themselves from the 'foreigner' (Heller, 1992; Foley, 1988). In the context of Kuwait, its government states that it values and support the integration of migrants in society, but this does not seem to entirely be the case in reality (Smart 1990; Longva,1994; Shah, 2007), and the pidginization of the local dialect (GPA) is characteristic of that. There are multiple causes for the reluctance towards a group's integration and the manifestation of code-switching, or even further pidginization, that Heller (1992) describes in her study as the "Weberian sense in acquiring the means to mobilize and allocate resources." If dominant groups, who "control the resources and the marketplace in which they are exchanged" (Heller, 1992, p. 125), are not willing to offer the resources, by communicating to migrants in Kuwaiti Arabic and provide them the means to practice, then subordinate groups will remain using their own *makeshift* varieties to communicate. A study investigating the "Pidginization in Gulf Arabic" Smart (1990) insinuated that there is a distance existing between so called citizens and migrants of Gulf states due to the stigma of suspicion attached to migrants as being subject to immoral or criminal behavior. Such attitudes towards the groups that are viewed as 'other' in society can prevent their integration and, on the other hand, promote alternate linguistic means of communication.

3.6 VARIETIES OF WORLD ENGLISHES

The immense political and economic influence of the English-speaking world has caused the English language to be perceived as a powerful language and tool. With the colossal impact of globalization, the spontaneity of information transmission and interaction, English proficiency has become an increasingly valuable skill and classified amongst one of the two most important *global literacy skills*, with technology proficiency being the second (Tsui & Tollefson, 2017). As multiple non-English-speaking countries respond to the demand of English proficiency, in some cases, English varieties come to the surface as a result. In reference to Kachru's (2006) "The English Language in the Outer Circle," numerous English varieties have emerged as a result of the political and economic influence of the *English-speaking world*. One of the most applicable examples is the former British colony of India, where English has been given the status of *an official language* which marks its authority and prevalence as an outlet for media and political affairs. Such countries that have awarded English with the status of an official language are stratified in the *Expanding Circle* of the notable model. There is also the case of countries that have felt the great impact of globalization through trade, immigration and tourism in that their governments have taken measures to push citizens to seek proficiency in English. These countries mostly happen to be developing countries pushing such agendas of using English as a multinational tool in attempt to partake in the world capitalist system (Tsui & Tollefson, 2017). his has been exemplified with the implementation of national missions by numerous Asian countries during the surge of globalization in the 1990's. Countries such as Japan and Malaysia viewed it as paramount to set forth a mission that enhanced their citizens' English communication skills in order to maintain a position in the scheme of the international economy (Tsui & Tollefson, 2017).

Despite standard English being taught in these non-English-speaking countries with such governmental initiatives, it is important to consider different English varieties that emerge out of language contact, such as the occurrence of pidginization as a way to bridge gaps between people's use of English at different levels. Previous studies have asserted that there is more weight and linguistic significance to non-native speakers' usage of the English language than that of native speakers, especially with consideration that the former comprise a population that is four times larger (Mcarthur, 1992). That is to say that, so called non-native speakers have a prominent impact in the evolution of English use. When people put two distinct codes together in use to perform or convey a certain social function, it is referred to as *the bilingual's creativity* (Kachru, 1985), which encompasses significant linguistic manifestations such as code-switching, linguistic hybridity and pidginization.

3.6.1 THE MANIFESTATION OF PIDGINS

As Hymes (1971) outlined, "the process of pidginization and creolization … seems to represent the extremes to which social factors can go in shaping the transmission and use of language" (p.5). The occurrence of pidgins and creoles represents the versatility and malleability of language and how it can be molded to cater for a particular social interaction given *the bilingual's creativity* (Kachru, 1985). The occurrence of such varieties is of benefit to the field of sociolinguistics, as it accumulates insightful data to the literature of *sociolinguistic variation and change*. The linguistic manifestations of CS and pidginization are both examined on a continuum of language variation existing in the context of the migration-swept country of Kuwait in this present study. As clearly defined by Rickford and McWhorter (1997), "A pidgin is sharply restricted in social role, used for limited communication between speakers of two or more

languages who have repeated or extended contacts with each other, for instance, through trade, enslavement, or migration" (p.238).

3.6.2. WHAT CONSTITUTES AS A PIDGIN?

Pidgins are considered languages that cater for a particular group of people, and a particular objective or occupation. There has been speculation over the years as to whether pidginization arises for the sake of acquiring a target language or as a way to create a space for interethnic communication (Baker, 1990, p. 111). As Ferguson (1971) defines, a pidgin constitutes as simplified speech used in communication by non- native speakers who possess little or no metalinguistic awareness. The plethora of language contact literature presents studies of emerging pidgins that date back to the 16th and 17th during slavery.

Sebba (1997), refers back to the way slaves at plantations in the Caribbean utilized pidgin due language contact, and how their use of it would depend on the level of access they had to the superior plantation owners. If the slaves were of higher ranks, they were more likely to work amongst superiors within their masters' households, and therefore have more exposure to the lexifier language. Whereas slaves of lower ranks who worked in the plantation fields, would practically have no access or interaction with plantation owners. Level of access to the dominant lexifier language available to members of a speech community determines where they reside on the pidgin continuum.

The formation of British posts on the coast of West Africa in 1631 eventually caused varieties of Pidgin English and Krio to be increasingly widespread later in the 19th century (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications,1975). Thus, the establishment of coastal trading centers demanded the need for a common form of communication which is what lead Pidgin

English and Krio to endure as stable varieties. In this context, the coast of West Africa refers to Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon, all of which happen to be countries that designated English with the status of an official language (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications,1975). After a significant amount of time, the English pidgin of this region became considerably stable with an anchored lexicon that was unique from standard English, which existed alongside it as they both continued to influence each other (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications,1975). West African pidgin English developed variations depending on the country until they were eventually rendered to being quite incompatible to the extent of lacking mutually intelligibility (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications,1975). In comparison, GPA which emerged in the entire Arab Gulf region as a result of globalization rather than colonization, emerged with the common initiative of hosting South and Southeast Asian migrants to join the labor force. However, the distinctions of the GPA of different countries equate to that of Gulf Arabic dialects which are minimal and not a barrier of mutual intelligibility.

Similarly, to the pidgin English of West Africa, the use of English in Singapore only became prominent a century after British colonization, with the establishment of British trading posts in the year of 1819 (Platt, 1975). "Although a pidginized form of English existed, the main lingua franca for interethnic communication was Bazaar Malay, a pidginized form of Malay with a drastically reduced lexicon and a highly simplified morpho-syntax" (Platt, 1975, p.364). This described linguistic situation in Singapore very much parallels with that of Kuwait, despite the sole cause being the phenomena of globalization rather than colonization. In comparison to the existence of Singapore's lingua franca, Bazaar Malay, GPA developed in Kuwait in response to the immediate/sudden need for interethnic communication between Kuwaiti Arabs and incoming South and Southeast Asian migrants. Another common point between these two case studies is

the fact that an individual's time of arrival to either Singapore or Kuwait within a century can be very contingent on the extent to which they use English. In Singapore, the established 'World Englishes' varieties of English such as Indian or Chinese English would have developed as a result of the British influence starting in the 19th century, while Pidgin English only became prevalent in the 20th century in response to facilitating the interaction between those considered Singaporean locals and new incomers who needed an immediate way of communicating with the locals. Platt's (1975) study of Singapore English illustrates a hypothetical situation of this wherein Bazaar Malay would most likely be used if both interlocutors have been in Singapore for a while, and Pidgin English would be used if one or both interlocutors were new arrivals (where one was Chinese servants and the other British employers for instance) (Platt, 1975, p.364).

The emergence of an *English Pidgin Continuum* in Singapore is very comparable with that of Kuwait due to similarities in having a rich language situation from a melting pot of diverse ethnic, socio-economic, and educational backgrounds (Tsui & Tollefson, 2017; Platt, 1975). Singapore's diverse ethnic population is represented by groups mainly from Malay, India, South Chinese, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan origins. However, what distinguishes Kuwait's case from Singapore is that it is yet considered a developing country with not much prominence in the world capitalist system. Moreover, another important distinction to acknowledge is that Kuwait does not recognize English as an 'official language' like Singapore but does consider it the "Medium of Instruction" in many schools across the country, therefore, it can have the powerful effect of language intervention (Tsui & Tollefson, 2017). Singapore is a member of the *Outer Circle* in Kachru's (1988) Model, among other countries that declare English as an 'official

language', while Kuwait can be considered amongst the *Expanding Circle*, in which reside countries with an increasing level of English use.

3.6.3. STRUCTURE OF PIDGINS

Pidgins are structurally simpler than their source languages (Sebba 1997; Rickford & McWhorter, 1997), and there can be patterns illustrating this simplification with specific linguistic features to further support the existence of a simplified makeshift variety. However, it is crucial to bare in mind that the characteristic of simplicity is not fruitful enough to declare pidginization upon an emerging variety. Researchers must consider where the simplification lies linguistically speaking, and whether it is morph-syntax (outer forms), lexical diversity, or semantics and pragmatics (inner forms) that are subject to simplification. As Hymes (1971) outlined, Pidgins can be considered the only varieties that demonstrate the simplification of both inner and outer forms as well as including features from different languages, and used by speakers of different languages. A case in point, the Russo-Norwegian pidgin of trade, *Russenorsk*, has a humble core lexical collection, the use of a specific preposition *'pa'* to convey numerous utterances, the use of semantic extensions to lexicon, reduplication, and the absence of an *equative* copula (Broch & Jahr 1984; Fox 1983). Some of these features seem to represent a common thread of patterns when it comes to the structure of pidgins. Similar to Russenorsk, there are numerous pidgins acknowledged in the literature that use certain prepositions or function words, more generally, for multiple functions in an utterance. In a recent study, GPA, the Arabic pidgin of Gulf states was observed to use the preposition *'fi'* for an abundance of purposes, such as its use as an *existential predicate*, or a as a *predication marker in copulative sentences*, or a *predication marker in verbal sentences* (Bakir, 2014).

3.6.3.1. PIDGINIZATION ON A CONTINUUM

"The distinction between full languages and pidgins is not binary" (Rickford & McWhorter, 1997, p. 242). Pidgins occur on a continuum with a wide range structural complexity and lexical diversity. On one end there is speech that displays full adequacy, a variation of linguistic hybridity in the middle, and has an established prototypical pidgin on the other end, such as Tok Pisin for instance. GPA may not be as established or represented in the literature of language contact as Tok Pisin, but it demonstrates structural features, that place it on the latter end of the continuum like Tok Pisin.

The English Pidgin of Singapore also exists on a continuum of language use. A study conducted by Platt (1975) illustrates that Singapore English seemed to have manifested mainly with the contribution of an increasing number of local Singaporean children attending English-medium schools, followed by a general increase in the country's youth to adopt this English variety. Such demographic represents a top tier of the Singapore English continuum, with the older generation of locals maintaining the use of Singaporean Pidgin English with Europeans and tourists, while away from the tourist district of Singapore, there remain older people of Chinese and Malay origin who do not speak English at all (Platt, 1975, p. 365).

3.6.4. STABILITY

Depending on how enduring the pidgin is, its grammar can become increasingly sophisticated and an established sentence structure can be used consistently amongst its users. Moreover, the pidgin may start to adopt unique lexicon. In some pidgin varieties, this lexicon surfaces from lexical borrowing which occurs when a language is supplemented by adopting

loanwords from another language. In the case of GPA, the majority of lexicon is borrowed from

Gulf Arabic, and this includes the Persian and Urdu lexical items that were previously borrowed

into Gulf Arabic itself (Næss, 2008). A pidgin could have a momentary occurrence, and only last

for temporary interactions, like between tourists and locals of a community, or it could become

more enduring if there became a demand for a stable form of communication between speech

communities of different native languages. In order for a pidgin to be further studied and seen as

a variety in its own right, it would require two speech communities of different native languages

to interact on a regular basis so that a makeshift language variety could come about and possibly

stabilize into a creole (Arends, Muysken, & Smith, 1994).

3.6.5. SOCIAL HEAIRARCHY & LANGUAGE USE

Although language use should be analyzed solely with relation to *individual* behavior

(Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1992), it is still important to consider the social and hierarchical

dynamics of the country in question when examining the emergence of a pidgin. With concern

for pidginization, it typically materializes in contexts of "asymmetrical social status" (Rickford

& McWhorter, 1997). The literature on prototypical pidgins illustrates how they emerge as a

result of workers in trade who attempt to gain prestige by emulating the supposedly dominant

language and as a result distinguish themselves from inferior workers lower in the chain of

command (Sebba 1997; Rickford & McWhorter, 1997). Similar to the case of this present study,

with the *original* citizens being the Kuwaitis, the *indigenous Arabs*, in the area where the Fijian

pidgin manifested, the so called original inhabitants possessed social superiority (Siegel, 1987).

In Gulf countries, such as Kuwait, there exists a social and hierarchical divide between Kuwaitis

and migrants wherein nationals are generally stratified as socially superior. What language or

variety that migrants eventually adhere to could very well depend on the local attitude towards

migrants, and whether locals find it important to use a lingua franca. This suggests that in cases where Kuwaitis are not compelled to "talk down" and speak in a lingua franca, the migrants may feel obliged to resort to speaking in the local language, Kuwaiti Arabic, for the sake of interethnic communication (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991). Such a linguistic situation also refers back to Whinnom's *Barriers to Hybridization,* with the *Ethological (Emotional) Barrier* more specifically, which delineates that speech communities may have a certain perception of towards adopting the language of "the other" or converging for the matter. However, Whinnom goes on to explain that such "emotional resistance is modified by practical considerations of utility" (Hymes, 1971, p. 93).

3.6.5.1. COMMUNICATION ACCOMODATION

It is important to take into account the principles of accommodation when examining the interethnic communication between speech communities that represent different stratifications of a social hierarchy (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991). A new variety can only come to existence if the speech communities involved are willing to modify their language repertoire in order to meet in the middle with interlocutors of different language repertoires. Speakers who are willing to convey a message by means of linguistic negotiation are said to perform *convergence* which involves their adaptation to the communicative behavior of members of the other speech community (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991). On the other hand, if the speaker's intention is to 'talk down' at members of the other speech community, they could perform downward convergence or even *divergence* which would express their attitude toward that speech community due to various socio-economic reasons (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991). There is the likelihood that members of the more 'dominant' speech community, Kuwaitis, converge to

migrants with regards to two social factors. The article by Giles and Coupland (1991) illustrates cases in which convergence and divergence tactics are used amongst males and females in mixed-sex dyadic conversation and mixed-sex group conversations, and compares which gender is more likely to converge depending on fellow interlocutors in the conversation. Given the social context in which an emerging pidgin is in use, there may be a difference in the degree of convergence, upward convergence in particular, depending on the gender of interlocutors in an interaction. Generally speaking, it is more likely that female interlocutors are more incipient to converge to the other interlocutor, whether or not the latter is socially superior. That being said, the latter individual could be the inferior users of a pidgin variety, similar to migrants who use GPA or the emerging KPE in Kuwait.

