An analysis of Arabic loanwords in spoken Central Kurdish

with a focus on social and attitudinal factors

Mahsn O. A. MAJIDY

Doctor of Philosophy

University of York

Language and Linguistic Science

September 2016

Abstract

This thesis explores the nature of Arabic lexical borrowing in Central Kurdish (CK) from a grammatical, sociolinguistic and attitudinal perspective.

The long contact between Arabic and CK has seen various degrees of intensity, reflecting the political situation, the relationships between Kurds and their Arab neighbours, and the policies of the superpowers that ruled that part of the world. Therefore, the contact situation is complex, not only because of the length of contact between the two languages, but also the nature of recent history and the relationship between the Kurds and former Iraqi governments, who adopted Arabic as the official language.

The thesis draws on the theoretical literature on language contact and incorporates an analysis of linguistic, sociolinguistic and attitudinal factors. Each chapter presents a detailed analysis of a specific issue. The thesis analyses the extent of loanwords in the speech of educated CK speakers in media discourse, and the effect of social factors on the use of loanwords and their assimilation. Furthermore, this work investigates and analyses attitudes and awareness of speakers regarding the use of Arabic loanwords in CK, and how this is affected by five social factors.

The results of the research suggest that social factors have shaped the use of loanwords. For example, women tend to use more assimilated loanwords than men, while men use pure loanwords more frequently. Similarly, the more assimilated loanwords have undergone greater semantic changes. In addition, the factor of education shows a higher effect on attitudes to loanwords than the factors of language skills, religion, and gender, which show different degrees of effect.

The results of this study raise other questions in relation to the sociolinguistic context of CK and further studies of contact. From a theoretical perspective, this study contributes to the notion of an integrated approach to the study of language contact as well as social, historical-political correlations in the analysis of any contact situation.

Table of Contents

Abstract 2

Table of Contents 3

List of tables 9

List of maps and pictures 11

List of Figures 12

Acknowledgments 14

Note on the transcription and transliterations 15

Author's declaration 16

1. General introduction 17

1.1 Introduction to the study 17
- **1.1.1 Objectives and scope of the study** 18
- **1.1.2 The structure of this thesis** 19
- **1.1.3 Research questions** 20

1.2. Introduction to historical and sociolinguistic background 21
- **1.2.1 The Kurds and Kurdistan** 21
  - **1.2.1.1 Kurds within the current nation states** 23
  - **1.2.1.2 Kurdistan: geography and history** 24
  - **1.2.1.3 Kurdistan after the arrival of Islam** 25
  - **1.2.1.4 The division of Kurdistan** 26
- **1.2.2 The Kurdish language** 27
  - **1.2.2.1 Writing in Kurdish and script** 32
  - **1.2.2.2 Kurdish literary texts** 34
  - **1.2.2.3 Kurdish contact with Arabic** 34
  - **1.2.2.4 Status of CK in Kurdistan** 36
  - **1.2.2.5 Status of Arabic in Kurdistan** 37
  - **1.2.2.6 Language status in Iraqi law** 38
  - **1.2.2.7 Standardisation and purism** 40
  - **1.2.2.8 Purism** 42
  - **1.2.2.9 Kurdish standardisation** 44
- **1.2.3. Overview of the Arabic language** 45
  - **1.2.3.1 Diglossia and levels of Arabic** 45
  - **1.2.3.2 Levels of Arabic** 46
  - **1.2.3.3 The standard and Arabic varieties in Iraq** 47
  - **1.2.3.4 Which variety influenced Kurdish in Iraq?** 49
  - **1.2.3.5 Source model of the loanwords** 49

1.3 Contact and lexical borrowing 51
- **1.3.1 Overview** 51
- **1.3.2 Borrowing** 56
  - **1.3.2.1 Borrowing and borrowability** 58
  - **1.3.2.2 Direct and indirect borrowing** 59
- **1.3.3 Definition of a loanword** 60

1.3.4 Code-switching 62
1.3.5 Relevant work on Kurdish 65

1.4 General methodology 67
1.4.1 The identification of loanwords 67
1.4.2 The first set of data 68
1.4.3 The second set of data 69
1.4.4 Contextualisation 70
1.4.5 The sources of data 70
1.4.6 The speakers and respondents 72

2. Structural analysis of loanwords 73

2.1 Introduction 73
2.1.1 Questions and Objectives 73
2.1.2 Methodology 74
2.1.3 An overview of works on lexical borrowing 76

2.2 The classification of loanwords 79
2.2.1 An introduction 79
2.2.1.1 The path of Arabic loanwords 80
2.2.2 Classification of Arabic loanwords 84
2.2.2.1 Pure loanwords **85**
2.2.2.2 Fused compounds **87**
2.2.2.3 Analysed compounds **88**
2.2.2.4 Truncated loanwords **89**
2.2.2.5 Loan-blends or hybrids **90**
2.2.2.6 Pseudo-loans **91**
2.2.3 Summary 93

2.3 The phonological treatment of loanwords 95
2.3.1 An introduction 95
2.3.2 The process of loanword assimilation 97
2.3.2.1 Consonant changes **98**
2.3.2.1.1 Change in the place of articulation **99**
2.3.2.1.2 Change in the manner of articulation **102**
2.3.2.2 Vowel changes **104**
2.3.3 Summary 108

2.4 The morphological treatment of loanwords 111
2.4.1 Introduction 111
2.4.2 An overview of Arabic and Kurdish morphology 112
2.4.2.1 Kurdish morphology **113**
2.4.2.2 Arabic morphology **117**
2.4.2.3 Comparison between the two languages **120**
2.4.3 The assimilation process 121
2.4.3.1 The morphological form **122**
2.4.3.1.1 Derivational forms **122**
2.4.4 Morphological assimilation 132
2.4.4.1 Derivational models **133**
2.4.5 Summary 139

2.5 General conclusion 141

3. The effect of social factors on the use of loanwords **144**

3.1 Introduction **144**
3.1.1 The objectives of the chapter 145
3.1.2 Research questions 146
3.1.3 Hypothesis 146
3.1.4 An overview of language and gender 147
3.1.4.1 Women in Kurdish society **147**
3.1.4.2 Approaches to language and gender studies **153**
3.1.4.3 Variation and social meaning **154**
3.1.4.4 Variation in the use of loanwords **156**
3.1.5 Methodology 157
3.1.5.1 The speakers **157**
3.1.5.2 The data sources and selection **159**
3.1.5.3 Data Analysis **161**
3.1.5.4 Description of the data **162**

3.2 Frequencies and types of loanwords **164**
3.2.2 Types of loanwords 164
3.2.2.1 Pure loanwords **165**
3.2.2.2 Totally assimilated loanwords **167**
3.2.2.3 Hybrid compounds (blends) **168**
3.2.2.4 Pseudo-loanwords **170**
3.2.3 Statistical test 172
3.2.4 Summary 179

3.3 The typology of loanwords **182**
3.3.1 Overall frequencies of loanword categories 182
3.3.1.1 Frequency and hierarchy of types **182**
3.3.2 Variations in the use of parts of speech 184
3.3.2.1 Loan-verbs **185**
3.3.3 Loan-nouns 199
3.3.3.1 Verbal nouns **199**
3.3.3.2 Simple nouns **202**
3.3.3.3 Pluralisation **202**
3.3.3.4 Loan-nouns vs. loan-verbs **204**
3.3.4 Adjectives **205**
3.3.5 Adverbs 207
3.3.6 Prepositions 208
3.3.7 Others 208

3.4 Discussion **209**
3.4.1 Pure vs. assimilated loanwords 210
3.4.2 Phonological assimilation 213
3.4.3 Loan-verbs 214
3.4.3.1 Verbs as identity codifiers **216**
3.4.4 Loan-nouns 217
3.4.5 Other parts of speech 218

3.4.6 Indexing identity 219
3.4.7 Identity and loanwords usage 220
3.4.8 Summary and conclusion 222

4.Awareness of and attitudes towards loanwords **224**

4.1 Introduction **224**
4.1.1 Attitudes to loanwords 225
4.1.2 The research questions 229
4.1.3 Approaches to the study of language attitudes 229
4.1.4 Hypotheses 232
4.1.5 Methodology 234
4.1.6 Data description and analysis 236
4.1.7 Statistical analysis according to the variables 237
4.1.7.1 Gender **237**
4.1.7.2 Education Level **237**
4.1.7.3 Language skills **238**
4.1.7.4 Stage of starting learning Arabic **238**
4.1.7.5 Religion **239**

4.2 The effect of the socio-demographic factors on attitudes **240**

4.2.1 Reporting the results of statistical test **241**
4.2.2 Gender **245**
4.2.3 Education **248**
4.2.4 Language skills **250**
4.2.5 Stage of starting learning Arabic **251**
4.2.6 Religion **253**

4.3 The effect of the social demographic factors on awareness **255**

Language awareness **255**
4.3.1 Introduction of data set 256
4.3.1.1 Data structure **256**
4.3.2 Statistical analysis 257
4.3.2.1 Results of the analysis **258**
4.3.3 Statistical description of the results 258
4.3.3.1 Gender **259**
4.3.3.2 Education **261**
4.3.3.3 Language skills **263**
4.3.3.4 Stage of starting learning Arabic **264**
4.3.3.5 Religion **265**

4.4 The association between attitudes and awareness **268**
4.4.1 Description of the Awareness test 269
4.4.2 Statistical description of the results 270

4.5 Discussion **273**
4.5.1 Attitudes 275
4.5.2 Awareness 284
4.5.3 Association between Attitudes and Awareness 290

4.6 Summary and conclusions **291**

5. Conclusion **295**

5.1 Introduction **295**
5.2 Main research dimensions 295
5.2.1 The structure of loanwords **296**
5.2.2 Social factors **297**
5.2.3 Awareness and attitudes **298**

5.3 Further research **300**

Appendices **303**

Chapter 3: Appendix 3.2.3 **303**
3.2.3 -1 All loanwords **303**
3.2.3-2 All pure loanwords **303**
3.2.3-3 All assimilated loanwords **303**
3.2.3-4 All pseudo-loanwords **304**
3.2.3-5a Imported (pure loanwords) **304**
3.2.3-5b Partial substitution loanwords **304**
3.2.3-5c Truncated loanwords **305**
3.2.3-5d Tautological loanwords **305**
3.2.3-5e Tottaly assimilated loanwords **305**
3.2.3-5f Semantic pseudo-loanwords **306**
3.2.3-5g Lexical pseudo-loanwords **306**
3.2.3-5h Pure loanwords and age **306**

Chapter 4 **307**
Appendix 4.1.7: Attitudinal and Awareness Questionnaire 307
1. The Kurdish version 307
2. The English translation 312

Appendix 4.2.1 Statistical Tests **317**
A. Reliability **317**
B. Rotated Component Matrix **317**
C. Pearson's correlations: demographic variables and attitude variables **318**
D. Scree plot for attitudinal factors **318**
E. Mean composite of age **319**
4.2.2. Gender and Attitudes **319**
4.2.3 Education and attitudes **319**
4.2.4 Language skills and attitudes **320**
4.2.5 Stage of starting learning Arabic and attitudes **321**
4.2.6 Religion and attitudes **321**

Results of awareness analysis **322**
Appendix 4.3.2.1 322
A. Reliability **322**
B. Rotated Componant Matrix **322**
C. Scree plot **323**
4.3.3.1 Awareness and gender **323**
4.3.3.2 Awareness and education **323**
4.3.3.3 Awareness and language skills **325**

ANOVA: Awareness and other language **325**
4.3.3.4 Awareness and stage of starting learning Arabic **325**
4.3.3.5 Awareness and Religion **326**
4.4.1 Appendix association between Attitudes and Awareness 327
A. Results of the preliminary test on attitudes **327**
B. The answers to Awareness questions **328**
C. Number of 'yes' answers to Awareness questions **329**
D. Exploring SCORE1_awareness **329**
E. Normality test **329**

List of abbreviations **330**

References **331**

List of tables

Chapter 1

Table 1.1: Prominent classification of Kurdish varieties since 16th century 31
Table 1.2: Different levels of Arabic 47

Chapter 2

Table 2.1: Summary of Haugen (1950:212) classification 84
Table 2.2: Central Kurdish consonants 98
Table 2.3: Table 2.3: Standard Arabic consonants 99
Table 2.4: Alternation of consonants 104
Table 2.5: Arabic verb conjugation (person, gender, aspect and number) 119

Chapter 3

Table 3.1: Rate and frequencies of words and loanwords per minute 163
Table 3.2: The rates of loanwords in the speech of men and women 165
Table 3.3: The differences in the ranking of pseudo-loans 171
Table 3.4: The rate and hierarchy of parts of speech in data 183
Table 3.5: The rate and of borrowed parts of speech in both groups 183
Table 3.6: The use of *mā-dāma*[A] 'as long as it continues.' 191
Table 3.7: Frequency of LVs and percentage of their separation 193
Table 3.8: The use of plurals according to gender of speakers 204
Table 3.9: The use of preposition *ḥattā* 208
Table 3.10: Mean rank of men and women's use of loanword subsets 209

Chapter 4

Table 4.1: Gender distribution 237
Table 4.2: Education level 238
Table 4.3: Language skills 238
Table 4.4: Stage of starting learning Arabic 238
Table 4.5: Importance of religion 239
Table 4.6: Mean composite score for age factor 242
Table 4.7: Attitude mean composite score and gender 245
Table 4.8: Attitudes and gender 246
Table 4.9: Descriptive statistics for statements 12 and 27 247
Table 4.10: Attitudes and education 250
Table 4.11: Attitudes and language skills 251
Table 4.12: Attitudes and stage of learning Arabic 252
Table 4.13: Attitudes and religion 254
Table 4.14: Awareness and gender 260
Table 4.15: Awareness of pure loanwords 261
Table 4.16.: Awareness of pseudo-loanwords 261
Table 4.17: Awareness and education 263
Table 4.18.: Awareness and language skills 264

Table 4.19.: Awareness and stage of learning Arabic 265
Table 4.20 Awareness and religion 267
Table 4.21: Association between awareness and attitudes regarding S10 271
Table 4.22: Association between awareness and attitudes regarding S20 271
Table 4.23: Association between awareness and attitudes regarding S27 272
Table 4.24: Association between social factors and attitudes to loanwords 273
Table 4.25: Association between social factors and awareness of types of loanwords 274

List of maps and pictures

Map 1.1: Iraqi Kurdistan Region 19
Map 1.2: Kurdistan in1564, according to Bitlîsî’s 25
Map 1.3: The distribution of Kurdish varieties 32
Map 1.4 Distribution of languages in Iraq 48

Picture 1.1: Kurdistan National flag 38

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1

Figure 1.1 Ancient Kurdish Alphabet 33

CHAPTER 3

Figure 3.1: Mean rank of all loanwords 174

Figure 3.2: Mean rank of all pure (unassimilated) loanwords 174

Figure 3.3: Mean rank of all-assimilated loanwords 175

Figure 3.4: Mean rank of all-pseudo-loanwords 175

Figure 3.5a: Mean rank of all pure (importation) loanwords 176

Figure 3.5b: Mean rank of partial-substitution loanwords 176

Figure 3.5c: Mean rank of truncated loanwords 177

Figure 3.5d: Mean rank of tautological loan-blends 177

Figure 3.5e: Mean rank of totally assimilated loanwords 178

Figure 3.5f: Mean rank of semantic pseudo-loans 178

Figure 3.5g: Mean rank of lexical-pseudo-loans 178

CHAPTER 4

Figure 4.1: Gender effect on Factor 3 246

Figure 4.2: Gender effect on Factor 5 246

Figure 4.3: Education effect on Factor 3 248

Figure 4.4: Education effect on Factor 6 249

Figure 4.5: Education effect on Factor 7 249

Figure 4.6: Language skills effect on Factor 6 250

Figure 4.7: Language skills effect on Factor 7 251

Figure 4.8: Stage of learning Arabic effect on Factor 6 252

Figure 4.9: Effect of religion on Factor 3 253

Figure 4.10: Effect of religion on Factor 4 254

Figure 4.11: Effect of gender on Factor 3 259

Figure 4.12: Effect of gender on Factor 4 260

Figure 4.13: Effect of education on Factor 1 262

Figure 4.14: Effect of education on Factor 2 262

Figure 4.15: Effect of language skills on Factor 1 263

Figure 4.16: Effect of stage of starting Arabic on Factor 1 264

Figure 4.17: Effect of stage of starting Arabic on Factor 2 265

Figure 4.18: Effect of religion on Factor 3 266

Figure 4.19: Effect of religion on Factor 5 267

Acknowledgments

I thoroughly enjoyed my PhD, and I have met many interesting people along this eventful journey. After thanking mighty Allah for his blessing, I owe great gratitude to the following scholars, without whom this project would not have been possible:

I am in great debt to my supervisor Professor Peter Sells for supervising my PhD project from the start at SOAS, University of London, where I commenced my PhD research. He provided me with support through the upgrade from MPhil to PhD and guided me throughout the stages. I also owe a great deal of gratitude for his wise orientation and facilitating easy transfer of my PhD project to the University of York after he moved from SOAS to York. I also thank my second supervisor Professor Paul Kerswill for his deep thoughts, advice, generous support, insights, discussions and feedback on the content of the thesis, especially the sociolinguistic parts. I am very fortunate to have worked with two chief scholars in linguistics, very kind and responsible human beings. Certainly, this project would not have had reached this stage without their support and encouragement. However, any shortcomings in this thesis are my own and I alone am responsible.

I would, however, like to extend my gratitude to Professor Ulrich Kratz, Dr Akin Oyetade, Dr Julia Sallabank, Professor Phil Jaggar, Professor Donald Winford and Professor Reem Bassiouney, for their advice on different aspects of my research. I would also like to extend thanks to Dr Jafar Hasanpoor for the discussions over the phone and for sending me his book on loanwords and his survey on attitudes. Thanks to my colleagues and friends especially Aziz Qutbuddin, Kiyomars Amiri, Mansur Talibpur, Simone Mauri, Tracey Noya and Ktriina Ranne for friendship and sharing stories of the PhD drama.

Thanks to the respondents in Hewlêr, who participated in the attitudinal survey. I appreciate the support of Professors Dildar Ghafur and Hakeem Ahmad who made it possible for me to carry out most of the survey within Salahaddin University.

I would also like to thank Ms Pamela Dockins from the Voice of America, who assisted in obtaining useful data. I appreciate the support of SOAS library staff members and the British Library staff whose help in providing resources kept the research on track.

Last but not least, very special thanks go out to my family, for their encouragements and unflinching support during this long and rewarding PhD journey.

Note on the transcription and transliterations

The transliteration of the loanwords in the phonology section is [phonetic] and the Arabic models are presented as /phonemic/.

The rest of the data is transliterated throughout, unless it is necessary otherwise. To avoid confusion, I used the symbol (*š*) for the letter (ش) in both language as the Kurdish symbol for the letter (*ş*) resembles emphatic Arabic (*ṣ*) ص

Arabic transliteration symbols (adapted from Brill 2010):

عربي	Tr	IPA	عربي	Tr	IPA	عربي	Tr	IPA
ا	*ā*	a:	ط	*ṭ*	tˁ	ى	*ā*	a:
ب	*B*	b	ظ	*ẓ*	ðˁ	ي	*ī*	i:
ت	*t*	t	ع	ʿ	ʕ	و	*ū*	u:
ث	*ṯ*	θ	غ	*ġ*	ɣ	◌َ	*a*	a
ج	*ǧ*	dʒ	ف	*f*	f	◌ِ	*i*	i
ح	*ḥ*	ħ	ق	*q*	q	◌ُ	*u*	u
خ	*ẖ*	x	ك	*k*	k	ـَيْ	*ai*	aj
د	*d*	d	ل	*l*	l	ـَوْ	*au*	au
ذ	*ḏ*	ð	م	*m*	m	ـِيـ	*īy*	ij
ر	*r*	r	ن	*n*	n	ـُو	*ūw*	a:w
ز	*z*	z	هـ	*h*	h	ة	*at*	at
س	*s*	s	و	*w*	w			
ش	*š*	ʃ	ي	*y*	j			
ص	*ṣ*	sˁ	ء	ʾ	ʔ			
ض	*ḍ*	dˁ						

Kurdish transliteration symbols (adapted from Hassanpour 1992):

کوردی	Tr	IPA	کوردی	Tr	IPA	کوردی	Tr	IPA
ء	ʾ	ʔ	ع	ʿ	ʕ	ا	*a*	a
ب	*b*	b	غ	*ẍ*	x	ه	*e*	ə
پ	*p*	p	ف	*f*	f	ۆ وێ	*ő*	o
ت	*t*	t	ڤ	*v*	v	و	*u*	u
ج	*c*	dʒ	ق	*q*	q	وو	*û*	u:
چ	*ç*	tʃ	ك	*k*	k	ی یی	*î*	i
ح	*ḧ*	ħ	گ	*g*	g	ێ	*ê*	e
خ	*x*	x	ل	*l*	l	وی	*ü*	*wi*
د	*d*	d	ڵ	*ĺ*	ɫ			
ر	*r*	ɾ	م	*m*	m			
ڕ	*ř*	r	ن	*n*	n			
ز	*z*	z	و	*w*	w			
ژ	*j*	ʒ	ه	*h*	h			
س	*s*	s	ي	*y*	j			
ش	*ş*	ʃ						

Author's declaration

I hereby declare that this work is an original work and has been written entirely by me. I also declare that this work has not been presented at any other institution before for an award. All the sources have been acknowledged as references.

Aspects of research have been previously presented at conferences listed below:

Majidy, Mahsn, (2013), Kurdish male and female speakers' erratic use of loanwords. CROSSLING symposium: Language contacts at the crossroads of disciplines, 28 February-2 Mach 2013, University of East Finland, Joensuu, Finland.

Majidy, Mahsn, (2014), Social factors in variation of Arabic loanword assimilation in Kurdish. International Conference on Empirical Methods in Linguistics–EMLS 7-8 April 2014, University of Lodz, Lodz, Poland.

Majidy, Mahsn, (2014), The phonological assimilation of Arabic loanwords in Sorani Kurdish. World Congress of Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES 2014), 18-22 August 2014. Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.

Majidy, Mahsn (2015), The use and attitudes to Arabic loanwords among speakers of Kurdish. Societas Linguistica Europaea SLE 2015 - 48th annual meeting. Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), Leiden, 2-5 September 2015.

1. General introduction

1.1 Introduction to the study

Kurds are the fourth largest ethnic group in the Middle East (Gunter 2016:xiv-xv, Stokes et al 2009:380) and Kurdish is fortieth among languages in the world in terms of numbers of speakers (Hassanpour 2000:33). Spoken by stateless people ruled by foreign powers, the Kurdish language has not received the important attention it requires in terms of official standardisation. Attempts at standardisation so far have been led by intellectuals' efforts rather than governments' policies. There are gaps in knowledge about the language and its sociolinguistic dimensions. Therefore, a study on this level would contribute to filling a knowledge gap and stimulating future projects in the field.

In general, within the study of language contact, considerable research has been conducted on lexical borrowing. However, the sociolinguistic aspects of contact have been paid less attention. Therefore, this study contributes to knowledge in the field by investigating the use of Arabic loanwords in spoken media discourse in Central Kurdish[1] (CK henceforth). This work explores the effect of the socio-cultural and demographic factors on the contact and the use of Arabic loanwords in CK.

This study shows that investigation into language contact in the Kurdistan Region[2] needs to embrace aspects of historical and political perspectives, especially in reference to contact with Arabic. The particular context of the Kurdistan Region makes understanding any linguistic phenomena, such as lexical borrowing, carry strong implications for language standardisation and language planning. However, such implications have not been tackled at an official level in the region despite more than two decades of self-rule. Therefore, the study of all aspects of language, especially standardisation and all interrelated matters, are most significant in order for language developments to keep pace with the aspirations of the people. This study uncovers the extent of Arabic influence on Kurdish at a lexical level through diachronic and synchronic investigation into Arabic loanwords in Kurdish as both are closely linked with and equally influential in this particular contact situation.

[1] Is also referred to as "Sorani Kurdish", see table 1.1.

[2] Kurdistan Region is the official name of the 49% of southern part of Kurdistan, which has been part of the state of Iraq since World War One. The Iraqi 2005 Constitution refers to it as "Kurdistan Region". The former Iraqi governments used to refer to it as the north region or "the Autonomous Region" after 1970. However, the majority of Kurds insist on calling it "Southern [part of greater] Kurdistan".

It starts by investigating the linguistic implications of Arabic influence, and how social factors, especially gender, affect the extent of the use of Arabic elements in Kurdish. It concludes with an investigation of the association of social factors with awareness of and attitudes to Arabic influence on Kurdish. The latter investigation is of great importance en route to standardisation of Kurdish, as loanwords are considered an issue in standardisation. This is because purification has been considered as part of standardisation in Kurdish since the start of the (unofficial) standardisation (Abdulla 1980:209-218).

This research is conducted under the principle that the outcome of contact situations and language change is primarily influenced by social factors and that social factors are the main factors in contact-induced language change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:212) that include loanwords and code-switching as well. It also considers the notion that the use of a certain feature can be attributed to the speakers' need to emphasize their distinctiveness (Myers-Scotton 2006: 131).

1.1.1 Objectives and scope of the study

The main objective of this thesis is to investigate, explain and analyse Arabic loanwords in spoken CK within the geographical boundaries of Hewlêr and Slêmanî, Map 1.1. Kurdish in this work, therefore, refers to CK unless otherwise specified. As the majority of previous work on contact has been through linguistic investigation, this work goes beyond grammatical and phonological domains and additionally tests the extent of the effect of social factors upon the use of loanwords within the framework of sociolinguistic and variationist perspectives. Furthermore, it tests speakers' attitudes towards and awareness of Arabic loanwords, which is an area of great importance to language planning, purism and standardisation.

The thesis has two key aims. Firstly, it aims to present instances of the presence of Arabic loanwords in spoken Kurdish in order to establish the existence of these phenomena and to investigate the types of loanwords as well as the extent of their phonological and morphological assimilation into Kurdish. Secondly, it considers sociolinguistic perspective in order to examine variation in the use of loanwords by looking into gender-based differences in the use of loanwords in the speech of educated CK speakers in media discourse. For the analysis, the research uses two sets of data. For the analysis of loanwords, it uses various live talk-shows from the main Kurdish broadcasting services. To understand attitudes and awareness, data is obtained through a questionnaire.

Map 1.1: Iraqi Kurdistan Region and the circled area shows the source of the data[3]

1.1.2 The structure of this thesis

This thesis is organised in a particular way to cover three dimensions of the study of loanwords. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the study and a general theoretical basis of the thesis. It includes a historical background to Kurdish and Arabic and explores the history of contact between the two languages. This is in addition to a review of relevant literature to set both historical and theoretical contexts for the study of the language contact and loanwords in particular.

Since this study involves the analysis of Arabic loanwords in CK and the effect of social factors upon their use as well as the awareness of and attitudes to loanwords, it is important to dedicate a chapter to extensive structural analysis of loanwords in order to put the sociolinguistic examination into context. Therefore, Chapter 2 is dedicated to the investigation of the form of loanwords, their classification and the phonological and morphological treatment of loanwords in Kurdish, offering a new classification of loanwords which adds pseudo-loans and excludes loan-translation. This is in addition to phonological and morphological investigations that show different degrees of assimilation and a relative association between the degree of assimilation

[3] From: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Atlas_of_Iraqi_Kurdistan

and the semantic change of loanwords. Prevalent patterns of assimilation have not been found, leading to further investigation in chapters 3 and 4 in order to explore the reasons for variations.

The main thrust of the sociolinguistic part of the study is set out in chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 investigates the effect of gender on the use of loanwords in terms of quantity and quality of the use of loanwords. The analysis is within the variationist framework and employs theories of language and gender with a focus on the difference theory that suggests men and women may use different linguistic forms and types of loanwords to mark their difference and identity. Chapter 4 investigates the awareness of and attitudes towards Arabic loanwords, which show age, education, knowledge of other languages and gender as major factors in forming attitudes to loanwords. The final chapter draws conclusion from the results of the study and suggests areas for further research and investigation beyond the scope of the thesis.

1.1.3 Research questions

The scope of the research is broader than a traditional investigation into the adaptation of loanwords that has been a prevalent trend in the study of loanwords. The research examines the extent to which Arabic loanwords are used and considers the effect of social factors upon the use of Arabic loanwords. It also explores the extent of the presence and the assimilation of the loanwords in Kurdish as well as the association between social factors and loanwords.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 seek answers to questions about the scope of loanword presence in Kurdish. Chapter 2 seeks answers to what the types of loanwords are and the extent of their assimilation. The thesis then addresses the extent of loanwords’ presence in CK and the association between social factors and loanwords in the speech of educated CK speakers in media and political discourse, given that contact is not a purely linguistic phenomenon, but is a consequence of social and cultural interfaces as well, as argued by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:9-11). The questions of the research may be summarised as follows:

1. What are the types of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish?
2. What is the extent of the phonological and morphological assimilation of the loanwords?
3. What is the extent of the social factors’ effect on the use of loanwords?
4. What is the association between socio-demographic factors and the attitudes to and awareness of Arabic loanwords?

1.2. Introduction to historical and sociolinguistic background

Sociolinguistics, history and the historic context of the contact determines the nature of the outcome of language contact (Thomason and Kaufman 1998:35, Weinreich 1953:3). Therefore, this introductory chapter starts with a historical investigation into the background of the Kurds, their history and language before reviewing relevant literature on contact.

1.2.1 The Kurds and Kurdistan

Edmonds (1971:87) offers a simple definition of Kurds according to which "Kurd" refers to the people living in the Zagros and Taurus mountainous areas whose land is known as Kurdistan i.e. the land of the Kurds. Furthermore, the term "Kurd" has been linked to the Sumerian expression for "mountain inhabitant", comprising "kur", meaning "mount or Zagros Mountain" and the suffix "-d" for identification. According to Mirwaisi (2010:135), "Kurd" was the name of the brave units in the Median empire army, while Bitlîsî (2005:32) says Kurd means "active" and "brave". Driver (1923:393) proposes an etymological link between the term "Kurd" and other terms used for the people who lived in the area, such as *Qarda, Kardakas*, *Karduchi, Cordueni, Kurdayya, Kartawaye, Guti* and *Kyrtii*. Nevertheless, Minorsky (1927:1137) offers an archaeological explanation, saying excavated Assyrian archaeological evidence shows that the term Kurd was derived from the *Kur-ti-e* Median tribes.

As for Kurdistan, the term in the political administrative context was used in 1157 by the Seljuks (O'Shea 2004:165), when the majority of the population in the Middle East were not yet addressed by their ethnic affiliation. However, Kurdish nationalists consider the *Mem-u-Zîn* epic of Xanî (1651-1707) as the foundation of Kurdish self-consciousness, self-awareness and a call for an independent Kurdistan before the era of nationalism as a political movement. Xanî portrayed his people's "resentfulness" of the Ottomans and the Safavids (Ozoglu 2012:33) and called for self-rule. This is because policies of the occupiers of Kurdistan forced the Kurds in the pre-nationalism era to view themselves as different from the occupiers and to call for self-determination.

The population of the Kurds is not accurately known; however, according to Gunter (2016:iv), they number more than 30 million. However, the Kurds claim the number to be 40 million (Rasheed 2017). Kurds argue that they are the native inhabitants of their land; therefore, there are no "beginnings" for Kurdish history (Izady 1992: 28-43). The history of the Kurds is

the outcome of internal evolution and assimilation of new peoples and ideas introduced sporadically into their land; therefore, they are the descendants of all those who ever came to settle in Kurdistan. Archaeological studies suggest links between Kurds and the Medes who ruled the Median Empire (615 B.C to 549 B.C.), which was established in Kurdistan and extended to include the land between today's Afghanistan and the Mediterranean. Kurds consider the fall of the Medes as the end of their ancient glory (Sheyholislami 2012:163).

Regarding the origins of the Kurds, Niebuhr (1847) described Kurds as being descendants of the Medes (cited in Hennerbichler 2011:64). The affiliation between the Kurds, their language and the Medians has been regarded as incontestable truth for most Kurdologists (Wahby 1964:2, Vanly 1988:48-49). Other historians argue that the Kurds are the ancestors of the Guti, Kurti, and Medes (Chahin 1996:109, Izady 1992:34). In addition, archaeological evidence suggests linguistic and genetic links between the Kurdish people and the Medes, (Minorsky 1940:152, Windfuhr 1975:469, Hennerbichler 2011:383, Izady 1994:10). However, MacKenzie (1961:69) challenges strong Kurdish connections to the Medes.

Until recent years, the Turkish State and Turkish writers considered Kurds as "mountain Turks" (Gürbüz 2016:10). The state of Iran considers Kurdish as a dialect of Persian (Sharifi 2014) and so it does not recognise the Kurds as a nation. Arab writers have linked the Kurds to Arab tribes and ironically, prominent writers have drawn mythologies around the origins of the Kurds, linking them to demons (Tabani 1966:67, Kahn 1980:2). Al-Masʿūdī[4] (2011:130) and al-ʾAṣbahānī[5] (1999:160) have suggested that the Kurds are part human and part genie. Whatever foes and friends of Kurds say, it is undisputable that following the fall of the Medes and throughout their history, Kurds have been a dynamic part of the empires that ruled the region, and during different periods in their history they also established independent principalities (Bitlîsî 2005:20, Izady 1992, Hassanpour 1992).

After the collapse of Median Empire, the Kurdish people made up parts of many other empires, such as the Achaemenid (550-331 B.C.), Parthian (247 B.C.-226 A.D.), Sassanid (224-642), the Arab Caliphate (636-1258), the Mongol and Turkmen (1258-1501) and finally the Ottoman and Persian Empires. During the 10th and 11th centuries, a number of Kurdish dynasties took control over local matters, and even established independent or quasi-independent principalities that ruled over parts of Kurdistan (McDowall 2007:32-64). However, most of the time, the Kurds

[4] An Arab historian and anthropologist, lived between 895 and 957.
[5] An Arab writer, died in 1109.

were never directly under the rule of foreign powers due to the geographical nature of the land, which afforded them a certain isolation from foreign powers. Also, being located as a buffer zone between the then two super-powers of the Near East, i.e. the Ottomans and the Safavids, helped provide the Kurds autonomous status (McDowall 2007:30). This position was more prominent in terms of gaining self-rule during the time of tension and conflict between the two powers, which led to the rise of semi-independent entities and principalities or "statelets" throughout Kurdistan (O'Shea 2004:79). At times, foreign powers claimed authority over these territories, and at different stages in history the political situation led to a separation of the Kurds through the division of Kurdistan and drawing of political/international boundaries. This division contributed to linguistic variations and formation of dialects (Izady 1992:51) to an extent that affects the level of intelligibility between the speakers of different parts of Kurdistan.

1.2.1.1 Kurds within the current nation states

Following the creation of the nation states of Iran in 1925, Iraq in 1921, Syria in 1920 and Turkey in 1923, all parts of Kurdistan were subjected to demographic changes and Kurdish populations were driven out of cities and villages. Great numbers of Kurdish towns were almost depopulated (Natali 2005:63). The Kurdish population was forced into displacement and they were replaced by non-Kurds (Mufti and Bouckaert 2004:7-8). In the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, more than 4,000 villages were destroyed by 1990, and chemical weapons were used against the Kurds during 1987-1988. They were most notoriously used during the bombardment of Halabjah on 16 March 1988, where more than 5,000 civilians died, 9,000 were injured and more 182,000 Kurds were killed in *al-Anfāl* campaigns (Hiltermann 2007:130-177).

The governments of Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran conducted systematic displacements of the Kurds. In Turkey, waves of displacement and deportation of Kurds to western Turkey began after the *Šêx Seʿîd*'s uprising in 1925 (Gunter 1997:5) and continued systematically. The Turkish government admitted as early as the beginning of the 1990s that it had destroyed more than 2,000 Kurdish villages and that more than two million Kurds had been displaced (ibid.). By the early 2000s the number of depopulated villages rose to 3,000 with more than two million displaced (Ibrahim and Gürbey 2000:167, Ünver 2015:105).

The Kurds suffered from "linguicidal policies" against their language during the rulers of Pahlavis (1925-1979) as well as the Islamic Republic of Iran, which continued dubbing Kurdish and other language minorities as a threat to national integrity (Hassanpour 1992:126-130 and

Sheyholislami 2012:41). In Syria, the Kurds have been denied basic human rights, official papers and citizenship, which means denial of the most basic services, let alone language and political rights.

The states not only denied the existence of the Kurdish nation and banned the use of the Kurdish language, but even the term "Kurdistan" was considered "illegal" (Sheyholislami 2011:127). In modern times researchers entering the quasi-independent Southern Kurdistan through Turkey have been asked to delete the word "Kurdistan" from their documents and laptops, and often documents containing the word "Kurdistan" have been destroyed (O'Leary & Salih 2005:3-4, cited in Sheyholislami 2011:127). Today, in spite of the devastating challenges against the Kurdish nation, "Kurdistan exists within relatively well defined limits in the minds of most Kurdish political groups" (McDowall 2007:3).

1.2.1.2 Kurdistan: geography and history

Centuries before the drawing of the current map of the Middle East, Bitlîsî (1543-1604) described the frontiers of Kurdistan. He considers the geography of Kurdistan as the lands that extend from the Persian Gulf to the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean. Kurdistan, according to Bitlîsî, is a crescent-shaped land that stretches through the western and north-western part of today's Iran. It stretches through the lands in the eastern and northern parts of what became the state of Iraq after World War One, into the northern parts of today's Syria, south and the south-eastern into what became the Republic of Turkey after World War One, to Iskenderun and Mersin on the Mediterranean Sea. He also includes parts of today's Armenia and Azerbaijan (2005:34-35):

> The realm of Kurdistan begins on the coast of Strait of Hormuz, which borders on the shores of the Indian Ocean. From thence, it extends forth on a straight line, terminating with the provinces of Malatya and Mar'ash to the north of this linear the provinces of Fars, Persian Iraq, Azerbaijan, Armenia Minor, and Armenia Major. (English translation from Izady 2005)

However, the current demography of the Kurdish population in the Middle East does not reflect Bitlîsî's account due to "systematic displacement of the Kurds". The change of demography of Kurdistan started as early as the reign of the Safavids (1502-1736), who performed the most

visible displacements during the reign of Shah Ismail Safavi and Shah Tahmasp (Nahchiri 1999).

Map 1.2: Kurdistan in1564, according to Bitlîsî's (2005) description. The inner red boundary shows today's Kurdistan as it appears on maps.google.com.

The pre-Islamic and ancient history of the Kurds has yet to be more thoroughly investigated, as very little has been said so far within the literature. According to Aziz (2011:45), before unification of the Mede tribes, Kurdistan had many Kurdish kingdoms and statelets, "such as the kingdoms of Kummuhu, Melidi, Gurgum, Ungi (Unqi), Kamanu, Kasku, Nairi, Shupria, Urkish, Mushku, Mardu, and most importantly Manna and Qutil." After the fall of the Medes, Kurds became part of the empires that ruled the region until the advent of Islam.

1.2.1.3 Kurdistan after the arrival of Islam

It is well known that Islam arrived in Kurdistan in around 637. Though the majority of Kurds converted to Islam, they maintained their language and did not become Arabized like the Copts of Egypt and the majority of the Berbers in North Africa (Hastings 1997:202). Kurdish language and culture were influenced by Islam and by Arabic, which was the language of instruction of the new religion. The exact extent of the influence of Arabic on Kurdish in early times cannot be

determined, as no comprehensive information about the Kurdish language and literature is available before the emergence of Islam. However, Arabic elements within the Kurdish language are overwhelming, as we will see in later chapters.

From the 15th to the 17th centuries, most of Kurdistan came under the rule of local governments under the Safavids (McDowall 2007:27-29). These local governments enjoyed a degree of autonomous rule, but this limited self-rule never led to the formation of a unified Kurdistan or a single Kurdish ruler (Hassanpour 2003:113) and a united Kurdistan. Being located on the crossroads between two superpowers, the Kurdish principalities persistently suffered devastation and misery (McDowall 2007, Hassanpour 1992). Kurdistan, along with Armenia and Azerbaijan, were often the battlefields for wars between the two empires (Ateş 2013:35), which consequently led to the division of Kurdistan into two major parts.

1.2.1.4 The division of Kurdistan

Kurdistan was divided between the Safavids and the Ottomans after the 1623-1639 succession wars, when a treaty was signed between the two powers in 1639, that established a frontier between the two empires that marked the first "official" division of Kurdistan (Edmonds 1957:125). This division of Kurdistan has overpoweringly affected the economic and political life of the Kurds (Ateş 2013:62). Afterwards, Persians and Turks "systematically undertook the task of centralization" (Minorsky 1927:1146). From 1650 to 1730, most of the autonomous principalities in the Diyarbakir-Van area of today's Turkey were suppressed (Jwaideh 1960:39), a process that was completed in the mid-l9th century.

The territories of the Ottoman Empire fell into the hands of Allied Forces in World War One. The victorious Allied Forces and the Ottomans signed the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, which called for the establishment of a state for the Armenians and another for the Kurds. However, when the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne replaced Sèvres, Kurdistan was divided between five countries (the Soviet Union, Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria) and the creation of a unified state that was initially proposed by Sèvres was aborted (McDowall 2007:137-139). According to Lausanne, the southern part of Kurdistan was annexed to the newly created Arab-dominant state of Iraq, the official language of which is Arabic. Arabic accordingly became the language of media, administration and education, which further strengthened the influence of Arabic on the Kurdish language.

This division placed the southern Kurds in an environment "especially hostile to the Kurds to whom they denied regional autonomy, a share in economic development, and permission to teach Kurdish language in Kurdish schools" (Lapidus 2002:553). The nationalist ideology of single party-led governments that "defined Iraq as part of the greater Arab nation […] ultimately led to the genocide of the Kurdish minority" (Galbraith 2005:279) and the denial of their language rights for most of the period after the creation of the state of Iraq until 2003.

1.2.2 The Kurdish language

Kurdish is an Iranian language from the Indo-European language family, which is spoken in Kurdistan and by those displaced by Stalin living in enclaves in the former Soviet republics, (Pohl 1999:129-137). Kurdish is also spoken today amongst Kurdish immigrant communities in Europe, North America and Australia.

Kurmanji (Northern Kurdish, NK hereinafter) and CK are the varieties of the Kurdish language most mentioned by Kurdologists. This might be attributed to the overall population size of CK and NK speakers. Kurdologists from different branches of the discipline differ in opinion about dialect numbers, groupings and names. Furthermore, some linguists consider the main Kurdish dialects as separate languages (Haig and Matras 2002:3). Others do not consider certain dialects such as Dimili and Zaza or Gorani as Kurdish (Minorsky 1943:89, Edmonds 1957:10, MacKenzie 1962:21, Kreyenbroek 1992:55). These claims are "shocking" to Kurdish intellectuals who consider Gorani (or Hawrami) to be the oldest Kurdish variety and the purest (Hassanpour 1992:25). On the other hand, Kurdish linguists, and non-Kurdish intellectuals and linguists, such as al-Sāmarraʾī (2002:233), Kurdologists Chyet[6] (2007:604), Alison (2007:136), Smirnova and Eyubi (1999), Leezenberg (1993:9-13 and 2014) and Paul (1998:167) consider Kurdish as a language that has two main dialects. However, among native Kurds, Hasanpoor (1999:23) has considered the few morphological differences between the dialects sufficient to classify them as different languages.

An atypical view on the classification of Kurdish dialects is an extreme categorization of the varieties according to the tribes and designation of the varieties of different tribes or villages

[6] The Kurdislogist Michael Chyet is one of the most informed scholars about Kurdish varieties, and worked as Chief Editor for the Kurdish Service of the Voice of America. He ran for informative linguistic programme *zmanê me* – "our language" about Kurdish language for many years.

as distinct dialects. Turkish traveller Evliya Chelebi [7] claims that there are fifteen dialects of Kurdish. In his view, the dialects are Zaza, Lolo, Auniki, Mehmudi, Shirwani, Jzirayi, Psani, Sinjari, Hariri, Erdalani, Sorani, Khalidi, Chakwani, Imadi and Rozhki (cited in Aziz 2005:43). He has given a confused account for the southern varieties. Chelebi seems to have considered certain regional accents as exclusive dialects. For example, he considers the Hariri variety of CK as a standalone dialect. This makes the reader believe that Chelebi considered different accents of different tribes as distinct dialects (ibid.).

The oldest surviving text on Kurdish varieties, Bitlîsî's (1543-1604) *Sharafnama* (2005), suggests that, "[t]he Kurdish nation divides into four branches, each with its own different tongue and customs. First is the Kurmanj, second the Lur, third the Kalhur, and fourth the Guran." (Bitlîsî 2005:32-Izady's translation). Zebîḧî (1988) suggests Kurdish dialects fall into Northern, Central, Hawrami/Dimili and Southern groups.

Later studies consider Bitlîsî's groupings of Kurdish dialects as basis for classification of Kurdish dialects. Bitlîsî mentions four types of people who have different "tongues" and "customs" as a general conclusion about types of people rather than language. Although he mentions Sorani (CK), on other occasions he does not mention it in the classification and misses the central group which became the literary language towards the end of the Baban principality.

Kreyenbroek (1992:55) claims that, "Sorani and Kurmanji differ as much from each other as English and German, and it would seem more appropriate to refer to them as 'languages'." In the same vein, MacKenzie (1961 and 1981) considers NK and CK as separate languages and does not consider Zaza as a variety of Kurdish. However, based on his genetic analysis of Kurdish varieties, Leezenberg (1993:9-13 and 2014) considers varieties of Kurdish as different forms of one language. On the other hand, Kurdish intellectuals and linguists attribute the "relative difficulty" of intelligibility between varieties to factors beyond the abstract structure and attribute it to political factors, separation, and lack of state (Nebez 1957:3, Khorshid 1983:18, Aziz 2005:32). Iraqi Arab linguists have attributed the difference between Kurdish dialects to geographic factors:

> The isolation of the Kurds in the mountainous areas and separation from each other in the mountains generated many differences between their dialects. This is to an extent that it becomes difficult, sometimes, for the

[7] The 17th century Turkish traveller lived between 1611 and 1682.

> speakers of a given dialect to understand the dialects for the other Kurds who inhabited another part. (translation from al-Sāmarrāʾī 2002:233)

Wardhaugh (2006:26) argues that language boundaries between the groups should not be based on linguistic items alone, as the social meanings associated to the items have to be taken into account. However, the anthropologist Bruinessen (2010:9) claims that CK and NK are different languages due to what he sees as difficulty of communication between the speakers of the two varieties. But Bruinessen's view is not based on a diachronic linguistic investigation. It is rather an anthropological observation. Moreover, the issue of intelligibility between languages and dialects is not always a good criterion for considering a variety of speech as a separate language or a dialect. Spolsky (2004:10) argues that often political borders divide chain of mutually intelligible bordering dialects which lead to their classification as different languages. Considering the varieties as separate languages is not a simple verdict. It is more complicated than considering only structure, mutual intelligibility or socio-cultural and political factors as the basis for distinguishing a language from a dialect (see Myers-Scotton 2006:17-34).

In fact, the debate regarding the definition of language and dialect, has remained largely controversial. According to Bussmann (2006:627), language is "a vehicle for expression or exchanging of thoughts, concepts knowledge and information", while Wardhaugh (2006:1) considers language as whatever "the members of a particular society speak". This is a definition that suffers defects and makes it possible to call the variety of any sector of the society a separate language. Sapir (1921:8) offers a loose definition of language, claiming it is a method of communicating ideas such as, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols. According to Bloch & Trager (1942:5), language is "a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group co-operates". Algeo (2010:2) offers a definition according to which language is not simply symbols and method, but rather "a system of conventional vocal signs by means of which human begins to communicate". This definition qualifies any language variety as separate languages. Finally, Hall (1968:158) includes political meaning to his definition by arguing that language is "the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral auditory arbitrary symbols".

Full intelligibility is not a condition of recognising variation as part of a language because a dialect is "a linguistic system [...] that shows a high degree of similarity to other systems so that at least ***partial*** mutual intelligibility [is achieved]" (Bussmann 2006:307). Crystal (2006:142) argues that structure and a particular grammar define a dialect, saying that a dialect is

a regionally or socially distinctive variety of a language, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structure. Furthermore, Fromkin et al (2014:563) add to Crystal's definition, arguing that a dialect is a variety of language whose grammar differs in systematic ways from other varieties and that differences between dialects may be lexical, phonological, syntactic and semantic, which certainly affect the degree of intelligibility. These definitions identify interference between the definition of language and dialect, which are both tools of a form of communication and have their own systems. Hence, as Weinreich famously said, "a language is a dialect with an army and navy", and that the terms language and dialect are very political and carry implications because communication "is of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualised" (Bourdieu 1991:37). Both terms are politically loaded: while language normally has an official status, dialects are considered more as the vernacular. Furthermore, the differences between the two cannot be determined on a purely linguistic basis, otherwise many prominent classifications and state languages over the world would probably be redefined (see Myers-Scotton 2006:17-34).

Language can be an important signifier of national identity. The definition and importance of language requires very careful consideration, not least because it has been a factor in the split of nations, as in the case of the partition of Pakistan in 1971. The definition of language and discussions on varieties can reveal certain political agendas. As Wardhaugh (2006:26) argued, social meanings have to be taken into account in evaluating language and language boundaries should not be based on linguistic items alone. Therefore, the definition of language will probably never draw from only linguistic and structural perspectives.

Finally, in the light of the above discussion, language could be defined as a system of communication by which a social group, of one nation or ethnic affiliation, co-operates. This system of communication may have different variations as a result of long standing socio-political and geographical factors. Dialects, therefore, are varieties of language by which communities with common interests and traditions and ethnic backgrounds communicate, and although such groups may consider themselves to be from the same origin, other socio-political and geographical factors have distanced them and imposed changes to their use of the language in terms of phonology, morphology and words.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to investigate the differences between Kurdish dialects. It is vital, however, in any study of the Kurdish varieties and classification of the dialects, to follow cautious measures before drawing conclusions. It is extremely important to

consider the experience of the Kurdish people and the socio-political situation before evaluating their linguistic identity. Undoubtedly, the role of such factors in language shift and change should be comprehensively researched before defining varieties based on certain phonological and morphological variations. Furthermore, the arguments of researchers who consider different dialects of Kurdish as separate languages on the basis of the degree of intelligibility are vague. On the basis of mutual intelligibility, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish should be considered dialects of a Scandinavian language and yet they are considered separate languages (see Myers-Scotton 2006:19-21). This shows that intelligibility is not the main criterion for distinguishing between language and dialect in the study of varieties.

A contemporary classification of the Kurdish dialects by the independent Kurdish Academy of Language (KAL)[8] indicates five dialects of Kurdish, namely: Northern, Central, Southern, Hawrami and Dimili. Each of the dialects has various sub-dialect groups under the umbrella of a dialect group. The Northern includes the sub-dialects of Bayazidi, Hakari, Botani, Shamdinani, and Bahdinani. The Central includes Mukri, Sorani, Ardalani, *Slêmanî*, and Garmniyani. The Southern includes Luri, Bakhtiyari, Mamasanni, Gauhgalu, Lakki, and Kalhuri. Hawrami includes Hawramani, Bajalani, Zaza. Lastly, Dimili includes Síviriki, Korí, Hezzú (or Hezo), Motkí (or Motí), and Dumbulí. Table 1.1 shows most prominent classifications of Kurdish dialects from Bitlîsî's time up to the recent KLA classification.

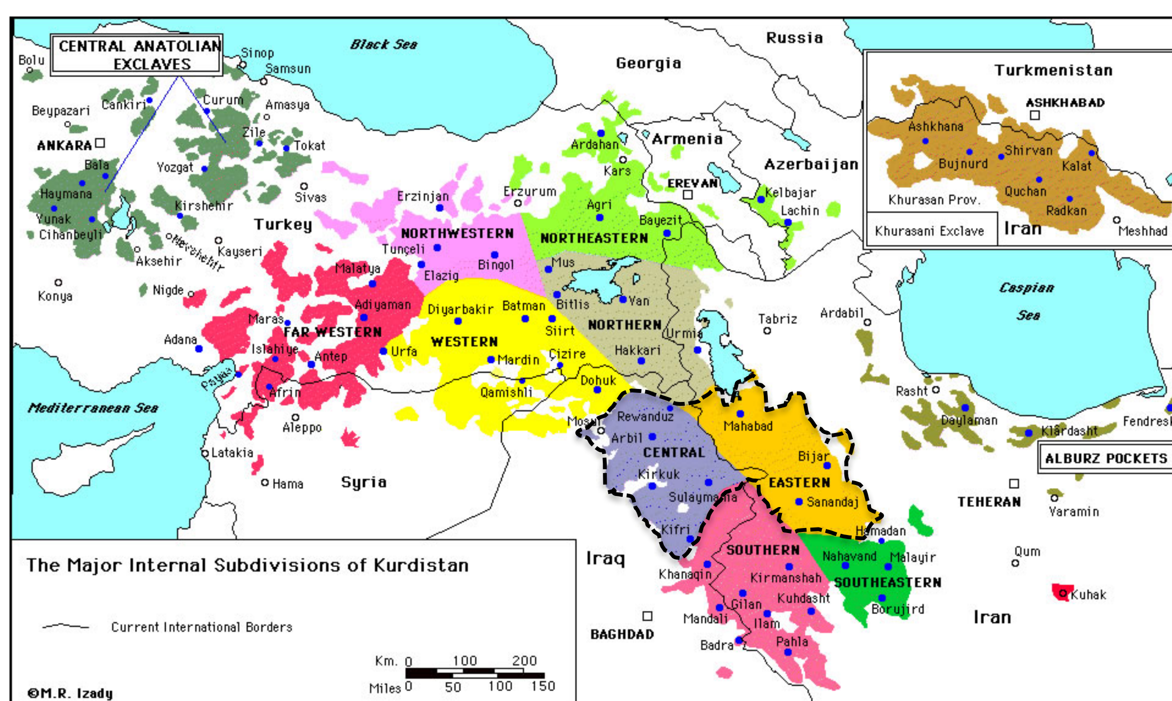
Table 1.1: Prominent classification of Kurdish varieties since 16th century

Bitlîsî (1597)[9]	Minorsky (1927)	MacKenzie (1981)	Zebîĥî (1988)	Hassanpour (1992)	Izady(1992)	Kurdish Academy
Kurmanji	Western	Northern	Northern	Kurmânji	North Kurmânji	Northern
------	Eastern	Central	Central	Sorani	South Kurmânji	Central
Goran[10]	------	Not-Kurdish	Hawrami/Dimili	Hawrami	Dimili	Hawrami
Lur	Southern	Southern	Southern	Kirmashani	Gorâni	Southern
Kalhur	------	------	------	------	------	Dimili

According to Hassanpour (1992:436), Kurdish is a bi-standard language rather than being diglossic. Regarding the CK, which is an official language in Iraq and the official language in the Kurdistan Region, like any other language, the levels differ according to urban and rural

[8] http://www.kurdishacademy.org
[9] The date refers to the original date of authoring Sharafnama. I used edition of Izady's (2005) English translation.
[10] Some transliterations of this variety have been inaccurate, as it should be Gorani rather than Gurani. As Izady (1992:175) confirms, the word Gurani means 'lyric poetry' or 'balladry'. The word is still used to refer to lyrics and song. Therefore, the correct name should be Gorani with "o" rather than "u". Also see Alison (2007:138).

inhabitants, level of education and so forth for other social factors, which deserve a full study in future. However, apart from register, the standard and spoken CK are not considerably different in the areas covered in this thesis. The differences between the standard and spoken in CK are not comparable to the differences between varieties of languages such as Arabic, modern Greek and Swiss German. Certain phonological segments and conjugations are ignored in the spoken variety in areas as in *Slêmanî* variety. For example, the voiced alveodental plosive [d] is mainly not pronounced and the verbal prefix *de-* is altered by *ʾe-* and so many of *Slêmanî* speakers say *ʾekem* instead of standard *de-kem* 'I do'. However, these limited differences do not qualify the situation to be labelled as diglossic.



Map 1.3: The distribution of Kurdish varieties (amended from Izady cited on http://www.institutkurde.org The black line is the boundary of CK speaking areas.[11]

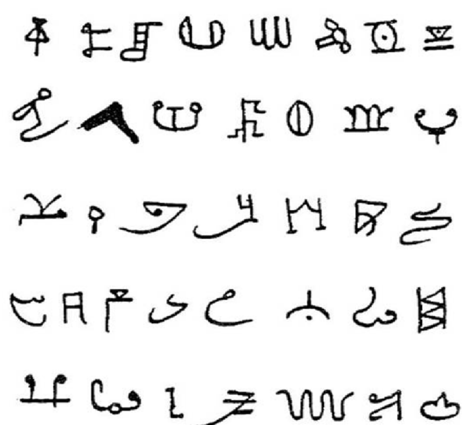
1.2.2.1 Writing in Kurdish and script

Kurdish has a rich oral and written literature. As will be explained in 1.2.2.2, older surviving Kurdish texts date back to the 11th century and works of the Kurdish poet Baba Tahir are examples of such writing (see 1.2.2.2). Kurdish writing is older than has been suggested. Bin Waḥšīyyah (died 930) claims that he had seen at least 30 books in Baghdad libraries which were

[11] The Kurdish institute seems to use "Central" and "Eastern" to refer to the Sorani dialect which has been divided by the political border between Iraq and Iran. It subdivides Northern as well.

written in Kurdish and that he translated two books about farming and irrigation from Kurdish into Arabic (1886:203-204). He adds that Kurds had their own calligraphy and attempted to contest the Chaldeans' writing (ibid. 135). This suggests that the writing is much older than it was thought by 20th century scholars. According to 'Awnī (1993:27) Kurdish had its own writing script before the advent of Islam, which was similar to the Armenian and Syriac alphabets, with a writing system from left to right (see Figure 1.1). They shifted to the Arabic alphabet after the advent of Islam (ibid. 27). Contemporary scholars claim that CK writing dates back to the time of the British mandate in the 1920s (Haig and Matras 2002:4), which is a clear reference to the modification of the Arabo-Persian alphabet in order to correspond better to Kurdish phonemes.

Figure 1.1 Ancient Kurdish Alphabet from Bin Waḥšīyyah (1886:134)



Xanî (1650-1707) wrote his epic *Mem-u-Zîn* in the 17th century. Kurdish poets of the Baban principality[12] were writing in CK (Blau 2015). The poet Nalî (1797-1855), who is considered the most influential figure on Kurdish language and literature, may be considered as having established the foundations for standard Kurdish in the first half of the 19th century (Xeznedar 2001). Another written work in Kurdish is the *Aḧmadiyeh* wordbook by Šêx Marf Nődêyî (1753-1838).

No official decision was behind the adoption of "standard" written Kurdish in Southern Kurdistan. The modern written form was initiated by intellectuals first, and then gained the approval of the leaders of the Kurdish movement. The late leader of the Kurdish movement in Southern Kurdistan, Mstefa Barzanî (1904-1979), who was a NK speaker himself, supported the adoption of the de facto CK "standard" (Hassanpour 1992:161) as a means of communication

[12] Known as the Axis of Baban Poetry School Nalî (1797-1856), Salim (1800-1866) and Kurdî (1812-1850).

and scolded those who attempted to encourage NK (Ahmed 2005:9). It has to be mentioned that Gorani was the court language of Kurdish principalities of Ardalan and Baban (Alison 2007:138). Babans later shifted to CK in the beginning of the 19th century (Izady 1992:177).

1.2.2.2 Kurdish literary texts

There is very little information about surviving Kurdish literature before the 10th century. Little information is available about the pre-Christian Kurdish poet Bőrabőz[13] with only two short poems. The Kurdish literary circles attribute the comments on Bőrabőz to the Russian scholar Velyaminov (1830-1904), claiming that the poems had been found during excavation works in Eastern Kurdistan near Orumiyeh province (Sindī 1982:490). There is no reference to the type of the script of the two poems.

The most credible evidence of surviving Kurdish writings date back to 10th century poet Baba Tahir (935-1010), who wrote in Gorani Kurdish, Persian and Arabic (Ahmad 2005:375 and Xeznedar 2001). Many other early works have been found, including the celebrated poets ʿEli Herîrî (1407-1481), ʿEli Termaxî (1591-1653), Bêsaranî (1641-1702), Xanî (1650-1707), Nalî (1797-1855) and Ḧacî Qadr (1806-1882). Kurdish poets and writers thereafter continued writing using the Arabo-Persian alphabet, in the same way did Persian, Urdu, Ottoman Turkish and other nations subjected to the caliphs' rule. In the 1900s, Kurdish writing thrived despite difficult political situations for the Kurds. The era witnessed the emergence of respected writers and poets who contributed to the enhancement of CK writing and "the relatively proper and promoting condition in Iraqi Kurdistan has resulted in flourishing of Kurdish literature" (Ahmadzadeh 2003:132). CK speakers have been ever active in writing using modified Arabo-Persian script both in public and clandestinely during the Kurdish revolutions. The uprising of 1991 was a turning point in the life of the Kurds (Ahmed 2012:8). It led to the publication of countless newspapers, periodicals and the establishment of numerous publishing houses as well as thousands of websites and blogs.

1.2.2.3 Kurdish contact with Arabic

Kurdistan has hosted communities that speak languages other than Kurdish, which led to

---

[13] The oldest reference to a pre-Islamic Kurdish literary text that has been discovered thus far dates back to 330 BC, which is a text of six verses by the Kurdish poet Bőrabőz (*Gővari Kőrî Zaniyari Kurd* Vol 9 p. 490, 1982).

Xuzî ezu tû bhîvrabîn hîvra hîrîn xurînê werdî bhîrî kotra bîn bang dîn bhîvra narînê

The poem can be rendered as: "I wish that we were together, go around, and to the mountains, collect wood and sing." There is also another text, which was found in the same location attributed to an unknown poet (ibid.).

multilingual situations “and this diversity naturally entails language contact” (Postgate 2007:1). Hence, contact with Arabic dates back to the Muslim army invasion of Kurdistan. But before that the Kurdish community was in contact with speakers of other Semitic languages, like Aramaic and Syriac (Khan 2007:108). This in addition to Persian, Mandaic, and more recently the Turkoman after the arrival of the Seljuk waves in the 11th century. Discussions in this work only cover Kurdish contact with Arabic, as other situations are beyond the scope of this work. In addition, Aramaic influence is more noticeable on NK rather than CK (Chyet 2007:607). However, Kurdish contact with other Kurdistani languages is interesting for future projects.

Upon the arrival of the Arabic speaking Muslim army in the Kurdish town of Jalawla in 637, leading to the conquest of other Kurdish territories in 641, Kurdish came into direct contact with Arabic (Morony 2005:265-266). The Kurdish language did not lose ground to Arabic, unlike other languages such as Coptic and the languages of North Africa. Umayyad rulers (661–750) imposed Arabic on the population and it “became the official state language, the financial administration of the empire was recognized with Arabic replacing [the native languages of the population]” (Abdullah 2013). Arabic became the first language of the conquered land and even now Arabic is the first language of many nations between Iraq and the Atlantic Ocean.

These developments were a turning point for the people and their language. Arabic has had a great deal of influence upon Kurdish ever since the arrival of Islam (see below fn 14,). Arabic was the language of learning, culture and science, as well as religion, and until late 19th century it was fashionable to pepper one’s Kurdish with Arabic words.[14] For that reason, early Kurdish classics were overwhelmed with Arabic words. Only since the first half of the 20th century and the establishment of the nation states in the region did the Kurds begin the process of the purification of the language (Abdulla 1980:219-224). As soon as Arabic and Kurdish came into contact borrowing started, primarily due to the factor of religion.

Hastings (1997:201) emphasizes the sacred nature of the Quran, “the word of God as spoken by God” in the original Arabic, which precludes even the possibility of translation. This made the impact of Arabic on other languages even stronger. As a result, scholars considered the spread of Islam necessarily meant the spread of Arabic:

---

[14] Arabic was fashionable, among the intellectuals, up to the second half of the 20th century, so that the celebrated 19th century Kurdish poet *Nalî* (1800-1856), who sparked a revolution in Kurdish poetry, defended his deliberate use of Kurdish in stead of “fashionable” Arabic and responded to the critics saying:
“Kes be alfazm neĺê xő Kûrdîye xő krdye herkesê nadan nebê xőy talbî mana deka”
Should nobody say “my words” are Kurdish and local. The one who is not ignorant would look for the deep meaning” (cited in Hassanpour 1992) .

> The whole cultural impact of Islam is necessarily to Arabise, to draw peoples into a single world community of language and government. And this is what it did. Even the language of Egypt disappeared before it, except as a Christian liturgical language. Nations are not constructed by Islam but deconstructed (Hastings 1997:201).

In considering religion and Kurdish language, a key question arises regarding the language of any independent Kurdish entity. Since the de facto separation from the Arab state of Iraq, the prospect of statehood has been growing stronger. In such a case, what would be the official language of the state, in an overwhelming Muslim population, Mabry (2015:15) asks. It seems that the purists have already answered such questions when they started the movement of the unofficial standardisation and purification of the language starting in the early 1900s (see Abdulla 1980:207-216, Hassanpour 1992:159).

1.2.2.4 Status of CK in Kurdistan

CK and Badinani, which is a variety of NK, are the two main varieties of Kurdish spoken in Kurdistan Region. CK in the Kurdistan Region enjoys a high position as a de facto medium of high culture education and media (Mabry 2015:88-89).

While the Iraqi government was under pressure to legislate the Kurdish language as a condition of independence and winning recognition in the League of Nations, the de facto status of CK was gaining support. Kurdish intellectuals were encouraged by Cecil J. Edmonds[15], who coordinated with the Kurdish veteran army officer Wahby to work on a Kurdish alphabet based on a modified Arabo-Persian alphabet.[16] CK gradually gained status thereafter as “standard” Kurdish in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, preventing NK, the language of the majority of the Kurds, from acquiring that status. This has linguistic as well as socio-political consequences for the Kurds and their future. The Iraqi government tried to delay the legislation of the language under the pretext of the existence of two different Kurdish dialects. According to Hassanpour (1992:156), the British mandate authorities stepped up their pressure on the Iraqi government, which resulted in the stipulation of the Article 8 that allowed the people in the

[15] Cecil J. Edmonds was a British officer who served with the British Expeditionary Forces, and became a writer.

[16] Taufiq Wahby (1891-1984) was a Kurdish officer who served in the Ottoman army and became an officer in the Iraqi army after the creation of the state of Iraq. He was instrumental in the design of a new Kurdish alphabet based on modified Arabic letters.

Bahdinan area to choose the dialect they desired.

1.2.2.5 Status of Arabic in Kurdistan

The geographical location of Kurdistan has placed it at the crossroads of superpower struggles amongst Persians, Greeks, Turks, British and Arabs at different stages of their history. Different powers had different agendas that influenced different aspects of life and culture including language.

While the Umayyad rulers imposed Arabic on all nations that they ruled, under the Ottomans ethnic groups were allowed to use their community languages as a medium of education (Saydam 2008:59). Following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the consequent British mandate and the creation of the state of Iraq, Arabic became the medium of instruction in education in the state. From the start, Kurds opposed this and demanded that the language of instruction and education be Kurdish in Kurdistan as the League of Nations had stipulated, preserving the rights of the Kurds as a condition for the annexation of *Welayet Mosul* (Southern Kurdistan) to the newly created state of Iraq (Hassanpour 1992:306).

The Iraqi Provisional Constitution of 1921 stipulated that Iraq comprised two ethnic groups, Arabs and Kurds, and that their languages had equal status (Natali 2001:259). However, the successive governments, especially the Ba'th Party-led administration, which ruled between 1963 and 2003, set policies against the use of Kurdish in education (Lapidus 2002:553). The governments allowed limited and periodic language rights due to the weakness or strength of the government and the Kurdish revolutionary movement (Majidy 2013). Nevertheless, since the Kurdish uprising against the Iraqi government in 1991 and the establishment of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), Arabic has lost its status in Kurdistan (Kākāʾī 2013).

Arabic has been a core subject in the curriculum throughout the different education levels in the country, including in the Kurdish areas. Salahaddin University was the only university in the region before 1992, and had two departments of Arabic Language and Literature. Students who were majoring in other disciplines had to study the compulsory module of Arabic language. Kurds had then two different views about the Arabic language. The first was approval, with Arabic seen as the language of the Quran and religious sermons; the second saw Arabic as the language of the occupier and notorious-torturous security forces (Šoriš 2015). Arabic in the region is now in decline and students find it difficult to continue learning Arabic (Šerîf 2015) due to lack of interest and the prospect of opportunities through learning other languages like

English. It has already lost status in the Kurdistan Region to other languages such as English. This has consequently affected the level of Kurdish-Arabic bilingualism.

Regarding the status of Arabic in Kurdistan Region Mabry (2015:86) says “nobody [is] speaking Arabic” and the flag at the border crossing point is “a bright yellow sun[17] instead of three green stars of the Iraqi flag”, this has invoked the spread of a new political term “the other Iraq”. He adds that the Kurdistan Region has been disconnected from Arabic and Iraq; today travelling through the border from Turkey into Iraqi Kurdistan Region there are “no visible signs of Iraq” (2015:86).

Picture 1.1: Kurdistan National flag

1.2.2.6 Language status in Iraqi law

The policies of Iraqi governments disregarded languages other than Arabic in general, and opposed Kurdish in particular. Since the creation of the state of Iraq, successive governments planned and consolidated Arabic at the expense of other languages, especially Kurdish.

Article 124 of the Iraqi constitution of 1925, the country’s first constitution since its creation, did not recognize the Kurdish language (Khadar 2007). The amended 1931 law added a clause on local languages without naming Kurdish. This law did not allow for any language other than Arabic “to be an ‘independent’ language, but rather a local language for a certain area[s]” (ibid.).

[17] Mabry refers to the Kurdish national flag which “was first introduced by the leaders of Khoybun, movement to represent the Kurds in their struggle for independence from the moribund Ottoman Empire. It was subsequently presented to the members of the international delegation at the Paris Peace Conference that devised a plan for Kurdish independence as a part of the Treaty of Sèvers in 1920. Under the same flag, the Khoyboun announced the formation of the first Kurdish Government in Exile” in 1927 and fought a drawn-out war until 1932, in order to revive the Kurdish national independence, lost since 1848. In 1946 and the declaration of the Republic of Kurdistan at Mehebad, the old ‘sunny flag’ was adopted by its parliament as the official Flag of the Republic. Following these historic background, the National Flag is widely adopted in Kurdistan and has been set aloft by various Kurdish movements and entities in all sectors of the land”.
KIP website: http://www.institutkurde.org/en/kurdorama/the_national_flag_of_kurdistan.php on 23/09/2015

Successive governments of the republic did not give an exclusive official status to Kurdish. Even the temporary constitution of 1958, which considered Kurds as partners in Iraq, did not offer any official status for Kurdish language. On 10 June 1963, the government of Iraq issued a law on Kurdish language, which excluded major parts of Kurdistan. Appendix I of the law included the following:

> A) Arabic and Kurdish languages are considered the official languages in the Sulaimaniayah Governorate[18] B) teaching is conducted in the Kurdish language at the primary and intermediate stages and Arabic is taught as a second language, C) teaching is conducted in the Arabic language at the secondary stage. (Khalidi and Ibish 1963:292)

In 1970 the Kurdish movement leadership reached a truce with the government; then Kurdish was considered as an official language in the autonomous area where the majority of people were considered to be Kurdish speakers.

> The Kurdish language shall, side by side with the Arabic language, be an official language in the areas populated by a majority of Kurds. The Kurdish language shall be the language of instruction in these areas. The Arabic language shall be taught in all schools where teaching is conducted in Kurdish. The Kurdish language shall be taught elsewhere in Iraq as a second language within the limits prescribed by the law (Disney 1980).

Soon after the 1975 setback of the Kurdish revolution, the Iraqi government started mass displacement of Kurdish villages and consequently withdrew language rights and changed the language of education again into Arabic in the years to come (Khadar 2007).

After the fall of the Ba'th Party-led Iraqi government in 2003, Kurdish gained a status after eight

decades of struggle. The Transitional Administrative Law of 2004 restored the older law that recognised Arabic and Kurdish as the official languages of Federal Iraq (O'Leary 2005:49). According to the new law, Kurds and ethnic minority groups are given self-government in their

[18] According to Appendix I of the Iraqi New Law for Administration of the Governorates of Iraq 1963, the Governorate of Sulaimaniyah included Arbil (Hewlêr) and Duhok as well (Khalidi and Ibish 1963:292). This means the exclusion of Kirkuk, other Kurdish areas of the current what became Governorate of Salahaddin, during Ba'th rule, Kurdish areas within the administrative areas of Diyala and Mosul governorates.

languages with religious affairs, schools and public administration conducted in their mother tongue. Article 4 in the constitution states:

> The Arabic and Kurdish languages are the two official languages of Iraq. The right of Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue, such as Turkmen, Syriac, and Armenian, in the government educational institutions in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in the private educational institutions, is guaranteed.

The demand of the Kurds in Iraq for the Kurdish language to be treated as equal to Arabic in its official status remains unchanged. This is because the Kurds view the status of their language in the new Iraq to be indicative of the level of equality they have with the Arabs in the state that they share (Galbraith 2005:279).

1.2.2.7 Standardisation and purism

The focus of this study is not upon language standardisation and purism, and it does not follow traditional research into loanwords or borrowing. However, it is important to highlight the assumption of purification being correlated with the standardisation of Kurdish. This is in order to offer a scholarly explanation of language use in the upcoming chapters. Definitions of standardisation and purism and highlighting possible association between the two will be necessary in order to explain whether the “pure” language is considered standard and prestigious, and whether the use of loanwords is the style associated with prestige or the vernacular.

An accurate definition of standard language will be achieved when a meaningful definition is put in place for the standardisation process, which has not been the case so far. Anderson (2006:14-17) offers a very concise and yet controversial definition, arguing standard languages to be the language of “truth” or the “truest” language rather than only “true”, especially for languages that are associated with religion, since religious texts are considered by the followers of religion as “truest”. While some recognise standard as a selection of a norm, others view it as unification of varieties and maybe with a linkage to purism. Ferguson (1996a:189) defines standardisation as:

> The process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a superdialectal norm - the ‘best’ form

> of the language - rated above regional and social dialects, although these may be felt to be appropriate in some domains.