3.7 A GAP IN THE LITERATURE

In reflecting on the literature on the interface of CS and its purposes, there are numerous studies that attempt to capture the social motivations underlying instantiations of CS that apply to a variety of cultural contexts. As cited in Hall & Nilep's (2015) article, Hill (1985) demonstrates the way in which a speaker's language alternation from *Mexicano* Spanish to standard Spanish in the context of the Malinche volcano region is a linguistic declaration of power or superiority in the interaction at hand, given that standard Spanish is seen to symbolize "the Mexican State, money, and the market" (Hall & Nilep, 2015, p. 604). Likewise, Zentella's (1997) "Growing up Bilingual" delineates cases in which identity affiliation or even demonstrating a dual identity can be the product of CS. Nonetheless, Bhatt & Bolonyai's (2011) article outlines a number of principles of CS in a framework posed as universal and applicable to a range of intercommunities. This framework consists of five "macro-social" principles (*Solidarity, Power,*

Faith, Perspective, Face) claimed to describe justifications for the occurrence of CS. However, their study does not include CS instances of "unstable bilingualism," one of which being switches described as "crutch-like", indicating the speaker's struggle with intelligibility (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011), and are not performed with the intention of having a socio-pragmatic effect. In their study, they also excluded occurrences of CS with "established or cultural borrowings 'of convenience' that fill in a lexical gap in the recipient language by default, i.e. loans motivated by the lack of a competing choice, or conceivable functional alternative, in the bilingual lexicon" (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011, p. 523). Although Bhatt and Bolonyai (2011) propose a framework aimed to assimilate *bilingual behavior*, they do not aim to focus on switches due to "competence-based gaps in the bilingual's repertoire" (p.523).

Although it may have not been the sole focus of Bhatt and Bolonyai (2011) study, these "crutch-like" switches are important to examine because they are what indicate potential for the existence of a makeshift variety like KPE in the center of the current study's continuum. CS in this kind of variety is almost purely driven by the speakers' need to gather and produce intelligible utterances with their limited linguistic resources, more so than to express their identity affiliation, position in a power dynamic, or the like. Likewise, if speakers code-switch using common or cultural borrowings because they are convenient, this indicates the speaker's motivation to seek intelligibility rather than enhance their speech with an additional code, which is why such discursive practices are important to consider. Therefore, research that strives to implement frameworks such as that of Bhatt & Bolonyai (2011) to analyze a *continuum* bilingual behavior rather than the CS of bilinguals with a particular competency level could help explain the diversity of CS in context like Kuwait. On such a continuum, both switches that are

supplemental in function and switches that are "crutch-like" in function would occur, hence the manifestation of pidginization.

The literature on Pidginization, including English pidgins, dates back to the centuries of slavery and colonization in which social hierarchy played a significant role in determining levels of access to the 'dominant' code, the lexifier language. Such situations of social ranking deemed English as the superior code in many cases of pidginization over the years (Sebba, 1997; Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications,1975). However, globalization appears to be the more recent phenomena at the backdrop of pidginization and many other discursive practices due to the instancy of global flows where linguistic behavior among other entities have become increasingly *deterritorialized* (Jacquement, 2016). Moreover, the geographic directions of global spread of English is represented with the *Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles* of Karchu's (1988) model which also illustrates that diversification of English use as it has been locally adopted by communities in all corners of the world. The rise of fields such as *language and globalization* called for a focus on "linguistic hybridity rather than uniformity … and borders instead of interiors (Hall & Nilep, 2015, p. 597). The investigation of linguistic hybridity is reflected in studies based on the occurrence and stability of English varieties in countries that occupy the *Outer circle*, which are typically those that elect English with the status of an official language. Similarly, there has also been research that brought attention to "borders rather than interiors" by examining language use and discursive practices among the periphery of speech communities where those considered members and outsiders experience language contact and its outcomes such as pidginization. Studies such as these include the development of English-Japanese Pidgin and the Singapore English speech continuum in which pidginization appears at levels lower than

the Singapore English variety itself which is spoken by the well-educated (Goodman, 1967; Platt, 1975).

Previous research of English pidgins outlined in this literature review can help identify parallels while examining the KPE manifesting between Kuwaitis and a population of the prominent migrant labor force in Kuwait. In the case of KPE, the sole purpose of its emergence is a combination of two factors, the need for communication between two speech communities, and the population's response to English as a global language. There already exists a local lingua franca that is used extensively (GPA), but the status of English as a global language has increased its value to local citizens as well as the job market. This knock-on-effect that occurs due to the global status of English has prompted a response from the migrants who seek employment in particular sectors to pursue English, but may also stop them from attaining GPA as English increasingly dominates as a lingua franca amongst the majority of Kuwaiti citizens.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this study is to investigate the range of English-Arabic bilingual behavior used among Kuwait's population, with a focus on Kuwaiti-Migrant dyadic interactions. In order to explore such issues, the following research questions were used to guide the research:

1. What kind of CS behavior manifests among migrants in Kuwait?

2. What are the principles motivating such bilingual CS behavior?; whether it is due to macro-social factors (such as displaying *Solidarity, Faith, Perspective, Power*) or a need for intelligibility due to competence-based gaps in the linguistic repertoire (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011).

3. What deductions can be made about the CS behavior motivated by intelligibility?

In attempt to answer these questions, this current study examined functions and purposes behind the bilingual behavior of CS in the collected speech data of English-Arabic language use. The CS framework proposed by Bhatt and Bolonyai (2011) was adopted, which offers "a typology of code-switching of various inter-communities" (p.523). This study conformed to the framework's incorporation of macro-discursive tradition and conversation-analytic approaches (micro-discursive traditions), though with more emphasis of the former. CS is prevalent throughout the speech dataset, and this study investigated the different motivations underlying such bilingual behavior with the categories of it either being for *(Solidarity)*, *(Power)*, *(Faith)*, *(Perspective)* or *(Intelligibility)*. Once the macro-scale analysis was completed with the use of the categories mentioned above, I was able to identify and focus on the CS particularly driven by *(Intelligibility)*.

In realizing the existence of contrasts in CS behavior in the dataset, the speech data presented itself on a continuum of English-Arabic language use. This continuum comprises of three levels, with one end (level 1) representing speech consisting of (*Mostly English)* language use, and the other end (level 3) representing (*Mostly Arabic)* language use where Kuwaiti Arabic is prevalent as well as its pidgin form (GPA). By examining a whole continuum that displays a contrast in bilingual language use at different levels, this study strives to investigate the bilingual behavior occurring at the center of the continuum, which in line with the final research question, manifests the CS behavior motivated by *(Intelligibility)*.

In reviewing the literature on bilingual behavior, discursive practices, language contact and the contexts in which they occur (Goodman, 1967; Platt, 1975; Bakir, 2014; Zentella, 1997; Hall & Nilep, 2014), the language alternation occurring at the center of the continuum present similar patterns to previously occurring pidgins. Seeing as Rickford and McWhorter (1997) stated "the distinction between full languages and pidgins is not binary" (p. 242), it seemed fitting to study the bilingual behavior in question on the spectrum in which it occurs in order to identify it in comparison to other levels of bilingual behavior on the continuum by process of elimination.

Furthermore, this study drew from some canonical as well as recent studies based on previously emerging pidgins and a comparison was made between their structural features to those that come to light in the dataset's speech continuum. With reference to previously conducted studies on GPA such as Smart's (1990) pidginization in Gulf Arabic: A First Report, Bakir's (2014) "The multifunctionality of *fi* in Gulf Pidgin Arabic", as well as studies investigating English pidgins and varieties such as Platt's (1975) Singapore English Speech Continuum, I drew on structural features of these varieties. The structural features discussed are

common/mutual to the previously studied pidgins and also pervade the speech data at the center of the continuum (level 2). These features consist of: the absence of English copula verbs, the multifunctionality of Arabic prepositions (such as *fi*) by using it as an existential predicate and a predication marker, and the occurrence of reduplication.

Seeing as this is an exploratory pilot study, it is suggestive in nature, providing illustrations based on an analysis of collected speech data that present themselves on a continuum of English-Arabic bilingual language use as opposed to proposing a model. Nonetheless, the current study provides the language contact literature with data demonstrating the locality of English use to a particular intercommunity in the Arab Gulf. As Jacquemet (2005) pointed out, all language behavior takes place in some locality in which processes of reterritorialization are produced involving the grounding and recontextualizing of global cultural processes into one's daily life. This reterritorialization signifies the reinterpretation of available languages and using them applicably to the context at hand, whether it be CS, using a hybrid code, or a pidgin. Such data of locality was retrieved by implementing an ethnographic approach to data collection and to this study in general. Although speech communities may seem homogeneous through a wider analytic lens, ethnographic investigation is in order to reveal that they in fact become increasingly distinguished when ethnographic details are brought to the surface (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 597). In sum, the database that was compiled for this study provides original speech data illustrative of localized uses of English that are not homogenous but rather form a continuum.

4.2 DATA COLLECTION

This current study took a qualitative approach in terms of data collection, coding and analysis. The method of data collection typically associated with an ethnographic research

approach is one that is observational in nature (Jacob, 1987). It was important that while the data was being collected that the participants were taking part in their daily lives and that the data captured authentic interaction. With that said the data was gathered observationally with no participation on my part as the researcher, thus, I was not in any way an active member in the recorded interactions that are used in this study but rather, a spectator. This decision was made in order to diminish any chance of researcher bias in the data collected. This study aims to investigate the extent to which the codes of English and Arabic are used in interactions between Kuwaitis and migrants and the purpose behind the varying bilingual language use. Therefore, if I, being an insider in the community under investigation, had inserted myself as an active member of the observed interactions, there would have been an agenda driving my language use with the other participants, and that would have imposed a bias on the data. Typically speaking, there were no priori assumptions made about the behavior of focus when implementing an observational approach to data analysis. Moreover, the speech data was collected in its authentic occurrence and not necessarily conditioned or elicited to meet a specific agenda.

The data was gathered over a 7-week period of fieldwork. Rather than eliciting speech data from interviews, the primary source of data was naturally-occurring as it was collected from participants' spontaneous conversation which was recorded using the built-in voice recorder of an iPhone as well as a Sony digital recorder. One of the main goals for data collection is to provide speech data reflective of how people use and alternate between the codes of English and Arabic in authentic conversation as opposed to the possibility of having participants feel the need to compensate for their ungrammaticality or accents during a face-to-face interview. Therefore, it was required that I used covert observational methods in collecting the data. Moreover, despite there initially being a total of 40 audio recordings after the collection process, 32 of them were

considered for analysis due to their authenticity and abundance in terms of language alternation between English and Arabic. The total number of hours of recorded data is around 14 hours (approximately 40,000 words). The duration of each recording did not exceed one hour. The approach of seeking a large number of participants was an attempt to capture a common form of English-Arabic alternation, that may constitute as a pidgin, among a large and diverse group of migrant and Kuwaiti participants of different environments where the two groups would interact.

4.2.1. LIMITATIONS

Although the participants, migrant participants in particular, were diverse in terms of ethnic groups, the majority of them were domestic workers, and this placed certain limitations in the data collection process. Firstly, the majority of domestic workers in Kuwait, are housemaids who happen to be employed in the majority of Kuwaiti household, and also happen to be predominantly female. Although participants of this classification were the most accessible, they were not available for long periods of time and were obliged to fulfill their duties throughout the day. It is also important to note that the types of interactions this study aims to investigate, those occurring between migrants and Kuwaitis, are quite a challenge to capture, since they occur in specific contexts for specific purposes and this makes them less frequent and accessible. Due to the requirement of gathering data that was naturally-occurring, it was very difficult to capture numerous interactions in one recording session, and the interactions themselves would only last for a significant amount of time depending on the motivation behind the interaction. For instance, if the migrant domestic workers were involved in an interaction with regards to certain duties, the conversation would typically be quite short, whereas conversations that were considered casual and leisurely, or even functioned as a pastime typically lasted a lot longer.

Nonetheless, the length of recordings did not impede the quality or abundance of the interactions in terms of this current study's focus.

4.2.2. DATA COLLECTION SETTINGS

The settings chosen to collect speech data mainly consisted of family homes but also included a wide range of workplaces. The interactions in family homes mainly consisted of family members interacting with their domestic employees, whether it be the housemaid, driver, and were either casual conversations or interactions that centered around a household chore or duty. On the other hand, interactions that took place in a workplace mainly occurred during lunch breaks since the collection of speech data during work time may have either been prohibited or unrealistic to execute due to minimal interaction. The workplaces consisted of: Ikea furniture store, beauty product stores, gaming stores, and food stores/restaurants. At Ikea furniture store, the interactions took place between migrant full-time (contractual) employees and a Kuwaiti part-time intern. The interactions that took place at the latter workplaces listed, during working hours, were in stores where customer-employee interaction was required, and in all of those cases, the migrant was the employee and the customer was a Kuwaiti local or an Arab. Field notes were taken during interactions as the setting and purpose of the interaction proved to play a role in the participant's bilingual behavior.

4.3 PARTICIPANTS

The participants of this study, at a total of 57, are reflective of Kuwait's demographic, with a group of Kuwaiti participants and a diverse range of migrant participants contributing to the speech dataset. Both groups of participants contributed to all levels of the speech continuum examined because all the interactions recorded between Kuwaiti and migrant participants were

an attempt to capture interlinguistic communication throughout the continuum, but pidginization in particular (emerging English pidgin and GPA). Although the Kuwaiti participants have differing linguistic repertoires in terms of the codes English and Arabic, their repertoires are not as telling as the migrants', therefore, the speech continuum that manifests in this study is more indicative of the migrant group's speech since their presence in Kuwait is the driving force behind the need for interlinguistic communication. The migrant participants reflect different parts of Kachru's (1988) Model, with some from India, the Philippines, Sri Lanka representing the *Outer Circle* and those from countries like Indonesia and Nepal. Although there is weight to this model in terms of each country's level of exposure to English, it cannot account for a certain ethnicity of migrants' linguistic repertoire or 'competency' in English with regards to this particular study. To illustrate, the Philippines is one of the countries in the *Outer Circle*, which "represents the spread of English in non-native contexts where it has been institutionalized as an additional language, with an estimated 150-300 million speakers" (Bhatt, 2001, p.530). Nonetheless, the spread of English cannot be generalized across all people from the Philippines and does not imply the use of one variety of English, there are individuals differences in terms of exposure, schooling, identity, and the like (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1992).

There is an evident gender disparity with the participants of this study, with a female majority and male minority. This was not intended and purely based on availability of participants for this study. However, in light of Kuwait's demographics, the gender imbalance amongst the participants seems illustrative, since most of the migrant participants are domestic workers (housemaids, drivers, gardeners) who are majority female at 64% according to Shah's (2007) study on the trends of migration to Kuwait.

4.3.1. FIGURES & TABLES OF PARTICIPANTS

The pie charts below illustrate the participants who contributed to the dataset in distribution of their national background. Seeing as the bilingual behavior under investigation specifically occurs among Kuwaiti-Migrant interactions, approximately half of the participants were Kuwaiti while the other half of different migrant backgrounds. Although the Kuwaiti people are not homogenous, with different ancestry ranging from Persian, various Arabian backgrounds such as Saudi Arabian, African, and Bedouin, the impact of ancestry on language use is very subtle and only prevalent on the use of Arabic, therefore, it is not taken into consideration in this study. There was a total of 27 Kuwaiti participants in this study.

Figure 2: Pie Chart of Overall Participant Backgrounds
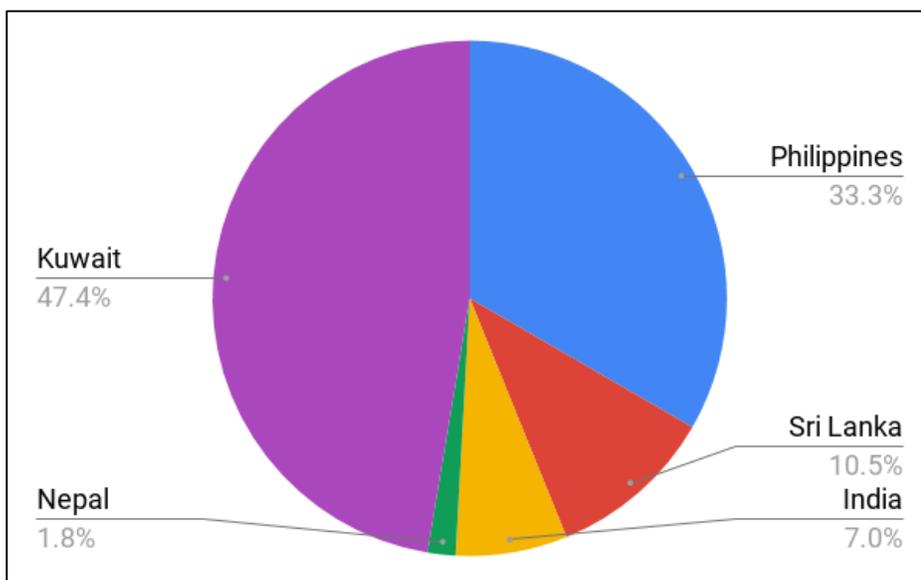
As for the migrant participants, they come from a diverse range of countries as illustrated in Figure 1 below. Figure 1 provides the distribution of the participants overall with the migrant participants at a little over 50% of the the total number, while Figure 2 illustrates the distribution

of migrant participants specifically, according to their national background. For a more detailed

outline of the number of participants with certain national backgrounds, occupations and gender

specification, Table 1 provides this information. The table indicates what occupations individuals

of certain nationalities tend to take on. For instance, a large number of participants from the

Philippines hold domestic housemaid positions, with a few who happen to be from Sri Lanka,

and all of them happen to be female. Whereas the migrants taking on domestic driver

occupations are from India and Sri Lanka, with no participants representing the other

nationalities.

Figure 3: Pie Chart of Migrant Participant Backgrounds
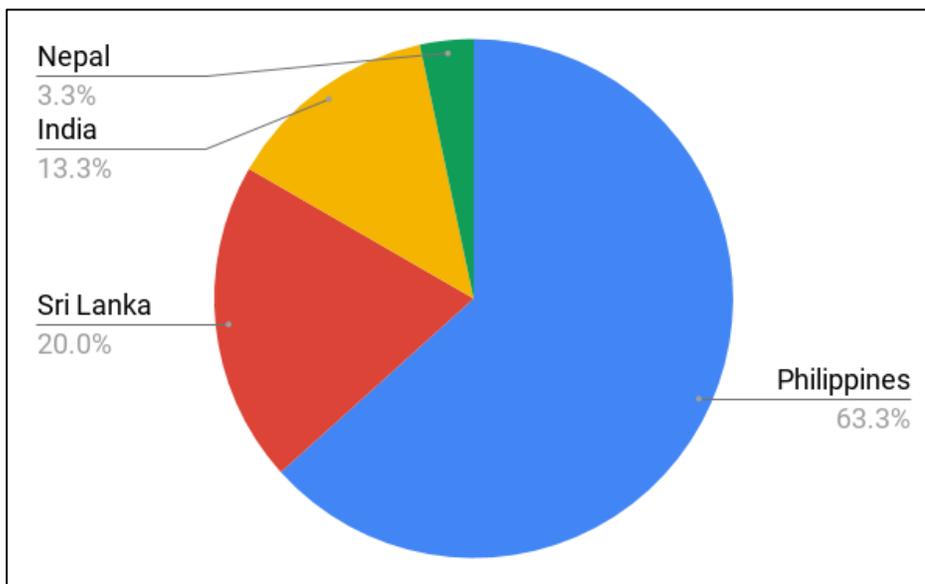
The table displayed below provides more detail on the participants in terms of the gender

distribution and the occupations they take on in Kuwait. On one had the Kuwaiti participants

show a tendency of taking on jobs that are white collar, with many of which that require a

university degree. However, on the other hand, the migrant participants show they way in which

they take on job of a diverse set of skill sets that the local Kuwaiti people would not typically see

as desirable.

Table 1: Outline of Overall Participant Background, Occupation, and Gender

Country	Occupation	Gender	Total
Kuwait	Mainly Clerical & Professional	2 Male 25 Female	27
Sri Lanka	Domestic - Housemaid	All Female	4
The Philippines	Domestic - Housemaid	All Female	10
The Philippines	Domestic- Caretaker/Nurse	All Female	1
Nepal	Domestic - Housemaid	All Female	1
India	Domestic - Driver	Male	1
Sri Lanka	Domestic - Driver	Male	1
India	Local Business Salesperson/Salon Employee	1 Male 1 Female	2
The Philippines	Local Business Salesperson/Salon Employee	1 Male 3 Female	4
India	Commercial Retail/Vendor Employee	All Female	1
The Philippines	Commercial Retail/Vendor Employee	1 Male 3 Female	4
Sri Lanka	Commercial Retail/Vendor Employee	All Female	1
TOTAL			57

4.4 DATA TRANSCRIPTION

The interactional sociolinguistic approach, which loosely relates to the conversation

analysis approach, was implemented to transcribing the speech data collected, and is based on

Gumperz and Berenz's (1993) article "Transcribing conversational exchanges." Initial

transcription was employed in order to record the turn-taking between interlocutors in all the

interactions recorded. Once the initial transcription was completed, various notations of interactional sociolinguistic transcription were employed: indications of pauses and pause lengths; slight rises and intonation at the end of utterances to indicate whether the speaker will continue speaking or is expecting a response; overlap between the speech of interlocutors; non-lexical phenomena such as laughing indicated brackets; prominence indicated with asterisk symbols.

Some of these transcription notations are secondary to main initiative of this study, but still hold significance. The main purpose captured by the transcribed data is to demonstrate the the diversity of English-Arabic language use on a continuum while also displaying that speech data at the center of the continuum is suggestive of a KPE. This will mainly be illustrated by the notations concerned with displaying translation of codes. Transcription processes for this study concerned with translation conform to Gumperz and Berenz (1993) recommendation of a three line format, with the original language in the first line, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in the second line, and the English translation in the third and final line. Most of the other notations of transcription will help display the data for the secondary purpose of the study, which is to illustrate the dynamic between interlocutors, including hierarchical/power dynamic with notations such as symbols indicating overlap. The notations of pausing, pause length, and prominence aid the micro-scale analysis of this study by indicating whether interlocutors are pausing due to hesitation, or word-searching, or due to "competence-based gaps in the bilingual's linguistic repertoire" (Bhatt & Bolonyia, 2011). Depending on what part of an utterance a speaker places prominence can indicate many things. The interlocutor could place prominence just as they code-switch to an additional code and this would suggest the motivation

of placing emphasis on their switch, or the speaker's intent to add an intensifier to their utterance.

4.5 DATA CODING & ANALYSIS

Once all the data was collected, transcribed and analyzed, the speech data began to present itself on a continuum of English-Arabic language use, with *(Mostly English)* on one end and *(Mostly Arabic)* on the other end, with varying purposes or agendas underlying this linguistic behavior. This prompted the implementation of Domain and Taxonomic coding (Spradley, 1979; as cited in Saldana, 2009) which accommodated the continuum of speech data. This coding method is useful with ethnographic research and studies that involve micro cultures with a discrete repertoire of folk terms and developing a list of major categories or themes in the data (Saldana, 2009, p. 135). Firstly, a semantic relationship is established within the data, and in the case of this current study, this relationship entails of 'function', wherein the participants' tendency to code-switch carries a certain function, whether it be showing solidarity, superiority, emphasis on something, or simply using the alternate code as a "crutch-like" (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011) switch in order to deliver an intelligible message. As the data was reviewed, such *analytic terms*, representing the data categories *(Solidarity, Power, Perspective, Faith, Intelligibility)* emerged which were used to illustrate the patterns that appeared (Spradley, 1979; as cited in Saldana, 2009).

4.5.1. RELIABILITY

Some have argued against the implementation of Domain and Taxonomic coding to ethnographic data, with speculation that it would inflict a structure to what would otherwise be the disorderly nature of real-time interaction (Geertz, 1973). Nonetheless, in this current study,

such a coding approach was only sought with the assumption that it would accommodate well for

data that presented itself on a continuum of CS behavior with regards to macro-social

motivations.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the dataset gathered presents itself on a continuum of bilingual behavior, with a varying degree of English-Arabic CS at different levels of the continuum. The purpose of this study is to investigate the range of English-Arabic bilingual behavior used among Kuwait's population, with focus on Kuwaiti-Migrant dyadic interactions. In order to explore such issues, the following research questions were used to guide the research: What kind of CS behavior manifests among migrants in Kuwait?; second, what are the principles motivating such CS behavior?; whether it is due to macro-social factors (such as displaying *Solidarity, Faith, Perspective, Power*) or a need for intelligibility due to competence-based gaps in the linguistic repertoire (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011); and, third, what deductions can be made about the CS behavior motivated by intelligibility?

Section 1 will address the first and second research questions: What kind of CS behavior manifests among migrants in Kuwait?; and, what are the principles motivating such CS behavior?; whether it is due to macro-social factors (such as displaying *Solidarity, Faith, Perspective, Power*) or a need for intelligibility due to competence-based gaps in the linguistic repertoire (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011). In this section, data will be presented from the macro-social scale, following the socio-functional model (Gumperz,1982; Heller, 1992), where what distinguishes these three levels are the various speaker motivations indexing the CS. Once a distinction was made between speakers who were aiming to convey group collectivism, identity affiliation or power dynamic, to those simply code-switching to negotiate meaning and convey a message intelligibly, it became clearer what speech data belonged to (level 1) of 'competent' CS, the middle level (level 2) of speakers seeking intelligibility (KPE), and then further down where

speech data comprised of (*Mostly Arabic*) use, where most speakers are using GPA and very few speaking Kuwaiti Arabic, the local dialect.

Section 2 addresses the third and final research question: In this section, the data will be presented based on further analysis on a micro-scale with consideration to structural features. This analysis was conducted with the data that presented itself as competence-based CS from the macro-scale analysis that was previously carried out. Once the competence-based CS was identified, it prompted me to further investigate if such data presented itself as GPA, a pidgin already established in the region, or was suggestive of the occurrence of KPE by process of elimination. I drew upon a number of previous studies on the occurrence of GPA that offered insight as to what structural features were significant (Bakir, 2014; Smart, 1990; Naes, 2008). This second section will outline instantiations from my dataset that exemplify the features mentioned above and present themselves as GPA. After that, there will be instantiations from my database that are manifestations of pidginization but do not completely conform to structural and lexical categorization of GPA. It is these instantiations of data that suggest the occurrence of a KPE.

Similar to what has been stated in previous studies conducted on pidgins that are 'newly arrived' (Goodman,1967, p.44), these patterns are noted in order to highlight that the pidgin in question is only recently emerging and at the stage of being a "*working pidgin* and with the bare minimum of established conventions."

5.1 SECTION 1

In section 1, data will be presented from the macro-social scale, where what distinguishes these three levels are the various speaker motivations indexing the code-switching.

5.1.1. LEVEL 1 OF THE CONTINUUM

Analysis of my speech data at the macro-social scale delineated the speaker motivation indexing the code-switching that they performed, and the extent to which they had access to the linguistic resource of code-switching placed them at different levels of the continuum. Those who had high command of English with the use of a form of Arabic resided at the top level of the continuum, as their CS from English to Arabic was clearly supplementary in that it was not necessary to carry out an intelligible interaction. Therefore, Bhatt & Bolonyai's (2011) framework of the principles of CS was taken into consideration during the coding and analysis of this category of data. (any speech in Arabic is italicized in the transcriptions)

5.1.1.1. SALESPEOPLE DATA

There were two recordings in the database with the context of a Kuwaiti customer interacting with a migrant salesperson at a commercial store, selling skincare products. Despite the migrant workers recruited for these positions having a high command of English with regards to the entire dataset, they were also, to a certain frequency, switching to 'Kuwaiti Arabic' throughout the interaction. Since this was a very specific context with a specific power dynamic and agenda on the part of the migrant, it would have shaped the interaction, and therefore the language use. This section will present a number of excerpts that clearly demonstrate the migrant

salesperson attempting to show a sense of (*Solidarity*) by switching to the use of Arabic in his speech. This is done to achieve a sense of closeness with the customer is hopes of making a sale. (The speech of the salesperson is represented by the pseudonym G, while the customer's speech is represented by the pseudonym ZY). G is a salesman of Filipino ethnicity, in his late-twenties, and ZY is Kuwaiti woman in her mid-twenties.

(1)   G: 1   hello
        ZY: 2   hello .. how are you
        G: 3   good *zeɪn ʔəlhamdu lɪlə* .. how r u madam?
                       good thank goodness .. how r you madam
                       'good thank goodness I'm fine .. how are you madam'
        ZY: 4   I wanted to know if you have any offers
        G: 5   today we have offer *haða zeɪn* .. buy two get two free
                       Today we have offer that good .. buy two get two free
                       'Today we have a good offer .. buy two get two free'

During the greeting stage of the customer-salesperson interaction, the salesperson G initiated the greeting with 'hello' and when the customer ZY responded and said 'how are you', G responded to the questions with 'good' and then saying the Arabic equivalent after that. From the onset of this interaction there is indication that G is CS to Arabic with a socio-functional motivation. The same pattern was noticed in another recording of this level of the speech continuum (level 1) as indicated in the excerpt below:

(2)   ALY: 1   { [dc] hi PIN }
        PIN: 2   { [hi] hi }
        ALY: 3   how are you?
        PIN: 4   good .. how about you
        ALY: 5   *ħəmdɪla* .. I'm fine
                       thank goodness
                       'good'
        PIN: 6   *ħəmdɪla, kulu tamam*?
                       thank goodness, everything is fine?
                       'good'
        ALY: 7   ya .. *kulu tamam*
                           everything is fine

50

In the greeting stage of this interaction between two colleagues during their lunch break, (ALY: a Kuwaiti woman who is a part-time intern at Ikea furniture store, and LUC: a migrant Indian woman, a full-time employee at the same workplace), the response to "how are you" is "I'm fine" in both codes English and Kuwaiti Arabic, in order to have the effect of emphasis on the response but to also index a sense of (*Solidarity*).

In returning to the interaction between the female Kuwaiti customer and the male migrant salesman, it becomes even clearer that he, G, has an agenda or motivation indexing his CS as the conversation about different skincare products commences.

(3)   ZY: 4   I wanted to know if you have any offers

        G: 5   today we have offer *haða zeɪn* .. buy two get two free
                                this is good
                'Today we have a good offer .. buy two get two free'

        ZY: 6   *oh

        G: 7   you-you see?

        ZY: 8   can you give me this one above … and what is .. this?

        G: 9   this shampoo for you .. *haða jaʔnɪ mal shaʔar*
                  this shampoo for you   like its for hair
                  'This shampoo is for you. It is for the hair'

        ZY: 10   emm

        G: 11   you can wash your hair one time a day .. *jaʔnɪ bɪl leɪl* .. *haða* .. *hu* very good for
                                      like at night   this .. is

              12   your *skin* .. *jaʔnɪ haða* .. *kulu tabiʔI* … uhh *rainforest *balance
                        like this .. all natural

        ZY: 13   emm

        G: 14   see, the ingre- the uhh *mukawənat haða* .. *jaʔnɪ bɪl* bottle .. you can see uhh .. no
                              ingredients this   like in the
                  'See, the ingredients in this bottle have no

              15   silicone no sulphate .. all natural product .. *jaʔnɪ kulu tabiʔi*
                                    like is all natural
                  Silicone or sulphate. This is an all natural product'

The customer ZY asks G about certain products and he code-switches to Arabic to index emphasis (*Perspective*) on certain parts of this utterance. Firstly, in line 5, he explains how there are special offers at the store on that day, and in order to present this information in an appealing manner to the customer, he says "today we have offer *haða zeɪn* .. buy two get two free," saying this offer is "really good" in Kuwaiti Arabic for emphasis. By doing so, G tries to direct the customer ZY's *perspective* to view the information given in a positive light, that the offer is "very good" since he switches to Arabic to say it. "giving clear cues to our listeners about which perspectives they should assume and how they should move from one perspective to the next [so that] we maximize the extent to which they can share our perception and ideas" (MacWhinney, 2005, p. 1, as cited in Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011).