The process then involves three tendencies of "*koineization*" – to reduce dialect differences, "*variety shifting*", and "*classicization*" (ibid.). Matras and Reershemius (1991:104) consider the element of "unification", according to which standardisation is "regarded as the process of language unification in a given community, affecting written as well as oral communication." In the same vein, James Milroy (2001:531) considers standardisation to "consist of the imposition of uniformity" upon linguistic varieties.

Standardisation, according to Haugen (1950:210-231), entails the four stages of *selection*, *acceptance*, *codification* and *elaboration*. The first step towards standardisation starts with *selection* of a variety among others. The selection criterion depends on the factor of *acceptance*, in other words, the approval of the population. The selected variety then requires *codification*, aiming at a minimal variation and stability in linguistic form (e.g. one spelling for each word). Meanwhile, *elaboration* requires the language to perform all the functions of the lower prestige vernaculars it was starting to overwhelm. To achieve this, it could borrow from them.

The process of standardisation is not only a selection of a variety, it is also a process of unification which can be within the selected norm or bringing the dialects together to the kind of mixture that Kurdish linguists once called for, as we see later.

Uniformity should be rightly considered in standardisation; however, the question to be asked here is: What is meant by the term "unification"? The issue has been interpreted in different ways in the case of Kurdish. As early as 1936, the Kurdish press called for the unification of the two main varieties of Kurdish (Hassanpour 1992:165). This call was revived in the 2000s (see Hassanpour 2008), where calls for the unification of two varieties resurfaced, calling for the creation of *Sőr-mancî* i.e. Sorani+Kurmanji.

The overall process of successful language standardisation is in areas where it is a continuing process, whereby the standardised form can be easily implemented and maintained without challenge from another vernacular (Haugen 1950:210-231). Therefore, considering the present socio-political environment in Kurdistan and the political parties' interference in the language issue according to their own party interests, the elaboration and acceptance of the norm are keys to a successful process in a politically divided community.

1.2.2.8 Purism

Language purism may take various forms and different perspectives. The type of purism most relevant to this study is lexical purism which is considered as "resistance to foreign words" (Vikør 2010:9), the preference of the national neologism and a deliberate resistance to foreign elements in the language (Sijs 1999:11 cited in Langer and Davies 2005:4).

According to Trask (1999:254), purism is rather concerned with foreign words, and the elimination of foreign lexical items that are "contaminating" the purity of the language. In the meantime, the process is beyond word elimination in Thomas's (1991:11-12) definition of purism that considers the elimination of foreign words, features, which can be from any linguistic levels as well as dialectal elements. Langer and Davies (2005:4) offer a refined definition, which makes sense of the puristic notion. They argue that purism is the language community's "objection to the presence of particular linguistic features and aims to remove them from their language" (ibid. 5). Furthermore, "purism is concerned not only with the removal of (unwanted) linguistic features but also with the preservation of desirable elements" (ibid. 3). It is considered as a type of "language correction". Neustupný (1989:211) argues that "purism is one of many corrective processes directed towards culture". Beyond this, it is also a form of "language making" according to Sijs (1999:11 cited in Langer and Davies 2005:4).

According to Sijs (1999:11 cited in Langer 2005), purism follows standardisation which implies standardisation as a condition for purification. However, the situation of Kurdish purification (see Abdulla 1980) shows that Sijs's claim is not always applicable, as languages can go through "gradual" purification even before official standardisation. Hence, purism is not restricted to standard language in the modern technical sense (Langer 2005:5). In addition, Tauli (1968:126) argues that "in principle they [i.e. purism and standardisation] must be kept apart". Tauli considers the presence of the foreign elements in languages still relevant to language purism as well as language standardisation that require a collective work.

Some nations have considered standardisation inseparable from purification. For example, Tai (2004:310) claims that "standardisation of Korean in China began to acquire its theoretical basis through the discussions of the purification of Korean". This does not necessarily mean that they should coincide; however, in this case one can lead to another as in the case of Korean in China. When the Chinese translated the work of Mao Zedong to Korean, a foundation was set for standardisation of Korean in China "which played an active role in the purification and standardisation of Korean" (Tai 2004:309). In the same way Serbians wanted to eliminate

Croatian elements to codify their language (Spolsky 2004:11). The Norwegian standardisation in the 19th century somehow linked standardisation with purification "to protect" the national identity (Rudvin 1996:122 Vikør 2010:20). Such instances as the Norwegians' motivation for standardisation were a pedagogical and ideological "puristic" approaches to language (Lundeby 2005:1993), which is true for the Kurdish situation (see Hasanpoor 1999:70). However, in some languages, including English, standard and higher register "involves using a higher proportion of borrowed words" (Durkin 2014:6). An association between the "pure" language and standard or standardisation and purism is confirmed in certain cases, whether purism followed standardisation or otherwise.

Other views have gone a little further, claiming that standardisation and purification are sequential. Nahir (1977:117) ties purification, standardisation and language reform as inseparable issues in language planning.

According to Alani (1984:57 cited in Hassanpour 1992:398), Kurdish purification dates back to the 17th century poets Xanî and Teremaxî. Nevertheless, linking language choice to purification does not seem necessarily related, except in a case like the efforts of ʾEbduĺĺa Pešêw, who uses pure Kurdish words and appendices in his works with a glossary for clarification (Pešêw 2005). Xanî and Teremaxî had a vision for Kurdish self-rule and wrote in Kurdish, but there is no evidence of attempts of purification in their work. An actual purification attempt started after the creation of nation states in the 20th century in the wake of World War One.

> Purification began as soon as the Iraqi state was established. Individual writers practised purification […]. By the 1940s, however, these individual efforts turned into a movement in the sense that the widest range of language users from journalists to poets to radio broadcasters could not avoid using 'pure Kurdish' (*kurdi petî*) (Hasanpoor 1999:160).

The early attempts at purism in Kurdish were strongly linked to standardisation. Hassanpour (1992) considers the aspects of handling the borrowing and purism as active trends in the standardisation of Kurdish. The definition of purism is more likely in Kurdish to reflect Trask's (1999) view as the purists focused on the language purge and did not move away from Kurdish dialects. As a resistance to Arabic loanwords, dialectal borrowing has been employed as part of the purism process from the early stages of purism. For example, the word *mrov*, "human", has been introduced to CK from NK to replace *ʾinsan* or *ʿisan*, which are from Arabic *ʾinsān*.

1.2.2.9 Kurdish standardisation

Standard Kurdish in this thesis refers to the variety that has been the language of media, publication and education in southern Kurdistan. It is considered the prestigious variety of the elite and it is the de facto standard language. However, the standard variety does not vary considerably from the spoken (see 1.2.2).

The issue of standardisation of Kurdish is a difficult task, taking into account the prospect of Pan-Kurdish standardisation. Still, the most prominent view on standardisation is that "to many Kurds, the most visible feature of the standard norm is its purified vocabulary in both prose and poetry" (Hassanpour 1992:397). This view has led to the reduction of loanwords in writing. According to Abdulla (1980:182), the rate of loanwords in writing was reduced from 46.5% before 1940 to 9.58% in 1958 and 4.5% by 1973 as a result of the unofficial attempts at standardisation.

The continuous efforts of Kurdish intellectuals upon the standardisation of CK, since the beginning of the 20th century, made it a de facto norm in Southern Kurdistan and its quasi-state administration KRG. This fulfils one of the three criteria of standardisation proposed by Haugen (1953), which entails selection, codification and elaboration. However, the task is more complicated regarding the pan Kurdish community when considering the population of speakers of other varieties in wider Kurdistan. The larger numbers of Kurds speak the NK variety, which, on the other hand, falls far behind the CK in terms of publication, engagement in education and status as a means of communication and administration (Hassanpour 2008:13). That is why there is an ambiguity regarding the two terms in Kurdish *zmanî yekgrtü*, "lit: unified language" and *zmanî stander*, "standard language". It seems the purification and standardisation in Kurdish are parallel processes which would be difficult to separate since the start of the purification of Kurdish after World War One (Abdulla 1980:221). The situation of Kurdish language and standardisation is more related to the definition offered by Thomas (1991:12):

> Purism is a manifestation of a desire on the part of speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language form or rid it of, putative foreign elements, or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard languages.

The experience of the Kurdish nation differs from one part of Kurdistan to another; the population of each part considers the elimination of the elements of the language of the nation state a type of purism and language "correction". In southern Kurdistan, the population desires the elimination of Arabic loanwords to achieve a purist language that codifies the standard Kurdish.

1.2.3. Overview of the Arabic language

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family. It is the first official language of 21 countries and second official language in several countries, such as in Djibouti, Somalia, Chad, Eritrea, Israel, Western Sahara and Comoros (Bassiouney 2009:10).

The term Arabic is applied to a number of speech-forms, which sometimes have substantial mutual differences (Beeston 2016:16) on the basis of morphology and syntax (Van Mol 2003:22). Thanks to Islam and its holy book, the Quran, the Quranic Arabic form became the literary standard among Arabs and later became the language of scholarship after the Muslim conquest (Abdel-Haleem 2011:811). Consequently, Arabic received special treatment by Muslims. However, Arabic speakers today usually acquire the local varieties as their mother tongue, before attaining standard and classical Arabic through education (Jastrow 2007:414, Holes 2004:3, Altoma 1969:3). This suggests that speakers are in a diglossic situation, according to Ferguson's (1959) definition of diglossia.

1.2.3.1 Diglossia and levels of Arabic

Diglossia refers to a situation where "two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions" (Ferguson 1966c:25). However, Fishman (1967:30) suggests a broader definition of diglossia to include "societies which are multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind".

According to Ferguson (1959:75), both varieties in the diglossic situation are fully functioning but one variety is used in written and formal situations and the other in spoken. The prestigious form of the two is the *higher variety*, traditionally known as *al-fuṣḥā*, "eloquent". According to Ennaji (2007:268-269) the *higher variety* is Classical Arabic because it is the

"language of Islam [...], the Quran was revealed in Classical Arabic which enjoys a great literary and religious tradition [...] it is learned at school". The variety with less prestige is the *lower variety*, that is known as *al-ʿāmiyya*, "slang", and is associated with the vernacular. In a true diglossia, the varieties should only be acceptable in contexts where they appropriately belong (status, class, education…) where the other is not acceptable (Ferguson 1959).

The difference between the two varieties in contemporary Arabic is based on a contrast between verb prefixes in western Arabic and the Levant. (Bateson 1967:102 and Abboud 1970:439, cited in Van Mol 2003:22). For example, in Moroccan Arabic, the imperfect for k.t.b 'to write' 1SG. is *na-ktab*, while in Baghdadi is *da-ʾaktib* and in Levant is ʿam-*ʾa-ktob*. This is in addition to differences in the phonology (see Van Mol 2003:22-25). It should be mentioned that the *higher variety* is not reserved for the higher layers of the society. The *lower variety* can be used by all social classes according to the social situation.

Ferguson (1959:236-237) argues that the *lower variety* is only acceptable in instruction to servants, conversation with friends and family, radio soap opera, captions on political cartoons and folk literature. In contrast, the *higher variety* is acceptable in religious sermons, personal letters, speech in parliament, political speech and lectures, news broadcasts, captions of pictures, and poetry (ibid.). Nonetheless, Abdul-Hassan (1988:59) argues that the addressee would be an important factor in the speakers' choice of the variety, not the genre of speech and opposes this clear distinction between the *higher* and *lower* varieties. For example, a personal letter could be in the *lower variety* if it was for a close friend, and a preacher may resort to the *lower variety* under some circumstances. Sometimes, the mixture is politically stirred according to Mazraani (1997:148). She argues that leaders often mix the two varieties for political reasons and to remove the distance between the leader and the wider audience in their public speeches.

1.2.3.2 Levels of Arabic

Contemporary linguistic studies consider Arabic a multi-level language ranging from three to five levels. Such a classification may not apply equally to the linguistic situation in all Arab speaking countries and the differences between the varieties and formal Arabic differs from one region to another (see Ennaji 2007:269). Blanc (1964:85) considers five levels of Arabic and Badawī (1973:35) offers a very similar classification with slight difference in terminology. Meiseles (1980:123) considers only four levels as he does not include what Blanc terms a *koineized colloquial* and what Badawī calls the *semi-literate spoken* category.

Similarly, Blau (1981:25) examines Middle Arabic, a term that refers to post-Classical Arabic which neither belongs to pure Classical nor colloquial Arabic, and includes elements of classical and post-Classical Arabic. He distinguishes three forms of Middle Arabic: Classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture, semi-Classical Middle Arabic and some kind of "classicized" Middle Arabic. According to Ennaji (2007:268,271) there are four Arabic levels and the modern standard is flexible in receiving foreign elements. Different scholars offered slightly different terminology and rankings. Table 1.2 summarises different classification of Arabic levels:

Table 1.2: Different levels of Arabic

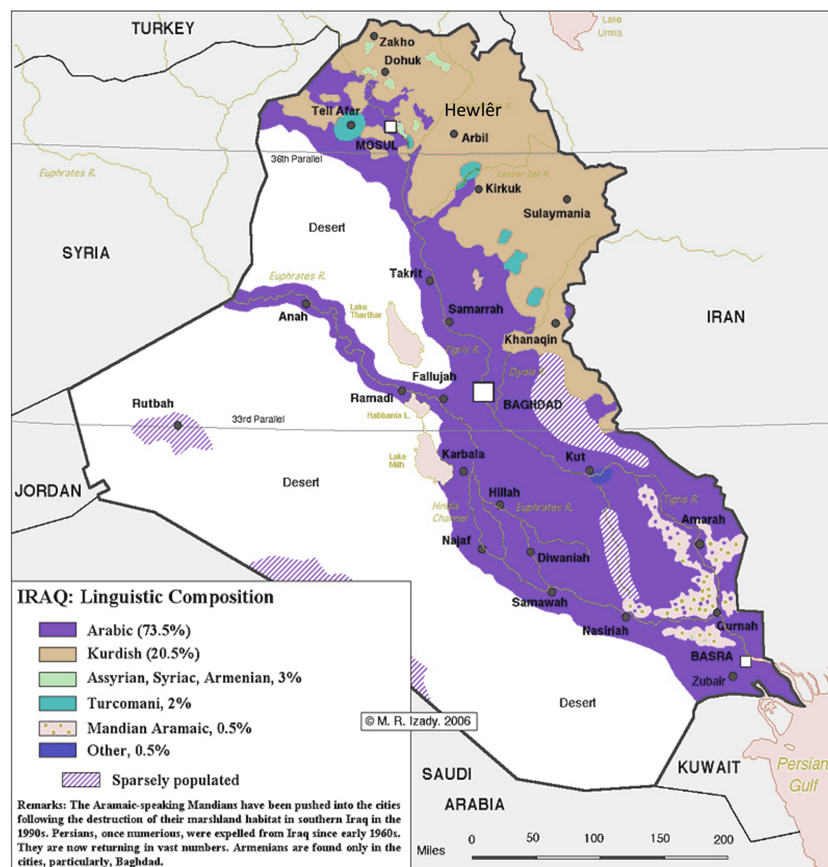
	Blanc 1960	Badawī 1973	Meiseles 1980	Blau 1981	Ennaji 2007
1	standard (pure) classical	classical Arabic	literary Arabic	classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture	classical Arabic
2	modified classical	modern standard	sub-standard Arabic	semi-Classical Middle Arabic	modern standard which is mixture
3	semi literary	educated spoken	educated spoken Arabic	'classicized' Middle Arabic	educated spoken
4	koineized colloquial	semi-literate spoken	-	-	-
5	plain colloquial	illiterate spoken	basic plain vernacular	-	colloquial

The discussion on the levels focuses on the *higher* and *lower* varieties of speech as shown in Table 1.2. However, scholars admit to difficulties in drawing binary distinctions between the levels, as social factors and contexts can affect the speaker's choice of variety. In spite of the categorisation of levels, Arabic speech cannot be assumed to be of a purely *higher* or purely *lower* form, which leads to the assumption that there are several mixed varieties and speakers can speak different levels according to the social circumstances (Hallberg 2016:19). In the same vein, Badawī (1973:92) says that the levels are not clearly distinguishable from each other and that the levels overlap.

1.2.3.3 The standard and Arabic varieties in Iraq

Arabic, Kurdish, Turkoman and Aramaic are the main languages spoken in Iraq (Postgate 2007:1) in addition to Mandian, Circassian and Persian, which are spoken by smaller populations (KLA and Map 1.4).

Arabic throughout the Arab countries is diglossic and the situation in Iraq is not an exception. Standard Arabic is the official language in formal situations, media, education, official instructions and religious sermons, while the spoken varieties are used in casual daily interactions.



Map 1.4 Distribution of languages in Iraq.[19]

Iraqi Arabic, in addition to Modern Standard Arabic, falls into two main distinguished variations, which are labelled as *gelet* and *qeltu*[20], according to Blanc (1964:30). The *qeltu* variety is divided into three major groups: Anatolian, Tigris and Euphrates (Jastrow 1983 cited in Mazraani 1997:101). The *gelet* variety is the dominant variety of Baghdad and is considered the non-standard standard due to the status of Baghdad and socio-political implications of being the centre of power and administration (Mazraani 1997:101). The *gelet* variety is spoken mainly by the predominant Muslim population in central and southern Iraq (Blanc 1964:4). The *qeltu* variety is said to be used by Muslims and the non-Muslim population in central and northern Iraq

---

[19] Izady 2006 (cited in borderlessblogger.files.wordpress.com).
[20] The terms *qeltu* and *gelet* came from the fact that the two varieties are known to pronounce the first root letter of first person singular perfect of "to say" q.l.t. differently. The speakers of *qeltu* variety are known to pronounce the first root letter as uvular plosive [q], while the speakers of *gelet* variety pronounce it as velar plosive [g].

(Versteegh and Eid 2006:414). Hence, according to Blanc (1964:5), Iraqi Arabic is mainly divided into standard literary Arabic (or MSA), the northern variety *qeltu* (Muslim-Christian variety) and the southern variety *gelet* (Muslim variety).

1.2.3.4 Which variety influenced Kurdish in Iraq?

As will be explained in 1.4.1 and 2.2.1, we cannot make judgements with ultimate confidence about the source of all Arabic loanwords in Kurdish, but we can weigh the phonological and socio-political evidence in considering the question.

According to Abdulla (1967:69), media and education have been the most influential factors in the contemporary contact between Arabic and Kurdish, and the language of these two domains is *high* Arabic. As Baghdad is the commercial centre of Iraq, its variety is the language of trade and Kurdish traders were influenced by it (ibid.). In addition, Iraqi dramas are in Baghdadi dialect. Hence, if the lower variety has any effect on Kurdish, it is more likely to come from Baghdadi Arabic, (*gelet* variety), which is the most prestigious variety in the country (Mazraani 1997:101-103). However, the data does not show exclusive elements of Baghdadi Arabic or *lower* Arabic in general (see example (5) in 2.2.1.1). This is most obvious in terms of the phonology of the loanwords, as we have not found any uvular plosive /q/ in loanwords shifting to velar plosive /g/ or velar plosive /k/ shifting to postalveolar fricative /tʃ/ (see 2.3.2.1). There is also no evidence of the *qeltu* variety of Mosul area that usually shifts dental trill /r/ to voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ (Jastrow 2007:416) or labiodental approximant /w/. Hence, I will compare the loanwords to the *higher variety* of Arabic. If any loanword in the data suggests a phonological link to any *lower variety,* including Baghdadi or *qeltu*, it will be indicated during the course of the analysis (see 2.2.1.1).

1.2.3.5 Source model of the loanwords

Often, Arabic levels are similar to the situation of a rainbow, as there are areas where the colours are mixed and it is difficult to draw a well-founded line to separate levels (Badawī 1973:94).[21] The levels are proposed only for academic purposes in order to make study easier (ibid. 94).

[21] An example of the blurry area between the levels of Arabic is the omission of the feminine marker *–at*. This happens in lower varieties as well as in the recitation of the *Qurʾān*, which is the purest example of classical Arabic. The <t> is not pronounced at stops <*al-waqf*>and at the end of verses (sentences). So it could be argued that missing feminine markers <t> in loanwords does not mean they were borrowed from spoken varieties.

Otherwise, it is practically impossible to delineate where the adjacent levels start and where they end, as distinguishing between the levels of spoken Arabic is complicated by the similarity and the overlap between the two (Hallberg 2016:40).

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of the loanwords come from the written standard Arabic and borrowing from spoken Arabic cannot be entirely ruled out (see 2.2.1.1). However, the effect of the Mosul region variety, *qeltu,* in particular is not very likely due to socio-economic factors. Firstly, CK speakers were not in direct contact with *qeltu* variety speakers and CK speakers and the area between them is populated by NK speakers. Secondly, Blanc (1964:5-6) argues that the *qeltu* variety is more associated with non-Muslim Arabic speakers. Given that the Kurds' appreciation of the Arabic language was motivated by Islam (Abdulla 1980:8) and the fact that non-Muslim minorities never had power to influence other communities, I believe that considering the spoken *qeltu* variety as the source of loanwords is implausible.

Another fact which supports the idea that Kurdish was influenced by the standard variety is that the Arabic language was introduced to the Kurdish community through religion and later education, which are both taught through the medium of Standard Arabic (see 1.2.3.4.). Therefore, this research considers the standard literary Arabic as a model for the purpose of comparing the loanword to the source language. In addition, phonological (see 1.2.3.4) and morphological evidence[22] does not support the idea of borrowing from colloquial Arabic, and the uncertainty about the levels makes it plausible to consider Standard Arabic as the source. This will imply that any comparison between the loanword and the donor language model will be based on the standard classical form of the words and grammar. However, if any element of the colloquial appears relevant, that will be highlighted in the analysis, if there is strong evidence that indicates borrowing from colloquial[23].

---

[22] For, example no evidence shows the shift of /k/ to the colloquial /tʃ/, /q/ to /g/ or /r/ to / ɣ /regarding phonology and in the majority of the loanwords feminine marker *-at* is preserved. These facts are strong indications of no or very weak effect of Arabic dialects on Kurdish.

[23] Some words may seem to the reader as if they are from the colloquial Arabic, Turkish or Persian, but in fact they are from classical Arabic, as in *būrī* 'pipe', *jādda* 'street', *bas* 'enough' etc. (see Al-Farāhīdī (2001), and Ibn Manẓūr 2011).

1.3 Contact and lexical borrowing

1.3.1 Overview

In order to place the current study in the context of wider themes of the investigation of language contact and loanword studies, the following sections of this chapter review the relevant literature on language contact and the main issues in borrowing that are related to this study. It examines definitions of language contact, borrowing, loanwords and code-switching. As for each individual chapter, there will be an overview of related literature in the introduction for the specific focus of the chapter.

Language contact is considered as a main source of language change and evolution (Schendl 2001:55). The linguistic outcome of such contact is the consequence of the socio-cultural bonds that come into existence between two communities or nations that happened to be in contact (ibid. 56). This situation has an impact on diverse aspects of cultural life including the languages of the communities in contact. Furthermore, the context in which the language has affected the other would determine what specific speech parts, elements, and specific levels of the language are to be borrowed. However, in spite of extensive research, the field still lacks an integrated approach:

> No integrated approach to language contact has yet been formulated […] on a view of language as social activity and of communication as goal-driven. Consequently, it views speakers as actors who use language in order to achieve goals, and it attributes the selection of entire codes and of individual structures of language - constructions, word-forms, intonation, and so on - to goal-oriented activity. (Matras 2009:3)

However, earlier efforts to study borrowing and in particular loanwords have set what can be considered as the foundation for the study of language contact. In order to draw a line for the approach to investigate language contact, a comprehensive definition of language contact to provide the scope of the investigation is needed.

Weinreich offers a definition within the frame of bilingualism saying, "two or more languages will be IN CONTACT if they are used alternately by the same persons. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact" (1953:1). However, in the same vein, Crystal

(2006) adds the elements of "geographical continuity" and "proximity" to fulfil the contact:

> A term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between languages or dialects. The result of contact situations can be seen linguistically, in the growth of loan words […]. In a contact restricted sense, languages are said to be 'in contact' if they are used alternately by the same persons. (Crystal 2006:106).

Thomason (2001:1) defines contact as "the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time." It is, according to Poplack (1993:254) a linguistic process by which forms from two or more languages may be combined as a result of their common use, the linguistic constraints on such combination, and its consequences for the structure of the languages involved.

Within contact situations three elements are involved. Firstly, two or more varieties from the same background family or unrelated. Secondly, the speakers of speech communities involved in the contact. Thirdly, the sociocultural settings where the languages are practised (Rendón: 2008:13).

The definition of language contact seems to consider time and place for the contact to occur. According to Thomason (2001:2), language contact could take place through geographical proximity or face-to-face situations. However, this argument is beginning to be weakened slowly due to the spread of new-media. Trask (2000:43) argues that "transfer of a word from one language into a second language, as a result of some kind of contact […] between speakers of the two" occurs. This does not stipulate the form of the contact and can be supported by arguing that new technology and social media in particular provide space for contact that goes beyond the boundaries of place.

Another factor impacting contact, namely geographical proximity, we can assume is changing as the (speakers of the) languages in contact can influence others anywhere in any community through Facebook[24], Instagram, and other means of communication; new-media may infiltrate into the languages of communities thousands of miles apart but these means still have very limited influence and their effect is still very limited. For example, Kurdish words like

[24] These means of communication are not assumed to have affected the data of this thesis due to the late establishment of the new media tools in the region.

Pêšmerge, "Kurdish freedom fighter" (lit: [those who] confront death), have entered many languages, including English, where the term has been added to the Oxford Dictionary. However, the intensity is not great in such instances, and the geographical boundaries in this example and others had no effect on contact and borrowing, a fact that should be considered in the study of language contact. This fact offers another element within the definition of contact that was earlier hinted at by James Milroy (1997:311), who argues that in the case of "language contact, it is not actually languages that are in contact, but the speakers of the languages". Furthermore, Trask (2004:43) has rightly expanded the type of contact beyond proximity and geographic continuity since in modern times contact is not restricted to geographical proximity and physical closeness.

Hence, it could be said that language contact is a situation when speakers of two or more languages or two varieties are exposed to the other language in a space which is not necessarily within the same geographical proximity or face-to-face interaction. Here we should place more emphasis on the importance of the speech community as well as the sociocultural setting. Additionally, the element of place is almost losing its importance, due to new communication and new forms of contact. In fact, there are other dynamics such as political and demographic factors that determine contact and its outcome as Sankoff (2002:640) argues:

> The linguistic outcomes of language contact are determined in large part by the history of social relations among populations, including economic, political and demographic factors […] it is important to situate any discussion of the results of language contact within a sociohistorical perspective that considers the historical forces that have led to language contact.

Early analysis of contact situations was more involved with the historical context and synchronic discussion such as Salverda de Grave (1906 cited in Treffers-Daller 2010:19). The pioneering analysis conducted by Haugen and Bloomfield, through the investigation of contact and loanwords, passed beyond the process of borrowing and grammatical matters that affect borrowing. The subsequent studies further focused on the issues of borrowability and hierarchies of borrowability, as in Muysken (1981), Moravcsik (1978) and Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988). These extensive works on borrowing focus on loanwords and have stimulated investigation of code-switching in contact, starting to distinguish it from borrowing (Romaine 1995:62 and Myers-Scotton 2006:254).

Undoubtedly, the works of Haugen and Weinreich are considered to be crucial attempts in the study of language contact and the integration of the sociocultural explanation with linguistic analysis for the investigation of language contact situations. Their attempts surpassed other observations into language contact and the outcomes of contact in the history of linguistic studies. However, it is more common to find researchers considering Bloomfield (1933), Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) as pioneers who set the foundation for the current studies of contact (see Matras 2009). This is true when it comes to the analysis of borrowing and especially the classification and investigation of the aspects of loanwords in the contact phenomenon. Nevertheless, the study of contact dates back to earlier scholars who made observations about contact situations. Winford (2003:6) argues that "G Liucio's discussion in 1666 of the mixture of the Croatian and Romance dialects in Dalmatia is based on records of the fourth century."

However, in the earlier works there was confusion over the contact effect. Müller (1875) argued that languages borrow elements other than grammar and no language exists with mixed grammar. Whitney (1881) claimed that elements of grammar and lexical items can be borrowed in language contact situations which is considered the starting point of contact from the perspectives of contact-induced changes (Winford 2003:7).

Sapir (1921) studied the contact phenomenon looking into the aspects of grammar in the situation where the forms of the donor language conformed to the syntax of the receiving language. He followed the work by investigating language contact. Sapir sees borrowing as "the simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another" (Sapir 1921:206). Bloomfield (1933) focused on developing theories of morphology and syntax but in the meantime investigated contact as a pioneer in contact studies.

The studies of Haugen (1950 & 1953) and Weinreich (1953) represent a very important phase in the history of contact studies, as they looked into the outcomes of contact from the structural perspective while stressing the significance of studying language contact from the structural and socio-cultural viewpoints. Their works, accordingly, were not only a milestone in the field of contact with their most viable work on borrowing and classification of linguistic borrowing, but are also considered the beginning of American sociolinguistics (Clyne 1987:453).

Appel and Muysken (1987 and 2005) looked into contact from the viewpoint of diachronic change. Thomason (2001) investigated the historic aspects of the language contact, maintenance and shift. This is a continuation of the previous work on the analysis of contact within the context of historical linguistics (Thomason and Kaufman 1998), as they suggest that a

pure structural approach is not adequate for the analysis of contact outcomes. Along the same vein but within a wider scope, Winford (2003) has looked into the contact from the viewpoint of historical linguistics and borrowing. He stresses that social factors are "more important than linguistic factors in shaping the consequence of language contact" (Winford 2013:365). Myers-Scotton (2006) has considered aspects of bilingualism and intercultural communication and accordingly raised the research to another level of investigation beyond the abstract structure and forms. Heine & Kuteva's (2003, 2005) approach has been to look into contact from the structural aspect and contact-induced changes. They have concluded that "language contact may not only lead to transfer or replication of matter or patterns, it can also trigger internal changes in a language under contact influence."

Thomason's (2003) work is one of the landmarks in the formulation of theories to apply in historical situations with evidence of socio-historical information. She deems linguistic factors in linguistic interference, the relationship between linguistic interference and changes that occur in language death, as well as comparison between contact-language genesis and contact-induced language change. She accounts for mechanisms through which contact-induced change occurs under different social circumstances and the intensity of contact. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:35-45) earlier argued that socio-historical dynamics are fundamental factors in shaping the results of language contact and minimised the significance of internal linguistic dynamics. They claim that linguistic constraints on linguistic influences are based on the structure of the language according to which the outcomes will take place. Consequently, this leads to "incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:37).

Aikhenvald (2002:363) argues that when two or more languages are in contact, it is impossible to keep them virtually hermetically discrete. The emanating contact will result in different forms that were defined as interference, code-switching, language-crossing, lexical borrowing. Convergence contact between languages has been identified, e.g. interferences, convergence, calquing, language-crossing, lexical borrowing, and code-switching. However, Myers-Scotton (2002:210) has expressed reservations regarding the term interference, as according to her it refers to "a number of other effects such as adopting the way sentences are structured".

To sum up, the most prominent outcome of contact situations is what has been termed as “borrowing” that can occur at all levels of the language with relative differences in the significance of the effect. The following sections will offer explanations about borrowing and lexical borrowing and then the differences between borrowing and code-switching.

Contact in this thesis refers to the situation in which the community of speakers come across another language where the geographical boundaries and proximities are not a condition for making the contact happen; however, the space is considered rather differently from the traditional perception of community space for contact. Therefore, contact here means the contact between the speakers of the two languages and excludes the geographical space. Geography is no longer a crucial factor within a world that lives in virtual social space and that is not confined within geographical dimensions but it is still bound by what Crystal (2006:427) terms “people”, “space” and “practice”. Linguistic as well as social factors contribute to the outcome of the contact depending on the context of social settings as well as language specific issues (see 1.3.2.1 on borrowability).

The study of contact still needs to discover the behaviour of the speakers and other aspects of the outcomes of a contact situation rather than taking only the historical and socio-cultural dimensions and beyond factors of degree of bilingualism. A study into contact therefore requires careful consideration of the behaviour of the speakers (Haugen 1950:210). It is also necessary to consider further investigation into the effects of political stances and forceful language imposition as in the case of Kurdish. This research aims to investigate the contact in light of this; the research includes an investigation into attitudes to loanwords which is an outcome of contact with Arabic.

1.3.2 Borrowing

Lexical borrowing is most commonly defined as an immediate result of contact between varieties of speech (see Treffers-Daller 2010). Yet the degree of assimilation and the process of incorporation into the receiving language have been projected according to the researchers’ definition of borrowing. The simplest survey shows overwhelming literature on borrowing since the works of Haugen and Weinreich in the past century. It is, therefore, impossible to survey all the work, but there are landmark works that have impacted the research in the field.

According to Haugen (1950:163) and Ringbom (1983:210), borrowing involves the transfer of elements from one language into another. It is a replication of the elements of a

language and their application into another (Haugen 1950:163). This process of loanwords becoming established in the language follows a gradual course, especially in terms of phonology and morphology (Bloomfield 1933:540).

Earlier studies on borrowing have presented different definitions and some debate about the accuracy of the terminology. Haugen (1950:212) has highlighted problematic issues with the term “borrowing”. He defines it as “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another”. In the same vein, Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) define borrowing as “the incorporation of foreign features” by the speakers into the receiving language. The receiving language consequently changes, having been influenced by the introduced foreign elements. Similarly, Winford (2003:11) uses the term “lexical borrowing” to describe the contact-induced changes that occur in situations whereby the speech community preserves the use of “its native language from generation to generation” but borrows some lexical and structural features from an external source. Trask (2000:44) considers borrowing to be “the transfer of linguistic features of any kind from one language to another as the result of contact.” However, Aikhenvald (2002:4) has set a condition distinguishing between “direct diffusion” which she terms as borrowing and “indirect borrowing” or “borrowing of categories”.

Haugen’s (1956:39) definition of borrowing, that laid the foundation of contact research beyond 1950, highlights the probability of internal change within the borrowed items and does not distinguish it from “interference”:

> Linguistic influence is that in which a single item is plucked out of one language and used in the context of another. Before this occurred, the item belonged to the lexicon of language A and showed the features of phonemic and morphemic structure characteristic of that language. In the context of language B these features could either be retained, or they could be modified in favour of corresponding features from language B. In the last case there would be some reason to regard the item as henceforth a part of language B. We will then say that the item has been *diffused* from A to B or more traditionally that the speakers of language B have *borrowed* it from A or according to newer terminology still that a case of interference has occurred between A and B. The item as pronounced by speakers of A we shall call the model and the diffused item as pronounced by speakers of B we shall call the replica.

Heine and Kuteva (2005:6) set another criterion for borrowing, arguing that it involves phonetic substance. This argument consequently excludes the types of transfer that do not implicate the transfer of sound properties as in the case of loan-translation. This has to be further clarified because loan-translation is a type of borrowing in spite of not transferring the phonemes of the source language. Arguably, loan-translation is not a loanword (see 1.3.3).

As for the scale of borrowing, it is more relevant to the extent of the contact between the two languages. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1998:75), casual contact is sufficient for lexical borrowing in cases of "cultural and functional reasons". As the intensity of the contact increases, the scale of borrowing rises beyond single words and reaches the level of structural borrowing in cases of strong and persistent contact situations.

1.3.2.1 Borrowing and borrowability

Studies on linguistic borrowing have shown that all languages draw elements from each other (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009:36), with less consistent agreement about what is borrowed and what is not borrowed and the degree of the borrowability as a universal pattern for contact situations. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:50) argue that lexical items are the most changeable and more easily borrowed elements of languages and are therefore the centre of influence in language contact situations.

Different scales of borrowability have been offered due to the differences in the context of borrowing language-specific grammar rules that make borrowability permissible or otherwise. Understanding borrowing and knowledge about it is important for understanding the extent of cultures' influences upon one another. The extent of the flexibility of the language boundaries that allow borrowing may possibly reflect the degree of language skills within the community, which reflect on better understanding of the culture of the community.

The evidence from accumulated research into borrowing shows that all language features are borrowable (Aikhenvald 2002:2, Onysko 2007:90). Nevertheless, the degree of borrowability is not universal, as it depends on the circumstances and "the extralinguistic factors - the social ecology of the contact situation itself - can override any structural resistance to change" (Winford 2003:25). This is in addition to factors that assist borrowability, such as "lexical content", "frequency", "structural dimension", and "equivalence" (Muysken and van Hout 1994:52-58).

In most cases, nouns are the most borrowable elements, followed by adjectives, verbs and so on (Field 2002). This is "primarily a product of their referential functions: nouns cover the most differentiated domain for labelling concepts, objects, and role" (Matras 2009:186). Thomason (2003:693-4) explains this as the elements that are "deeply embedded in elaborate interlocking structures are in general less likely to be borrowed because they are less likely to fit into the recipient language's structure". Myers-Scotton (2002:240) attributes the high scale of noun-borrowing to their function as receivers of thematic roles, which contributes to minimising the degree of disruption of the predicate-argument structure. However, this low probability of borrowing of certain parts of speech could also be attributed to a "genetic link" between the languages in contact. Haugen (1951) studied English and Norwegian contact, which are largely un-inflecting and genetically related languages. He found the verbs were the most borrowable elements after nouns and then other parts of speech, suffixes, inflection and sounds. Muysken (1981) studied Quechua and Spanish, which are not related genetically. He found the following hierarchy in the borrowability of Spanish loanwords in Quechua: nouns, adjectives, verbs, prepositions, co-ordinating conjunctions, quantifiers, determiners, free pronouns, clitic pronouns, and subordinating conjunctions. As the verbs are harder to borrow in distant languages due to inflectional issues, it would be difficult to fit them into the grammatical system of the receiving language easily. This is most probably why the rank of verbs differs from one contact situation to another.

Kurdish and Farsi can easily borrow elements, including verbs, from each other due to their genetic link. They share great typological similarities that Thomason (2003:698) considers to be a factor in borrowability. This kind of outcome has led Weinreich (1953:61-62) to conclude that languages with similar structures are less resistant to borrowing and can borrow from each other more easily, while for languages with bigger differences it would be more difficult. Since Arabic and Kurdish are genetically distant languages, the verbs are not high in the hierarchy. Nevertheless, Haugen (1950) found verb-loans second in the hierarchy as English and Norwegian are genetically close.

1.3.2.2 Direct and indirect borrowing

Direct borrowing is said to occur where a word has been borrowed from the source language directly; indirect borrowing occurs where a word has been borrowed through a third language, whether or not the word has been imported completely with its phonological and semantic properties (Myers-Scotton 2006:219). If the word maintains all or most of its properties, then it is

a loanword. Otherwise, it is a loan-translation if it did not maintain the phonological shape. It is a loan-shift if it passed on the phonological shape only without the meaning (ibid.). The third type of indirect borrowing concerns loan-blends or hybrids, which to a certain degree include the phonemes of the source.

The analysis of loanwords in this thesis is conducted from systematic and structural perspectives and the classification of the loanwords according to the phonological and morphological changes. This is because all properties of the loan-translations are represented in Kurdish phonemes and forms. However, the inclusion of the loan-translation would be viable in further studies of borrowing dedicated to semantic loans.

1.3.3 Definition of a loanword

The immediate outcome of language contact is borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:37) and word borrowing is the most noticeable type of borrowing (Thomason 2001:10). In effect, "no language … probably in the world is entirely devoid of loanwords", according to Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009:55). This is widely acknowledged. However, in spite of extensive literature on loanwords and borrowing in general, definitions of loanwords are inconsistent.

Haugen defines loanwords as a complex form composed of one or more foreign morphemes. When the speakers import a lexical item, they import "not only the meaning of the form but also its phonemic shape, though with more or less complete substitution of native phonemes" (Haugen 1950:213-214). A loanword here is distinguished from loan-shift or loan-translation which contains only indigenous morphemes with a foreign structure (Haugen 1950:215).

Haugen (1950) offers one of the simplest definitions of loanwords as the reproduction of the patterns of another language in the receiving language. The loanword, according to this definition, is a reproduction of a foreign form in the receiving conceding language. The reproduction process here covers phonological and morphological amendments upon which Haugen has based his classification of loanwords. However, Haugen and later Myers-Scotton (2006:209), raise a question about the accuracy of the term. Haugen admits that the term is a type of metaphor:

> The borrowing takes place without the lender's consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan.

> One might as well call it stealing were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods. [...] The real advantage of the term 'borrowing' is the fact that it is not applied to language by laymen. It has therefore remained comparatively unambiguous in linguistic discussion, and no apter term has yet been invented (Haugen 1950:211-212).

Haspelmath (2009:36) defines loanword as "a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing (or transfer, or copying)."

Three different terms have been in use to describe the loanwords in the literature, loanwords, borrowing, and interference. As there is no mutual consent between the borrower and the original source, the term *loanword* does not fit the definition of the lexical borrowing (Myers-Scotton 2006:209). In addition, the third term, "interference", is "more objectionable because of its connotation" to the adaptation of "the way sentence structured" and other features that languages borrow from one another (ibid.). This is clearly beyond the definition of a loanword.

Heine and Kuteva (2005:6) have confined the definition of borrowing to "contact-induced transfer involving phonetic substance of some kind or another". They make a very reasonable argument in narrowing down the definition of borrowing to "phonetic substance". This certainly excludes loan-translation that does not necessarily involve the phonetic properties of the word in case of lexical borrowing. This necessitates reconsideration of loan-translation as semantic borrowing rather than classifying them as loanwords. On this basis, as will be evident in the coming chapters, this research has excluded loan-translation for not being "actual loanwords". There are reasons for excluding loan-translation from the type of loanwords. Word is "the basic unit of analysis, operating within a set of variables which constitute a paradigm" (Crystal 2006: 523). Therefore, reference to "word" means it constitutes the phonological shape that encodes for a meaning. Without the two elements, the term "word" will not be accurate.

As for the calque or loan translations, they differ from loanwords in that they are most often two elements rather than a single word as Myers-Scotton (2006:218) argues. In addition, the phonological shape, which is the symbol representing the word meaning, is altered. Therefore, we, the linguists should rename loan-translations as translated word, semantic loan or another term that suits and describes the situation better. We have to emphasise that the loan-

translation certainly falls into the category of borrowing but it does not fall into the category of loanword according to the definition offered in this work.

This study prefers the use of the term “loanword” to “borrowing” and “lexical borrowing”, as the term “borrowing” has been used to refer to code-switching in some studies. Borrowing is used to refer to lexical borrowing by bilinguals (Haugen 1950: 212 and Heah 1989:86). It is also used by others as a cover term for referring to a bundle of lexical transfer and comprising different types, namely loanwords, sometimes called “loanwords”, “loanshifts” and “loanblends” (Haugen 1950: 214-215, Beardsmore 1982:57-59). In other studies, the terms *borrowing* and *loanwords* are used interchangeably (Smeaton: 1973:31).

Lexical borrowing or loanwords dealt with in this thesis are different from the term “code-switching” and “borrowing”. This difference will be addressed within (1.3.4) in more detail. On the one hand, code-switching means shifting from a language to another by bilinguals so that the switches are integrated only temporarily and infrequently, and often extending beyond the individual lexical item to longer stretches of speech. On the other hand, loanwords are accepted, recurrent, widespread and collective (Romaine 1989:61, 134). They are used regularly and are permanently present and established in the host language's monolingual environment. “They have often been integrated into the language and are used by monolinguals who may or may not be aware of their foreign origin [...] probably not even perceived as foreign by the majority of speakers” (ibid. 55). Loanwords in this thesis should include the lexical items that are borrowed into Kurdish with complete preservation of the source language phonemes, partial substitution or hybridization.

1.3.4 Code-switching

In situations of persistent and constant language contact, language influence moves beyond lexical items to more complex elements and even structural features (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:37, van Coetsem 1988:26), where code-switching takes place.

Investigations into code-switching have explored a number of different perspectives. This is one of the reasons we find that, in spite of the vast amount of literature on code-switching, scholars do not seem to share a definition of the term as the investigations were conducted under different approaches. Some studies have focused on the analysis of morphosyntactic patterns, while others have considered psycholinguistic or sociolinguistic aspects of switching influenced by society and socio-economic factors. The term is spelled differently as “code switching”,

"codeswitching" and "code-switching". For this reason, it is viable to attempt a survey of the use of the term code-switching in sociocultural linguistics and perhaps offering a definition.

Haugen (1956:40) argues that code-switching occurs through the introduction of a new word to the language by bilinguals, a definition that does not distinguish between loanwords and switching. He also suggests that the introduction of elements from one linguistic variety to another is merely alternation of the two rather than code-switching the varieties (1950:211).

Code-switching, according to Blom and Gumperz (1972:411), is "a shift between two distinctive entities which are never mixed". Gumperz (1982:59) introduced a later definition that shows switching as a combination rather than keeping the two "entities" separate, saying switching is "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems". Diebold (1971:56) says code-switching "usually meant the successive alternate use of two different language codes within the same discourse; it implies that the speaker is conscious of the switch". Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977:5) include the shift in registers and style in code-switching, arguing that "[t]he switch may be for only one word or for several minutes of speech. The varieties may be anything from genetically unrelated languages to two styles of the same language". They include different registers of the language, or dialects as well as the genetically related or distant languages. In contrast, Halliday (1972:162) outlines code-switching as "lacing of L1 language utterance with L2 items [which] is not confined to multilingual societies. It is likely to happen whenever a foreign language is a mark of social distinction and the sole medium of language activity in certain registers". Gardner-Chloros (2009:4) argues that switching is a combination, which is simply a wide-ranging mixture of linguistic varieties with a stipulation that it has to happen in bilingual societies. While ambiguity surrounds the above definitions of the terms code-switching as to whether they are totally foreign varieties or style within the same variety, Kerswill (1994:147) asserts that switching also occurs in alternation between the varieties of the same language rather than being restricted to the frame of bilingual communities. Evidence for Kerswill's argument is present in other languages as well as Kurdish.

Code-switching, therefore, is the alternation of two varieties of the same language or two distinct languages in a simultaneous conversation. Shifting between registers and styles is not effectively switching and it does not necessarily associate with contact. It can occur in conversation without any effect upon contact due to many factors including the speakers' attitude and the social setting of the conversation.

There is also a certain overlap between the definitions of borrowing and code-switching, which seems apparent as in Appel and Muysken's (1987:165) definition of borrowing, where they call code-switching "lexical interference". Gumperz (1982:66) argues that code-switching must be distinguished from loanwords as lexical borrowing as according to him it is:

> The introduction of single words or short frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into other […] the item incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structure.

This definition is broader than the conventional scope of loanwords, which are meant to be "single items". By including "phrases" in his definition, Gumperz goes beyond the scope of the original definition of loanword as a "single item" the incorporation of the items into the grammatical system of the receiving language. He suggests assimilation is an instinctive process to conform to the morphological characteristics of the host so as to enter into its syntactic structures.

According to Grosjean (1995:262), interference "is a speaker-specific deviation from the language being spoken due to the influence of the other 'deactivated' language. Interference can occur at all levels of language." Thomason & Kaufman (1988:39) explain the reasons that lead to interference, arguing that it results from imperfect group learning. That is, in this kind of interference, a group of speakers shifting to a target language fails to learn the target language perfectly. In the case of borrowing, learning the second language or bilingualism does not necessarily have an effect.

The classical view[25] considers the morphological and phonological adaptations as a distinguishing element between borrowing and code-switching (see Poplack and Meechan 1995: 200, Grosjean 1995: 263, Myers-Scotton 2006:241). According to this view, the two concepts can be easily distinguished from each other. Thus, non-native elements in code-switching do not go through phonological and morphological adaptations while in borrowing they are adapted. However, Appel and Muysken (1987:172) object to this argument and find it problematic for two reasons, as "there may be different degrees of phonological adaptation for borrowed items" and "it is not evident that all non-adapted items are clearly cases of code-switching".

---

[25] Classic code-switching includes elements from two (or more) language varieties in the same clause, but only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause (Myers-Scotton 2006:241).

Hudson (1996:55) argues that code-switching differs from borrowing, in that the former involves the mixing of languages in speech whereas the latter denotes the mixing of two different varieties. Thomason (2001:133) however, considers the frequency of the use of the foreign element in the receiving language to be borrowing when the monolinguals have taken it from the bilingual speakers; the element is considered as borrowing.

The matter of integration has then been made more specific as Muysken (2000:70) argues that the presence of foreign elements, which are not integrated into the grammatical system of the receiving language, is switching. This means the integration into the system of the receiving language is a crucial marker for distinguishing borrowing from code-switching.

Myers-Scotton considers it unnecessary to distinguish code-switching from borrowing, arguing “from a synchronic point of view there is no need to make the borrowing vs. codeswitching distinction” (2002:153). This is particularly when the borrowing does not involve singly occurring elements that Weinreich (1953:11), Poplack et al (1988:50-98) and Thomason (2001:134) term as “nonce borrowing”. The term “nonce borrowing” is often used contrasting with established borrowing i.e. “regular conventionalized loanword” (Haspelmath 2009:41). This is because the singly occurring items and the established borrowed items are largely integrated.

It is evident that in spite of the efforts and discussions of the definition of borrowing and code-switching, the distinction between them is still problematic and there is overlap between the two, especially when it comes to a single item use in the receiving language. As for the frequency of use of the word, this could be attributed to the matter of personal style and word choice as well as the subject matter. This merits further studies in the field especially within the frame of social matters, as well as great attention to discourse, to reach a conclusion that could be more easily generalised.

1.3.5 Relevant work on Kurdish

Limited research has been carried out into Arabic and Kurdish language contact. Almost all the works have been journal articles. Existing studies have focused on the written language. One of the earliest studies of the foreign loanwords in Kurdish was carried out by Justi ‘Note sur les mots étrangers en Kurde’ which documents Arabic, Persian and Turkish loans in Kurdish (1873:89).

Besîr (1974:751-765) discusses the influence of Arabic on Kurdish with special reference to loan-shift creations and terminology in Kurdish. Other works on loanwords focus on coined words in Kurdish, such as Nebez's (1978) wordlist and Fexrî's (1987) article on the phonetic change of the loanwords in Kurdish, discuss the neology creations in CK. Zhyan (1972:360-1) studies the spoken Kurdish of Mahabad, Baneh, the Hawrami dialect and Farsi lexical influence on Kurdish, paying particular attention to the phonetic changes. Haig (2006) investigates the influence of Turkish on NK with regard to phonology, morphological typology, verbal structure and complex clauses.

More recently, Chyet's (2007) concise article '*Kurdish'* in EALL briefly discusses Kurdish contact in general, with focus on NK rather than CK. He concludes the article with a small section on Kurdish influence on spoken Arabic. Meʿrûf (2007) attempts to discuss Kurdish lexicology and foreign elements. The article should be considered rather as an etymological study about the origin of the Kurdish lexicons.

The major studies of Kurdish language include Kahn's (1976) thesis, *Borrowing and variation in a phonological description of [Northern] Kurdish*; Abdulla (1980), *Some aspects of language purism among Kurdish speakers*; Hassanpour (1992), *Nationalism and language in Kurdistan between 1918 and 1985*, and Hasanpoor (1999), *A study of European, Persian and Arabic loanwords in [written] Sorani*. Abdulla (1980) studied nationalism and purism and refers to Arabic and non-Arabic elements in CK between 1924 and 1972. He explains the means and the extent of the purists' success in purging Kurdish from foreign elements. Hassanpour studied the process of language developments, aspects of borrowing and purism as trends in the standardisation of CK with no particular study of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. Hassanpoor (1999) examined loanwords in Kurdish, paying only a little attention to Arabic loanwords in written CK and the analysis skips thorough investigation into the phonological adaptation of the loans. He also focuses more on the Mukri sub-dialect of CK, as the Mukri data comprise about two thirds of the corpus. As for the work of Margaret Kahn (1976), she dealt with the NK dialect and the influence of Turkish language on Kurdish in terms of phonology, grammar and did not deal with the CK variety.

1.4 General methodology

The aim of this thesis is to investigate Kurdish-Arabic language contact with special reference to loanwords in Kurdish. Since the Arabic-Kurdish contact situation is as complex as the eventful history of 1400 years since the emergence of Islam in the sixth century, this merits an investigation that extends beyond the traditional analysis of loanwords.

Most of the studies of language contact have so far focused on a single dimension of investigation. A broader approach covering socio-cultural and psychological dimensions for the investigation (Winford 2013:734) is needed in order to understand and explain the effects more sufficiently. Therefore, this thesis takes a multi-dimensional approach in the investigation of Arabic contact with Kurdish, taking socio-political, linguistic and attitudinal factors into account.

This is in addition to the specific contact situation and in the light of the impact of various long-standing socio-cultural, historico-political factors. The research has required the investigation of different dimensions of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish by considering the analysis of the structure of loanwords as well as the effect of socio-demographic factors on the assimilation of loanwords. Furthermore, it investigates the attitudes that have shaped the loanwords' incorporation into Kurdish. For this reason, this thesis has been divided into three closely related parts. Each part of the thesis analyses a particular dimension of loanwords. Therefore, this section will review the general methodology of the thesis and each chapter will provide a more specific review of its particular methodology.

1.4.1 The identification of loanwords

In the attempt to identify the Arabic loanwords in the data, many resources have been consulted in addition to the researcher's own intuitions as a bilingual linguist, translator and language instructor. Furthermore, the researcher has consulted other Kurdish intellectuals as well as printed materials such as monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, *Ferhangî-Mehabad*, *Astêra-Geše*, *Kurdistan*, *Hanbane-Bőrîne* (also see 3.1.5.2). The loanwords have then checked and compared to likely similar words in Persian and Turkish in order to be sure of the source of the words. As these two languages were dominant in the Middle East for long time, they might have been the vehicle of Arabic lexical transfer into Kurdish. The most important tool in this comparison has been phonological clues (see 2.2.1.1).

In the absence of specialized etymological dictionaries, the identification of assimilated loanwords has not been easy, especially the identification of words and older items. For example, the word *mőĺet*^{K}[26], "permission", from *muhlat*^{A}, "time limit", involves remarkable alternation of three phonemes. Another item, *bas*^{K}, "search", involves vowel lengthening, vowel and consonant omissions and alternation of another consonant. Through discussions with native Kurdish linguists I reached the conclusion that the word *bas*^{K} is a loanword, as certain varieties of Kurdish beyond the scope of this research do pronounce the pharyngeal *ḥ* in *baḥṯ*^{A} that becomes *beḧ*s^{K}.

1.4.2 The first set of data

The data of this thesis consists of two sets of materials. The first set of data comprises a corpus of recordings of live simultaneous conversations. The recordings all were extracted from Kurdish language broadcasting services, the Kurdistan TV (KTV), KurdSat TV, Gali Kurdistan TV, and the Voice of America-Kurdish Service. The second set was collected through direct contact with the respondents and their answers to questionnaires. This set of data was obtained from the same geographical region as the speakers of the first set of data, i.e. from Hewlêr.

The first set of data comprises materials for the analysis of the structure and the assimilation of loanwords in general, as well as the investigation into the effect of social factors on the assimilation of loanwords. Material was extracted from series of live vox-pops, talk show and live interviews that were recorded instantly from main Kurdish broadcasting services. The collection of this set of data was conducted with no major obstacles.

The first set of data is discussed in chapters 2 and 3. For Chapter 2, the data was selected among the recorded materials to cover different strata of society in order to test the types of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. This set included live interviews with Kurdish speakers from different social strata. This was also to test the extent of the phonological and morphological assimilation of the loanwords. Chapter 3 analyses the effect of social factors on the assimilation of loanwords. Hence, the speech of ten men and ten women have been transcribed and analysed to have two equal groups for testing loanwords usage. The second set of data was designed and collected for the analysis of awareness and the attitudes of Kurdish speakers to Arabic

---

[26] Superscript ^{K} refers to the Kurdish version of the loanwords and the superscript ^{A} refers to the Arabic 'source' form of the word.

loanwords. Data was collected through a fieldwork trip to Hewlêr and details about attitudes and awareness are discussed in Chapter 4.

The first set of data, which was used for the analysis of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish, includes 104 sets of interviews in CK in 2010. The speakers and the presenters were all CK speaking from the areas of Hewlêr and Slêmanî. For the general analysis of loanwords, different recordings from different strata of the society were needed to analyse and find any possible patterns in the typology of the loanwords as well as the assimilation into Kurdish. This aimed at the conversations spoken by the Kurds in general regardless of their affiliation, status, and the topic of the conversation in order to give a bigger picture of the loanwords in Kurdish.

In dealing with the effect of social factors on the use of loanwords in Chapter 3, 20 recordings from the 104 samples were selected. The data was carefully considered to include single themes of conversation. The total of 20 speakers, including 10 men and 10 women, were selected. This is in order to obtain materials viable for comparing two social variables. The most viable theme among the 104 sets of recordings is the discussions and comments on parliamentary elections. Gender was considered in testing the effect of social variables on the loanwords for two reasons. Firstly, such comparison has not been conducted in language contact research concerning Kurdish and Arabic and this would be an original contribution to knowledge. Secondly, as the data was not obtained from the speakers face-to-face due to logistic and practical reasons, assessing demographic information based on estimation could lead to inaccurate conclusions.

1.4.3 The second set of data

The second set of data was obtained through questionnaires that were distributed and collected from respondents in the Kurdistan Region. As will be explained in more details in Chapter 4, the questionnaire comprised three parts, namely socio-demographic information about the respondents, the awareness section and attitudinal questions. After filling the socio-demographic information, in the presence of the researcher, the respondents listened to recordings of 17 statements in Kurdish and were asked to mark their answers on the questionnaire sheet for the awareness section. This set of statements aims at testing awareness of loanwords. For the attitudinal section, the respondents were asked to read 27 statements regarding the use of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish and choose one of four options listed on the sheet. Questionnaires were

distributed over more than 130 respondents, 120 of which were suitable for the analysis; therefore, the data comprises answers of 120 respondents.

The respondents were from different backgrounds but the majority were university students and educated subjects. The data obtained through questionnaires was processed through SPSS software.[27]

1.4.4 Contextualisation

Following the introductory chapter, the thesis presents detailed descriptive and analytical investigation of loanwords in Chapter 2, in order to contextualise and set bases for the sociolinguistic investigation and the influence of social factors on the use of loanwords. This entails the classification of loanwords, analysis of phonological and morphological treatments of loanwords.

In tackling various but closely related aspects of the study of loanwords, the data in Chapter 3 has been tested in order to reveal patterns and techniques of loanword adaptation and the use of loanwords by different social groups. The effect of factors on the use of loanwords tested only one dimension of social variation by comparing the speech of educated men and women speaking about politics in a media context. As previous works proved the qualitative approach the most adequate to "reveal clearer patterns" (Zenner et al 2015:343 and Onysko 2007), the research has adopted a qualitative approach to analyse linguistic variation, and the assimilation of loanwords.

Considering the focus of Chapter 4, a quantitative approach was employed in the investigation about attitudes. The political situation and the topic of the thesis has made holding interviews and recording the respondents almost impossible. The data was collected through closed type questions which are "easier and quicker to answer; they require no writing, and quantification is straightforward" (Oppenheim 2005:114).

1.4.5 The sources of data

The CK variety is considered a default standard Kurdish in the Kurdistan Region and the main

[27] This will be addressed in more details in the 4.2.1.

medium of communication and education. Therefore, the data has been collected from the CK speaking subjects and CK media outlets.

The selection of the first set of the data was aimed at Hewlêr, the political capital of the quasi-independent Kurdistan Region that has had long contact with Arabic. The selection of the community or the respondents for the second set of data and their geographical location has aimed at symmetry with the data of the first set, gathered from speakers who were all from the Kurdistan Region and mostly from the region of Hewlêr.

Since the first set of data was extracted from live broadcasting outlets, it did not involve face-to-face recruitment or permission because all of the extracts were recorded from open source media. The researcher managed to obtain the data while working in broadcasting services between 2005 and 2012, where he had the technical facilities to access the main Kurdish broadcasting services. The researcher recorded 104 slots of live interviews and talk shows all in the CK variety, mostly from speakers of the Hewlêr and Slêmanî regions.

For the recruitment of the second set of the data, the researcher travelled to Hewlêr in April 2013, where he collected most of the data at Salahaddin University with the help of lecturers there. After gaining permission to conduct the survey, students and lecturers were asked to participate without being informed about the specific objective of the data analysis. They were simply told that it was for the purpose of doctoral research data collection. The majority of the students were willing to take part in the survey. Some lecturers were also invited to participate in the survey.

Through the researcher's own contacts, some other respondents were recruited outside of the university. Questionnaires were distributed to these smaller groups.

The respondents gave answers in two phases. The first phase involved answering demographic questions. Then the respondents listened to a recording of statements, some of which included loanwords, in order to test their awareness of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. The respondents were asked to indicate whether the statements included anything which did not sound Kurdish but were not told to indicate whether there was a loanword. This task was followed by attitudinal questions about their views on the use of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. By giving the attitudinal questions after the awareness test the researcher avoided giving the respondents any hint about the purpose of the statements that tested their awareness.

1.4.6 The speakers and respondents

The speakers of the first set of data for general analysis of the loanwords include speakers from the Hewlêr and Slêmanî regions, who were faced by the team of Zoom TV programme, commenting live on topics or the incidents in which they were involved. They include farmers, drivers, firefighters, civil servants, police officers, labourers, teachers, lawyers, contractors, shop owners, athletes, and unemployed men. The 20 speakers, considered for the social factors' investigation, comprise educated speakers including journalists and politicians.

The data of this set has been adequate for the qualitative investigation of the classification of loanwords and the analysis of the phonological and assimilation of loanwords in general. Male and female speakers from different age groups and different educational backgrounds have been chosen in order to gain an overall picture of different strata of the society dealing with loanwords in their simultaneous speech.

Most of the respondents of the second set of data were university students, some university lecturers, civil servants and others who gave answers to more than 130 questionnaires. 120 questionnaires were valid for statistical test and taken into consideration for the analysis. The backgrounds of the respondents were mostly in congruence to the background of the speakers of Chapter 3, who were all educated people.

2. Structural analysis of loanwords

2.1 Introduction

There is a lack of detailed studies on the contact situation between the Kurdish and Arabic languages, especially studies concerning loanwords in the spoken variety. However, it is important to understand this in order to analyse loanwords. Consequently, this chapter presents a description of the nature of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish in order to lay the foundation for sociolinguistic analyses of loanword usage, and attitudes towards and awareness of loanwords in the forthcoming chapters.

Language contact routes vary and languages influence each other according to different means and through different stages (Görlach 1997:137). The typical form of contact is believed to take place in multi-ethnic communities where two languages or more exist in the same environment or in border areas. The medium of influence and contact is usually through basic daily interaction, via trade and commercial relations, or borrowing through the written medium (ibid. 138). Other important channels do not seem to have been addressed in the context of language interference, such as mainstream media, new media and the arts.

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of three aspects of loanwords, namely the classification, phonological and morphological assimilation of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. The chapter comprises four main sections. It starts with a general introduction that sets out the objectives, research question and the methodology of the chapter. It will then provide an overview of loanword studies and the trends of loanword analysis. Section two presents an analysis of loanwords and their classification. Section three investigates the phonological treatment of the loanwords and section four provides an investigation of the morphological assimilation. Finally, section five presents the general conclusion of the chapter.

2.1.1 Questions and Objectives

This chapter builds towards an analysis of the treatment of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. The research questions for this chapter are:

1. What are the patterns of assimilation of loanwords in Kurdish?
2. What is the extent of phonological and morphological assimilation of loanwords and the distribution of loanwords according to lexical class?

3. Is there a correlation between the level of assimilation and the semantic shift?

The answers to the above questions are the main objectives of the chapter. It sets out to describe Arabic loanwords in line with the main approaches to the investigation of loanwords, to classify the loanwords, to investigate the assimilation of loanwords and finally to look into the morphological assimilation and the typology of the loanwords. This is in order to lay the foundation for the sociolinguistic analysis of the loanwords and to place the analysis into context.

2.1.2 Methodology

In order to study the extent of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish, the research compares the loanword to the original model in Arabic.

The first section deals with the classification of loanwords according to the classification that was set by Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953), which is mainly based on the degree of assimilation. The other two sections deal with the phonological treatment and morphological assimilation of the loanwords by direct comparison with the model. This process takes into account the framework of van Coetsem's (1988) binary distinction and agentivity. Each section starts with an overview of the assimilation, the grammar rules of both languages and a comparison of the rules in both languages in order to place the changes into context when investigating the degree of assimilation.

In the following sections of the chapter, the research will discuss the assimilation of loanwords into Kurdish, i.e. the assimilation of regularly used Arabic items to the patterns of Kurdish. To examine degrees of integration, the study compares the loanword in Kurdish to the most probable Arabic source.

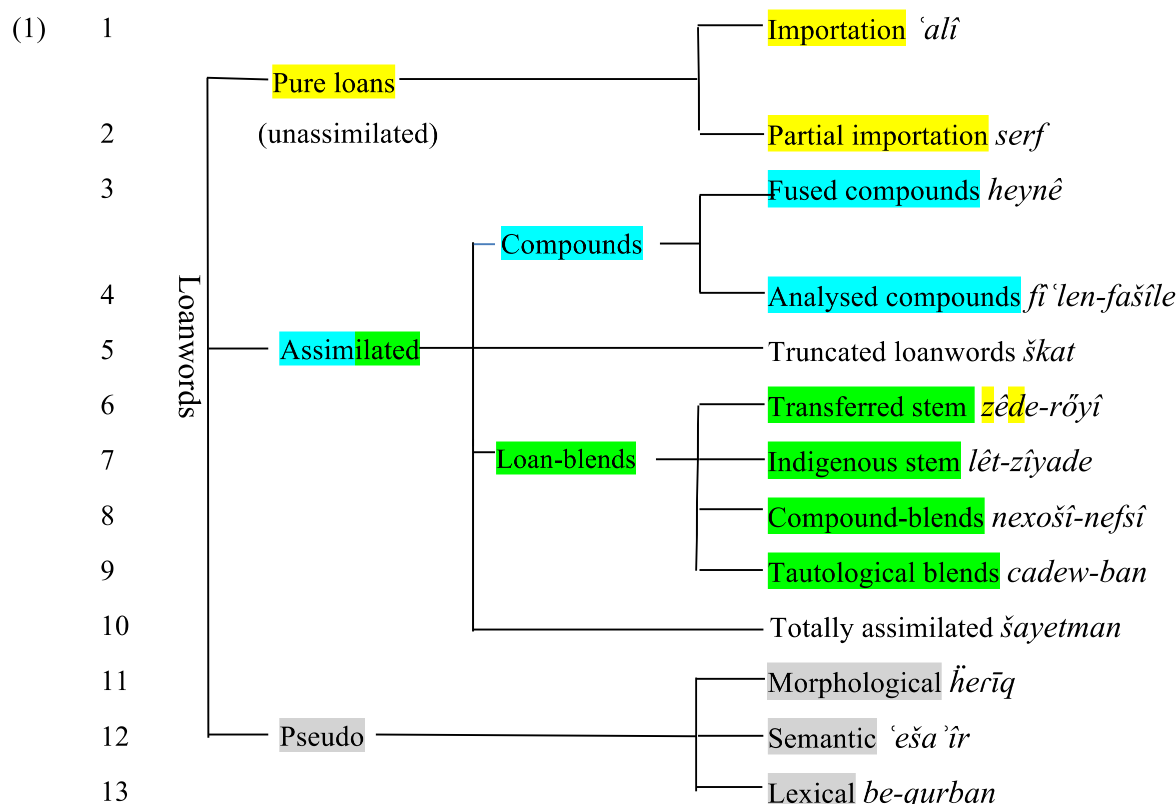
2.1.2.1 The data

The corpus of loanwords examined was collected from a Hewlêr-based Kurdistan Satellite TV programme Zoom. The recorded data consists of live vox-pops in real-life situations and spontaneous utterances, without prior preparations. The speakers are from Hewlêr. The aim of using such data was to gather authentic spoken language that had not been affected or conditioned by other factors.

The data was chosen from among 104 sets of recordings that comprise the data for chapters 2 and 3 in this thesis. The corpus consists of recordings of 15 real-life situations, ranging from statements of officials and locals speaking about services in their neighbourhoods,

emergency and fire cases, the aftermath of road accidents, family issues, drivers breaking traffic rules, street fighting, police commenting on crime after the arrest of perpetrators, grieving and mourning, and interviews with destitute families. The corpus includes 530 Arabic loanwords that can be divided into main types according to the classification of Haugen (1953:402) and Weinreich (1953:51): pure loans (or pure loanwords: according to context), assimilated loans and the additional types of pseudo-loans as in (1) below:

(1)



Afterwards, loanwords and the degrees of their assimilation will be identified through comparison between the Arabic model and the Kurdish reproduction. The chapter is supplemented by elicitation and tables to explain the phonological and morphological changes.

2.1.2.2 Data processing

The data was word processed and then checked carefully to identify the loanwords. The researcher's intuition as a native speaker and language instructor was the main source for the identification of loanwords. Kurdish and Arabic monolingual and bilingual dictionaries were consulted, such as *Hembane-Bőrine, Ferhangî-Mehabad, Kurdistan, Astêra-Geše, and Farhangî zimani Kûrdî*, as well as Kurdish academics and native speakers. This was helpful in making

decisions on words such as *qse* 'talk' and *xeĺk* 'people'. In these cases, there is some debate as to whether or not they are loans as it is difficult to find an equivalent for them in Kurdish. These items are termed "established loanwords" (Poplack and Meechan 1995:200), which means they have been subject to full assimilation into the receiving language, are widely used and have displaced the native words.

2.1.3 An overview of works on lexical borrowing

This section will provide a concise overview of loanword studies, beginning with the seminal works of Haugen and Weinreich as well as later works regarding phonological and morphological issues in the process of adaptation.

The first phase in loanword studies is associated with the works of Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953), who introduced a system for the classification and categorization of lexical borrowings. They contributed to the categorization and the classification of lexical borrowing and began investigation into phonological and syntactic influence. Haugen classified borrowing according to the adaption of morphemes from the source language and whether any substitution of phonemes with those from the receiving language takes place. Weinreich (1953:68) argued that lexical items are more flexible and more prone to change than phonology or grammar. He also linked borrowing to social factors in the recipient language rather than solely linguistic factors. Within the past few decades, numerous works have been produced on loanwords (see 2.2.1). Haugen and Weinreich's models of loanwords are still the most cited works. However, the study of loanwords has shifted beyond the limited boundaries of the traditional investigation of repairs and sound change.

Another phase in the study of loanwords arose from the conceptual shift to an increased focus on sound change as well as repair strategies in assimilation. Later studies on loanwords include the grammatical principles of borrowing (Moravcsik 1978:114), socio-historic considerations (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:73) and investigations into the scale of borrowability (van Hout and Muysken 1994). However, it is phonological issues that have drawn the most attention.

Analysing sound change and shifting could be considered an extension to Haugen's model rather than being in conflict with it. All the sound changes could be placed under Haugen (1953) and Weinreich's (1953) classification of loanwords in the receiving language. However, later studies also identified additional categories of loans such as camouflage loans in Hebrew,

that do not seem to have existed in the languages that were analysed by Haugen (see Zuckermann 2003:6-62).

Zuckermann (2003) discusses the issue of multisource as well as camouflage lexical borrowing. He extends his investigation beyond the traditional scope of assimilation and classification. By looking into multi-sourced neologisms, which apply for most contact situations, Zuckermann argues that loanwords are "phono-semantic matching" and "semanticised phonetic matching". He discusses the contrast between intimate borrowing, which takes place in cases of brief contact as opposed to cultural borrowing that result from casual contact.

Winter-Froemel (2008:157) stresses the need for re-classification of loanwords and criticises the Haugen model for lacking clarity in terms of the definition of *importation* and *substitution* and the criteria used in distinguishing the two. Winter-Froemel argues that all "problematic issues can be overcome by distinguishing two criteria of conformity [to the source or the target language] that can be applied to loanwords" (2008:2). In a recent analysis, Onysko (2007) analysed the numerical impact of loanwords as well as code-switching and their functions following a twofold approach involving theory and practical method. His main interest lies in the phonological and morphological adaptation of loan elements (Onysko 2007:38-42). However, he relies on a quantitative analysis, which prevents a deep understanding of the phonological and morphological changes that are occurring and important to understand.

Another area of study is the adaptation of loanwords and the repair strategies that have been employed. Kang (2003:219-273) and Yip (2002:4-21) take into account perceptual factors in reaching a concession between the form of the source language and the rules of the receiving language. Similarly, LaCharité and Paradis (2005:223-58) argue that the phonological shifts and alterations are initially implemented by the speakers of the receiving language, and more precisely bilinguals, attempting to find a middle ground that employs their competence to find equivalences between phonological categories. However, Silverman (1992:289) argues that the speakers of the receiving language identify foreign forms in accordance with their native phonological system. Accordingly, different factors are involved in shaping the adaptation process and in reaching the closest form and phonology of the source word (Yip 1993, 2002, Kenstowicz 2004, 2003).

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) considered similarities in structure as an assisting factor in lexical borrowing that laid the foundation for analysis of the typology of loanwords. Van Hout and Muysken (1994) argued that the compatibility of structure of the loanwords and the structure

of the receiving language should be taken into account as well as the frequency of use of lexical borrowing. In particular, the frequency of borrowed items has been used to distinguish between loanword and switching (Myers-Scotton 1993, Poplack and Sankoff 1984).

Another phase of research is the typology of loanwords. This includes works that focus on the analysis of only a single part of speech as well as the typology of all borrowed elements (see Field 2002, Matras and Sakel 2007). Wohlgemuth (2009) investigates the mechanisms and the accommodation strategies entailed in verb borrowing rather than covering all parts of speech. Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009:39) introduced and led investigations into the classification of loanwords in 41 languages from the standpoint that loanwords "are the most important materials in borrowing". In this phase, Haspelmath and Tadmor aimed at reaching a universal picture of the loanwords across languages of the world. Haspelmath clearly separates loan translation as structural borrowing rather than a type of loanword. This phase witnesses the narrowing down of the analysis of loanword typology to the micro level by focusing on a specific part of speech (see Wohlgemuth 2009, Haspelmath 2009, Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008).

Indeed, changes to loanwords and assimilation into the receiving language are more likely to be the result of social effects as well as linguistic factors (Muysken and van Hout 1994:52-58, Winford 2003:25). In order to offer a detailed description of the loanwords, and to set the foundation for the following chapters that investigate the effect of social factors on loanwords in Kurdish, as mentioned above, this chapter draws on analyses from the three phases of loanword studies. This includes the classification, phonology and typology of the loanwords within the morphological assimilation of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. The analysis of the loanwords and their classification are essential in order to allow for comparison between social groups' use of such elements. It is also vital in studying the awareness of Kurdish speakers of the loanwords by presenting statements which each include a certain type of loanword rather than randomly choosing loanwords for the test (see 4.3.3).