Further down in the interaction, is an occurrence of CS in which G explains a shampoo product to the customer by describing in line 12 in English that it is "very good for your skin" and then immediately switching to Kuwaiti Arabic to say "*jaʔnɪ haða .. kulu tabiʔI* … uhh *rainforest *balance." After explaining the usage of the shampoo to the customer in line 11, he starts describing it in line 12 by saying it is "really good" and then further emphasizing this by saying "*jaʔnɪ haða .. kulu tabiʔI*" meaning it is an all-natural product in Arabic and then using the term "*rainforest *balance" in English. This CS is a strategy that the salesperson G uses to sell the product to the customer. By placing emphasis on the shampoo being *all-natural* and then utilizing specialized skin care terms "rainforest balance" to insert a sense of (*Cosmopolitanism*), the salesperson G attempts to appeal to the customer. In lines 14 and 15, G continues to try to appeal to the customer by using terms that would be considered sophisticated and *Cosmopolitan* in that context with the use of English to list the ingredients to the customer "no silicone no sulphate .. all natural product," while switching to Arabic to translate the word "ingredients" in

attempt to converge and perform upward accommodation in case the customer was more

accustomed to the Arabic form of that word.

It is also worth noting that earlier on in the interaction in line 7, after the customer asked

what the product she was pointing at was, G explained to her that is was a shampoo and then

switched to Kuwaiti Arabic to elaborate that "*haða jaʔnɪ mal shaʔar*" meaning "it is for the hair."

Judging by the salesperson G's use of English throughout the interaction, it is quite a high

command of the language, therefore, G's CS in this instance is not because he was struggling,

but to show a sense of (*Solidarity*) and establish closeness with the customer.

5.1.1.2. SALESPEOPLE DATA 2

A second recording in the dataset that was taken during a salesperson-customer

interaction between a migrant salesperson of Filipino ethnicity and a Kuwaiti customer.

(5)	JEN:	22	this one the vitamin e its good
	NH:	23	=tell me tell me=
	JEN:	24	for the face,
	NH:	25	emm
	JEN:	26	it has antioxidant,
	NH:	27	antioxidant?
	JEN:	28	yes madam .. this is the ingredient madam .. it is uhh the uhh the
		29	wheat germ .. rich in uhh
		30	vitamin e
	NH:	31	vitamin e?
	JEN:	32	yes .. for repairing and for environment *damage like this
	NH:	33	emm
	JEN:	34	it's a vitamin E for repairing it.. it give
	NH:	35	=do you have tester for it?=
	JEN:	36	*yes .. try it in your face madam .. in a .. it's cold madam .. little bit
		37	cold because it give you more water in your face
	NH:	38	I can use it in my hand?
	JEN:	39	yeah you can .. in your face also .. try madam in your face
	NH:	40	like this?
	JEN:	41	yes

NH: 42   okay .. its cold

JEN: 43   yeah cold madam because you feel hot *sah?*

                                      right?

NH: 44   *sah*

                  That's right

Both interlocutors of this interaction (both the Filipino migrant salesperson and the Kuwaiti customer) seem to have a high command of English as the conversation runs smoothly without the need for negotiation of meaning. The salesperson takes advantage of their command of English to use specialized skin care terms to appeal to the customer by presenting an air of (*Cosmopolitanism*). Further down in the interaction as the salesperson gives the customer samples of some skincare products, the salesperson JEN offers a sample of a cooling product to the customer NH on 36:

(6)   JEN: 36   *yes .. try it in your face madam .. in a .. it's cold madam .. little bit

                     37   cold because it give you more water in your face

          NH: 38   I can use it in my hand?

          JEN: 39   yeah you can .. in your face also .. try madam in your face

          NH: 40   like this?

          JEN: 41   yes

          NH: 42   okay .. its cold

          JEN: 43   yeah cold madam because you feel hot *sah?*

                                        right?

          NH: 44   *sah*

                  That's right

          JEN: 45   so I give you this one.. so much .. This one madam it's giving you

                     46   cooling effect

After the customer NH tries the sample she agrees that the product is in fact cooling by saying in line 42 "Okay.. it's cold" In response, JEN by saying in 43 "yeah cold madam because you feel hot *sah?*" which is entirely in English apart from the final word of the utterance which translates to "right?" in English, a discourse marker is used to maintain the conversation and ensure the listener is following. Moreover, the salesperson JEN code-switches to Arabic when using the discourse marker "right?" / "*sah?*" to assume a sense of (*Solidarity*) and casual conversation with

the customer as a strategy to persuade them to purchase products. Similar discourse markers

have been outlined in previous studies on CS, for English-Spanish CS by youth in the US such as

in Zentella's (1997) Growing Up Bilingual, an adolescent girl is shown to be using Spanish

discourse markers to get ensure she had the listener's attention.

(7)   JEN: 85   everywhere madam but only here madam don't put this inside
       NH: 86   inside my eyes
       JEN: 87   yeah
       [laughs]
       NH: 88   I'll be blind
       JEN: 89   *bədeɪn* your eyes **kərab*

Additionally, there was a point in this interaction where the salesperson JEN warns the customer

NH to avoid applying the product to her eyes and in lines 85 and 86 she suddenly code-switches

to Arabic to say "*bədeɪn* your eyes **kərab*" meaning "then your eyes will be damaged." NH does

not merely code-switch to Arabic here for the sake of convenience, but because it feels more

(*Faithful)* to express the meaning of 'damage' with the Kuwaiti Arabic word "*kərab*" based on

the context that they are in, Kuwait.

5.1.1.3. COLLEAGUES DATA

       This third interaction is not a salesperson-customer dynamic, but does occur in a

workplace setting between colleagues. However, the interaction is casual because it takes place

during the employee lunch break. The Kuwaiti interlocutor happens to be a part-time summer

employee conversing with migrant workers who are full-time employees at the workplace, Ikea

furniture store. Just like the setting in the previously mentioned interactions, this is a commercial

franchise/store/vender that caters to a diverse range of customers (not all Arabic-speaking and

even so, could be westernized) meaning their employees must have a high command of English

in order to successfully communicate with the customers.

The following excerpt is in the middle of the casual lunch break conversation between the

Kuwaiti intern and a migrant full-time employee, an Indian woman in her thirties from Goa.

(8)　ALY:　41　　so if you come to work here where your baby will go?
　　　　LUC:　42　　he's in the babysitter
　　　　ALY:　43　　so how many you pay for the babysitter?
　　　　LUC:　44　　uhh thirty KD for a month.
　　　　ALY:　45　　thirty KD for month?
　　　　LUC:　46　　emhm
　　　　ALY:　47　　*wała* *expensive
　　　　　　　　　　truly
　　　　LUC:　48　　yeah it expensive what to do .. I have no choice *jaʔni sah*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　like right
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　'like, I have no choice, do I?'

The Kuwaiti woman in line 41 is asking the migrant employee, LUC, where she takes her child

during her working hours. The conversation is in (*Mostly English*), but there are some sparse

switches to Arabic for supplemental socio-functional purposes. After LUC says how much she

pays for a babysitting service, ALY, the Kuwaiti woman responds by saying it is expensive, but

intensifies this response by saying in line 47 "*wała* *expensive," meaning *truly* expensive. In line

48, LUC agrees with ALY's reaction and then explains "I have no choice *jaʔni sah*" with the

conversational discourse marker used "*sah*" which functions as a display of (*Solidarity*).

The excerpt below was also extracted from the interaction between the Kuwaiti intern

and the same migrant full-time employee who work at Ikea furniture store.

(9)　ALY:　53　　two sixty good .. *ɪnzeɪn* tell me .. how old are you?
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　okay
　　　　LUC:　54　　I'm thirty five
　　　　ALY:　55　　you're thirty five?
　　　　LUC:　56　　{ [dc] yeah }
　　　　ALY:　57　　but you look *maʃała jəʕni* young
　　　　　　　　　　　　　god bless like
　　　　　　　　　　'but like, you look young, God Bless'

LUC: 58   **oh you make me climb the tree now and *badıen* I fall down from the
                                                                then
59   tree *ʃınu haða* ALY .. no way
        what is this

There is a particular patterns occurring multiple times in ALY's speech throughout the whole

interaction, and also occurs in other recordings of this level of the continuum. The pattern entails

the use of the Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent of "okay" before saying something or posing a question

to the other interlocutor in the conversation. It is not that ALY does not know the English word

"okay," but the context she finds herself in gives her a sense of casualness and (*Solidarity*) in that

she is comfortable to use Kuwaiti-Arabic form, which also acts as a discourse marker before the

questions she poses in line 48. The socio-functional motivation is indexed throughout this

interaction by both speakers. After LUC reveals her age, in line 57, ALY compliments LUC by

saying she looks young for her age "but you look *maʃała jəʕni* young," which would translate to

"but, like, you look young, God bless". The use of "*maʃała,*" meaning "God bless," is used to

index (*Solidarity*) and is also a very common saying that is attached to compliments in the

cultural context under investigation. Amusingly, LUC's reaction to this compliments is quite

poetic, using some kind of figurative language conveying, that although ALY's compliment may

boost her self-esteem, it will make her oblivious to the reality. LUC's reaction, in line 58 and 59,

contains the figurative language of her climbing up a tree from a boost in confidence and then

falling down due to harsh reality. After saying that, she playfully incites a response from ALY by

switching to Kuwaiti Arabic "*ʃınu haða* ALY," meaning, "what is this ALY" or the more

colloquial form "what the hell ALY." Such a switch is a very effective way to index (*Solidarity*)

because the saying "*ʃınu haða* ALY" is very commonly used in Kuwaiti Arabic amongst people

who are closely acquainted.

(10)   LUC: 79   I cook .. but I am not very like professional.. like .. like you cook big

	80	dishes .. I don't cook like that I like whatever necessary for daily (li li)
	81	like that .. not very big big things
ALY:	82	=you wash your dishes?
LUC:	83	of **course *ʃinu haða*=
		what is this
ALY:	84	[laughs]
LUC:	85	who else I don't have a maid in the house ALY
ALY:		[laughs]

Subsequently in the same interaction, LUC uses the saying "*ʃinu haða*" once again to index the same effect of (*Solidarity*) in line 83 in reaction to ALY's question of whether she washes her own dishes. LUC thought it was a ridiculous question and, therefore, reacted in this way.

5.1.2. THE INDEXING OF 'FAITH'

The interaction with interlocutors LUC and ALY, as well as numerous others in (level 1) of the continuum also contain switches that index the socio-functional motivation of (*Faith*): this entails alternating to a second code because it provides a more authentic or *faithful* representation of the meaning being conveyed. This is another example of CS from English to Arabic for motivations that are not urgent, such as for enhancing communication, but supplemental to the social situation. In the excerpt below, ALY, the Kuwaiti intern, asks LUC when she plans to go back home (vacation). LUC's response, in line 94, starts with the Arabic word "*ɪnʃaɫa*" which means "god willing" or "hopefully," and then she answers the question by saying that her vacation or time of leave is in December. The switch to say the word "*ɪnʃaɫa*" is to index (*Faith*), as it seemed more fitting for LUC at the time and context she was in to say it in Arabic. Moreover, this saying is very common in Arabic culture, and could be considered over-exhausted in terms of use.

(11) ALY: 93 yeah .. *ɪnzeɪn* .. uhh when is your vacation?
             okay

LUC:	94	*ɪnʃaɬa* .. in december .. for { [hi] christmas } with my { [hi] family}
		god willing
		'hopefully'
ALY:	95	**oh .. so … where are you from?
LUC:	96	I am from *Goa.
ALY:	97	**(Gowam)?
LUC:	98	India
ALY:	99	**India ... So you're indian
LUC:	100	of **course
ALY:	101	you love India more than Kuwait *wɪlə* Kuwait?
		or
LUC:	102	for now I love Kuwait 'cause that .. you know .. it gives me my daily my
	103	{ [hi] wages }

The excerpt below is of a similar interaction of colleagues in the same workplace, The same Kuwaiti participant, ALY, but with a different migrant interlocutor, PIN, a Filipino woman who is another full-time Ikea employee. The excerpt displays more indexing of (*Faith*) with an Arabic word that many participants switch to in level 1 of the continuum, "*xalas*," either meaning "finish" or "that's it." This word is switched to by ALY in line 71, indexing (*Faith*). ALY uses it, not only because the context and interaction she is in allows for her to feel comfortable enough to do so (*Solidarity*), but also because it seemed to be the more authentic way to express what she wanted to convey.

(12)	ALY:	66	how much you salary?
	PIN:	67	my salary is two forty six
	ALY:	68	forty six, *oh **too **much
	PIN:	69	*ʃinu* too much .. this one for one month?
			what
	ALY:	70	oh my god .. *xalas* .. not too much *ʃweɪjə*
			finish little
	PIN:	71	….. how about you
	ALY:	72	oh my god I-[laughs]
	PIN:	73	how many
	ALY:	74	[laughs]
	PIN:	75	four hours only
	ALY:	76	four hours .. yeah

Switching with such a socio-functional motivation (*Faith*) is illustrated in multiple other recordings of other interactions including one represented by the excerpt displayed below. This interaction is between a Kuwaiti woman in her early-twenties, N2, and the housemaid of their household, MAR. This interaction occurred while was carrying out some of her final duties of the day. At this stage of the interaction, N2 asked MAR whether she knows how to cook any Kuwaiti dishes. MAR responded to this question by saying "no I don't how" in line 50. N2, being surprised by this response, asked in line 51 "nothing? even *mət͡ʃbus dijaɪ*," asking whether N2 cannot even cook one of the most quintessential Kuwaiti dishes and referred to its name in Kuwaiti Arabic "*mət͡ʃbus dijaɪ*" because it is the most authentic (*faithful*) was of conveying it in the context at hand.

(13)   N2:   49   yeah .. and here Kuwaiti food you know how to cook?
       MAR: 50   no I don't how
       N2:   51   no, nothing? even *mət͡ʃbus dijaɪ*
                            (the name of a common Kuwaiti dish)
       MAR: 52   no no I don't .. I dont-know how to cook because ma'am is the one who is
              53   cooking

5.2 SECTION 2(A)

As mentioned previously, this section will address the third research question: what deductions can be made about the CS behavior motivated by intelligibility? This section presents the investigation of the levels 2 and 3 of this study's speech continuum. Unlike level 1, which demonstrates instantiations of CS behavior with the intent of indexing a socio-functional purpose to the interaction at hand, levels 2 and 3 comprise of CS to Arabic that is not as sparse, and carries a different intent, that of conveying (*Intelligibility*). The further away from (level 1) of the continuum, the more Arabic comes to use in the speech of the interactions. However, it is a matter of deciphering what kind of Arabic use, and general bilingual behavior is at play.

Instantiations will be presented that indicate the use of GPA, the structural features that indicate this, and then instantiations that have the same intent of conveying (*Intelligibility*) and indicate pidginization, but are not completely compatible to the structural features of GPA. Therefore, the emergence of such pidginization is suggestive of KPE. Speech that is presented in italics in the excerpts outlined represent the switches to Arabic which contain a morpheme by morpheme gloss in the following line, and a third line containing a translation when necessary.

5.2.1. LEVELS 2 & 3 OF THE CONTINUUM

The data categorized in (level 2) of the continuum includes the speech of participants that indicates less access to linguistic resources, and therefore if there was CS, it was 'competence-based' and mainly for intelligibility purposes. The use of Arabic is more prominent in level 2 due to the 'competence-based' switches, and in level 3 as indication of the occurrence of GPA. Firstly, excerpts with instantiations of GPA will be presented below, and structural features unique to this pidgin will also be outlined with reference to previous studies conducted on the occurrence of GPA. The structural features of GPA this section touches on are: the simplification of verbs (lack of inflectional affixes), the multifunctional use of '*fi*' (Arabic preposition meaning in, inside) including its use as a copula. Subsequently, the investigation of patterns indicating pidginization that do not conform to those of GPA will be addressed.

5.2.1.1. PATTERNS OF GPA

simplification of verbs (lack of inflectional affixes).

When it comes to GA, Kuwaiti Arabic being no exception, affixes are used to mark inflection on verbs. Prefixes are used to mark person and gender. Suffixes, being less frequent, are

used either as a second person feminine or plural marker. However, as hypothesized by Smart (1990), in GPA, the unprefixed/unsuffixed (uninflected) form is used. This is reflected in many instantiations of recordings at the (*Mostly Arabic*) end of the continuum including one represented by the excerpt displayed below, an interaction between RN, a young Kuwaiti female customer, and S, a middle-aged migrant saleswoman of Indian ethnicity. This interaction took place at one of many local business stalls at a local marketplace in Kuwait City, where S was selling scarves. In this interaction, which is that of a buy-seller dynamic, despite the Kuwaiti woman, who happens to be the customer, using English to ask about the products and negotiation a price, the saleswoman, a middle aged woman of Indian ethnicity, with pseudonym S, uses GPA most of the time in the interaction. This is partly due to the majority of her customers being Arabic-speaking, more than English speaking.

(14) RN: 37   ok, I want to see this one
      S: 38   ok
      RN: 39   this one last price?
      S: 40   this one I give you 2 and half
      RN: 41   last price?
      S: 42   this no coming .. you come before .. no.. how.. maybe finish ..
            43   *jɪmkɪn ana jɪgdar ..*you know*.. jaʔni ʔəlħin ana biʔ ʔəlħin haði*
                  maybe I can   like now I sell now this
                  'I am selling this to you now for three dinar because you are a
            44   *θəlaθa dinar .. bəs ʔəʃan ɪnti* customer*.. jaʔni ʔəʃan t͡ʃɪði ana baʔad*
                  three dinar   but because you customer like because of this I also
                  regular customer'
      RN: 45   make it 2
      S: 46   *haði danteɪl bəs habɪbti təʔali* [laughs]
                  this is lace but my dear come
                  'but , my dear come look, this is a lace scarf'
      RN: 47   No, make it 2
      S: 48   *aslan ləʔna rəmədan .. ɪða bɪdun rəmədan jɪmkɪn ana jɪgdar ɪnti ʃinu*
                  because ramadan   if after ramadan maybe I can what
            49   *təbi ana jɪsmaʔ kalam .. ʔəlħin* two and half
                  you want I would listen .. now

Some of the unprefixed forms of verbs prevalent in GPA according to Smart's (1990) exhaustive analysis are *"khali"* meaning "to leave," "*nam*" meaning "sleep," and "*ħʊt,*" which means "put," all of which, according to GA, are missing inflectional prefixes that mark gender and person. RN tries to bargain and negotiate for a lower price on the item she wanted, a lace scarf, but in line 43, and in response, S explains that the price she offered was already dropped from the original price because she is treating RN as a 'regular customer'. It is on this particular part of the interaction that illustrates the sales woman's, use of two verbs in the unprefixed or unsuffixed form as opposed to them actually having affixes in GA. The lack of these affixes demonstrates a lack of inflection that marks gender, aspect, and person (Smart, 1990). In line 43, saleswoman S, uses the Arabic verb for "sell" which is "*biʔ,*" However, her use of it in Arabic is lacking the prefix to indicate she is referring to herself, the first person, doing the action. The listener would have to figure this out from the context as well as the sale woman's use of the first person pronoun as indicated in line 43 "*ana biʔ.*" There are two other verbs that the saleswoman either uses the incorrect inflectional affix with, or just omits the affix completely. In line 48, when using the Arabic word for "can," the inflectional prefix used is appropriate for male gender marking. However, she is referring to herself with the verb "can" and she is female. This is another pattern typical of GPA, where the use of third person masculine inflectional marker is extended to refer to non-masculine subjects. Moreover, in line 49, the saleswoman uses the Arabic word for "to want," which appears extensively throughout this level of the continuum. However, her use of the Arabic word for "to want," "*təbi,*" is lacking an inflectional marker than indicates feminine gender, with reference to the female customer.

Despite the occurrence of the simplification of verbs by omission of the inflectional affixes, they are not always omitted. As Smart (1990) notes, there are some unstable verb forms

that occur both prefixed and unprefixed. The prefixed ones include the two essential and

frequently-occurring verbs "*jɪgul*" meaning "to say" in the masculine third person singular form,

and "*jɪsəwi*" which mean "to do, or to make" also in the masculine third person singular form.

The same interaction previously mentioned in this section, between the female Kuwaiti

customer. RN, and Indian migrant saleswoman, S, is indicative of the occurrence of both of these

unstable verb forms as illustrated in the excerpt below.

(15) RN: 15   Ok, let me see it
       S: 16   same .. *bəs jaʔni nəgʃa sweɪ kəlafa bəs* .. same *jaʔni sweɪ mɪski*
                 but like pattern little pricey but   like .. can you hold it for bit
            17   *habɪbti*
                 my dear
       RN: 18   how much?
       S: 19   *haði* I give you three kd
                 that
       RN: 20   3 kd?.. aha
       S: 21   *fi təbi* white.. *təbi t͡ʃɪði* .. model *jɪmkin ʃuf sweɪja* .. *jɪmkin təbi*
                 there is .. do you want white .. do you want like this .. model maybe look
                 at at it a bit .. maybe you want it
       S: 22   *bəs əlħin jɪd͡ʒi danteɪl t͡ʃɪði* material *nəfs*
                 But now it comes in lace like this material [points to scarf]

Despite saleswoman S using the uninflected verb form in line 21, where she tells the customer

there is a scarf that comes in the color white if she wants using **"*təbi*"** (to want) without the

suffix indicating she is speaking to a female, S also uses an inflected, prefixed verb form in line

22, "*jɪd͡ʒi*" meaning (to come) with the prefix marking it as masculine third person singular.

The following excerpt also illustrates patterns with the use of inflected and uninflected

verb forms, indicating the use of GPA. It is an excerpt from an interaction between a young

Kuwaiti woman in her mid-twenties, SAl-AZ, and their family housemaid, HM, who is in her

late-twenties and from Sri Lanka. Since SAl-AZ does not live with her family, she is not fully

acquainted with their family housemaid, and so their interaction mainly consisted of her getting

to know HM, and asking casual conversations about her daily routine, and how she feels about

her job.

(16) SAl-AZ: 47   How's your day, what do you do?
      HM: 48   ahh *ana jɪd͡ʒi beɪt* .. ahh..I wash *hamam*, I wash kitchen .. *baʔeɪn* I clean
                       I come house   bathroom   then
                 49   all home *baʔeɪn* I take Hamani I change him Hamani .. I take shower ..
                                     then
                 50   *baʔeɪn kalas .. ana roh tahat*
                       then finish   I   go   down
      SAl-AZ: 51   *roh tahat* .. what do you *tahat*?
                       go down   down
      HM: 52   ahh …. ahh .. *fi* mama …. I eat ahh …. I see Hamany .. *baʔeɪn*
                                  there is   then
                 53   *jɪd͡ʒi mama jəroh foʊg*
      SAl-AZ: 54   how is Hamani, is he annoying?
      HM: 55   he is more like I like more Hamany

Despite SAl-AZ posing questions and comments to HM mostly in English, HM mainly responds

in Arabic, GPA particularly. There are many households, where the main people in need of help

and assistance is of an older age, and less acquainted with using English. This prompts members

of such households to hire housemaids, prioritizing that they have some repertoire in Arabic

rather than English. There are a number of ques in this excerpt that indicate the use of GPA and

one of which is the use of inflected and uninflected verbs forms just like the previously discussed

interaction. The fact that two migrants from different background who speak different native

languages, one from India and the other Sri Lanka, stipulates that the bilingual behavior of

participants cannot be reduced and generalized to the details of their background, but must be

investigated on an individual basis (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1992).

The use of the verb in the third person form, when she is referring to herself (in which case it is expected she uses 1st person singular). Also the conjugation of the verb has a male (rather than female gender marking) "Loss of verb inflection" (Smart, 1990). -- Ex: she says -- would lack inflection in the verb by lacking the feminine marking and lacking plural marking is the pronoun was plural). In order for the listener to derive 'person', the pronoun would usually carry that information. "Person is usually explicit with the use of pronouns, not the verbs" Smart, 1990, p. 98). In this case, the pronoun '*ana*' meaning 'I' carries the information of first person. Likewise, when it comes to tense, number and aspect, they can be detected by the listener from the context, since the verb in GPA does not typically carry them either. Similarly, in line 50, when HM says, "*ana roh tahat,*" the verb '*roh*' which means "to go," does not mark person, tense, or aspect, and the listener can detect them from the context, and the pronoun which indicates the *person*. The use of verbs in such forms in GPA is referred to as "unprefixed" since there would actually be a prefix attached to the verbs in GA, which includes Kuwaiti Arabic.

5.2.1.1.1. THE MULTIFUNCTIONAL USE OF 'FI'

A second structural feature that is reflective the occurrence of GPA at the latter end of the speech continuum is the use of Arabic preposition "*fi*" for multiple functions (Smart, 1990; Bakir, 2014). Although its original function a preposition "*fi*" is still in use, its use is extended in GPA to mark the position of copulas.

5.2.1.1.2. EXISTENTIAL USE OF COPULA

As mentioned in Smart (1990), this use of "*fi*" as an existential predicate derives from its use as an existential exponent in GA (including Kuwaiti Arabic). Similarly to the excerpts shown

below of "*fi*" used as an existential predicate (p.100), speech data from the latter end of the

continuum (*Mostly Arabic*) presents similar patterns indicative of GPA. In line 51, SAl-AZ asks

their Sri Lankan housemaid "what do you *tahat*?," meaning "what do you do downstairs?," the

housemaid HM, responds by explaining the scene downstairs at that time of day by saying "*fi*

mama …. I eat ahh …. I see Hamany .. *baʔeɪn.*" With the use of *fi* as an existential predicate,

HM's reponse translates to "There is mama, and I eat and watch Hamany, and then mama goes

up."

(17) SAl-AZ: 47   How's your day, what do you do?
      HM: 48   ahh *ana jɪd͡ʒi beɪt* .. ahh..I wash *hamam*, I wash kitchen .. *baʔeɪn* I clean

                            I come house   bathroom   then
                   49   all home *baʔdeɪn* I take Hamani I change him Hamani .. I take shower ..

                                       then
                   50   *baʔeɪn kalas* .. *ana roh tahat*
                            then finish   I go down
      SAl-AZ: 51   *roh tahat* .. what do you *tahat*?
                            go down   down
      HM: 52   ahh …. ahh .. *fi* mama …. I eat ahh …. I see Hamany .. *baʔeɪn*
                                          there is   then
                            'Mama is there, and I eat and watch Hamany, and then'
                   53   *jɪd͡ʒi mama jəroh foʊg*
                            come   goes up
                            'Mama goes upstairs'
      SAl-AZ: 54   how is Hamani, is he annoying?
      HM: 55   he is more like I like more Hamany

One of the more common contexts in which "*fi*" is said to appear in GPA is functioning

as a copula in attributive sentences (Smart, 1990; Bakir, 2014). In this sense, "*fi*" would be "an

element that links the subject and the complement in non-verbal copulative sentences, very much

like the main verb 'be' in English" (Bakir, 2014, p. 419). Despite such previous research

claiming that this particular function of "*fi*" is one of the more frequent, this was not reflected in

67

the dataset of this current investigation. This could be due to the absence of such a feature in either Kuwaiti Arabic or in the migrant languages. The excerpt below, an example of *fi* being used in an attributive sentence from Bakir's (2014) study, is provided to illustrate this function.

(Bakir, 2014, p. 420).
inta fii majnuun? leeš sawwi haadi karaab?
2sg PM crazy why make this ruined
'Are you crazy? Why did you break this?'
(Context: A maid (Tagalog) is upset, thinking that the other maid has broken something.)

The following excerpt from a different recording also illustrates all of the structural features indicative if GPA previously outlined: the occurrence of inflected and uninflected verb forms, and preposition "*fi*" functioning as an existential predicate. This excerpt was extracted from an interaction between a Kuwaiti woman in her mid-twenties, MT, and her parent's domestic worker, DRIVER 2, who is from Sri Lanka and works for them as a driver. DRIVER 2 was driving MT to a relative's home and in this particular point in the conversation, they were discussing what Sri Lanka is like in terms of weather and places to go when visiting. In line 17, MT asks DRIVER2 what nice places are to visit in Sri Lanka, and she utilizes the existential predicate *"fi"* to ask "what nice place there is to visit in Sri Lanka," and she also asks if "there is rain" in line 15 with the use of "*fi*" as well. Moreover, the use of the existential predicate with negation "*mafi*" was used in this excerpt in line 20, where DRIVER2 was expressing how "there is no time" when he was explaining that there are nice places to visit in Sri Lanka such as Nuwara Eliya, but people like him do not have time. Later in line 23, MT asks DRIVER2 if there are a good amount of Kuwaiti tourists who visit Sri Lanka, and in response, DRIVER2 says that a lot of them do come in line 24: "*jɪd͡ʒi haða wad͡ʒɪd jɪd͡ʒi* tourist." This utterance contains a verb form that *is* infected, however, its prefix marks third person masculine singular when her is

expressing many rather than one person. Ferguson (1971) refers to Arab's simplified speech that

is categorized by certain features including the use of third person masculine singular for all

persons, genders, numbers and tenses (p. 6). This feature is also present on line 26, where

DRIVER2 tells MT to come visit Sri Lanka some time, by using the third person masculine

singular form of the verb "come" "*təʔal.*"

(18) MT: 15   *la jaʔni d͡ʒaw d͡ʒaw .. jaʔni haða* hot, cold, *ʃlon, fi matar?*
                       no like weather weather like its   how, there is rain
      DRIVER2:   16   ahh *mater .. matar jɪd͡ʒi .. haða* Sri lanka .. Sri lanka *wad͡ʒɪd zeɪn*
                           rain   rain comes   that   very good
      MT: 17   *ʃinu fi mɔkan hɪlu mɔkan* Sri Lanka
                       what there is nice place in
      DRIVER2:   18   ahh Nuwara Eliya .. (..) … *wad͡ʒɪd* bərɪd Nuwara Eliya .. (..)
      everyday
                                                            very cool
      MT: 19   everyday
      DRIVER2:   20   *mafi* time .. any time
                       there is no
      MT: 21   and Kuwait
      DRIVER2:   22   Kuwait *haða ʃweɪ sɪta sar har sɪta sar berd sah?*
                                that is little become six hot become six cold right?
      MT: 23   *fi* good Kuwait *nəfar* Kuwaiti?
                       there is   person
      DRIVER2:   24   *jɪd͡ʒi haða wad͡ʒɪd jɪd͡ʒi* tourist
                       come them a lot come
      MT: 25   *ii*
                       yes
      DRIVER2:   26   *təʔal wahɪd məra* Sri Lanka *ʃuf keɪf (wara)*
                       come one time   see how
      MT: 27   *ɪnʃala*
                       hopefully

Another structural feature of GPA delineated in this section is the versatility of functions

of Arabic preposition "*fi.*" In GA it is mainly used for its original function, as a preposition (in or

inside), and with its "existential use" (Smart, 1990, p. 101) However, the preposition "*fi*" has

proven to be multifunctional in GPA, taking on the GA role of preposition and existential predicate as well as the role of a copulative predication marker and a verbal predication marker.