2.2 The classification of loanwords

2.2.1 An introduction

Loanwords are the most extensively studied aspect of linguistic borrowing. Following the works of Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953), substantial works on lexical borrowing (in addition to those mentioned in the overview) include Hall & Hamann (2003), Peperkamp & Dupoux (2003), LaCharité & Paradis (2005), Winter-Froemel (2010), Onysko (2007), Zenner et al (2013).[28] However, not all theoretical issues are equally understood or described in the phenomenon of loanwords.

In the literature review of the thesis, different definitions of loanwords were discussed (see 1.3.3). The classification of loanwords in this study follows Haugen's model due to its prominence, simplicity and suitability to the data in hand. Consequently, a loanword is a complex form composed of a foreign morpheme. When speakers import a lexical item, they import not only the meaning of the word but also its phonemic shape, although the substitution of foreign formative phonemes may be more or less complete (Haugen 1950:213-214).

A loanword is distinguished from a loan-shift which contains only indigenous morphemes but which has a foreign structure (Haugen 1950:215). Loan-shifts include what are often called "loan translation" and "semantic loans" because they appear in the borrowing language only as functional shifts or native morphemes. This work does not examine loan-translations because loan-translations are no longer tied to the grammar rules of the donor language. Furthermore, loan-translation is considered by other scholars an important type of structural borrowing rather than a type of loanword (see Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009:39). This is not only based on semantics. The fact that phonemes are not imported into the receiving language suggests that it should be considered a different type of borrowing (see 1.3.2).

In a wider definition of loanwords, Winford (2003:12) argues that loanwords are instances of influence on the lexicon structure of a given language by a foreign language. According to Lehmann (2013:212) lexical items and the grammatical items in a given language

[28] The study of loanwords is one topic within the wider scope of linguistic borrowing, a topic that has been rooted in language contact studies. Different aspects of borrowing have been tackled by Müller (1875), Paul (1886), (1872), Whitney (1857), Saussure (1915), Sapir (1921), Pedersen (1931), Haugen (1950), Weinreich (1953), Lehmann (2013), Hockett (1979), Anttila (1989), Muysken (1994) Sankoff (2002), Myers-Scotton (2002, 2006), Winford (2003), Haspelmath (2009) and Zuckerman (2003), Aikhenvald (2002), Onysko (2007) and others (see 1.3). However, the case study of this thesis focuses on only one aspect of borrowing, namely the loanwords.

can be divided into two categories, namely "native elements" which have been part of the language and date back to unknown stages of the language; and "borrowed items" that are imported at later stages of the history of the language. This definition can be challenged by the fact that lexical items in a given language are not only "native" and "borrowed" items. In fact, many lexical items are neither pure loans nor native elements. It is well known to linguists that in different languages hybrids do exist. For example, in Kurdish the word *bîrura* 'opinion' which comprises Kurdish *bîr* 'thought' and *ra* from the Arabic origin *raʾī* 'opinion'. Other examples of such hybrids are as following:

(2)

	Kurdish form	Kurdish part	borrowed part	source form
	bîrura	*bîr*	*rā*	*raʾī*
meaning:	'opinion'	'thought'		'opinion'
	ktêbxane	*xane*	*ktêb*	*kitāb*
meaning:	'library'	'place'		'book'

The examples in (2) refer to single lexical items in Kurdish and they do not carry another meaning apart from what is stated above. They are therefore considered as single lexical items.

2.2.1.1 The path of Arabic loanwords

The source of Arabic loanwords and their path into Kurdish remains controversial due to the long and complex contact situation between the two languages. It might be difficult to find an absolute answer to these questions; but there are indications and clues within the loanwords in general that suggest the path of Arabic loanwords into Kurdish.

In the absence of historical evidence and written documents about early contact situations, determining the actual source of the Arabic loanwords in Kurdish is challenging. However, it seems likely that the loanwords that exist in current spoken and written Kurdish, especially those included in the data of this work, are from standard and classical Arabic. Kurdish texts predating the creation of the state of Iraq are written by writers and poets who received mosque education that teaches only classical Arabic with no attention to other varieties.

Those writers had religious affiliations and titles[29] and were largely influenced by classical Arabic. The Arabic loanwords in their works are almost identical to current forms, especially the pure loanwords.

As Arabic was introduced to the Kurdish community through Islam, the holy book as well as the religious teachings of which are in Arabic (Hassanpour 1992:394), this can give indications about the type of Arabic and the medium through which it was brought into contact with Kurdish. This argument is further supported by phonological evidence, as we will see in the following paragraphs (also see 1.2.3.4).

It is true that Persian was considered as the language of literature after the weakening of the Arab caliphates' rule, and we argue that Persian could be a source for literary terms. On the other hand, Turkish was the language of the administration of the Ottoman Empire that ruled the region for more than six centuries. They could both be the path of Arabic items into Kurdish and there might be some items which were transferred through these languages. But phonological evidence in the loanwords supports an analysis of direct borrowing rather than indirect transfer through Turkish and Persian (see (3) and (4)).

As for the source of the loanwords, there is evidence indicating that the loanwords are from the classical and written language variety. For example, the majority of loanwords in Kurdish maintain the feminine gender markers *-at* as in classical and standard Arabic, such as the words *ḥukūmat*^{A} 'government', *zakāt*^{A} 'charity' and *ticarat*^{A} 'trade', while the feminine marker *-at* is not pronounced in spoken Arabic varieties[30] unless it is in the *ʾiḍāfa* construction. Also the phonemes of classical Arabic are normally shifted in spoken varieties. For example, the uvular plosive /q/ in the prestigious variety shifts to velar /g/[31] and the voiceless velar plosive /k/ which shifts to voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ in the Iraqi *gelet* variety. This could not be found in the data as no loanword with /q/ had been shifted to /g/ or a word with /k/ to be pronounced as /tʃ/ as happens in the spoken Iraqi dialects. Likewise, there is also no trace of the Mosul region *qeltu* variety where dental trill /r/ shifts to voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ or labiodental approximant /w/ (see (5b)). Hence, phonological evidence in the data suggests that loanwords are most likely to be from the literary and classical variety.

[29] The titles include Sheikh, Mala, Haji and those who did not use these titles were from religious backgrounds. For example, Šêx Reza, Ḧacî, Qadr, Mela Meḧmud Bayezîdî, Melayê Czîrî,…. Others did not use their religious titles but were in fact scholars in Muslim theology and thinkers like Xanî, Nalî and Mewlawî.

[30] In literary Arabic, the feminine marker is maintained. But in spoken it is dropped unless it is in *iḍāfa* construction. However, none of feminine words in the data is within *ʾiḍāfa* construction.

[31] This is not exclusive to southern Iraq, even in Salahaddin Governorate and southern areas of Mousl Governorate (see Salonen 1980). Areas within the old town of Mosul are shifting /q/ to /g/.

There is also evidence to suggest that Arabic loanwords are not likely to have been borrowed via Persian. Persian has the voiced uvular fricative /ɣ/ (Perry 2002:230, Pisowicz 1985:113-139) which is coded in writing by the Arabic symbol for the voiceless uvular plosive [q] for example the Arabic word /qari:b/ “close” is pronounced as /ɣari:b/ in Persian (Pisowicz 1985:111). Arabic plosive /q/ in Persian are shifted to the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ or voiced uvular fricative on the majority of occasions (see Perry 2002), but this does not happen in Kurdish. For example, the Arabic loanword /taqwi:m/ ‘calendar’ in Persian shifts to /taɣvim/, while in Kurdish it remains /taqwim/ and the word /inqila:b/ ‘coup d'état’ shifts to /enɣela:b/ in Persian, while in Kurdish it resembles the Arabic pronunciation /inqila:b/ (see (3)). There are also differences in regards to the assimilation of Arabic loanwords containing the pharyngeal fricative [ħ] and the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/. These two phonemes in Kurdish are very rarely shifted to [h] or to the glottal plosive /ʔ/. However, these phonemes do not exist in the Persian sound system and they are consequently shifted on all occasions into the voiceless glottal fricative [h] or glottal plosive /ʔ/.

As far as Turkish is concerned as a possible channel of loanword transfer from Arabic into Kurdish, the existence of phonemes in loanwords that do not exist in Turkish may refute this possibility. Turkish does not have the pharyngeal fricative [ħ] and voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ (Göksel and Kerslake 2005:3-14), and the existence of these phonemes in Arabic loanwords in Kurdish makes the possibility of borrowing through Turkish implausible (see (4)). The same applies to Persian. In fact, the phoneme is incorporated into the Kurdish system (see 2.3.2.1.1a). Chyet (2007:605) suggests the possibility of an Aramaic root of [ħ] in the NK variety. However, McCarus (2009:592) argues that the phonemes [ħ] and [ʕ] have been borrowed from Arabic into CK as they mostly occur in Arabic loanwords. Furthermore, the phonemes in CK almost always occur in words of Arabic origin due to intense contact with Arabic and the correct utterance, as pharyngeal fricative, are now associated with speakers who know Arabic. For example, educated CK speakers and most urban inhabitants do not use [ʕ] and [ħ] interchangeably, while less-educated people and rural inhabitants easily use them interchangeably. The interchangeable use of phonemes [ħ] and [ʕ] is not exclusive to the Hewlêr area as was suggested previously (see MacKenzie 1961). It occurs in Ranye, Pšder, Köye and other areas. This makes the argument for considering Arabic as source of the phonemes more credible.

Hence, even if we cannot confirm the path of loanwords into Kurdish for certain, the phonological evidence makes indirect borrowing from Arabic into Kurdish through Persian and Turkish seem less likely and the possibility of direct borrowing from Arabic much more credible.

Furthermore, if the path of these words were Persian or Turkish, the form of the loanwords might have been closer to the Turkish or Persian forms. Also the possibility of smaller minority languages such as new Aramaic is less likely to be the path for reasons explained in 1.4.5.

Examples 3 and 4 compare the sound changes in the three languages and two examples of the standard and colloquial varieties of Arabic and Kurdish version of loanwords. They make the possibility of transfer through Persian to Turkish or vice-versa more likely than the transfer through these languages into Kurdish. Also they support the claim that the source of the loanwords is not likely to be from spoken Arabic (see (5)).

(3)

	Arabic /taqwi:m/ 'calendar'	[takvim]	Turkish
		[təqwim]	Kurdish
		[teɣvem]	Persian

(4)

	Arabic /ħaja:t/ 'life'	[hajat]	Turkish
		[ħəjat]	Kurdish
		[heja:t]	Persian

(5)

	Arabic	Form	Variety
a.	Arabic /ha:kaða:/ 'likewise'	[hitʃi]	Baghdadi Arabic
		[hakaza-ji]	Kurdish
		[he:k]	Maslawi Arabic
b.	Arabic /dʒaras/ 'bell'	[dʒaras]	Baghdadi Arabic
		[dzərəs]	Kurdish
		[dʒaɣas]	Maslawi Arabic

As shown in (3) and (4), Arabic labiodental approximant /w/ shifts to labiodental fricative /v/ and pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ normally shifts to glottal fricative /h/ in Turkish and Persian. However, in the Kurdish version, Arabic /w/ and /ħ/ are maintained. This supports the argument against borrowing Arabic words through Persian and Turkish. The same argument can be made about borrowing directly from classical Arabic rather than colloquial. As shown in (5a), the Kurdish version of the loanword /ha:kaða:/ resembles the original word form rather than the colloquial, whereas Baghdadi and Maslawi colloquial differ from the classical in terms of syllable numbers, and phonological property (see 5a). There are equal numbers of syllables in example (5b), however the loanword is closer to the Classical Arabic and Baghdadi than Maslawi. Taking into account this discussion, this work will consider standard written Arabic as the source of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish when comparing and dealing with the degree of assimilation of loans into Kurdish.

2.2.2 Classification of Arabic loanwords

Bloomfield (1933) attempted to set a framework for the classification of loanwords by dividing them into cultural, intimate and dialect borrowing. Haugen (1950) classified loanwords on the basis of their structure and the *importation* of source language morphemes versus the *substitution* of the source language morphemes and phonemes. Weinreich (1953) developed this model further to incorporate syntactic and phonological interference as well as social factors. Weinreich (1953:47) considers two "mechanisms of lexical interference" for word borrowing. Firstly, "simple (non-compound) lexical elements, which are found in all language contact situations". Secondly, "compound words and phrases that are transferred in analysed form" (ibid. 50).

For Haugen, importation is the use of loanwords in the same form as or very similar to the source language form; and substitution is the use of a suitable form of the source language form. Consequently, pure loanwords involve morphemic importation without substitution; and loan-blends involve importation and morphemic substitution, whereas loan-shifts show morphemic substitution without importation:

1. *Pure loanwords* or "importation" which according to Haugen means direct transference of a word in both meaning and form. The word is used in the receiving language in the same way as in the source language, like *qānūn*[A] 'law'.

2. *Loan-blends* or hybrids are defined by Haugen (1950:215) as the instances of lexical borrowing which comprise both the pure loanword and a substitution or "transfer" and "reproduction" according to Weinreich (1953:47-52).

3. *Loan-shifts*, substitution or loan translation that involves the use of words from the receiving language to designate new concepts used in the source language. It is complete morphemic substitution of lexical units of the language model that produces the category known as "loan translation". Table 2.1 is a summary of the classification:

Table 2.1: Summary of Haugen (1950:212) classification

Loanword type	Morphemic substitution	importation	Arabic	Kurdish
Pure loanword	✗	✓	qānūn	qanun 'law'
Loan-blend	✓	✓	xidmat	xzmet-kar 'servant'
Loan-shift	✓	✗	mudīr	berêweber 'manager'

Loan-shifts are not analysed in this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, there are only four examples of loan-shifts in the data, namely *ber-prsîyar* 'official', *hestan-be-krdnî* 'conducted',

ʾawi-rakêšaye ‘extended [water] pipes’ and *zyan-î ciyanî* from *ẖasāʾir-fi-al-arūwāḥ* ‘casualties’. Secondly, this study is more concerned with the analysis of phonological and morphological assimilation of loanwords. In loan-shifts the actual Arabic item is not borrowed into the language (see also 1.3.2 & 1.3.3). Therefore, inclusion of this type does not seem to contribute to the discussion of phonological assimilation.

Analysis of multisource loanwords, as proposed by Zuckermann (2003) is also beyond the scope of this thesis but offers interesting possibilities for future research. Furthermore, when etymological studies on Kurdish lexicons and older data are available, it may then be possible to conduct some novel examinations such as the process of re-borrowing. This entails indirect borrowing through Turkish and Persian, then correction to match the original Arabic form of the loanwords during direct contact and the new wave of influence of Arabic after World War One. This research could be conducted through oral literature for spoken language and possibly old Kurdish texts for written language. However, historical analysis is complicated by the fact that oral narrative can change over time and almost all the Kurdish literates before the 20th century received their education in mosques and were influenced by Arabic to a great extent.

The following sections will provide detailed classification of loanwords and their types starting with the more frequent types. However, in order to add more clarity to the presentation of loan types and the changes that occurred to loanwords in Kurdish, the classification in this work does not list items strictly as ‘importation’ or ‘substitution’. It rather presents loanwords in three main groups: pure loans, including importation and partial substitution; assimilated loans including truncated loanwords, fused compounds, analysed compounds, loan-blends and finally, pseudo-loans. Pure loanwords in this context mean those loanwords that did not undergo changes in Kurdish.

2.2.2.1 Pure loanwords

Pure loans are the result of direct importation of lexical elements that show no morphemic substitution or very little substitution of forms which have been adapted to the phonological and morphological patterns of the receiving language.

Haugen (1950:214) argues that pure loanwords “show morphemic importation without substitution. Any morphemic importation can be further classified according to the degree of its phonemic substitution: none, partial or complete”. This can include unassimilated and partially assimilated loanwords. In the following sections, imported items without assimilation and

partially assimilated items are discussed. Assimilated items are further discussed in sections 2.3.2. and thereafter.

2.2.2.1.1 Imported items (unassimilated)

According to Weinreich (1953:28), unassimilated loanwords or phonological citations keep their phonetic, semantic and even graphic appearance intact. In other words, the original word of the source language and the replica in the receiving language are identical. Haugen (1953:38) considers the use of the unassimilated loanwords as a type of language shift rather than borrowing but this does not seem to be the case in Kurdish, as the overall structure of the sentence remains noticeably Kurdish.

Similarly, Trager (1972:113) does not consider "replica words", which are intact, as loanwords in the receiving language unless they have assimilated phonologically. That is because these lexical items remain phonologically similar to the original and are treated morphemically and syntactically as in the original language.

The following parts of this section, investigate whether unassimilated Arabic loanwords in the corpus maintain the original meaning and grammar rules of Arabic. The section will also look into wholly assimilated loanwords and the degree of resemblance to the native Kurdish words, roots or morphemes and possible changes in meaning or grammatical categories.

Unassimilated loanwords in Kurdish cannot be regarded as language shift since the Kurdish sentences maintain their syntactic rules. Moreover, certain items changed category as in the lexical items: *ʾîḧtmal*[K] "probability" which was used instead of the adjective *muḧtemel*[K] "possible", *ḧerîq*[K] 'fire' which went through semantic extension to give the meaning of 'fire-brigade', and *yeʿnî*[K] 'it means' which did not function as a verb in Kurdish and was used as a discourse marker. The overall structure of the sentences remains Kurdish as in:

(6)	*yeʿnî*	*ʾewe-š*	*hewente*	*niy-e*
	mean.3SG	this=ADD	facile	NEG-be.PRS-3SG
	'[…] this is not facile.'			

The Kurdish sentence with an auxiliary verb always ends with the auxiliary as shown in the example above.

The presence of considerable numbers of unassimilated Arabic loanwords in Kurdish shows the intensity of contact which contributed to the importation of Arabic lexical items in Kurdish. It is worth noting that all the unassimilated loanwords identified in the corpus were words used in daily life, rather than technical or philosophical terms.

2.2.2.1.2 Partially assimilated loanwords

Partially assimilated loanwords are loanwords which maintain elements of the source language with a limited degree of adaptation. In the context of Kurdish, this includes loanwords that have undergone a limited degree of assimilation and maintained some degree of the Arabic sounds.

One example is the adoption of the consonant clusters in *mʿasebet*[K] ‘accounting’ and changes in vowel quality as in *ʿamûd*[K] ‘pillar’. There can also be consonant shifting *ʿukûmet*[K] from *ḥukūmat*[A] ‘government’, *neʿyet*[K] from *nāḥijat*[A] ‘sub-district’ and *mezheb*[K] from *maḏhab*[A] ‘creed’ in Arabic. This type of loanword has not dramatically changed but certain phonemes have undergone alternations, without affecting the meaning. Thus, the loanwords in these examples are only partially assimilated due to the limited change to the structure.

2.2.2.2 Fused compounds

Certain compound Arabic loanwords were imported into Kurdish as a single unit which led to the loss of the bimorphemic identity of the compound. Some of the fused compound loans dissolved into a unit which was not comparable to the original Arabic model, as in *fī al-ḥaqiqat*[A] ‘actually’ which shifted to *beḧeqet*[K], *ʾin-šāʾa-ʾAłłāh*[A] ‘God willing’ which became *išaĺĺe*[K], *lāqayd-ʿalay-hī* ‘not restricted’ to *qeynake*[K] ‘it does not matter’, *ḥīna-hā* ‘at that time’ which shifted to *heynê*[K].

The frequency of this type of assimilated loanword is low, occurring only three times in the data. But the assimilation of Arabic compound loanwords into Kurdish is far greater in the vocabulary of daily life and cannot be recognized by Arabic speakers to be of Arabic origin. On the other hand, the assimilation of loanwords has also affected the semantics of the phrase. For example, *fī al-ḥaqiqat*[A] ‘in fact’ becomes *beḧeqet*[K] ‘to say the truth’. Hence, the Kurdish version of the loanword does not convey exactly the same meaning as shown in examples (7) and (8).

(7) *ʾêrukane beḧeqet tőzek berz -e kranî dewê*
here to say the truth little-INDF high be.PRS-3SG levelling need.3SG
‘Here [the street] is a little high, to say the truth, it needs levelling.’

(8) *beĺam ʾêwe-š ʾîšaĺa çareser dekrêt*
but this=ADD hopefully resolve make.IMP
‘But hopefully this will be resolved.’

The Arabic version of *ʾin-šāʾa-ʾAllāh* ‘God willing’ has a religious connotation in literary Arabic but becomes *ʾišaĺĺa* or *ʾišaĺe*[32] in Kurdish, which is used by religious people as God willing, while non-religious may use it as a substitute to ‘hopefully’.

2.2.2.3 Analysed compounds [33]

The morphosyntactic assimilation of compound loanwords happens when elements of compound loanwords are adapted to the syntactic patterns of the receiving language. According to Weinreich (1953:50) borrowed “multiple lexical unit […] elements may be transferred, in analysed form” and reproduced as “compound or phrase are adapted to word-formative or syntactic patterns of the recipient language” and are consequently not considered as phrase borrowing. An example of this in Kurdish is the change in the word order of the borrowed compound as in the following:

(9) *fāšiil-un fiʿl-an* becomes: *fîʿlen fašîl -e*
failure indeed / indeed failure be.PRS-3SG
‘Indeed, it is failure.’

(10) *taškīlu mafrazat-in* becomes: *mefreze-yek teškîl bke-yn*
formation company-INDF / company-INDF form do-SUBJ.3PL.CL
‘formation of a company.’

[32] This is similar to Arabic spoken varieties, which suggests the source of the phrase is from spoken Arabic. However, the phrase is a Quranic concept and the Kurds definitely learnt it as soon as they came in contact with Arabic in 7th century. At this stage, there was no presence of Arabic spoken communities close to the Kurds.

[33] ‘Compound’ is defined differently in the loanwords literature than in morphology (see Weinreich 1953, Heah 1989).

The above mentioned Arabic compounds were analysed and changed according to the Kurdish word order and so *fāšil-un fiʿlan*[A] becomes: *fiʿlen fašîle*[K] and *taškīlu mafrazat-in*[A] becomes: *mefrezeyek teškîlbkeyn*[K]. These examples indicate instances of morphosyntactic assimilation of the words and the nativisation process of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. The compound is no longer following the Arabic word order that requires modifiers to follow the head, as the order changed and followed the Kurdish word order.

2.2.2.4 Truncated loanwords

Loanword truncation is the reduction of loanword syllables in order to suit the structure of the receiving language. The differences in syllable structure in Arabic and Kurdish and the fact that Arabic words tend to have more syllables than Kurdish words may explain why truncation happens in certain Arabic loanwords.

This process occurs in words such as *biʾr*[A] [34] 'well' which was abbreviated in Kurdish to *bîr*[K] by the omission of the glottal plosive [ʾ] *hamza*. The word *qallāb*[A] 'tipper truck' was abbreviated to *qelab*[K] by the omission of the coda in the first syllable; so instead of having CVC.CVC it shifted to CV.CVC. The word *raʾī*[A] has been changed to *ra*[K] in Kurdish so the structure changed from CVCVV to CV. Similarly, the word *šakwā*[A] 'complaint' became *škat*[K] CCVC.

The abbreviated loanwords observed in the data are mostly already established in Kurdish. The process of consonant omission in Kurdish may be necessary in the formation of new words and the establishment of this type of loan in the language, as the acceptance of linguistic forms depends on the complexity of the syllabic structure (Lehmann 2013:87).

Another point worth noting about truncated loanwords is that all the words observed in the data have not changed semantically and unlike most assimilated loanwords have exactly the same meaning and are used in the same context.

---

[34] The same thing happens in some spoken variants of Arabic which implies this item could be from the spoken language. This word was considered because omission of the middle *hamza* happens in other loanwords like *fuʾād 'heart' that becomes fwad* in Kurdish, which does not happen in Arabic.

2.2.2.5 Loan-blends or hybrids

Haugen (1950:215) introduced the term loan-blends in his analysis of loanwords as instances of lexical borrowing in which we find both "importation" and "substitution", or what Weinreich (1953:47-52) terms as "transfer" and "reproduction". The loans classified as loan-blends are semantic borrowings and consist partly of a foreign morpheme and partly of native elements that correspond to foreign morphemes (Hasanpoor 1999:153). Weinreich (1953) and Humbley (1974:47) outline the division of the loan-blends into the following types:

a) **Transferred stem** or nuclear loan-blends: This type of loanword is a combination of an Arabic stem, with a Kurdish suffix as in the following examples:

(11)	Kurdish form	Gloss	Kurdish element	Arabic form
	xetedaw	'link'	*daw*	*xayṭ*
	zêderőyî	'violation'	*rőyî*	*ziyādat*
	qetʾka	'to cut'	*ka*	*qaṭʿ*
	teʿînken	'appoint'	*ken*	*taʿyīn*
	ʿefrîka	'to dig'	*ka*	*ḥafr*
	teswîrdeka	'filming'	*deka*	*taṣwīr*

b) **Indigenous stem or marginal loan-blends**: This structural hybridization occurs in Kurdish when a complex or compound form is borrowed from Arabic. The stem is native and the suffix is transferred from Arabic as in (12):

(12)	Kurdish form	Gloss	Kurdish element	Arabic element	Gloss
	lêtziyade	'superfluous'	*lêt*	*ziyāda*	'excess'
	nexőšinefsi	'mental illness'	*nexošî*	*nafsī*	'psychological'
	dĺmsex̋ĺete	'depressed'	*dĺm*	*ṣaxrat*	'stone'

c) **Hybrid compound loan-blends**: This type of loan-blend consists of independent morphemes. One part of the compound is borrowed and the other is native. The loan-blend is defined

according to the origin of the parts. If the stem of the compound is borrowed, the compound will be nuclear. According to Humbley (1974:58), if the modifying element is borrowed, then the compound is marginal as in the following example:

(13)

Kurdish form	Gloss	Kurdish element	Arabic element	Gloss
ʿeynen-bezm	'same story'	*bezm*	*ʿeynen*	'same'
šebekey ʾ-aw	'water-network'	*ʾaw*	*šabaka*	'network'
bőřî- ʾaw	'water pipe'	*ʾaw*	*būrī*	'pipe'

d) **Tautological loan-blends**: the data showed instances in which Arabic loanwords have been used along with a Kurdish element that carries exactly the same meaning, without any addition to the meaning or adding an emphasis, as in (14):

(14)

Kurdish form	Gloss	Kurdish element	Arabic element	Gloss
cadew-ban	'road'	*ban*	*ğādda*	'street'
ħ̈eqdw- çin	'spite'	*çin*	*ḥiqd*	'spite'
mdiri-beřêweberi	'director'	*beřêweberi*	*mudir*	'manager'

These kinds of tautological compounds do occur in Kurdish speech. They can be a compound of Kurdish origin words or they can be hybrids as shown above.

2.2.2.6 Pseudo-loans

Pseudo-loans also occur where a lexeme of the source language is used to produce a word in the receiving language and the resulting word looks like a word from the source language in form, but it doesn't actually occur in the source language within the same context of the receiving language (Keresztes 2010). Duckworth (1977:54 cited in Onysko 2007:52) simply defines pseudo-loans as neologisms, which is a perfectly justified definition as the form and the shape are from a different language. They also do not fall under the same semantic categories in the receiving language. For example, the word *qurbān* 'sacrifice' is used in Kurdish as 'darling' and *ħ̈erîq* 'fire' is used as 'fire-brigade'.

However Glahn (2002:36-38) and Carstensen (1980:77), recognize pseudo-loans as borrowing, whereas Onysko (2007:54) believes that pseudo-loans are not only pure borrowing "a pseudo […] is not the result of lexical transfer (i.e. borrowing) but is the product of a language inherent creation that is based on a novel combination" of the source language material and the borrowing language. Whether they are treated as borrowing or innovation, investigation into English loanwords in a number of European languages shows that pseudo-loans are necessary as an additional category in the classification of loanwords (Sørensen 1997:18; cited in Onysko 2007:53).

The following paragraphs show that some Arabic loanwords in spoken Kurdish fall under this category which was not detected in previous studies on loanwords in written Kurdish. This type was also not given attention in Haugen's classification of loanwords. According to Graedler (2004:72) and Carstensen (1980:77), there are three categories of pseudo-loans: morphological, semantic and lexical. However, Onysko (2007:53) argues that such a division "blurs the difference between the semantic and morphological adaptation".

The pseudo-loans found in Kurdish are classified as follows:

a) **Morphological pseudo-loans** are loan items that have been shortened in the recipient language and given a meaning that does not represent the actual meaning in the source language. For example *kîtab*[K] is used as 'proof' in Kurdish while the Arabic model is *kitāb-rasmī*[A] 'official letter or proof', *ḧerîq*[K] is used as 'fire brigade' instead or '*farīq–al-ʾiṭfāʾ*[A].

b) **Semantic pseudo-loans** are items borrowed in their original form but used in different contexts in the receiving language. They also take meanings in the receiving language that they do not convey in the source language. For example, the Arabic word *ʿašāʾirī*, from a plural noun *ʿašāʾir*, which an Arabic speaker might interpret as 'tribally' has the meaning of 'uncivilized' or 'skinhead' in Kurdish.

c) **Lexical pseudo-loans** are the result of neologisms in the receiving language, combining a native element with a lexical item from the source language that is not derived from the source language model. For example, *be-qûrban*[K] 'darling' from Arabic *qurbān*[A] 'sacrifice'. It is a lexical pseudo-loan that was coined on the basis of the Arabic word *qurbān*[A] and the Kurdish prefix *be-*, a formation that does not exist in Arabic. The extended meaning could be 'you are so dear I may sacrifice my life for your sake'. Similarly, the word *dewr-î*[K] 'at around' from the

Arabic word *dawr*^{A} 'turn' or 'role' took a new meaning in Kurdish with the addition of the suffix *-î*.

Pseudo-loans in Kurdish also often take the form of blends and compound words from Arabic and Kurdish items. Kurdish examples are *qeydînaka*^{K} or *qeynake*^{K} 'it does not matter', which comes from the Arabic *lāqayda-ʿalayh'* 'no restriction' or 'limitation'. Another Arabic loan *ḫat.tā*^{A} 'until' is used as *heta-ku*^{K} by adding the suffix *-ku* that means 'until then providing that…'

There are other items in the data that fall under the category of pseudo-loans such as *mešru*ʿ^{K} 'water facility', *zêderőyî*^{K} 'trespass' or 'violation', by adding the suffix *-rőyî*, *wez*ʿ^{K} 'condition or status', *ʾaxr*^{K} 'well! or now!' from the Arabic *ʾāxir*^{A} "last" and finally *mecra*^{K} 'water sewage' whereas in Arabic it is *mağrā* 'stream'.

In conclusion, the investigation into the data showed that pseudo-loans do exist in Kurdish and represent a category within the Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. This is in spite of arguments that deny the existence of pseudo-loans in many languages.

2.2.3 Summary

This section has analysed the types of loanwords in Kurdish according to the most prominent categorization of loanwords. It showed that the loanwords fall into 13 types according to their degree of assimilation. The analysis showed that the majority of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish fall into the category of pure loanwords despite substantial differences between the structures of the two languages. This is expected, considering the political and educational system in Iraq since the 1920s where Arabic was "practically" the sole official language. However, there are also a considerable number of other types of loanword. The data showed that certain loanwords have shifted from their original meaning as the transfer occurred. For example, the lexical items *ʾîḧtmale*^{K} 'probability' acquired the meaning of the adjective *muḧtemel*^{K} 'possible' (see 2.2.2.1.1). Hence, phonologically unassimilated loanwords may have undergone assimilation or morphosyntactic changes at other levels, including change of grammatical category.

The assimilation of compound items, was also discussed, such as *ʾišaĺa*^{K} 'God willing' from *ʾin-šā-ʾAllāh*^{A} and *qeynake*^{K} which is from *lā-qayd-ʿalayhi*^{A} (see 2.2.2.2).

A prominent strategy for assimilation has been the integration of borrowed items into blends which was implemented via four techniques: transferred stems, indigenous stems, hybrid compounds and tautological blends (see 2.2.2). This type of assimilation makes loanwords extremely different and difficult to recognize for source language speakers as in *xetedaw*[K] ‘link’ from *ḫayṭ*[A], or *cadew-ban*[K] ‘road’ from *ğād.da*[A] and *ḧeqdwçîn*[K] *‘spite’* from *ḥiqd*[A].

Finally, the section demonstrated that pseudo-loanwords are also present in Kurdish. These loanwords refer to entirely different things in Kurdish as in *qurbān*[A] ‘sacrifice’, which is used as ‘dear’ in Kurdish without any phonemic changes. The path of assimilation involves phonological change and alternations as well as morphemic changes. In turn, these changes have contributed to structural changes and affected the syllable length. Both types will be addressed in the following section (2.3.2.2).

2.3 The phonological treatment of loanwords

2.3.1 An introduction

The notion of ‘phonological adaptation’ of foreign words is not a new concept in traditional Arabic linguistic studies. Sībawayhī (died 797), who authored the first book on Arabic linguistics, hints at segmental changes. He argues that often the speakers of the borrowing language change loanwords through assimilating the phonemes that do not exist in their language by replacing them with native ones. However, they may leave a word unchanged when its sounds are like theirs (Sībawayhī 1982:304).

Lexical items are considered the “least stable language domain” and in contact situations they are the fastest linguistic items in terms of transfer from one language to another (van Coetsem 1988:26, Thomason and Kaufman 1988:37 and see 1.3.1.2). However, borrowing not only involves semantic features of words; sounds are also borrowed (Sankoff 2002:658). The formal properties include the sound shape: sounds, phonological segments and their sequences, and prosodic features, such as stress (Heffernan 2005, LaCharité and Paradis 2005).

Often loanwords include phonemes that do not exist in the host language. Therefore, the borrowed items either change phonologically or they retain features and introduce them to the recipient language, as Henderson (1951:131) argues:

> Foreign words may be taken into a language in two ways: (a) they may recast in a form already acceptable in the borrowing language; or (b) they may retain some alien features and so introduce new phonological patterns.

Hence, loanword assimilation takes place through two phases. During the first phase the speakers of the recipient language recognise the contrast between the borrowing language and the source language. In the second phase, repair strategies are used on the borrowed items, according to Silverman (1992:296-302), Yip (1993:281).

Loanwords are either phonologically assimilated or not assimilated. Most often, the sound shape of loanwords adapts to the phonology of the receiving language (Bloomfield 1933:445). For example, the Arabic word /zˤa:lim/ ‘oppressor’ shifts into [załm]; the pharyngealised alveolar fricative, which does not exist in Kurdish, is replaced by the alveolar fricative; and the alveolar-lateral approximant is replaced by the velarized alveolar-lateral approximant in Kurdish. Nonetheless, in the case of long and consistent language contact, the

word may retain some of its non-native sounds. This is evident in Kurdish in the use of the pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] in the words [ʕajb] ‘fault’, [ʕəjnən] ‘exactly the same’ and [məwʕid] ‘appointment’.[35]

In other cases, borrowed items go through the process of adaptation and assimilation into the system of the receiving language. Silverman (1992:289-328), Paradis (1997:379) and Kenstowicz (2004b:65-104) link the use of loanwords with the efficiency and skills of the speaker in the source language. However, others highlight the influence of the receiving language on the pronunciation of borrowed items (Major 2001:140) suggesting that the phonological system of the receiving language is a factor in the sound shift of loanwords (Odlin 1989:113). Finally, Paradis and LaCharité (2011:753) emphasise the importance of distinguishing the process of loanword adaptation from the nativisation process within a given language.[36]

The above mentioned argument of Silverman (1992:289-328), Paradis (1997:379) and Kenstowicz (2004:65-104), which links the use of loanwords with the efficacy and skills of the speaker in the source language, is no longer relevant to Kurdish speakers, as the number of bilinguals is in decline (see 1.2.2.5), and the younger generations are not proficient in Arabic, unless they are specialized in the language or have a particular interest in it.

Assimilation could also be affected by different factors such as the history of borrowing and intensity of contact between the two language communities (Thomason 2010:169, Trask 2000:24, Loveday 1996:26).

On another level, according to Whiteley (1967:127), assimilated loanwords are either ‘established’ or ‘probationary’. Established loans are those that have been in use for a number of years while the probationary loans are not in general use and may eventually be abandoned. These categories are also divided to ‘conformist’ words and ‘innovatory’ assimilation (ibid. 127). The phonological analysis of loanword assimilation assumes that the process of assimilation entails a one-to-one matching of phonemes, in a sort of conventionalized adaptation pattern.

Most of the early loanwords that have been established in Kurdish have undergone extensive phonological assimilation. For example, the Arabic word /ʔaɾdˤ/ ‘earth’ became [ʕəɾd] or [ħəɾd]. So the majority of the non-linguist native Kurdish speakers, most likely do not suspect the origin of the word to be Arabic. As importation is directly related to the level of bilingualism

---

[35] Zebîḧî (1988) and Hacî Marf (1976) insist that the phoneme [ħ] is borrowed from Arabic (see 2.3.2.1.1).

[36] For example, when the Kurdish speaker pronounces the Arabic loanword /kijan/ ‘entity’ as [tʃijan] is not due to need for change and the absence of the segments in the receiving language. As a rule, in Kurdish, when the velar plosive [k] is followed by [ija] or sometimes [e] and [i], [k] changes to [tʃ], see 2.3.3.

(Haugen 1950, Paradis & LaCharité 1997, 2008, 2009, Heffernan 2007, Friesner 2009), this is probably due to the small number of bilinguals in Kurdish and Arabic at an earlier period and the direct contact between Arabs and Kurds, which was far less extensive before the creation of the state of Iraq in the wake of World War One. Loanwords that were used by the majority of monolinguals and contained phonemes that do not exist in Kurdish were adapted to suit the phonological patterns of Kurdish.

The degree of sound alternation also varies according to the level of education and the degree of bilingualism. The segment changes not only differ from one speaker to another, but the pronunciation of the same word alternates in individual speakers according to extra-linguistic factors such as the situation (van Coetsem 1988:99). For example, less educated Kurdish speakers find it hard to pronounce certain Arabic phonemes and therefore alter them to other closer sounds. The word /rubuʕ/ 'quarter' shifts to [rubħ] or on occasions it shifts to [ruʕub]. It is unlikely that we would find a bilingual speaker or an educated person pronouncing /rubuʕ/ as [ruʕub]. Other strategies are widely practised by Kurdish speakers such as instances of metathesis, which mostly occur when the loanword includes segments that do not exist in Kurdish. For example, /rasˤi:f/ 'pavement' shifts to [rafis] and /masˤi:f/ 'summer resort' often shifts to [mafis].

2.3.2 The process of loanword assimilation

The data shows that loanword phonemes mainly change the manner of articulation of some sounds and the place of articulation of some others. The phoneme selected in the loanword sound alteration is most frequently the nearest allowable phoneme in the recipient language, due to the absence of particular phonemes in the receiving language, as Paradis and LaCharité (1997:384) argue. For example, Arabic pharyngealised phonemes do not exist in Kurdish, but their non-pharyngealised counterpart exist and are allowable in CK. Therefore, the CK speaker seeks the pronunciation of the sound with the closest articulation in CK and shifts the pharyngealised [tˤ], [sˤ] and [ðˤ] to [t], [s] and [z] respectively. The changes also include the alteration of the voiceless dental fricative [θ] as in /θawra/ 'revolution' to the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] to [səwrə], while the voiced uvular fricative [ɣ] shifts to voiceless uvular fricative [x] so /ɣamm/ becomes [xəm]. The dental-alveolar fricative [sˤ] occurs very rarely in original CK words such as [sˤəg] 'dog' and [sˤəd] or [sˤət] 'hundred' in the Slêmanî variety (see 2.3.2.1.1a), which probably was a voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in the past. Speakers from remote villages in Hewlêr region and its mountain provinces still pronounce these words as [səg] and [səd] with the voiceless

dental-alveolar fricative. The shift to [sˤ] is possibly an example of language change as a result of contact with Arabic and due to social-demographic factors. This would be an interesting topic for future research.

It is not within the scope of this section to discuss all the phonological aspects of borrowing in Kurdish in detail. However, some main trends may be noted. This section looks into the assimilation of loanwords from a descriptive, diachronic perspective. It is also limited to the segmental level rather than the prosodic structure.

The phonological assimilation of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish involves the following mechanisms: consonant changes including depharyngealisation, degemination, vowel change and cluster change. In the following sections, the research highlights the main phonological changes to Arabic loanwords in Kurdish and deals with the following:

1. Consonant changes that include change in the manner and place of articulation as well as voicing;
2. Vowel changes that include change in vowel length, height, rounding, diphthongisation and deletion;
3. Degree of assimilation, which deals with gemination, omission and syllabic omission.

2.3.2.1 Consonant changes

The sound systems of the two languages differ. The differences are either in place of articulation, manner of articulation or voicing as in Tables 2.2 and 2.3.

Table 2.2: Central Kurdish consonants (Adapted from MacCarus 1997:962)

Kurdish consonants

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
Plosive	p b		t d				k g	q		ʔ[37]
Nasal	m		n				ŋ			
Trill				r						
Tap or flap				ɾ						
Fricative		f v		s z	ʃ ʒ		x ɣ		ħ ʕ	h
Affricate				dz tʃ dʒ						
Approximant		w				j				
Lateral approximant				l ɫ						

[37] Some scholars question existence of glottal plosive [ʔ] in Kurdish and others include it (see McCarus 2009:592). But there are numerous words with glottal plosive such as [nəʔ] 'no', [ʔaw] 'water' and [ʔewarə] 'evening'.

Table 2.3: Standard Arabic consonants (Adapted from Kaye 1997:192)

Arabic consonants

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
Plosive	b			t d tˤ dˤ			k	q		ʔ
Nasal	m			n						
Trill				r						
Tap or flap				ɾ						
Fricative		f	θ ð ðˤ	s z sˤ	ʃ		x ɣ		ħ ʕ	h
Affricate					dʒ					
Approximant		w				j				
Lateral approximant				l						

The following differences in place of articulation are evident between Kurdish and Standard Arabic. Firstly, Kurdish does not have pharyngealised phonemes /tˤ/, /dˤ/, /sˤ/ and /ðˤ/ like Arabic. On the other hand, Kurdish has phonemes which do not exist in Standard Arabic, namely [v], [tʃ], [p], [g], [ʒ] and [ɫ]. Furthermore, certain Arabic phonemes merge with native Kurdish phonemes: e.g. an Arabic word such as /kija:n/^{A} 'entity' becomes [tʃijan]^{K} in Kurdish, i.e. the velar sound /k/ is nativised into [tʃ] before the front vowel. However, the pharyngeal fricatives /ʕ/ and /ħ/ do not normally shift as they are now part of the Kurdish sound system. In rural areas of the Hewlêr region and some other areas (see 2.2.1) the pharyngeals have undergone an assimilation process: e.g. the voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ in Arabic /na:ħjiat/^{A} 'sub-district', was replaced by its voiced counterpart and became [nəʕijət]^{K}.

The main phonological modifications concern the manner of articulation and the place of articulation. The data suggest differences in articulation of certain phonemes between speakers, which sometimes affect the syllables. Van Coetsem (1988:99) attributes such differences to individual speakers' differences that are affected by social factors.[38]

2.3.2.1.1 Change in the place of articulation

As stated above, certain Arabic consonants changed to phonemes with the closest articulation positions in the receiving language, which is typical in most contact situations (Haugen 1950). The following section discusses consonant changes in Arabic loanwords:

[38] The transcription in this thesis reflects interspeaker variation. So, differences between the speakers may appear as inconsistency in transcription in this work but it is not (see 2.3.2.2g on vowel deletion).

a. The pharyngeals [ħ] and [ʕ] and pharyngealised [tˤ], [dˤ], [sˤ], and [ðˤ]

Kurdish did not originally contain pharyngeals and the pharyngealised phonemes. They are believed to be of Arabic origin (McCarus 2009:592). Chyet (2007:605) suggests that the voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ] has possibly entered NK through contact with Aramaic (see 2.2.1.1). Nonetheless, this phoneme in CK occurs almost always in Arabic origin words. McCarus (2009:592) and Hacî Marf (1976:23) argue that the phonemes /ħ/ and /ʕ/ have been borrowed from Arabic. McCarus (2009:592) gives examples of the rare occurrence of /ħ/ in native Kurdish words such as [saliħ] 'veracious', [ħəjwan] 'animal', [ħal] 'condition' and [siftaħ] "opening", which are in fact words of Arabic origin words. The latter is well assimilated as a loan-blend consisting of [sər]^{K}+/fat.ta:ħ/^{A}. The pharyngeals usually do not change in loanwords and they are now incorporated into the Kurdish sound system. This supports the claim of direct borrowing from Arabic, otherwise phonemes /ħ/ and /ʕ/ could have shifted to [h] and glottal [ʔ] in loanwords, which is what normally happens to such phonemes in Arabic loanwords in Turkish and Persian.

The pharyngealised phonemes in the loanwords have been prone to changes in place of articulation and voicing. For example, the emphatic Arabic voiceless alveolar plosive [tˤ] is realised as its correspondent non-pharyngeal segment [t], due to the lack of pharyngealised phonemes in Kurdish, as seen in (15):

(15)

	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
[tˤ]	/qa:tˤ iʕ/	[qatiʕ]	'section'
	/xatˤ ar/	[xətər]	'danger'
[dˤ]	/ramadˤa:n/	[rəməzan]	'Ramadan'
[sˤ]	/sˤarf/	[sərf]	'exchange'
[ðˤ]	/manðˤar/	[mənzər]	'scene'

Similarly, the pharyngealised voiceless alveolar fricative /sˤ/ shifts to the voiceless [s]. Thus /sˤabir/ 'patience' becomes [səbir], /rasˤi:f/ 'pavement' becomes [rəsif] and /sˤarf/ 'to pay' becomes [sərf] in Kurdish. In some areas of Kurdistan the sound [sˤ] occurs in a few words such as [səg] 'dog' and [sət] 'hundred' (see 2.3.2).

b. The dental-alveolar lateral [l]

The dental-alveolar lateral [l] shifts to velarized alveolar-lateral [ɫ] as in the following:

(16)

	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
[l] shifted to [ɫ]	/xalq/	[xəɫk]	‘people’ or ‘creation’
	/muslim/	[musɫman]	‘Muslim’

In fact, the voiced velarized alveolar-lateral [ɫ] does not occur in literary and classical Arabic with the exception of /ʔaɫɫa:h/ ‘Allah’ (Al-ʿAni 1970:48).

c. The velars and the uvulars

The Arabic voiceless velar plosive [k], uvular plosive [q], voiceless velar fricative [x], and voiced velar fricative [ɣ] have often shifted in loanwords. The uvular plosive [q] is frequently replaced by [x] or [tʃ], [k] shifted to [tʃ] and [ɣ] shifted to [x].

As mentioned above, the Arabic voiceless velar plosive [k] often shifted to a postalveolar affricate [tʃ] in Kurdish. This shift occurs when it is followed by a high close unrounded front vowel [i:] or the mid close unrounded front vowel [e] (see (17)).

The Arabic uvular plosive consonant [q] is often shifted to the velar plosive [k] in word-final positions as shown in (17). Furthermore, the change can go further so that the voiceless velar [k] can in turn be changed into the voiceless affricate [tʃ] before unrounded high close and mid close vowels as shown in (17) below. This is due to Kurdish internal phonological rules (see 2.3.2.1). For example, /muʃkilat/ ‘problem’ became [muʃtʃilə] or even [mʃtʃilə][39] and /xalq/ became [xəɫtʃek] on other occasions. On the other hand, there is the change seen in /ɣamm/ ‘grief’ > [xəm] ‘sadness’. Such instances of change may be due to extra-linguistic issues and need further investigation.

(17)

		Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
/k/		/ħaki:m/	[ħətʃim]	‘wise’
	shifted to [tʃ]	/muʃkila/	[muʃtʃilə]	‘problem’
/q/		/xalq/	[xəɫtʃi]	‘people’
		/xalq/	[xəɫtʃek]	‘some people’

[39] Probably the word has been borrowed from modern standard Arabic as it has lost the feminine gender marker /at/. And the same for /ɣas.sa:la/ ‘washing machine’, which is clearly a new borrowing.

/q/	shifted to [x]	/waqt/	[wəxt]	‘time’
		/tˤa:qm/	[taxm]	‘a set’
		/maqsˤad/	[məxsəd]	‘intention’
/ɣ/	shifted to [x]	/ɣamm/	[xəm]	‘sadness’

2.3.2.1.2 Change in the manner of articulation

Both the place of articulation and the manner of articulation are affected in the assimilation of loanwords. It is not only phonemes that do not exist in Kurdish that are shifted. In some cases, phonemes underwent sound changes even when they did exist in Kurdish. Changes in manner of articulation are illustrated below.

a. The plosives

The voiced bilabial plosive [b] exists in both languages. Nevertheless, it shifted into the voiceless bilabial plosive [p] on occasions. Accordingly, /xara:b/ ‘ruin’ shifted into [xrap] in Kurdish. There are many examples in general speech of this change as in [qapqapə] from /qabqa:b/ ‘wooden sandal’ and [qəħpə] from Arabic /qaħba/ ‘prostitute’ a word that does not have equivalent in Kurdish (see 3.1.4.1). The plosives [q] and [tˤ], have been discussed in the sections above.

b. The fricatives

The voiceless dental fricative [θ] and emphatic interdental voiced fricative [ð] do not exist in Kurdish. The Arabic sounds [θ] and [ð] are always turned into the closest Kurdish sounds, namely the dental-alveolar fricatives [s] and [z] respectively, wherever they occur, as in (18) below:

(18)		Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
	[θ]	/ ʔa:θa:r/	[ʔasar]	‘remnant’
		/maθalan/	[məsələn]	‘for example’

(19)

	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
[ð]	/maðhab/	[məzhəb]	'creed'
	/ʕəða:b/	[ʕəzab]	'agony'

Similarly, the voiced post-interdental emphatic fricative [ðˤ] and the pharyngealised voiced alveolar plosive [dˤ] shift to voiced alveolar fricatives [z] in Kurdish. This is clearly due to the absence of the former phonemes in Kurdish. This alternation takes place in the loanwords in all syllable positions. The changes that occurred to the two phonemes are illustrated below:

(20)

	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
[ðˤ]	/manðˤar/	[mazər]	'view'
	/ðˤarf/	[zərf]	'envelope'

(21)

	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
[dˤ]	/qadˤa:ʔ/	[qəza]	'administrative district'
	/wadˤʕ/	[wəzʕ]	'condition'
	/ramadˤa:n/	[rəməzan]	'Ramadan'
	/dˤaɣtˤ/	[zəɣt]	'pressure'
	/mawdˤu:ʕ/	[məwzuʕ]	'issue'

The consonant alterations did not affect the syllable structure of the word. The most notable alternations are the consonant changes because the changes were more prevalent in the alternations to nine consonants (see Table 2:4). In contrast, the vowel alternations did not occur as regularly, as discussed in the following section (2.3.2.2ß).

The following table summarises the consonant alternations in the loanwords with the original Arabic form:

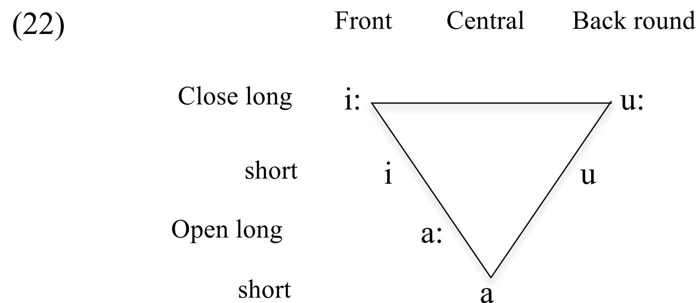
Table 2.4: Alternation of consonants

Phonemic notation			Transcription of the loanword	
Arabic		Kurdish	Arabic	Kurdish
tˤ	>	t	/xatˤar/	[xətər]
sˤ	>	s	/sˤarf/	[sərf]
l	>	ł	/ðˤalim/	[załm]
q	>	k	/xalq/	[xəłk]
q	>	x	/tˤaqm/	[taxm]
θ	>	s	/a:θa:r/	[asar]
ð	>	z	/maðhab/	[məzhəb]
ðˤ	>	z	/ðˤarf/	[zərf]
dˤ	>	z	/qadˤa:ʔ/	[qəza]
ħ	>	h	/ħaqq/	[həq]

2.3.2.2 Vowel changes

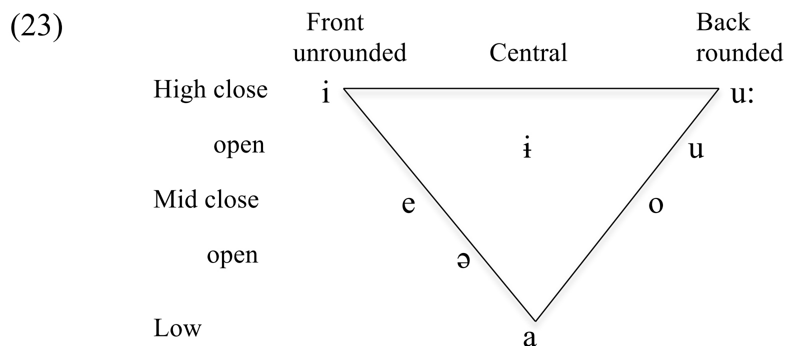
The vowel systems in Arabic and Kurdish are different (see (22) and (23)). Vowel length in the two languages is not similarly distinguished. Arabic has six vowels with length oppositions (Angoujard 2014:174, Kaye 1997:196), while Kurdish has eight vowels (McCarus 2009:591, Thackston 2006:7).

(22)



Standard Arabic vowels - adapted from Kaye (1997:196)

(23)



Central Kurdish vowels - adapted from McCarus (2009:591)

Vowel changes in Arabic loanwords are more frequent than consonant changes. However, vowel changes are less predictable. Therefore, the changes do not represent absolute patterns. This maybe because the speakers are from very diverse social backgrounds. Many of the Arabic vowels have undergone changes in relation to length, height, diphthongisation, and vowel deletion in the Kurdish version, as will be presented in the following section.

a. Vowel length

Loanwords do not usually retain the Arabic long vowels. Thus, the back rounded long vowel [u:] is reduced to [u] and the open central long vowel [a:] is reduced to the low central unrounded vowel [a] as in the following:

(24)

Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
/ħuku:mat/	[ħkumat]	'government'
/rasˤi:f/	[rəsif]	'pavement'
/maʃru:ʕ/	[məʃruʕ]	'project'
/ʕamu:d/	[ʕamud]	'pillar'

b. Height

Loanword adaptation alters vowel height. According to examples in the data, low central vowels [a] and [a:] alternate with close [e] and mid open [ə] in the initial and medial positions or the back unrounded vowels [ɨ]. The front vowel [i] is replaced by the back unrounded short vowel [ɨ] in the initial and medial positions and the mid close front unrounded vowel [e] or mid open central vowel [ə] in the medial position. The short rounded back vowel [u] is replaced by the mid close back rounded vowel [o]. The examples in (25) show the vowel alternations:

(25)

Arabic	Kurdish	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
	ə	/sa:ʕat/	[səʕat]	'hour'
a:	e	/ħɩ:naha:/	[həjne]	'then'
	e	/kita:b/	[kɨteb]	'book'
	ɨ	/qa:tˤiʕ/	[qətɨʕ]	'section'
i	e	/zija:da/	[zeda]	'extra'
	ə	/ħiqd/	[ħəqd]	'spite'
u	o	/muhla/	[mołət]	'permission'

c. Diphthongisation

The Arabic high close front long vowel [i:] is replaced by the Kurdish diphthong [ai] and the open central short vowel [a] is substituted with [au] as in the following:

(26)	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
	/ħi:naha/	[həine][40]	'then'	/mud.dat/	[mauə]	'duration'

These changes lead to syllable change or reduction as in /ħi:naha/ CV:CVCV which becomes [həine] CVVCV. Currently, I do not have a full explanation of what factors condition these changes to diphthongs, along with the loss of word-internal consonant in /mud.dat/ CVC.CVC.

d. Deletion

In Arabic loanwords, there are instances in which the close back rounded vowel /u/ and central short vowel /a/ are deleted. In all cases the deletion affects the length of the syllable and leads to the disappearance of a syllable entirely, as in the following:

(27)	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
	/mudʒar.rad/	[mdzarad]	'only'
	/mura:dʒaʕa/	[mradzaʕa]	'visit'
	/xusˤu:sˤi:/	[xsusi]	'private'
	/mushkila/	[mʃkila]	'problem
	/muħa:saba/	[mħasaba]	'questioning'
	/qasˤ.sˤa/	[qsə]	'narrate'
	/radʒa:ʔ/	[rdza]	'hopefulness'

The deletion of vowels also contributed to changes in the syllable structure of the loanwords which consequently affects the formation of clusters. Some of the deletions result in unusual syllable structure that does not otherwise exist in either the source or the receiving language (see (28a) and (28b)). This is in turn leads to the assimilation of the words to conform to Kurdish phonology rather than the original Arabic. For example, Arabic /fiʕlan/ 'really' becomes [fʕlən]

[40] [həine] 'then' has similarities with the Arabic word /ħi:na/ 'when' but it is closer to Arabic /ħi:naha/ 'then' which conveys the same meaning.

in CK. The following examples show degrees of adaptation into Kurdish through deletion of vowels that result in the loss of the original Arabic initial syllables in order to suit the Kurdish clusters.

(28)

	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
a.	/fiʕlan/	[fʕlən]	‘really’
	CVC.CVC	CCC.VC	
b.	/xidmat/	[xzmət]	‘service’
	CVC.CVC	CCCVC	
c.	/muhim/	[mhim]	‘important’
	CV.CVC	CCVC	
d.	/maħalla/	[mʔəlla]	‘quarter’
	CV.CVC.CV	CCVC.CV	
e.	/ħuku:mat/	[ʕkumət]	‘government’
	CV.CV.CVC	CCVC.VC	
f.	/mudʒarrad/	[mdʒarad]	‘only’
	CV.CVC.CV	CCV.CVC	
g.	/dunja:/	[dnja]	‘world’
	CVC.CV	CCCV	
h.	/muqajjad/	[mqaj.jad]	‘restricted’
	CV.CVC.CVC	CCV.CVC	
i.	/muʕajjan/	[mʕajan]	‘particular’
	CVC.CV.CVC	CCV.CVC	
j.	/qasˤ.sˤa/	[qsə]	‘narrative’, talk’
	CVC.CV	CCV	

Deletion sometimes leads to the formation of unusual cluster onsets CCCV that were not reported in the previous literature.[41] Apparently, there are differences between speakers in regards to the deletion and consequently in syllable structure. These differences could be attributed to social factors relating to the speakers (van Coetsem 1988, Trudgill 2000, Sankoff 2013). The samples of data used in Chapter 3, which were extracted from educated speakers’ conversation, did not show such changes. As expected, the educated speakers are more exposed to Arabic and influenced by Arabic pronunciation, in which a vowel is present after the word-initial consonant CV.CCV. The less educated speakers seem to drop the vowel, which result in

[41] The syllable types of Arabic and Kurdish are as following: (the dash means the language lacks the syllable type of the other language)

Kurdish:	CV	-	CVC	-	CVCC	CCV	CCVCC	-	(McCarus 1997:701, Baban 2005:19)
Arabic:	CV	CVV	CVC	CVVC	CVCC	-	-	CVVCC	(Ryding 2005:35)

However, Kurdish does not have syllable CCCVC or CCCV but a few loanwords seem to have them. This needs further investigation in future.

reducing syllables and generating unusual onsets consisting of three consonants as in CCCVC [xzmət]. On other occasions the deletion contributes to drastic reduction in syllable structure as in (28j) which also has a change in meaning from Arabic /qasˤ.sˤa/ 'narrative' to [qsə] 'talk' in Kurdish. The absence of solid patterns in the phonological treatment of loanwords could be related to different social backgrounds of the speakers. This is an interesting area in the study of loanwords and would be a viable project for future work.

2.3.2.3 Note on the alternations

Substantial numbers of Arabic loanwords have undergone phonological changes in Kurdish. Arabic consonants have undergone changes in the manner of articulation and place of articulation as well as voicing. Most of the consonant changes were due to the lack of certain phonemes in Kurdish. Others were influenced by internal sound harmony with the adjacent sounds.

The vowels changed more frequently than consonants. Most of the vowel changes involved syllable reduction either in terms of the number of the syllables or the length of the syllable itself (see examples in (24), (26) and (28)). However, certain vowel substitutions were only a matter of contrast between the sounds in Kurdish and Arabic and did not result in solid overwhelming patterns. Therefore, the results cannot be generalised. This could be due to the fact that the speakers in the data of this chapter are from very diverse backgrounds talking about very different topics and this leads to what seems like erratic use of the loanwords. This could be investigated further in future works with targeted data.

Phonemic changes to the loanwords sometimes correlate with changes in meaning. For instance, more assimilated items showed more semantic change as in /fi-lħaqiqat/ 'in fact' becomes [bə-ħəqət] 'to say the truth, /la:qajd/ no restriction' becomes [qəjnakə] 'it does not matter', /xara:b/ 'ruin' becomes [xɾap] 'bad'.

2.3.3 Summary

Loanwords have undergone different degrees of phonological assimilation and different degrees of alterations. The data showed a correlation between the degree of phonological assimilation and semantic changes and that the two co-vary. The more assimilated the loanword, the less faithful it is to the semantics of the source language. For example, the loanword [təqribən]

'approximately' or 'nearly', which maintained the phonology and morphology - the Arabic accusative case - maintained the same meaning as in the Arabic model. However, a word such as /qasˤsˤa/ 'narrative' shifted to [qsə] 'talk' and underwent changes such as vowel deletion and the shift of the Arabic pharyngealised voiceless affricate [sˤ] to the dental-alveolar fricative [s]. The meaning also changed from 'narration' to 'talk', though the two words share something in common, namely the activity of addressing. This also answers the research question regarding the faithfulness of the loanword to the source language and whether assimilation leads to change in the meaning (see 2.3.2.3).

Assimilated loans have shifted their meanings to the greatest extent, as in /la:-qajd-ʕalajhi/ 'no restriction', which shifted to [qəjnakə] 'it does not matter'. Another example of the correlation between the degree of the assimilation and semantic change is Arabic /muhlat/ 'time-limit', which shifted into [mołət] to convey the meaning of 'permission' in Kurdish. Other examples are listed in (29):

(29)	Arabic	Gloss	Kurdish	Gloss
	/qasˤsˤa/	'narrative	[qsə]	'talk'
	/fi-lħaqi:qat/	'in fact'	[bə-ħəqət]	'to say the truth'
	/la:-qajd-ʕalajh/	'no restriction'	[qəjnakə]	'it does not matter'
	/xara:b/	'ruin'	[xɾap]	'bad'
	/muhlat/	'time limit'	[mołət]	'permission'

This correlation between phonological assimilation and shift in meaning deserves more investigation, especially in regard to the extra-linguistic factors of borrowing, the history of these words in Kurdish and exploring their usage in archived data of spoken Kurdish.

The data showed remarkable changes in consonant clusters as in the Arabic word /fɩʕlən/ CVC.CVC, which became [fʔlən] CCCVC. This syllable has three consonants in the onset which does not usually occur in Kurdish. This seems to occur in the speech of speakers with a lower education background. This suggests that these variations in the linguistic data are due to extra-linguistic factors in the phonological treatment of loanwords. For example, the data of Chapter 3 is extracted from well-educated speakers, and they do not change the word /fɩʕlən/ CVC.CVC to [fʔlən] CCCVC; and their speech does not otherwise include the CCCVC pattern either. This potential connection to level of education might be an interesting topic for a separate study.

The above answered the question about the possibility of a shift in meaning due to the phonological assimilation of the loanword. Some examples suggest correlation between the

assimilation of loanwords and changes in meaning like /qasˤ.sˤa/ 'narrative' shifted to [qsə] 'talk' and /xara:b/ 'ruin' shifted to [xɾap] 'bad'.

The presence of velars and their alternations with each other by all speakers shows the degree of innovation of such sounds in Kurdish, especially the different alteration of the same word by different speakers. For example, /ɣamm/ 'sadness' is pronounced either as [xəm] or [ɣəm], and /ɣas.sa:la/ 'washing machine' is pronounced as [ɣəsalə] or [xəsalə].

The alternations in consonants and vowels occurred for different reasons. Most of the consonant alternations resulted from the absence of certain Arabic phonemes in Kurdish or other phonological rules, such as the substitution of the voiceless velar plosive [k] with the voiceless postalveolar fricative, which led to the alteration of /kijan/ 'entity' into [tʃijan] in Kurdish. The vowel alterations and deletions had different causes. In some cases, the syllable structure of Kurdish required adaptation of loanwords. The alterations in the syllable structure of the loans to certain forms especially with consonant clusters are strong indications of the adaptation process rather than the native language process that was proposed by Paradis and LaCharité (2011:753-4).

2.4 The morphological treatment of loanwords

2.4.1 Introduction

This section investigates the morphological assimilation of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. Its aim is to discover any patterns in the assimilation process and to find out which elements are most affected by the process of borrowing and integration. The section also aims to present the distribution of Arabic loanwords according to lexical class.

In general, morphological assimilation of loanwords involves either assimilation of the loanwords into the receiving language or retention of the properties form the source language. Haugen (1950:211) refers to the distinction between the two situations as either 'assimilated' or 'not assimilated'. In the same vein, Winter-Froemel (2008:156) argues that loanwords either maintain the properties of the source and the original form, or the properties change according to the patterns of the receiving language so as to fit into the receiving language system. Hence, the loanwords become part of the vocabulary of the receiving language. Assimilation could be attributed to linguistic factors and it could also involve other factors (Thomason & Kaufman 1988) that are discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis (see 3.4).

The process of loanword assimilation follows three phases according to Smeaton (1973:61). Following the adaptation of phonemes to the system of the receiving language, which may affect the syllable structure, the words are shortened or expanded accordingly. Consequently, the words are fully naturalized into the morphological system of the receiving language. If a noun or a verb is capable of all the inflectional forms in the paradigm, these modifications aim at achieving harmony with the morphological patterns of the receiving language.

The various degrees of morphological assimilation can be attributed to the fact that loanwords may maintain their phonology and morphology. This could be because they are newly introduced into the language, they resist assimilation into the new system, they do not conflict with the receiving language patterns and are partially assimilated or they are fully adjusted to the phonology and the morphological patterns (ibid. 61). This section aims to investigate the changes undergone by Arabic loanwords, the morphological assimilation and possible effects on the morphology of Kurdish items in the Kurdish context in which they are used.

It should be emphasised that the earliest stratum of Arabic loanwords introduced into the Kurdish language was through religion and religious terms from standard classical Arabic. But as mentioned in (2.2.1.1), it cannot be determined with certainty whether all Arabic elements

existing in today's Kurdish have been introduced into the language through religion or if they have been borrowed from other varieties of Arabic. However, phonological elements in the loanwords do support the view that at least the vast majority of the Arabic elements are from literary and standard Arabic (see examples (4), (5a) and (5b) in 2.2.1.1). The identification of the source of the loanwords is essential in order to understand and to be able to analyse phonological and morphological changes that occurred in the borrowed elements. Therefore, the comparison between the morphology of the loans and their Arabic models will be based on standard Arabic rather than on a particular dialect. Whatever the source of the Arabic items in Kurdish, certain structures and patterns in the two languages are entirely different. The upcoming section (2.4.2) summarises the differences between the two languages.

There is no theory to deal with the morphology of loanwords specifically or the morphological integration of loanwords into the receiving language. Therefore, this investigation does not adopt any specific theoretical framework. Instead, this section presents a careful descriptive analysis of the morphological adaptation and the possible assimilation of loanwords, when it is appropriate, in light of the morphological structure.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace in detail all the morphological aspects of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. However, general trends are discussed in order to understand the extent of the influence of Arabic loanwords on Kurdish. Before beginning the analysis of morphological assimilation, it is important to give an overview of the morphological features of Kurdish and Arabic. Therefore, the following section offers a general overview of the structure of Kurdish morphology and Arabic morphology.

2.4.2 An overview of Arabic and Kurdish morphology

Arabic and Kurdish are from two different language groups and they are typologically different. For this reason, the morphological assimilation of Arabic loanwords into Kurdish is not straightforward.

In order to draw conclusions about the morphological adaptation of the loanwords, the following sections present an overview of the morphology of Arabic and Kurdish and then a concise comparison between the two languages in order to put the changes in context. The following overview aims at the description of some prominent morphological and grammatical features of Kurdish, which are directly relevant to the morphological assimilation of loanwords to be discussed in the following parts of this section.

2.4.2.1 Kurdish morphology

Kurdish has nine distinct parts of speech, namely nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, conjunctions, interjections, prepositions and articles. The morphology of Kurdish is relatively simple due to the limited range of inflectional and derivational affixes. As in most of the Indo-European languages, Kurdish exhibits two main inflectional classes: the verbal class and the nominal class. The latter includes nouns, proper nouns, pronouns and adjectives.

Among the parts of speech, all particles apart from interjections and conjunctions may accept suffixed pronouns (McCarus 2009:598). The agreement marker for verb conjugation is limited due to a high level of syncretism among different persons with just one form in the plural. In total, there are only nine personal endings for verbs. The present has the prefix *de-* and past does not take any prefixes, as in shown in (30):

(30) *nûsîn* ‘writing’ from root: *n.û.s*

present tense				past tense			
de-nûs-îm	1SG	*de-nûs-în*	1PL	*nûs-îm*	1SG	nû*s-îman*	1PL
de-nûs-ît	2SG	*de-nûs-n*	2PL	*nûs-ît*	2SG	*nûs-îtan*	2PL
de-nûs-êt	3SG	*de-nûs-n*	3PL	*nûs-î*	3SG	*nûs-îyan*	3PL

In this section, especial attention is paid to the major parts of speech that correspond to syntactic slots recognized by Hengeveld et al (2004:530): the head of a referential phrase (nouns), the head of a predicate phrase (verb); the modifier of a referential phrase (adjective) and the modifier of a predicate phrase (adverb).

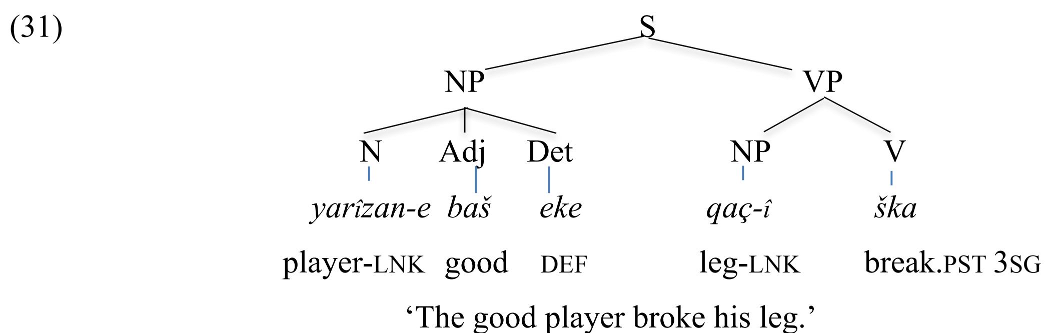
a) Verbs

Like some other Indo-European languages, Kurdish has a limited number of verbal lexemes; most of the verbal meanings are expressed through compounds with a light-verb as the head and a nominal element, which can be a noun or an adjective (MacKenzie 1961 and Blau 2000).

Verbs in Kurdish have no gender distinctions and are either simple or compound. A simple verb is a single element such as *xward* ‘ate’, whereas a compound verb consists of two elements i.e. the stem and the light-verb as in *kari-krd* ‘worked; lit: work did’ and *seyri-krd* ‘watched, lit: watch did’. In the case of borrowing, the stem or the infinitive component is a foreign element and the light-verb is Kurdish as in *qetʿ-krd* ‘did cut’.

Kurdish has two main tenses: past and present. There are several types of past tense, namely past simple, immediate past, past continuous and past perfect. The verbs are also inflected for aspect, mood, person and number and show distinctions of transitivity and voice (McCarus 2009:604, 2007:1029). The verb is initially derived from the infinitive by removing the infinitive marker -*n*, as in *xwardn* 'to eat' becomes *xward* 'ate' in the past tense. As mentioned in the introduction to this section, Kurdish past and present tense verbs as express indicative, subjunctive and imperative mood (McCarus 2007:1045-46).

McCarus (1958:94-5) argues that the verb phrase in Kurdish comprises of a head and its modifier, according to which a verb would be the head and the modifier could be either a noun, an adjective, or an adverb preceding the verb as in (31).



A special type of verbal phrase has the copula and a predicate as modifier. The predicate may be a noun or pronoun, in which case it has the referent as the subject as shown in (31).

b) Nouns

Nouns in Kurdish are modified by elements including the definite marker -*eke* for singular and *ekan* for plural and the enclitic particle -*î*, which is used to mark modified nouns in *ʾîzafe* (genitive possessive structures). There are also pronominal person markers -*m* '1SG.POSS', -*t* '2SG.POSS', -*î* '3SG.POSS', -*man* '1PL.POSS', -*tan* '2PL.POSS', and -*yan* '3PL.POSS'. The demonstratives *ʾew* 'he' or 'she' and *ʾem* are combined with the suffixes -*e* and -*î* (Thackston 2006). Other additional elements that are affiliated with the nominal section are the comparative suffix -*tr* and superlative -*trîn*.

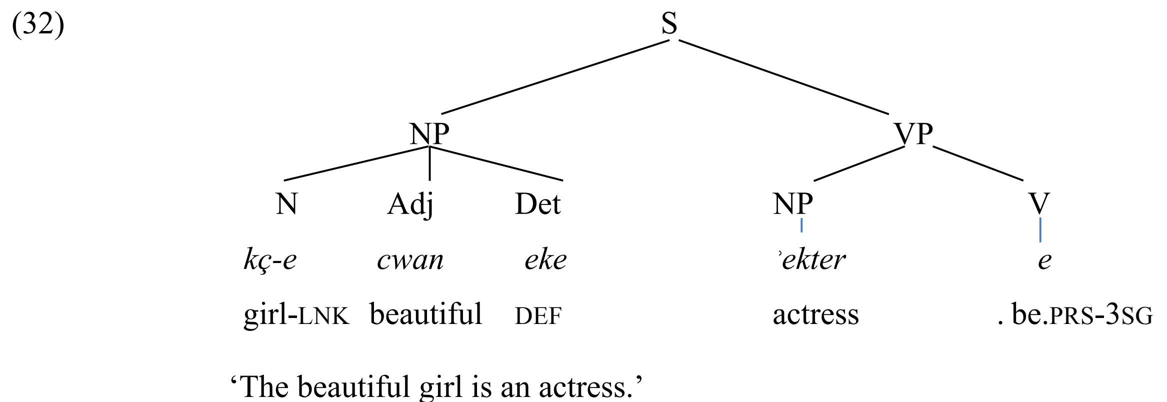
Nouns in Kurdish are either singular or plural and there is no dual form, like Arabic. Similar to many other Indo-Iranian languages, Kurdish grammar does not have morphological gender and case endings. Therefore, nouns lack feminine gender markers, a feature that is considered one of the main morphological differences with Arabic. There are some exceptions,

since the gender difference is lexically shown in nouns referring to animate beings (McCarus 2007:598).

Plurals in Kurdish are marked with the suffix *-an* (McCarus 1958:48) as in *dayk* ‘mother’, *daykan* ‘mothers’ and *saĺ* ‘year’, which becomes *saĺ-an* ‘years’. There is a less commonly used plural marker *-hat*, which resembles the Persian plural marker *-ha*. As for definiteness, it is marked at the right edge of the NP. The same is true for indefiniteness. Definite nouns are marked with *-eke* as in *dayk-eke* ‘the mother’ and indefinite nouns with the marker *-ek* as in *dayk-ek* ‘a mother’ (McCarus 1958:47).

Similar to Arabic, Kurdish nouns and often adjectives are distinguished by function rather than form. Thus *cwan* can either be a noun or an adjective and these can be distinguished from the context. For example, the word is an adjective in (32) below and it is a noun in (33):

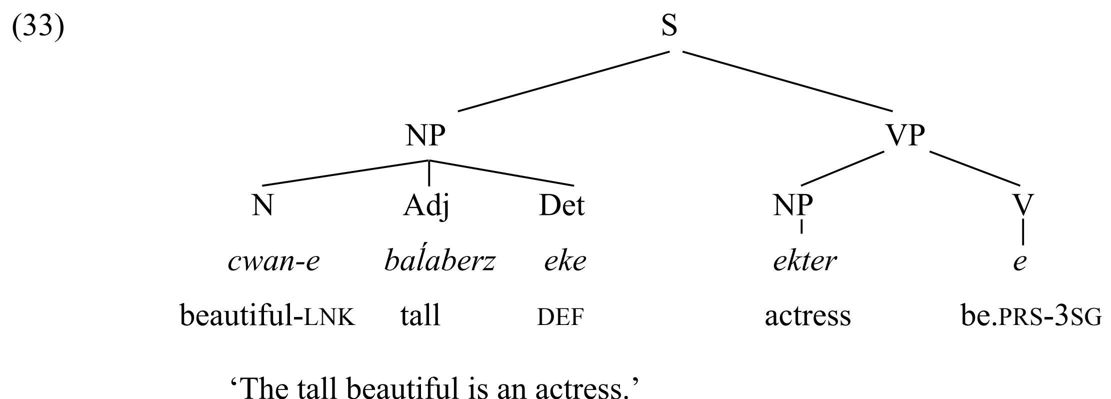
(32)



‘The beautiful girl is an actress.’

The second is a noun and was modified by an adjective:

(33)



‘The tall beautiful is an actress.’

c) Adjectives

Adjectives follow the head noun and may be joined either by *îzafe* or by the open compound

construction (Mackenzie 1961:67). The latter is shown by the Arabic noun *ḥurmat* sanctity, which was converted into an adjective by affixing the Kurdish prefix *bê-* 'discreditable' as in (34) below:

(34) *ˀew* *xîtab-e* *bê-ḧurmet -* *e*
this-DEM.SG discourse- LNK discreditable be.PRS-3SG
'This discourse is discreditable'

Adjectives share many characteristic features with nouns and they are similarly marked for number and receive the definite and indefinite suffixes. On occasions, nouns and adjectives can be interchangeable, as shown in the examples (32) and (33) in section (b) on nouns. The word *cwan* 'beautiful' was used as an adjective and a noun in two different sentences as explained in (32) and (33).

Adjectives in Kurdish may also resemble adverbs. Only the context can distinguish between the two as in the following examples. The word *xêra* 'fast or quickly' is used as an adjective to modify the noun *őtőmbel* in (35a). In (35b) it is an adverb. The same thing applies to the word *šetane* 'crazy or crazily'. In (36a), it is an adjective and it is used as an adverb in (36b):

(35) a- *őtőmbêl-e* *xêra-ke* *frőšra*
car-LNK fast-DEF sell-PST-PASS
'The fast car was sold'

b- *őtőmbêl-eke* *xêra* *derçu*
car-DEF quickly leave-PRF
'The car left quickly'

(36) a- *kabra* *šêtane-ke* *kewte* *xwarê*
man crazy-DEF fall-PST-3SG down
'The crazy man has fallen down.'

b- *kabra-ke* *šêtane* *rőyî*
man-DEF crazily walk-PST-3SG
'The man walked crazily.'

d) Adverbs

Kurdish adverbs occur in verbal and in nominal phrases or initially as part of sentences, and can be classified as adverbs of time, place, manner, or quantity (McCarus 1958:78). The majority of adverbs of time, place and quantity are unchangeable items, but the adverbs of manner can be also preceded by *be-* and the suffix *-î* as in *be-hêwaš-î* 'slowly' and *be-ˀasan-î* 'easily'. Certain adverbs can be derived from adjectives either by adding the suffix *-î* as in *ˀasan* 'easy' which becomes *be-ˀasan-î* 'easily' and *gran* 'heavy' which becomes *be-gran-î* 'heavily', or it can be preceded by the prefix *be-* as in *taybet* 'special' yielding *be-taybet* 'especially'.

2.4.2.2 Arabic morphology

Arabic is known to have root and pattern morphology (Watson 2002:125). This makes Arabic flexible in terms of derivations and the creation of new words for new situations. In addition, 'person, aspect and mood as well as gender and number are marked by affixes' (Kaye 2007:217).

According to traditional Arabic grammarians, Arabic has only three main parts of speech, namely nouns, verbs and particles, a division initially proposed by Sībawayhī (1982:1). These parts of speech were later sub-categorized into more detailed parts of speech. What makes Arabic different from other languages, and especially Kurdish, are the verbs. Arabic verbs inflect person, number, gender and mood. The following examples in (37) show that each verb has been inflected for person, number and gender to agree with the subject through suffixes *-a*, *-ū*, *-t*, *-nā*:

(37) *al-ṭālibu* *ḏahab-a* *ʾilā* *al-madrasati* (3SG-M)
DEF-student go.PST 3SG-M PREP DEF-school
'The student went to the school.'

al-ṭul.lāb-u *ḏahab-ū* *ʾilā* *al-madrasati* (3PL- M)
DEF-student go.PST 3PL- M PREP DEF-school
'The [male] students went to the school.'

al-ṭālibāt-u *ḏahab-at* *ʾilā* *al-madrasati* (3SG-F)
DEF-student go.PST 3SG-F PREP DEF-school
'The [female] student went to the school.'

al-ṭālib-āt-u *ḏahab-na* *ʾilā* *al-madrasati* (3PL-F)
DEF-student go.PST 3PL-F PREP DEF-school
'The [female] students went to the school.'

a) Nouns

Noun forms in Standard Arabic are not as predictable as verbs and they are inflected for gender, number, definiteness and case endings that show nominative, accusative or genitive. As nouns and adjectives in Arabic resemble each other and 'have the same inflections' (Kaye 2007:228), there is no need to allocate a separate section for adjectives here.

Noun affixation is complex and different types of nouns and particles can be derived through unique affixation, which usually co-occurs with vowel ablaut as in (38):

(38) e.g. root: *k.t.b*

noun	prefix	suffix	category	gloss
ma-ktāb-āt	*ma-*	*āt*	place	library, bookshop
ma-ktūb	*ma-*	-	participle	been written
kitābat	*ma-*	-	verbal noun	writing
mu-kātab-āt	*mu-*	*-at*	verbal noun	exchanging (letters)
ta-kātub	*ta-*	-	verbal noun	exchanging (letters)
mu-ktib	*mu-*	-	active participle	directive
ma-ktab-ī	*ma-*	*-ī*	noun	official
ma-ktabīy -ūn	*ma-*	*-ūn*	noun	office affiliated. pl

Unlike Kurdish, Arabic has grammatical gender. It has two morphological gender categories, i.e. masculine and feminine, applied to inanimate and animate nouns equally. The masculine nouns are not marked, but the feminine nouns are marked by the suffixes *–ah* or *–eh* among others in spoken varieties and *-at* in Standard Arabic as in (39):

(39)

Animates			Inanimate			
masc	fem	gloss	masc	gloss	fem	gloss
mumaṯ.ṯil	*mumaṯ.ṯil-at*	‘actor’	*kursī*	‘chair’	*say.yārat*	‘car’
ṭālib	*ṭālib-at*	‘student’	*bāb*	‘door’	*ġurf-at*	‘room’

Arabic is relatively complex in terms of number as it has singular, dual and plural. There are also distinctions between the masculine and feminine plurals as well. The duals are marked with the suffixes *-ān* or *-ayn*, and the masculine regular plural[42] with *-ūn* or *-īn*, whereas the feminine plural is marked with the suffix *–āt* (see more in 2.4.4.1c). There is also an irregular plural involving internal morphemic changes for pluralisation rather than affixation. Duals and regular plurals are summarised in (40).

[42] The irregular plural in Arabic is called “broken plural” as the word is pluralised through internal change. The regular plural is called “sound plural” i.e. it is not broken and is pluralised through affixation.

(40) e.g. *mudarris* ‘teacher’

person		masculine	feminine
singular		*mudarris*	*mudarris-at*
dual	nominative	*mudarris-ān*	*mudarris-at-ān*
	accusative and genitive	*mudarris-ayn*	*mudarris-at-ayn*
plural	nominative	*mudarris- ūn*	*mudarris-āt*
	accusative and genitive	*mudarris-īn*	*mudarris-āt*

b) Verbs

Verb forms are more predictable than nouns. The Arabic verb system comprises ten commonly used forms according to the conjugation and the stem variants. Each form covers verbs that express a certain semantic concept such as quality and manner of action (Kaye 2007:216).

The derivation of verbs from the infinitive involves affixation, depending on the aspect. The perfect tense requires suffixes while the imperfect requires prefixes and suffixes that reflect the person and the number of the subject. Verbs are marked for person, gender, aspect and number as in Table 2.5:

Table 2.5: Arabic verb conjugation (person, gender, aspect and number**)**

Person		Person, aspect and gender in Arabic - (root *d.r.s* for studying).					
		singular		dual		plural	
		perfect	imperfect	perfect	imperfect	perfect	imperfect
1st		daras-tu	a-drus-u	daras-nā	na-drus-u	daras-nā	na-drus-u
2nd	m	daras-ta	ta-drus-u	daras-tumā	ta-drus-ān	daras-tum	ta-drus- ūn
	f	daras-ti	ta-drus-īna	daras-tumā	ta-drus-ān	daras-tunna	ta-drus-na
3rd	m	daras-a	ya-drus-u	daras-ā	ya-drus-ān	daras-ū	ya-drus-ūn
	f	daras-at	ta-drus-u	daras-atā	ta-drus-ān	daras-na	ta-drus-na

Arabic morphology is complex due to the large number of affixes for various parts of speech. It makes extensive use of affixation in order to express grammatical relations as well as for the formation of new words. Arabic has twelve personal pronouns representing three persons. The

present tense has twelve prefixes, and seven suffixes, whereas the past has eleven suffixes. A discussion of all the affixes in Arabic and their different categories is beyond the scope of this thesis. But verbs usually mark number, gender, person, tense, aspect and transitivity type and have been broken into twelve forms that express nuances of the quantity, quality, or manner of the action or state expressed by the verb (Kaye 2007:216). In addition, Arabic verbs mark the categories of stem[43], aspect, voice, mood and agent and distinguish the indicative from the subjunctive (ibid. 220).

c) Adverbs

Adverbs do not exist as a distinct part of speech in Arabic. The class of words that match the English equivalent is adverbials rather than adverbs[44] (Badawi, Carter and Gully 2004:56 cited in Kaye 2007:238) so the equivalent can be an adverbial phrase rather than a simple adverb. In this section, adverbs are taken as prototypically adding 'specific information about time, manner or place to the meanings of verbs or whole clauses' (Hurford 1994:10). They are generally indefinite with the accusative case for simple adverbs, as in *dāʾim-an* 'always', while compound adverbs usually take the genitive case, as in *ḥinaʾiḏ-in* 'at that time'.

2.4.2.3 Comparison between the two languages

The fundamental morphological differences between Kurdish and Arabic lie in the fact that Arabic has more features than Kurdish. In Arabic, nouns mark or contain the following categories: gender, state, number and definiteness, while there is no grammatical gender for nouns and adjectives in Kurdish. As for grammatical gender, Arabic has a binary opposition between masculine and feminine. Arabic feminine singular nouns and adjectives are usually marked by the suffix *-at*. The conjugation of the verbs additionally shows that the gender of the subject is marked. Kurdish does not have gender markers for the subject. Arabic also distinguishes between the free state and the construct state through suffixes (Fehri 2012, Kossmann 2013). Furthermore, Kurdish differs from Arabic in terms of number: Kurdish nouns and adjectives are either plural or singular, whereas Arabic has singular, plural and dual, which has a unique suffix to distinguish it from the two other categories. The dual marker also appears in verb conjugation. Standard Arabic has a prefix for the definite article "*al-*" and a suffix for the

[43] Stem here refers to verb form in western literature. It is called *wazin* in Arabic literature.
[44] The adverb is a "word class" and adverbials are syntactic units, which convey the same function of describing the action of the verb (Matthews 2004).

indefinite article "*-un"* has disappeared in spoken Arabic. Meanwhile, the definite marker in Kurdish is the suffix *-eke* and the indefinite marker is the suffix *-ek*.

However, Kurdish and Arabic both conjugate present tense through affixation. Kurdish has only one prefix for all persons and five suffixes, whereas Arabic has specific prefixes for each person.

2.4.3 The assimilation process

As far as the morphology of Arabic loanwords is concerned, most parts of speech have been affected as a result of borrowing, unlike syntax, which has not been influenced as much. For example, the adverbial suffix was easily borrowed into Kurdish. But syntactic matters, such as word order, have not been greatly influenced. Borrowed phrases have mostly conformed to Kurdish word order. The degrees of morphological assimilation can be divided into: non-assimilated, partially assimilated and fully assimilated items.

Arabic lexical items that have been borrowed in Kurdish acquired different forms from those of the source language. For example, the adverb *be-seraḧet-î*^K 'frankly' replaced the Arabic model *ṣarāḥat-an*^A,[45] losing the adverbial accusative case ending *-an*. Instead, it gained a Kurdish specific element: the prefix *be-*. This change does not appear to be the result of phonological factors, as the word *ṣeraḥet-an*^A does not carry any element contrasting with the Kurdish phonological patterns. Moreover, other borrowings were treated similarly, as in *ṭabʿ-an*^A becoming *be-tabîʿ-î*^K.

The process of assimilation has affected syntactic rules to a lesser extent with phrases that contain adverbials. Arabic specific patterns usually undergo certain changes in order to achieve harmony within the Kurdish context. For example, the Arabic phrase *fāšilun fiʿlan* 'real failure' has been reversed to *fiʿlen-fašile* corresponding to Kurdish word order.

The data shows that some patterns and case endings of particular items did not undergo any change and do not conform to the Kurdish system. For example, the case endings of more recently borrowed items are not dropped. The accusative case ending of items like *zaʾiden*^K, as in (41), remained unchanged. This does not only result in the borrowing of a word, but may result in the borrowing of morphological patterns into the language system. This can be seen as in (41), involving the Arabic adverb *zāʾidan*^A 'additionally'. This is interesting for three reasons. Firstly, it is used in a relatively new context, since it occurs at the beginning of the sentence and this is

[45] This could be considered to be from spoken *bi-ṣarāḥ*^A, but the word has retained the Arabic feminine marker *-at*. In addition, other adverbs like *dāʾiman*^A have been changed to (be-adverb-î) *be-daʾim-î*. Therefore, it is more convincing to consider the standard/literary Arabic as the source of these adverbs.

not the way it is used in Arabic. Secondly, it shows the Arabic accusative case ending known as '*tanwīn*', that Kurdish does not have. Thirdly, the original form of the borrowed item remains intact:

(41)	*zaʾîden*	*ʾewe-î*	*ʾew*	*ʾawane*	*ʾîḧtmale*
	additionally	this-DEM.SG-LINK	DEM.3SG	water.PL-LNK	possibly
	be	*çaw-î*	*xő-tan*	*bîbîn-n*	
	with	eye-LNK	own.2PL.CL	see-SBJV.3PL	

'Additionally, you may have seen that with your own eyes.'

Normally, Kurdish adverbs are derived using the prefix *be-* or the suffix *-î*. This is also true for Arabic loanwords, which take Kurdish affixes. For example, *daʾiman*[A] 'always', *tabʿan*[A] 'certainly' and *fiʿl-an*[A] 'really' are assimilated as *be-daʾim-î, be-tebiʿ-î and be-fiʿl-î*. However, this does not occur in (41).

In the following parts of this section, two areas of morphological assimilation are highlighted. The first deals with three areas of morphological assimilation: derivation of forms, the addition of a feminine suffix to loanwords and plural inflection of nouns. The second deals with grammatical categories such as verbal nouns, nouns, adjectives and the variation of their usage, adverbs and their types, verbs, other parts of speech and suffixes.

2.4.3.1 The morphological form

The morphological form is discussed in three dimensions: derivational paradigms, hybrid verb compounds and Kurdish elements circumfixed onto Arabic ones.

2.4.3.1.1 Derivational forms

The investigation into Arabic loanwords in Kurdish shows that borrowing from Arabic is not limited to a certain part of speech and that the Arabic elements undergo different degrees of morphological assimilation. The following data show different items borrowed from Arabic:

(42)

Part of speech	Arabic	Kurdish	Gloss
Noun	*qaḍāʾ*	*qeza*	‘district’
Adjective	*xaṭar*	*xeter*	‘dangerous’
Adverb	*fiʿlan*	*fiʿlen*	‘actually’
Verb	*yaʿnī*	*yeʿnî*	‘it means’
Conjunction	*ḥattā*	*heta*	‘until’
Preposition	*ʿalā*	*ʿela*	‘on’

a) Nouns

It is widely accepted that nouns are the most easily borrowed linguistic items resulting from language contact (Muysken and Van Hout 1994:39-62). In line with this assumption, the data of this thesis show that nouns constitute the highest number of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. It also shows that borrowed Arabic nouns are occasionally used as adjectives - and even adverbs - but mainly used as nouns as shown in the following:

a. Nouns from tri-consonantal roots such as *zeẍt*^{K} ‘pressure’, *xeĺk*^{K} ‘creation’ and *xzmet*^{K} ‘service’; *zêda*^{K} ‘more’ and *sfr*^{K} ‘zero’;

b. Other sub-categories that are derived from Arabic nouns and classified in Arabic as different grammatical categories within nouns, such as the participle[46] *tacr*^{K} ‘trader’, the elative form *ʿazl*^{K} ‘insulator’, intensive forms *qelab*^{K} ‘turner’ and *sedad*^{K} ‘sealer’, instrumental nouns, temporal nouns, *seʿat*^{K} ‘time’, the relative adjective *fellaʿî*^{K} ‘peasantry’ and the passive participle *memnuʿ*^{K} ‘forbidden’.

The most obvious morphological change undergone by the different sub-categories of nouns is the omission of inflections such as case endings because Kurdish does not have case distinctions. In addition to the process of vowel elision, borrowed nouns may also be used as different grammatical categories, such as in light-verb constructions, which is common in contact situations (Graedler 2002:72). For example, *taṣwīr*^{A} ‘photographing’ or ‘filming’ is used in combination with the Kurdish light-verb *krd* to form *teswir-kird*^{K} ‘filmed’. Occasionally nouns become adjectives, as in *xarāb*^{A} ‘ruin’ that became the adjective *xrap* ‘bad’ as in (43).

[46] According to Ryding (2005:103): the “active participle is used as a substantive to refer to the doer of an action, often the English equivalent would be a noun ending in *-or* or *-er*, such as ‘inspector’ or ‘teacher… Used as an adjective, the active participle acts as a descriptive term […] It may also correspond to an English adjective ending in *–ing* […] As a predicate adjective, it may serve as a verb substitute.”

(43) *weĺĺahî* *xrap-în*
by Allah bad-be. PRS-1PL
'I swear by Allah, we are bad [citizens]'.

The data also shows that the bases of borrowed nouns are freely inflected with Kurdish suffixes, such as *-taw* as in *qîr-taw* 'laying-asphalt', the general meaning of which will be determined by the context. The significance of the item *-taw* here is to add a sense of action to the noun *qîr* 'asphalt'[47]. The new verbal noun functions as a verb in combination with the light-verb *krdn* 'to do' that can turn foreign nouns and adjectives into verbs. Thus, the Arabic item in this case went through the following morphophonemic alterations: base-final *qīr*^{A} became *qîr-taw*^{K}, which then became part of a compound verb *qirtaw-krdn*^{K} 'road building'.

Noun loans further appear in a type of complex hybrid compound consisting of an Arabic element and Kurdish morphemes that conform to Kurdish structures. A combination of the Kurdish negation particle *na-* 'no' and the Arabic item *ʿedalet* 'justice' with the Kurdish morpheme *-î*, a nominalising suffix in Kurdish, produces the single noun *na-ʿedalet-î*^{K} 'injustice'. Other combinations shifted the Arabic nouns to adjectives as in (44):

(44)

Arabic	Gloss	Kurdish	Addition	Kurdish meaning
wiğdān	'sentiment'	bê-wîjdan	*bê-*	'unscrupulous'
ṭāqat	'energy'	*bê-taqet-î*	*bê-* & *-î*	'non-energetic'
ziyādat	'abundant'	*lêt-zîyade*	*lêt-*	'overflowing'

Hence, Arabic nouns acquired a new meaning in Kurdish through affixation in Kurdish and became adjectives. More detail on this process will be presented in 3.3.3.

b) Adjectives

The second largest category of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish, as can be seen in Chapter 3, is adjectives, a ranking that is in line with the hierarchy of borrowability of loanwords noted by Singh (1981:114) and Muysken (1994:39-62), and slightly different from Haugen's (1950:212) observations on loanwords.

[47] The word qīr may sound non-Arabic but it is according to Ibn Manẓūr (2011), al-Ğawharī (1984), al-Fayrūzābādī (1997), under root: ق.ي.ر.

Arabic adjectives are borrowed into different word classes in Kurdish, notably adjectives, nouns, and adverbs as in (45), (46) and (47):

I. Adjectives used as adjectives, such as *raqî*[K]

(45)	*mentîqay-ek-î*	*raqî*	*-ye*
	area-INDF-SG -LNK	classy	be.1SG

‘It is a classy area’

II. Adjective used as adverbs, as in *taze*[48] ‘fresh’

(46)	*taze*	*syare-t*	*le*	*dukan-*	*-ê*	*hênaye*
	recently	car-2SG-POSS	from	showroom-LNK		bring.PST-PRF

‘You have recently brought your car from the showroom.’

III. Adjectives used as nouns*,* as in *xsusîy* ‘private’

(47)	*xsusîy-eke*	*lêra*	*têperî*
	private-DEF	here	pass.PST-3SG

‘The private (car) passed by here.’

c) Adverbs

Arabic elements employed as adverbs in Kurdish can be classified into three categories:
1- Isolated items of non-fixed patterns, such as: *daʾimen, ʾaxir* and *ʿeynen*;
2- Compounds of non-fixed patterns such as *ʿalal-dawam* ‘always’, *ber-dewam* ‘continually’ and *ʿela-kullin* ‘anyway’ as in (48):

(48)	*w-eĺahî*	*ʾîš-eke*	*ber-dewam*	*nîy*	*-e*
	by-Allah	job-DEF	continually	NEG-	be-3SG

‘Well, the job is not available continually.’

---

[48] ʾIbn Manẓūr (2011) and al-Fayrūzābādī (1997) (مادة: ط.ز.ج): confirm its Arabic origin. ʾIbn Manẓūr gives an example from the *Ḥadīṯ* to explain its meaning “.... طزج: في حديث الشعبي: قال لأَبي الزناد: "تأْتينا بهذه الأَحاديث قَسِيَّة وتأْخذها مِنَّا طَازَجَـة؛ ”. In addition, many spoken Kurdish varieties pronounce *taze* with pharyngealised *ṭ* as *ṭaze* that neither exists in Kurdish nor in Persian. Therefore, we should consider it as Arabic origin rather than Persian.

3- Adjectives: Kurdish grammar allows most adjectives to be used as adverbs. Hence, the usage of adverbs and adjectives in Arabic and Kurdish is different and this is reflected in the assimilation of loanwords. For example, *taze* 'fresh' or 'new' is usually used as an adjective as in (46). However, it was used as an adverb meaning 'newly' or 'recently' as in (49) below:

(49)	*ʾew*	*cade*	*taze*	*lo*	*- man*	*kraye*
	this-DEM.SG	road	recently	for	POSS.1PL	make-PASS.PRS-PRF

'This road has been built for us recently.'

Arabic adverbs are usually inflected with the accusative marker *-an*. However, in Kurdish, the adverbs do not usually have markers and on some occasions can be affixed with *-î*, as in *xêray-î* 'quickly', or *-ê*, as in *heyn-ê* 'then'.

On other occasions, adverbs have not been assimilated and retained their original form and case ending *-an*. For example, *daʾim-en* 'always', *tebʿ-en* 'certainly' and *fiʿl-en* 'actually' in ((50), (51) and (52)):

(50)	*ʾême*	*daʾîmen*	*le*	*ʾamadebašî*	*-n*
	we-1PL	always	on	alert	be.PRS-3PL

'We are always on alert.'

(51)	*tebʿen*	*dîyare*	*ḧkumet*	*lő*	*xɨzmet-i*	*ʾew*	*xeĺke-y*
	certainly	seem-3SG	government	for	service-LNK	this-DEM	people-LNK
	ʾew	*wezʿe-y*	*deka*				
	this-DEM. 3SG	arrangement-LNK	do.3SG				

'Certainly it seems the government is doing this job for the people.'

(52)	*ʾew*	*proje-ye*	*fʿlen*	*fašil*	*-e*
	this-DEM.SG	project-LNK	really	failure	be.PRS-3SG

'This project is a real failure.'

The example above shows partial conformation to the morphological rules of Arabic as the case ending of the first part of the phrase *fʿlen*^{K} maintains the Arabic accusative marker *-an*, while *fašil* conforms to Kurdish as it has lost the Arabic nominative marker *-un*. Syntax discussions are beyond the scope of this section, but it is of interest to highlight the fact that the phrase acquired

Kurdish word order, i.e. head-modifier, and shifted from Arabic order. In addition to what was presented in 1.4.5 and 2.2.1, spoken Arabic pronounces *fašil* as /fa:ʃel/ or /fa:ʃl/ rather than what we have here: *fašîl*^{K}.

New coinages result from Arabic adverbs via a combination of the Arabic root and the Kurdish prefix *ber-* as in *ber-dewam-î* 'persistently' or 'continually':

(53)	*pabend-î*	*ʾew*	*renmay- îan-e*	*nab-n*	*be*	*ber-dewam-î*
	follow-LNK	these-DEM-PL	guideline-PL-LNK	NEG- do.3PL	PREP	persistently

'They do not follow these guidelines persistently'

d) Verbs

The rate of Arabic loan-verbs in Kurdish is very low due to two reasons. Firstly, the two languages are not genetically related and borrowing verbs is difficult from distant languages (see Myers-Scotton 2002:240). This is evident from Haugen's (1950) ranking where he found a very high rate of loan-verbs in his study on English and Norwegian, which are two genetically related languages. Secondly, verb borrowing involves the elaboration of inflections, which makes the incorporation of verbs into the receiving language hard (Meillet 1921, cited in Thomason & Kaufman 1988:248). This is especially true as far as Arabic verbs are concerned, since they have very complicated inflections (see Table 2.5).

In this section, borrowed items that have been used as verbs either in the donor language or the receiving language are considered. Compound verbs are presented in the following section.

The limited number of loan-verbs in the data did not show any verbal borrowing with full Arabic conjugation apart from *yaʿnī*^{A} '[it] means'. In addition, other elements also ended up in the receiving language as a part of a compound verb in combination with Kurdish light-verbs. The data includes two Arabic verbs, namely *ḧewl-deden*^{K} 'they try' and *yeʿnî*^{K} 'it means'. Two Arabic verbs have changed category in Kurdish i.e. *ḥarasa*^{A} 'to guard' and *ḥāwala*^{A} 'to try'.[49]

The verb *ḥāwala*^{A} has undergone two changes in the process of assimilation. It shifted into a verbal noun meaning 'trying' and then it became part of a Kurdish compound verb by adding the verbal suffix *-den* as in (54):

[49] There are examples in spoken Kurdish where the category changed as in *taraka* 'abandoned' in the phrase *tarak-aṣṣalāt* 'abandoned prayers' is used in to mean 'darkness' and *qatluʿām* 'killing all' is used as 'massacre' or over-reaching something.

(54) *herçend* *hewl-deden* *ʾew* *ʾagr-e* *bi-kujênnewe* *na-twan-n*
however try-IMPF.3.PL DEM.SG fire-LNK SBJV-extinguish NEG-can.3PL
'However much they try to extinguish this fire, they cannot.'

The verb *yeʿnî* is used frequently and maintained its syntactic origin on occasions and changed in other cases[50] as in (55 and 56):

(55) *yeʿnî* *ʾewe-š* *hewente* *nîy-e*
mean.3SG this-DEM.SG=ADD facile NEG-be.PRS-3SG
'This means it is not facile.'

(56) *yeʿnî* *hawkarî* *ne-krdnî* *xeĺk-eke* *çîy* *-e*
DM [51] cooperation NEG- do.IMP people-DEF what be.PRS-3SG
'What is the lack of cooperation by people?'

A different verb was borrowed as an integrated part of the phrase *ʾin-šāʾa-ʾAłłāh* 'God willing' that consists of three parts; the conjunctions *ʾin*, the verb *šāʾa* and *ʾAłłāh*. The verb has been fully assimilated and seems to be a single Kurdish lexical item: *ʾišaĺa*.

Another characteristic of verbal borrowing is the employment of light-verbs (Wichman and Wohlgemuth 2005:1). Borrowing verbs with their inflections between distant languages, such as Arabic and Kurdish, is difficult due to the different structures and complex inflection rules. Therefore, elements end up as part of compound Kurdish verbs in combination with a light-verb. Examples of this are presented in the following section on hybrids. However, the use of verbs does not always show a pattern and there are differences between speakers in employing them in Kurdish, as in (55) and (56), which cannot be explained through the analysis of grammar differences. A sociolinguistic analysis of the use of these elements may offer an explanation through looking into socio-demographic differences.

e) Hybrid verb compounds

Unlike Arabic, Kurdish has compound verbs, which consist of a noun, a verbal noun or an

[50] More on the use of loan-verbs is discussed in Chapter 3.
[51] In this example and others in Chapter 3 the verb has been used as a discourse marker rather than a functioning verb. Therefore, it will be glossed as DM here and in similar examples in Chapter 3.

adjective plus an auxiliary verb or a light-verb such as *krdn* ‘do’ and its derived forms. This is a very common, effective and productive means of verb formation in Kurdish (Traidïa 2006). The data shows Arabic loanwords that have become part of compound verbs in Kurdish as in (57 and 58):

(57) *ȟukmet* *xzmet* *dekat*
government service do.PRS-3SG
‘The government provides services.’

(58) *cade-ke* *teʿdîl* *kray -e*
street-DEF repair do.PASS.PST-3SG
‘The street is repaired.’

In (57) and (58), the Arabic elements employed in the compound verb adhere to Kurdish rules. Elements of the compound are not separated from the light-verb and follow the SOV[52] order of Kurdish. In some cases, the Arabic element is employed in a compound structure without keeping the two components adjacent, as in the following:

components of compound verb

(59) *dawa-tan* *lê* *deke-yn*
request.3PL from do-1PL.CL
‘We request from you.’

The compound verb in (59) could have been *dawa-deka-yn lêtan* or *lêtan dawa-deka-yn* ‘we request’. The sentence in (60) below shows the components of the compound verb are adjacent. However, verb-final order is maintained.

components of compound verb

(60) *detwan-î* *ʾawek-an* *qetʿ* *ka*
can-3SG water -PL cut do IMP 3SG
‘He can cut the water supply.’

[52] The order of Arabic sentences is either VSO or SVO while Kurdish order is only SOV.

This separation of the compound verb components is discussed in Chapter 3 to explore the possible effect of extra-linguistic factors on this difference in use. Other examples of compounds found in the data include: *teklîf-dekat* ‘cost’, *dawa-krdn* ‘request’, *feḧs-krd* ‘inspect’, *teʿîn-ken* ‘employ’ or ‘hire’.

f) Verbal nouns

Arabic verbal nouns are most frequently used as a component in the formation of compound verbs in Kurdish along with the Kurdish light-verb *krd* and its inflected forms, as seen in (57) - (60). However, there are other possible uses of these elements in Kurdish, and these will be presented in this section. On some occasions, Arabic verbal nouns are also used as nouns in Kurdish, as in the following examples:

(61)	*qîr-krdn-eke*	*xelel-î*	*tê*	*dekewê*
	paving-DEF	deficiency-LNK	into	fall-IMP-3SG

‘The paving becomes defective.’

(62)	*hîç*	*ʿîlac-man*	*ne-ma*
	any	treatment-1PL	NEG-remain-PRF-3SG

‘We are left with no option.’

(63)	*ʾîcraʾat-yan*	*lê*	*werdegr-în*
	action-3PL.CL	from	take-1PL

‘We take action against them.’

In the examples above, the Arabic verbal nouns were used as simple nouns or as a part of a compound verb in Kurdish. The main difference between the two uses of the verbal noun is semantic. As part of compound verbs, the Arabic elements did not change their semantics drastically, if at all. On the other hand, verbal nouns often change semantically when used as simple nouns, as in (62) where the item *ʿîlac* ‘treatment’ in Arabic is used to mean ‘option’ in Kurdish, or (63) *ʾicraʾat* ‘procedures’ shifted to ‘actions’ in Kurdish.

g) Prepositions

The data show the borrowability of Arabic prepositions in Kurdish is lower than that of other

lexemes which seems a universal trend in contact situations (see Haugen 1950 and Muysken 1994). The data showed the prepositions *ḥat.tā*^{A} 'until', *wa*^{A} 'by' or 'to' (in the sense of swear by), and *ʾalā*^{A} 'on' have been borrowed. The borrowed preposition *ḥat.tā*^{A} 'until' has undergone changes in two different ways. It has been degeminated to *heta*^{K}, as in (64):

(64)	*sebeb-eke-y*	*na-zan-în*	*ḧeta*	*ʾêsta*
	reason-DEF-LNK	NEG-know-IMP-PL	until	now

'We did not know the reason until now.'

On other occasions, the preposition is followed by the Kurdish suffix *-ku* (see (65)). In (64), the Kurdish version falls under the same semantic category as the Arabic model. In (65), by adding the Kurdish suffix *-ku*, it turns into adverb 'then', which is a shift in both the meaning and the semantic category of the model. However, this is very rare in normal conversation:

(65)	*mdîr-î*	*neʿya*	*hetaku*	*hewl-dada*
	manager-LNK	district	then	try-IMPF 3.PL

'The administrator of the district then tries.'

The two latter elements *wa* and *ʿela*^{K} were not used independently in the data and occurred within prepositional phrases. *wa* was used in the oath phrase *we-ĺĺahi* 'I swear by Allah', as in (43). The preposition *ʿalā*^{A} was used along with *ʾasās*^{A} 'bases' as *ʿela-ʿesas*^{K} 'on bases' as in (66) below:

(66)	*ʿela ʿasas*	*aw*	*ʾafrete*	*nexőšî*	*nafs-î*	*heye*
	on-bases	this-DEM.3SG	woman	sickness	psychology-LNK	have-3SG

'Based on the fact that this woman has mental illness.'

The use of both prepositions fully conforms to Arabic rules, as the Arabic elements do not change phonologically or semantically.

h) Kurdish elements circumfixed onto Arabic ones

Phrasal prepositions in Kurdish end in possessives and are preceded by a Kurdish preposition *be* 'by, with, in' or *bő* 'to'. Some Arabic items are used in these constructions without substantial

change in meaning. For example, *be-maweyek-î* ‘in a period of’ that consists of Kurdish *be-* ‘within’, the Arabic item *mud.dat* ‘period’ as well as the Kurdish definite article and the linking item *-î* ‘of’ as in (67):

(67)	*be-mawe-yek-î*	*kem*	*têkdeçê*
	within-period-INDF-LNK	little	damage IMP-3SG

‘It gets damaged within a short period.’

The item has been totally assimilated to such an extent that it may be very unlikely for non-linguists to recognise the origin of the word.

In a similar way, nouns are sometimes infixed between two Kurdish elements with a lesser extent of assimilation as no segmental changes occurred to Arabic elements. Furthermore, the element without the Kurdish suffix could mean ‘temporary’ in Arabic, as in (68).

(68)	*be-weqt-î*	*xő-y*
	within-time-LNK	it-POSS

‘Within the allowed time..’

The third “circumfixed” item is the noun *dawām*^A ‘duration’, which is assimilated to *ber-dewam-î*, a compound that means ‘continuously’ in Kurdish, which is an adverb.

(69)	*paband-î*	*ˀew*	*renmaîy-ana*	*na-bn*	*ka*
	adhere-LNK	this-DEM.3SG	guideline-PL.CL	NEG-be.PRS-3PL	that

ˀangő	*ber-dewam-î*	*derdeken*
you.PL	in-duration	issue-2PL

‘They do not adhere to the guidelines that you issue continuously.’

The Arabic loanwords in (68) and (69) are fully assimilated in that the elements used in these constructions are not only morphologically assimilated but also underwent phonological and semantic changes.

2.4.4 Morphological assimilation

Similar to the situation with phonological changes to the loanwords, Kurdish loanwords undergo

a process of morphological assimilation in order to harmonise to the structure of the receiving language. As it is universally known that nouns are usually the most borrowed items (see 2.4.3.1.1 a), this section focuses on nouns.

In what follows, areas of morphological assimilation are analysed: derivation of fully-fledged forms, changes regarding the feminine suffix of the loanwords and plural inflection of nouns and adjectives. Such elements have probably been assimilated in Kurdish by the formation of new words which are different from the Arabic patterns of tri- and quadri-consonantal roots after phonological assimilation. For example, some of the changes take place by the addition of the light-verb *krd* 'did' and its derivations to the Arabic element which results in the formation of a compound verb. The Arabic element changes its category as it becomes part of the verb as in (70):

(70)	Arabic form	Gloss	Kurdish form	Gloss
	qetʿ	'to cut'	*qetʿ-krd*	'[did] cut'
	xidmat	'to serve'	*xzmet-deka*	'serves'

Therefore, the addition of the light-verb to nouns, adjectives and verbal nouns made a meaningful contribution to the language and the assimilation of the loanwords. This section is particularly concerned with the shift of nouns, verbal nouns and adjectives to verbs in combination with a light-verb (see (70)).

2.4.4.1 Derivational models

The process of assimilation resulted in the creation of words that match the Kurdish patterns and diverge from the Arabic root system. This is achieved on occasions through the suffixes *-kar* and the prefix *be-*. The former turned loanwords into participles that convey the meaning of a profession or the 'doer', whereas the latter turned loanwords into adjectives. The suffix *-kar* changes the loanword from an abstract noun in Arabic into an adjective, as in (71):

(71)	Arabic	Gloss	Kurdish	Gloss
	kāsib	'earner'	*kasb-kar*	'wage earner'
	xidmat	'service'	*xzmet-kar*	'servant
	ṭamaʿ	'covet'	*temaʿ-kar*	'predator'
	daʿwa	'invitation'	*dawa- kar*	'inviting'

Abstract nouns also shifted into adjectives through the affixation of *be-* as in *bê-ḧurmet* ‘discredited’ and *bê-xzmet* ‘lacking service’. The same item can be a source for many other words in Kurdish by adding different suffixes to give new meaning. There are also less frequently used suffixes in the data that involved affixation with *-krdn* ‘doing’ and *-bexš* ‘giver’ as in the examples below:

(72)

Suffix	Arabic	Gloss	Kurdish	Gloss
-krdn	*xidmat*	‘service’	*xzmet-krdn*	‘serving’
-bexš	*xizdmat*	‘service’	*xzmet-bexš*	‘service-provider’

Affixation is not the sole method of assimilation. In other cases, Arabic phrases are contracted. The number of consonants can be reduced in a way that makes the recognition of the origin of the loanwords difficult to those who are not well informed about the two languages, as shown in (73):

(73)

Arabic	Gloss	Kurdish	Gloss
ḥīna-hā	‘at that time’	*heynê*	‘then’
ʾin- šāʾa-ʾAłłāh	‘God willing’	*ʾîšaĺa*	‘God willing’

The following sections present four areas of derivational models including gender, number and definiteness.

a) Inflection

Nouns and adjectives in modern Arabic are inflected for gender and number, but in classical Arabic nouns are inflected for case as well. Since Kurdish does not have morphological case endings, the inflections are widely dropped in the process of loanword assimilation. Thus, the bases of borrowed nouns and adjectives are freely inflected with Kurdish suffixes, such as *-taw* which turns a noun into a verbal noun in Kurdish, as in *qîr-taw-krdn* (2.4.2.1 b).

Other loan adjectives and nouns are not inflected at all as in *ʿalî*^{K} ‘high’ and *feqîr*^{K} ‘poor’ in the phrase *kabra-y-feqîr*^{K} ‘the poor man’ and *zeẍt-î-ʿalî* ‘high pressure’ where gender and number agreement are lost in order to conform to the Kurdish system.

Adverbs are inflected with the case marker *-an*, known as <*tanwīn*> ‘nunation’ in Arabic, which appears more consistently in literary and formal varieties of Arabic. Although *nunation*

does not exist in Kurdish, it is used with certain borrowed adverbs such as *fiʿl-en*[K] 'actually or really', *daʾîm-en* 'always', *tebʿ-en* 'naturally' as in (74) and (75). In such cases the Arabic form was introduced without any insertion of Kurdish elements.

(74)	*tebʿ-en*	*ḧ̌kumat*	*bő*	*xzmet-î*	*xelk-î*	*ʾew*
	naturally	government	for	service-LNK	people-LNK	this
	wezʿa	*deka*				
	arrangement	do.PRS-3SG				

'Naturally, the government makes this arrangement to serve people.'

(75)	*tebʿ-en*	*zőrbey*	*xeĺç -î*	*hawkar*	*-e*
	naturally	majority	people-LNK	cooperative	be.PRS-3SG

'Naturally, the majority of people are cooperating.'

b) Gender

Unlike Kurdish, Arabic animate and inanimate noun referents have a feminine gender marker *-at* in the standard literary Arabic. In general, Arabic loanwords in Kurdish retained the gender markers. However, the data shows different treatments of animate, inanimate and noun phrases.

As for loanwords with inanimate referents, they have been dealt with in two different ways. When the noun is a component of a noun adjective phrase, as in (76a), or in *ʾîzafe* construction, as in (76b) the Arabic marker *-at* has been dropped. This is contrary to what happens in spoken Arabic, where the feminine marker *-at* is pronounced when it is within such phrases. However, when the noun is not in such phrases, the Arabic feminine marker is retained (see (76c) and (76d))

(76)	a.	*mentîqe-yek-î*	*raqî*	*-ye*
		area-INDF-LNK	classy	be.PRS-3SG

'It is a classy area.'

	b.	*ʾîcaze-y*	*resmî*	*nîy -e*
		licence-INDF-LNK	official	NEG-be.3SG

'does not have official licence.'

c. *dîyare* *ḧukmet* *xzmat-kar* *e*
seem-3SG government servant be.PRS-3SG
'It seems the government is serving.'

d. *be-seraḧet-î* *xelk-eke* *beʿešayeri ……*
truly people-DEF tribally
'Truly, the people are acting randomly ....'

The nouns *manṭiq-at*[A] and *ʾîğāz-at*[A] in Arabic are marked with the feminine marker *-at* in literary Arabic. In spoken Arabic the marker is dropped unless the word is in the *ʾiḍāfa* construction. However, the Arabic loanwords in the data are treated differently. The gender marker *-at* is dropped when the loanword is in *ʾiḍāfa* or a noun-adjective phrase. Nevertheless, loanwords in 19th century Kurdish texts show that in such cases as *iḍāfa* and noun-adjective phrases, the Arabic feminine marker *–at* has been retained as we see in Nalî's famous verses *qamet-î-berzî…* 'her tallness' and *afet-î ser zemîna* 'a plight on the earth'. This is possibly influenced by social factors within the group of speakers as well as language change, and might be an interesting topic for a separate paper.

c) Number and pluralisation

As mentioned in (2.4.2.2a), Arabic has three means of pluralisation, two of which are gender based and the third is irregular (see fn in 2.4.2.2 a) and involves internal morphemic changes. Masculine nominative nouns and adjectives are inflected with the suffix *-ūn* as in *mudrarris* 'teacher' which becomes *mudarris-ūn*[A]. Genitive and accusative elements are inflected with the suffix *-īn*, as in *mudarris-īn* 'teacher. ACC.PL/GEN.PL'. The plural marker for feminine nouns is *-āt*. Hence, *mudarrisat*[A] 'female teacher' becomes *mudarris-āt*. The irregular plural does not have a particular suffix and involves internal morphemic changes as in *tāğir*[A] 'trader', which becomes *tuğğār*[A] 'traders'. Kurdish on the other hand, has only one inflection for plurals, namely *-an* for all nouns.

The data showed plural loanwords that kept their Arabic plural markers and forms. The words *ʾiğrāʾāt*[A] 'procedures.F.PL' and *tuğğār*[A] 'traders' - an irregular plural - were used as singular nouns while the latter was made plural again in Kurdish and was affixed with the Kurdish plural marker to become *tuc.car-ek-an*[K]. Similar changes are found in other contact

situations, which Haugen (1950:218) argues involves ‘erroneous analysis, based on special situations’. This is similar to the English plurals ‘paninis’ from the Italian *panini*, which is itself the plural of the word *panino* ‘sandwich’.

The loanwords *mewad*[K] ‘materials’ and *setaʾîr*[K] ‘curtains’, which are irregular plural forms, were borrowed within the noun phrases *setaʾîr-î -meʿdenî*[K] ‘metal curtains’ and *mewad-î-ʿazl*[K], ‘insulation materials’, respectively, retaining their Arabic plural form. However, the borrowed phrase does not conform to Arabic phrase agreement in terms of gender. For example, the adjective should have been singular feminine for inanimate irregular plural[53] nouns *setaʾîr* and *mewad*, according to Arabic grammar rules. But in Kurdish, the adjectives *meʿdenî*[K] and *ʿazl*[K] lost their Arabic feminine markers. This is a partial morphological assimilation as the adjective dropped the Arabic rule for gender but conformed to the Arabic rule of number and pluralisation since *sitārat*[A] becomes *satāʾir*[A].

The Kurdish plural marker *-an* was used for the pluralisation of other nouns, which were borrowed in the singular form as in *ğād.dat*[A] ‘street’, *būrī*[A] ‘pipe’ and *muqāwil*[A] ‘contractor’ following the Kurdish rules of pluralisation.

The process of assimilation shows that the pluralisation of noun-loans takes various forms as summarised in (77). When the item is borrowed within a phrase, it follows the rules of Kurdish syntax, not Arabic syntax. Consequently, different agreement or concord relations between the different words in the phrase may be found due to the difference in the systems of the two languages.

(77)

Singular	Gloss	Type	Arabic form	Kurdish form	pluralisation
ʾiğraʾ	‘action’	irreg	*ʾiğraʾ -at*	*ʾicraʾ-at*	Arabic suffix
mād.dat	‘material’	irreg	*mawād*	*mewad*	Arabic irreg
siātrat	‘curtain’	irreg	*satāʾir*	*setaʾir*	Arabic irreg
tağir	‘trader’	irreg	*tuğ.ğār*	*tuc.car-ek-an*[54]	Kurdish suffix
ğāddat	‘street’	f. plural	*ğād.d-āt*	*cada-k-an*	Kurdish suffix
būrī	‘pipe’	f. plural	*būri-yāt*	*borî-yak-an*	Kurdish suffix
muqāwil	‘contractor’	m. plural	*muqāwil*	*muqawil-ak-an*	Kurdish suffix

[53] See fn in 2.4.2.2 a on broken plurals.
[54] The suffix *-ek* in the words *tuc.car-ek-an*, *cade-k-an*, *bori-ek-an*, and *muqawil-ek-an* is the indefinite article in Kurdish and is not relevant to the alternation of the Arabic plural marker.

Pluralisation seems to reflect the influence of Arabic beyond the loanwords. However, it is not within the scope of this study to investigate the structural effect of Arabic contact with Kurdish, but the significance of borrowing of plural markers for native Kurdish words merits further separate investigation.

The Arabic feminine plural marker -*āt* is less widely used with a group of Kurdish nouns. When the word ends with a vowel, the consonants *h*, *w* or *c*, are inserted in order to separate the vowel from the suffix. The examples in (78) show different Kurdish words that borrowed the Arabic plural suffix *āt*:

(78)

word	gloss	plural	suffix
bax	'garden'	*bax-at*	*-at*
sewze	'vegetable'	*sewze-wat*	*-wat*
ʾaẍa	'feudalist'	*ʾaẍa-wat*	*-wat*
mîwa	'fruit'	*miwa-cat*	*-cat*
çerez	'seeds'	*çerazat*	*-at*
šûše	'glass	*šûša-wat*	*-wat*
poxĺ	'dirt'	*poxĺa-wat*	*-wat*
dem	'time'	*dem-hat*	*-hat*
šîrîrnî	'sweet'	*šîrîrnî-at*	*-at*

d) Definite article *al-*

The data did not show any instances where the Arabic definite article *al-* was borrowed, whereas other languages that have been in contact with Arabic show a great deal of borrowing of the article, especially within the possessive construction. For example, Persian has borrowed the Arabic definite article, as in *ʾamīru-al-muʾminīn* 'commander of the faithful' *ḥaq.qu al-taʾlīf* 'copyright; lit: right of authoring' and *ṭabīʿatul-ḥāl* 'naturally, lit: the nature of the case' (Perry 2002:234). The above elements are used in Kurdish but resemble typical Kurdish possessive constructions and take the linking -*î*, which replaces the *al-* article, as in (79).

(79)	Arabic	Persian	Kurdish	Gloss
	ʾamīru al-muʾminīn	*ʾamīru al-momenīn*	*amîr-î muʾmînîn*	‘commander of faithfuls’
	ḥaqqu-al-taʾlīf	*haq.qu al-taʾlīf*[55]	*ḧaq-i taʾ îf*	‘copyright’
	ṭabiʿatu al-ḥāl	*tabeʾate al-ḥāal*	*tebiʿet-î ḧal*	‘naturally’

In other languages, like Urdu and Spanish and Hausa, we find the Arabic definite article present unlike in Kurdish. For example, Urdu *nuru[a]lddīn* ‘the light of religion’, *kitabu[a]lnnur* ‘the book of light’ are borrowed with the same phonological form.

2.4.5 Summary

The data discussed in this section showed that borrowing is not limited to one category. However, there are differences in the frequency of borrowing and nouns and adjectives are borrowed more widely than verbs. Certain Arabic elements such as the definite article were not found in the data.

In spite of substantial differences between the two languages in terms of structure and verb system, verbs were not exempt from borrowing. The Arabic lexical items examined showed different degrees of assimilation ranging from non-assimilated words to partially assimilated and fully assimilated words.

The degree of morphological assimilation might be correlated with phonological and, to a certain extent, semantic change in the borrowed items. The analysis showed that some Arabic lexical items change grammatical category in Kurdish. For example, the adverbial *be-seraḧet*^{K} was used instead of the Arabic *ṣarāhet-an*^{A} ‘frankly’, where the Arabic accusative case *-an* has been omitted and the word is prefixed with the Kurdish adverbial prefix *be-*. In this instance, the Kurdish version of the item means ‘truly’ and does not carry the exact semantic function of the source which means ‘frankly’. Another instance of correlation between morphological assimilation and semantic change in loanwords is the shifting of nouns to adjectives. For example, the noun *xarāb*^{A} ‘ruin’ was used as adjective *xrap*^{K} ‘bad’. Another area of change involved shifting from an adjective to an adverb. For example, the adjective *ṭāziğ*^{A} ‘fresh’ shifted to the adverb *taze*^{K} ‘newly’, which shows that this item has been changed not only in terms of inflection, but the change extended to phonology and semantics as well.

On the other hand, adjectives and adverbs that have not undergone changes are used in the same semantic categories as the Arabic models. The adjective *raqî*^{K} ‘classy’ maintained its Arabic inflection and did not undergo any degree of semantic change. Adverbs which had not

---

[55] The transliteration of Persian will follow Arabic patterns here and wherever Persian elements found in the thesis.

been assimilated into Kurdish maintained their form and their Arabic case ending *-an* as in *daʾîmen*ᴷ 'always', *tebʿen*ᴷ 'certainly' and *fiʿlen*ᴷ 'actually'.

The case ending of the adverbials was usually dropped and followed adverbial patterns in Kurdish. It is usually *be*-adverb-*î* as in *be-seraḧet-î*ᴷ. However, the data included limited examples of unassimilated adverbials, such as *fiʿlen*ᴷ 'actually' or 'really', *daʾîmen*ᴷ 'always', *tebʿen*ᴷ 'certainly' and *zaʾîdʾen*ᴷ 'additionally' as in (50), (51) and (52) respectively. This confirms the variation in the treatment of the use of loanwords that needs to be explored through the effect of social factors.

This section addressed the three research questions of what the patterns of assimilation were, what effect the loanword morphology had and the distribution of loanwords according to lexical class. It demonstrated that loanwords were typically assimilated through the addition of Kurdish morphology or the deletion of Arabic inflections. However, not all parts of speech were assimilated into Kurdish at the same rate. The data showed that Arabic elements often acquired forms different from those that were in the original form. Furthermore, the Arabic elements do not always appear in the same grammatical form in Kurdish. This is evident in (45) and (46), which show the conformation of loanwords to the morphological rules of Kurdish and even their conformation to rules of compounds as in (52). It showed that noun plurals mostly adhere to the Kurdish rules and take the Kurdish plural marker for pluralisation. Even the irregular plurals were treated as singulars and affixed with the Kurdish plural marker (77).

The distribution of the assimilation rate among the loanwords showed that nouns were the most assimilated elements, while the prepositions were the least assimilated.

Affixation and deletion were the most widely used strategies in the process of assimilation. Another pattern involved the omission of agreement and the addition of a Kurdish light-verb in order to make a verb out of Arabic nouns and verbal nouns. The gender of animate nouns and adjectives in the Kurdish loanword does not follow the Arabic rule in the majority of instances and so the loanwords lose the feminine gender marker. However, inanimate nouns, especially abstract nouns, retain the gender marker, as shown in (77).

The suffixes and inflectional markers are the most affected elements in the process of assimilation. Adverbials in Arabic largely lost their inflectional marker *-an* and plural marker suffixes were replaced by the Kurdish plural marker (77). Interestingly, another example of semantic shift of the categories correlated with the change of word class. The use of a verbal noun as a proper noun often resulted in a semantic change in the loanword, as in item *ʿîlac* 'treatment' (62), which is used as 'option' in Kurdish. Similarly, *ʾicraʾat* 'procedures' shifted to 'actions' in Kurdish (63).

Finally, the use of borrowed Arabic parts of speech witnessed some irregularities, this is in spite of the fact the morphological systems are known to be "quasi regular" and being "productive and systematic" (Seidenberg and Gonnerman 2000:354). This irregularity will be explored in Chapter 3 in order to explore social reasons for this variation in the morphological treatment of loanwords, since no linguistic explanations could satisfactorily explain the distribution.

2.5 General conclusion

Since languages do not exist in isolated settings, no language appears to be free from loanwords (Jespersen 1922). Nonetheless, the extent nature of influence differs from one contact situation to another. The main objective of this chapter has been to explore Arabic loanwords in Kurdish in general conversation. It offered an overview of the extent of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish and provided a classification of loanwords, as well as a discussion of phonological and morphological assimilation to set the foundation for sociolinguistic and attitudinal analyses in the forthcoming chapters. It explored the variation and lack of widespread patterns in relation to the treatment of loanwords; a fact that motivates additional investigations into factors that contribute to the variation.

The ***classification*** of loanwords in this chapter is based on Haugen and Weinreich's model. However, the data suggests some innovations to this system. It discounts loan translation because such elements in Kurdish are treated as native words and are constructed with native phonemes. The native speaker treats them phonologically and morphologically as native words. The differences in the use of such elements would fall under an analysis of variation in the use of language in general rather than the use of loanwords.

The use of blends and compounds appears to be an important strategy for assimilation. Nonetheless, in spite of the observed difficulty in the use of pure loanwords due to their burden on the system of the receiving language (Haspelmath 2009:39), pure loans appeared to be the most frequent loanword type in Kurdish. This shows the intensity and the extent of the influence of Arabic on Kurdish in recent history.

Pseudo-loans are another category that have been explored in Kurdish, which maintain their Arabic form and show dramatic changes in meaning and context. These motivate different reactions among the social groups towards such elements and their use of the loanwords (see 3.2.2.4).

As for the ***phonological*** treatment of loanwords, there is interspeaker variation. As van Coetsem (1988:99) argues, there may also be extra-linguistic reasons for these differences (see 3.2.2.1 b). An item like *ʾin-šāʾa-Ałłāh*[A] has been classified under two different types simply because the speakers treated them differently. Generally, phoneme alternations occur in loanwords that are sometimes not requisite linguistically (Sankoff 2013:506). On occasions Arabic loanwords go through segmental alternations, in spite of the existence of the phonemes in both languages. This is not always a question of the speaker's style and extra-linguistic factors have to be assessed, much as with other variations in language use.

The chapter also found that loanwords that are fully assimilated have often undergone changes in meaning. Segmental change is often correlated with meaning change, which is not always the case in other contact situations. This is true, except for pseudo-loans which undergo a different process.

Segmental deletion has led to the formation of unusual clusters that do not normally exist in Kurdish, as in the case of the formation of CCCVC (see (28)). However, an explanation has been proposed in this chapter and further examination of social factors may corroborate this. The occurrence of CCC in the initial syllable of the loanwords supports the argument that exposure to Arabic is a factor in the way that speakers have dealt with loanwords. As the speakers in the data of this chapter are less-educated and less exposed to Arabic than the speakers of Chapter 3 data, they treat the loanwords differently and this results in the formation of such odd clusters.

The ***morphological*** treatment of loanwords also differs from the majority of the language contact situations, where it is believed that loanwords fit into the recipient language system and that loanwords typically maintain their word class (Myers-Scotton 2006:225). The analysis showed many instances of word class change. This sometimes occurs without any additional morphology and at other times through affixation of Kurdish elements. Conversely, the borrowability of parts of speech appeared to be parallel to universal trends as nouns comprise most of the loanwords followed by adjectives (ibid. 229).

As a general rule, the treatment of loanwords may differ from speaker to speaker (van Coetsem 1988:99). For example, the adverbial *zāʾid-an* has been treated differently by the speakers regarding the omission of the Arabic inflection. These differences merit more analysis in order to provide an explanation for the variations in the treatment of loanwords, which could be attributed to social factors (LaCharité 1997).

There is also the issue of variation; variation in the use of loanwords has contributed to a lack of solid patterns, as stated above. Hence, this result merits a detailed investigation into the

reasons and motives for the different treatment of loanwords by Kurdish speakers who speak the same language and borrow loanwords from the same language source.

It is commonly known that language is very variable and that variation may not be due to solely linguistic effects. Social factors can have a fundamental effect on variation among people who use the same language elements in different ways (Trudgill 2000:32). This situation could be due to socio-political and cultural factors as well as extra-linguistic factors (van Coetsem 1988, Sankoff 2013).

The changes that occurred to loanwords class-wise, phonologically and morphologically cannot be attributed to only one factor. They could also be due to socio-demographic factors or individual preferences. Therefore, the forthcoming chapters explore the dimensions of variation within the framework of sociolinguistics and attitudinal investigation. Chapters 3 and 4 explore the effect of social factors and attitudes on variation in the use of loanwords, which are of great importance to fill the gap in knowledge in the studies of the Kurdish and Arabic contact situation and language contact in general.

3. The effect of social factors on the use of loanwords

3.1 Introduction

In spite of an overwhelming amount of scholarly work on language variation and contact in general, study of the Kurdish language's contact with other languages has received little attention. In addition, the available scholarly work lacks insight into the effects of social factors, especially the effect of gender on the outcome of contact with Arabic. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to gender-based differences in the treatment of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish as a means of contributing to the field. It also paves the way for more research on the correlation between social factors and contact between the Kurdish language and Arabic. The analysis considers the frameworks of the different waves of variationist studies and tests the fundamental assumption that men and women use loanwords differently in terms of frequency and the manner of use.

Variationist analysis approaches have offered different arguments on the differences in language use between men and women (Labov 1990:213-15, Coates 2004:68, Mesthrie et al. 2012:220). However, the discussion has focussed on the speakers' tendency to use what is considered the prestigious variety within the community. This chapter considers the arguments of the waves of variation studies (see 3.1.4.3) to examine variation in the use of the loanwords.

It is important to note in this introduction that the terms 'gender' and 'sex' in the Kurdish language do not correspond exactly to the terms that have been used in western literature. Western literature defines the concept of 'sex' as relating to physical characteristics that are based on anatomical, endocrinal and biological features and also on cultural beliefs about what makes an individual male or female (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2013:11), while 'gender' is a social construct, which is not something "we are born with […], it is something we do" (West and Zimmermann 1987). The general use of the term 'gender' in this sense started in late 1960s in the social sciences to distinguish social aspects of life from biological factors according to societies and times, and convey norms to be followed by the members of the community (Fernández et al 2003). Accordingly, gender is usually defined as a set of socially acquired attributes and patterns of behaviour allotted to each of the members of the biological categories of male and female (Crawford 1995).

In Kurdish, there is no term for gender but, as in other communities, the concepts of sex and gender exist. However, the differentiation in the use of terms is very recent in Kurdish

society and it could still be difficult to introduce since the western definition states that "[an] individual may develop a gender identity different from the one initially assigned on the basis of anatomical criteria" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013). In Kurdish, the terms *regez* or *tuxm* are equivalent to 'sex' and they are used interchangeably. This study uses the terms 'men' or 'male speakers' and 'women' or 'female speakers' interchangeably. No Kurdish term equivalent to 'gender' has been established in literature. Relevant works concerning language and gender do not specify a term for it. Fetaḧ (2010) uses the terms *jn* and *ʾafret*, which both mean 'woman' and uses *pyaw* for 'man'. The proposal of the use of the term 'gender' in a law provoked heated debates in parliament and the wider community in 2011. Consequently, the Kurdistan Region president intervened and asked the parliament to draft a law for Kurdish terms (KRG 2011).[56] Therefore, it may appear as if there is an overlap in the use of the two terms in this study but the term 'gender' will be given preference in this work so as to follow the general trend in the literature.

3.1.1 The objectives of the chapter

Since the gap in knowledge about the effect of social factors and gender in particular on the use of loanwords has not yet been investigated in Kurdish, it deserves a comprehensive investigation. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the effect of social factors on the treatment of Arabic loanwords in the speech of educated CK speakers in media and political discourse. In this thesis, the social factor of gender is analysed as the main factor and age as a secondary factor. By doing so, this research contributes to knowledge in two areas. Firstly, it adds another explanation to sociolinguistic variation in the treatment of loanwords. Secondly, it opens the way for more investigation into the issues of language standardisation and purification. This chapter also provides the background for the next chapter, which deals with attitudes towards the use of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. This is in order to contribute to a much-needed broader approach for the investigation of language contact that includes socio-cultural and psychological dimensions (see Winford 2013).

Another important objective of this research is to explore the reasons for using loanwords among Kurdish speakers at a time when the question of language standardisation has recently been a pressing issue, given the socio-economic developments in the region.

[56] According to KRG official website, President Barzani asked the parliament to adopt law on terminologies "such as gender …in order for people not to lead to different interpretations".

This chapter starts with an introduction and two main sections and concludes with a discussion section. The introduction presents an outline of the work, the objectives, structure and the research questions. It then gives an overview of language and gender theories as well as variation studies. The analysis of the effect of social factors on the use of loanwords is divided into two sections. The first analytical section (3.2) starts with an investigation into the frequency of word types and rates of the usage of parts of speech by each group in order to test the hypothesis that women use fewer Arabic loanwords. It then presents the classification of loanwords of each gender group. The second analytical section (3.3) investigates the typology of loanwords. This involves comparing speakers' use of simple and compound verbs as well as nouns, variations concerning pluralisation and gender. This allows us to test the degree of assimilations and the types of strategies that were followed for the Kurdification of loanwords. The chapter concludes with a discussion section (3.4) and a conclusion of the results of the analysis, including the similarities and differences in the use of loanword types between the two groups.

3.1.2 Research questions

The primary goal of this chapter is to find out whether there is a correlation between variation in the use of loanwords in terms of quantity (frequency) and quality (the way words are used) depending on gender. Therefore, research questions for this chapter are as follows:

1. Do men or women use more loanwords?
2. What are the frequencies of the types of loanwords in the conversation of the groups?
3. What are the factors that contribute to the differences and similarities between men's and women's use of loanwords?

3.1.3 Hypothesis

Differences between men and women in the use of language have been investigated thoroughly in variation studies. According to Sapir (1963: 206), such differences occur on various levels of language, including the lexical level. The limited research on this aspect of loanwords shows that women mostly use fewer loanwords than men (Ljung 1984, 1988, Poplack et al 1988, Lawson and Sachdev 2000, Sharp 2001, Bassiouney 2009, Majidy 2013, Zenner et al 2014).

I hypothesise that women use fewer loanwords than men, based on the fact that women had less contact with Arabic and their relatively recent involvement in political life (see 3.1.4.1). This is in addition to the argument that women tend “to secure and signal their social status through their use of the standard, overtly prestigious variants” (Cheshire 2002:5). Based on Kurdish purists’ standpoint that standard Kurdish disfavours loanwords[57] (see 1.2.2.9 and 1.2.2.8) and favours the use of *Kurdî Petî* ‘pure Kurdish’, I hypothesise that women use Arabic loanwords less frequently and differently from men, and that they are more driven by their attachment to the Kurdistani identity to index their identity and confirm their status by seeking prestige.

In seeking an account of gender-based variation in the use of loanwords, I draw on two main approaches. Firstly, I consider Labov’s (1990) explanation in terms of women’s tendency to use prestige forms. Secondly, the conclusions are informed by Eckert’s (1989:249) approach that the social status of women is shaped through the symbolic capital of their skills, including through the use of language.

3.1.4 An overview of language and gender

This section gives an overview of language and gender studies, including a brief discussion of women in Kurdish society and research into women’s language in Kurdish. Approaches to language and gender studies are followed by a section on language variation and social meaning. Finally, the section presents a review of works on variation in the use of loanwords and a section on gender-based variation in Kurdish.

3.1.4.1 Women in Kurdish society

Historically, Kurds are said to be more tolerant of and respectful to women in comparison to many Middle Eastern nations (Hay 1921, Minorsky 1945, Hansen 1961, Shakely 2016)[58]. According to Jwaideh (1960:41), a Kurdish woman’s influence in the family circle is considerable, and her counsel is heeded and respected. Her position in society is remarkable and “women have often attained positions of great power and influence in Kurdistan, some of them even being recognised as chiefs of their tribes”, (Jwaideh 1960:42-44). Kurdish history embraces

---

[57] The standard language in this thesis refers to the variety that is used in textbooks and formal speech, has been studied by intellectuals since the 1920s and has been through a purification process (see Abdulla 1980, Hassanpour 1992 and Hasanpoor 1999). This form has been developing through the extensive dedication of intellectuals without any intervention or support from the state. See also 1.2.2.7 1 of this thesis.

[58] For the status of women in Kurdish society see also: Fraser (1840:193), Beleibtreu (1894:64), Hay (1921:43), Soane (1926:237), Rambout (1947:17), Edmonds (1958:150).

many examples of influential women who played important roles in political life in Kurdistan (van Bruinessen 2001:95 and 2001:102) such as Princess Xanzad of Soran, Adile Xan and Leyla Zana to name a few. In Jwaideh's view, the Kurdish woman is distinctive and proud of her identity:

> It is not unusual for the Kurdish woman acting as the head of her household in her husband's absence to receive men as guests. This freedom is rarely abused. The Kurdish woman is chaste. Prostitution is unknown among the Kurds; in fact, many writers have noted that there is no word for 'prostitute' in the Kurdish language (Jwaideh 1960:41-42).[59]

However, the conditions that were imposed on the Kurds following World War One brought dramatic changes to social life, especially in urban areas (Kāẓim 2006:171) which resulted in the retreat of Kurdish women's status in terms of education, the job market, and opportunities in political life (see also: Al-Wer 2007:61 and 2014:399). Nevertheless, since the establishment of the KRG in 1992, the situation for women has improved, not to forgetting the recent sporadic reports of mistreatment of women, which has been alien to the Kurdish society and Kurdish women's personalities (see Jwaideh 1960:43).

There are numerous praiseworthy expressions in Kurdish culture about women like *jneki-jnaneye* 'she is a womanly woman', which can be rendered as 'honourable', 'brave' or 'beautiful'. On the other hand, there are some negative expressions that are collocated with the word *jn* 'woman' (Hassanpour 2001:252). Such derogatory expressions could have been imported from other communities that have less positive attitudes towards women, they could also be indigenous. Derogation of women has been observed in most societies as the word 'woman' or 'girl' is often initially neutral or positive but gradually acquires negative connotations or even abusive references (Schultz 1990:135). Therefore, we cannot claim with confidence that all derogatory expressions in Kurdish society have been imported.

Kurdish women, especially living in the countryside, were traditionally known to have shared duties with men. However, in recent history women have adopted the customs of the societies that they have been forced to live within, especially in urban areas (Hassanpour 2016:2).

---

[59] Kurds throughout Kurdistan use the loanword *qeḧpe*[K] for 'prostitute' which is form Arabic *qaḥba*[A]. The word has the pharyngeal [ħ] and is most probably of Arabic origin but it could also be from Aramaic *gaxba*.

Along with political upheaval in the region, drastic changes took place after the fall of the Ottomans (Kāẓim 2006:171) and the annexation of the southern part of Kurdistan to Iraq. The life of Kurdish women, especially in urban societies, adapted to changes in the new environment. Traditions and customs of other nations, who considered women's roles limited to housework, giving birth and caring for children were imposed (Kāẓim 2006:169). With the exception of some bourgeois families who allowed female education, women were largely disadvantaged, with few educational and professional opportunities and they were often excluded from education and professional life altogether (Hassanpour 2001:3) after the establishment of Iraq. The disadvantageous situation of women according to Al-Wer (2007:61 and 2014:399) seems widespread in the Middle East, since women have been largely excluded from the modernisation process, which is demonstrated in their very modest contribution to labour. This lower status has influenced their language (Morgan 2002:39). For example, they use more local terms and indirect expressions, and they are less direct than men (Fetaḧ 2010:93).

Iraq's independence in 1932 did not bring changes to the status of women. Ba'thists seized power in 1963 and claimed to be supportive of women's rights and role in politics, but in practice they did not have the will to change and women remained largely marginalised (Kāẓim 2006:172). Following the fall of the Ba'thists in 2003 the political parties encouraged women's participation in politics. Women currently hold 87 seats, which comprise 27% of 328 cross party representatives in the Iraqi parliament (Keen and Cracknell 2016). In the Kurdistan Region parliament, women were "granted" 5% of the seats in 1992. This has increased to 30% of the seats in the current parliament i.e. 34 representatives out of 111 (KRG parliament website). However, despite greater representation, Iraqi and Kurdish women are still facing challenges that limit their ability to take initiatives forward. Women's active participation in "political life is still weak" and women feel that they are treated as inferior to men (Kāẓim 2006:172).

The political situation and national struggle of the Kurds in the 20th century involved progressive forces that made democratic demands for a decent life and freedom for women (Hassanpour 2016:2). The leaders of the short-lived Kurdistan republic in Mahabad (1945-46) showed respect for minority rights and "certain rights for women". Kurdish society thereafter has gradually and practically drawn apart from Iraq. Changes in the Kurdistan Region have led to a relative improvement in the role of women in public life and their involvement in politics, especially after the 1991 uprising and the subsequent establishment the Kurdistan Regional Government.

With the unstable Kurdish political situation, the raise of women's status has been fluctuating and slow. Kurdish nationalist leaders in Southern Kurdistan have disagreed with the

liberal leftist organisations about involving women in the political movement and "in recruiting women arguing that issues of class struggle should await the achievement of autonomy" (Hassanpour 2016:3). Kurdish women in the current political environment, like their Iraqi counterparts, are keen to prove their active existence in the public and political arena, employing all means possible to claim a status that has been denied to them for so long. Kurdish women seem to pay great attention to identity. Decades of pressure, subordination and violence have led to a sense of alienation among women, in turn leading to negativity in their social, economic and political life (Kāẓim 2006:172). Kurdish women are keen to prove otherwise and to join active public life through different means, including adopting a style of language to mark their distinctiveness and promote or regain their status (see Shakely 2016, Hansen 1961, Jwaideh 1960, Minorsky 1945 and Hay 1921).