5.2.1.1.3. EXTISTENTIAL USE OF COPULA WITH NEGATION

As Smart (1990) and later Bakir (2014) previously stated, the existential use of "*fi*" also extends to negation, where rather than using it to express "this is." it is used with an inflectional prefix, "*mafi*" to mark negation "this is no." This is another pattern of GPA that emerged in the dataset at the third level of the continuum. The following excerpt contains an instantiation of this pattern emerging from an interaction between, MU, a Kuwaiti woman in her early twenties and the main of their household, JOS, who is a Filipino woman in her thirties.

(19) MU: 34   how many time take with you … like one month?
      JOS: 35   how many times I think?
      MU: 36   yes
      JOS 37   uhh many times .. *bəs* it is not difficult to work in Kuwait
      MU: 39   it is not difficult .. ok .. so what are you prefer to work babysitter or
      housemaid,
          40   house work?
      JOS: 41   ahh .. babysitter *mafi mɒskılə* babysitter
              (it is/there is) no problem
      MU: 42   so do you to work in house not to sit with baby .. or
          43   no problem
      JOS: 44   no problem .. *haða* babysitter or housekeeper *mafi mɒskılə*
              that   (it is/there is) no problem

At this point in the interaction, MU was asking JOS what kind of domestic work she prefers in line 39, housekeeping duties or babysitting, as she puts it. From lines 41, 43, and 44, JOS responds by saying that she does not mind either and that she does not have a preference. In line 41, she uses "*mafi*" (there is no) in front of "*mɒskılə.*" the Arabic word for "problem" to express that she has *no* problems with being a babysitter. Later in line 44, JOS clarifies that when it

comes to babysitting or housekeeping, she has not problems, meaning not preference: "babysitter or housekeeper *mɑfi mʊskɪlə*."

5.2.1.1.4. COPULA WITH VERBS

Smart (1990) explained that the occurrence of "*fi*" with lexical verbs was also one of the roles that "*fi*" takes on in GPA, however is not obligatory, and nor seems to be prevalent in dataset of this current study. Bakir (2014) also pointed out this extension of the use of "*fi*" and refers to it as the utilization of "*fi*" as a *predication marker in verbal sentences*. In such instantiations, "*fi*" takes a "preverbal positions in sentences having main verbs" (Bakir, 2014, p. 422). In the form of data examples, his paper also outlines the many contexts in which *fi* takes on this role, and one of which being in questions (Bakir, 2014), just like the one posed by S in the excerpt below.

(20) RN: 15   Ok, let me see it
       S: 16   same.. *bəs jaʔni nəgʃa sweɪ kəlafa bəs ..* same *jaʔni sweɪ mɪski*
                    but like the pattern is little expensive   like can you hold this
             17   *habɪbti*
                  my dear
       RN: 18   how much?
       S: 19   *haði* I give you 3 kd
                  this
       RN: 20   three kd?.. Aha
       S: 21   *fi təbi* white.. *təbi t͡ʃɪði .. model jɪmkin ʃuf sweɪya .. jɪmkin təbi*
                  this is you want white .. you want it comes .. maybe you want to
                  see the style a little .. maybe you want it
             22   *bəs əlħin jɪd͡ʒi danteɪl t͡ʃɪði* material *nəfs*
                  but now it comes in lace like this

Above is an excerpt from the the previously mentioned interactions, between customer RN an saleswoman S, which illustrates the use of "*fi*" as a predication marker in a verbal sentence in line 21. The saleswoman is explaining how the scarf they are discussing comes in the color white

if the customer wants that, where "*fi*" occurs in a preverbal position before the verb *want* "*təbi*"

which is used in third person singular form. One of the examples that Bakir (2014) details in his

paper with "*fi*" as a predication marker in verbal sentences also displays it in a preverbal position

as outlines below:

(Bakir, 2014, p. 422).
yalla guum inta haada fii sawwii muškila kabiir
come on rise 2sg this PM make problem big
'Come on, rise! You are making a big problem.'
(Context: A maid (Sinhala) warns co-worker and tells her to do some work.)

In terms of the dataset accumulated for this present study, there were no instantiations of a

copulative predication marker for verbal sentences in other interactions classified as being in

GPA since it is deemed to occur less frequently than other functions that "fi" taken on in GPA.

5.3 SECTION 2(B)
      As previously mentioned, the third research question will be addressed in this section of

the paper: what deductions can be made about the CS behavior motivated by intelligibility? Such

CS behavior is competence-based and suggestive of pidginization. After the outlining in section

(2A) of examples that present instantiation of GPA and the structural features that indicate it

from the continuum. The patterns indicative of pidginization that do not completely conform to

GPA will also be further discussed here, Section 2(B), with the hypothesis of it being an

incipient English pidgin, KPE, in mind. The structural features of *copula use* and *reduplication*

will be discussed below in comparison to the way they function in GPA. Specific GA discourse

particles that occur in the KPE data will also be discussed with relation to previously studies

particles of other English varieties.

5.3.1. OMISSION OF COPULA

A significant pattern prevalent throughout the speech data of participants in (level 2) of the continuum is the absence or omission of copula verbs. Ferguson (1971) previously mentioned that despite there being a tendency in simplified speech of languages to drop the copula, GPA behaves differently in that *fi* is used as a copula (Smart, 1990, p. 100-101). This was noticed in the data discussed in Section 2(A), hence its indication of the occurrence of GPA. However, that is not the case for the data presented here in Section 2(B) which prompts the hypothesis of it being a different pidgin, KPE.

As outlined in Section 2(A), one of the functions of "*fi*" prevalent in GPA is its role in the place of a copula in attributive sentences, where it would link the subject and the complement. As the excerpt below displays, "*fi*" links the subject "*inta,*" second person singular, to "*majnuun,*" which is an attribute that describes the subject as "crazy."

(Bakir, 2014, p. 420).
inta fii majnuun? leeš sawwi haadi karaab?
2sg PM crazy why make this ruined
'Are you crazy? Why did you break this?'
(Context: A maid (Tagalog) is upset, thinking that the other maid has broken something.)

Nonetheless, despite one of the functions of "*fi*" being as a copula in the pidgin GPA, the feature of copulas is typically omitted in simplified languages with the inclusion of pidgins (Ferguson, 1971). This is reflected in the excerpts presented here Section 2(A) which are suggestive of the emergence of an English pidgin, KPE, in the context at hand.

73

5.3.1.1. HOUSEMAID

The following excerpt is from a casual conversation between a Kuwaiti woman in her mid-twenties and the housemaid if their household, a female in her thirties from Sri Lanka. They were sitting at the kitchen table.

(21)	FAL-AZ:	23	your boy .. what his name?
	KU:	24	my baby is?
	FAL-AZ:	25	yes
	KU:	26	my baby is Pamadu name
	FAL-AZ:	27	how old is he?
	KU:	28	ten years
	FAL-AZ:	29	ten, emm … what do you like in Sri Lanka *jaʔni*?

$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ like

	KU:	30	Sri Lanka big beautiful .. very very beautiful .. only tree .. only coconut
		31	only rubber .. you understand rubber?
	FAL-AZ:	32	*ii ii* [laughs]

$\qquad\qquad\qquad$ yes yes

	KU:	33	yes rubber only .. *bəs*

$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ that's it

	FAL-AZ:	34	*ɪnzeɪn* kuwait?

$\qquad\qquad\qquad$ okay

	KU:	35	kuwait very very hot
	FAL-AZ:	36	*ii* [laughs]
	KU:	37	Sri Lanka hot half cool half .. 6 months cool 6 months hot
	FAL-AZ:	38	kuwait?
	KU:	39	very very hot
	FAL-AZ:	40	all the year hot

In this case, when the Kuwaiti woman, FAL-AZ, asked what the housemaid KU liked about her home country, Sri Lanka, in line 29, KU responded with a description containing adjectives, "big, beautiful" but missing the use of English copula *be* link the subject to its attribute. Nor is there the use of a copulative predication marker with "*fi*" for instance which rules out the possibility of such occurrence being GPA. KU also goes on to omit the copula in lines 37 and 39 as they continue to describe the weather is Sri Lanka "Sri Lanka hot half cool half." In contrast to the GPA data outlined in the previous part of this section, an emerging pattern of KPE from

the collected dataset of this study demonstrates the omission of copula use in attributive sentences. They word *only* in line 30 and 31 is used as a discourse particle to indicate an abundance of coconuts and an abundance of rubber and to put emphasis on them being Sri Lanka's major produce. Although the speaker who uses this particle is from Sri Lanka, the occurrence of "phrase or clause-final *only*" has been studied in the context of Indian English to function as a marker of focus (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 139). Despite the particle *only* in the excerpt above seems holding a similar function to that used in Indian English, it is not in a phrase or clause-final position.

A hypothesis that Ferguson (1971) posed in his article posits that simplified forms of "type A" that consider it a lexical source, those that originally use copulas such as English, tend to omit that copula use (p. 10) The dataset gathered for this present study validates this claim in two dimensions. By his description, GPA does not consistently omit the copula because the language that is its lexical source, Arabic, does not originally use copulas as a structural feature to begin with. On the other hand, in terms of KPE, the omission of copulas is very prominent like a number of English pidgins investigated in the literature, and one of its sole source language, English *does* actively utilize the feature of copulas. This is further delineated in the examples provided below that are excerpts from interactions in the center of the continuum (level 2), instantiations suggestive of the emergence of a KPE.

5.3.1.2. HAIR SALON EMPLOYEE

This interaction involves a conversation between a salon employee, MEM who is a middle-aged Filipino woman, and a customer, KHU, a Kuwaiti woman in her mind-twenties. They engage in casual conversation mainly centered around the salon employee and her career in

Kuwait. This conversation occurred near closing hours of the salon and there were not many

customers remaining.

(22) KHU: 8   oh .. wow you are grandma
      MEM: 9   **yeah .. I am a grandma
      KHU: 10   you look young
      MEM: 11   long time I am here .. uhh in salon warda's work .. almost thirty ..
            12   thirteen years
      KHU: 13   thirty years?
      MEM: 14   thirteen .. for working in salon warda .. thirteen *years in kuwait
      KHU: 15   **thirteen **years .. oh
      MEM: 16   thirteen .. and then salon *baʔad* .. *then ... ten years not [laughs]
                                            also
            17   vacation .. miss my { [hi] kids } .. miss my { [hi]family }
      KHU: 18   your kids and your family aren't in kuwait?
      MEM: 19   *no .. *all the Philippines,
      KHU: 20   ok
      MEM: 21   not-not me ... me .. emm alone

The migrant represented in this Kuwaiti-migrant interaction, the Filipino woman MEM, also

omits the use of copula as demonstrated in lines 19 and 21, where she explains that she is the

only one in her family who lives in Kuwait, her family members and children all being in their

home country "all the Philippines." Despite her not using the subject in this utterance, it is

implied in the questions she was asked by KHU in line 18. More significantly, MEM's utterance

in line 19 does not contain a copula that would link the subject and complement of the clause.

She then continues this response in line 21 by explaining that she, on the other hand, is alone in

Kuwait, but she, again, does not use a copula *be* "me emm alone."

        The following excerpt is from the same interaction between female Filipino salon
employee, MEM, and the customer she sees to, KHU.

(23) KHU: 84   what did they study?
      MEM: 85   study .. me .. *bəs* high school
                                   only
      KHU: 86   highschool
      MEM: 87   *mu* … *bəs sɪnu* .. me high school .. high school not ahh graduation *sɪnu*
                   Not   but what   what

'No, but, what was I going to say, I was in Highschool but I didn't graduate'

88   undergraduate for .. high school *bəs* uhh stop (*bəs*) marriage .. at
                         but

89   twenty years m-mar .. ahh sorry sorry .. this start my marriage .. twenty

KHU: 90   you married wh-

MEM: 91   then my baby .. my (coming) baby .. twenty one

In line 87, MEM, was trying to explain her educational background. She could have used a copula followed by an auxiliary and negation preceding the lexical verb "graduate" in her utterance by saying "I was in high school but I did not graduate," however, she omits the copula by instead saying "me high school .. high school not graduation." The tense and aspect would have to be deducted from the surrounding context, and the person would have to be deducted from the pronoun.

(24)   KHU: 117   aw .. you miss your home

       MEM: 118   yeah .. I miss my kid .. long time .. ten years not meet my family .. ten

               119   years .. straight not vacation .. and my salary is little bit

       KHU: 120   how much *jaʔni* you get
                             like

       MEM: 121   115 .. long time thirteen years .. *bəs* one time *jaʔni* give ahh *sɪnu*
                                      but   like   what

               122   ahh 10 kd before 50 kd my salary .. *before .. my first time here in

               123   Kuwait maybe two thousand two thousand and five .. Fifty .. for three

               124   years
                       'during my first time in Kuwait, in 2005, I got 50 kd salary for three years'

Within the same interaction, there is another utterance said on the part of MEM, the salon employee, that is missing a number of function words including the omission of a copula or auxiliary verb in line 123. She is trying to explain the process of her salary increasing overtime at her workplace. She was asked how much she gets paid by KHU in line 120. In response, she attempts to convey that she receives 115KD and it took her a long time, 13 years to be specific, to get that salary, but the way she says this is: "115 .. long time thirteen years." The utterance is definitely missing either a lexical verb or copula verb, if not both. With the use of verbs she

could say something along the lines of: "my salary *is* 115, and it *took* a long time to achieve this." In lines 122 to 124 MEM goes on to explain that in the past, her salary was 50 KD, but she conveys this by saying: "before 50 KD my salary .. *before .. my first time here in Kuwait maybe two thousand two thousand and five .. fifty .. for three years .. same the *kadama*." She omits the copula *be* when first explaining her salary was 50 KD, and the tense of her utterance is indicated by context since she uses an adverb of time (before). She continues by saying this was back during the year of 2005, and then saying she received 50 KD as a salary for three years, but without using any kind of verb such as "got."

The remaining two excerpts illustrative of the pattern at hand, omission of copulas, are also interactions between young Kuwaiti women, and the maids of the households they live in. A very similar line of questions is asked to the housemaids at the point of the interactions presented. The Kuwaiti women, MT and HH, ask their housemaids, HM2 and NAD, about their families and children back home, HM2 being the only participant from Nepal, and NAD from Sri Lanka.

(25) MT: 33   ahh … do you have a children?
      HM2: 34   yes
      MT: 35   how many?
      HM2: 36   two … one boy one girl
      MT: 37   one boy one girl?
      HM2: 38   yes
      MT: 39   what's their names?
      HM2: 40   Sandip Sandipa
      MT: 41   *ii* .. how old are they?
                 yes
      HM2: 42   ehh, *boy .. eighteen,
      MT: 43   *ii*?
      HM2: 44   əw girl twenty two
                 and
      MT: 45   girl twenty two

(26)　HH:　6　　emm you have children or?
　　　　NAD:　7　　two children
　　　　HH:　8　　*two
　　　　NAD:　9　　yeah
　　　　HH:　10　　what's their name
　　　　NAD:　11　　one girl (and) one boy
　　　　HH:　12　　one girl and one boy
　　　　NAD:　13　　their name Lolo Fatima
　　　　HH:　14　　Lolo?
　　　　NAD:　15　　Fatima
　　　　HH:　16　　Fatima
　　　　NAD:　17　　Lolo .. *wələd*
　　　　　　　　　　　boy

At this stage of the interaction, MT asks HM2 whether she has children and in response, HM2

says she has "one boy one girl" in line 36. For such a question it can be considered an

appropriate response even in a standard variety of English, because people would not usually

give a full response ("I have one boy and one girl) in real-life casual interaction. However, the

signs of pidginization become more evident when MT asks HM2 "how old are they?" in line 41.