It has been understood that language tends to objectify identity (Brubaker 2004:55). Hence Kurdish women seem to portray their identity not only in language; they get involved in challenges and difficult situations to achieve their goal. For them, attempts to claim identity can be achieved through volunteering as soldiers in war, which has become evident in the recent years, where Kurdish women in Iraq and Syria "fight for their identity, as ethnic women, and for their emancipation" (Kamaran and Ghorbani 2015, Palany 2017). During the fighting against ISIS, Kurdish female soldiers participated in war in exclusive units. McKernan (2017) quoted a Kurdish woman soldier, Asya Abdulla, as saying "They say it's propaganda, [and] that we should merge the women's units with the men's units. But they exist as separate for a reason. […] Women need their own autonomy, to prove they can do things themselves". ʾAvêsta Xabûr, another Kurdish soldier, said in an interview before her demise in battle, "We want to show the world what a woman is capable of" (Xendan 2018). While participation in war is one option to establish identity, other means, including resorting to language tools to achieve this aim would be more feasible, since the status of women is formed through the symbolic capital of their skills, as well as through the use of language forms that play a role in the projection of identity (Eckert 1989:249, Bassiouney 2010:108). Hence, although I am not linking the use of loanwords to women's service as soldiers at war, if a woman joins the army to claim her identity, it might be justified to consider the use of language elements, variety, and style that are used by women in a particular manner as an attempt to project identity. The differences in the use of loanwords in this work should be interpreted in light of this view.

Regarding women's language use, very little attention has been paid to gender-based language analysis in Kurdish linguistic studies. Fetaḧ's (2010) article in the field in which he refers to differences in the speech of men and women is the most viable work. He builds his

argument around the notion of politeness, according to which women do not express their opinion directly due to their socio-historical and cultural background.

In his analysis, Fetaḧ attributes the difference between men's and women's expressions to the notion of a different 'sub-culture'. He also considers the social status of women as a strong factor in the differences. He argues that women's status and their level of freedom in society is correlated with their manner of expression, especially in terms of word choice and pragmatics, which deserves a thorough study that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Women's style of speech and expressions become much closer to men when they hold higher status and freedoms (Fetaḧ 2010:94).

He claims that women and men have different sets of vocabulary according to their role in society and that women's vocabulary is "richer" in terms of housework, whereas men's is "richer" in practical terms that are related to professions. This is in line with Coates' (2004:38) argument that women's vocabulary and word choice are affected by their status and their role in society. The current status of women and their attempt to claim gender and ethnic identities that they were denied for decades may have had some impact upon language use and word choice, and especially the use of loanwords, which will be explored in this chapter.

3.1.4.2 Overview of language and gender studies

Observations regarding the differences between the language of men and women date back centuries. Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1560) refers to the language of men and women and the proper way that women should speak. Jespersen (1922:237-255) offered assumptions regarding women's language, arguing that women's language was simpler than the language of men, which included word choice. Sapir (1963) confirmed the differences between men's and women's speech claiming that in certain communities the two speak different 'languages'. Sapir and Jespersen's remarks followed other insights into language and gender, such as Haas (1944). In spite of all these observations, gender-based language variation did not take shape as a theory until the 1970s. This phase of the studies will be discussed in the following section.

The emergence of Labov's (1972) works represent a turning point in research into language and gender. He goes beyond the description of the language of gender groups, arguing for "women's sensitivity to prestige forms", and being ahead of men in sound change as well as the prestige use of standard language (1972: 304). This new direction was continued by

Macaulay (1978:134) and L. Milroy (1980), who argued that middle class women are more likely to use prestige variants. During the same timespan a proposition was introduced by Trudgill (1972) that attributes women's treatment of language as a sign of being "linguistically insecure".

Another milestone of interpretation surfaced through the works of Lakoff (1975), who proposed that features used by women relate to powerless speech and contribute to their subordinate status in society. In addition, women resort to the use of tag questions and hedges in their conversation. Zimmerman and West (1975) label men's speech behaviours as interruptive, which represents a manifestation of male dominance and superiority. Spender (1980), Maltz and Borker (1982), and Fishman (1978) highlight a "gender subculture" of men and women that distinguishes the speech of men from women and state that power plays an important role in the variation of speech.

Yet, another dimension of the research was introduced on the formality of women's language. Romaine (2003) attributes the difference to the amount of attention that women give to their language and a preference for formal conversation that leads to their distancing themselves from non-standard registers. This is in line with the outcomes of Labov's (2001) study. On the other hand, Crawford (1995) and Freed (2003) attribute the differences to the way women were brought up and told to speak in much the same way as they were told to dress in a certain way. Cameron (1995) sees power as the main factor in the differences. Similarly, Coates (1998) attributes the difference to the fact that men are more competitive and women are more cooperative, which influences their speech.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013) present another overall picture of the issue of language and gender and highlight the limitation of dominance claims. They claim that focusing on dominance tends to downplay the importance of differences in experience and beliefs. Sunderland (2004) views gender as a "performative social construct" and looks into the linguistic tools used as well as discourse. She views language as a primary tool for constructing identity. Norton (1997: 419) also argued that "identity constructs and is constructed by language". Bassiouney (2009:161) offers another explanation for variation, suggesting that the role women play in society is an influencing factor on their language use and variation.

The views on language and gender were advanced later as theories on gender and language. In order to contextualise the analysis of this chapter, a short overview on such approaches is summarised below.

3.1.4.2 Approaches to language and gender studies

The previous section (3.1.4.1) presented an overview of language and gender studies and this section continues to present main approaches that have shaped the work in this field.

Since the 1970s, studies of language and gender have been conducted through different approaches. Lakoff's (1975) work on women's language stimulated a series of studies of language and gender theories. She proposed the "deficit approach" where she claimed that women's speech is characterised by having an "inferior role" and features that expressed uncertainty and lack of confidence (Finch 2013:145). Women's language is considered as deficit, reflecting their "powerlessness" (Freed 2003: 701).

Zimmerman and West (1975) posit the "dominance approach", which characterises gender differences in language as a reflection of power differences. Thus, women's speech style is considered a result of men's supremacy and the effect of "patriarchy" (Spender 1980). Thorne and Henley (1975) and Freed (2003) view it as a sign of inequality. However, according to Beattie (1982), dominance is a matter of relativity because the conversation could include a very chatty man in the groups, which would disproportionately affect the total.

Maltz and Borker (1982) presented the "different culture approach", focusing on the differences in language rather than power. This approach suggests that men and women belong to two different "sub-cultures" with different social organization, and that this is reflected in their language. The differences can lead to misunderstandings unless they fully understand their socialised differences (Crawford 1995:1). This is because "behaviour previously perceived as men's effort to dominate women is reinterpreted as a cross cultural phenomenon", according to Talbot (2010:131). The difference approach is concerned with conversational roles (Tannen 2006:208) and stems from studies of speech style. Men use "report style", passing on factual information, while women use "rapport style", aiming at building and maintaining relationships to achieve intimacy, because for women "talk is the glue that holds relationships together" (Tannen 2006:63). For men, conversation is regarded as a tool for affirmation of social status rather than maintaining the relationship.

The "dynamic" or "social constructionist" approach considers that multiple dynamic factors of interaction influence the socially applicable gender construct rather than speech falling into a natural gendered category. This classification suggests that speakers are "doing gender" rather than describing language as related to a certain category (West and Zimmerman 1987). It emphasises that differences between the speech of gender groups exists in all types of verbal communication and writing, and even toilet graffiti (Green 2003:284).

While research into language and gender continues on different language levels, the discourse approach looks into the wider scope of the language and gender issue. In addition, previous approaches have been subject to criticism for placing women in an inferior position by presenting them as insecure and powerless and considering men's language as the norm. Therefore, a more comprehensive approach is needed to explain the differences in language use rather than gender as the only factor (O'Barr and Atkins 1980). The differences could be due to such as situation-specific authority and power in conversation (see: Atanga 2010, Mullany 2011, Gyler 2010, Swanson 2011, and Christie 2016). Similarly, variationists address variation in language use according to social meaning and this will be presented in the following section.

3.1.4.3 Variation and social meaning

Variationists argue that women seek symbolic capital through means of language use in a characteristic manner that distinguishes them from men (Eckert 1989). The particular style of speech used by women is strongly linked with identity, Bourdieu (1991:18, 50) argues that they are "more disposed to adopt the legitimate language". Woolard (1997:536) provides a different explanation, arguing that the variation is owed to a sense of community belonging and social interaction.

Early studies that referred to differences in language use highlighted women's tendency to use new forms of language and to modernise (Romaine 2003:110). They also observed that women prefer the prestige forms to compensate for their "insecurity" (Coates and Cameron 1989:82). However, Labov (1982:201) argues that the situation is different in the Near East and Asia where women did not seem necessarily to be more conservative than men, which is, according to Eckert (2011a:59), simply a generalisation. She argues that women "overall use more standard forms", but in the meantime "men are frequently more conservative than women in their use of […] variables." The differences between men and women's speech are attributed to the fact that women use "symbolic resources" in order to "establish membership and status" (Eckert 2011a:65). This is because community members use various symbolic resources to display their distinctiveness (L Milroy and Gordon 2003:92).

The differences in language use, variation as well as the social explanation of such variation, are well known to have been interpreted under three main approaches (Eckert 2012). Labov's (1966) ground-breaking work, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, marked the emergence of the first wave of sociolinguistic variation studies and shaped the study of variations thereafter. Social meaning in this wave involved socio-economic values and

variables that were thought to index social status. The first wave considered correlations between macro-scale sociological categories, including age, sex, class, and ethnic and linguistic variables. This wave also stipulated that younger speakers lead changes such as sound shifting (Labov 2001, Eckert 1997, Sankoff 2006). The focus of this wave was on the vernacular and many studies found that women seek prestige forms more than men. They also assume that women are more innovative and use higher frequencies of incoming forms, while men tend to use the non-standard more frequently (Labov 1990:205, Coates 2004:53, 54, 175). This wave considers style and the attention paid to speech, for example "casual" versus "formal" styles (Eckert 2012:89), which have also been considered in later studies that resulted in similar outcomes (i.e. Trudgill 1972, Macaulay 1978). The treatment of gender-based differences in language use in the first wave was based on socioeconomic hierarchy and the notion that women are more conservative than men in their use of language" (Eckert 2012:90). The speakers "are seen as passive users of the linguistic features associated with their particular 'demographic address,' that is the intersection of social factors that make up their identity" (Wolfram & Schilling 2016:301).

The second wave emerged through the attribution of social agency to the use of standard and vernacular forms, considering the latter as a marker of class identity (Eckert 2012:91). It applied ethnographic methods to investigate local categories that constitute macro-social categories (Labov 1966, L Milroy 1980). Researchers of this wave focussed on smaller communities over a period of time in order to find locally significant social categories and promote social meaning. The research within this wave focussed more on factors such as social networks in the formation of the speakers' identities (Eckert 1989).

While the first and second waves considered certain micro-sociological categories and "focussed on static categories on the speakers" (Eckert 2012:93), the third wave moved beyond regional dialects and standard/nonstandard variables. The third wave was developed "from the view of variation as a reflection of social identities and categories to the linguistic practice" (Eckert 2012:94) and the notion of style. This wave linked the individuals' experience with the broader community of practice and community-associated meaning, which leads to the formation of a style that expresses the community's concerns. Hence, this wave considers variation as a social semiotic system that constructs social meaning. The meanings of variables in the context of style are "part of the construction of social meaning" (Eckert 2004:43). In addition, variation conveys the semiotic system that carries society's concerns and this can be achieved through stylistic practice. Accordingly, the speaker is not considered a passive carrier of dialect but as an agent (Eckert 2004:43).

The analysis in this chapter does not follow a single wave of variation theory for several reasons. Firstly, the subject of language and gender in Kurdish language has yet to be analysed in great detail. Another matter that should be borne in mind is the fact that the differences in general speech have not yet been tested in order to determine how the wave should be considered for testing loanwords. The last important factor is the fact that the topic of this chapter is not a widely tested area in other languages. The two works of Poplack et al (1988) and Sharp (2001) confirm women's tendency to use fewer loanwords for the issues confirmed by the first wave approach.

3.1.4.4 Variation in the use of loanwords

The study of language behaviour relies on the supposition that (a) "language systematically varies across social contexts" and (b) "such variation is part of the meaning indexed by linguistic structure". In addition, these structures are relevant to a particular situation (Ochs 1992:337-8). According to Eckert (2008:94), "the meaning of any particular time constitutes an indexical field a constellation of ideologically linked meaning, any region of which can be invoked in context." Therefore, the differences in the treatment of loanwords might be treated as a signal choice based on particular motivations. For example, the standard variety of Kurdish does not favour loanwords (see Abdulla 1980). Those who do not use loanwords aim at the purer and prestige form that conveys a certain message of appreciation for Kurdish. As a member of the community, I personally know people from different social classes who have trained themselves to avoid Arabic loanwords and who do not use what they think are Arabic elements in writing and spoken language.

In spite of the vast amount of well-established work on loanwords and borrowing, there has been no thorough investigation into this aspect in Kurdish. In the wider world, only a small number of studies have been dedicated to the effect of gender on the use of loanwords.

The available literature shows that women tend to use fewer loanwords than men (Zenner et al 2015:337). In addition, the results of the attitudinal survey in Chapter 4 refer to the same trend, as women tend to have different attitudes to loanwords than men.

Ljung (1984:19, 82 and 1988:116) argues that Swedish women have negative attitudes to loanwords and consequently they use fewer loanwords than men. Similarly, Sharp (2001:61,188) examined the use of loanwords in different discourses and concluded that women consistently use fewer loanwords than men. Poplack et al (1988:76-78) studied social influences on the use of

English loanwords in Canadian French and found that women tend to use fewer loanwords than men, although the results of the study were not unequivocal (Poplack et al 1988 76). The same is true for Berber women in Morocco who use fewer loanwords than men "even when they are familiar with Arabic" (Bassiouney 2009:188-189). Lawson & Sachdev (2000:1356) found that women tend to use fewer loanwords. In contrast, women in the Arab world seem to use more loanwords (Bassiouney 2009:161) as they are not seeking the prestige forms. In contrast, however, from the view point of attitudes, Bilaniuk (2003:61) finds that Ukrainian women favour Russian elements while men do not have a preference. Similarly, Ngom (2002:118-119) claims that women use loanwords relatively more than men do in Senegal. Alahmadi (2015:45) claims that Saudi Meccan women use fewer loanwords than men as they are keen "to sound younger". However, the sociolinguistic situation of Kurdish differs from the aforementioned cases. The concise review above suggests that women generally tend to use fewer loanwords than men, with the exception of women in Arab countries and Senegal who showed more tendency towards the use of loanwords.

3.1.5 Methodology

The following sections include the methodology of this chapter. Starting with an account of the background information about the speakers, I explain the sources of the data and then the selection process. After that, I give an account of the data and the rate of the loanwords. This entails a description of the overall frequencies of the loanwords, the average number of the loanwords and their percentage against the total. This overview is concluded by providing a comparison between the frequencies of the items and the loanwords in the speech of men and women. I then analyse the use of parts of speech and the differences between the gender groups.

3.1.5.1 The speakers

The corpus comprises transcribed conversations of 20 CK speakers from Hewlêr Province and the surrounding areas in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region. The speakers' ages range from 21 to 65 years. This selection of age groups aims to cover two different periods of the education system and language policies in the region. Each gender group is divided into two cells of five; a cell of five speakers under the age of 40 and a cell that that includes speakers who are over 40, using the same categorisation as Chapter 4.

The speakers who are under 40-years-old received their higher education under the rule of the Kurdistan Regional Government and, hypothetically, they were less exposed to Arabic influence, as media outlets in the Kurdistan Region have mainly been in Kurdish since late 1991. The speakers who are over 40 years of age continued their education under Iraqi government rule, which was always led by administrations that "practically" considered Arabic the sole official language, especially in higher education. The speakers who are over 40 years old were regularly exposed to the Arabic language through education and Iraqi Arabic language media. In addition, men were obliged to join the compulsory military service, where all instructions were exclusively in Arabic. In contrast, women were not required to serve in the military and they had less contact with the Arabic speaking community.

Since 1991, young men are no longer required to join the military service that used to place them in direct contact with Arabic speaking communities. Furthermore, Arabic is no longer the first official language and does not enjoy a high status in education and other aspects of life in the region (see 1.2.2.5). Therefore, I expect younger men to be less exposed to Arabic.

The speakers are very well educated to university level or higher, they are involved in politics and enjoy positions in society. The 10 female speakers ("SP" henceforth) are educated. The younger SPs 1, 2, 3, 5 and the older SP7 received their higher education in the Kurdistan Region, while the SP4 and the older SP8, 9 and 10, who are supposed to have been exposed to Arabic education, undertook their higher education in non-Arabic speaking institutions abroad. The speakers are all known for supporting women's issues in the region. They are also from the same parliamentary coalition that share the same motives and goals, especially in terms of the topics discussed on the talk shows.

The male speakers are also educated at least to university level. This group received their higher education in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region, apart from the older SP7, who did his postgraduate studies in Europe.

The genre of the conversation was political commentary and all 20 speakers commented on the same topic, and were interviewed within the same time frame before, during, and after the general elections in 2010. In addition, their conversations were extracted from the same media outlets.

However, it is believed that talk shows may not be entirely representative of a stratified sample in variation studies. Talk shows help to demonstrate certain general conclusions about

the use of language and that women use "certain contexts for a discourse function and to project a specific identity on themselves" (Bassiouney 2010:98-99). Normally, speakers express language ideologies especially in political interviews and interactions (Laihonen 2008:669). In performed language interactions they display ideologies "that indexically ground them in identities" (Kroskrity 2010:199). The context of association between language and identity in this work's data sample is materialised in the occurrence of exclusive and consistent use of certain features, which are considered widespread patterns associated with women's language (see 3.2.2.1). For example, women speakers use borrowed elements such as (a) terms of politeness, (b) hedges, and (c) hesitation (see 3.2.2.4). In addition, women speakers seem to use loanwords that correspond to elements of tautology, repetition, and have a greater tendency to use standard language via the use of fewer foreign words as well as the unique use of Light-Verb Strategy.

In the same vein, the interlocutor in the data very often asks the opinion of the speaker by saying something like, "in the viewpoint of a woman, tell us…"; or, "in your opinion, what is the woman's stance on this…?". The speaker in situations like a TV show is expected to consider the wider audiences and to give the answer. Furthermore, women are naturally targeting a female audience and the talk show speakers are expected to use compatible language to the receiver and fit for the subject matter, as language form plays role in projection of identity (Bassiouney 2010:108). On the other hand, in political speech, speakers from the same background who share the same values use their language as a sign of belonging and to express their sharing of the same values and identity, which are strategies acceptable with the community (Mazraani 1997:202). Therefore, there are strong elements to suggest that the data sample is representative of women's speech, especially as we see that women speakers in the data use features that are associated with women in Kurdish society. Certainly, women's language elements and style are reflected in their discussions, as we will see in the presentation of the data.

3.1.5.2 The data sources and selection

The data of this chapter has been extracted from four major Kurdistan-based Kurdish language broadcasting services, namely Kurdistan Satellite TV, Kurdsat Satellite TV, Geli-Kurdistan Satellite TV, and the Kurdish Service of the Voice of America. All these media outlets were

established after the 1991 uprising and the consequential withdrawal of the Iraqi government administration from the Kurdistan Region since then.

The selection of the data was carefully designed to include a central topic where speakers comment on different dimensions of one main subject. To achieve this, I selected conversations from speakers who were commenting on election issues and topics central to the election process in the region. Such topics dealt with the preparations for the elections, the contests, the results, the election atmosphere, law and the role of media in the process of the event, as well as security concerns at the time of the elections. The selection of the specific data aimed at the topic of the election and speakers who were using "spontaneous" language on live talk shows and interviews without prior preparation or script reading, as words choice in the written language, would certainly be different.

Aiming at an equal number of speakers, the comments and statements of 10 men and 10 women were selected. The data was not obtained from face-to-face interaction with the speakers, as the best way to obtain data is in situations where the speakers do not feel they have been "systematically observed" (Labov 1972:207) by sociolinguists. This is in addition to logistics and for reasons of accessibility. The data was collected from major broadcasting outlets rather than face-to-face data collection.

The data was transcribed and the loanwords were identified and classified according to their grammatical category. The process of loanword identification was processed mainly by my personal intuition as a bilingual speaker of Arabic and Kurdish and as a specialist in both languages academically. Furthermore, monolingual and bilingual Kurdish-Arabic dictionaries were consulted, for example: *Hembane-Bőrine*, *Ferhangî-Kurdstan*, *ʾAstêra-Geshe*, *Ferhangî-Mehabad* and *Wisenameki: Etimolojiyayi zimani Kurdi* (also see 1.4.1). The classical Arabic dictionaries such as *Lisān al-Arab*, *al-Mu'jam al-Wasīt* and *al- Ṣiḥḥaḥ* as well as the modern dictionaries of *al-Fareed* and *al-Munğid* were also consulted (1.4.1).

This chapter considers gender as a major variable and age as a secondary variable in a quantitative and qualitative investigation into the use of loanwords. The loanwords were classified according to Haugen's (1950) and Weinreich's (1953) models, as discussed in Chapter 2. The classification is followed by arranging the loanwords according to grammatical category and typology of the words in the source language according to Wohlgemuth's (2009) and Wichman and Wohlgemuth's (2005) model of loanword typology (see 3.3). Relevant phonological notes have been inserted as appropriate in this chapter (see 3.2.2.1 b). However, due to limited differences between men and women, this chapter does not dedicate a separate

section to phonological differences, which has been a traditional method in setting the differences in loanwords' adaptation and use (see Yip 1993, Silverman 1992). Even Haugen's (1950) classification is more or less dependent on phonological changes. The researcher may revisit this area in a separate project to test the differences in general speech and the difference in the use of loanwords. The second section investigates the quality of the use of loanwords by looking into the differences in the use of loaned parts of speech (see section 3.1.5.3).

The results of the investigation are interpreted mainly within the framework of the first wave, in which variable "linguistic features are examined as making up and defining varieties, and as marking certain social groups" (Drummond and Schleef 2016:51). It also benefits marginally from the third wave. This is more useful in the analysis of certain features that identify social identities that contribute to constriction of social meaning, and linguistics practice (Eckert 2012:94 and 2003:24). Since the third wave is concerned with construct style that is associated with social types (Eckert 2012), it is beneficial to find answers to research questions in this chapter as the speakers are from similar backgrounds and commenting on the same domain. The third wave can be useful to some extent in terms of interpreting the reasons for variation and the analysis of style as well as the use of certain main verbs, light-verbs and weak verbs in this work. Both groups of speakers represent average Kurdish society. Therefore, they belong to the same network and social class and cannot be considered as a community of practice to test the variation consequently. The most obvious difference between the two groups is gender, rather than social network, affiliation, or identity, because they are all from political parties with nationalist agendas, and have social status. These facts have been taken into account, clearly because social network influences language change (Kerswill and Williams 2000:65, 68) and language varies according to the status of the speakers (Nettle 1999:100).

To sum up, the research looks into the differences between the two groups of men and women, in terms of the quantity of the loanwords used and the quality of the treatment of the loanwords. In addition, such approaches in the Middle East have not been tested thoroughly on language in general in order to draw conclusions (Bassiouney 2009:123).

3.1.5.3 Data Analysis

Two sections have been allocated for data analysis. To answer the first and second questions about the frequency of loanword types, the data was tested through the Mann-Whitney U test, which is most appropriate for independent samples testing and non-normally distributed data (Field 2017:282, Gibbons 1993:30). To answer the third research question about the

different ways the two groups use different loan parts of speech, a qualitative method was employed to identify the differences between men and women in the use of borrowed parts of speech.

Following the presentation of frequencies of loan types, a quantitative method was used to determine the differences in the rates of loanword types through the Mann-Whitney U test. Firstly, the total score of loanwords of men and women were compared to answer the first research question about whether there are significant differences in the use of loanwords between men and women.

In order to answer the questions about which group uses certain loan types more, the total scores of subsets were tested as follows: (a) all loanwords, (b) all pure loan (unassimilated) types, (c) all assimilated types, (d) all pseudo-loans and, finally, (e) the individual loan types (see 3.2.3).

While results of total scores of clusters showed important differences between men and women in the use of loan-types, some individual assimilated types showed reasonable mean differences without a significant p value. I return to this issue in 3.2.4 below.

To answer the third research question about the different ways that the two groups used the different loaned parts of speech, a qualitative approach has been employed to describe the differences between the two groups regarding their use of the loanwords. The analysis of this section has been inspired by Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2005), and Wohlgemuth (2009) for the analysis according to grammatical category and loanword typology.

3.1.5.4 Description of the data

The data includes more than 50 hours of recording and the analysis was conducted on a carefully selected three hours of conversation. The corpus comprises 16,328 words produced by 20 speakers during the total of 181 minutes of conversation, in which the speakers used 1,741 Arabic loanwords in total. The men produced a total of 8,996 words within 113 minutes of conversations that included 1,075 Arabic loanwords. Meanwhile, the women produced a total of 7,332 words within 68 minutes that included 655 loanwords. The frequency of the loanwords in the combined data from both groups is 10.59%. The rate of the men's loanwords is 11.94% and women's is 8.93%, as shown in Table 1 below:

Table 3.1: Rate and frequencies of words and loanwords per minute

	Men	Women	Total
Length	113 minutes	68 minutes	181 minutes
Number of words	8996	7332	16328
Number of loanwords	1075	655	1730
Word per minute	79.6	107.8	90.20
Loanword per minute	9.51	9.63	9.55
Frequency of loanword against total number of words	11.94	8.93	10.59

3.2 Frequencies and types of loanwords

Although loanword classification has lately been analysed in the works of Muysken (1981, 1997), Zuckermann (2003), van Hout and Muysken (1994), Poplack and Sankoff (1984), and Haspelmath (2009), the classification of loanwords that was proposed by Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) remains the most consistent model to date (see 2.1.3) and best describes the loan types in Kurdish. That is why this section follows their model (see 1.1).

The rate and frequency of the types of loanwords in this part may not give identical findings to those shown in Chapter 2. This is mainly because the data of this chapter has been carefully selected for the purpose of a sociolinguistic analysis of a particular social category with speakers from similar backgrounds commenting on a particular topic, whereas the data in Chapter 2 is based on general public conversation on various topics.

The loans in this chapter comprise 13 types according to the degree of assimilation to Kurdish. Within the 13 types there are seven main types and the rest are sub-types as presented in 2.1.2.1, including pseudo-loans, which were not named in Haugen and Weinreich's models and have not been addressed in previous works on Kurdish.

This section presents an answer to the research question regarding the frequencies of the loanword types and the differences between Kurdish men's and women's use of such types of Arabic loanwords. Beginning with a general overview of the frequencies of loanwords, this section presents the types of loanwords that are used by each group. The section concludes with a summary of the analysis.

It is worth mentioning that the frequencies and rates have been presented in numbers and percentage of their occurrences, as the number of words of the two groups is slightly different. The total number of loan types and their percentages are presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, 3.4. and 3.5.

3.2.2 Types of loanwords

The following section is dedicated to the analysis of loan types. It investigates whether the items used by men and women show different degrees of assimilation. The investigation in this section is based on the classification that was adopted in 2.2. This section tests the similarities and differences between men and women in their use of loan types. The classification mainly depends on the degree of phonological assimilation and the extent of the adaptation of loanwords.

The following sections focus first on the unassimilated loanwords that comprise cases of importation and partial substitution. Afterwards it deals with the different types of assimilated loanwords, which include different types of hybrids and compounds. Finally, it deals with other categories according to their degree of assimilation. The table below shows the rate and percentage of loanword types used by men and women:

Table 3.2: The rates of loanwords in the speech of men and women

	Types of the loanwords	LWs used by Men	Percentage of LWs	LWs used by Women	Percentage of LWs	LWs used by M and W	Percentage of total loanwords
Pure loanwords	Pure loanwords: a) importation	433	40.27	236	36.03	669	38.37
	Pure loanwords: b) Partial substitution	325	30.23	158	24.12	483	27.91
	Total of pure loans	758	70.51	394	60.15	1152	66.28
Assimilated loanwords & Pseudo-loans	Totally assimilated	45	4.18	37	5.64	82	0.52
	Fused Compounds	4	0.37	2	0.30	6	0.04
	Analysed Compounds	4	0.37	1	0.15	5	0.03
	Truncated loanwords: abbreviation	118	10.97	121	18.47	239	1.73
	Loanblends or hybrids: a) Transferred stem	60	5.55	55	8.39	115	0.65
	Loanblends or hybrids: b)Indigenous stem	3	0.28	2	0.30	5	0.03
	Loanblends or hybrids: c) compound loanblends	7	0.65	5	0.76	12	0.08
	Loanblends or hybrids: d) Tautological blends	1	0.09	13	1.98	14	0.06
	Pseudo-loans: Morphological	1	0.09	0	0.00	1	0.01
	Pseudo-loans: Semantic pseudo-loans	55	5.11	23	3.5	78	0.51
	Pseudo-loans: Lexical pseudo-loans	19	1.74	2	0.30	21	0.08
	Total of all assimilated	317	29.48	263	40.4	578	10.66
	Total of all types	1075	11.94	655	8.93	1730	10.59

3.2.2.1 Pure loanwords

Pure loanwords comprise 66.28% of the total number of the loanwords identified in the corpus. The loanwords under this category comprise two types of importation and partial substitutions. The former does not go through any substitution in the receiving language, while the latter undergoes minor substitution. A full account of these two subtypes follows.

a) Importation

This type includes the loanwords that are imported and/or partially imported into the receiving language. This type shows no degree of phonological assimilation and normally maintains the morphemic shape (see 2.2.2). According to Haugen (1950:212), "If the loan is similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own, the borrowing speaker may be said to have IMPORTED[60] the model into his language, provided it is an innovation in that language." This type of loan is also defined by Weinreich (1953:51) as lexical items that have been used in the receiving language without change. The importation process has been a direct transfer of Arabic items which were used in Kurdish conversation without any phonological or morphological adaptation. However, in spite of maintaining the form intact, such items have often been used in different contexts in the receiving language. For example, the loanwords *yeʿnî* '[it] means' and *weĺĺahî* '[I swear] by God' were imported in their full Arabic forms without any phonological assimilation. These two items and a number of others were used in different contexts and functioned differently from their Arabic forms, mainly in women's conversation. The word *yeʿnî* was used 58 times in total by different speakers across age groups. It occurred 32 times in the women's speech, where it was used as a discourse marker 26 times (see 3.3.2.1.1); this corresponds to 81.5% of the total use of the item. It occurred in the speech of all the female speakers and across the age ranges. The same word occurred 26 times in the men's speech and it was used as a discourse marker only five times, which corresponds to 19.2% of its use by the men.

b) Partial substitution

The other subcategory of pure loanwords is the loanword that has undergone partial morphemic or phonological substitution, while the imported items were fully transferred to the receiving language without any change. According to Haugen (1950:164):

> "… insofar as he has reproduced the model inadequately, he has normally *SUBSTITUTED* a similar pattern from his own language. This distinction between *IMPORTATION* and *SUBSTITUTION* applies not only to a given loan as a whole but to its constituent patterns as well, since different parts of the pattern may be treated differently."

[60] The word 'IMPORTED'is capitalised in the source. The capitalised words '*SUBSTITUTED*, *IMPORTATION* and *SUBSTITUTION'* in the b) section are also capitalised in the source.

However, it must be mentioned that partially substituted loanwords show some degree of phonological variability. It is also evident that the phonemic shape and the morphemes are imported instantaneously in the process of substitution (Haugen 1953:121).

In terms of partial substitution, on occasions the Arabic short front vowel /i/ is substituted with Kurdish long high front vowel as in /ħizb/[A] 'party' shifts to [ħiizb][K]. This occurred in the speech of the men 10 times. In contrast, women altered the high front vowel to a high central unrounded vowel [ɨ] as [ħɨzb][K] 3 times. Perhaps the alteration of the high front vowel to the high central unrounded vowel in the women's conversation is not as substantial, but it is consistent and an indication that needs to be highlighted in the absence of widespread patterns. Furthermore, speakers, especially women, omitted the high-mid back rounded **short** vowel [u] in the nucleus of the syllable as in [muʕaj.jan] and [muqaj.jad] that shifted to [mʕej.jen] and [mqej.jed] or [mʕejen] and [mqejed] (see (1) and examples (27) & (28), Chapter 2), in which case it was not a substitution but rather truncated.

Arabic does not allow initial clusters, but the former items obtained an initial cluster in Kurdish through nucleus omission. Hence, initial clusters were formed by the men who omitted the high-mid back rounded **short** vowel /u/ in the first syllable of the word *dunya* on all 15 times of its occurrence. In contrast, women retained the high-mid back rounded short vowel *u* as in *dunya*. This does not show any kind of patterns in a specific gender group of speakers. The change of high-mid back rounded short vowel /u/ here is entirely erratic and occurs in the conversation of both the men and women; there are individual differences rather than a social class effect (see 2.3.2.2 and van Coetsem 1988:99).

(1)	Arabic form	Meaning	Kurdish form
	muʿajy.yan	'particular'	*mʿeyen*
	muqay.yad	'careful or restricted'	*mqeyed*
	dunjā	'world'	*dnya*

3.2.2.2 Totally assimilated loanwords

The totally assimilated loanwords have undergone extreme adaptation, which includes one or usually more of the following changes: omission, addition and alternation of consonants as well as vowels, in addition to devoicing. It would be difficult to recognise this loan type for non-linguists. The rate of totally assimilated loanwords in the conversation of the women is 5.64%,

which is relatively higher than the rate of men, which is 4.18%. As the examples below show, the items have been through vowel reduction and omission in Kurdish. As shown in 2a, the Arabic front long vowel /a:/ is reduced, the unvoiced fricative /h/ is alternated with the approximant /j/, and the high front unrounded long vowel /i:/ shifted to mid central unrounded /e/. In 2b, the back rounded *u* is alternated with a mid-central unrounded *e* the approximant *w* was inserted:

(2)		Kurdish form	Meaning	Arabic form
	a.	*šayêt*	'witness'	*šāhid*
	b.	*mewda*[61]	'duration'	*mud.da*

3.2.2.3 Hybrid compounds (blends)

Hybrid compounds here refer to elements including morphemes of Arabic origin that have been treated as one unit and show intimate fusion with a Kurdish element. Haugen (1950:214) defines this as an element where "only one half of the word" is borrowed as a productive process in the receiving language. The hybrids are different from what Onysko (2007:210) terms as phrasal compounds, such as the English phrases in German for example "Earn-Out-Effekt" or "Stop-and-go-Strategie" for "earn out effect" and "stop and go strategy". As seen below, the structure and the form of the hybrids discussed in this thesis are different. The data showed four types of loan hybrids for which rates are higher in the women's speech than the men's, particularly transferred stem hybrids and tautological blends. The indigenous stem and compound-blends also occurred more in the women's speech (see Table 3.2). The following paragraphs present the differences.

a) Transferred stem

Transferred stem represents 8.39% of women's loanwords and 5.58% of men's. This type of loanword is assimilated to an extent that shows great resemblance to Kurdish words. For example, the geminated preposition *ḥat.tā* 'until' shifted in women's conversation to *ta-ku*, where the pharyngeal fricative *ḥ* and gemination disappear (see (8)). This form occurred three times in women's conversation, whereas it shifted to *heta*, which resembles the Arabic form, 18 times in men's conversation. The following are examples of the transferred stem, which occur more frequently in women's speech:

[61] This word can occur as *mawe* as well.

(3)

Kurdish form	Meaning	Kurdish element	Arabic element
ta-ku	‘until’	*ku*	*ḥattā*
madam-eçî	‘as long as’	*eçî*	*mādāma*
zîya-tr	‘more’	*-tr*	*zîyādat*

b) Tautological blend

Tautological blends consist of a combination of a foreign word and its synonym being used as a unit in the receiving language. The hybrid tautology is also wide spread in spoken Kurdish and in ballads, as in *šew-û-roj-leyl-û-nehar* ‘day and night’. The data showed 14 examples of women using tautological blend items, which represents 1.98% of their total loanwords. On the other hand, they occurred only once in men’s conversation, which represents 0.09% of their total loanwords. The phoneme alternations do not always show substantial changes in every tautological item. However, they are seen as a single unit when used by both gender groups as in the following:

(4)

Kurdish form	Meaning	Kurdish element	Arabic element
ḧeq-w-maf	‘rights’	*maf*	*ḥaq*
tewazun-w-hawsengî	‘balance’	*hawsengî*	*tawāzun*
taybetmandî-w-xsusiyet	‘particularity’	*taybetmandî*	*xuṣuṣiy.yat*
reḧetî-w-geštwguzar	‘truism’	*gešwguzar*	*rāḥat*

c) Indigenous stem

An indigenous stem is a structural hybridization consisting of a native stem and a foreign element which leads to the formation of a new word. The rate of this type is small but it showed fewer differences between the two groups. It represents 0.30% of the women’s loanwords and 0.28% of the men’s and includes words that are used mostly in polite expressions by the women. As is shown in (5), the stem is native and the suffix is transferred from Arabic:

(5)

Kurdish form	Meaning	Kurdish element	Meaning	Arabic element	Meaning
xoš-bext	‘lucky’	*xoš*	‘good’	*baxt*	‘luck’
beš-be-ḧaĺ	‘for me’	*beš*	‘share’	*ḥāl*	‘status’
ne-xêr	‘no’	*ne*	‘no’	*xayr*	‘well’

d) Compound-blend

Compound-blends are a combination of a foreign word with another native word to form a new word that expresses the same meaning as the native component. The foreign word undergoes morpheme substitution. The rate and frequencies of this type in the women's speech is 0.76% and 0.65% in the men's. Although the rates are not equal, there are no great differences in the alternation of the vowels between the two gender groups. The following are examples of compound-blends:

(6)	Kurdish form	Meaning	Kurdish element	Arabic element
	bîrû-ra	'opinion'	*bîr*	*raʾī*
	ra-w-boçun	'view'	*boçûn*	*raʾī*

As Table 3.2 shows, the rate of transferred stems and tautological blends is higher in women's conversation while the rate of indigenous stems and compound-blends is higher by a small percentage in men's. The tokens in tautological blends have been through more substantial segmental changes. For example, *xuṣuṣiy.yat*^{A} becomes *taybetmandî-w-xsusîyet*^{K}, *ḥaq.q*^{A} become *ḧeq-w-maf*^{K}, and *rāḥat*^{A} becomes *reḧetî-w-geštwguza*^{K}. Similar changes occurred to transferred stem blends for example, *mā-dāma*^{A}, *ḥat.tā*^{A}, *ziyādat*^{A,} *daʿwa*^{A} and *dawām*^{A} respectively became *madam-eçî*^{K}, *ta-ku*^{K}, *zîyatr*^{K}, *dawa-karî*^{K}, and *ber-dewam*^{K}. In addition, truncated loanwords, which are assimilated through syllable reduction and vowel omission, mainly occur in women's speech. The blends represent 9.17% of women's loanwords, whereas they are only 6.79% of men's loanwords.

3.2.2.4 Pseudo-loanwords

The pseudo-loans do not necessarily undergo phonological adaptation, but they undergo semantic conversion (see 2.2.2.6). This means they are not assimilated formally. The data includes three types of pseudo-loans: 78 semantic, 21 lexical, and only one morphological pseudo-loan. The latter occurred in the conversation of men only (see Table 3.3). The data suggests that men have a greater tendency to use pseudo-loans. The rate of pseudo-loans in men's speech represents 6.22% of their loanwords, while it represents 4.66% of women's loanwords.

Pseudo-loans occurred 75 times in the men's conversation and 25 times in the women's speech. As pseudo-loans are semantically assimilated, this suggests that men tend to use more semantically assimilated loanwords. This is in contrast to what we noted about women's use of loanwords in general (see 3.4.1). Chapter 4 shows that women are more aware of pseudo-loanwords (see 4.3.3.1). Interestingly, most of the pseudo-loans in the women's conversation are usually words of politeness as in *ne-xêr* 'no' a polite negation strategy, *axr* 'but', as an alternative to directly expressing the contrast; and *xeber.bûnewe* 'waking up', instead of *hestan*, 'to rise' or 'arousal'[62], which are not comfortably used.

Table 3.3: The differences in the ranking of pseudo-loans

Pseudo type	Men		Women	
	No.	%	No.	%
Semantic pseudo-loans	55	5.11	23	3.5
Lexical pseudo-loans	19	1.8	2	0.30
Morphological pseudo-loans	1	0.09	0	0.00
Total	75	6.22	25	4.66

As Spender (1980:36-38) suggests women are expected to be more polite. Women resorted to the use of these items as an alternative to other more direct expressions, which has been argued by Fetaḧ (2010) to be a norm in Kurdish women's conversation. Nonetheless, the pseudo-loans are foreign elements used to express different semantic references. Therefore, women may have used them less because they are more sensitive by nature to norms and correctness (Coates 2004:51), which is, in Kurdish, the variety with minimum Arabic elements. Therefore, they reduced the use of these "incorrect" words, unless for specific purposes.

Not only are the rates of the types different; even the hierarchy of the loan types in the speech of the two groups different. It is clear that pure loanwords are the top of the list of both groups but in general the more assimilated loans in the speech of women is higher than that of men's. For example, blends in women's speech are higher. The data also showed that the use of pseudo-loans in men's speech is higher.

[62] In normal conversation, women and men use the word *ʿeyb-nebî* which can be rendered to 'without embarrassment' when they have to mention a taboo word. But this expression is not used in all social situation, especially not in political contexts.

The hierarchy of loan types

	Women	Men
1.	Pure loanwords: a) importation	Pure loanwords: a) importation
2.	Pure loanwords: b) partial substitution	Pure loanwords: b) partial substitution
3.	Truncated loanwords: abbreviation	Truncated loanwords: abbreviation
4.	L-blend, Transferred stem	L-blends, Transferred stem
5.	Assimilated	Semantic pseudo-loans
6.	Semantic pseudo-loans	Assimilated
7.	Tautological blends	Lexical pseudo-loans
8.	Compound loan-blends	Compound loan-blends
9.	Fused Compounds	Fused Compounds
10.	L-blend indigenous stem	Analysed Compounds
11.	Lexical pseudo-loans	L-blends Indigenous stem
12.	Analysed Compounds	Tautological blends
13.	Morphological-Pseudo	Morphological-Pseudo

3.2.3 Statistical test

The proportion of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish has reduced from 46.5% of the total vocabulary at the beginning of the twentieth century (Abdulla 1980) to about 10% at the present time. Whilst the occurrence of some types of loanwords is low in the sampled data under consideration, there is, nevertheless, consistency in the patterns of use for loan-types (see 3.1.5.3).

To verify the hypothesis of significantly different frequencies of loanwords use between men and women, the Mann-Whitney U test was used to compare the ranks below and above the median frequency rate between groups. I compared mean rank for each set because a comparison of the mean would result in any outliers heavily affecting the average frequency of a set (Field 2015). I utilized SPSS statistical software to conduct the inferential statistics to compare the two groups.

In order to test the hypothesis of the chapter and to draw a bigger picture regarding the use of loanword types by men and women, it is vital to test the overall rate of loanwords in order to compare the two groups. Testing the individual loanword types afterwards presents smaller details of the differences between the two groups.

Testing the total scores of subsets of loanwords enables the assessment of statistical differences between men's and women's use of (a) pure loan-types that have not changed formally, (b) the assimilated types and (c) the pseudo types. This analysis provides explanations for the fundamental enquiry. The test results highlight the differences in the use of individual loanword types, some of which show differences but not significant results due to low frequency of such types. However, testing individual types contributes to discussions of the meaning of differences between the two gender groups. For example, the differences in the use of tautological blend types are in agreement with language and gender theories relating to the women's speech style and their tendencies to repetition in their conversation as discussed in Coates (1996, 2011), Tannen (2006 and 2007), Lakoff (1975).

The tests on the total scores of subsets, on the other hand, contribute to discussions of broader meaning of differences between men and women. The test is carried out through the following sub-divisions:

1. Total of loanwords in general and comparison of the mean rank of men's and women's loanwords, comprising of subsets;
2. Pure loanwords that maintained the source form;
3. Formally assimilated loanwords;
4. Pseudo-loanwords;
5. Comparison of individual loanword types.

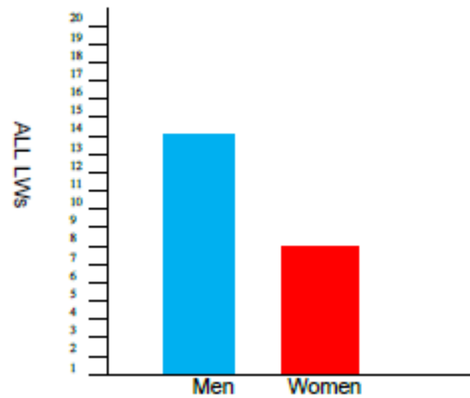
The results of a series of statistical tests on the dataset are presented below:

1. **All loanwords**: The Mann-Whitney U test shows that men use loanwords significantly more than women and confirms the hypothesis (M^{m}=13.95 to M^{w}=7.05)[63], p= 0.009 (Appendix 3.2.3 - 1). This accordingly confirms the hypothesis that men use more loanwords than women.

---

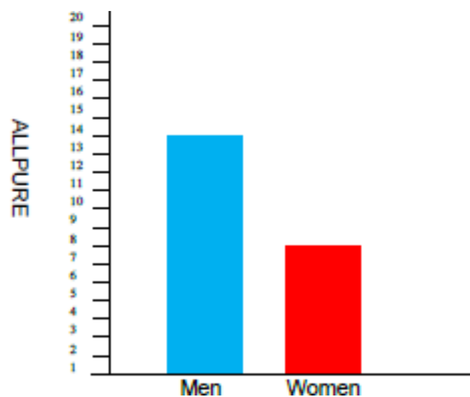
63 Superscript (^{m}) refers to men and superscript (^{w}) refers to women.

Figure 3.1: Mean rank of all loanwords



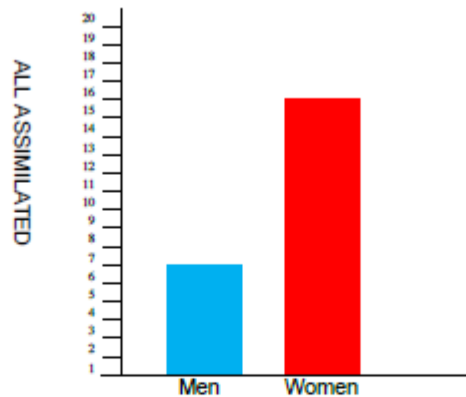
2. All pure loans, which maintained the source form: Mann-Whitney U test on the total score of the pure loanwords, which have not been assimilated formally, including the imported and partial substitute, lexical, semantic and morphemic pseudo-loan, shows men use pure loanwords more significantly than women (M^m=14.15 to M^w=6.85), p= 0.006 (Appendix 3.2.3 -2).

Figure 3.2: Mean rank of all pure (unassimilated) loanwords



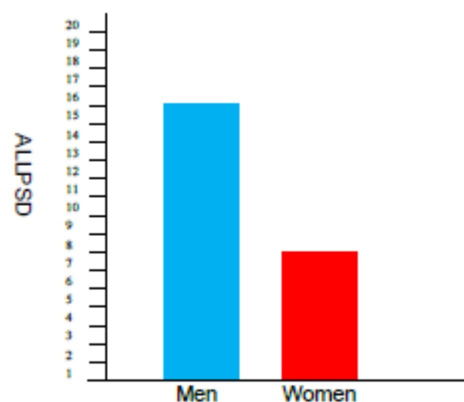
3. All-assimilated, which have changed formally through truncation, hybridisation and substitution: The Mann-Whitney U test on the total of the assimilated types of totally assimilated, truncated, fused and analysed-compounds, indigenous and transferred stem, compound-blend and tautological blend revealed that, in general, women use assimilated loanwords significantly more than men (M^w=15.20 to M^m=5.80), p= 0.00 (Appendix 3.2.3 -3) (see Coates 2004:142)

Figure 3.3: Mean rank of all-assimilated loanwords



4. **All-pseudo-loans**: Mann-Whitney U test on the total score of all-pseudo-loanwords shows that men use pseudo-loans significantly more than women with (M^m=14.45 to M^w=6.55), p= 0.003 (Appendix 3.2.3 -4).

Figure 3.4: Mean rank of all-pseudo-loanwords

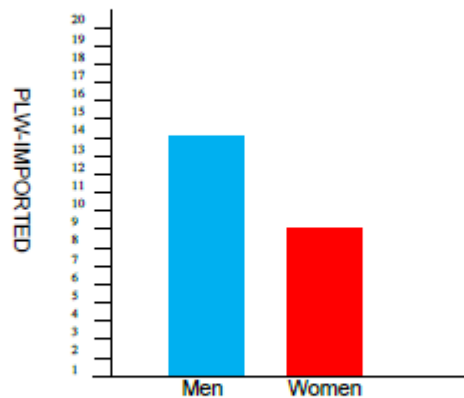


5. Individual loanword types: The tests on the total score of the loan-types confirmed significant differences between men and women. On one hand, as shown in 3.2.2, the rate and percentage of individual loan-types show that women generally use fewer loanwords. But on the other hand, considering specific loan-types, women use more loanword types that are formally assimilated loanwords (see Table 3.2). In spite of noticeable differences between men and women in the use of all individual loan-types, due to the sample size and the low rate of the Arabic loanwords in CK in general, the test did not show statistically significant differences between the two groups regarding some smaller number of assimilated types. Therefore, the mean rank differences will be accounted for when discussing and highlighting the differences in the use of the smaller

number loanwords, since the total score of assimilated types together already showed significant differences.

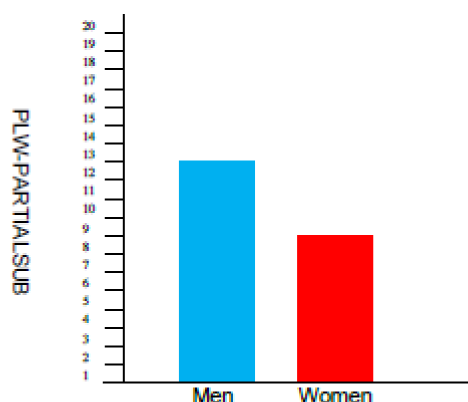
a. **Pure loanwords (importation)**: The Mann-Whitney U test revealed that men use pure-imported (non-assimilated) loanwords more frequently than women (M^{m}=13.45 to M^{w}=7.55), *p*= 0.026 (Appendix 3.2.3 -5a)

Figure 3.5a: Mean rank of all pure (importation) loanwords



b. **Partial-substitution**: The Mann-Whitney U test revealed relatively less significance between men and women in comparison to imported loans. It showed mean ranking (M^{m}=14.00 to M^{w}=7.00), *p*=0.008 (Appendix 3.2.3 -5b), as this type of loan undergoes partial assimilation in form unlike the full-importation, which did not go through any substitution.

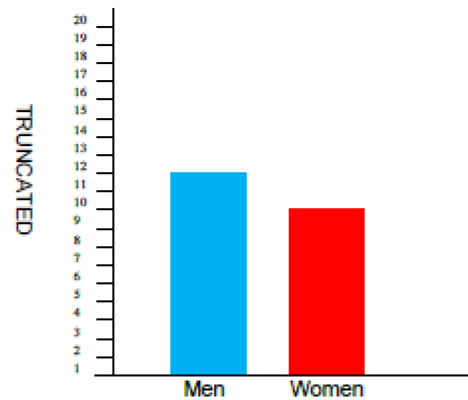
Figure 3.5b: Mean rank of partial-substitution loanwords



c. **Truncated loans**: The Mann-Whitney U test did not show significant differences in mean ranking (M^{m}=11.05 to M^{w}=9.55), *p*=0.677 (Appendix 3.2.3 -5c). However, the percentage of the use of this type between men and women is remarkably different. While truncated comprises

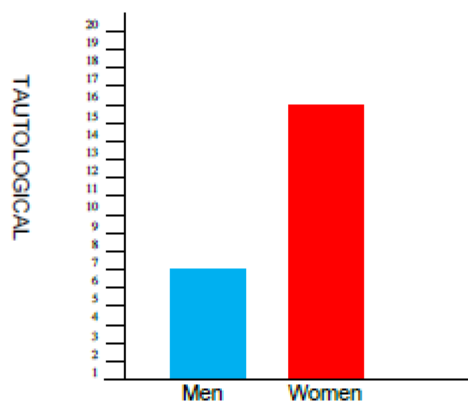
10.97% of men's loans, it represents 20% of women's loanwords. Therefore, this will be highlighted in the discussion.

Figure 3.5c: Mean rank of truncated loanwords



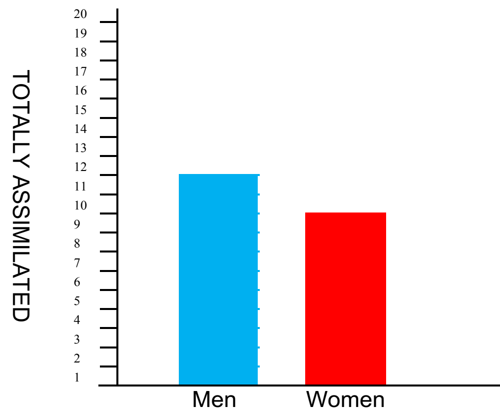
d. **Tautological loans**: The Mann-Whitney U test shows that women use loanwords significantly more than men with (M^{w}=14.85 to M^{m}=6.35), p= 0.001 (Appendix 3.2.3 -5d).

Figure 3.5d: Mean rank of tautological loan-blends



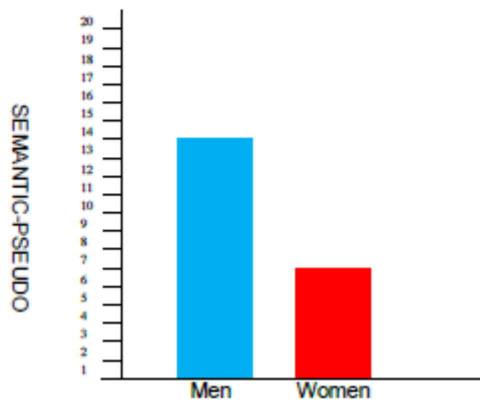
e. **Totally assimilated**: The Mann-Whitney U test did not show statistically significant differences between the two groups with (M^{m}=10.85 to M^{w}=10.15) (Appendix 3.2.3 -5e). However, the percentage of this type of loan represents 5.64% of women's loans, while the percentage in men's loans is only 4.18%. So the mean rank will be considered for comparing the two groups.

Figure 3.5e: Mean rank of totally assimilated loanwords



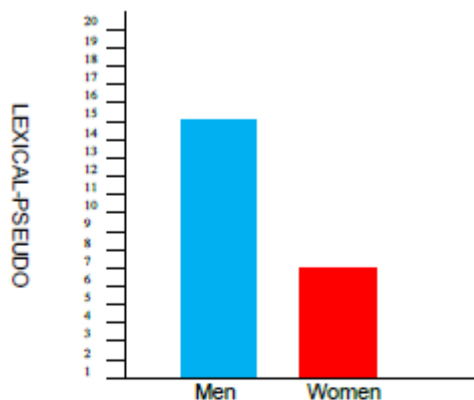
f. **Semantic pseudo-loans**: The Mann-Whitney U test shows that men use semantic pseudo significantly more than women (M^m= 13.25 to M^w= 5.75), *p*=.034 (Appendix 3.2.3 -5f).

Figure 3.5f: Mean rank of semantic pseudo-loans



g. **Lexical-pseudo-loans**: The Mann-Whitney U test shows that men use lexical-pseudo significantly more than women do (M^m= 14.20 to M^w= 6.80), *p*=.003 (Appendix 3.2.3 -5g).

Figure 3.5g: Mean rank of lexical-pseudo-loans



The above significant statistical differences between men and women in the use of loanwords in general are supported by the Mann-Whitney U test. However, the test did not show significant statistical differences in use of some smaller types; earlier numerical review (3.2.2) and upcoming qualitative analysis (3.3.2) suggest differences in the use of such types. It is worthwhile to compare the other individual types of smaller number of loan-types, since the differences between men and women in use of such types is consistent and the qualitative differences are steady (see 3.3.2.1).

h. **The loan-blend types**, which are considered assimilated, did not show statistical significant differences. However, the mean ranks are different and the percentage of women's use of such loans is slightly higher than men's use. Men appear to use a higher percentage of fused and analysed compounds (see 3.2.2), which maintain most of the properties of the source language phonological shape. The fused compound showed men's mean rank higher than women's (M^m=11.05 to M^w=9.95).

Finally, as for the differences between age groups, the test showed significant differences only in pure (imported) loanwords. According to the Mann-Whitney U test, older speakers use pure loanwords significantly more than younger speakers, with reasonable difference in the mean rank (M^m=13.25 to M^w=7.75) p=0.037 (Appendix 3.2.3-5i). The test also indicated marginal significant difference for truncated words, as younger speakers appeared to favour truncated loanwords more than older speakers. This topic merits separate investigation beyond the scope of this thesis.

3.2.4 Summary

The data shows different rates of loanword frequency, differences in the use of loan types and statistical differences in the total score rates of subsets. Nonetheless, men use the two most frequent types of pure loans and pseudo-loans, which maintain their Arabic form, significantly more than women. In contrast, the subsets of formally assimilated types are more frequent in the conversation of women especially the tautological and truncated loan-types and the different types of hybrids. Hence, the differences between the two gender groups lie in the degree of assimilation. While women use more loanwords that have been assimilated in form, men use more pure loanwords and semantically assimilated loanwords, such as pseudo-loans (see 3.2.2.4).

The statistical test suggests that men use the individual loan-types of importation, partial-substitution, semantic pseudo, and lexical pseudo significantly more than women. Conversely, women use the assimilated types of tautological blend, and truncated significantly more than men. For the other smaller individual types of assimilated loans, women use them more and the mean rank of women is higher than men. Lack of significant statistical differences for the smaller loanword types is most probably due to the very low frequency of these types in CK, and consequently, establishing statistical differences within the numbers is not likely. However, considering consistency in use, the percentage of these types and differences in statistical mean rank suggest that women favour the use of hybrids and especially transferred stems and tautological blends. Hence these differences should not be ignored.

In terms of segmental change, the data did not show any differences between the two groups in the alternation of consonants. However, certain differences have been observed regarding vowel change, though the patterns are not sufficient to draw any firm conclusions. For example, men omitted the high back rounded vowel /u/ of *dunya*[A] “world” more because they used the word 15 times, while women used it three times. This suggests a relative tendency rather than a solid pattern. Hybridisation, which occurs more in women’s speech, involves a higher degree of assimilation, meaning that it is not easy to detect their foreignness. This suggests that women tend to use of loanwords that have been assimilated in form.

Older speakers seem to use pure (imported) loanwords more frequently than younger speakers, who seem to use more truncated loanwords. This could be attributed to the fact that younger people tend to use shorter version of words even in their mother tongue.

Lack of statistical significance can be attributed to the small sample size and low rate of loanwords in CK. This is simply because the rate of loanwords in CK is nearly 10% in general CK speech. In addition, 70% of the loanwords are pure loanwords, which show highly significant differences between the two groups. The analysis and comparison of the rest of the 30% loanwords within the 10% of the words shows a small difference. In spite of the small differences, it is very important to make the comparison, as the small differences between the two groups are consistent. The rate of 30% out of 10% of words in the entire data is low, and it was not possible to show significant statistical differences because we are looking into the differences between 20 people in the use of only eight types of words that consist of 318 tokens. Nonetheless, the means are different, and the differences between the two groups in the use of items are consistent. For example, the word *ḧizb*[A] ‘party’ was used consistently by men as a

pure loanword and as partially assimilated by women. The word mādāma[A] 'as long as [it continues]' was used as partially substituted *madem*[K] by men and it was always used as transferred stem, *madam-eçî*[K], by women on all occasions. Another word *dunyā*[A] 'world', was used by men as partially assimilated *dnya*[K] on all occasions, while women used it as a pure loanword *dunya*[K] consistently. Therefore, I consider the means differences in the comparison as long as the use of the types are consistent. We see this consistency in the accommodation strategies as well (see 3.3.2.1).

Certainly, if a test such as bootstrapping, which increases the data size, was compatible for this dataset, it would have revealed some significances for the smaller groups. Nevertheless, closer look at the data shows consistency in the use of the types, which of interest in discussing the differences between the two groups. Qualitative assessment should therefore be considered for the smaller rate types.

The test on total score of subsets proved to be useful to tackle possible doubts over the small sample size. For example, only two types of pseudo-loans showed significant results but in spite of difference in mean ranks, the third did not show significance due to the small rate. However, the total score of the subset of all the pseudo types revealed highly significant differences between men and women. The same is true for the small types of assimilated loanwords.

3.3 The typology of loanwords

The limited amount of work on Kurdish language contact situations has overlooked the effect of social factors on the outcomes of the contact. Moreover, it has also only approached a thorough investigation into the influence of foreign language on written Kurdish to the best of my knowledge (see 1.3.5). The previous works on Kurdish contact with Arabic did not consider social factors in the analysis. Abdulla (1980) analyses the morphology and phonology of loanwords, including Arabic loans. He examines written literary works with a focus on purism rather than an investigation into social factors. He looks into the effect of the parts of speech on Kurdish rather than exploring the treatment of such elements. He also excludes verbs from his analysis. This section, therefore, contributes a valuable investigation into the typology of loanwords in spoken Kurdish and their correlation with social factors. It investigates the results of Kurdish contact with Arabic through the analysis of the use of loanwords. It analyses variation in the use of loanwords of different parts of speech by men and women in spoken CK. This section starts with an overview of the frequencies of the different loanwords, the hierarchy, and then variation in the use of different parts of speech. The parts of speech that are analysed and compared in this section are mainly nouns, adjectives, verbal nouns, adjectives, prepositions, verbs, verbs that have lost their verbal functions and are used as discourse markers or conjunctures in Kurdish (hereafter: ex-verb), adverbs, and smaller numbers of particles.

3.3.1 Overall frequencies of loanword categories

Starting with an overview of loanword frequencies in the data, the following section presents the frequency and the hierarchy of parts of speech, and the frequency of loanwords. This is followed by an overview of the loanwords of both groups. The section concludes with a comparison between men and women and highlights the differences and similarities in the number and frequency of loanwords of different parts of speech.

It is worth mentioning that the frequencies and the rates have both been presented due to the fact that the numbers of words produced by the two groups are relatively different. Therefore, it is necessary to present the rates in percentages rather than relying on raw numbers.

3.3.1.1 Frequency and hierarchy of types

The data shows that the frequency and hierarchy of parts of speech in men’s and women’s

speech are different. Table 3.4 shows the highest ranking from the left to the lowest ranking on the right:

Table 3.4: The rate and hierarchy of parts of speech in data

	Noun	Adjective	Verbal Noun	Adverb	Ex-verb	Comparative Adjective	Pre-position	Verb	Other
Number	1078	280	177	57	52	37	37	20	15
Percentage	61.92	16.08	10.17	3.27	2.99	2.13	2.13	1.15	0.86

The table shows that nouns are the most frequently borrowed items from Arabic into Kurdish, followed by adjectives, verbal nouns, and ex-verbs. Apart from the differences in the frequency of loanwords, the results do not show remarkable differences in the ranking and rates of borrowable parts of speech between men and women.

The rate differences between the two groups are apparent from the highest-ranking item (see Table 3.5). However, nouns are the most frequent types in the conversation of both groups. It is clear that the proportion of nouns in men's conversation is higher than in women's.

Table 3.5: The rate and of borrowed parts of speech in both groups

		Men			Women	
Part of speech		Number	Percentage		Number	Percentage
Noun		682	64.5		374	57.74
Adjective		190	17.66		90	13.53
Verbal noun		108	10.04		69	10.38
Adverb		24	2.23		33	5.86
Ex-verb		13	1.95		39	4.96
Adjective comp		16	1.49		21	3.16
Preposition		21	1.21		16	2.41
Verb		11	1.02		9	1.35
Others		11	1.02		4	0.6

Nouns comprise 64.5% of men's loanwords, whereas they comprise only 57.74% of women's. Adjectives are ranked second in both groups, as they constitute 17.66% of the men's

conversation and 13.53% of the women's. The frequency rate of verbal nouns in both groups is close in comparison to other types, but women are still slightly ahead with 10.38% compared to 10.04% for men. For the other main parts of speech, i.e. adverbs, ex-verbs, comparison adjectives (adjective comp), prepositions and verbs, the frequency rate in the women's speech is higher than the men's, as shown in Table 3.8. Other particles showed a slightly higher frequency lead for the men than the women.

3.3.2 Variations in the use of parts of speech

The Arabic loanwords in the data comprise different parts of speech. The extent of the borrowing and the type of borrowed items are affected by different factors and motivations of borrowing. As discussed in 3.2.3, the loanwords have undergone different levels of assimilation. The various degrees of assimilation require different accommodation strategies to suit Kurdish patterns. Furthermore, the extent of change and the degree of assimilation depends on the morphosyntax of the receiving language as well as the socio-economic factors related to the speakers.

For example, word A is borrowed by two different languages, X and Y, but it is very likely that X and Y would treat A differently, according to their own morphosyntax. Lexical elements in the same language are used and pronounced differently according to differences in the social status and other factors relating to the speakers (see Labov 1972, Trudgill 1972, Romaine 2003). The reception and treatment of borrowed elements are also likely to be different for users from different social classes.

Another factor that affects the use of loanwords is the extent of borrowability of the lexical item (Haugen 1950:224, Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009:5 and 2010:229, Muysken 1994:41-42, Myers-Scotton 2002:238, Moravcsik 1978:11 and others).[64] According to Moravcsik (1978:11), the universal trend is that nouns seem to be borrowed more easily than other parts of speech, while Winford (2010:178) argues, "lexical categories that exhibit a higher degree of morphological complexity tend to resist borrowing more." As borrowing verbs generally involves more complexity due to conjugation, verb borrowing is harder (Whitney 1881, Haugen 1950, Marovcsik 1978, Muysken 1994, 2000, Wichmann 2005, Haspelmath 2009). Parts of speech are borrowable at different rates and scales, (Muysken 1981:121) and the scale of borrowability can differ from one language to another. Apart from language-specific factors

[64] See: Heine & Kuteva 2002, Swadesh 1995, Thomason & Kaufman 1998, Sankoff 1970, Dyen et al 1967, Lohr 1999, Johanson 2002, Matras 1998, and Field 2002.

(Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 348), the correlation between the use of loanwords and social background of the speakers may affect the rate of loanwords within the same community. According to Muysken (1994:42):

> A very important factor involves one of the primary motivations for lexical borrowing, that is, to extend the referential potential of a language. Since reference is established primarily through nouns, these are the elements borrowed most easily.

This explains why the proportion of borrowed nouns is higher than other parts of speech, as they are in most languages not complex in terms of conjugation, and therefore form a higher proportion of loanwords than other parts of speech. As far as the extra linguistic factors are concerned, the intensity of contact between the languages and their situation in society is another dynamic that may affect the scale of borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:72). Therefore, all parts of speech could eventually be borrowed as a result of constant contact. However, these claims do not indicate definite consensus about the scale of borrowability, as they vary according to the morphological complexity of the parts of speech and the process of borrowing as well as efforts for adaptation that may be considered major factors.

In the following sections, I examine different parts of speech that have been borrowed from Arabic. The discussion and analysis of parts of speech does not follow the order of their borrowability. Instead, it is organised according to what seems substantial for accommodation strategies. Therefore, loan-verbs will be given priority in the analysis, then nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions. As the proportions of the other particles are not substantial, they are not considered in this comparison.

3.3.2.1 Loan-verbs

In the course of language contact, according to Weinreich (1953:29), all elements of language are borrowable, so grammatical items are subject to transfer as well as lexical items and inflectional endings. So, the great degree of lexical borrowing observed in the data shows that all main parts of speech have been borrowed from Arabic into Kurdish (Table 3.4). Yet, as explained above, the Kurdish men and women borrowed different parts of speech at different rates. It is evident that borrowability of certain elements in the language is more prominent, but in general, verbs are not the most popular for borrowing (Winford 2010:178). In some instances, particular derivations or "a light-verb like 'to do' is required to accommodate the loan verb", and

"in some rare cases a language may borrow entire inflectional paradigms along with the verb" (Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2005:1).

Prior to the analysis, it is necessary to define the term loan-verb. Verbal borrowing entails non-casual borrowing of a verb that has been broadly used by speakers of the receiving language (Wohlgemuth 2009: 67):

> A loan-verb is an established borrowed lexical item (i.e. not one inserted ad-hoc), which can count as a verb (or is predominantly "verby", i.e. an action word that prototypically serves as the head of a predicate phrase), both in the recipient (borrowing) and in the donor (source) language.

The term verbal borrowing in this work expands slightly beyond the scope of Wohlgemuth's definitions, as he excludes words that are not "verby" or "action words", either in the receiving or the donor language. This is because of the nature of the donor language in this case study. In Arabic, a verbal noun (*al-maṣdar*) acts as a verb in a way that requires a subject and an object in certain uses (al-Ġalāyinī 1993:276). Therefore, when these items are used in a sense to express action within the Kurdish construct, they are considered as verbal borrowing. Hence, the analysis considers verbal borrowing to be lexical items that have been considered as a verb either by the donor or by the receiving language. For this reason, loan-verbs include lexical items that are verbal nouns in Arabic and used as verbs. They also include items that were verbs in the donor language but are used as a different part of speech in the receiving language.

Certain loan-verbs have been imported into Kurdish in their full Arabic form, despite noticeable grammatical and morphological differences between Arabic and Kurdish. Others have undergone accommodation to fit into the Kurdish system.[65] This is in contrast to the general notion that claims borrowed verbs "can never be included in the set of borrowed properties" (Moravcsik 1978: 111).

Generally, borrowed verbs go through adaptation. The borrowed verb can be treated with the insertion of verb stems, that are conjugated according to the receiving language forms. Adaptation can also occur through the insertion of light-verbs[66] (Wichman and Wohlgemuth 2005:1). Borrowing verbs with their entire inflections is not easy, especially when the two

[65] I prefer to use the term "accommodation" regarding the use of verbal loans rather than the term adaptation. I find the term "accommodation" more appropriate in terms of describing the process of using loan-verbs. This is because verbal loans are not very easy to adapt like other parts of speech and need accommodation rather than adaptation, especially if they are used as verbs in the receiving language.

[66] For more on light-verbs see 3.3.2.1.4.

languages are from different language families.

Arabic verbs in Kurdish have been through the accommodation processes of Paradigm Insertion, Light-Verb Strategy, and Indirect Insertion. The Light-Verb Strategy, however, could be more suitable to the discussion of verbal noun borrowing because the light-verb insertions are used mostly with Arabic verbal nouns in order to form Kurdish specific compound verbs. Moreover, as verbal nouns that are analysed in this section are part of compound verbs in Kurdish, it is more logical to include them with loan-verbs. It is also noteworthy to see Arabic nouns shifting into verbs through insertion of affixes and LVs.

As can be seen in the following sections, verbs have been used as verbs, but certain verbs shifted to other categories such as discourse markers, particularly in women's conversation. The verbs covered in this chapter are the following most frequently used verbs: *yaʿnī*[A] 'means', *mā-dāma*[A] 'as long as it continues' -or 'lasts', *ḥāwala*[A] 'to attempt', *daʿā*[A] 'call [for]', *ḥasab*[A] 'account [for]', *baḥṯ*[A] 'discuss' or 'search', *ʾašāra*[A] 'referred [to]' or 'point at', and *xalaq*[A] 'create'.

As shown in Table 3.5, verbs are among the least frequent loanwords in general. The rate of verbs that are used by the women in the data represents 6.31% of their total loanwords; around 4.96% of these verbs were not used as verbs but as hedges and discourse markers (see 3.3.2.1.1). Meanwhile, verbs represent only 2.97% of the loanwords used by the men and 1.95% were not used as verbs. I will now discuss paradigm insertions, followed by other strategies.

3.3.2.1.1 Paradigm Insertion

Paradigm Insertion entails borrowing verbs without morphological adaptation into the borrowing language and preserving most parts of the loan-verb in the receiving language (Wohlgemuth 2009:118). More on this can be found in Curnow (2001:429), Aikhenvald (2007:19), Gardani (2008:84) and Wohlgemuth (2009:119-123).

The paradigm insertion strategy is used in the accommodation of *yeʿnî*[67] '[it] means', which is the most frequent loan-verb in the data and occurred 58 times. Its use does not involve morphological or phonological adaptation. However, certain trends have been observed in terms

[67] One may argue that *yeʿnî* has been borrowed from the spoken Arabic. However, two facts suggest otherwise. Firstly, no other noteworthy feature in the women's data sample indicates that they have been influenced by spoken Arabic. There is no reason to consider *yeʿnî* to be from spoken Arabic.

of the difference between the two groups.

The word *yeʿnî* was used in its full form with no phonological assimilation. Nonetheless, it has gone through a drastic semantic and functional shift in Kurdish. It was used by the speakers in three different categories: (1) as a verb; (2) as a connector; and (3) as a discourse marker. The word occurred 26 times in the speech of the men and 32 times in the speech of the women. However, the women's usage of the verb differs largely from its usage by the men. Women used the verb as a verb only on six occasions out of 32. They used it as a conjunction or discourse marker the other 24 times, across different speakers and over different age ranges.

The verb *yeʿnî* 'means' occurs in the initial or middle position in the Arabic sentence, in accordance to Arabic VSO or SVO word order (footnote 52 in 2.4.3.1.1e). Furthermore, the functioning verb *yeʿnî* precedes an explanation of a previously mentioned statement. However, in women's conversation, it did not precede any explanation and it was only a hedge (see (7), (8), and (9)).

On one occasion, the verb was used in the final position of the sentence in parallel with Kurdish SOV word order. This use by a woman may have been intended to assimilate the word into Kurdish, but this cannot be generalised because the verb was used only once in agreement with Kurdish word order. This issue merits a further dedicated study on the use of loan-verbs in social classes. The following examples show different uses of *yeʿnî* by the men and women:

Women

(7)	*ʾewan*	*zőrbey*	*here*	*zőr-yan*	*yeʿnî*	*basî*	*ʾewe*	*ʾeken*
	they	majority	vast	more-3PL.CL	DM[68]	mention	this	do.PRS-3PL

'Their vast majority, it means, talk about this to …'

(8)	*ʾêma*	*be-rastî*	*yeʿnî*	*qet*	*rojekî=š*	*le*	*rőjan*	*trs-î*	*ʾewe-man*	*nîy-e*
	we	truly	DM	never	day-INDF=ADD	of	day.PL	fear-LNK	that.POSS	NEG-be.PRS-3SG

'We in fact, it means, were not afraid even for one moment about shortcomings …'

Women

(9)	*beĺam*	*yeʿnî*	*hešbw-e*	*ka*	*nasrawe*
	but	DM	there-be. PRS-3SG	that	know.PST.PTCP

'But there were, it means, people who were known.'

Secondly, men had intensive contact with the Arab community through work, compulsory military service, education, business and travel. Accordingly, men should have been using *yeʿnî* more frequently and in the same way as the proposed spoken varieties, but they do not use it as such.

[68] *yeʿnî* 'means' is used as a discourse marker. It will be glossed as DM (see footnote 51).

Men

(10)) *qebul* *ne-krdrdn-î* *ciyawazî* *yeʿnî* *rageyandn* *qebulî* *jyawazî* *nîye*

accept NEG-do.IMP-LNK difference mean.PRS-3SG media endure difference NEG-be.PRS-3SG

'Not accepting differences means the media does not tolerate differences.'

(11) *sûtandn-î* *serwet-î* *kesêk* *yeʿnî* *cerime*

burning-LNK wealth-LNK someone mean.PRS-3SG crime

'Setting fire to someone's wealth means a criminality.'

(12) *ke* *djî* *gel* *bê* *yeʿnî* *xaʾin -e*

when against nation be.PRS-3SG mean.PRS-3SG traitor.be.1SG

'When he is against the nation, it means he is a traitor.'

(13) *mn* *gutar-î* *taybet-î* *xőm* *nebî* *yeʿnî*

1SG view-LNK special own NEG-be.PRS-3SG mean.

natwan-m *ra-y* *xőm* *derb.brm*

NEG-able-1SG opinion-LNK own. 1SG express.PRS-1SG

'[If] I do not have my own view, this means I cannot express my own opinion.'

Older speakers tend to use ex-verbs and especially *yeʿnî* more frequently than younger speakers. The data shows that the verb went through significant assimilation in the speech of the women because it was used in a different context, losing its Arabic function to a certain extent. As examples (7-9) from the women's speech show, they use *yeʿnî* widely with a very different function from the original meaning of the word in the donor language. In contrast, examples (10-13) show that men tend to use the item as verb.

3.3.2.1.2 Indirect Insertion

The less widely used strategy cross-linguistically, where the loan-verb undergoes adaptation through affixation, is also used in Kurdish. Such affixes are verbalizers. However, sometimes such suffixes have the sole function of morphosyntactically accommodating the loan-verb (Wohlgemuth 2009: 94). Sometimes, affixes have no verbalization function as can be seen in the case of *madam-eçî* '[as long as it] continues', where the function is pragmatic (see 3.3.2.1.3).

The only indirect insertion that was found in the speech of men was through affixation in order to accommodate the loan-verb *xalaq*[A] 'create' into *bxulqên-n* through the prefix *b-* and the suffix *-ên-n* to the original verb as in (14):

(14)	*her*	*štêk*	*le*	*šew- w*	*rojekda*	*bő*	*xeĺk*	*bɨ-xuĺq-ên-n*
	any	thing	at	night=ADD	day-INDF	for	people	IMP-be.create-3PL

'To create something for people instantly…'

The data does not show large numbers of this kind of usage but it is consistent throughout, (see 3.1.5.3. and 3.2.4). According to my own observations of Kurdish, there are numerous examples of such constructions, for example *bî-xaflên-n* 'to fool him', *bî-xemlên-n* 'to estimate', *bî-rfên-n* 'abduct', *bî-çewsên-n* 'persecute' and many others.

3.3.2.1.3 Paradigm Insertion vs. Indirect Insertion

Arabic is known to have a set of specific weak verbs, which have the effect of shifting the predicate of an equational sentence from the nominative case to the accusative (Hasan 1987:545). The verb *mā-dāma*[A] 'as long as it continues' is an Arabic weak verb that occurred in the data. Nevertheless, it maintained its Arabic negation particle *mā*. It was treated differently by both gender groups. The men substituted the open unrounded long vowel /a:/ with the shorter Kurdish open unrounded short vowel *a* (see Table 3.6).

The women used the indirect insertion strategy via employing the enclitic *-eçî* [69] to accommodate *mā-dāma* consistently on all occasions. However, men used the lexeme as *madem*[K], (see (15)) which differed from the women's usage in two ways. Firstly, the men altered the Arabic open unrounded long vowel /a:/ to the shorter vowel, /e/ in the second syllable and women did not make this change. Secondly, the women added the enclitic *-eçî*, (examples (16) and (17)) which does not carry any grammatical function. This enclitic in the women's speech is one of the clear distinctions between men and women in the use of loan-verbs. In addition, women's use of the enclitic *-eçî* seems an effort to use the verb in a form that resembles native Kurdish words. This manner of use is consistent with the use of transferred stem loan-types, where women resort to the transferred stem loanwords that comprise an Arabic stem and a Kurdish suffix, leading to the creation of neologisms. This strategy was used by women even for

[69] This enclitic is widely used by in the Kurdish community with other foreign elements like *ˀelʿan-eçi* 'now' and different native words such as *henukaneçi* 'as now' and *êrukan-eçi* 'just here', *egernaw-eçi-ne* 'if not', *and balan-eçi* 'but'.

the nativisation of prepositions, where women affixed enclitics to the preposition *ḥattā*[A] and shifted it to *ta-ku*[K] or *heta-ku* (see 3.3.6).

Table 3.6: The use of *mā-dāma*[A] 'as long as it continues.'

Arabic form	*mā-dāma*[A]	Change
Women	*madam-eçî*	vowel alternation + enclitic *eçî*
Men	*madem*	only vowel alternation

Men

(15) *madem* *ʾem* *çwarçêweye* *heye* *bő*
as long as this framework exist.PRS-3SG for

pênase *krdnewe-y* *rőjnamegerî*
definition redo.IMP.3SG-LNK journalism

'As long as this framework exists for re-definition of journalism....'

Women

(16) *madam-eçî* *heĺbjardn* *djardeyek-î* *lew*
as long as. election phenomenon-INDF-LNK of

çešne-ye *serkewtn -e* *bő* *gel*
type-be.PRS-SG victory-be.PRS-3SG for nation

'As long as an election event is of this type, it is victory for the people.'

(17) *madam-eçî* *ʾefret* *rê-y* *pêrdrawe* *bő* *bešdarî* *krdn*
as long as woman way-LNK give.PRS-PTCP to participate do.PRS-PRF

'As long as a woman is allowed to participate in elections.'

As shown in examples (15-17), the main difference between men and women in the use of the verb is the employment of -*eçî* by women. This element is used in general speech in CK with verbal and non-verbal elements like *ʾelʿan-eçî* 'now' and *beĺan-eçî* 'but', which is mostly associated with women's speech and less educated speech (Shakely 2018). The affixation consequently makes the speech sound more Kurdish and closer to the prestigious standard form that disfavours foreign elements in Kurdish (see 1.2.2.7). As mentioned above, women's

tendencies to use the standard and prestigious forms were considered a trend in numerous studies (see Labov 1972, Herring 1993, and Tannen 1991). The use of this enclitic, which does not make any semantic difference, exclusively by women, can be seen as suggestive of women's attempt to project their feminine identity by affixation and to distinguish their language even in the use of foreign elements (see 3.4.3.1).

3.3.2.1.4 Light-Verb Strategy

The Light-Verb Strategy entails using borrowed items with a light-verb (LV henceforth) in the receiving language to create a verbal form. This is the most frequent accommodation strategy that has occurred in the data. This strategy involves a complex construction, which the aforementioned strategies did not require because they were applied without morphological alteration by the insertion of functioning verbs.

LV construction in Kurdish involves a non-verb element and a light-verb that would be either a prefix+verb or a non-verb element+verb (Haig 2002:22-23). The components of the construction together are considered a verb (Traidïa 2006). The non-verbal element can be (a) a particle as in *der-krd* 'expel'; (b) an adjective, as in *gewre-krd* 'grow'; or (c) a noun/verbal noun, such as *maç-krd* 'kiss'. According to Gündoğdu (2015:383) and Haig (2002:21), the components of such Noun-Verb Complex Predicates are bound together as a single item, special construction via a verbal prefix.

However, in NV sequences, in some cases the N functions as an independent phrase, an object of V, and can be separated. In other instances, N is a verbal noun and cannot be separated (Kareem 2016:149 and 175). Furthermore, speakers and context of the language use can also affect the possibility of separation. In the subjunctive mood and passive, parts are more often bound together. Nonetheless, the data suggests that women frequently separate the parts where partition was not necessary, particularly in hybrid LV construction. They separated the parts on almost all occasions (see (23)).

The most frequent LVs in the data is *krd* 'make' or 'do'. It occurred 435 times in the data. While women used 44 loanword items with the LV *krd*, to form hybrid LV construction, men used 74 items to form a verb. Taking into account the percentage of loanwords used by each group, separation between the borrowed item and the Kurdish LV is more prominent in the speech of the women (Table: 3.7).

Table 3.7: Frequency of LVs and percentage of their separation.

	Women LV	Women separated LV		Men LV	Men separated LV		Total
Native Kurdish	144	64 → 44.44%		173	41 → 23%		317
With Arabic NV	44	31 → 70%		74	22 → 28%		118
Total	188	95		247	31		435

Although the analysis in this section follows qualitative method, a small statistical test was conducted for verification of the use of LVs. The Mann Whitney U test result showed that women separate LV construction significantly more than men (U=16.000, p=0.014). Accordingly, women across all age groups separate the two parts of the hybrid LV more significantly than men do. The two components are far from each other on most occasions. Hence, the word order SOV is implemented. In contrast, men mainly form the compound verb without separation between the two compounds. When they are separate them, the components are not very distant from each other more often (examples (18-27)).

Considering the context in which the hybrid verb is used shows that women delayed the verb to the end of the statement, seemingly as an attempt to adhere to the standard CK SOV construction. However, in standard CK, a long separation between the parts of the compound verb is not very common, unless the construction and context requires it. When women do not separate the components, it is mostly in instances where separation is not common, as in passive and subjunctive mood, as well as in expressions such as *drûst-dekat* 'makes', *drő-dekat* 'lies', and *rast-dekat* 'tells truth', which cannot be separated. Only on rare occasions did women not separate the components in the passive, as in (18a). They separated them in hybrid, as in (18b):

(18a) *dewr* *terxan* *kra* (native)
role allocation do.PASS.PST-3SG
'role was allocated.'

(18b) *jn* *ẍedr-î* *lê* *dekretn* (hybrid)
woman unfairness-LNK against do.PASS.PRS-3SG
'The Woman is being treated unfairly '

Interestingly, the data showed an instance where two similar expressions appeared in the speech of both groups with native elements and it was used very differently in terms of separation, as in (18c-d):

(18c) Men

xelḱi	*bešdar-î*	*bken*	*lê*	*heĺbjardn*
people	participation-LNK	do-SUBJ.3PL	in	election

'people participate in the elections.'

(18d) Women

'ewaney	*bešdar-î*	*lê*	*heĺbjardn*	*bken*
those.DM.LNK	participation-LNK	in	election	do-SUBJ.3PL

'those who participate in the elections.'

The examples above show the item *bešdar-î bken* 'to participate' is used unseparated by men, while women separated the components.

The subjunctive mostly keeps the components together. However, it appeared that women were moderate on this rule, particularly in regard to the use of hybrid compounds, as in (19a):

(19a) a.

mešueret	*legel*	*kőmelêk*	*dezga-y*	*prőfêšnal*	*bkat*
consult	with	group-INDF	body-LNK	professional	do-SUBJ.3SG

'To consult a number of professional bodies.'

b.

tedexul	*le*	*karwbar-î*	*deseĺat-î*	*cêbecê-krdn*	*bkat*
intervene	with	affair.PL-LNK	authority-LNK	executive	do-SUBJ.3SG

'Intervenes in the affairs of the executive authority.'

However, on one occasion the subjunctive was not separated by women, as the construction was with NV element *drûst* 'make', which does not normally separate from the light-verb, as in the following (19b).

(19b)

gešepedan-î	*ʾîdarî*	*bő*	*rahenan-î*	*karmendan-î*	*ḧkûmî*
development-LNK	administrative	for	train-LNK	staff.PL-LNK	governmental

drûst	*bkey*
make	do.SUBJ

‘To offer training on administrative development to civil servants.’

From the examples above it appears that women’s use of compound verbs is more careful and suggestive of an attempt of making a statement (see below 3.4.3). This is because most often the women made a long separation between the Arabic item and the Kurdish LV, where it was possible to use the light verb in a manner similar to that of the men. In order to test this further, I will compare the men’s and women’s use of three other more frequent hybrid LV constructions.

The Arabic item mentioned in the above example *baḥṯ* ‘to discuss’ occurred 42 times in combination with the light-verb *krd* on all occasions. It was used 26 times by the men and 16 times by the women. It is also worth mentioning that the item has been through phonological change equally in both groups. The pharyngeal *ḥ* has been omitted and the voiceless dental fricative *ṯ* has been shifted into alveolar voiced *s*, which always happens because Kurdish does not have a voiceless dental fricative *ṯ* and the pharyngeal is not original Kurdish.
For example, women seemed to separate the element *bas* and the LV, as in (20a):

(20a) Components of compound verb

ʾew	*bas-î*	*šar -î*	*kerkûk*	*dekat*
he	discuss-LNK	city-LNK	Kirkuk	do.PRS-3SG

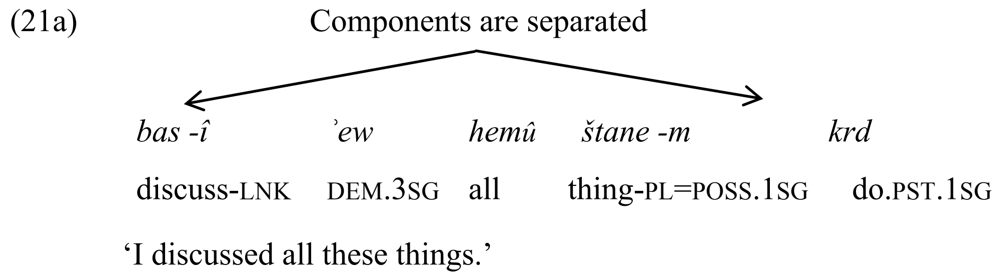
‘He discusses the city of Kirkuk [situation].’

It could be expressed as:

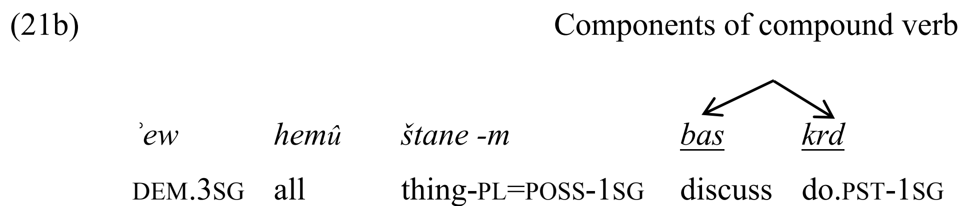
(20b) Components of compound verb

ʾew	*šar -î*	*kerkuk*	*bas*	*dekat*
he	city-LNK	Kirkuk	discuss	do.PRS-3SG

In the following example, the attempt at separation and seeking distinction seems more obvious:



It could be far more natural to say:



The women used *bas* ‘discuss’ with LV 16 times. They separated the components on 11 occasions, including in cases of subjunctives. It was not separated on five occasions. Four of the occasions were subjunctive or passive. The men used *bas* ‘discuss’ 26 times. They made a separation on 10 occasions and joined them on 16. However, apart from four cases of subjunctive, separation of components was possible, but they did not separate the components.

The separation of borrowed non-verbal elements and the LV leads to the formation of SOV pattern. It also requires the listener to continue listening to hear the complete message. The expression of the stem and the Kurdish LV together gives the core idea of the sentence. This strategy of engaging the listener has been noted as a trend in women’s speech in general (Tannen 2006) and women’s interest in rapport. This separation between the components of the light-verb occurred in the speech of women at all age groups. Therefore, it cannot be attributed to a factor other than gender.

The Arabic verbal noun *ḥisāb* ‘calculation’ or ‘accounting [for]’ occurred 10 times in the data and it is used only by the men to form hybrid compound verbs. The verb is only used in the present and future tense *ḧisab-bkeyn*[K] ‘we [have to] account for’ and *ḧisab-dekeyn* ‘we [will] account for’. The construct of *ḧisab* + LV is very similar to the construction of the compound verb construction with *baḥṯ*[A] insofar as it keeps the two components closer together rather than separating them. The data showed that the word was used exclusively by older men (see

examples (22-25)). The younger men and women used neither the word nor its equivalents *jmardn* or *hejmar-krdn*. This may be for two reasons. Firstly, this item was passed to Kurdish through the older education system and older political environment. Secondly, it may indicate the fact that women were less involved in politics in the past, resulting in the limitation of the use of such political terms. It may also show that the word appeared old-fashioned to younger men and women, with implications for their word choice.

Components of compound verb

(22) *le* *šêwazek-î* *hunerya* *ḧisab-î* *bke-y*
in style-INDF-LNK artistic count-LNK IMP-do.2PL
'Consider it as an artistic style.'

Components of compound verb

(23) *çend* *ḧisab* *dekey-n* *bő* *dewr = w* *pšt*
how count do.PRS-1PL for surround= and back
'How much do we account for our surroundings?'

Components of compound verb

(24) *çend* *ḧisab* *dekey-n* *ke* *ˀême ...*
how count do.PRS-1PL that 1PL
'How much do we account for that we …'

Ccomponents of compound verb

(25) *yek* *le* *wuĺatan-î* *dike* *ke* *ḧîsab-yan* *bő* *dekey ...*
one of country-PL-LNK other that account. 3PL.CL for do.PRS-2SG
'Another country that you count for is ...'

It must be mentioned that the item *ḧisab* was used six times by an older male speaker and once by another from the same group. Any occasion of separation should be considered as personal style rather than as a group pattern of men men.

Another loan-verb *muʿāmalat*^{A} ‘handling’ or ‘dealing [with]’ occurred in the data for the formation of hybrid compound verbs. The word occurred eight times in men’s conversation and occurred twice in women’s. The men combined the Arabic item and the Kurdish LV together with no separation as in (26). The women separated the two components, placing the light-verb in the final position of the sentence. The data also showed that some other loan-verbs did not occur in the speech of the women and were used only by the men. For example, the political term *taškīl* ‘formation’ was totally merged with the Kurdish LV on three occasions. The following examples, (26) and (27), show how men and women use the element *mameĺe*^{K} differently:

(26) Men — Components of compound verb: *mameĺe* / *dekat-n*

be-dîmukratyane	*legeĺ*	*ʾencame-kan-î*	*heĺbjardn*	*mameĺe*	*dekat-n*
democratically	with	result-PL-LNK	election	deal	do.PRS-3SG

‘Deals with the election results democratically.’

(27) Women — Components of compound verb: *mameĺe-y* / *ne-ke - yn*

zőr	*be-wryayî*	*mameĺe-y*	*legeĺ da*	*ne-ke - yn*
very	carefully	deal-LNK	with=ADD	NEG-do.PRS-1PL

‘We do not deal with it carefully.’

In fact, men used the item on two occasions and did not separate the components, while women separated the components whenever they occurred. However, for the loanword *dawa* ‘to call’, it occurred in combination with LV 10 times in women’s speech and four in men’s (also, see 3.3.3.1 examples (28-30)).

The particular use of loan-verbs by women is different from men in terms of the adaptation of the elements into Kurdish. Some can argue that women in the era between the World War One and 1991 uprising were disadvantaged and that they may lack eloquence and full command of the language of politics. This is refuted simply because the level of education of

the two groups of speakers is very similar, they are similarly qualified, and some women are perhaps better educated than the men. This means the use of loanwords and expressions in a particular manner is intentional. We could have concluded otherwise if the women were not as educated as the men and had not been involved in public life. We can suggest that women's particular use of language elements is suggestive of marking their own style.

3.3.3 Loan-nouns

Nouns are easily borrowed, as "their insertion in another language is less disruptive of predicate - argument structure than insertions of any content morphemes assigning thematic roles 'i.e. verbs but also prepositions and predicate adjectives'" (Myers-Scotton 2002:240, and see Van Hout and Muysken 1994:41, 1998:303, and 2.4.3.1.1 in this thesis).

The scale of noun borrowability from Arabic into Kurdish seems to reflect the trend described by Matras, Van Hout and Muysken, as Arabic and Kurdish are from two different language families, unlike Haugen's case study (see 1.3.2.1 and 2.4.3.1.1.), because all levels of the language systems in Arabic and Kurdish are different. Another important factor, according to Vennemann (2000:233-269) is that people borrow political nouns from foreign rulers, which may explain why noun borrowing is especially high in the domain of politics in Kurdish.

In political and electoral domains from which the data of this chapter was taken, it is not unusual to observe the overflow of Arabic loan-nouns. This is because the region was ruled by governments who claimed to be Arab nationalist, for nearly a century and Arabic was the language of politics and of all other domains. Therefore, such terms and nouns are rooted in Kurdish and the nouns that are used may be considered as basic or core vocabulary for the topic. The borrowed nouns, particularly the verbal nouns, have often been employed in the formation of compound verbs in Kurdish through the use of the Kurdish element *krd* 'do/make' or *krdn* 'doing/making' and their derivatives. However, the verbification of Arabic nouns in the form of a single simple verb is rare.

3.3.3.1 Verbal nouns

Men and women used Arabic verbal nouns extensively. While some elements were used as nouns, others were verbalized and used as a component of compound verbs, as was discussed in 3.3.2.1.4. This section includes the verbal nouns that were used as part of a compound verb on some occasions and as a noun on other occasions by both groups.

This section covers three verbal nouns that are used by the speakers and are viable for comparison, starting with the word *daʿwa*[A] 'to call [for]' or 'request'. This item occurred 10 times in the women's conversation and only four times in the men's. The women seemed to use the element in verbal contexts more frequently. They verbalized the element through combination with the native Kurdish LV *krd* 'did', as in examples (28-29). In contrast, the men used them as verbal nouns (for example see (30-31)).

Women

(28)	*dawa*	*le*	*serőç-î*	*ḧukmet*	*deka*
	request	from	head-LNK	government	do.PRS-3SG
	'He requests from the prime minister.'				

(29)	*le*	*kőbunewe-da*	*dawa-y*	*lê*	*bken*
	in	meeting	request-LNK	from	SBJV-do-3PL
	'To ask him in the meeting.'				

Men

(30)	*cêbecê*	*krdn-î*	*ʾew*	*dawakaryane*
	enforce	do-LNK	this-DEM.SG	request-PL
	'Answering these requests …'			

(31)	*ʾêsta*	*dawakarî*	*ʾewe*	*heye*
	now	request	this- DEM.SG	exist.be.PRS-3SG
	'Now there is such a request.'			

The women used the word more substantially in verbal contexts, as they separated the Arabic item from the Kurdish LV eight out of 10 times. In the meantime, the men used *daʿwa*[A] four times. On two occasions, they used the word in verbal context with no separation between the two components. This item has also undergone phonological change as both groups dropped the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/, which is not considered native Kurdish, and alternated the short vowel with a longer vowel.

Another verbal noun *tamām*[A] 'completion' was used by both groups across the age ranges. All the speakers equally alternated the nasal bilabial /m/ with the bilabial approximant [w], so it became *tewaw*[K] with no phonological necessity for the alternation.[70] The word occurred eight

[70] The nasal bilabial [m] often alternates to bilabial approximant [w] in other words, for example, *salām*[A] becomes *sĺaw* in Kurdish. This is also true in some sub-dialectal variations, as *dem* 'mouth' becomes *dew*.

times in men's speech and seven times in women's. Interestingly, it was used as a noun, adjective, adverb and part of a compound verb on other occasions as in the following examples:

a) adjective

(32)	*ˀewe*	*pêydewtrê*	*bername-y*	*tewawker*
	this	call.PASS.PRS-3SG	programme-LNK	completing

'This is called the completing programme.'

b) adverb

(33)	*xeĺk*	*bgene*	*ˀew*	*radeye*	*be-tewawî*	*deng*
	people	IMP-reach-3PL	this-DEM.SG	level	completely	Vote
	be	*jn*	*bden*			
	for	woman	IMP-give-3PL			

'People reach this level to vote completely for women.'

c) part of compound verb

(34)	*kőntről-î*	*snûrekan*	*tewaw*	*bkan*
	control-LNK	border-DEF-PL	complete	IMP-do-3PL

'Complete the control of the borders.'

The variation of the use of the item is not exclusive to a particular gender group as both groups used it in different ways. Variation occurred in the speech of men who used it as a verb on three occasions, as in (35), (36), and (37), while women used it as a verb only once (38).

(35)	*heĺmet-î*	*heĺbjardn*	*tewaw-bwe*
	campaign-LNK	election	complete.PST-3SG

'Election campaigns are completed.'

(36)	*ˀew*	*ˀintîxab-a*	*beserkewtuyî*	*tewaw-bî*
	this-DEM.SG	election-LNK	successfully	complete.PRS-3SG

'The election to be completed successfully.'

(37)	*tarîx*	*hêšta*	*tewaw-nebwe*
	history	yet	NEG-complete.PST-3SG

'History has not yet ended.'

(38) *qse -î* *perlemantarêk-î* *tr* *tewaw-debê*
talk-LNK parliamentarian-LNK another complete-PASS-PRS-3SG
'.... The talk of another parliamentarian is complete.'

It is also worth mentioning that the item was used as an adjective by younger speakers from both groups, but again the younger men used it more frequently than the women. The older speakers from both groups used the item only as an adverb on four occasions. The younger speakers used it as an adverb on two occasions. The data did not show any pattern in the use of the item in a particular gender group.

3.3.3.2 Simple nouns

Nouns represent 64.11% of the loanwords that were used by the men, and only 58.08% of the loanwords used by the women (see 3.2). All Arabic nouns were made definite through the Kurdish definite article *eke*. Even in the borrowing of the legal term *mādda* 'clause', which is normally definite in such contexts, the noun dropped its Arabic definite article and replaced it with the Kurdish article *eke*. This is unlike the behaviour of other languages influenced by Arabic, such as Persian and Spanish, which freely borrowed Arabic definite articles along with the borrowed nouns (Thomason 2006:11 and Purse & Campbell 2013:63).

The treatment of simple loan-nouns by the two gender groups showed differences in terms of pluralisation, maintaining the Arabic gender marker (which does not have an equivalent in CK grammar) and hybridisation that lead to the creation of neologisms. In the following sections, I discuss these three issues in turn.

3.3.3.3 Pluralisation

The difference in pluralisation strategies of the two languages (see 2.4.2.2.a and 2.4.4.1c) have resulted in changes to Arabic plurals when borrowed. While Kurdish only has one type of plural and only one plural marker, i.e. the suffix *-an*, Arabic has three types of plurals, two of which are gender-based, and it has four distinct markers. The masculine regular plural is formed through the addition of the suffixes *-ūn* in the nominative case or *-īn* in the genitive case, while the feminine plural is formed through the suffix *-āt* in all cases. The third type of Arabic plural is irregular and involves internal modification of the root (see 2.4.4.1 c).

The speakers used Arabic loan-nouns in five different forms, as follows:
a) borrowed as the Arabic feminine regular plural form,

b) borrowed as a singular and then pluralised with the Kurdish plural marker;

c) borrowed as the Arabic irregular plural form;

d) nouns that are usually pluralised through irregular forms in the source language and that were pluralised through the Kurdish suffix;

e) nouns borrowed in their Arabic plural form and treated as singular by adding the Kurdish plural marker. Examples for each type are shown in (39).

(39)	a	b	c	d	e
	selaḧiy-at	*wezaretek-an*	*wuzeraʾ*	*bendek- an*	*netaʾîcek-an*
Gloss	‘authorities’	‘ministries’	‘ministers’	clauses	‘results’
	hefew-at	*mʿadelek- an*	*mesaʾîl*	*ʾazîz- an*	*ʾalîy-atek-an*
Gloss	‘lapses’	‘equations’	‘issues’	‘dears’	‘mechanisms’
	ʾîcraʾ-at	*ktebek- an*	*zewabt*	*remzek- an*	*xruq-at-ek-an*
Gloss	‘procedures’	‘books’	‘guidelines’	‘symbols’	‘violations’

Men and women dealt with the pluralisation of loan-nouns remarkably differently because the women made distinctive use of pluralisation. Below is an explanation of how each type of plural has been treated.

a) Masculine regular plural:[71] The speakers in both groups largely used the Kurdish plural marker to pluralise masculine Arabic loan-nouns and the Arabic masculine plural marker did not occur in the data. As a result, masculine nouns have lost their case property in Kurdish. This means both groups resorted to the Kurdification of the masculine loan-nouns through the use of the Kurdish plural marker *–an* (see (39)).

b) Feminine regular plural: The Arabic feminine regular plural marker *āt* occurred in the speech of the women only in political terms, as in *xrûq-at*ᴷ ‘violations’, *ʾicraʾ-at*ᴷ ‘procedures’, and *muʾas.sas-at*ᴷ ‘institutions’. These terms are multisyllabic and did not change the Arabic form of the feminine plural. It is worth mentioning that the above terms are newer loans that were introduced into Kurdish and cannot be found in Kurdish literature from the 18th and 19th centuries.

In contrast, men used feminine loan-nouns 17 times and the Arabic feminine regular plural marker *-āt* on 14 of those occasions (Table 3.8). Some of the words are politics-oriented. On the other three occasions, they pluralised the Arabic feminine noun with the Kurdish plural

[71] Regular plurals in Arabic are traditionally known as “sound plural” and the irregular plural as “broken plural”; the latter involves internal changes.

marker *-an*, see Table 3.8. As explained in 2.4.4.1c, the fact that the women maintained the source language's feminine marker could be due to their very recent involvement in the political life of the Iraqi Kurdistan region.

c) Irregular plural (broken plurals): The men were fundamentally different from the women in their use of Arabic irregular plurals. Only one woman used *masaʾīl*^K 'issues' three times. On other occasions, the women affixed the Kurdish plural marker *-an* to items that are normally pluralised through means of a broken plural in Arabic. For example, *kursī*^A 'seat', became *kursî-yek-an*^K instead of Arabic form *karāsī*^A.

The men freely used the broken plurals on 18 occasions with no Kurdish suffix. On other occasions they used the Arabic broken plural as a singular item in an example of what Haugen (1950:218) termed as "erroneous analysis, based on special situations", where the plural noun is "borrowed with its stem and treated as if it were part of a singular noun". The speakers used the term *ʿafkār*^A 'thoughts' as singular and added the indefinite Kurdish marker *êke* that turned it into *ʿefkar-êke*^K 'a thought'. Such irregular plural loan-nouns are all bi-syllabic.

The men used political and general terms in the form of regular feminine plurals, unlike the women who used such Arabic forms only when the word is a political term. As far as the speakers' age and the use of the plural forms are concerned, the data shows evidence that the younger speakers used fewer Arabic feminine plural markers and broken plurals. The older speakers used Arabic broken plurals and feminine regular plural markers freely.

Table 3.8: the use of plurals according to gender of speakers

	Men		Women
Feminine plural	17		13
Irregular plural	18		6

It must be mentioned that the irregular plural in the men's conversation constitutes 11 words used by a single speaker and in the context of law. So this could be considered a personal style rather than attributing it to age or gender-based variation.

3.3.3.4 Loan-nouns vs. loan-verbs

The loan-nouns and loan-verbs have been through major accommodation in comparison to other parts of speech. Clearly, the rate and the degree of accommodation differ between these two, due to the issue of borrowability and the extent of the differences between the two languages (see 3.3.2) as well as social factors. This is in addition to the form and the function of these elements.

There is no evidence of nouns being used as discourse markers and hedges in the data, while verbs acquired a different function from those they had in the source language. On the other hand, nouns have been through affixation and change of category to adjectives, adverbs, and parts of compound verb on other occasions (3.3.3.1 examples (32-34)).

Furthermore, the data shows that women have applied different approaches in dealing with verbs. Nouns changed category when they were used in compound verbs in combination with the Kurdish LV. To sum up, loan-nouns went through considerable shifts on occasions as they became part of compound verbs, which simply meant that they were used as a component of a different part of speech.

3.3.4 Adjectives

Arabic adjectives are the second most borrowed items after nouns in Kurdish. While the frequency of adjectives in the conversation of the men is 17.66% of the loanwords, adjectives represent only 13.53% of the women's loanwords (Table 3.8). As adjectives do not have a special case marker and they agree with the modified element in case, gender, number and definiteness, it is difficult to compare them with their original Arabic use. The only viable comparison could be to see how far the adjectives conform to the Kurdish form. The conformity of the adjectives to the receiving or donor language was tested by looking into their formation, pluralisation and gender marking as follows:

a) **The form**: Only eight items out of 190 loan-adjectives that occurred in the conversation of the men ended with the Kurdish suffixes -*ane* and -*ayetî*, as shown in (40). In order to form an adjective, other adjectives were simply in their original Araic form.

(40)	Arabic item	Kurdish suffix	Kurdish form	Meaning
	madanī	-*ane*	*medeny-ane*	'civil'
	ʿāql	-*ane*	*ʿaql-ane*	'rational'
	siyāsiy.y	-*ane*	sîyasîy-*ane*	'political'
	ḥizbī	-*ayetî*	*ḧîzb-ayetî*	'factious'

Furthermore, men formed negative adjectives using the Kurdish prefix *na*- on six occasions, as can be seen in (41).

(41)

Arabic item	Kurdish prefix	Kurdish form	Meaning
kāmil	*na-*	*na-kamil*	‘incomplete’
tamām	*na-*	*na-tewaw*	‘imperfect’
rāḍī	*na-*	*na-razî*	‘dissatisfied’

This means that a total of 14 out of 190 loanwords, corresponding to 7.36% of the adjectives, took Kurdish affixation. For women, an even smaller number of adjective-loans took the Kurdish form. Only three out of 90 adjectives, corresponding to 3.33%, were affixed with Kurdish *-ane*, as in (42). The rest maintained the Arabic form.

(42)

Item	Kurdish suffix	Kurdish form	Meaning
siyāsiy.y	*-ane*	*sîyasîy-ane*	‘political’
ʿādil	*-ane*	*ʿadilane*	‘equitable’

There was only one negative adjective form in the women’s conversation, with the full Arabic form and a negation particle *lā*, as in (43), and the loanword is a political term.

(43)

Item	Arabic particle	Meaning
la-merkezî	*lā*	‘decentralized’

b) **Gender**: In spite of the absence of grammatical gender in Modern CK, six loan-adjectives occurred in the men’s conversation maintaining the Arabic feminine gender marker *-at* (see (44)). On other occasions the gender marker was dropped.

(44)

Loanword	Gloss
selamet	‘safe’
ʾîškalîyet	‘problematic’

In the women’s conversation, the data did not show any instances of the use of the feminine form of adjective.

c) **Pluralisation** of adjectives did not show any elements of the Arabic plural markers of either sound plurals or the use of irregular plural forms. All the plural forms of loan-adjectives conformed to Kurdish pluralisation though the suffix *-an* in both gender groups. This is different from nouns (3.3.3.3).

d) **Comparative adjectives:** The degree adjective *zîyatr* ‘more’ is the only degree adjective in the data. It occurred 21 times in men’s conversation and 16 times in women’s. The item was

used in the same manner by both groups. The item corresponds to the regular Kurdish comparative form that is affixed with the suffix *-tr*. However, one woman in the older groups omitted the low back unrounded short vowel [a] and alternated the high front unrounded short vowel [ɨ] with mid-front unrounded tense [e] that became [zetɨr]. This isolated instance does not allow us to draw conclusions.

3.3.5 Adverbs

Men and women use adverbs at different rates. While adverbs constitute 2.23% of the men's loanwords, the frequency of adverbs represents 5.86% of the women's loanwords. However, both groups dealt with adverbs in a similar manner. The statistics reveal a very small difference between the two groups in terms of the accommodation of adverbs. Men dropped the Arabic adverbial marker *-an* on 45.84% of occasions and women on 48.49%. The only remarkable difference in use of the adverbs is the women's use of items such as *be-ber-dawam* 'continuously', where the Arabic version does not have the same regular adverbial case ending -*an*. The men circumfixed the adverb between the prefix *be-* and the suffix *-î*, whereas the women did not add the suffix; they only added the prefix *be-* as in (45). On another occasion, women used the adverb *dāʾim-an*[A] as *daʾîme*[K], which is not a usual form in Kurdish. There are only four occasions that do not show any pattern.

(45)

	Arabic form	Kurdish form	Change	Meaning
Men	*ʾaṣl-an*	*ʾeslen*	-	'originally'
	ʿādat-an	*ʿadeten*	-	'usually'
	fiʿl-an	*fʿlen*	-	'really'
	tamām-an	*be-tawaw-î*	Addition: be- & -*î*	'exactly'
	daqīq-an	*be-deqîq-î*	Addition: be- & -*î*	'precisely'
Women	*ḥatm-an*	*hetmen*	-	'necessarily'
	ṭabʿ-an	*tebʿen*	-	'naturally'
	tamām-an	*be-tawaw-î*	Addition: be- & -*î*	'exactly'
	dāʾim-an	*daʾiman*	-	'always'
		daʾima	Omission: n	
	ʿalād.dawām	*be-ber-dewam-î*	Addition: *be-* Omission: *ʿalā*	'continuously'

3.3.6 Prepositions

Men and women only used two loan-prepositions: *ḥattā* 'until' and *ʿalā* 'on'. The first occurred 37 times, including 21 times in the men's speech and 16 in the women's. It was used in four different forms as *ta*, *ḧeta*, *heta*, and *ta-ku*. Table 3.9 shows the rate of the use of different forms of the item by men and women.

Table 3.9: the use of preposition *ḥattā*[A]

Kurdish forms	Men	Percentage	Women	Percentage
ta	5	23.8	2	12.5
ḧeta	1	4.76	3	18.75
heta	15	71.42	7	43.75
ta-ku	0	0	3	18.75
total	21		16	

The only clear difference between the two groups is the addition of the suffix *-ku* to the item by the women, which made it appear more Kurdish, rather than an easily recognised loanword as a result of assimilation. However, the use and the function of all the prepositions remained intact. The preposition *ʿalā* 'on' occurred only once in women's conversation as part of the phrase *ʿela-ʾesas*[K] 'based on', which did not involve any assimilation.

3.3.7 Others

Neither group used sizable numbers of particles and phrases, so there is no viable basis for a comparison. However, it must be noted that the men used more of such elements than the women. Such elements occurred 11 times in the men's conversation and only four times in the women's.

3.4 Discussion

The general question of this chapter is about the effect of social factors, and gender in particular, on the use of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. As mentioned in 3.1.5.3 the rate of loanwords in CK is low. Therefore, I interpret the results of the tests as suggestive of and as consistent with the hypothesis that men use more loanwords and they use more unassimilated loan types, while women use fewer loanwords, fewer pure (i.e. unassimilated) types, and they use the loanwords in a different manner.

The analysis is conducted in two sections in order to test the quantity and the quality of the use of loanwords. The first section is dedicated to the classification of loanwords according to the degree of assimilation and revealed different tendencies towards the use of assimilated loanwords. The statistical tests showed significant differences between men and women regarding their use of loanword types in general, and showed that men use loanwords significantly more often than women (see 3.2.2.1). In terms of the degree of assimilation, as shown in Table 3.10, men's mean rank for the use of pure loanwords, which maintain their Arabic form, is higher than women's. This means men use pure loanwords significantly more than women (also see 3.2.3-1). On the other hand, women use the assimilated types more frequently.

Table 3.10: Mean rank of men and women's use of loanword subsets.

		All loanwords	Pure types	Pseudo-loans	Assimilated-types
1	Men	13.95	14.15	14.45	5.80
2	Women	7.05	6.85	6.55	15.20

The second section involves the analysis of loanwords according to word class. The analysis of this section shows notable differences in the use of verbs and nouns. Both parts yielded relative differences between the two gender groups and the way the loanwords have been treated (see Tables 3.2 and 3.5). Regarding parts of speech, I focused on general tendencies. For example, the weak verb *mādāma* occurred eight times in the data, which is not a huge number. But the same accommodation strategy is used for other parts of speech by women for the nativisation of loanwords as in the preposition *ḥattā*^{A} 'until' that was changed to *ta-ku*^{K} and another 55 instances of transferred stem -types. Hence, I considered this type of difference in order to explore the differences between men and women in their treatment of loanwords.

The analysis shows relative numerical differences between men and women regarding the rate and frequency of loanwords. The analysis suggests men's tendency to use loanwords relatively more frequently than women as men used 1075 loanwords and women used only 655. Note should be made of men's tendency towards loanwords that have been semantically shifted, as in pseudo-loans. It also shows remarkable differences in the use of verbs and nouns where women use verbs differently and dealt with the pluralisation of nouns in a distinctive style. Having had fewer opportunities for dynamic participation in activities in society in the wake of socio-political shifts at the beginning of the 20th century (Kāẓim 2006 and see 3.1.4.1), women's social conduct, linguistic behaviour and language choices are different from men's (Fetaḧ 2010).

In the following sections, I discuss the use of loanwords by men and women starting with the results of the classification of loanwords and the degree of assimilation. This will be followed by a discussion on the differences in the use of parts of speech and finally a general conclusion.

3.4.1 Pure vs. assimilated loanwords

The analysis of loanwords shows that men use more partially assimilated and pure loanwords, whereas women use more assimilated loanwords and types that involve major changes in the structure such as truncated, tautological loans and blend types (see Table 3.2). The loanwords that are assimilated in form in women's conversation comprise over 40% of their loans while assimilated loans comprise fewer than 32% of men's loanwords. This is suggestive of women's tendency towards loanwords that are assimilated in form, which could be suggestive of a tendency that could index their identity. In addition, there may be a general tendency to use loanwords less if these assimilated forms are less likely to be considered loans.

The loanwords that have been assimilated as a result of different degrees of segmental changes occur more frequently in women's speech. This particular approach distinguishes women's use of loanwords from men's, especially in terms of the use of assimilated and hybrid loanwords which appear as markers and could be suggestive of what Ochs (1992:343) calls "indexing identity" via the use of a certain language variation. Elements of this interpretation could be considered as one of the differences in women's use of weak verbs (see 3.3.2.1.3), prepositions (3.3.6), and transferred stem type (3.2.2.3a). Women have been keen to project their identity through means other than language use, and working shoulder to shoulder with men in

other social and political activities that are not usually undertaken by women in the region (see 3.1.4.1).

Tautological blends are another feature that occurred more significantly in women's speech (3.2.3-1). In spite of having fewer loanwords in their conversations, they used tautological significantly more than men did (see 3.2.2.3 b and 3.2.3-4d). Given that Kurdish women are new to the domain of politics (see 3.1.4.1. and 4.5.1), they seem to be insecure about their status. This is because historically women have not always been allowed equal opportunities and men have had more rights to speak (Tannen 2006:24). The particular status of women is mirrored in their word choices. Repetition of words is another example of a degree of uncertainty or an attempt to draw attention to their capability of using different vocabulary. This manifestation, according to Wierzbicka (2003:23-24), carries attitudinal meaning through various "tautological constructions" and by similar linguistic devices. This is also known as women's style of inviting the listener and making the conversation more engaging, as tautological constructions are usually used as encoded communication approach (Wierzbicka 2003:392). Similarly, a sudden shift in vocabulary would appeal to the listener in an attempt to engage them more in the conversation (Monaghan et al 2012:170). This has clearly been noted in the data regarding the length of conversation and talking time (see Table 3.1).

Women's tendency towards the use of assimilated loanwords raises the question of awareness and whether women might consider the loanwords as native Kurdish elements. Considering the socio-cultural and historical-political background of Kurdish society, this is a valid question. However, other studies on contact situations, according to Svavarsdóttir et al (2010:54), found that women in general use more assimilated forms than men do. In addition, the analysis of awareness of loanwords in Chapter 4 suggests that women are more aware of pure loanwords and pseudo-loans than men are. However, it is important not to dismiss the effect of women's status and their degree of exposure to Arabic (see 3.1.4.1) as a factor in choosing hybrids and the treatment of such loans, and this certainly could follow the same pattern found in other languages, as argued in Svavarsdóttir et al's (2010:43-58) work.

The other form of assimilated loanwords is pseudo-loans, which involve semantics with less or no effect on the phonology and structure; these occur more frequently in men's conversation (see Table 3.2). Only four word types occurred in women's conversation, 25 tokens in total, while 14 types occurred in men's conversation, 54 times. The disproportionate use of this type of foreign element requires a kind of mastery over the language, as particular

utilization of diverse linguistic tools reflects a degree of exposure to Arabic and maybe authority and linguistic competence (Tannen 2006, Gal 1992). Likewise, Fairclough (2001:55) suggests that power is behind language use and that the whole social discourse embodies and holds the effect of power. On this particular occasion, men seem to show their capability of enforcing the use of items to convey a meaning completely different from the original Arabic context. This seems like a contest through conversation, which could possibly be related to the role within a community where "unequal distribution of gender power is clearly recorded [….] which is one of the ignored yet powerful sites in the exercise of patriarchal rule" (Hassanpour 2001:238). On the other hand, the differences in the use of pseudo-loans are relevant to phonological assimilation. Consequently, since pseudo elements maintain their Arabic form, this suggests that women use fewer pseudo-loanwords because they prefer standard language, which disfavours loanwords. In addition, the test on awareness of loanwords shows that women are more aware of pseudo-loans and consider them as foreign elements (see 4.3.3.1).

Hence, the use of more assimilated loanwords by women is attributable to more than one factor. It could be considered an attempt towards innovation and language change, if they were the only group who had used such elements. But different groups in society treat loanwords in different ways on certain occasions (see 3.3.2.1). Hence, the fact that women use assimilated types more frequently and differently from men might suggest that it is to index their difference. Nonetheless, the possibility that the use of totally assimilated loanwords is due to a lack of active participation in social activities until recently should not be ruled out. Bassiouney (2009:106) claims that Middle Eastern women lacked equal opportunities in education and practical social life, which has affected their language. This could be applicable to Kurdish women as they have been subject to the same political system that ruled the Arab countries since the creation of Iraq (see Kāẓim 2006). This should not be dismissed since language choices may be affected by status, education, and the fewer opportunities women have had in society, especially in politics and public speech. Therefore, other factors like lifestyle interference in speech style should be considered as impactful in differences in linguistic usage (Coates 2004:35). For example, men seem to be manipulating Arabic loanwords as pseudo-loans by using them in new contexts which could be suggestive of sounding "rebellious" (Coates 1998:45) against the meanings of the source language as they used different pseudo-loans 75 times. This type of performance probably indexes aspects of "dominance" and confidence in their choice of vocabulary (Coates 2004:53, 62). Social identity is a complex social meaning that can be interpreted into the action and stance that brings it into being. Therefore, social identity could be encoded by language, since an

individual's sense of act and stance meanings are "encoded by linguistic construction" (Ochs 2005:79). This could be a motive for men's use of pseudo-loans.

As women are more aware of pseudo-loans (see 4.3.3.1), this may contribute to the fact that they use far fewer of them. Furthermore, more than a third of pseudo-loan types in women's conversation are words which encode politeness, such as *ne-xêr* 'no', the polite technique of negation; *axr* 'but' as an alternative to directly expressing a contrasting view; and *xeber-bûnewe* 'waking up' (see 3.2.2.4). Spender (1980:36-38), suggests that women are expected to be more polite and Kurdish women normally resort to indirect expressions, a tendency that has been a norm in their conversation (Fetaḧ 2010:93-94). Therefore, we can conclude that pseudo-loans are used by women when there is contextual need.[72]

Pseudo-loans are foreign elements that are not favoured in the standard variety of Kurdish, and are used to express different semantic references. In addition, women use pseudo-loans less as they, in general, use fewer loanwords. They tend to use standard forms and have been observed to have a "more sensitive nature to norms and correctness" (Coates 2004:51).

3.4.2 Phonological assimilation

In terms of consonant changes, the data did not show differences between the two groups in the alternation of consonants in the process of assimilation. Inconsequential differences have been

[72] Bassiouney (2009:140, 190) contests the universal rule of politeness as speakers in her data were observed to "interrupt, challenge and control the floor," considering that as a challenge to the universal rule of politeness. She backs her argument by Kharraki's (2001) claims that Moroccan women do not use polite expressions while bargaining in the market place. However, Moroccan women's language behaviour should not be taken as an example and generalised given the context and culturally specific matter. Kharraki (2001:620) explains that women were no less polite in addressing the salespersons but that "women are probably careful not to use such [polite] expressions so as to avoid establishing an atmosphere of familiarity or solidarity that could be misinterpreted by the other side". Bassiouney's (2009) data should be considered an indication of cultural difference and how the identity of women is formed in certain societies rather than a refutation of the universal rules. The communities seem to have certain trends that are not common in others. If we cannot generalise the universal rule of a society, it should be acceptable not to generalise Bassiouney's findings to the entire Middle East. In addition, the Arab media reports relevant to the status of women in Egypt portray a picture different from their position in most societies. The reports claim that Egyptian men are subjected to extreme domestic violence at the hands of their wives and the degree of violence is considered to be the highest in the world. This is very unusual, at least in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region where women are shown to prefer the most polite manners of expression (see Fetaḧ 2010). Following are some headlines of media reports on the situation in Egypt:
The Arab media reports state that the state of the men–women relations in Egypt is different from the case study of this work. Following are a few headlines:
a. "Crimes of domestic violence against men in Egyptian society are increasing" تزايد جرائم العنف الأسري ضد الرجال في المجتمع المصري
http://www.alarabiya.net/articles]on 2006/03/03/21623.html 3 March 2006
b. "'Disney' Princes' campaign denounce domestic violence against men" حملة أمراء "ديزني" تستنكر العنف المنزلي ضد الرجال
http://old.dotmsr.com/ar/606/1/62347 on 26 August 2014
c. "Half of married men in Egypt are prone to beating by their wives" نصف الرجال المتزوجين في مصر معرضون للضرب من زوجاتهم
http://www.alquds.co.uk/?p=440562 on 25 November 2015

observed regarding vowel changes, which are not sufficient to draw conclusions. Despite the fact that there are many cases of vowel alternations, the changes lack a distinguishing pattern between the two groups. However, we can note some differences with regards to certain vowels. For example, men dropped the high back rounded vowel /u/ in the word *dunyā*[A] more than women. They used the word 15 times and women used it three times, once as *dnya* and twice they maintained the vowel. This kind of difference cannot be considered a pattern because of the uneven distribution of the tokens but it suggests consistency in use.

To sum up, the assimilation of loanwords and the differences between the two groups regarding their use is more complex than word choice. Considering the social-political and educational facts regarding Kurdish women, the role of knowledge and exposure to Arabic should not be ruled out. The extra-linguistic factors are vital to the phonological treatment of loanwords in the receiving language (van Coetsem 1988). Accordingly, the effect of less exposure to Arabic on the use of loanwords is more evident looking into the formation of unusual initial cluster CCC (see 2.3.2.2) in the initial cluster in some loanwords used by less educated speakers, or those who are perceived to be less educated.

The use of more phonologically assimilated loanwords is suggestive of two issues regarding women's language. Firstly, women may be making a stance by using nativised words that do not look foreign, as Ochs (2005:79, 87) explains, to build identity through performing particular acts and displaying an epistemic and effective stance and through morphosyntactic means. They are using more assimilated loanwords that resemble Kurdish forms, which could be suggestive of attempting to compensate for their past exclusion and what Cameron (2005: 496) calls marginalised status in "public sphere institutions and high-status public positions". This is in addition to how women and girls have been silenced and "denied access to the languages, literacies, and speech styles". Secondly, the use of more assimilated loanwords raises the question as to whether women perceive the assimilated loanwords as non-foreign words. This will be discussed in Chapter 4, where I demonstrate that women are significantly more aware of pseudo-loans and pure loanwords, that have not been through phonological changes. In this case, the choice of assimilated loanwords and the hybrids' treatment should be considered relevant to Kurdistani identity (see Aziz 2011).

3.4.3 Loan-verbs

Men and women use loan-verbs at different rates and treat such items relatively differently. The

assimilated loanwords and Kurdification by women (see 3.3.2.1.3 and 3.3.3) could suggest that they intend to underline difference through the insertion of a new paradigm into the language. This kind of manipulation of language is suggestive of the ability to invoke "greater awareness of the social significance of variants" (Romaine 2003:104). Kurdish women have been observed to show stances through language and identity; Kurdish women politicians have been observed deliberately not speaking Arabic at major events and asking to speak through interpreters as an attempt "to make a statement" (see Bassiouney 2009:2). Women's distinctive use of verbs, which shows more conformity to Kurdish rules, can be attributed to their preference of the prestige form that is discussed by Labov (1972) and Tannen (2006). However, in cases like the data where power and politics are involved, it can be interpreted as a way through which the speaker seeks to mark their identity through the employment of techniques including the use of loanwords. This is partly to achieve social identity as "gender emerges over time in interaction with others" (McElhinny 2003:21). However, the context certainly contributes to different uses of light-verbs among the speakers, and women's use of compound verbs could also be considered relevant to the motives and "status consciousness" (see Labov 1972, Cameron 1985, Weatherall 2002, Romaine 2003 and Coates 2004). This is because women separated the components of the light-verb significantly more than men (see 3.3.2.1.4).

The separation of compounds results in placing the Kurdish LV *krd* into the usual Kurdish pattern of SOV. It might suggest that they attempt to draw the attention of the listener and in order to build a tie that holds the relationship together and engage them in conversation to the end (Tannen 1991:85). Stating the stem and the Kurdish LV together gives the core idea of the statement and allows most of the message to be understood. But the deferral of the LV to the end creates an interaction that compels the listener to follow the complete message as the separation between the components of the verb is not obligatory (see (28)). Through this strategy, women seem to seek what Tannen (2006:102) terms "to engage" the listener to follow the speaker's statement to the end through mentioning the stem and delaying the light-verb. Furthermore, the adherence to SOV is an attempt to follow the standard variety that is widely understood since it is accepted that middle-class women tend to use more formal conversation closest to the standard (Romaine 2003:102, also see Labov 1972: 304, Haugen 1978:111, Fishman 1980:34, and Coates 2011:33). In addition, language use is probably linked to discourse function as well as the effect of social factors. For example, Larson (1982:405) argues that the "standard makes a speaker's statement sound more authoritative". She finds that Norwegian women tend to use the standard in persuading someone to believe something and directing somebody to do something. This applies to the case study of this research. The speakers are

commenting on election issues and such speeches employ verbal techniques for persuasion and conveying a powerful message in order to ultimately make an impact on public voting.

3.4.3.1 Verbs as identity codifiers

Men and women used different accommodation strategies in the treatment of loan-verbs. However, women's use of loans could be suggestive of symbolising identities. Differences between men and women also surfaced in the use of the full form (paradigm insertion) of verbs like *yeʿnî* 'means'. In spite of the full form insertion, the semantics and the function of the item in women's conversation did not correspond to the source language. It occurred in women's conversation 32 times and it was not used as a fully functioning verb. Rather, it occurred as a discourse marker or conjunction 24 times. It was used mostly as a functioning verb by men (see 3.3.2.1.1). The women's different use of the verbs, might be suggestive of attempting to mark their own style of manipulating the loan-verb. This particular difference in the use of verbal elements on the other hand could be suggestive of women's "uncertainty in a male-dominated society", where women resort to hedging (Lakoff 1975). This could be true for Kurdish women who are not yet as politically active and powerful as men in the region, as Freed (2003: 701) suggests that the variation in language use between men and women cannot be separated from power relationships. But as the loanword *yeʿnî* 'means' is an old loan, it is not relevant whether women have been disadvantaged or educated. Women can be credited for employing the verb differently from men. It is also not a political term to be linked to women's lack of professional and educational opportunities in the past or their exposure to Arabic. Instead, women use the item in a manner that could be suggestive of their intention to display their identity. This different use suggests particular stylistic practices that do not place women as passive carriers of the loanwords, but rather active in what Eckert (2012:97) describes as "agents, tailoring style in on-going and lifelong projects of self-construction". Furthermore, this variation in the use of loanwords could be suggestive of a reflection of "social identities" that speakers convey about themselves through "stylistic practice" (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:608, cited in Eckert 2012:96). As I am personally aware of many Kurdish speakers who deliberately avoid Arabic loanwords. This is to prove their 'Kurdishness' and their loyalty to the language. These people consciously train themselves to avoid the use of "Arabic words".

Women also used the indirect insertion strategy for the accommodation of verbs, through the affixation of enclitics whenever the verb *mādāma*^{A} '[as long as it] continues' occurred. This

affixation occurred only in women's conversation, most probably to project their identity. Romaine (2003:104) likewise refers to instances of variation in the language use as "status consciousness" that inspires women "to achieve status denied". This treatment of loan-verbs has contributed to the assimilation of the loanword and reflection of external and internal factors acting jointly in determining the outcome of contact (Sankoff 2013:502). This strategy, which contributes to total assimilation, is more sophisticated than the paradigm insertion, due to the affixation involved, and affixation makes verbal borrowing harder in general. Despite this fact, women used the strategy for the verb *mādāma*^{A}, while men did not.

To sum up, evidence from the data suggests that women have marked the use of loan-verbs in a specific manner, not only in terms of the accommodation of the forms, but also in stretching beyond the forms. This is evident in their use of the most frequent Arabic verb *yeʿnî*, which is not always used as a verb in Kurdish. Other verbs are also used differently and at different rates to those used by men. This cannot be attributed only to factors of education and denial of active social life, but is rather a combination of all factors. My hope is that later research along with social changes in Kurdish society and developments over the coming years, will certainly give different results not only in terms of the use of loanwords but in terms of language use in general.

3.4.4 Loan-nouns

The use of loan-nouns did not involve the same degree of differences that was noticed regarding the use of verbs. Kurdish men and women ignored the Arabic definite article *al* equally -. The Arabic definite article was replaced by the Kurdish article *-eke*. The Arabic singular gender marker *-at* was occasionally ignored, however concepts such as *ḥurmet*^{A} 'deportment' and political terms like *ḥukumet*^{A} 'government' always maintained the gender marker. This is unlike the situation with other languages that have been subject to a similar contact situation with Arabic.

The relative differences between both groups appear in pluralisation and the treatment of Arabic grammatical gender. Regarding pluralisation**,** both groups dropped the masculine plural marker equally. Women also dropped the Arabic feminine sound (regular) plural marker, using the Kurdish marker *-an* instead. Interestingly, women across different age groups used the feminine plural marker 13 times. They maintained the Arabic feminine plural markers only with political terms such as *xrûqat*^{K}, '[voting] violations', *ʾicraʾat*^{K} 'procedures', and *muʾassasat*^{K}

'institutions'. They used only one irregular plural pattern, *masa'îl*[K] 'issues', which was used three times by the same speaker.

On all other occasions, both groups used the Kurdish plural marker *-an* for pluralisation. Men used feminine noun-loans 17 times and maintained the Arabic feminine plural marker on 14 occasions, representing 82.35%. On the other three occasions, they pluralised the Arabic feminine noun with the Kurdish plural marker. In addition, women used the Arabic irregular plural as a singular noun. This specific treatment of the nouns is suggestive of women's tendency towards using the standard and the Kurdification of the loanwords.

Kurdish women's tendency towards the standard contradicts some neighbouring Middle Eastern observations. Abu-Haidar (1989) and Bakir (1986), for example, claim that Iraqi Arab women use the vernacular. Another gender-based comparison by Bassiouney (2009:171) claims that Egyptian women do not use less standard Arabic than men, but she could not draw a conclusion due to her data limitations. Modaressi-Tehrani (1978:217) highlighted Iranian Farsi speaking women's sensitivity to new foreign features, or what Labov (1990) labels as innovation. Finally, the general trend has been noted by Eckert (2011a:59) who argues that women tend to use standard more than men. This may explain why Kurdish women abandon the feminine and masculine plural markers of Arabic, as a similar tendency was noted through the application of SOV when dealing with compound verbs, which is also certainly not a vernacular style.

The use of political terms, which are considered new loans, and the use of the verb *ye'nî*, which is considered an old loan are suggestive of two issues regarding women's use of loanwords and assimilation. As for the new loan-noun and political terms, it seems women use them in the same way that men do. This probably suggests a deficit, as women's linguistic behaviour is considered a reflection of different status (Freed 2003:701, Baxter 2014:24, 44 and 77) and therefore women's use of certain terms and contexts index difference and perhaps insecurity as a result of the recent history of marginalisation (see 3.1.4.1). What makes this more probable is the fact that Kurdish women's language is also described as imitating men's in certain contexts like "writing" (Fetaḧ 2010:96).

3.4.5 Other parts of speech

The differences between men and women in the treatment of other parts of speech are not as substantial as the differences noted in the treatment of verbs and nouns. However, small

differences also could be suggestive of marking the indexicality of social identity. According to Ochs (2005:86), social identity is the instigator that results in a specific linguistic behaviour which encodes specific linguistic structures to project social identities. Women treated the gender markers of the adjectives in the same manner that they treated the nouns. They dropped the Arabic feminine marker *-at* while men kept the Arabic marker on occasions, as in *ʾîškalîyet*. The prepositions showed three instances of using the more assimilated form of *ḥat.ta* 'until' that shifted to *ta-ku* in Kurdish (see 3.3.6), which suggests a tendency of women to use more assimilated items.

3.4.6 Indexing identity

Language behaviour and variation across social contexts is said to aim at meaning, which is indexed through linguistic structure. These structures are relevant to contexts and situations that are major factors in expressing identity (Ochs 1992:338). Such indexical order progresses in multiple directions, and therefore, the meanings constitute "a constellation of ideologically linked meanings" (Eckert 2012:94). According to Ochs (1992:337), it can be a direct or indirect link between language and stances, social activities and other social constructs and the manner in which they are expressed conveys a particular stance in a context, especially if ideological.

Women used certain language features which could be suggestive of symbolising their identity through particular accommodation strategies of loanwords. Women used verbs repeatedly in a specific manner and used relatively more assimilated loanwords. This is in keeping with the idea that a group persistently repeats particular features in a context that endures throughout the identity structure (Drummond and Schleef 2016:55). Furthermore, through the elements of distinctive use of language tools the speaker chooses to "convey a certain message of intentionality" (Myers-Scotton 1998:4). The preliminary tests in Chapter 4 indicated an association between women's attitudes to loanwords and identity (see 3.1.4.1 and 4.5.1). Therefore, women's use of loanwords in a distinctive manner could be suggestive of indexing the social meaning of Kurdishness and gender identities (see 3.1.4.1) that are said to be "accomplished through a vast range of morphological syntactic and phonological devices available across the world's languages" (Ochs 1992:339).

To sum up, since the 1920s, Iraqi and Kurdish women have been disadvantaged and given fewer opportunities in education. Women did not have equal access to education and equal opportunities for professional life (Al-Wer 2014:399, Kāẓim 2006:171, Hassanpour 2001:3).

Their status has therefore influenced their language skills and competence (Morgan 2002). This disadvantaged status is more dominant when speaking in public. In what could be interpreted as a sign of insecurity, they resort to certain tools such as the use of the prestige form. As found in other societies, women resort to the prestige variety when they have a choice "as a symbolic means of asserting their identity" (Bassiouney 2009:161). This might suggest in this case study that identity is a factor in forming different approaches to loanwords and different attitudes to the use of loanwords (see 4.2.2).

Evidence from Chapter 2 shows that less educated speakers, who have apparently been exposed less to Arabic, form tri-consonantal initial clusters (see 2.3.2.2 example (28)), whereas educated speakers, presumably more exposed to Arabic, do not produce tri-initial clusters. This supports the argument regarding the effect of the exposure to Arabic on the use of loanwords by women. Such extra-linguistic factors are considered strong factors for the treatment of loanwords in the receiving language (van Coetsem 1988:47). They also share joint influence in determining the outcome of the contact (Sankoff 2013:502) as the case of initial tri-consonant clusters suggests.

3.4.7 Identity and loanwords usage

The way in which women use loanwords suggests that they pay attention to two dimensions of identity: their identity as women and their identity as Kurds. They do so by using linguistic tools as codes that are considered more Kurdish. This code choice "can be used as means of attaining power by women and asserting the identity" (Cameron 2005:496). In the course of conversation, the speaker adopts a particular stance to assign others with positions which are "crucial in the constitution of particular subject positions" (Cameron and Kulick 2003:139). Accordingly, in discussions about a major event like the general elections, women allocate themselves a particular position by using language that sounds more Kurdish, which is seen by Kurdish purists as a reflection of Kurdish and Kurdistani identity. Aziz (2011:120) argues that Kurdish women pay more attention to the issue of identity as his survey shows women's attachment to the 'Kurdistani' identity. As speakers usually employ linguistic tools to project their identity (Bean and Johnstone 2004:237), women utilise their linguistic means to achieve this status and demonstrate their Kurdistani identity to the voters through their language. This is in order for women to gain a position in the society that has been continually progressing slowly and steadily through different means since the start of the Kurdistan Region's self-rule following the 1991

uprising. This attempt is suggestive of how identity "is a continual work in progress constructed and altered by the totality of life" (Lakoff 2006:142). Women seem to have succeeded in choosing the strategy and managing what Bolonyai (2005:9) labels as "code choice to manage relations of power and identities in interaction" with listeners.

Women's use of loanwords could be suggestive of projecting identity since the employment of a certain code can be attributed to the speakers' need to emphasise their distinctiveness (Myers-Scotton 2006:131). Their choice to separate the components of compound verbs, the unique use of the suffix *-eçî*, pluralisation, and their use of more assimilated items represent what Myers-Scotton (1998) refers to as "markedness" and "marked choice". This example can also be explained in terms of indexicality, which suggests the relation of association through which utterances are understood. For example, "if a specific code or form of language presupposes a certain social context then use of that form may create the perception of such context where it did not exist before" (Woolard 2004:88). This is confirmed by the results of the attitude survey of Chapter 4, which indicates the tendency of women to have strong attitudes to loanwords in statements that are relevant to identity (see 4.1.7.1, 4.2.2 and 4.5.1). This is linked to differences in the use of the loanwords in terms of quality and quantity, which has been observed in other languages (see 3.1.4.4).

The use of Arabic elements, either nouns or verbs, is suggestive of the changing status of women who have been disadvantaged and are now heading towards a more substantial presence in public life and politics. The indexicality mirrors an authoritative language and a variety through choice of lexical items that can provide a symbolic means of modifying a status (Walters 1996:531-2 and Silverstein 1996:267). Therefore, through different treatment of language tools, a woman seems to assign herself to a certain state of mastery in the topic of discussion, securing for herself the status of an authority in the subject matter and projecting herself as a capable politician and speaker who deals with language as meaningfully as a man might be expected to. The use of loanwords suggested this pattern especially in the use of loan-verbs.

Likewise, the use of suffixes that leads to the assimilation of weak verbs, prepositions and transferred type of loanword could be suggestive of one of the two markers of women's social identity as Kurdification of the item through specific suffixes. Here, it suggests that women attempt to project identity through means of "performing a particular kind of act and displaying particular kinds of epistemic and affective stances" (Ochs 2005:79). In these instances, "the speaker may use a verbal act or stance in an attempt to construct not only their own identities but the social identities of other interlocutors" Ochs (2005:79).

3.4.8 Summary and conclusion

Many of the features found in women's use of loanwords correspond to features that are reported in major works on language and gender. In addition, the features noted in the women's data are consistent more with the features of women and probably rural inhabitants such as the use of enclitic *-eçî* (Shakely 2018). It follows that the group of speakers can be taken as a sample of the society.

This chapter suggests that women use fewer loanwords and they use loanwords differently from men (see Table 3.2). The assimilation, use of fewer loanwords, and distinctive use of parts of speech are the main differences between the two groups. As for assimilation, women use more formally assimilated loanwords, while men use more pure loanwords and semantically assimilated loanwords, such as pseudo-loans (see 3.2.2).

In terms of the qualitative use of loanwords, women have a tendency to use loanwords in a particular way, leading to nativisation mainly through blends and the distinctive use of verbs. The authoritative identity of men is evident in their use of pseudo-loans that represent the most drastic shift in semantics; and require authority and confidence in knowing that the items under this section are not all old loanwords. On the other hand, women seem to have more mastery in the treatment of the old loanwords.

The way women treat loanwords might suggest that it indexes their identity as women and as Kurds in seeking a status that has historically been denied to them. They seemed to be more aware of the foreignness of the pseudo-loans (see 4.3.3.1 and 4.6) as the pseudo-loans are not assimilated formally. In addition, women used most of their pseudo-loans in formulating polite expressions in a formula that is a universal trend of women's speech. When women are more familiar with widespread loanwords they utilise them for indexicality, while for political terms, which are recent, they did not differ from men, e.g., in the pluralisation of political terms.

The differences between men and women in using loanwords cannot be attributed to a single factor. However, identity may be a viable factor, especially in the light of the examples of a unique use of the verbs, suffixes, and pluralisation. This can be attributed to the position of women in Kurdish society. The differences in loanword use may signal that women do not always imitate the "form" of men's language and they intend to emphasise their identity through language. Another issue is related to the subject of this study, which is Arabic, the language

associated with a long-standing occupier and with repressive administrations that brought calamities to the Kurds and Iraqis.

Generally, the differences in linguistic behaviour within the community are attributed mainly to two factors. Firstly, differences happen when the status of the speakers is remarkably different. Secondly, when the speakers look up to influential speakers and adapt their way of speaking accordingly (Nettle 1999:100-101). This chapter has suggested differences between men and women in terms of the use of loanwords, which is reliable in the view of sociolinguistic analysis. However, the results are not as remarkable as the results of previous works on other contact situations (see Sharp 2001 Ljung 1984, 1988, Poplack et al 1988, Bassiouney 2009, Zenner et al 2014). This is attributed to the following facts: (1) the speakers are from similar political backgrounds; (2) the sociohistorical experience of the speakers, their profession, status and education are similar; and (3) women's very recent involvement in politics, which relates to why women possibly feel less confident about diverging completely from the style of men in the domain of politics, which has been dominated by men. According to Fetaḧ (2010:89), Kurdish women's 'writing' style should not be completely different, since women have not gained the same level of experience in the domain. The years to come will certainly show very different results to this current study, if the ongoing developments and changes in the region continue.

Finally, the outcome of this chapter shows the need for a broader approach to the study of language contact. This is particularly important for the study of loanwords, which should consider factors like awareness of language and attitudes. Any study based only on referential and non-referential indexes would be incomplete without consideration of the speakers' attitudes and awareness, which definitely affect word choice and the manner in which they are used. This aspect of contact will be explored in the coming chapter, which is dedicated to the awareness and attitudes of Kurdish speakers towards Arabic loanwords.

4. Awareness of and attitudes towards loanwords

4.1 Introduction

Since borrowing from one language to another is the outcome of language contact as well as a degree of bilingualism, any analysis of borrowing requires careful consideration of the behaviour of the speakers of the borrowing language (Haugen 1950:210). This chapter, therefore, examines the awareness of Kurdish speakers of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish, as well as their attitudes, in order to give a more comprehensive analysis of the loanwords.

Previous studies have suggested that the content analysis of the societal treatment of language attitude and awareness studies does not rely upon direct answers exclusively but upon various ways in which the language is treated including ethnographic methods (Anchimbe 2013:63). Various approaches have been employed in gathering the data presented in this chapter. The analysis of attitudes and awareness has been conducted within the framework of Myers-Scotton's (2002) model which argues that socio-economic factors affect language attitudes. This model considers that linguistic identity is of great relevance, viewed as "the most visible symbol of the group" (Myers-Scotton 2006:111).

A questionnaire consisting of four sections has been used for data collection. Section one has been designed to obtain ethnographic information from the participants, including gender, age, education level, language skills, Arabic proficiency level, language of education, stage of starting learning Arabic, whether Arabic has been a subject in education, self-reported identity, and views on religion. Sections two and three of the questionnaire were designed according to the matched guise approach[73]. This has been done in order to examine the attitudes and awareness of the participants to loanwords, and their different types and also examine participants' ability to recognise the types of the loanwords that have been classified by Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953).

This chapter is divided into three sections followed by discussion and conclusion. The first section deals with attitudes, the second section deals with awareness of the loanwords and

[73] A process developed by W. E. Lambert to measure the attitude of speakers towards other languages where respondents listen to the speakers, who are recorded reciting a single text with different voices, and then the respondents are asked to characterise the speakers according to their social status, education, trustworthiness, amiability, etc. (Lambert 1972). In this work the respondents were asked to judge whether the statements they heard from the speaker(s) were proper Kurdish or there was something wrong within the statements.

the third section presents an investigation into the possible association between the attitudes and awareness of loanwords. The results of the analysis confirm the association between attitudes and age as well as language skills. In addition, this chapter explores an association with gender in relation to identity, which concurs with the issue of gender and the use of loanwords in Chapter 3. Finally, the association between attitudes and awareness is found to be very weak; whether there is any relationship between awareness of loanwords and attitudes to their use in Kurdish is therefore inconclusive.

4.1.1 Attitudes to loanwords

Myers-Scotton (2006:120) defines attitudes as "subjective evaluations of both language varieties and their speakers, whether the attitudes are held by individuals or by groups". Crystal (2006:266) proposes that the simplest definition of attitudes is the feeling that the speakers of a language have towards their own language or the language of others. In addition, people may adopt different attitudes towards different levels of language, including grammar and spelling. Among the language levels that have been subject to attitudinal investigation, the least studied in sociolinguistics is the lexicon (Garrett 2010:195).

Loanwords and borrowing in most communities usually trigger different reactions among native speakers. In some cases, loanwords are mixed with coins from receiving language elements to preserve the identity of the speakers (Abdulaziz 1989:34). Similarly, Haugen (1956:95-96) notes:

> Wherever languages are in contact, one is likely to find certain prevalent attitudes of favour or disfavour towards the languages involved. These can have profound effects on the psychology of the individuals and on their use of the languages.

Groups who oppose borrowing and loanwords in their native language and call for purification are usually motivated by an ideological standpoint (Hasanpoor 1999:127), arguing that their native language's lexical capacity is sufficient. Those who support this argument claim that foreign elements "take away the purity of the language" (Cheng & Butler 1989:298). On the other hand, those who do not object to the presence of loanwords in the native language maintain that loanwords have always been passed from one language to another due to various socio-economic and linguistic factors (Poplack et al 1988:72). Finally, a moderate view takes the

middle ground and accepts that a degree of transfer is inevitable but that it should be capped somehow.