HM2 responds to this question with omission of the copula in her utterance in lines 42 and 44

"*boy .. eighteen *əw* girl twenty two." The copula *be* is missing to link the subject *boy* to the

complement *eighteen* and the same with the subject *girl* in line 44. In fact, HM2 places

prominence on the subject *boy* in order to make a distinction to the listener, MT, that it is her boy

who is eighteen and her girl who is twenty-two. Similarly, in the following interaction, HH asks

their housemaid NAD about her children, their names and ages. When NAD eventually gets to

answering about her children's names, in line 13, she does not use a copula "their name Lolo

Fatima." Right after this, there is some confusion between the speakers as to who NAD is

referring to among her two children, so she goes on to clarify this in line 17, where is conveys

"Lolo .. *wələd*," meaning lolo is a boy, referring to her son. She could have said " Lolo is a/the

boy," but she omitted the copula, suggesting a pattern pidginization, more specifically KPE.

5.3.2. OMISSION OF COPULA IS PREVIOUSLY STUDIED PIDGINS

In Ferguson's (1971) he hypothesizes that simplified forms, with no exception to pidgins, of languages such as English, which, tend to omit the copula. Under his categorization, English would classify as a Type A language, one that contain copulas in equational clauses. Therefore, pidgins with a lexifier language or a source language in general that use copulas to begin with, tends to invariably omit such a feature. An extension to Ferguson's (1971) hypothesis states the copulas are more likely to be omitted under certain conditions: in a main clause, where the subject and complement is present, non-emphatic, a timeless or unmarked present condition, where the subject is in third person, and where the complement is adjectival. Three out of seven of these proposed conditions reflected omission of copulas in the dataset of this current study (presence of the subject and complement, third person subject, and adjectival complement). This feature of copula omission also common to other previously studied pidgins, despite the vast difference between their source languages. These include the pidgin of Singapore English, English-Japanese Pidgin, and Russenorsk.

5.3.3. REDUPLICATION & TRIPLICATION

Rubino's (2005) "Reduplication: Form, function and distribution" demonstrates that reduplication comes in different types, with the main distinction being between *full* or *partial*. Moreover, it is a morphological process, yet can also be phonological, involving the repetition of the root or the stem, and in some cases, with the inclusion of affixation. It is found in a number of languages including Standard English. While Okamura (1996) considers reduplication as a derivational process, Matthews (1974) regards it as falling within the framework of

compounding. Examples of reduplication in English include rhyming reduplication as in *wishy-washy*, i.e. being indecisive, exact reduplications in *hush-hush*, i.e. secret or confidential.

Reduplication can also go beyond the lexical level and be used for grammatical purposes or modification of meaning as intensifying the meaning, where different parts of speech can be repeated (Wang, 2005). The following examples reflect the productivity feature of this process:

(Nadarajan, 2006, p. 41)

- *You are a sick, sick man.*
- *You are really, really sick.*

Apart from Standard English, reduplication, occurs in other world languages, as Rubino (2005) pointed out, and those significant to this present study being numerous varieties of the Philippines and the Indian subcontinent that "span from several language families e.g. Indo-European, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman" (p. 22).

Reduplication, as well as triplication (the repetition of a morpheme more than once) has been acknowledged as a common feature of Asian and African varieties of English, on account of substrate tendencies, however, can hold different functions (Bokamba, 1992, 138-40; as cited in Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). For instance, numerous language varieties in the Philippines contain different *full* or *partial* reduplication, or in some cases, both, all of which for different functions:

- Some forms of reduplication with the use of an affix can be used to form plural nouns as demonstrated in the example from the Pangasinan variety of the Philippines: (1.) *too* 'man' > *totöo* CV- 'people'; *amigo* 'friend' > -CV- *amimigo* 'friends'; *bdley* 'town' > CVC-*balbaley* 'towns'. (Rubino, 2005)

- In Limos Kalinga veritety (Austronesian, Philippines), a certain iterative construction is used consisting of the prefix *maka-,* a copy of the first syllable of the base, a light copy of the second (minus the final consonant, if any), and gemination of the first consonant at the affix boundary (Ferreirinho 1993, p.90).

- With the Tausug variety of the Philippines, *full* word lexical reduplication which can function as intensification of semantic meaning: *Dayang* madam, *dayangdayang* princess (Rubino, 2005, p. 11).

Such reduplication that is for intensification purposes does occur in the data of this current study, in all levels of the continuum of this present study, but proves to be a prominent feature in indicating the occurrence of KPE in (level 3). There are also instantiations of reduplication, exclusive to (level 3) of the continuum, with the purpose of having an onomatopoeic effect. On one hand, the reduplication that occurs in GPA can consist of English or Arabic lexical items, however, in the case of KPE seems be be predominantly with English lexical items with regards to this study's dataset.

The following instantiations reflective of this particular feature were extracted from this study's dataset:

(27)	KU:	53	*fi* .. uuh three .. three .. place .. one place uhh .. nuwara eliya .. two there is
		54	place Colombo .. city
	FAL-AZ:	55	Colombo city
	KU:	56	yes Colombo city same same Kuwait City same same
		57	big sri lanka Colombo
	FAL-AZ:	58	Colombo *ja?ni fi* gardens like
	KU:	59	only garden only *sug* only bazaar

The housemaid, KU, in this excerpt is explaining to FAL-AZ, a Kuwaiti female and member of the household in this context, what places there are to visit in here home country, Sri Lanka. In

line 56, KU demonstrates reduplication "same same" with intensification purposes to emphasize that Colombo city in Sri Lanka is similar to Kuwait City.

It can also be considered as compounding, since it is a multi-word compound in the place of a single verb *to be* "Colombo city is the same as Kuwait City."

(29)
NUS: 15   the fire high or low?
AIS: 16   *fire *aɪ* .. fire .. high .. *not low .. because if you put low *jaʔni* the oil is **too
                                                                                like
         17   much oil from uhh .. *jaʔni* .. in the *baðɪnd͡ʒan* … then after finish *jaʔni* you finish
                              like   eggplant   like
         18   the *baðɪnd͡ʒan* cook for uhh from oil .. then you .. if you have *laħma məfrum* ..
                     eggplant   ground meat
         19   you cook .. *jaʔni* with *bəsal* .. machine ... the machine is uhh *bəsal* small small ..
                        like   onion   onion
         20   machine *jaʔni* ..{ [hi] and then } you cook together with *bəsal* .. and then *bəhar*
                        like   onion   spices

This excerpt above is also extracted from an interaction between a Kuwait woman, NUS, and the maid of their household, AIS, who also happens to be from Sri Lanka. AIS is giving NUS cooking instruction for a recipe. The penultimate line, 19, contains an occurrence of reduplication with the effect of intensification. The speaker is trying to convey that the onions should be chopped to very small pieces by saying "small small" and then suggests that the use of a food processor, which she refers to as "machine" would be a better option. The function of this instantiation of reduplication is not only intensification of meaning, but also an example of reduplicating an adjective "small" to create an adverb 'into very small pieces' (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

(30)
AIS: 50   you know if *jaʔni* low aaah, high fire this come you know boil boil boil boil and
                            like
         51   then come taste nice and come thick .. and then you can taste good and then
         52   finish,you close the fire, then after the *baðɪnd͡ʒan* you put in (pyrex), you arrange

83

eggplant
53   sleep.. sleep sleep sleep, then *ii* if you finish *jaʕni* good good sleep good put, and

54   then you put uhh *laħma* on *baðɪndʒan* and then you put again *jaʕni* two layer
                                meat   eggplant   like

As displayed in the remaining part of this excerpt, NUS demonstrates reduplication of the verb

"boil" with an iterative function (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Rubino, 2005) as she further explains

the in steps of this recipe to NUS. In the first line she tries to explain that the water needs to fully

come to a boil, and she uses reduplication, which can also be considered to intensify or

emphasize that the water needs to be completely boiling. Another function of reduplication,

relevant to participles in Indian English such as "walking-walking," where such a participle

reduplicated stands for a whole clause (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). In the penultimate line, 53, the

verb 'sleep' is reduplicated to convey the clause: 'you arrange so you are laying down/asleep in

the dish."

(31)
W: 1   Moda uhh how you do uhh bechamel?
M: 2   ahh bechamel, I make before ahh first step .. I make noodles ahh **water .. you
       3   put cooking hot .. **water and little uhh *salt little .. *oil and then five minutes ..
       4   and then water very hot .. *kali* water hot .. and then ahh and then ahh noodles ahh
                                        leave
       5   you put after very hot .. you put noodles and then ahh …. how to make umm
       6   sauce six .. six pieces ahh *halib karton*, and then umm one pieces umm maggi
                                        milk from carton
       7   six pieces ahh *filfil har* little **swei* salt .. and then umm uh *flour flour *tahin*
                                hot pepper   little   flour
       8   spoon and then you mix mix mix and you see uhh *swei* … cook very (can) or uhh
                                                                    little
       9   **umm and then after uhh all uhh finish ….

This final excerpt is also extracted from an interaction between a young Kuwaiti woman,

W, and the maid of their household, M, a woman in her thirties from the Philippines. This

excerpt also entails a housemaid giving recipe instructions. The housemaid, M, uses

84

reduplication with the effect of intensification in line 8, "then you mix mix mix" to put stress of the fact that at that point the mixture needs to be mixed thoroughly.

Contrary to Bakker's (2003) observation of the absence of reduplication in most pidgins, the examples from our data show a good number of repetitions of full roots and no *partial* reduplication. This process includes the following parts of speech: *verbs*, *adjectives* and *adverbs*. They also seem to suggest a direct link between reduplication/triplication as a morphological process and pidgin slang as a style of linguistic expression or rhetorical device. Some of the examples above express the intensity or repetitive nature of actions since more of the same form entails more of the same content (Kouwenberg, 2003).

5.3.4. GENERAL FINDINGS

Despite the salience of which source language of GPA is considered dominant, that is not necessarily the case for the emerging KPE. When it comes to the use of GPA, it was quite clear to classify Gulf Arabic as the *lexifier* because of the clear social dynamic between its speech communities (the native speakers of GA superior to the native speakers of migrant languages). In the case of KPE, much like a previously studied pidgin, English-Japanese Pidgin (Goodman, 1967), detecting the dominance among the two source languages (North American English and Japanese) does not appear as clear. Some may consider both source languages of KPE dominant in their own way, GA and English based on the context at hand. This is because GA, or more specifically, Kuwaiti Arabic, is the local language of the dominant group/speech community, but English is powerful given that it is an international lingua franca. Moreover, KPE, similar to when Goodman (1967) studied English-Japanese Pidgin is newly emerging historically, compared to other simplified varieties that were acknowledged as pidgins.

In terms of English-Japanese Pidgin, Goodman (1967) stated that even when it comes to the structure, neither of the source languages seemed to dominate the pidgin at the time he witnessed it in action. In analyzing the manifestation of KPE, a conclusion cannot be made as to which source language would be considered the *lexifier*, especially considering its incipient state, but the portion of the dataset relevant to KPE generally shows signs of English being the source of (content words), the *lexifier*, and GA (Kuwaiti Arabic) being the source for (function words). The category of (function words) is quite broad, but other than conjunctions and prepositions, there are also GA conversational structures, discourse particles: signal to hearers what they need to attend to, and how to interpret messages" (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 136), that appear abundantly throughout the data, some of which are listed below:

"BaʔdeIn" (and then)   *"baʔad"* (also)   *"InzeIn"* (okay)

"bəs" (but/only)   *"jaʔni"* (like)

There were also a fair amount of GA discourse particles:

"*sah*" (right?)   "*ha"* (what?/what was that?/is that so?)

In switching to Arabic to use such discourse markers, the speaker is attempting to make sure the listener is following, or to ask for repetition of an utterance because they either did not hear or understand. Although such GA discourse were more prolifically used line levels 1 and 3, they also appeared in the KPE data in level 2.

Moreover, as stated by Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008), despite some of these particles having mutual distributional properties throughout different English varieties, there are some that are some particles, such as those mentioned above, that are exclusive to a particular variety. Some of these particles mentioned, do function in signaling the listener's attention, but also are used by

the speaker in attempt to add structure to their utterances {such as these: *"baʔdeɪn"* (and then)

"baʔad" (also) *"bəs"* (but/only) *"jaʔni"* (like)}.

(32)   KUM: 41   I like Kuwait *bəs* l'm come housemaid *bəs* I like Kuwait
                                                            but   only
                                              'I like Kuwait but I like that I'm only here as a housemaid'
        FAL-AZ: 42   just in the house, out no
        KUM: 43   yes, out no

Similarly, the discourse particle *"la,"* used in the colloquial variety *Singlish*, is applied for

various pragmatic functions, and shares similar conditions to the KPE particles "*sah*" (right?)

and *"ha"* (what?/what was that?/is that so?) in that an element of (*Solidarity*) exists among the

interlocutors (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

  Having said that the general trend in the KPE data demonstrates English as the source of

(content words), the *lexifier*, and GA (Kuwaiti Arabic) as the source for (function words), there

are some GA content words that appear frequently in the KPE portion of the data as illustrated

below. The analysis of this present study deducts that the use of these words in their GA form is

to index (*Faith*), in that it was deemed to most authentic way to convey a message by the

speakers putting them to use:

"ɪnʃala" (hopefully/God willing) *"kalas"* (finish/that's it) *"kadama"* (housemaid)

"kaʃala" (sponsorship) *"maktab"* (literal meaning: office; refers to domestic agencies)

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This present study aimed to address the range of English-Arabic bilingual behavior used among Kuwait's population, with focus on Kuwaiti-Migrant dyadic interactions. In order to explore such issues, the following research questions were used to guide the research: What kind of CS behavior manifests among migrants in Kuwait?; second, what are the principles motivating such bilingual CS behavior?; whether it is due to macro-social factors (such as displaying *Solidarity, Faith, Perspective, Power*) or a need for *intelligibility* due to competence-based gaps in the linguistic repertoire (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011); and, third, what deductions can be made about the CS behavior motivated by *intelligibility*?

6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Seeing as the data collected for this study presented itself on a continuum of English-Arabic bilingual behavior, it is representative of the diversity of linguistic repertoires among Kuwait's population, and particularly among its migrants. Despite the migrants' different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds having some influence on their bilingual behavior, it was not the sole contributor to where their speech appeared on the continuum, and whether the principles behind their CS behavior was for the purpose of *intelligibility* or not. As this study previously stated, the conventional approaches of sociolinguistics that conflate linguistic behavior based on entire social, ethnic, occupational groups were replaced with the inspection of purely *individual* behavior (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1992). In other words, there were participants from Sri Lanka whose speech data appeared at two different levels of the continuum, one whose CS behavior appeared competence-based, and for the purpose of intelligibility, while the other's sole purpose of CS appeared to be more socio-functional by indexing *Solidarity*. Therefore, the speech data

was considered and analyzed on an individual basis, without making generalizations of linguistics patterns purely based on participants' backgrounds.

In response to the first and second research questions, "what kind of CS behavior manifests among migrants in Kuwait?; second, what are the principles motivating such bilingual CS behavior?," there appeared a diverse range of bilingual behavior among Kuwait's migrants, with the sole motivation behind their CS being either for the socio-functional principles of (*Solidarity, Fatih, Power, Perspective*) or for the purpose of (*intelligibility*) due to "competence-based gaps in the linguistic repertoire" (Bhatt & Bolonyia, 2011, p. 523) It was necessary to identify the CS motivations in order to reach the competence-based bilingual behavior and further analyze it in response to the final research question: "what deductions can be made about the CS behavior motivated by *intelligibility*?." The present study deduced that there are some clear patterns that point to the *intelligibility*-driven speech data being an indication of pidginization, more specifically an English pidgin. The KPE data on the continuum indicates most of the vocabulary used being in English, suggesting that it is a pidgin lexified by English, and its structure mostly being lent by GA (Kuwaiti Arabic), its second source language. However, further research is in order, with a focus of collecting KPE data specifically to confirm that it is truly emerging and being lexified by English. Despite the current dataset demonstrating patterns that support this hypothesis, such a limitation would need to be addressed in future research wherein KPE be studied at a larger scale to provide further reinforcement of the permeation English, the global language.