The social factors of age, gender and language skills have been considered among the most influential factors affecting attitudes to loanwords in recent studies. Men and students seem to have positive attitudes to loanwords, whereas women show negative attitudes (Irwin 2011:198). Kristiansen (2010) argues that speakers with a higher level of education, younger people, men, and those with knowledge of languages have more positive attitudes towards loanwords. He also considers community size to be a factor. He claims that smaller communities like speakers of Icelandic and Faroese have negative attitudes to loanwords. However, the latter claim could be challenged by cases like the sizeable French community's attitudes to English loanwords. Thøgersen (2004) argues that there is a relationship between age category and positive attitudes to loanwords. In a similar vein, Awedyk (2009) claims that attitudes towards loanwords among Norwegians become more negative as age increases. According to Graedler (2004:16), Scandinavians in general are in favour of English loanwords at different rates: Sweden 29% positive, Danish 51% and Norwegians the least with 21% positive towards the use of English loanwords. Investigating English loanwords in Swedish, Ljung (1984, 1988) argues that women tend to have negative attitudes to loanwords and therefore, they use fewer English loanwords. Hassall et al (2008) have explored loanwords in Indonesian and found that language skills and knowledge have important effects upon the formation of positive attitudes to loanwords. Poplack et al (1988) argue that multiple factors affect attitudes to loanwords and they are generally correlated with the neighbourhood culture, which influences the shaping of attitudes.

It is worth mentioning that the historical and political context of Kurdish contact with Arabic is different from the cases mentioned above. Therefore, the attitudes to loanwords may be influenced by experience, and the particular historical and political context that shaped the Kurdish perspective towards Arabic. The history of Kurdish language and literature shows three examples of attitudes to foreign languages. The famous verses of Ḧacî Qadir[74] and Nalî [75] about the reasons for writing in Kurdish rather than Arabic, Persian or Turkish, the languages which were fashionable at their time, are good examples. However, the efforts of the poets could be

---

[74] *Kurdî ʾaxir bĺê çiye ʿeybî* *her kelamî heqew nîye ʿeybî.*
Means: "Tell me what is wrong with Kurdish? It is also a language of God and has no blemish" (Hassanpour 1992).

[75] *tebʿî şekker barî min kurdi ʾeger ʾînşa deka* *ʾîmtiḦanî xoye meqsedî le ʿemda wadeka*
ya le-meydan fesaḦetda be mîslî şahswar *be teʾammul hamu newʿa zubanê wa deka*
'I deliberately compose in Kurdish, I want to show I am a cavalier in the field of eloquence in all languages.'

interpreted as examples of language choice rather than an issue of loanwords. Nonetheless, when the poet takes a stance against an entire language, it is natural that the lexical items are intended to be eliminated, when possible. The Kurdish works of other poets, who continued writing in Arabic and Kurdish, were overwhelmed with Arabic elements. For example, Hêmin Mukrîyanî (1921-1986), who was perceived as one of the renowned poets of the Kurdistan Republic (1945-1946) and a poet of Pan-Kurdish nationalism "maintained that borrowing was a common phenomenon among nations, though some Kurds consider themselves superior to others and do not want to borrow words; this tendency damages the Kurds enormously and deprives them of many nice words" (Hêmin 1983:24, cited in Hasanpoor 1999:70). Similarly, a large number of writers and poets use Arabic loanwords. On the other hand, many writers and poets who consider themselves as pro-pure Kurdish '*Kurdi peti*' refrain from using Arabic words. For example, the distinguished poet ʾEbduĺĺa Peshêw (1967, 1973, 1979, 2005, and 2014) seems to avoid Arabic elements in his writings, including his poems, acting as a self-disciplined purist. In an attempt to eliminate Arabic words and in order to revive Kurdish words, he appended glossaries to his published collections with the pure Kurdish words that he used instead of the commonly used Arabic loanwords in order to reintroduce them to the reader and so contribute to the revival of Kurdish words.

This chapter will examine the awareness and attitudes of Kurdish speakers towards the use of Arabic loanwords in spoken CK in the present day. Attitudes towards languages are normally "influenced by the process of standardisation" (Garrett 2010:7). The presence of foreign elements in a language has long been considered related to language purism as well as language standardisation because foreign words could alienate sectors in the society due to the differences in understanding loanwords (Tauli 1968:126), especially the newer loans. Hence, the presence of loanwords in a language has led some nations to hold surveys and opinion polls on the issue of the standard language and the presence of foreign words in the language (Irwin 2011:195). This is because subjective evaluations of the language variety and the speakers are of great importance for language planning (Myers-Scotton 2006:239). In addition, the evaluation of attitudes towards language contributes to language education as well as language planning and policy (Zhang and Hu 2008:342) as attitudinal studies give insights into the societies' preferences, thoughts and beliefs that assist in the formulation of language policy (Baker 1992:9-10). Furthermore, attitudes will provide an opportunity to review wrong policies and remove causes of disagreement, as policies will not succeed without taking attitudes into account (ibid.).

Furthermore, for Kurdish, a language that has been understudied and has not been through an official standardisation, the study of the language attitudes in this case is of great importance (Ferguson 1996b:274-275). This is because “in many ways the effectiveness of language policies in education is determined more by the attitudes of the people on language use” (ibid.).

In addition, it has been argued that the study of language attitudes contributes to explanations of language shift, change, and maintenance as well as planning (De Klerk 2000, Fishman 2004 and Brezinger & Dimmendaal 1992). When speakers of a given language show little appreciation of language, this signals the possibility of non-survival and decay of the language (Fishman 2004)**.** This is due to the fact that languages which are associated with negative attitudes receive less attention from their speakers and this results in the process of language shift (De Klerk 2000). Moreover, Fasold (1987:147, 148), Romaine (1995:43) and Baker (1988:127) stress the importance of language attitudes in language planning as well as nation building. This is indeed very relevant to the status of Kurdish and the Kurdish nation. Kurdish as a nation is going through the process of nation building and taking steps towards more political and economic autonomy and even statehood (Abdulla 2012). The language has not been standardized and no steady language policy has been drawn up to fulfil this aim (Haig 2007). Therefore, the attempt to study the attitudes of speakers - especially towards loanwords from Arabic - could make a valuable contribution to future language policies.

Loanwords, particularly in the case of Kurdish, have not been widely studied in sociolinguistic research. As will be explained in the coming sections, the major two works on Kurdish contact situations with other languages (Abdulla 1980 and Hasanpoor 1999) focus broadly on borrowing without exclusive investigation into Arabic contact. Therefore, this chapter’s primary aim is to investigate in detail the attitudes of Kurdish speakers towards Arabic loanwords in the Kurdish language. The secondary goal of the chapter is to investigate the awareness of the speakers of the loanwords and the types of loanwords that occur in the language as well as the possible association between the degree of awareness and attitudes. The awareness and the attitudes of the respondents have been examined using a matched guise test and questionnaires.

4.1.2 The research questions

This chapter aims to investigate three main issues regarding Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. Firstly, it investigates the attitudes of Kurdish speakers towards Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. Secondly, it examines the extent of Kurdish speakers' awareness of Arabic loanwords in their language. Finally, it explores the association between the attitudes and awareness of the Kurdish speakers in regard to Arabic loanwords.

This chapter uses various methods from questionnaire-based and ethnographic investigation to reach an understanding of the various factors which might influence the use of the Arabic loanwords in CK. To address this objective, the research questions are subdivided and address several questions and reasoning as listed below:

1. What is the effect of sociodemographic factors on the attitudes of Kurdish speakers to Arabic loanwords?
2. What is the effect of sociodemographic factors on the awareness of Kurdish speakers of Arabic loanwords?
3. Is there any correlation between awareness of and attitudes to loanwords?

4.1.3 Approaches to the study of language attitudes

The term "language attitudes" has been used according to Baker (1992:29) to define different areas of study including language variation, dialect and speech style, attitudes to learning a new language, attitudes to minority languages, attitudes to language groups, attitudes to language lessons and attitudes of parents towards the school lessons. However, Baker did not include other aspects of the study of attitudes, which can involve language interference that is not necessarily an issue of style or choice as this chapter will try to convey. The study of attitudes towards foreign elements in a language and the presence of loanwords can also be an important phase en route to language standardisation and purism if purism is considered an element of the standardisation of language in the case of Kurdish (see Abdulla 1980 and 1.2.2.7 of this thesis).

Smaller studies have been conducted on attitudes towards loanwords in different languages. However, the topic still requires more detailed research (see Irwin 2011, Kristiansen 2010, Hassall et al 2008, Taha 2006, Greenall 2005, Thøgersen 2004, Shim 1994). Moreover, these works have mostly relied upon behaviourist and questionnaire methods, and have not used

the matched guise technique (see 4.5), which could allow us to better understand mental states and give very different results from self-reporting in questionnaires. Therefore, this chapter seeks to go beyond self-reporting in investigating the mental state of speakers as well as the extent of their awareness of the loanwords in their speech.

Appel and Muysken (2005:16) argue that languages are socially neutral mechanisms for carrying meaning as well as being closely linked to identities. In the evaluation of attitudes towards language, behavioural and mentalist views are two approaches for observing responses to language. Appel and Muysken argue that while the behavioural view involves observations of responses to language in actual interaction, the mentalist view sees attitudes as an interior and mental state that may lead to specific behaviour (ibid.).

These approaches consider attitudes as an acquired mind-set that can be influenced by other external factors such as childhood experience, socialisation, and adolescence. However, over the past decades it has been proposed that some attitudes are in fact inherited (Bohner and Wänke 2002:71-76). According to Fasold (1984:147-148), the behaviourist model proposes that attitudes are the usual reactions and responses that people make to social situations. He adds that this interpretation of attitudes makes research easier to conduct as it does not involve self-reports or indirect interference, but rather relies on observations, and formulation and analysis of the behaviour (ibid.). In contrast, Baker (1992:16) raises doubts about this approach. In his view, the approach can result in misunderstanding and incorrect analysis of behaviour. This is because internal mental states cannot be interpreted through behaviour or from the speakers' direct responses. Hence, Fasold does not consider the approach a reliable way of measuring attitudes (Fasold 1984 cited in Ihemere 2007:120).

The other shortcoming is that factors such as gender, age, social affiliation, identity and language background are overlooked in testing attitudes (McKenzie 2006:26). This has led many researchers to abandon the behaviourist theory while Perloff (2003:41) believes it should not be abandoned entirely as evidence shows correlation between attitudes and behaviours.

The mentalist approach perceives attitudes as "an internal, mental state, which may give rise to certain forms of behaviour" (Appel and Muysken 2005:16). It could be interpreted as "an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response" (Fasold 1984 cited in Ihemere 2007:120). It is worth mentioning that most of the works on language attitudes have adopted the mentalist approach rather than the behaviouralist, due to the rate of reliability of the results (Appel & Muysken 2005, Lawson & Sachdev 2000, Thibault & Sankoff

1999, Baker 1992). This method is conducted through either a questionnaire and interviews or the use of the matched guise approach.

As for relevant work on Kurdish, there is very little research into socio/psycholinguistics and language attitudes. Most works on Kurdish handle the topic with no or very little discussion on the nature of attitudes, and tend to describe, if anything, rather than conducting a methodological investigation. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that attitudes and awareness in Kurdish contact situations have not received consequential attention in past research.

Abdulla (1980:10-11) dedicated two pages to reviewing the attitudes to language among the Kurds, building his argument on four verses of two Kurdish poets of the 19th century, i.e. Nalî (1797-1855) and Ḧacî Qadr (1815-1897), where the two poets praise the Kurdish language. Abdulla attributed the attention of the classical Kurdish poets and writers to Arabic to the factor of religion. He also mentions that the poets tend to have a more open view regarding the use of the Kurdish language in their works, since the 19th century saw a reflection on distinguishing between the language of religion and the language of literature. The work does not evaluate the poets' use of loanwords. It only presents the views of two poets on Kurdish and the use of the Arabic language by a writer of Kurdish origin. Abdulla's review does not present a deep investigation into the attitudes of poets or broader social classes within the Kurdish society. It also does not address the attitudes towards the use of loanwords. Furthermore, Abdulla did not carry out any survey or interviews aimed at discovering attitudes, and his judgements were based on observations of limited literary works of several writers and poets.

Hasanpoor (1999:70-71) presented a concise review of attitudes towards borrowing in Kurdish with no detailed discussion of attitudes towards loanwords. He referred to views expressed by Kurdish poets and writers in the 20th century such as Hêmin (1921-1986), Hejar (1920-1991), Wahby (1891-1984), and scholars such as Hassanpour (1945-), as well as the views of writers who answered his questionnaire that included 28 questions[76] with only four questions on attitudes. The questions were as follows: Q15 enquires about the participants' opinion on the acceptable scope of purism, Q16 asks the writers about which other authors they admire in their approach to the use of loanwords Q17 asks the writers whether it would be more acceptable to adopt loanwords from European languages or Turkish, Persian and Arabic, while Q20 is about the use of loanwords in writing and speaking. As Hassanpoor's data was from the literary work

[76] The questionnaire is not published in Hasanpoor's (1999) work. He kindly sent me the questionnaire and the answers, which were based on open-ended questions.

of writers, he forwarded his questions only to writers without the application of a particular methodology of attitudinal investigation.

The only academic to have dedicated some space to attitudes towards the Kurdish was Schwepler's (2000) MA dissertation presented to the University of Texas on "Language attitudes of Kurdish refugee girls". The work is an ethnographic work that examines Kurdish culture based on scheduled interviews with young refugee girls in the US. The study investigated attitudes towards the values of Kurdish culture, including the role of the language as an element of culture rather than focusing on language exclusively. It did not use the detailed and varied methods of investigation that are required for a comprehensive study of attitudes. Finally, it did not examine attitudes towards loanwords, language contact or any aspects of borrowing in Kurdish. It is more a culture-and identity-focused work.

To sum up, previous investigation into language attitudes in Kurdish looked only into the works of the elite, without paying particular attention to the broader strata of society and the social classes. Their sections on attitudes were valuable at the time but remain rather shallow and focused on other issues in the contact situation.

4.1.4 Hypotheses

According to Myers-Scotton (2006:111-140), attitudes to languages are profoundly influenced by socio-cultural factors and linguistic identity. This chapter therefore works within this framework to hypothesise that attitudes to Arabic loanwords in Kurdish are influenced by and associated with social factors. I also hypothesise that there is an association between attitudes to loanwords and awareness of such elements, particularly since previous studies on contact situations have confirmed associations between awareness and attitudes (Kunschak 2003 and McKenzie 2010).

As this chapter aims to investigate the effect of a wide range of social factors, which are extremely relevant to this study of Arabic and Kurdish, the hypothesis will take two principal dimensions and two secondary ones.

The main hypothesis involves the possibility of association between awareness and attitudes to loanwords, on one hand, and association with gender on the other. The secondary

hypothesis involves the potential correlation between awareness and attitudes to loanwords, and education level, as well as different aspects of language skills and religion.

The analysis of Chapter 3 showed that female speakers tend to use Arabic elements in conversation relatively differently from men. This kind of difference in male and female language use has been discussed in theories of difference and culture which suggest women's language is different from that of men (Labov 1972, Lakoff 1975, Tannen 2006, Holmes 1992 Coates 2004). Women seem more sensitive to prestige forms of language and they tend to choose the forms that are considered to be associated with higher status (Coates 2004:68 and Mesthrie et al 2012:220).[77]

In terms of the prestige language in the Kurdistan Region, Kurdish has gradually become the official language and of higher prestige after the Kurdish uprising of 1991 (see 1.2.3). Considering these facts, I hypothesise that Kurdish women's attitudes towards Arabic loanwords will be different from those of Kurdish men. Specifically, I hypothesise that female Kurdish speakers will have a less positive attitude towards Arabic loanwords in comparison to male speakers who are, according to Mesthrie et al (2012), generally not as keen on prestigious language and use fewer prestigious forms than women (Labov 2001: 266).

The second main hypothesis of the chapter concerns the association between attitudes of the speakers towards Arabic loanwords in Kurdish and factors of language skills and starting stage of learning Arabic and religion. I hypothesise that speakers with extra language skills, those who are religious and those who started learning Arabic at early stages will be found to be more positive to loanwords.

I hypothesise that the speakers with higher education degrees and those with knowledge of Arabic and extra language skills will have a more positive attitude to loanwords. Hassall et al (2008) have argued that additional language skills and knowledge may stimulate positive attitudes to loanwords unless the speakers are purists. Furthermore, Fishman (1989) and Gardner (1972) argue that positive attitudes to languages are associated with societal motivations and the prestige and perceived status of a particular language. In this chapter, only the loanwords will be

[77] Considering the intensive and established work in western scholarship on this issue, comparison with these studies is viable in spite of certain contextual details. In addition, comparison with findings in Middle Eastern societies may not be reliable due to the differences of gender effect and the outcomes of the investigations into gender-based language variation for example, see Abu-Haidar (1989), Bakir (1986), Abbas (2010) and Abdel-Jawad (1981) on Arabic; Zamir (1982) Modaressi (1978) on Persian; and Alevi et al (2013) on Turkish. The results of these studies in the Middles Eastern societies were different especially regarding the results of the case studies of Arabic.

tested rather than the whole language. Testing attitudes to Arabic language merits a separate work in future. The findings offer a good foundation for further research into whether the slight difference in the use of loanwords between the different groups has any association with the attitudes towards Arabic language in general.

4.1.5 Methodology

Both mentalist and behavioural approaches in the study of attitudes have been employed in this chapter to explore the attitude to loanwords, despite certain observations regarding the mentalist approach in investigating language and its variations. The behaviourist method has been used in order to measure the awareness of different types of loanwords and the respondents' recognition of loanwords, while the mentalist method has been applied to assess the attitudes towards the presence of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. A questionnaire and matched guise method have been used. This approach - which has proved viable in the reasonable number of previous studies on language attitudes, has attempt to discover the viability of such approaches in testing attitudes to loanwords and applying the method beyond the study of language varieties.

A questionnaire designed for obtaining data has later been distributed to 130 participants, with a careful consideration to gender balance. The valid responses of 60 men and 60 women from the Iraqi Kurdistan Region's capital, Hewlêr, were selected for analysis. The age of the participants ranged between 20 to 69 years, most of whom were university students in addition to a reasonable number of lecturers, teachers and civil servants. This aimed to mirror with the data in Chapter 3 where the speakers were all educated to a standard level of education. The questionnaires were answered and collected in the presence of the researcher in case clarifications were needed. Apart from the demographic part which needed direct answers to the questions, the other parts have been based on statements, which according to Baker (1992:17) is the most reliable set for the measurement of attitude scales and less biased (Gillham 2007:6-8). Therefore, a questionnaire rather than interviews has been employed in the data collection.

The awareness of the respondents was tested through Lambert et al's (1960) Matched Guise Technique (MGT), which was initially set up to test attitudes towards social and ethnic language varieties. In this technique, respondents listen to a recording and rate the speaker and their quality (Garrett 2010:41) based on the language use. Therefore, the MGT is a suitable technique for measuring awareness in this study, with a little adaptation to suit testing the

awareness of loanwords. The respondents listened to 17 statements which included 4 dummy statements to conceal the purpose of the test until the end. The 17 statements consisted of two subsets. The first subset contained 12 sentences and the second subset consisted of 5 pair sentences. The first of each pair included loanwords and the second did not. A recording was played where a reader read out 12 statements and the respondents were asked to indicate whether the statements sounded like good Kurdish or whether there was something that did not sound Kurdish in the statements. This was in order to test whether they recognise the loanwords. The second set of statements that included 5 pairs of statements were read by readers with almost identical speech-rate, tone, accent and vocal intensity. The readers read the same statement but the first reader's statements included loanwords while the second reader was reading the same statement but the loanwords were replaced by native Kurdish words. The respondents had to indicate which statement sounded more Kurdish. No scale was applied and there were only two possible answers to the questions.

The sentences were chosen to include phrases, and parts of sentences from the data. Furthermore, the loanwords that have been included in the statements for the test of awareness are all from the first and second sets of the data with high frequency.

The respondents completed this section first in order that they were not influenced by the aims of the test beforehand. The third section involved a direct approach for obtaining information about attitudes where the respondents gave answers to statements on an amended four-point Likert scale.

As outlined above the purpose of this chapter is to analyse the effect of demographic factors on awareness and attitudes to Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. The Likert scale measure was used rather than the semantic differential approach, which is one of the most reliable approaches in the investigation into the attitudes in general (Baker 1992:1). This is because the informants were asked to express their opinion about Arabic loanwords in the language rather than how they perceived the character of the language user and how they perceived the users of language through listening to their conversation. A forced choice method of four choices was used. The respondents were asked to express their opinion if they had any concerns about any question they were answering.

A four-point Likert scale has the following options: strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree for answering the dependent variables which were represented by 27 statements (see Appendix 4.1.7) and for self-referencing the questionnaires have been numbered

as Oppenheim (2005:265) suggests. Another reason for reducing the scale to four is the size of the data sample which was relatively small and designed to suit the scope of this chapter of my study.

4.1.6 Data description and analysis

The data of the attitude section was examined preliminarily with a series of Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) and Univariate Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests on the 27 statements individually as well as with the Tukey test, which is used to compare all possible means when there are more than two options. Fisher's t-test was used for determining the awareness of the respondents of loanwords. The preliminary test results will be referred to in the discussion section for cross referencing and clarifying some results.

The tests aimed at finding whether there is a significant association between 12 demographic factors (see Appendix 4.1.7) and the attitudes to and awareness of the respondents to Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. The use of MANOVA was essential in order to analyse the effect of more than one social variable on one or more independent variables that share a specific trait (Bray and Maxwell 1985:7). The results showed different degrees of significance of the impact of the demographic factors upon attitudes. However, the test of awareness showed limited effects of gender, education, language skills, level of Arabic, stage of learning Arabic, studying Arabic as school subject, and identity on awareness. The factors of age, language of education and religion did not show any significant effect.

Afterwards, with the aim of reducing the variables into smaller and meaningful clusters, a Factor Analysis technique was used and followed by ANOVA in order to determine the effect of the social factors on attitudes and awareness of loanwords. Additionally, in order to create a ground of consistency between chapters 3 and 4, a mean composite score of attitudes was tested for the factors of gender and age in order to find which one is the most important factor to be considered for analysis in both chapters. As age did not show any significant effect and gender showed a marginally significant effect on attitudes and a highly significant effect on the use of loanwords in Chapter 3, age was eliminated and gender was considered for the analysis in chapters 3 and 4 (also see 4.2.1).

4.1.7 Statistical analysis according to the variables

The questionnaire covered independent variables in the first section concerning the respondents' gender, age, education level, language skills, Arabic proficiency level, language of education, stage of starting learning Arabic, studying Arabic as a subject at school, self-reported identity, and view on religion. Sections two and three collected data on the dependent variables, i.e. awareness and attitude of the respondents to loanwords. The questionnaire also included the independent variables of profession and mother tongue, which were not considered in the preliminary test, because the rates were not sufficient for statistical analysis. Other reduction of variables in this chapter will be addressed in 4.2.

Below is a summary of the demographic variables (social demographic factors) covered by the analysis which will be followed by statistical analysis of the effect of factors on the attitude of respondents and association between factors and the attitudes. This survey excludes the factors of age, three factors related to Arabic, identity, profession and mother tongue. Reasons for eliminating these from the analysis will be addressed in section 4.2.

4.1.7.1 Gender

Particular attention has been paid to the gender group for consistency reasons and linkage to Chapter 3 which discussed the gender groups' varying use of loanwords.

Table 4.1: Gender distribution

Gender	Male	Female
Number of respondents	60	60
Percentage	50%	50%

As shown in Table 4.1, the gender groups include equal numbers of respondents: 60 male (50%) and 60 female (50%) participants, which fulfils the requirement for having balanced numbers.

4.1.7.2 Education Level

The survey included respondents of diverse education levels. These were regrouped into three in order to create more balanced groups and to give more reliable results.

Table 4.2: Education level

Education level	Secondary	University Student	Graduate and higher
Number of Respondents	29	53	38
Percentage	24.1%	44.1%	31.6%

As shown in Table 4.2, group one were educated to secondary school level and included 29 people (24.1%). Group two were university student level and included 53 respondents (44.1%). Group three included graduates and holders of higher degrees and included 38 respondents (31.6%).

4.1.7.3 Language skills

Respondents were asked if they could speak other languages:

Table 4.3: Language skills

Speak other languages	Yes	No
Number of respondents	98	22
Percentage	81.66%	18.33%

Table 4.3 shows that 98 respondents (81.66%) indicated that they spoke more than one language, such as Arabic, Farsi, Syriac, Turkish, Turkmani, English and French. Only 22 respondents (18.33%) self-reported as being monolingual.

4.1.7.4 Stage of starting learning Arabic

To test whether early learning of Arabic at school was associated with positive attitudes to Arabic loanwords, the respondents were asked to indicate at what level they started learning Arabic.

Table 4.4: Stage of starting learning Arabic

Stage	Primary	Secondary	University	Not applicable
Number of respondents	67	18	30	5
Percentage	55.8%	15%	25%	4.1%

As shown in Table 4.4, the total of 67 respondents (55.8%) started learning at primary school, 18 respondents (15%) at secondary school, while 30 respondents (25%) started learning Arabic at university. Five respondents (4.1%) indicated that the question was not applicable to them.

4.1.7.5 Religion

This factor was reduced to two groups, "1=Very important and important" and "2=No opinion and not important" due to the small number of the "no opinion" and "not important" groups.

Table 4.5: Importance of religion

Religion	Very important	Important	No opinion	Not important	Missing values
Number of respondents	98	10	8	2	2
Percentage	81.66%	8.33%	6.66%	1.66%	1.66%

As Table 4.5 shows, 108 respondents (89.99%) reported religion as important or very important, while 10 respondents (8.32%) reported not important or no opinion. There were 2 (1.66%) missing values.

As religion is the first and most important factor in Kurdish contact with Arabic, I considered analysing the effect of the factor on attitudes for its importance despite group 2 "no opinion and not important" including only 10 respondents. Group 1 "Very important and important", includes 108 respondents, which is very unbalanced.

4.2 The effect of the socio-demographic factors on attitudes

This section will present how the independent variables of gender, education level, language skills, stage of starting learning Arabic and view on religion affected attitudes to Arabic loanwords. The respondents expressed the extent to which they agreed with 27 different statements. The following is a list of the statements (S henceforth) that were given in Kurdish to the respondents for testing their attitudes:

1. All languages draw upon words from other languages.

2. Where a good Kurdish word exists, I would prefer to use a Kurdish word rather than a loanword.

3. It is in appropriate for the preachers to use Arabic loanwords in their sermons.

4. Only Kurdish words should be used in all situations even in religious preaching.

5. In every aspect of education Arabic loanwords should be avoided.

6. Schools should adopt a policy of purging students' language by urging them to avoid Arabic loanwords.

7. Arabic loanwords should be avoided in every aspect of Kurdish politics.

8. The use of a lot of Arabic loanwords signals less allegiance to Kurdish language.

9. Using Arabic words in Kurdish shows disloyalty to Kurdish identity.

10. The government should set policies to restrict the use of Arabic words in Kurdish.

11. Avoidance of Arabic words in Kurdish <u>speech</u> means independence from Arabs.

12. Avoidance of Arabic words in Kurdish <u>writing</u> means independence from Arabs.

13. The media's use of Arabic loanwords has damaged Kurdish.

14. Broadcasters should not use Arabic words.

15. News bulletins should be in pure Kurdish with no Arabic words.

16. Media outlets should set editorial guidelines regarding the use of Arabic loanwords.

17. The media's role in the purification of Kurdish language is negative as it is introducing new Arabic words.

18. Arabic words should be used freely in Kurdish.

19. It is best to use Arabic loanwords in subjects where there is no Kurdish word to convey the meaning.

20. It is better to avoid Arabic loanwords in Kurdish writing even when Kurdish terms do not exist.

21. It is better to avoid Arabic loanwords in Kurdish speech even when Kurdish terms do not exist.

22. People who use Arabic words in Kurdish are not as eloquent as those who do not use Arabic.

23. The current Arabic words used in Kurdish should be replaced by Kurdish words.

24. The use of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish enriches the language.

25. Kurdish speech with Arabic loanwords is as good as speech with pure Kurdish words.

26. Using only Kurdish words in speech means solidarity with fellow Kurds.

27. Using Arabic loanwords in Kurdish means Iraqiness and Kurds being part of Iraq.

In the following sections, I discuss the results of the analysis for each factor in turn.

4.2.1 Reporting the results of statistical test

The data was processed through SPSS software 24 using the Factor Analysis technique to re-shape the data and reduce the large number of variables. The two sets of dependent variables that test attitudes and awareness have been reduced as follows: 27 statements of attitudes have been reduced to 7 factors (see Appendix 4.2.1 B) and 17 items in the awareness section were reduced to 5 factors (see Appendix 4.3.2 B). The attitudes factors have been re-labelled to represent a theme of the statement. Due to the sample size, the significant score for differences is 0.07; up to 0.099 would be considered as marginal. However, there is no consensus regarding the significance degree on the required alpha value for an acceptable level of internal reliability in a scale (Eddington 2015:19). Nonetheless, there is general tendency to indicate the value of alpha should be at least 0.7 (De Vaus 1991:256) or 0.8 (Bryman 2004:71). A score like 0.0001 does not mean more significant results than 0.05, it only assumes how unlikely the results are when assuming the hypothesis rather than the effect size (Eddington 2015:19). Taking into the consideration the sample size of this work, it would be viable to consider up to a p value of $p=0.07$ as significant and $p=0.08$ up to $p=0.099$ as marginal.

As mentioned in 4.1.6 and 4.1.7, some of the variables have been collapsed from the test. As for age, although it is an important factor in sociolinguistic studies which might be considered as an important factor influencing attitudes in other studies too, the ANOVA test did

not show age as a major factor in this work. In addition, the average age cannot give reliable results as younger respondents outnumbered the older group by three to one. For this reason and the other reasons listed below, age has been excluded from this analysis. **Firstly**, the results of the use of loanwords in Chapter 3 did not show noteworthy differences between the age groups in the use of loanwords which does not indicate possible impact on word choice and attitudes to word choice. **Secondly,** the mean composite score test showed no significant differences between the age groups in terms of attitudes (see Table: 4.6). The test concluded that there was no significant difference in means due to age, ($F(1,118) = 1.034$, ns) (see Appendix 4.2.1). Therefore, age does not represent a strong case for comparison. Age will be dealt with in a separate study after this work with a survey designed with a detailed focus on age.

Table 4.6: Mean composite score for age factor

	Age	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Pro-Kurdish / against loanword attitude scale	40 and under	87	2.5240	.40689
	41 and over	33	2.6156	.52125

Other factors have been excluded from the analysis either to focus on stronger and more reliable factors or where there was an imbalance of respondents' ratio as in the case of mother tongue and profession. The factor of identity was collapsed since it did not show any effect in the Factor Analysis test. Factors related to Arabic language such as proficiency level, Arabic as a school subject, and language of education have been excluded in order to focus on the stage of starting to learn Arabic and language skills. The stage of learning Arabic gives an indication about the formation of attitudes and its relation with age as well. The Factor Analysis provided clusters of factors and reduced the two sets of dependent variables that test attitudes and awareness as follows. The 27 statements on attitudes were reduced to 7 factors (see Appendix 4.2.1 B):

Factor 1: Resistance to loanwords in media
Factor 2: Linguistic independence
Factor 3: Avoidance of LW in institutions
Factor 4: Best to avoid LWs, only use when necessary
Factor 5: Avoidance of loanwords in speech and writing
Factor 6: Liberal towards LW
Factor 7: Open to loanwords but prefer Kurdish

The set of 17 dependent variables, which are loanword types, in the awareness section are reduced to 5 as follows (also see Appendix 4.3.2.1):

Factor 1: pure, transferred stem, compound-blend, analysed compound (closer to the source form)
Factor 2: assimilated, dummy (assimilated form)
Factor 3: fused, truncated, assimilated, dummy (altered forms)
Factor 4: dummy, transferred stem, pure, pseudo (pseudo and source form)
Factor 5: pure, partial, transferred stem (partially altered and source form)

For the reduction of data, Principal Component Analysis (PCA), a form of Factor Analysis, was applied to the results of the survey in order to identify the underlying factors. Factor solutions were produced for the attitudes and awareness data separately. The suitability of the attitudes and awareness data for factoring was tested through the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test measuring sampling adequacy and Bartlett's test of sphericity measuring the extent to which the variables are related. For the attitudes data, a KMO value of 0.802 indicated the sample size was sufficient. The Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($p<0.001$), indicating the variables were associated with one another. Given these overall indicators, PCA form of FA was deemed suitable for the set of data under investigation. Varimax rotation was employed on the extracted factors. Kaiser's criterion (retaining all factors with Eigenvalues above one) was used to determine that a seven-factor solution provided an acceptable solution. The 7 factors outputted explain 66.192% of the total variance.

As for the awareness data, PCA with Varimax rotation was again employed. The KMO score of 0.799 indicated the sample size was adequate and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($p<0.001$), suggesting the variables were suitable for Factor Analysis. Kaiser's criterion indicated a five-factor solution. The 5 outputted factors explained 62.472% total variance. The reliability test of the analysis shows that Cronbach's Alpha score is 0.876. This is above the cut-off value 0.7, which indicates that the internal consistency of the data obtained from the tests is acceptable (see Appendix 4.2.1. A).[78]

Before presenting the data, it is important to note that Factor Analysis is a practical method for reducing a larger number of variables. However, it is not exempt from certain undesirable outcomes.

Despite the method's efficiency in reducing variables, the reductions lead to some technical concerns like loss of some significant effects. For example, in the process of the

[78] In the presentation of the Factor Analysis I preferred to simplify the presentation of the analysis rather than detailed technical description that I believe divert the attention of the readers form the actual topic. Therefore, the general tables of correlations, efficiencies, loading factors, reliability and scree plots are presented in the Appendix.

variable reduction, the given names of the variables might not reflect all the variables within the factor, as they correlate but have little underlying meaning (Tabachnick & Fidell 2014:567). For example, in this work I had to remove variable 25 in Factor 5 in order to overcome any confusion over the factor and its labelling and in order to give a meaning to the factor.

In addition, the sample size required for Factor Analysis is debatable. MacCallum et al (2001:22) recommend a sample size of 600 in a measure that uses 30 variables, and this sample size is very difficult to administer in a linguistic survey. Tabachnick & Fidell (2007:567) argue that 300 participants are the minimum required participants for Factor Analysis in order to ensure reliability. However, Comrey and Lee (2013:217) describe a sample size of 100 as a very poor sample, 200 as a poor sample and 300 as a fair sample size.

Regarding grouping variables, it is essential to mention that due to the summation and collapsing of variables, Factor Analysis will lead to many results which may not primarily reflect the actual answers of the respondents. Focusing on summated scores in the data analysis will certainly lead to a loss of detail because responses to individual items are hidden. For example, two respondents might have the same score on a group of questions without having answered the individual questions in the same way (De Vaus 1991:267). Regardless of the original differences in the answers to the questions, the final analysis of these two respondents would be considered as identical in spite of the fact that they might differ significantly in their answers to individual questions in the cluster of regrouped variables (ibid.). As summation led to loss of details in some factors, I decided to refer to the pre-Factor Analysis preliminary test results, especially regarding the effect of gender on attitudes and awareness, in order to address the research questions more sufficiently. For the same reason, and in order to give more accurate and comprehensive interpretation to the association between attitudes and awareness, I will look into the individual statements and questions rather than the post Factor Analysis tests. In addition, since the sample size is debatable and score measurements are flexible (see Eddington 2015, De Vaus 1991, and Bryman 2004), the analysis in this thesis takes a relatively flexible approach in these measures and accepts Cronbach's Alpha from 0.65 rather than 0.7[79] for awareness and significant p value between 0.05 - 0.07 on a few results. (Appendixes 4.2.1. A, and 4.3.2.1 A).

---

[79] Cronbach's Alpha greater than 0.70 is commonly believed to be an acceptable level of internal consistency. However, literature confirms that values of 0.60 would be acceptable as a cut off measure (see Bryman & Cramer 2005, Hair et al 2006, Pallant 2007, Reynaldo 1999 and Nunnally 1978).

In the following sections, I will present the result of the ANOVA tests on the effect of socio-demographic factors, i.e. gender, education, language skills, stage of starting learning Arabic and religion, on attitudes.

4.2.2 Gender

The differences between male and female speakers in terms of language use have been one of the main topics in sociolinguistics (see 3.1.4). The findings in Chapter 3 about gender-based differences in the use of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish showed differences between the two gender groups. This section is dedicated to assessing the effect of gender on the attitudes towards Arabic loanwords in Kurdish.

According to Trudgill and Tzavaras (1977), Labov (1990), Baker (1992) and Mesthrie (2012), women hold more positive attitudes towards standard or prestigious language than men. Since standard Kurdish disfavours loanwords in general (see 1.2.2.8) and women favour standard language, from this point, this statistical analysis will investigate the link between such presumed trends in women's attitudes towards loanwords,

The mean composite score test was carried out in order to find out the total score of the attitudes and test them against social factors. An ANOVA indicated that women scored marginally significant mean composite ($F(1,118)=2.774$, $p=0.098$). As shown in Table 4.7, the test showed that women had a higher mean score ($M=2.61$, $SD=.35$) than men ($M=2.48$, SD.50) indicating that women prefer resisting loanwords marginally significantly more than men.

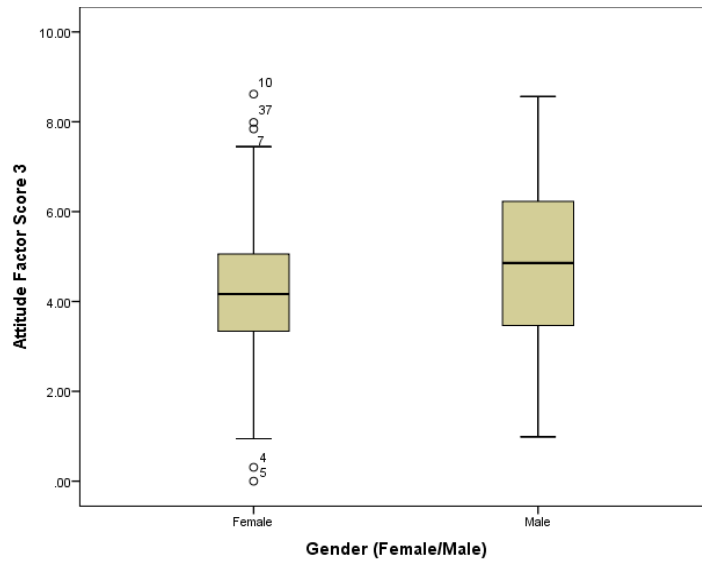
Table 4.7: Attitude mean composite score and gender

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Attitude mean composite gender	Women	60	2.6158	.35601
	Men	60	2.4827	.50629

The ANOVA test on the seven factors generated by the Factor Analysis also showed differences between women and men on factors 3 and 5.

Factor 3 (avoidance of loanwords in institutions) indicates differences between the two gender groups ($F(1,107)=2.762$, $p=0.099$). As shown in Table 4.8, women have lower score ($M=4.310$, $SD=1.890$) than men ($M=4.930$, $SD=2.000$) in terms of avoidance and prevention of loanwords in institutions. Accordingly, men's preference to avoid loanwords in institutions is marginally more significantly than that of women (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Gender effect on Factor 3



The analysis of variance also indicates marginal differences between men and women on Factor 5 (avoidance of loanwords in writing and speech) (F(1,116)=2.773, p=0.099). The women scored higher mean scores (M=4.65, SD1.29) than men (M=4.22, SD=1.47), as shown in Table 4.8. Accordingly, women are less tolerant to the use of loanwords in speech and writing while men are more tolerant to loanwords in speech and writing (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Gender effect on Factor 5

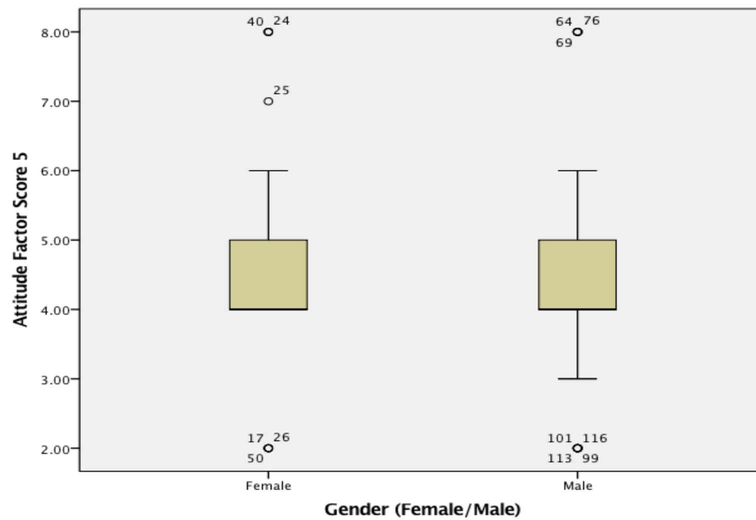


Table 4.8: Attitudes and gender

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Attitude Factor 3	Women	54	4.3109	1.89068
	Men	55	4.9308	2.00083
Attitude Factor 5	Women	60	4.6500	1.29961
	Men	58	4.2241	1.47545

In a preliminary pre-Factor Analysis test on single items before regrouping them in seven factors, an ANOVA test on separate items, statistically significant differences were found between men and women, with women more likely to link identity to the use of loanwords.

As shown in Table 4.9, men and women responded differently to Statement 12: “Avoidance of Arabic words in Kurdish writing means independence from Arabs”. Significant differences were found between men and women ($F(1,107)=4.628$, $p=0.034$). The test reveals more women ($M=2.44$, SD 0.883) agreeing with the statement than men ($M=2.07$, $SD=0.92$) (see Appendix 4.2.2b). Accordingly, we can conclude that women associate the use of loanwords with identity and that this is a motive for avoidance of loanwords.

Another significant difference regarding the use of loanwords and identity. The preliminary ANOVA test indicated statistically significant differences between women and men in response to Statement 27: “Using Arabic loanwords in Kurdish means Iraqiness and Kurds being part of Iraq” ($F(1,107)=4.209$, $p=0.043$). Women ($M=2.43$, $SD=0.86$) agree with the statement significantly more than men ($M=2.09$, $SD=0.845$) (see Appendix 8).

Overall, the results of the test, and previous individual ANOVAs on statements regarding identity, confirm that women have a more negative attitude and are less tolerant of Arabic loanwords in institutions than men in association with identity. In contrast, men are supportive of prevention of loanwords though institutions and pretension.

Table 4.9: Descriptive statistics for statements 12 and 27

	Gender	Mean	Std.Dev	N
Statement 12	Women	2.44	0.883	54
	Men	2.07	0.92	55
Statement 27	Women	2.43	0.86	54
	Men	2.09	0.845	55

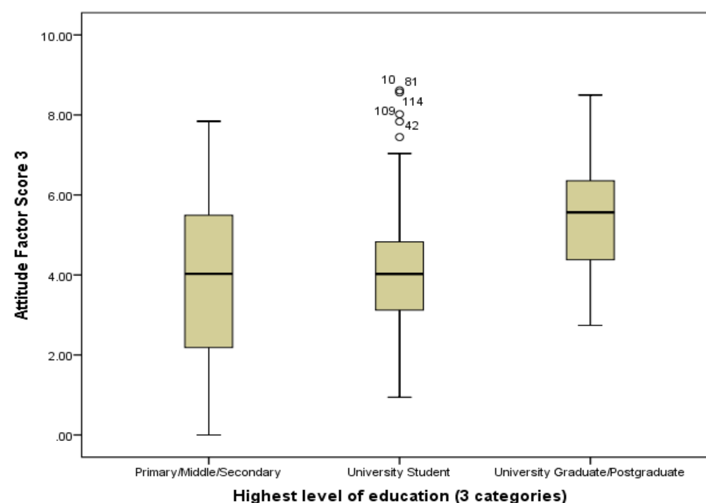
Overall, there is only a marginally significant statistical difference between men and women’s attitudes to loanwords in Kurdish, apart from the identity domain in the preliminary test. Post FA ANOVA showed marginal differences regarding attitudes towards the type of avoidance of loanwords. Specifically, men showed a tendency to agree with imposing policies for the avoidance of loanwords, while women agreed more on self-discipline regarding avoiding loanwords in writing and speech.

4.2.3 Education

The respondents' education level affects attitudes to Arabic loanwords to a degree. The findings of this section indicate that attitudes tend to be more positive to loanwords within lower education levels and that attitudes become increasingly negative as education levels increase. The test yielded significant differences across the educational level groups on Factors 3, 4, 6 and 7.

ANOVA test revealed significant differences relating to education levels on Factor 3 (avoidance of loanwords in institutions) (F(2,106)=6.491, p=.002). A Tukey test showed significant differences between graduates and both university students (p=0.003) and pre-university educated respondents (p=0.016). The graduates scored higher means (M=5.54, SD=1.67) than pre-university respondents (M=4.15, SD=2.22) and university students (M=4.1776, SD=1.82) (Table 4.10). Accordingly, graduates are less tolerant to loanwords than university students and pre-university educated respondents who are at lower ranking education levels (see Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Education effect on Factor 3

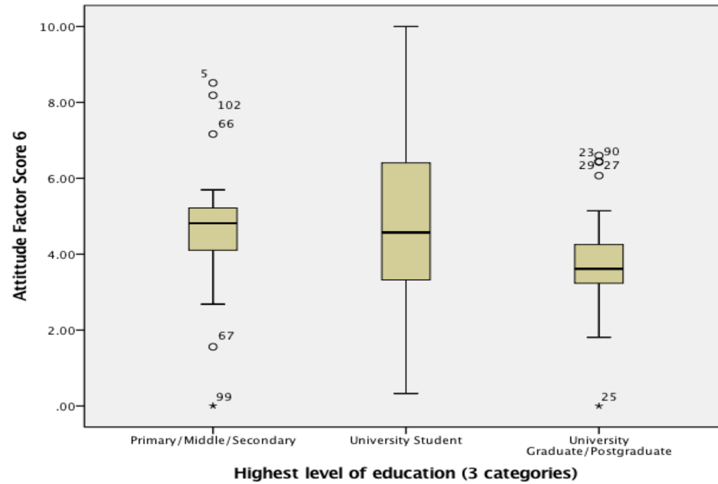


The ANOVA yielded marginal statistically significant differences in attitudes on Factor 4 (best to avoid LWs, only use when necessary) (F(2,106)=2.451, p=0.091). However, the Tukey test indicated no significant differences between the education groups.

There was a significant difference between the groups on Factor 6 (liberal toward LWs) (F(2,106)=3.418, p=.036). As shown in Table 4.10, Tukey post-hoc test revealed a statistically significant difference between university students and graduates (p=.034). The university

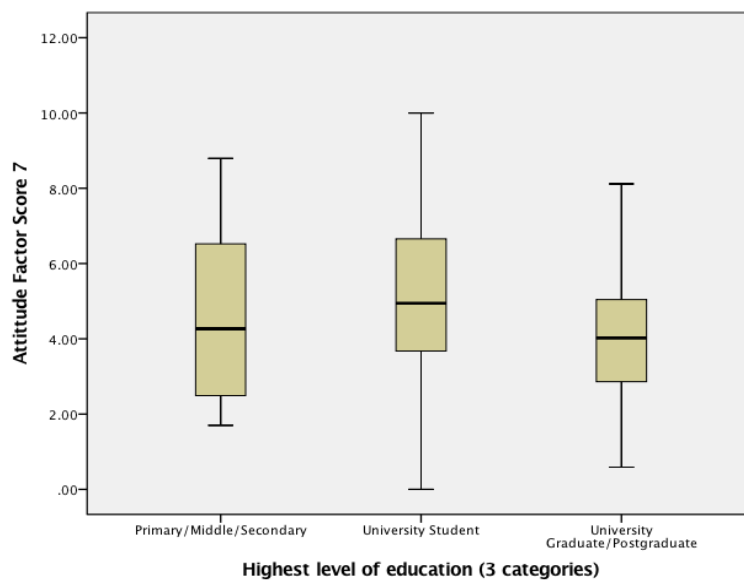
students scored higher means (M=4.84, SD=2.12) than graduates (M=3.82, SD=1.32). Accordingly, the university students are more open in using loanwords in CK (see Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Education effect on Factor 6



The university students also showed significant differences with graduates on Factor 7 (open to loanwords but prefer Kurdish) (F(2,106)=3.135, p=.048). A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a statistically significant difference between graduates and university students (p=037). The university students scored higher means (M=4.99, SD=2.24) than graduates (M=3.86, SD=1.76). Accordingly, the graduates strongly disagree with being open to loanwords (see Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5: Education effect on Factor 7



Overall, the university graduates who are supposed to have continued their education under the direct rule of the political system are less tolerant to loanwords and university students and pre university respondents are more tolerant to loanwords in Kurdish.

Table 4.10: Attitudes and education

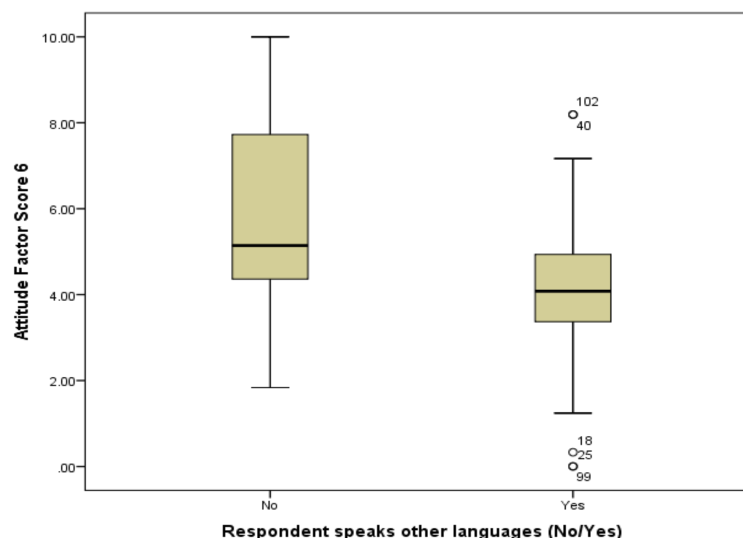
	Education level	N	Mean	Std.Deviation
Attitude Factor 3	Primary/Middle/Secondary	24	4.1561	2.22125
	University Student	49	4.1776	1.82313
	University Graduate/	36	5.5427	1.67064
Attitude Factor 4	Primary/Middle/Secondary	24	5.1580	1.85412
	University Student	49	4.3137	1.68094
	University Graduate/	36	4.3207	1.43232
Attitude Factor 6	Primary/Middle/ Secondary	24	4.6800	1.79771
	University Student	49	4.8377	2.12008
	University Graduate/	36	3.8244	1.32757
Attitude Factor 7	Primary/Middle/ Secondary	24	4.4941	2.09539
	University Student	49	4.9957	2.24575
	University Graduate	36	3.8607	1.76450

4.2.4 Language skills

As Hassall et al (2008:76) argue, an individuals' knowledge of other languages positively affects attitudes towards loanwords. One may think this would apply to Kurdish and Arabic loanwords as well. However, this does not seem to be the case in terms of Arabic loanwords in CK.

As shown in Table 4.11, ANOVA test revealed significant differences between the groups who speak other languages and monolinguals ($F(1,107)=13.32$, $p=0.000$) on Factor 6 (liberal toward loanwords). The test showed that monolinguals scored higher means ($M=-5.76$, $SD=2.32$) than bi/multilinguals ($M=4.17$, $SD=1.61$) on the liberal use of loanwords (see Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: Language skills effect on Factor 6



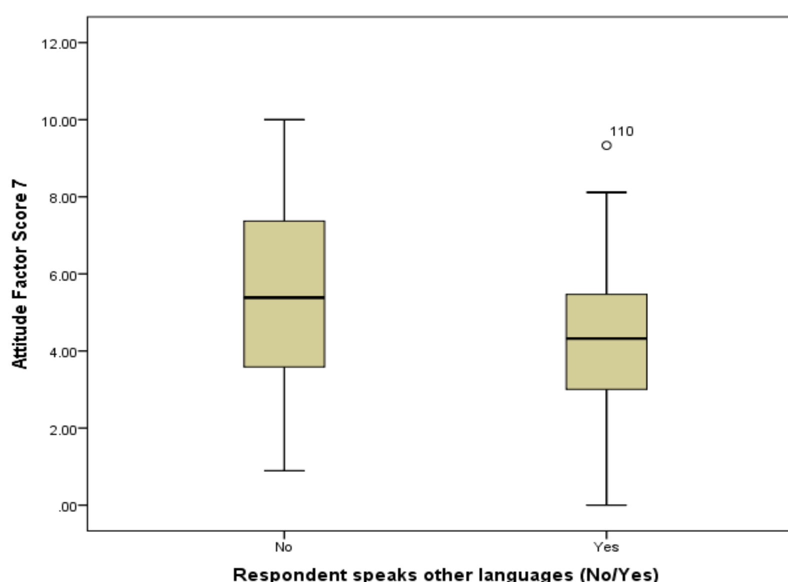
The test also showed significant differences between the two groups regarding Factor 7 (Open to loanwords but prefer Kurdish) (F(1,107)=4.33, p=.040). The test revealed that monolinguals scored higher means (M=5.38, SD=2.61) than bi/multilinguals (M=4.31, SD=1.93) on being open to loanwords (see Figure 4.7).

This indicates that monolinguals are more tolerant and open to Arabic loanwords than bi/multilinguals who showed more negative attitudes towards Arabic loanwords in Kurdish.

Table 4.11: Attitudes and language skills

	Speaks other language	N	Mean	Std.Deviation
Attitude Factor 6	No	20	5.7694	2.32796
	Yes	89	4.1760	1.61674
Attitude Factor 7	No	20	5.3829	2.61261
	Yes	89	4.3144	1.93781

Figure 4.7: Language skills effect on Factor 7



Overall, we can conclude that the bi- and multilingual respondents have more negative attitudes towards Arabic loanwords in Kurdish and monolinguals appear to be more tolerant to loanwords.

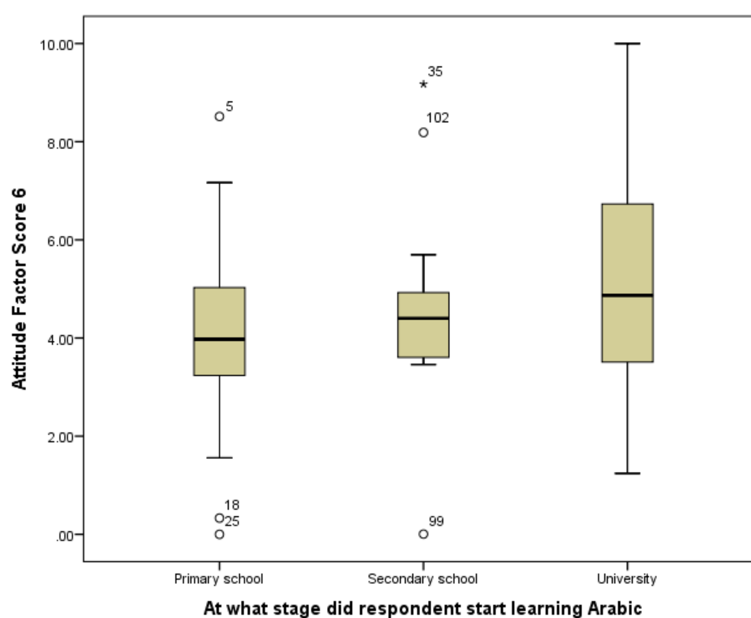
4.2.5 Stage of starting learning Arabic

The stage at which the respondents started studying Arabic at school was taken into consideration as a potential factor in framing attitudes towards loanwords in Kurdish. There were

marginally significant differences between groups as determined by ANOVA (F(2,101)=2.527), p=.085) regarding Factor 6 (liberal toward loanwords).

A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a significant difference between those who started learning Arabic at primary school and those who started at university (p=0.069). According to Table 4.12, the test showed that those who started learning at university scored higher means (M=5.11, SD=2.22) than those who started at secondary (M=4.56, SD=1.98) and the primary school starters scored the lowest mean score (M=4.15, SD=1.63), (see Figure 4.8):

Figure 4.8: Stage of learning Arabic effect on Factor 6



Accordingly, those who started learning Arabic at university are most liberal towards loanwords while those who started at primary school are less tolerant to loanwords in CK.

Table 4.12: Attitudes and stage of learning Arabic

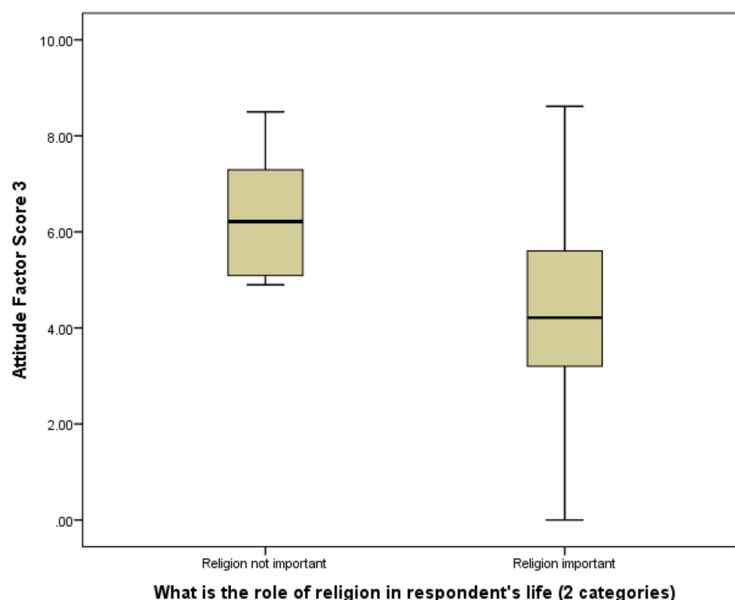
	Stage of learning Arabic	N	Mean	Std.Deviation
Attitude Factor 6	Primary school	58	4.1592	1.63657
	Secondary school	17	4.5614	1.98722
	University	29	5.1143	2.22519

4.2.6 Religion

Arabic is the language of the holy book of the Muslims, and the overwhelming majority of Kurds are Muslims. For this reason, it is justified to think that Arabic words might be perceived with positive attitudes, especially by those who consider religion to be very important.

In regard to the link between attitudes and opinion on religion, the ANOVA test showed significant differences between the respondents who consider religion 'important' and those who consider it 'not important'. There were significant differences on Factor 3 (avoidance of loanwords in institutions), (F(1,105)=12.334, p=.001). According to Table 4.13, the test showed that those who consider religion important in life scored lower means (M=4.4296, SD=1.89424) than those who consider religion as 'not important' (M=6.7309, SD=1.71720), which means they are significantly against the use of loanwords in institutions (see Figure 4.9).

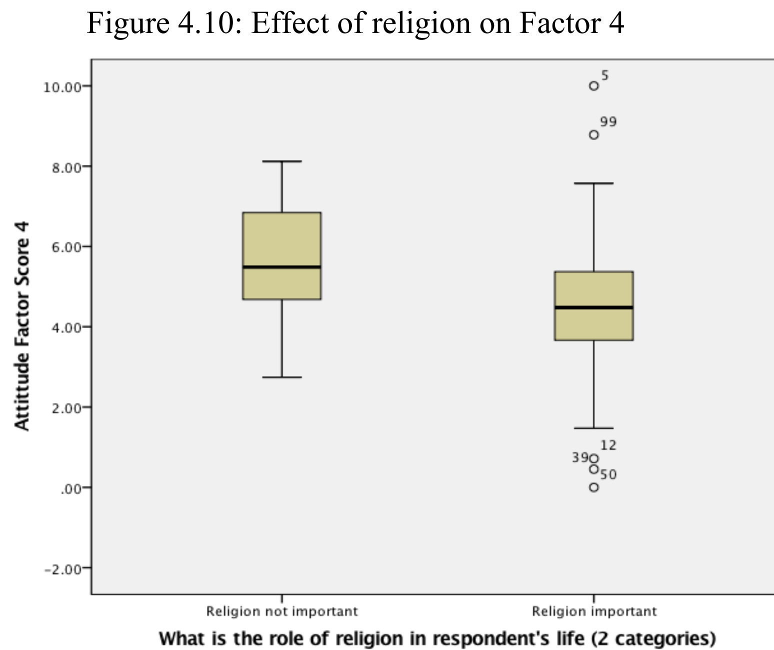
Figure 4.9: Effect of religion on Factor 3



The test also showed marginally significant differences between the two groups (F(1,105)=2.95), p=.088) regarding Factor 4 (best to avoid LWs, only use when necessary). Respondents who consider religion important in life scored (M=4.41, SD=1.65) and are significantly more tolerant towards loanwords than those who view religion as unimportant (M=5.40, SD=1.69) (see Appendix 4.2.6). This means that respondents who consider religion as unimportant agree more

with Factor 4 (best to avoid LWs, only use when necessary) (see Figure 4.10). This means they are marginally significantly against loanwords, except when necessary.

Figure 4.10: Effect of religion on Factor 4



Overall, the respondents who consider religion important are more tolerant to the use of loanwords in institutions and they do not agree on avoidance of loanwords, while those who consider religion unimportant are less tolerant against the use of loanwords.

Table 4.13: Attitudes and religion

	Role of Religion	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Attitude Factor 3	Religion not important	9	6.7309	1.71720
	Religion important	98	4.4296	1.89424
Attitude Factor 4	Religion not important	9	5.4064	1.69736
	Religion important	98	4.4109	1.65895

To sum up, the above statistical test results show that higher educated respondents, multilinguals, those who started learning Arabic at later stages of education and respondents who view religion as unimportant appear to have negative attitudes to the use of Arabic loanwords in CK in general. Male participants appear marginally more intolerant of loanwords in institutions, while female participants are marginally significantly against loanwords in speech and writing.

4.3 The effect of the social demographic factors on awareness

Language awareness

There is as yet no unified definition of language awareness (cf. Pinto et al 1999, James & Garret 1991, Thornbury 1997, and van Essen 2008). However, among the wide range of definitions within the literature there are three relevant to the subject matter of this chapter in the context of studying loanwords. Tomlinson (cited in Bolitho et al 2003:251) suggests: "language awareness is a mental attribute which develops through paying motivated attention to language". Carter (2003:64) adds mental attribution, development and sensitivity to language forms as elements of language awareness, which he defines as "development in learners of an enhanced consciousness and sensitivity to the forms and functions of language". Von Humboldt (cited in Jessner 2008b:357) defines language awareness as "a conscious reflection on language form and use". Finally, Fairclough's (1992:1) conclusion is that awareness is seemingly a synonym to "knowledge about language to designate in a more general way conscious attention to properties of language and language in use".

Therefore, I adopt the following definition of awareness in the context of the study of loanwords. Language awareness is a mental attribute that involves paying particular attention to the language, and consciously realising the origins of its components and their use. The analysis presented in this section is a reflection of this definition.

Language awareness as a field in language and linguistic studies has been widely focused on language as a native tongue, language as a second language, and language as a minority language. Many studies have also sought links between first and second languages in reaction to Chomsky's Language Acquisition Device[80] hypothesis (Hawkins 1999:132). This research has not involved exclusively awareness of loanwords. For example, Daulton (2011:7-12), mentions loanwords in Japanese with a greater focus on the effect of attitudes and the correlation to higher education proficiency than the awareness of loanwords. Similarly, Van Benthuysen (2004:169)

[80] Chomsky (1965:32) in considering the process of language acquisition argues against the behaviourist approach to language. He claims that children from different cultural backgrounds, when exposed to any language, learn to understand and learn at a very early age since humans are born with an innate knowledge of language. Children produce their own language but do not imitate the patterns they hear. Instead, Chomsky argues, they make use of a Language Acquisition Device (LAD) and the innate knowledge of universal grammar it contains.

looked into the effect of loanword awareness on second language acquisition, not the phenomena of loanwords in language and contact situations.

Historically, awareness as a topic in the study of language was suggested by Eric Hawkins in 1973, who called for a ‘bridging subject’ through linking English and foreign languages in the curriculum and breaking down the barriers between them (Hawkins 1999:124). But, it seems the idea was borrowed from Bernstein (1959) who aimed at what he terms removing the boundaries between the languages. However, others suggest that observations about awareness date back to the time of Wilhelm von Humboldt of the early 19th century (van Essen 2008 and Jessner 2008b). Thereafter, the movement of language studies gained momentum, and awareness studies evolved at the hands of Jan Hendrik van den Bosch (ibid.). The first international conference on language awareness held in Bangor in 1992 is considered by many as the scientific starting point of the current research into language awareness (Gnutzmann 1997:65).

4.3.1 Introduction of data set

The purpose of this study, as indicated in the previous section, is to investigate and analyse the effect of social and demographic factors on the awareness that Kurdish speakers have of Arabic loanwords in their language. For this purpose, a questionnaire was designed for obtaining necessary data and distributed to the participants[81] in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region’s capital, Hewlêr (see 4.5). The answers were marked on the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher in order that the researcher could clarify or answer questions the participant potentially had whilst filling in the questionnaire.

4.3.1.1 Data structure

The data sample of this section comprises answers of 120 respondents to a questionnaire that was designed to find answers to the research question of this chapter regarding awareness. The dependent variables comprise the demographic factors that are represented in the questionnaire, namely gender, age, profession, mother tongue, education level, language of education, Arabic skills, studying in Arabic, knowledge of languages (bi/multilingualism), identity and religion.

[81] The same respondents who participated in the attitude questionnaire answered the awareness questions.

The dependant variables are the awareness of loanwords which comprise the second section of the questionnaire.

The degree of awareness of the Kurdish speakers was tested through listening to 17 sets of statements, divided into two sections. The first section included 12 sentences read by a native Kurdish speaker. Eight of the sentences included an Arabic loanword and four dummy statements that did not include any Arabic elements. The respondents were asked to answer by "Yes" or "No" to the question: "Is there something in the following sentences which does not sound Kurdish".

In the second section, the respondents listened to five pairs of sentences. Within the sentence pairs, the (a) sentence of the pair included a type of loanword, whilst the (b) sentence had replaced the loanword with a native Kurdish word. The loanwords that were included in the sentences represented different types of loanwords that are found in Kurdish and occurred with high frequency in the first set of data. However, applying the matched guise technique meant having to conceal the main purpose behind the questions. Therefore, section one of the set of 17 statements included four statements that did not contain any loanwords. These four statements, which did not include loanwords, are excluded from the analysis. When entering the data into SPSS, the answer to each of the 17 statements is either "Yes" or "No". As explained above, "Yes" means that the respondent could detect the loanword in the sentence and is aware of loanwords, while "No" means that the respondent was unaware of loanwords in the question.

4.3.2 Statistical analysis

In order to determine whether there is a significant association between demographic factors and the awareness of Kurdish speakers of Arabic loanwords, the data was analysed preliminarily using statistical tests processed through SPSS 24. The tests involved Chi-Square and Mann-Witney U tests on individual loanword types as these tests are believed to be more adequate for testing small sized data samples (Field 2017:547). The test results show that gender, language of education, language skills, identity, education and Arabic proficiency level affected awareness. The same preliminary test will be adopted for testing the association between attitudes and awareness for obtaining more comprehensive results and avoiding loss of effect of any variables as a result of reduction and regrouping (see 4.2.1 and 4.4).

Following the preliminary test and in order to reduce the number of variables, a Factor Analysis technique was used, which generated 5 factors out of the 17 Questions (see Appendix 4.3.2.1 B).

An initial hypothesis is that the awareness of women would be lower than that of men due to socio-political reasons. This is because women may have had fewer opportunities and less engagement in social activities in the past (Al-Wer 2007, Kāẓim 2006, Hassanpour 2001). Moreover, other social factors such as education and religion that contribute to exposure would affect awareness.

4.3.2.1 Results of the analysis

The statistical analysis in this section starts with a description of the statistical test results unlike the attitudes section. This is because the demographic factors have already been presented in (4.1.7), while the description of the demographic facts has already been presented in the previous section on attitudes.

4.3.3 Statistical description of the results

The following sections include statistical descriptions of the analysis that was carried out in order to find out about potential association between the respondents' awareness of the loanwords, looking at different types of loanwords grouped in five clusters via Factor Analysis (see 4.2.1 and Appendix 4.3.2.1 B). In keeping with the attitudinal study in section 4.2, five demographic factors have been selected for the test of awareness including gender, education level, language skills, stage of learning Arabic and religion.

As mentioned in (4.3.2), following the preliminary test, Factor Analysis was performed in order to overcome possible collinearities and reduce the number of variables to have more focused discussion. The Factor Analysis regrouped the awareness questions, that each included a type of loanword into five factors consisting of a group of loanword types as follows:

Factor 1: includes pure, transferred stem, compound-blend, analysed compound
Factor 2: includes assimilated, dummy
Factor 3: includes fused, truncated, assimilated, dummy
Factor 4: includes dummy, transferred stem, pure, pseudo
Factor 5: includes pure, partial, transferred stem (see Appendix 4.3.3 A)

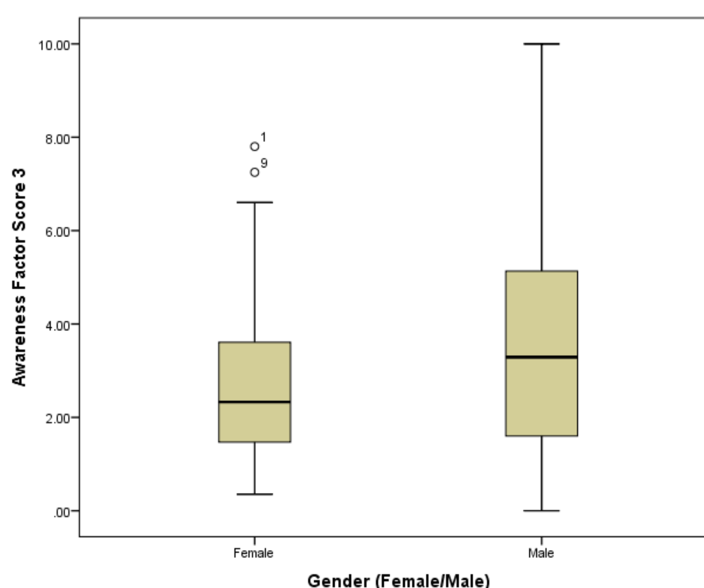
The Factors have not been labelled as I thought the names of the loanwords types explain the factors better than any label. The following sections present the results of ANOVA test that was performed on the data to find the effect of five socio-demographic factors of the awareness of loanwords.

4.3.3.1 Gender

Gender has been taken into account as a major variable in this section as Chapter 3's results were suggestive of gender being an important factor in the differences in the use of loanwords. It is also because some observers label Kurdish society as a patriarchal community that allows women less opportunities for education and consequently less participation in public life (Mojab 2001:9, Al-Ali 2011:341). It would be vital to test gender-based differences in the awareness of loanwords.

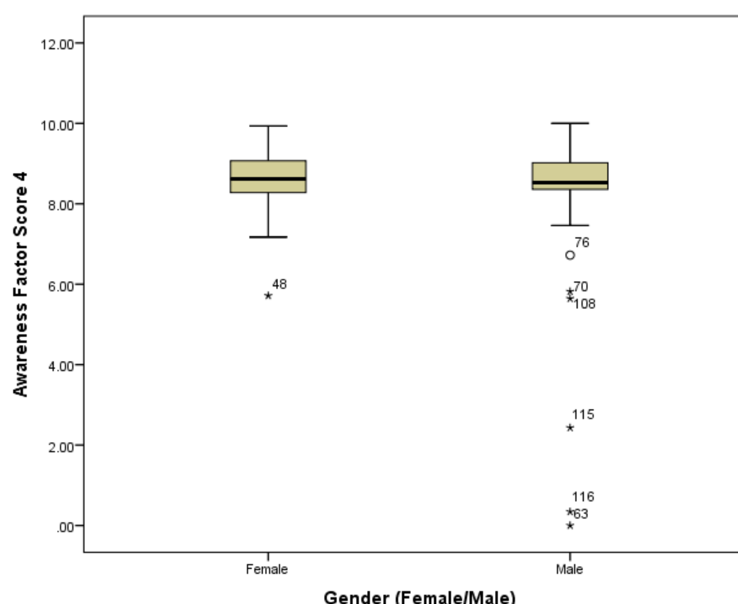
An ANOVA test revealed significant differences between men and women ($F(1,111)=3.676$, $p=055$) on Factor 3 (fused, truncated, assimilated). As shown in Table 4.14, the test showed that men scored more highly ($M=3.65$, $SD=2.42$) than women ($M=2.87$, $SD=1.83$) in recognising the types of truncated, fused and assimilated loanwords, which represent words with different degrees of assimilation (see Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11: Effect of gender on Factor 3



On the other hand, the ANOVA revealed marginally significant differences between men and women ($F(1,111)=3.06$, $p=083$) on Factor 4 (dummy, pure and pseudo). As shown in Table 4.14, the test indicated that women have a higher mean score ($M=8.64$, $SD=.69$) than men ($M=8.16$, $SD=1.94$).

Figure 4.12: Effect of gender on Factor 4



Accordingly, women are more likely to be aware of pure and pseudo-loans that have maintained the Arabic form.

Table 4.14: Awareness and gender

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Awareness Factor 3	Women	58	2.8730	1.83207
	Men	55	3.6553	2.42552
Awareness Factor 4	Women	58	8.6436	.69190
	Men	55	8.1673	1.94616

It is worth mentioning that a t-test on individual loan-types, prior to Factor Analysis, showed women to be significantly more aware than men of partially, pure and pseudo-loanwords, which are not assimilated in form.

Women recognised pure loanwords *sefre* 'trip' and *mešûret* 'to consult' significantly ($p=0.057$) more than men did. Another significant difference was determined by Fisher's exact test. It showed that women were significantly ($p=0.027$) more aware of pseudo-loan *ȟarîq* than men were.

Table 4.15: Awareness of pure loanwords

			1. respondent's gender		Total
			Female	Male	
4. Identify which sentence sound more Kurdish	Without loanword	Count	59	54	113
		% within 1. respondent's gender	100.0%	91.5%	95.8%
	With loanword	Count	0	5	5
		% within 1. respondent's gender	0.0%	8.5%	4.2%
Total		Count	59	59	118
		% within 1. respondent's gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.16.: Awareness of pseudo-loanwords

			1. respondent's gender		Total
			Female	Male	
5. Identify which sentence sound more Kurdish	Without loanword	Count	60	54	114
		% within 1. respondent's gender	100.0%	91.5%	95.8%
	With Pseudo	Count	0	5	5
		% within 1. respondent's gender	0.0%	8.5%	4.2%
Total		Count	60	59	119
		% within 1. respondent's gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

According to the statistical analysis above (tables 4.15 and 4.16), women show more awareness of pure loanwords and pseudo-loans than men. However, men seem to be more aware of truncated and loan-types that are not assimilated formally.