Nonetheless, the patterns that suggest the *intelligibility*-driven speech data being a pidgin are structural in nature and appear in the literature of previously studied English varieties such as Singapore English and its pidgin, and English-Japanese Pidgin (Platt, 1975; Goodman, 1967).

89

Such structural features include omission of copulas and reduplication of different effects such as intensification. Despite the majority of vocabulary, content words more specifically, in the KPE data being from the source language English, it was deduced that the majority of function words used by participants, in attempt to add structure to their utterances, were from Kuwaiti Arabic. The category of Kuwaiti Arabic function words used comprised of conjunctions and prepositions as well as discourse particles: *"baʔdeɪn"* (and then) *"baʔad"* (also) *"bəs"* (but/only) *"jaʔni"* (like) which participants used in attempt to add structure to their utterances. On the other hand, there were also discourse particles put to use not purely for the sake of achieving intelligibility but, similar to the Singapore English discourse particle *"la,"* are used to ensure that the listener in the interaction is attending to the information provided to them (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Zentella, 1997). These discourse particles that appear in the KPE data, derived from the source language Kuwaiti Arabic, include "*sah*" (right?) and *"ha"* (what?/what was that?/is that so?).

Similar to the emerging KPE, the Arabic pidgin GPA shares the same function of acting, as a mutual form of communication between Kuwaitis and a diverse group of migrant workers and appears in the third level of this study's continuum where the bilingual behavior consists of (*Mostly Arabic*). Its occurrence on the continuum allowed for direct comparison between the data that represented it and the data indicative of KPE. Other than the lexifier language being Gulf Arabic, which was not the case in KPE, there was also a difference in bilingual behavior in terms of the structural features of *copula use* and *reduplication*. On one hand, in GPA, the word "*fi,"* originally classified as an Arabic preposition, is used in the place of a copula in multiple contexts of: *existential use, attributive sentences, as a verbal predication marker, and with the use of negation ("the is no)*. On the other hand, in KPE, in alignment with the patterns of other English pidgins, omits the copula completely, and does not even use alternate morphemes to mark it.

Moreover, with regards to the feature of *reduplication*, Smart (1990) noted that it occurs with the use of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs of Gulf Arabic, but also of English (such as "same same"). However, the KPE data on this study's continuum only indicates the use of *reduplication and triplication* with English words, further reinforcing that KPE is lexified by English. In comparing to GPA and finding differences in structural features, the emergence KPE as a separate pidgin is further supported.

Furthermore, the occurrence of some of these patterns can also lead back to the native languages of the migrants involved. For one, the feature of reduplication is prominent in a number of varieties of the Philippines (Pangasinan, Limos Kalinga, and Tausug variety) which can explain its manifestation in KPE, since the Philippines is one of the most common national backgrounds of Kuwait's migrants. Similarly, there are some function words in the KPE data such as the adverb *"only"* used by Sri Lankan participants but as a discourse particle with the pragmatic function applying focus. The previous literature on non-standard English varieties investigated the use of discourse particle *"only"* as a focus marker specifically in a clause-final position in the speech of Indian English users (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). The occurrence of this particle in this present study's dataset, although similar in function, does not occur in the same position and acts as a focus marker for what follows it rather than what precedes it, and nor is it used by Indian users specifically. Nonetheless, this particle is another indication of the influence of migrants' L1s on their use of KPE.

6.2 IMPLICATIONS

Similar to the collection of previous studies related to emerging pidgins and other language varieties, this study will benefit the area of *sociolinguistic variation and change* by

contributing as a source of data (Rickford & McWhorter, 1997). Furthermore, it will also address the sparseness of the language contact literature in Kuwait and the Arab Gulf, which Smart (1990) refers to as "a breeding ground for pidginization" (p.84) due to heightened needs for communication between Gulfi locals and the diverse, prominent community of migrants.

Unlike, the study of GPA (Smart,1990; Bakir, 2014; Naes, 2008), this current study also took the initiative of addressing the global influence of English that has also permeated the Arab Gulf, and those who decide to migrate to that region. Although the English is used to different extents, hence the continuum of bilingual behavior, it is, nonetheless, present in the speech of individuals of various linguistic repertoires, whether to index a sense of power, superiority, or cosmopolitanism, or to in attempt to convey a message intelligibly. This continuum of English use outlined in this paper provides insight on the way English use has permeated the daily interactions of communities in the Arab Gulf with their local implementations. Future research in this field can pursue further investigation and description of the range of English use and integration in daily local interactions in the context of the Arab Gulf.

Countries of the *Expanding Circle* are said to merely rely on external norms of English and not internal norms like countries of the *Inner Circle* (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). Taking into account the way English is integrated to the curriculums of educational institutions and its perpetuation in Kuwait's society through the media's transmission of western popular culture, it is truly the external norms of English, the native standardized norms, that are used and relied upon. However, it seems that internal norms are also manifesting in countries of the Arab Gulf, which may not necessarily be considered norms that fit into models such as Kachru's (1988), but integrate English for different purposes and to varying extents nevertheless.

By further confirmation of this incipient KPE being lexified by English, as well as other English varieties or norms, Kuwait and other Arab Gulf countries can get closer to entering the arena of World Englishes. Even given that varieties of English in the Arab Gulf are examined in future investigations, they may not appropriately fit into Kachru's (1988) model considering that the spread of English is not tied to political or historical interpretations. As Bruthiaux (2003) later asserted, models of English use that illustrated more gradation and employed a more synchronic approach are needed (as cited in Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). In response, further research on the integration and use of English in contexts other than the ones on Kachru's (1988) model is very in order.

6.3 FURTHER RESEARCH

In order to elaborate on this present study with regards to the nature of this incipient KPE in question, there needs to be a larger dataset that is purely dedicated to it, now that a blueprint has been laid out in terms of what socio-functional motivations and structural features distinguish it from other varieties appearing in the same social context. This can only be done if the participants targeted for data collection are those who produce KPE, and this can be difficult to determine if they are new to the study as opposed to those who have already contributed to the KPE data in this current study. Basing participant selection on ethnic, linguistic, or even educational background will not necessarily determine that KPE will manifest in their speech. Future research may require the luxury of time and recurring access to participants who, in initial stages of data collection, demonstrate patterns of KPE manifesting in their speech. To address one of the limitations of this study, as opposed to gathering recordings that do not exceed one hour, future data collection should aim for recordings to span for a longer period of time, for up

to two hours long, or more frequent meetings to gather data would be in order. The dataset of this current study rendered that participants in households (housemaids) were more accessible than those in the context of other workplaces such as local and non-local businesses, which meant the recordings were likely to be longer than a sales transaction for instance. Although limiting the types of migrant workers would diminish the element of diversity to future investigations, it would provide more of a focus, wherein the data collection can encompass the speech of migrants who happened to be domestic workers particularly.

The current work was conducted as a pilot study exploring the emergence of an incipient English pidgin in Kuwait. It focused on the bilingual behavior of human subjects and was guided by empirical results extracted from what can be regarded as a small spoken corpus of 32 recordings consisting of around 40,000 words. A qualitative assessment of the evidence contained in the corpus reflected the different linguistic patterns analyzed and discussed above. Future definitive work can be based on a much larger and carefully-compiled corpus achieving the important factors of balance and representativeness of the corpus (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono 2006). This balance would include equal distribution of the variables *age*, *gender*, *mother tongue*, *nationality*, *educational background*, etc. and representativeness is comprising a full range of variables of the language variety in question. This would allow for sound sampling and assessment of the linguistic features at hand.

6.4 LIMITATIONS

It is particularly suggested that the factor of balance is achieved in future research because there were some limitations in that regard in this current study, with a clear gender disparity among participants of more females than males. Such a disparity is somewhat reflective

of the domestic workers' demographics in Kuwait however, if that is the case in future research, then those type of participants need to be made the focus. To reiterate the limitations mentioned in previous sections of this chapter, it would be of benefit that future research gathers a larger dataset that is consistently representative of the variety is specifically under investigation which would mean the speech data would have a similar level of English-Arabic Alternation among the participants. Due to the difficulty of finding the participants who demonstrate the patterns indicative of a variety such as KPE, which occurs in specific contexts and purposes, future researchers are advised to extend recording times or the time of data collection in general with the participants available.

REFERENCES

Arends, J., Muysken, P., & Smith, N. (Eds.). (1994). *Pidgins and creoles: An introduction* (Vol. 15). John Benjamins Publishing.

Avram, A. (2014). Immigrant workers and language formation: Gulf Pidgin Arabic. *Lengua y migración*, 6(2), 7-40.

Baker, P., & Mühlhäusler, P. (1990). From business to pidgin. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, *1*(1), 87-115.

Bakir, M. J. (2010). Notes on the verbal system of Gulf Pidgin Arabic. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 25(2). 201-228.

Barro, R. J., & Lee, J. W. (2013). A new data set of educational attainment in the world, 1950–2010. *Journal of development economics*, *104*, 184-198.

Bakker, P. (2003). The absence of reduplication in Pidgins. In Kouwenberg, S. (ed.), Twice as meaningful. Reduplication in pidgins, creoles and other contact languages, 37-46. London: Battlebridge.

Besnier, N. (2004). Consumption and cosmopolitanism: Practicing modernity at the second-hand marketplace in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 7-45.

Bhatt, R. M. (2001). World Englishes. *Annual review of anthropology*, *30*(1), 527-550.

Bhatt, R. M., & Bolonyai, A. (2011). Code-switching and the optimal grammar of bilingual language use. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, *14*(4), 522-546.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, *16*(6), 645-668.

Broch, I., & Jahr, E. H. (1984). Russenorsk: A new look at the Russo-Norwegian pidgin in northern Norway. *Scandinavian language contacts*, *21*, 65.

Bruthiaux, P. (2003). Squaring the circles: Issues in modeling English worldwide. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *13*(2), 159-178.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies*, *7*(4-5), 585-614.

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DeCamp, D. (1971). Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, *347*, 370.

Ferreirinho, N. (1993). *Selected topics in the grammar of Limos Kalinga, the Philippines* (No. 109). Pacific Linguistics.

Ferguson, C. (1971). Absence of copula and the notion of simplicity: A Study of normal speech, baby talk, foreigner talk, and pidgins. In Dell Hymes (Ed.), *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* (pp.141-150). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fernandez, B. (2014). *Essential yet invisible: migrant domestic workers in the GCC*.

Fox, J. A. (1983). Simplified input and negotiation in Russenorsk. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, 94-108.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures* (Vol. 5019). Basic books.

Giles, H., Coupland, J., & Coupland, N. (1991). *Contexts of accommodation: Developments in applied sociolinguistics*. Cambridge University Press.

Goodman, J. S. (1967). The development of a dialect of English-Japanese pidgin. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 43-55.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). Discourse strategies (Vol. 1). Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J., & Berenz, N. (1993). Transcribing conversational exchanges. *Talking data:*

Transcription and coding in discourse research, *91122*.

Hall, K., & Nilep, C. (2015). Code switching, identity, and globalization.

Heller, M. (1992). The politics of codeswitching and language choice. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, *13*(1-2), 123-142.

Hymes, D. (1971). *Pidginization and creolization of languages: Proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West Indies Mona, Jamaica, April 1968*. Cambridge University Press.

Jacob, E. (1987). Qualitative research traditions: A review. *Review of educational research*, *57*(1), 1-50.

Jacquemet, M. (2005). Transidiomatic practices: Language and power in the age of globalization. *Language & Communication*, *25*(3), 257-277.

Jacquemet, M. (2016). Language in the Age of Globalization. In *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 329-347). Taylor and Francis.

Kachru, B. B. (1985). The bilinguals' creativity. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *6*, 20-33.

Kachru, B. B. (1988). The sacred cows of English. *English Today*, *16*(4), 3-8.

Kachru, B. B. (1992). World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources. *Language teaching*, *25*(1), 1-14.

Kachru, B. B. (2006). The English language in the outer circle. *World Englishes*, *3*, 241-255.

Kapiszewski, A. (2001). *Nationals and expatriates: population and labour dilemmas of the Gulf Cooperation Council States*. ISBS.

Kouwenberg, S. (Ed.). (2003). *Twice as meaningful: Reduplication in pidgins, creoles and other contact languages*(No. 8). Battlebridge Publications.

Longva, Anh Nga (1994): Kuwait and its migrant workers. Exclusion and dominance in a plural society. Dissertation for the Dr. Polit. Degree. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Matthews P.H., (1974), Morphology. An Introduction to the Theory of Word-Structure, Cambridge.

McArthur, T. (1992). Models of English. *English Today*, *8*(4), 12-21.

McEnery, T., Xiao, R., & Tono, Y. (2006). *Corpus-based language studies: An advanced resource book*. Taylor & Francis.

Mesthrie, R., & Bhatt, R. M. (2008). World Englishes: The study of new linguistic varieties (Vol. 276). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nadarajan, S. (2006). A Crosslinguistic study of Reduplication. *The Arizona Working Papers in Second Language Acquisition and Teaching*, *13*, 39-53.

Næss, U. G. (2008). *"Gulf Pidgin Arabic": Individual strategies or a structured variety?* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Oslo).

Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications, .(1975). No. 14, A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages. West African Pidgin English, pp. 345-360.

Okamura T., (1996). Reduplication In English, [in:] English Review, St. Andrew's University, 1-24.

Platt, J. T. (1975). The Singapore English speech continuum and its basilect'Singlish'as a'creoloid'. *Anthropological linguistics*, 363-374.

Rickford, J. R., & McWhorter, J. (1997). *Language contact and language generation: Pidgins and creoles* (pp. 238-256). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Roper, S. D., & Barria, L. A. (2014). Understanding variations in Gulf migration and labor practices. *Middle East Law and Governance*, *6*(1), 32-52.

Rubino, C. (2005). Reduplication: Form, function and distribution. *Studies on reduplication*, 11-29.

Saldana, J. (2009). An introduction to codes and coding. *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*, *3*.

Sebba, M. (1997). *Contact languages: Pidgins and creoles*. Macmillan.

Shah, N. M., & Al-Qudsi, S. S. (1989). The changing characteristics of migrant workers in Kuwait. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *21*(1), 31-55.

Shah, N. M. (2007, October). Migration to Kuwait: trends, patterns and policies. In *Conference on Migration and Refugee Movements in the Middle East and North Africa. The American University in Cairo, Egypt*.

Siegel, J. (1987). *Language contact in a plantation environment: A sociolinguistic history of Fiji* (Vol. 5). Cambridge University Press.

Smart, J. R. (1990). Pidginization in Gulf Arabic: A first report. *Anthropological linguistics*, 83-119.

Tsui, A. B., & Tollefson, J. W. (Eds.). (2017). *Language policy, culture, and identity in Asian contexts*. Routledge.

Wang, S. P. (2005). Corpus-based approaches and discourse analysis in relation to reduplication and repetition. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *37*(4), 505-540.

West African Pidgin English. (1975). *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications,* (14), 345-360

World Factbook. (2018). Kuwait [map] Retrieved from

https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ku.html

Yanagihara, Y. (2007). A study of bilingual education in the Philippines: Difference in pupils' degree of understanding between learning mathematics in Cebuano and English. *The Keiai journal of international studies*, (19), 175-201.

Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Wiley-Blackwell.

---

[1] The Statistics Portal: https://www.statista.com/statistics/438843/average-age-of-the-population-in-kuwait/ Retrieved 09/18/2017.
[2] The Public Authority for Civil Information: https://www.paci.gov.kw/stat/SubCategory.aspx?ID=1 Retrieved 09/18/2017.