4.3.3.2 Education

Arabic has lost its prestigious status gradually since 1991 in the Kurdistan Region. The largest sections of specialty sources in libraries are in Arabic; this might imply that the more highly educated people have higher competence in Arabic. Hence, the people who have higher education levels might be considered to be more aware of Arabic. Therefore, an association between education level and awareness of Arabic loanwords is very likely.

An ANOVA yielded different results regarding the effect of education level and awareness of loanwords in Factors 1 and 2. As shown in Table 4.17, the ANOVA test determined a significant statistical difference between education levels regarding Factor 1 (pure, transferred stem, compound-blend, analysed compound) ($F(2,110)=4.996$, $p=0.008$) and regarding Factor 2 (assimilated, dummy) ($F(2,110)=2.899$, $p=0.059$).

Figure 4.13: Effect of education on Factor 1

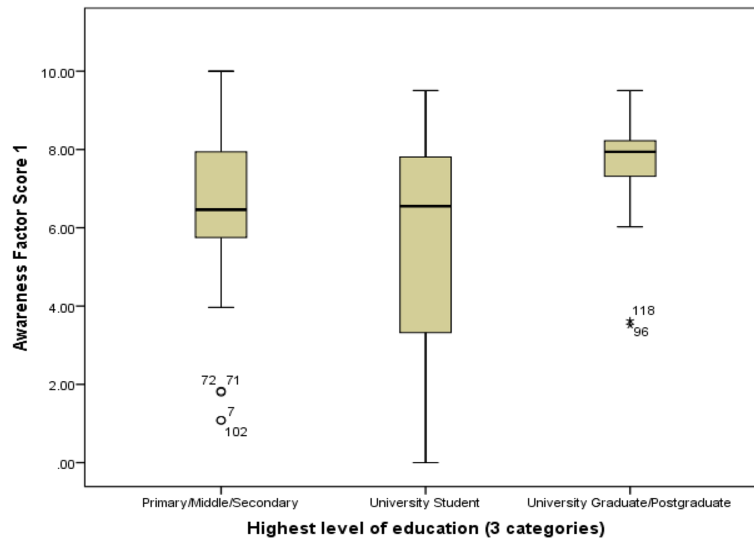
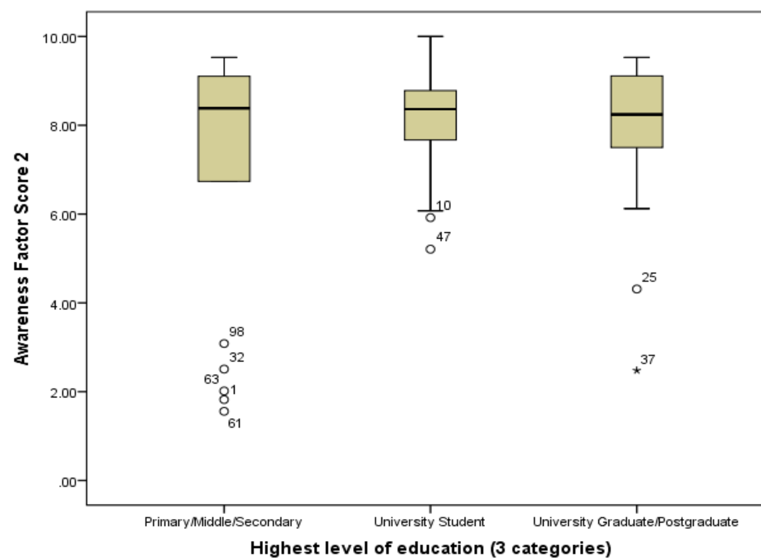


Figure 4.14: Effect of education on Factor 2



A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a significant difference between graduates and university students (p=0.006). As shown in Table 4.17 a Tukey test revealed graduates scored higher (M=7.40, SD=1.55) than university students (M=5.73, SD=2.74). Accordingly, graduates are more aware of pure, transferred, and compound loans, i.e. majority of loan-types. In the meantime, a Tukey post-hoc test revealed that university students are significantly more aware of totally assimilated loanwords (p=0.056). The test determined that university students scored higher (M=8.15, SD=0.95) than pre-university stages (M=7.15, SD=2.62). Accordingly, university students are more aware of assimilated and unassimilated loans than pre-university stages.

Table 4.17: Awareness and education

	Education level	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Awareness Factor 1	Primary/Middle/Secondary	26	6.2780	2.55331
	University Student	53	5.7397	2.74071
	University Graduate/Postgraduate	34	7.4028	1.55559
Awareness Factor 2	Primary/Middle/Secondary	26	7.1592	2.62853
	University Student	53	8.1516	.95155
	University Graduate/Postgraduate	34	7.5999	1.97626

Overall, the tests showed positive impact of education level on awareness. The respondents with the highest education level appear significantly more aware of pure loans and types of assimilated loanwords than others. Also, university students appear significantly more aware of totally assimilated loanwords than people who are educated to pre-university level.

4.3.3.3 Language skills

The association between awareness and speakers' language skills (i.e. bi/multilingualism) could be a strong factor in the recognition of loanwords, as people with linguistic skills may be better able to identify and accept non-native words, according to Fisherman (1990:12).

ANOVA showed that language skills and bi/multilingualism significantly affects the awareness of Factor 2 (assimilated, dummy) loanwords (F(1, 111)=12.583, p=.001). According to Table 4.18, the test indicated that bi/multilinguals scored more highly (M=6.75, SD=2.25) than monolinguals (M=4.75, SD=2.78).

Figure 4.15: Effect of language skills on Factor 1

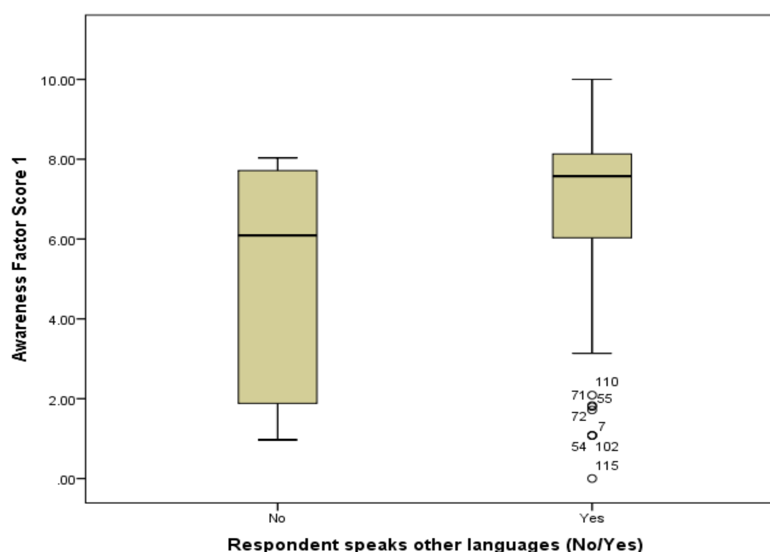


Table 4.18.: Awareness and language skills

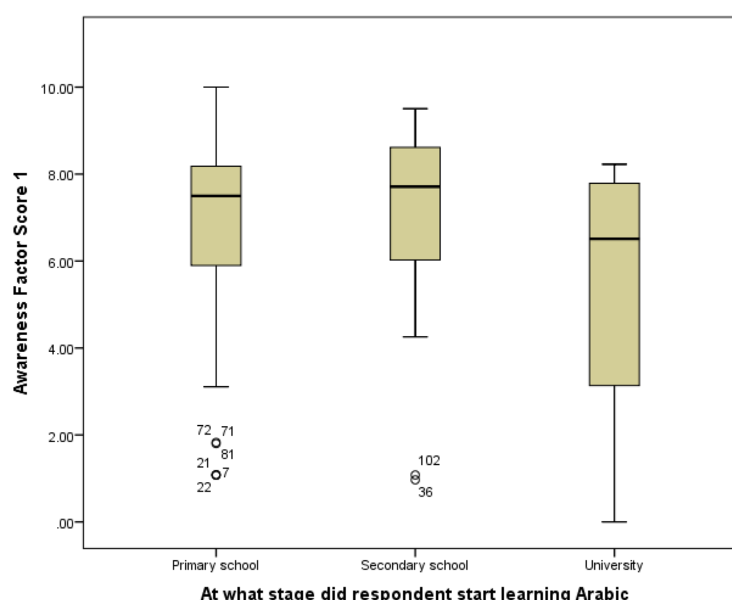
	Speaks other languages	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Awareness Factor 1	No	22	4.7592	2.78305
	Yes	91	6.7519	2.25578

Accordingly, those with extra language skills appear more aware of loanwords as they recognised the dummy question and they are more aware of assimilated loan-types in particular.

4.3.3.4 Stage of starting learning Arabic

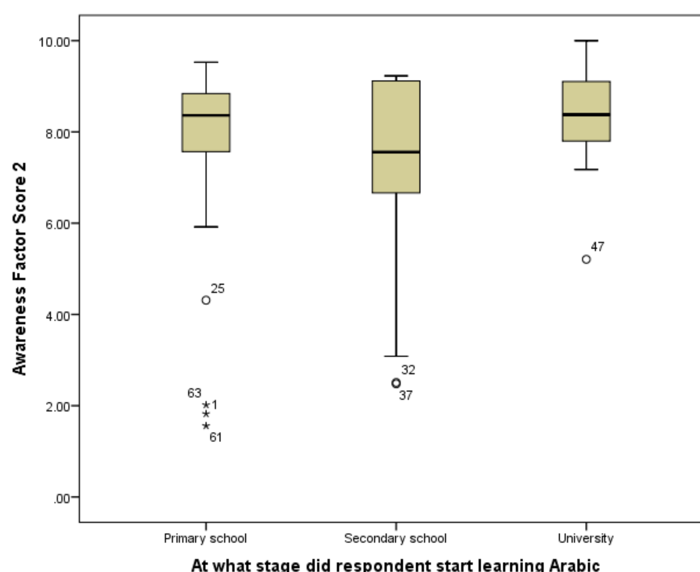
An ANOVA indicated statistically significant differences between the groups who learnt Arabic at different stages regarding response to Factor 1 (pure, transferred stem, compound-blend, analysed compound) (F(2,106)=2.773, p=0.067). There was a marginally significant difference between the three different stages. However, the Tukey test showed there were no significant differences between the three groups – primary, secondary and university (p=0.818), (p=0.112) and (p=0.104). Factor 1 includes most types of loanwords, which means we can assume that in general, the stage of learning Arabic is a weak factor in relation to awareness.

Figure 4.16: Effect of stage of starting Arabic on Factor 1



The test on Factor 2 (assimilated, dummy) showed those who started learning at university are more significantly aware of loanwords than those who learnt at earlier stages (F(2, 106)=3.86, p=.024).

Figure 4.17: Effect of stage of starting Arabic on Factor 2



A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a statistically significant difference between those who started learning at university and the group who started at secondary level (p=0.018). As shown in Table 4.19, the university level scored higher (M=8.41, SD=0.95) than the secondary level (M=7.07, SD=2.26) and the primary level (M=7.82, SD=1.66). Accordingly, those who stated learning Arabic at university level are more aware of assimilated loanwords followed by primary level and then secondary.

Table 4.19.: Awareness and stage of learning Arabic

	Stage of learning Arabic	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Awareness Factor 1	Primary school	61	6.5854	2.31441
	Secondary school	18	6.9822	2.55020
	University	30	5.4809	2.64696
Awareness Factor 2	Primary school	61	7.8210	1.66468
	Secondary school	18	7.0722	2.26741
	University	30	8.4113	.95015

Consequently, there is an association between the stage of starting to study Arabic and awareness. Evidently, those who started learning Arabic at later stages of their education are more aware of the loanwords than those who started earlier.

4.3.3.5 Religion

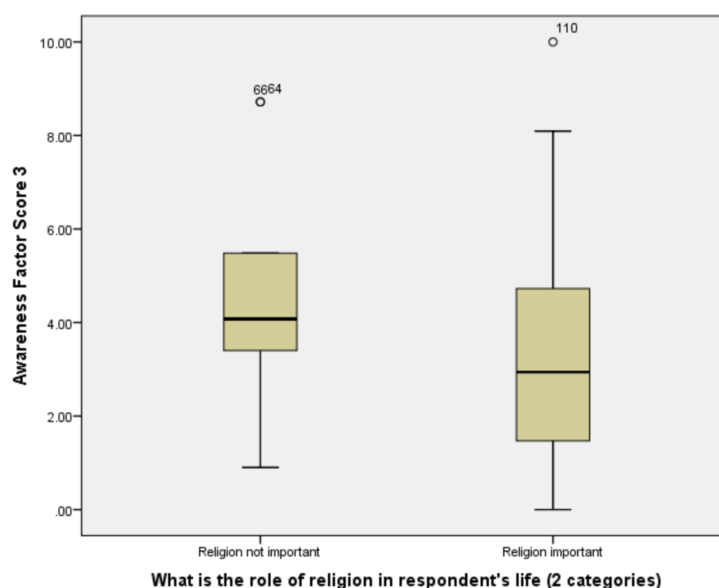
Arabic is the language of the Quran, which is the holy book of Muslims. The majority of Muslims, at certain stage of their life, start reading or reciting the holy book. Those who are

committed to religion read at least several verses of the Quran every day and hear verses at mosques and religious events as well as in weekly Friday prayers. Therefore, the respondents, especially those with some level of education background, might be expected to have the knowledge required to recognise Arabic origin words.

ANOVA yielded significant differences between the respondents, on Factors 3 (fused, truncated, assimilated) and 5 (pure, partial, transferred stem).

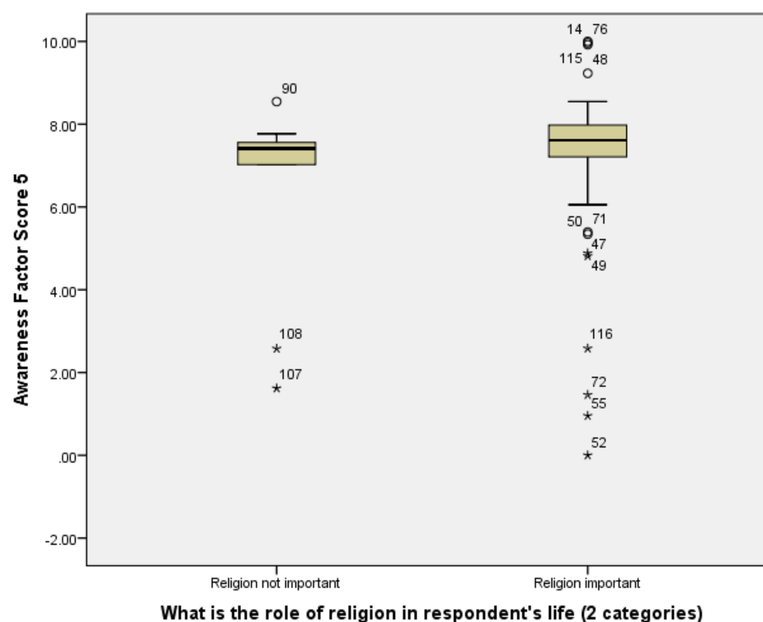
ANOVA test results on Factor 3 revealed significant differences between those who consider religion important in life and those who do not consider it important (F(2,110)=3.550, p=.062). The test showed that those who consider religion as unimportant scored higher means (M4.48, SD2.63) than those who see religion as important in life (M=3.13, SD=2.10), as shown in Table 4.20. Accordingly, those who consider religion as unimportant are more aware of loan-types that are changed in form.

Figure 4.18: Effect of religion on Factor 3



Regarding Factor 5, ANOVA test showed marginal statistical differences between the respondents (F(1,110)=3.084, p=.084). As shown in Table 4.20, the test indicated that those who consider religion as important scored higher (M=7.32, SD1.48) than those who consider it as unimportant (M=6.40, SD=2.33). Accordingly, those who consider religion as important are marginally statistically significantly more aware of loanwords that maintained the main features of the Arabic form of the word.

Figure 4.19: Effect of religion on Factor 5



Overall the respondents who consider religion as unimportant are more aware of the loans that are transformed (or assimilated), whereas those who view religion as important in life are more aware of the pure loans that maintain Arabic form. Since the number of respondents who consider religion as unimportant is very low, it would not be worthwhile to draw absolute conclusions from these results. It does, however, show differences and therefore the results could be considered as suggestive of significant differences. In addition, Factor Analysis showed weak collinearity between gender and religion and the effect of religion might not be independent (see 4.5.2).

Table 4.20 Awareness and religion

	Role of Religion	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Awareness Factor 3	Religion not important	10	4.4815	2.63563
	Religion important	102	3.1375	2.10407
Awareness Factor 5	Religion not important	10	6.4047	2.33081
	Religion important	102	7.3203	1.48725

Accordingly, the respondents with more positive views on religion are better able to recognise the loanword types that retain their Arabic form. Those who do not view religion as important in life are more aware of the assimilated loanwords.

4.4 The association between attitudes and awareness

As previously stated in 4.1.6, prior to the FA other tests were conducted on the data, including backward regression analysis and (M)ANOVA tests. The results of Factor Analysis, as well as the regression and ANOVA, indicated no noteworthy association between attitudes to and awareness of loanwords. Therefore, the results of the comparison before the FA test are considered for two reasons. Firstly, examining the results of the test for each statement in the attitudes and each loanword-type in the awareness section allows comprehensive and thorough comparison between the two. Secondly, putting cluster variables together may not reflect the initial results of the attitude and awareness tests since every statement in the attitudes section was set to test a unique aspect of a speech domain and each question in the awareness questionnaire aimed at testing awareness of specific loanword types which were tested in Chapter 3. Hence, considering each loanword type will create more coherence with the tests carried out in Chapter 3.

The statistical analyses in the previous sections revealed certain associations between demographic factors and attitudes on one hand, and social factors and the awareness of the respondents of loanwords, on the other hand. However, the degree of association of respondents' attitudes and awareness varied in terms of the association with social factors. Some of the attitudinal or awareness factors did not prompt significant differences in association with the factors.

According to Perloff (2010:29), individuals have different perceptions of both awareness and attitudes. Perloff therefore makes a connection between awareness and habits rather than stipulating an association with attitudes:

> We are not consciously aware that we harbour certain feelings about the person or issue. Consider prejudiced attitudes instances in which people blindly hate other people from different racial, ethnic, or religious groups. Prejudiced persons do not give the despised group member much chance; the mere thought or sight of the other elicits a volcanically negative response (Perloff 2010:76-77).

In a similar vein, Garrett (2010:31) considers the difficulty of assessing "how much reflexive awareness people actually have of their various attitudes", concluding that awareness varies according to differences in attitudes and differences in contexts. Other previous studies on

language attitudes suggest a sort of association between attitudes to loanwords and awareness, such as Fisherman (1990) and Loveday (1996). Hassall (2008) is the most explicit, suggesting knowledge of languages, particularly knowledge of the donor language, is of importance in forming attitudes to loanwords.

Therefore, it is of interest in this study to examine the findings of the attitudinal and awareness sections and to test any association between the attitudes to loanwords and speakers' awareness. For this reason, another test was given to the respondents to examine their awareness of loanwords.

This section presents tests that were performed on the data before the Factor Analysis for reasons explained in the introduction to this section and in 4.2.1. Before describing the test results, I will present a short description of the previous test and its method.

4.4.1 Description of the Awareness test

Before conducting the Factor Analysis, I performed some preliminary comprehensive tests on awareness of and attitudes to loanwords. The tests showed different degrees of significance for all 12 socio-demographic factors on the attitudes to borrowing. The tests showed that only the factors of gender, education, language skills, Arabic level, stage of starting learning Arabic, Arabic as subject at school and identity affected awareness. Language skills appeared to be the strongest factor that affected awareness (see Appendix 4.4.1 A and B). The attitudes were analysed through ANOVA, which does not require description again in this section. The awareness was tested through Chi-square, which needs a concise explanation before moving to the description of the tests on the association between attitudes and awareness.

The reliability test on the results was carried out starting with an examination of the variables.[82] It was necessary to check the inter-consistency of the questions that included the different types of loanwords to measure the awareness of different loan types. Reliability analysis showed that Cronbach's Alpha is 0.762. This is above the cut-off value 0.7, indicating that the internal consistency of the data obtained from the responses to the statements is acceptable. Therefore, responses to all the questions were used in the study (see Appendix 4.4.1.B).

[82] Originally 17 statements but four of the statements did not contain loanwords and they were dummy statements.

As there are 13 types of loanwords in the questionnaire, the score for awareness was calculated as follows. The respondent received 1 mark if his/her answer was correct (i.e. if they recognised the loanword) for one question. Therefore, a respondent could get a score from 0 to 13. A higher score indicates greater awareness of Arabic loanwords (see Appendix 4.4.1 D).

As the possible outcome of 'Score' has more than 10 values, it is common to treat score as a continuous variable (see Appendix 4.4.1 D and E).

4.4.2 Statistical description of the results

In order to examine whether the attitudes of the respondents towards loanwords have any association with their awareness of loanwords, the dataset was tested statistically through chi-square and non-parametric tests. Chi-square tests were performed to examine the association between attitudes and awareness, while the non-parametric test was used to convert the variable-score into a categorical variable in order to be able to compare the results of the attitudinal test and the degree of awareness. The tests revealed significant differences ($p<0.05$) to ($p<0.07$) that will be explained in the coming sections.

The Descriptive statistics of awareness shows that the median score value is 9 in almost all the tables (see Appendix 4.4.1). Therefore, I have divided the score value into three categories as follows: 0-8 = low, 9-11 = relatively high, and 12-13 = high. Respondents with score <9 are assumed to have low or medium level of awareness, while respondents with score >=9 are considered to have relatively high or high degree of awareness. In SPSS, the categorical variable-score is denoted by "SCORE2_awareness". We are interested in how demographic factors are associated with the awareness between respondents who have a score of <9 and a score of >=9.

Chi-square tests showed associations between awareness and attitudes towards loanwords in response to only three statements. Firstly, a chi-square test on attitudinal statement (S10) revealed significant differences towards attitudes among the three groups with different awareness scores ($p=0.056$). As demonstrated in Table 4.21, more than half of the respondents with low or medium awareness (69%) or high awareness (63%) agreed with (S10) in the attitudes section, while less than half of respondents with relatively high awareness (44.2%) agreed with the statement.

Table 4.21: Association between awareness and attitudes regarding S10

			Score_three_groups			Total
			Low or medium	relatively high	high	
10. The government should set policies to restrict the use of Arabic words in Kurdish	**Disagree**	Count	13	24	10	47
		% within Score_three_groups	31.0%	55.8%	37.0%	42.0%
	Agree	Count	29	19	17	65
		% within Score_three_groups	69.0%	44.2%	63.0%	58.0%
Total		Count	42	43	27	112
		% within Score_three_groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-square testing revealed another significant difference in attitudes that was observed in response to (S20): "It is best to avoid Arabic loanwords in Kurdish writing even when Kurdish terms do not exist" across the three groups with different awareness scores (p=0.02). As demonstrated in Table 4.22, more than half of the respondents disagreed with (S20) for all the three groups. Some 83.3% of respondents with low or medium awareness disagreed with (S20) whereas 59.5% of respondents with relatively high awareness and 55.6% of respondents with high awareness disagreed with the statement.

Table 4.22: Association between awareness and attitudes regarding S20

			Score_three_groups			Total
			Low or medium	relatively high	high	
20. It is best to avoid Arabic loanwords in Kurdish writing even when Kurdish terms do not exist.	**Disagree**	Count	35	25	15	75
		% within groups	83.3%	59.5%	55.6%	67.6%
	Agree	Count	7	17	12	36
		% within groups	16.7%	40.5%	44.4%	32.4%
Total		Count	42	42	27	111
		% within groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The final remarkable association between the attitudes and awareness was observed in relation to (S27): "Using Arabic loanwords in Kurdish means Iraqiness and Kurds being part of Iraq". Chi-square test revealed significant differences in response to attitudinal statement (S27) across the three groups with different awareness scores (p=0.04). As illustrated in Table 4.39, more than half of the respondents with relatively high or high awareness disagreed with (S27). The results show that 67.4% of respondents with relatively high awareness and 77.8% of respondents with

high awareness disagreed with (S27), while 48.8% of respondents with low or medium awareness disagreed with it.

Table 4.23: Association between awareness and attitudes regarding S27

			Score_three_groups			**Total**
			Low or medium	**relatively high**	**high**	
27. Using Arabic loanwords in Kurdish means Iraqiness and Kurds being part of Iraq**.**	Disagree	Count	20	29	21	70
		% within groups	48.8%	67.4%	77.8%	63.1%
	Agree	Count	21	14	6	41
		% within groups	51.2%	32.6%	22.2%	36.9%
Total		Count	41	43	27	111
		% within groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0 %

The results of the awareness test are arranged into three scales. Overall, the chi-square test revealed association between the attitudes and the scales of the awareness in only three statements on the attitudes, which are relevant to loanwords in domains of politics, identity issues as well as a statement on the general use of loanwords. The first association was found in regard to attitudes to the use of loanwords in politics and the government policy on loanwords. The respondents who showed low awareness of loanwords agreed more with the statement and seem to favour policies on restricting the use of loanwords.

4.5 Discussion

A general aim of this chapter was to address the effect of socio-demographic factors on the awareness and attitudes of Kurdish speakers to Arabic loanwords. More specifically, it was hoped that the results would yield insights into a possible association between social factors and awareness and attitudes to Arabic loanwords. The tests provided answers to the research questions on effect of social factors on awareness of loanwords and framing attitudes to attitudes and confirmed a negative correlation between attitudes and awareness of loanwords.

The preliminary test results showed that factors of gender, age, education, religion, language skills, Arabic proficiency level, the language of education and stage of starting to learn Arabic influence attitudes. The preliminary tests of awareness indicated the effect of the following factors on the awareness of loanwords: gender, education, language skills, Arabic level, stage of start learning Arabic, Arabic as school subject, and identity.

After the reduction of the data through Factor Analysis technique, the effects of five socio-demographic factors on awareness and attitudes to Arabic loanwords in CK was examined. The new test confirmed various degrees of significance of the socio-demographic factors on attitudes to and awareness of loanwords.

The post Factor Analysis ANOVA test provided the results shown in tables 4.24 and 4.25. As will be explained in the following paragraphs, the socio-demographic factors showed different degrees of influence on attitudes and awareness.

Table 4.24: Association between social factors and attitudes to loanwords

	Factors	**Gender**	**Education**	**Other languages**	**Start learning**	**Role of religion**
1	F1 Resistance to LWs in media					
2	F2 Linguistic independence					
3	F3 Avoidance of LW in institutions	√	√			√
4	F4 Best to avoid LWs, only use when necessary		√			√
5	F5 Avoidance of loanwords in speech and writing	√				
6	F6 Liberal towards LW		√	√	√	
7	F7 Open to loanwords but prefer Kurdish		√	√		

Table 4.25: Association between social factors and awareness of types of loanwords

	Factors	Gender	Education	Other languages	Start learning	Role of religion
1	F1 LWs closer to the source form		√	√	√	
2	F2 Assimilated form		√		√	
3	F3 Altered form	√				√
4	F4 Pseudo and source form	√				
5	F5 Partially altered and source form					√

The results and the interpretations of the statistical tests have been described in detail in order to demonstrate where there are significant differences in attitudes and awareness of the loanwords according to each of the social factors outlined in the first section of the questionnaire. Not all the factors influenced the awareness and attitudes to loanwords equally. Some factors had a stronger impact, elicited different responses and stirred more obvious association between the demographic factor and the independent variables. The discussion will start with the attitude section which will be followed by the awareness section and concludes with a discussion of possible associations between attitudes and awareness of loanwords.

Previous works indicated an influence of age on attitudes (Baker 1992, Awedyk 2009, Kristiansen 2010 and Irwin 2011). However, the mean composite score test in my study did not show any significant influence of age on the attitudes. For that reason, age was excluded from analysis (see 4.2.1). As the mean composite score showed a marginally significant effect of gender, I have included gender in the analysis in this project. The analysis showed education level was also a strong factor affecting attitudes, followed by others such as language skills, religion, stage of starting learning Arabic and gender.

The factor of religion seems to have weak collinearity with gender but this cannot be confirmed as the number of the respondents who considered religion as non-important is only 10 out of 120 which includes both men and women. Due to the very low number of the answers, gender has to be considered for analysis as the stronger factor rather than religion. The same is true about the results of the awareness test. Therefore, religion cannot be considered entirely as an independent factor in affecting awareness. But it has to be said that the collinearity is weak

and the differences between the results of religion and gender effect on dependent variables are different.

In the following three sections, discussions on the test results on attitudes, awareness and the correlation between attitudes and awareness will be presented.

4.5.1 Attitudes

The statistical analysis of the data yielded significant differences within the groups of independent variables (social factors) in terms of the attitudes to the use and presence of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. The fully significant differences ($p<0.07$) are referred to as significant and those of up to ($p<0.099$) are referred to as marginally significant. These differences were also considered simply because of the sample size (see 4.1.6). It is possible that these might also turn out to be significant if the security and political situation in the region had allowed for the collection of a larger data set. The analysis covered five main socio-demographic factors which had a strong effect on attitudes, as will be presented below.

The results of the **gender effect** did not show widespread significant differences between the two groups. The results seemed to contrast with the findings found in the literature on language and gender which argue that there are different associations between gender and language in the Middle East and the West. Western studies tend to show that women use the prestige language more than men (Labov 1972:243, Hudson 1996:195, Mansfield and Trudgill 1994:382, Cheshire 2002:427, Mesthrie 2012:95, Coates 2014:62), whereas the literature on language and gender in the Middle East paints a different picture. As observed by Abu-Haidar (1989:472) and Bakir (1986:5), Persian-speaking women of Iran are more sensitive than men to acquiring new linguistic terms (Modaressi 1978:217). In regard to Turkish, women are more open to foreign elements and tend to use a more formal register than men (Alevi et al 2013:1336). However, the analysis of attitudes to Arabic loanwords in Kurdish did not reflect previous findings in either Middle Eastern or Western contexts, and did not confirm any of the trends that have been noted on gender-based language variation which were discussed in Chapter 3 (see 3.4).

Although Arabic has lost its prestige in the Kurdistan Region (Šerîf 2015), the attitudes of the gender groups to the use of loanwords did not reflect this fact through differences in how

the men and women used loanwords as a marker of prestige. The only significant differences between male and female respondents were found in statements relating to Kurdish identity in the preliminary tests, which is interesting as identity, according to Norton (1997:410), is "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space and how people understand their possibilities for the future". This is one of many signals of change in a place that is undergoing a significant social and political transitional phase. It worth noting that the use of loanwords by women suggested an association between identity and gender in Chapter 3. Women seemed to mark their identity as Kurds and women through distinctive use of loanwords (see 3.4.6).

The status of women in modern Kurdish society[83] is totally different from that in the Western culture according to Mojab (2001:425) and Hassanpour (2001:236). The society was under external influence and labelled in the past as patriarchal and allowed women fewer opportunities (see 4.3.3.1). However, the situation is rapidly changing. In spite of being influenced by the feudal system, recent socio-political developments in the Kurdistan Region carried fundamental changes especially to the status of Kurdish women. Women have been recently demanding "a greater role for women in the public sphere" (Al-Ali 2011:338) which is a natural development in a society that is undergoing transition. As language is one of the main elements in social interaction, it acts as a vehicle for culture (Ennaji 2005:24) rather than being used only for direct communication. It is therefore important in identity building. This may have been, in part, a reason for the limited differences in language use. Furthermore, the situation in the Kurdistan Region in general, and Kurdish women's status in particular, is changing in a society that is going through transition, though it is still under the influence of long traditions. Accordingly, the overall differences in the attitudes of men and women to the use of language did not correspond to the notions of difference that had been discussed in previous language and gender research by Coates (2014:62) as well as Tannen (1993), Freed (2003) and Cameron (2005).

However, the differences in the final tests following the Factor Analysis showed marginally significant differences regarding two sets of statements on loanwords. Men and women showed different responses to Factor 3 (avoiding loanwords in institutions) and Factor 5 (avoiding loanwords in writing and speech) which may suggest two things. As the differences

[83] The status of woman has also changed from previous eras, as described by Minorsky (1945), Hansen (1961), Edmonds (1958) and Fraser (1840). Kāẓim (2006) details changes to status of women after World War One and thereafter

were marginally significant it would be interpreted as suggestive of and as consistent with the hypothesis that suggests the patriarchal nature of the Middle Eastern societies and women's approach to change in such communities. Firstly, men agree on elimination of loanwords in institutions, which might be suggestive of men's manifestation of power since often groups within society express a tendency to manifest power (Moreau 1984:59, Corson 1993:127). Women, in their turn, agree on avoiding loanwords in writing and speech. This might suggest that women are more keen on societal change rather than imposing rules. Secondly, this could be suggestive of women's will for change of the status quo through a soft, self-disciplined approach rather than through prohibition and enforcement, which arguably caused the deprivation of women's rights for decades in the patriarchal society of the past (Majob 2001:425, Al-Ali 2011:338). The attitudes towards avoidance of loanwords suggests a contrast between two strata of the society with different approaches to the issue of loanwords in CK. Men are against the use of loanwords in institutions, while women agree on avoiding loanwords in speech and writing. This may show that women want change and avoidance of the loanwords to be initiated by people rather than being imposed, while men agree on enforcing the avoidance of loanwords. This consequently means both groups show negative attitudes to loanwords which could be attributed to factors like political historical attitude to Arabic language in general. This is a complex topic that is beyond the scope of this study and needs further investigation in future.

There was no fully (p=0.07) significant difference in the attitudes of men and women and consequently the test did not confirm the hypothesis of the chapter fully. The only significant differences in attitudes were found in statements relating to matters of identity (statements 12 and 27 in the attitudinal questionnaire, which are about the use of loanwords and identity). Eckert (1989, 1990) and Bourdieu (1991) argue that women's social positions are shaped more through the different ways that females look for symbolic capital through language that develops from attitudes. The female respondents' significant connection between identity and the use of loanwords could be interpreted as a claim of a social position and perhaps Kurdishness (see Kamaran & Ghorbani 2015 and 3.1.4.1 this thesis). This suggests that women's position and social-ethnic identity is very strongly tied to community membership and social interaction (Eckert 1989, 1990, Woolard 1997).

The **education level** of the respondents appeared to have an effect on the attitudes to loanwords in relation to the avoidance of loanwords in institutions on one hand, and liberal use of loanwords and openness to loanwords on the other hand. This twofold dimension of attitudes represents positive and negative attitudes to loanwords in general.

The graduates appeared to be the least tolerant of loanwords as they strongly agreed with avoidance of loanwords in institutions and were strongly against liberal use of loanwords and openness towards using them. This clearly shows the group's negative attitudes to loanwords. Meanwhile, pre-university level respondents appeared to be the most tolerant of the use of loanwords in institutions. While the university students were less tolerant than the pre-university students of loanwords in institutions, they were more tolerant than the graduates and were significantly in favour of liberal use and openness towards loanwords in comparison to the graduates.

University students appeared to have a more liberal view than graduates on attitudes to loanwords in institutions and have a more open attitude to loanwords. They also seemed to prefer Kurdish but do not object to the use of loanwords as they agreed with Factor 3.

Overall, the pre-university level and the university level respondents seem to be more open to the use of loanwords in institutions while the graduates are in favour of avoiding loanwords in institutions and disagreed on the liberal use and openness to loanwords. Accordingly, the respondents with a higher level of education are least tolerant to loanwords, which is in contrast to the findings of other studies where the respondents with higher education levels were observed to be more positive towards loanwords (Thøgersen 2004:23, Fishman 2004:124). Other studies also found that respondents with higher education levels contributed to more positive attitudes to languages in general (Recalde 2000 and Hassall et al 2008). In the same vein, Baker (1992:38) found that students who perform well and have higher achievements have more positive attitudes to language, which can be interpreted to mean that more highly educated have more positive attitudes to language.

The more highly educated respondents in this work presumably possess good knowledge of Arabic, as all learners have to acquire an advanced level of Arabic in order to continue their higher degrees. Their knowledge of Arabic is essential for their university research, since Arabic has long been the language of higher education and scholarship in Iraq. Therefore, the attitudes' test should have resulted in positive outcomes. In addition, previous studies have shown a link between familiarity with the donor language and positive attitudes, since knowledge of the donor language makes foreign elements seem less foreign (Joseph 2007:129-130, Hassall et al 2008:76) especially for non-linguists. Loveday (1996:156) and Fisherman (1990:12) also argue that those with better knowledge of a language are more positive about the language and its elements.

It is evident that the results of the analysis of the association between education level and attitudes towards loanwords contradict many other studies on contact situations. Nonetheless, the results of attitudes towards English and Western languages on other languages cannot be compared to the attitudes towards Arabic loanwords in Kurdish due to political and socio-economic factors. One can argue that the differences within the education level groups could be more relevant to youth culture and age and that the group of university students could be close in age range. According to Baker (1992:96) and Bartman (2012:85), people's attitudes are possibly more influenced by youth culture than by the effect of their education level. However, this is not persuasive due to the fact that a reasonable number of university students, especially those who were attending evening college, were mature students. So youth culture cannot be an adequate explanation in this case. Since previous examinations of attitudes and education level give conflicting explanations and inconsistent results, this could be related more to ideologies than the respondents' education level. This is also supported by the fact that multilinguals, supposedly more open to languages in general, appeared to be least tolerant to loanwords in this work (see 4.2.4.).

Language skills, or whether the respondent was a monolingual who speaks only Kurdish or bi/multilingual speaking Kurdish and other languages, appears to have affected the attitudes to loanwords. The statistical analysis showed that there are significant differences between the monolinguals and others in the liberal use of loanwords and openness to Arabic loanwords, which both represent positive attitudes to the use of loanwords.

Regarding attitudes towards language contact situations, bilingualism has long been considered a relevant factor. Haugen (1950:210) suggests that in studies of contact situations and borrowing observation of the degree of bilingualism needs careful consideration. Various studies investigating the association between language skills and attitudes have found strong connections. Baker and Jones (1998:347) and Edwards (2006:328) suggest that bilinguals and multilinguals are more likely to borrow and use foreign elements. Similarly, Baker (1992:44) argues that people with higher language abilities have more positive language attitudes. This suggests they would be more tolerant towards the use of such elements. Loveday (1996:154) argues that those with good knowledge of the language may feel better about loanwords than those with poorer levels. Fisherman (1990:12-13) observes that loanwords which are known more widely, are accepted more easily and used more frequently. In a study of language attitudes in Middle Eastern societies, Shohamy and Donitsa-Schmidt (1998:48) found that Arab and

Jewish multilinguals have positive attitudes towards multilingualism and are more open to foreign elements. Similarly, they have more positive attitudes to their ethnic identity.

However, in this chapter, the findings of the tests on language knowledge suggest that respondents who are bilingual or multilingual have a more negative attitude towards Arabic loanwords in Kurdish and are significantly against the liberal use of loanwords or openness to loanwords. This result challenges the argument of Hassall et al (2008:76) which suggests that speakers with knowledge of a foreign language or foreign elements are "inclined to hold more favourable attitudes to loanwords" and that knowledge of foreign languages "increases one's tolerance towards [loanwords]".

It seems that knowledge of languages and bi/multilingualism has not contributed to formation of positive attitudes towards Arabic loanwords among the speakers of Kurdish. It is correct that there has never been an ethnic rift between Arabs and Kurds, and that before the establishment of the state of Iraq, Kurds held the Arabic language in high regard. In fact, the contribution of Kurds to Arabic literature and Arabic linguistic studies is enormous (see ʿAzīz 2012:381-400). However, the negative attitudes towards Arabic loanwords can well be attributed to the fact that the Arabic language has long been considered as the language of the recent oppressor and occupier in the region and was an imposed language. The case of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish differs from other language contact situations highlighted in the review (see 4.1.1). In previous studies, respondents had positive attitudes to loanwords in Western languages and English in particular, for example, Irwin (2011), van Hout (1998), Hassall et al (2008), Thøgersen (2004) and Awedyke (2009). The status of English globally is different from the status of Arabic in the Kurdistan Region and the experience and ties between the communities which were studied and English speaking communities are very different from the experience of Kurds with Arabic. This may merit a separate study to reach an absolute answer as to whether the attitudes of Kurdish multilinguals towards other languages are the same as the attitudes towards Arabic.

The weak collinearity between factors of language skills and gender should be considered redundant. This is because the results of the attitudinal tests on the factor of gender gave conflicting and marginal results about the negative factors 3 and 4, which entail avoidance of loanwords. It indicated that men were against the use of loanwords in institutions and women agreed on avoiding loanwords in writing and speech which is a matter of self-discipline rather

than an institutional imposition. However, speakers with different language skills showed differences regarding factors 6 and 7 which are about liberal use and openness to loanwords.

The stage of education in which the respondents started learning Arabic produced significant differences regarding Factor 6 on the liberal use of loanwords. This is the only factor that was influenced by the stage in which the respondents started learning Arabic.

The attitude of respondents who started learning Arabic at primary school and those who started at university differ significantly; differences between these two levels and the secondary level do not appear significant. Those who started learning Arabic at university level agree more with liberal use of loanwords but the respondents who started learning Arabic at earlier stages disagree more. The university level learners seem to be more tolerant of loanwords. It has been argued that adult learners face more difficulties in acquiring language (Kerswill 1996:177-202), but the context in this work is different for two reasons. Firstly, students who start learning Arabic at university are confident and perhaps achieved high levels in learning other languages, which might influence their attitudes, since more confident learners usually hold positive attitudes to language learning (Studer and Konstantinidou 2015:216). Secondly, Arabic is not compulsory at university level and hence will not contribute to framing negative attitudes. Those who learn Arabic at university are studying it voluntarily.

As for those who started learning Arabic at earlier ages, most of them perhaps had to learn the language involuntarily. Kurdish students have to sit for the same exams as Arab students who may be more familiar with the Arabic environment. For example, the content in text books is alien to Kurdish learners in terms of topics, pictures, illustrations, proverbs and metaphors. Such experiences may make it harder for learners to master the language (Birdsong 2004:90) and usually lead to formation of negative attitudes. According to Johnson and Newport (1989:60), competence in a language does not necessarily increase with development, but it reaches its peak during a “critical period” that is a period of motivation and self-consciousness. The critical period represents an important period for acquiring language; learning outside this period would develop neither normally nor sufficiently (Schouten 2009:2). But if the period involves difficulties, it will naturally result in negative outcomes. For example, if the students do not do well in the subject, they develop a more negative attitude towards it (see Gibbons et al 1997 and Mata et al 2012). This may explain the differences in the attitudes between the respondents who started learning Arabic from an early stage of their education and those who started at the university stage.

Regarding the effect of religion on attitudes, the correlation between **language and religion** has been a matter of interest within sociolinguistics. Religion and language share close links as religion has been one of the forces in language change and spread (Ferguson 1982:103, Sawyer 2001:2). Furthermore, it has been argued that “language and religion have been among the major symbols of group identity” in certain communities and in some cases “language and religion have both provided the motive power for nationalism” (Brass 2005:3). This was the case in certain South and South East Asian countries. Hence, as the Holy Quran is in Arabic and the majority of Kurds are Muslims, one could assume that Arabic and its elements should presumably be accepted by Kurdish speakers, especially by those who consider religion an important matter in their life.

This does seem to have been reflected in the attitudes of the respondents who consider religion important as they seem more tolerant towards the use of loanwords in institutions and they disagree with avoiding loanwords unless doing so is very necessary. The respondents who do not consider religion important seem to have negative attitudes towards the use of loanwords in institutions and they support the notion of avoiding loanwords unless necessary. Hence, the results in this section show an association between religion and the use of loanwords. The respondents who view religion as important in life seem more tolerant to loanwords which confirms the arguments of Sawyer, Ferguson and Brass as well as the notion of respondents’ internal mental states and their perspectives (Fasold 1984:148). In fact, this may represent their view on the Arabic language in general rather than their views on loanwords. These sorts of attitudes are more likely to stem from ideologies which entail a sort of justification that amasses and endures a charter of ideas and facts about social relations. Higgs (1987:37) argues that a distinct aspect of ideology is when there is “a committed member of a […] group, in pursuit of definite social objectives”. At this point “language becomes a symbol of group identification and religion becomes a base for community” (Brass 2005:6).

However, this does not seem to agree with a similar study in the Middle East region where Shohamy and Donitsa-Schmidt (1998:46) found that religious Jews and Arabs have positive attitudes towards their first languages which consequently means that these groups prefer their language over resorting to foreign elements, such as loanwords. Arabic is considered the language of the Quran and Hebrew is the religious language of the Jews. Language is not only an ethnic and cultural marker, but it also objectifies religious ideology for people.

As for Kurds and the Arabic language, Kurdish people were amongst the early nations that embraced Islam and their contribution to Islam and Arabic language and linguistic studies is remarkable (see ʿAzīz 2012:381-400). In addition, there are groups among the Kurds that might have been influenced by the hadith 'you should love Arabic for three reasons; firstly, because I am an Arab, secondly, the Quran is Arabic; and thirdly, the tongue of the people in heaven is Arabic'[84].

Nonetheless, the attitudes of Arabs and the Jews to their language and foreign elements is not comparable to attitudes of religious Kurds to their mother tongue. This is simply because Arabic is the religious language of (the majority of) Arabs and Hebrew is the religious language of the Jews, while the mother tongue of the Kurds is not the religious language of the modern Kurds.

Finally, it has to be noted that the Factor Analysis showed a weak collinearity between gender and religion. While the weak collinearity cannot be denied, we shall not ignore the effect of religion on attitudes entirely, because of the socio-political and cultural background and status of religion in the community. In addition, the tests have shown that the factors of religion and gender affected attitudes to different dimensions of loanword usage. Gender only marginally affected Factor 3 on avoiding loanwords in institutions and Factor 5 on avoiding loanwords in speech and writing, while religion significantly affected Factor 3 on avoiding loanwords in institutions and Factor 4 that recommends avoiding loanwords, unless their use is necessary. Therefore, ignoring the factor of religion cannot be justified.

It is also important to indicate that religion prompted highly significant differences between the two groups in the preliminary test prior to the Factor Analysis. It showed the religious group's positive attitudes to eight statements and their tolerance towards the use of loanwords in different domains of speech. In the meantime, gender only had an effect on statements 12 and 27.

Therefore, the effect of religion on attitudes to loanwords should be considered in spite of the existence of weak collinearity with gender.

[84] Most prominent scholars of Hadith Sciences such as Ibn al-Ǧawzī, al-Albānī and al-Ḏahabī classify the aforementioned hadith as fabricated. This hadith and other quotes were promoted by the former Iraqi administrations to argue for Arabic rather than Kurdish in education.

4.5.2 Awareness

The examination of awareness of loanwords was performed on the same sample group as the attitudinal test and at the same time as the attitudinal test in order to find out whether the attitudes emerge from knowledge or emanate as a result of other factors. However, the performances of the respondents did not correspond to the results of the attitudinal tests in terms of the association with social factors.

The statistical test on **the effect of gender** on awareness of loanword types indicates some interesting results. Given the recent studies that portray an image of Kurdish society in which women have lower status than men (see Al-Ali and Pratt 2011), women should have been less aware of language and loanwords than men.

The status of women in Kurdish society since the creation of nation states after World War One has been similar to the status of women in adjacent societies due to various socio-political factors (Kāẓim 2006:171). In particular, society was influenced by external political systems and other cultures. Ever since, Kurdish society has been labelled as a patriarchal community that allowed women fewer opportunities for education and consequently less participation in public life (Mojab 2001:9 and Al-Ali 2011:341). From this point of view, it might be expected that women are less aware of language, especially foreign language elements. Therefore, gender has been considered as a potentially independent variable for testing the awareness of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish and the results of the experiment presented some interesting findings.

An effect of gender on awareness of loanwords was found in the responses to Factor 3 (fused, truncated, assimilated, dummy) and Factor 4 (dummy, transferred stem, pure, pseudo). This covers awareness of the two main types of loanwords: a) formally assimilated[85] in Factor 3 and b) formally unassimilated in Factor 4, which includes transferred stems that maintain fully recognisable Arabic elements, as well as the pure and pseudo-loans that maintain the Arabic form of the word. However, women were more aware of pseudo and pure loanwords than men, while men showed more awareness of fused compounds, truncated and totally assimilated loans. Women were not only able to recognise loans, they were significantly more aware of pseudo-loans, which require an element of sophistication due to semantic change. The women's awareness of pure and pseudo-loanwords is reflected in their use of these two types. While they

[85] Formally assimilated refers to the words that have been through assimilation in form.

used the pure loanwords marginally significantly less than men did, they used pseudo-loanwords for pragmatic purposes (see 3.4.1). However, this does not contribute to any solid conclusion for or against the theories of language and gender or interpretation with covert and overt prestige that have been discussed by Labov (1972:243 and 1990:205-206), Trudgill (2000:161) and Coates (2004:64). Women's awareness is associated not only to their actual speech but also to their attitudes towards speech according to Holmes (1995:185) and Wolfram & Fasold (1974:93). This did not prove to apply to this study as we found in the attitudes section that women's attitudes do not differ significantly from men's in relation to the identity related factors such as Factor 2 that includes 4 statements on identity.

Education level widens language speakers' horizons in learning languages in general. In cases like Arabic in the Kurdistan Region, it is expected to contribute to the awareness of educated people further, as Arabic is still part of the curriculum and offers vital access to sources and textbooks. Therefore, the education level of the respondents was potentially an important factor since usually students study Arabic as a subject in the curriculum up to university level and previous research on contact situations suggested a strong link between language awareness and education (van Lier 1995). This is prompted by the fact that educational level promotes a wider socio-cultural scope as well as tolerance and cross-cultural sensitivity, which is likely to be fostered through the learning of, reflection upon and analysis of language intuitions (James & Garrett 1991). However, this depends on the language features in question (Robinson 1995:322). Svalberg (2007:288-90) found a strong bond between knowledge of a language and the type of language features in question. In other words, speakers may be more or less aware depending on the type of loanword. Types of compounds and blend assimilated loanwords may need the sort of comprehensive familiarity with Arabic that post graduates have acquired through long years of studying the language and relying on Arabic sources and reading. In contrast, university students are usually not yet at that level and have not been through the same intensive experience of contact with Arabic. In addition, Arabic has lost its status in the Kurdistan Region, which makes people less familiar with it (see Kākāʾī 2013).

Respondents with higher education had the highest awareness of pure loanwords that have the same Arabic form and transferred stems that comprise a fully Arabic part and a Kurdish element. This is in addition to complex types such as compounds and analysed compounds. This might be as a result of familiarity with Arabic and a need for using Arabic resources.

The test indicated significant differences between the university students and pre-university levels regarding awareness of assimilated loanwords. This can be expected as those with lower education levels might consider a totally assimilated word that has been integrated in the language fully as a Kurdish word. Recognition of such transformed foreign elements normally requires a certain level of education and familiarity with the language in question.

However, in spite of the mean differences between the graduates and the pre-university levels, no significant difference was found between the two groups which is consistent with previous empirical studies which did not find any association between awareness and language learning (Carr & Curran 1994, Marcel 1983, Nissen & Bullemer 1987, Bialystok and Craik 2010:21). Fairclough (1995: 225) proposes that in the education systems for multicultural communities, awareness is taught in order to “overcome social problems” with the aim to design what is perceived as an appropriate language. That may have affected the awareness of Kurdish speakers if there was such a policy in the Kurdistan Region. However, in the absence of such policies in the education system of the region, this cannot be considered a factor. Yet, there might be another possible explanation. It is possible that some types of loanwords may be considered integrated elements in the language due to the intensity of exposure and usage. In addition, several highly educated respondents commented on the questionnaire stating that “Kurdified words” should not be considered as foreign.

Bilinguals and multilinguals usually have a wide variety of intellectual benefits (Baker & Hornberger 2006:171). However, these benefits depend on the level or threshold of language competence (Cummins 1979:230). Furthermore, Baker & Hornberger (2006:142-3) believe that bilinguals are more creative in their thinking than monolinguals in “additive environments” due to bilingualism as well as other social factors. Bilinguals are thought to be better at developing awareness compared to monolinguals; this is known as positive transfer (Goldstein & McLeod 2012:85). The bilinguals are naturally expected to have a higher awareness level than the monolinguals, taking into account the fact that bilingualism has a facilitative effect on metalinguistic skills and awareness (Bialystok 1997:429-440). According to Norton (2010:353), learners of languages are investing in certain language practices “which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital” that will consequently imply awareness.

Considering whether monolinguals are as competent as the bilinguals in terms of phonemic awareness, in a recent investigation Wren et al (2012:17) concluded that monolinguals do not have better performance than bilinguals in phonemic awareness tasks and that bilinguals

are still slightly ahead. The results of this section support the above arguments, finding that the respondents with more language skills, who are bi/multilinguals, are more aware of loanwords, especially pure loanwords, transferred stems and analysed compound loanwords. The association between the speakers' additional language skills and awareness could be a strong factor in the recognition of loanwords since people with linguistic skills may be better able to identify and accept loanwords (Fisherman 1990:12). The results of this study indicate that the respondents with extra language skills (i.e. bi- and multilinguals) are better able to recognise Arabic loanwords in general and are significantly more aware of factor 1, which includes both pure loans and types of assimilated loanwords like blends and compounds. This can be taken as a natural result of their language knowledge.

Two important points need to be highlighted here. Firstly, language skills also contribute to the recognition of pseudo-loanwords. Women, in particular, showed a degree of awareness of pseudo-loanwords in the post FA test and in the preliminary tests on individual loanword types (see 4.3.3.1). Secondly, the FA report showed a weak collinearity between language skills and gender (see Appendix 4.2.1. C). This collinearity needs to be highlighted regardless of its weakness. Nonetheless, given the first point above, we can argue that if the collinearity was substantial, both factors of gender and language skills would have shown a marginal degree of awareness of pseudo-loanwords. Therefore, the collinearity is noted but does not necessitate ignoring the possible effect of language skills since the effect of language skills has been established as a strong factor in awareness in other studies (see Hassall 2008, Loveday 1996, Fisherman 1990).

The stage of starting leaning Arabic is another dimension of interest for testing the awareness of Arabic loanwords. This is particularly interesting since earlier studies (e.g. August and Hakuta 1997) argue that acquiring knowledge of language systems at an earlier age increases awareness of language and its morphology. This is because early age learning represents the critical transitional period of learning and progress (Chall 1983). A basic level of language knowledge is a prerequisite for developing awareness through learning experience (Dreher and Zenge 1990, Perfetti and Hughes 1987, Tunmer et al 1988). The effects of early stage learning on awareness have been well-founded in other languages. In English, for example, native learners develop awareness of the morphological system and acquire a very good degree of awareness by the fourth grade (Jones 1991, Tyler and Nagy 1989).

According to Johnson and Newport (1989:60), competence in language does not necessarily increase with development, but it reaches its peak during a “critical period” that is a period of motivation and self-consciousness. It also marks the capability of acquiring language and awareness of its elements. However, comprehensive research into the most effective period of language learning and its effect has not been available to draw a fair conclusion on this matter (Lihong Du 2010:5). Johnson and Newport (1989) is a very relevant example for explaining the effective period, which is the age of secondary school in the case of this study.

In this work, the stage of learning Arabic had an effect on awareness of Factor 1, which includes pure loans and types of assimilated loanwords. However, no significant effect was recorded between the respondents who started learning Arabic at an early age and those who started learning later in life, in spite of previous studies on the importance of early age learning and awareness. This may suggest a weak association between the stage of learning Arabic and awareness.

The most significant difference between the stages appears regarding Factor 2, which includes assimilated loanwords. Those who started at university level seemed to be significantly more aware of assimilated loanwords than those at secondary and primary stages. This is the exact opposite of what has been found by previous studies regarding awareness. Helot and Young (2002:109) argue that “language awareness can also be of benefit to all children in fostering, from a very young age, a curiosity and motivation to learn about the wealth of language and cultures present in the world”. Kerswill (1996:190-5) verifies that older adult groups face more difficulties when acquiring a new language since young age learning gives special relevance to language habits and allows learners to reinforce input and subsequently to report what they have already learned and produced as well. Learning language early according to Helot and Young (2002:108) is a matter characterised by sensibility and curiosity for the language. Nonetheless, the relevance of early stage learning will enhance consciousness towards language (James & Garret 1991:170).

However, test results concerning the awareness of Kurdish speakers to Arabic loanwords appear dissimilar to results in other contact situations for two reasons. Firstly, most of the studies so far are concerning language acquisition and the development of a first language rather than a foreign language and loanwords. Secondly, for the Kurds, Arabic has been an imposed language and students perhaps did not choose to study the language. Hence, as repercussion of this fact and the policies of the former Iraqi administrations, most students did not have positive view of

the language. Therefore, the findings about the early stages of learning in other situations do not apply to the situation of learning Arabic by Iraqi Kurds.

Regarding **religion**, the majority of Kurds are Muslims and 90% of the respondents of this study consider religion to have important role in their life. Hence, they might be expected to be aware of Arabic elements in Kurdish. This is because Muslims pray five times a day. In each prayer they recite the Holy Quran. After the prayer, most of them repeat rituals in Arabic, they listen to the Quran frequently, or they recite it themselves after prayers and hear Arabic in sermons and preaching. These facts should all contribute to awareness of Arabic, which may, give rise to “self-identities” with which the learners feel more comfortable (Fairclough 1995: 227-8) in addition to the sort of linguistic features that may be linked to the particular ideological positions of a committed Muslim.

However, the analysing the role of religion upon the awareness of loanwords has shown two distinctive dimensions. On the one hand, the respondents who consider religion as unimportant seem to have recognised the elements of Factor 3 (fused, truncated and totally assimilated) loanwords. On the other hand, those who consider religion as important have recognised significantly the elements in Factor 5 (pure and pseudo-loanwords), that have not changed in form and resemble the Arabic texts and religious elements they repeat in everyday prayers and life.

The recognition of the loanword types of Factor 3 is not easily predictable since the words are assimilated and have gone through a degree of nativisation. The recognition of loanwords in Factor 3 might not be entirely due to the factor of religion, but might be due to factors of gender and religion. The fact that gender has affected the degree of awareness of Factor 3 elements makes the effect of gender on this factor more credible than the effect of religion.

However, the effect of religion is more obvious on the awareness of the elements in Factor 5, since religious people read the Quran and they are exposed to religious texts which are in Arabic. Consequently, they would be able to recognise patterns and variations to decipher themes and components of texts including lexical items (Waseem and Asadullah 2013:806-7). This consequently might make respondents more conscious of Arabic elements and able to recognise them. Gender did not have any effect on Factor 5, which gives an indication of the effect of exposure to Arabic on the awareness of Arabic elements.

4.5.3 Association between Attitudes and Awareness

Awareness and attitudes to Arabic loanwords in Kurdish have different correlations with the social factors in my study. Yet according to the statistical analysis, the association between attitudes to loanwords and awareness of loanwords is very weak. The respondents' responses about awareness and the attitude results have shown three matches in response to 44 questions. This means there were only 6% matches which is not sufficient to make any association between the attitudes to loanwords and awareness of such elements. Instead, it suggests that attitudes to loanwords do not stem from awareness to loanwords and knowledge-based evaluation. This is in contrast to Kunschak (2003:83) and McKenzie (2010:156) who have claimed a strong association between attitudes and awareness.

As mentioned in 4.5.1, previous studies investigated awareness and attitudes to the influence of global languages such as English, not Arabic, reminding Kurds of bitter experiences due to the false policies of Iraqi governments, whose official language imposed upon population was Arabic. This situation is identical to the case in which Perloff (2003:68) proposes well founded association between attitudes and awareness to be stimulated from memory. As such, the attitudes of the respondents to Arabic loanwords is certainly not a case of what Ellis (1994:198-199) terms a "lack of success" or what Savignon (1976:297) describes as "lack of learning opportunities" contributing to development of negative attitudes as a result of failing to reach satisfactory progress. It is well known to Iraqis that Kurdish students in general do impressively well in the study of Arabic[86]. Therefore, attitudes are more likely linked to the political and ideological issues that made the respondents adopt an attitude to Arabic. This is more in line with Hasanpoor's (1999:127) argument that attitudes to Arabic are usually motivated by an ideological standpoint, especially by those who call for the purification of languages.

[86] Kurds are known among Iraqi Arabs for mastering the Arabic language and literature excellently and have contributed hugely to the fields of Arabic language and literature. In addition, Kurdish writers and poets led the transformation of Arabic literature in 20th century, for example, Blind Ḥaydariī, Ǧamiīl Ṣidqī al-Zahāwī and Ḥusayn Mardān to name a few in modern times.

4.6 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, awareness and attitudes of CK speakers towards Arabic loanwords have been discussed. Five factors of gender, education level, language skills, stage of starting learning Arabic and religion were chosen to test the attitudes towards and awareness of loanwords.

Education level seems to be a factor strongly affecting attitudes, while the factors of gender, language skills and religion affect awareness similarly. The question of when a person starts to learn Arabic appear to have the least influence on attitudes. There seems to be weak collinearity between gender, language skills and religion. However, it was argued that the collinearities were weak and cannot be fully considered as major issues since the supposed collinear factors did not affect the same dependent variables.

Awareness of Arabic loanwords is influenced by education level, stage of learning Arabic, religion and gender. Language skills seems to have the least impact on awareness. The test results suggested that the impact of social factors on attitudes is more substantial than their influence on awareness and that the results were not all in one direction. For example, women showed two different responses towards avoiding loanwords. While they disagree with Factor 3 on avoiding the use of loanwords in institutions, they showed positive attitudes to Factor 5 on avoiding loanwords in writing and speech. Another noteworthy point is that monolingual respondents seemed to be more tolerant than bi- and multilingual respondents towards loanwords, which contradicts similar studies about other languages.

The research assumed that gender would be the main social factor affecting attitudes and awareness due to the socio-cultural circumstances existing in the contact situation between Arabic and Kurdish (see 4.1.4). However, this hypothesis was not fully confirmed. This is likely to be due to the external socio-political factors that have influenced the lives of Kurdish people. The main factor could be attributed to the rule of Arab nationalist administrations since the establishment of the state of Iraq after the World War One and the annexation of southern Kurdistan to the new state. The Iraqi governments did not represent the historic respectful and peaceful relations between Kurdish and Arab communities. This can be considered a major defining factor underlining the difference between the results of this study and similar ones on contact situations that were referred to in this study (see 4.2 and 4.5.1).

This study did not find significant effects of gender on attitudes. Nor did it provide significant support for the idea that female speakers tend to use prestige language, which was

claimed by Fasold (1990: 117) and Gordon (1997:48) to be part of the "ordinary sociolinguistic order". Gender appeared to have a marginal significant effect on attitudes. Women appeared to support voluntary avoidance of loanwords in writing and speech without intervention from authorities, while men linked the avoidance with force and prevention of loanwords' use through institutions. As for awareness, women showed themselves to be slightly more aware than men (with marginal significance) in recognising pure and pseudo-loanwords that retained the Arabic form. Men showed more awareness of types that changed in form and appeared to have gone through types of assimilation such as fused, truncated and totally assimilated words. As the difference between gender groups was represented by a marginal difference regarding factor 4 and a significant difference regarding factor 3 that is a combination of fused compounds and truncated assimilated types of loanwords, it is difficult to draw a viable conclusion since each type of loanword in the group has been through different assimilation processes.

In contrast to previous studies on attitudes to loanwords, **level of education** did not trigger positive attitudes to loanwords. Graduates showed negative attitudes towards loanwords in institutions while those with lower levels of education were more tolerant. The graduates also showed negative attitudes to the liberal use of loanwords and openness to loanwords compared to those with lower education levels. In contrast, pre-university and university students showed more tolerance to the liberal use of and openness to loanwords. This result cannot be attributed to youth culture (see 4.5.1) but rather to the ideological and socio-political environment which most of respondents have experienced.

The graduates were found to have the highest degree of awareness of loanwords especially regarding Factor 1 which includes pure and different types of assimilated loanwords. Conversely, university students showed higher awareness of totally assimilated loanwords.

Extra **language skills** did not contribute to the formation of positive attitudes to loanwords. The language skills triggered two significant results on two factors that include tolerance and openness to loanwords. Bi- and multilingual respondents showed negative attitudes to the liberal use of loanwords, while monolingual respondents were positive to loanwords. This is a major difference between this study and other similar works. This result is attributed to ideological and political issues surrounding the Kurds in Iraqi political systems.

As expected, multilingual people have wider knowledge and awareness of loanwords. Respondents with extra language skills showed significant differences compared to monolingual respondents. The bi- and multilingual respondents appeared to be more aware of types of

loanwords in general as they recognised Factor 1 that includes pure and types of assimilated loanwords.

The effect of stage of learning Arabic triggered differences regarding the tolerance and liberal use of loanwords. The respondents who started learning Arabic at an early age showed significantly lower tolerance towards liberal use of loanwords, while those who learnt at the university stage showed more positive views on the liberal use of loanwords. This is opposite to what is expected as those who learned at an earlier age may be thought to have mastered the language well and be more familiar with all its aspects. However, consideration of the contact situation and the environment in which the early stage learners experienced Arabic imposed on Kurdish students by the governments might explain the negative outcome. In contrast, those who started learning the language later most probably started learning Arabic voluntarily and have been driven by particular motivations such as job opportunities, or interest in learning languages. No significant differences were found between the three stages of education regarding Factor 1 which includes pure loans and types of assimilated loanwords. However, the stage of learning Arabic influenced the awareness of Factor 2 that includes totally assimilated loanwords. The test results showed that those who started learning at university were more able to recognise the assimilated type, maybe due to the circumstances of learning the language voluntarily or having motivation for acquiring the language rather than compulsory learning.

As the **language of religion**, Arabic affected the respondents' attitudes. Those who considered religion important seemed more tolerant to Arabic loanwords and did not agree with avoidance of loanwords as suggested in factors 3 and 4. Meanwhile, the role of religion in respondents' lives triggered two different results. While those considering religion to be as unimportant showed significant awareness of different types of assimilated loanwords in Factor 3, those considering religion as important showed significant awareness of pure loanwords that maintained the Arabic form and shape. The latter could be attributed to familiarity with Arabic texts and more exposure to Arabic through religious events. However, the significant awareness also could be linked to the effect of gender as there is weak collinearity between the two factors and gender triggered differences in awareness of the same factor.

The most remarkable outcome of the chapter is that results have not entirely conformed to the hypothesis regarding the effect of gender upon attitudes and awareness. The outcome of the investigation is not entirely in accordance with the hypothesis that female speakers have less positive attitudes towards Arabic loanwords. In fact, no conclusion may be made regarding the

gender's association with attitudes, due to the insignificant differences between the two gender groups.

In the final analysis, the issue of attitude to Arabic loanwords seems more relevant to what Myers-Scotton (2006:136) terms as the "root of specific force" within Kurdish society that has evolved through the experience of the people and "how ideologies are played in the life of a group in a nation…". So in terms of attitudes to loanwords in Kurdish, we can assume that the Kurds' attitudes are reactions that have been embedded through layers of long term events, and the policies of former Iraqi administrations who adopted Arabic as official language since the establishment of the state of Iraq in the wake of the World War One. This may be why the study did not fully confirm some of the consistent results of previous studies concerning the association of certain factors with attitudes to loanwords. The experience of Kurdish speakers was totally different from the experience of the communities mentioned in previous sections. As such, the results of the study of attitudes to Arabic loanwords in Kurdish cannot be compared to the results of similar studies that have been conducted on other languages and contact situations.

The results summarised in this chapter suggest the need for more research in the field to investigate the attitudes of the Kurds to the Arabic language. It would also be very useful to compare the attitudes to Arabic loanwords against the attitudes to Swedish, English or German loanwords, as these are languages that Kurdish speakers have recently been in contact with.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

Language contact is a social phenomenon in its essence, since it is an outcome of human interaction, whether the contact takes place through direct face-to-face interaction or indirectly. From this perspective, this thesis has investigated Arabic and Kurdish contact with consideration of the socio-demographic factors that have shaped the linguistic outcomes of the contact. This study has investigated structural issues as well as the effect of social and attitudinal factors upon the incorporation of Arabic loanwords into the speech of educated CK speakers in media and political discourse. This chapter will provide an overview of the findings and suggest directions for future work.

This study has set out to explore the extent and the nature of the outcomes of contact between Kurdish and Arabic with reference to loanwords. It has addressed the extent of Arabic influence on Kurdish through an integrated approach examining the linguistic dimensions of borrowing as well as social, attitudinal and awareness factors. The reason for combining social and attitudinal investigation was to explore any possible link between the use of the loanwords and speakers' conscious choices and awareness, including internal and external factors on the outcome of the contact.

The general theoretical literature underpinning this study has been presented within the framework of language contact and combined with an analysis of social factors and attitudinal perspectives to give a broader analysis of the contact situation. This has been narrowed down in each chapter to address the specific question of the chapter. Accordingly, the examination of loanwords has focused on four dimensions: structure, social class, attitudes and awareness of loanwords.

5.2 Main research dimensions

The historical and sociolinguistic the background of long contact between the Arabic and Kurdish languages and the implications of the recent history of this contact has been reviewed in Chapter 1. It would appear that the political experience of the Kurds has led to results that are different from other language contact situations. In addition, the review of published literature has revealed a gap in dedicated research into the association of social factors with the use of

loanwords globally and the absence of such an investigation into loanwords in Kurdish. Furthermore, the chapter has presented some views regarding a link between purism and standard Kurdish, which disfavours the use of loanwords, and consequently may affect the use of and the attitudes towards loanwords.

5.2.1 The structure of loanwords

Chapter 2 has investigated the extent of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish, exploring general trendsin order to lay the foundation for the subsequent sociolinguistic investigation. This was carried out through an analysis of the phonological and morphological properties as well as the classification of the loanwords.

The classification of loanwords and their degree of assimilation appeared to vary among the speakers. However, it has not been possible to establish overwhelming patterns or draw sufficient conclusions. This has accentuated the need to explore the reasons for this outcome, especially in terms of the effect of extra-linguistic factors on the treatment of loanwords, which is the topic of Chapter 3. The analysis has suggested a relative association between the degree of assimilation of loanwords and their divergence from the original meaning. The exception is pseudo-loanwords, which are elements borrowed from Arabic with altered meanings which did not necessarily change in form. In addition, hybrid blends, which consist of an Arabic element with another Kurdish element, were found to commonly undergo assimilation. The inclusion of pseudo-loanwords in the new classification has helped reveal the relative effect of social forces on the use and awareness of loanwords. Women appear to have been more aware of pseudo-loans (see 4.3.3.1 and 4.5.2) and less likely to use them because they are not assimilated in form (see 3.2.2.4).

The phonological differences between the two languages has influenced the phonology of loanwords. However, some phonological changes, such as the formation of the tri-consonantal initial cluster in Kurdish, were driven by social factors, the degree of exposure to Arabic and the level of education of the speakers (see 2.3.2.2). Moreover, the phonological assimilation of loanwords has shown a relative association with change in meaning. The internal sound system in Kurdish appears to have led to changes in certain loanwords. On other occasions, phonological changes appear not to be due to differences between the two languages. For example, the alternation of the voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] with the voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ] confirms the research question about the socio-demographic effect on the perception

of loanwords, their use and assimilation. Meanwhile, the data of Chapter 2, mainly from the general public, has showed regular alternation. This investigation suggest that the more assimilated loanwords are less faithful to the original meaning in the source language (see 2.3.2.1 and 2.3.2.2). The data of Chapter 3, which included educated people has not shown alternation from [ħ] to [ʕ].

The morphological treatment of loanwords has showed that all parts of speech can be borrowed in Kurdish, but some elements have shifted from one grammatical category to another as a result of borrowing. There is a relative association between morphological assimilation, category change and change of meaning (see 2.3.2.1). The chapter has shown that affixation was an important tool for assimilation of various parts of speech and that hybridisation was a means of forming Kurdish compound verbs. In addition, assimilation involved dropping inflections, as in the case of adverbs. In the case of parts of speech with less complicated inflections, they have generally conformed to the Kurdish morphology system, as in noun pluralisation, omission of Arabic gender markers and the definite articles. The case endings of loanwords mostly appear to have disappeared in other parts of speech, apart from the adverbs, which have maintained their endings frequently. The inconsistency of trends in the treatment of verbs and conformity of nouns to the rules of Kurdish grammar suggest the role of extra-linguistic factors, such as gender and age, in morphological assimilation, as discussed in Chapter 3. Women have used loan-verbs differently to men and treated the pluralisation of nouns in a different way. This has been tested in Chapter 3, which also explained the reason for the lack of consistency in changes (see 3.3.2.1.4 and 3.3.3.3).

5.2.2 Social factors

Chapter 3 has tested the effect of social factors on the use of loanwords in terms of quality and quantity. The chapter has confirmed the hypothesis that women use fewer loanwords and use them differently than men. However, the differences were not attributed to a single factor. The study suggest that in addition to societal factors, other factors such as historical background, exposure to Arabic, experience of politics and identity may also be important factors contributing to the differences. This indicates the need for considering other dimensions in language contact that involve the political history and experience of the speakers of the receiving language. The women seemed to have a tendency towards using more assimilated loanwords and elements that did not sound foreign, the only exception being pseudo-loans, which are mostly

used for pragmatic purposes. In terms of the quality of loanwords, the women appeared to use them in a nativised form and in conformity with Kurdish grammar rules. This suggested that the use of assimilated loanwords appeared as a way of assuming their identity both as women and as pro-Kurdistani, since purists and nationalists consider pure Kurdish "proper Kurdish" (see 1.2.2.7 and 1.2.2.9). It also suggests that women use loanwords differently to men, especially verbs and nouns (see 3.4.3 and 3.4.3.1). The outcome of the chapter suggests a link between women's perception of their identity, their use of loanwords and their attitudes towards and awareness of loanwords.

Chapter 3 also suggests an association between women's use of loanwords and identity. It suggests that women use more assimilated loanwords that do not resemble the Arabic form. They use loanwords in a particular manner in which they have lost their Arabic form, character and function. This is achieved through the use of enclitics, such as *-eçî* in *madama-eçî* (see 3.3.2.1.3), blends such as tautological blends (see 3.2.2.3), and hybrid compound verbs (see 3.3.2.1.4). Women's use of and attitudes towards loanwords could be suggestive of tendencies to appear distinct.

As women may have been less exposed to Arabic, they may not consider assimilated loanwords as foreign and use them more frequently. However, on occasions when the loans seem to be more obviously foreign, they manipulate the loanwords as in their use of loan-verbs. In addition, the women's use of pseudo-loans seems to be an attempt at marking their differences, since they use pseudo-loans mostly for pragmatic purposes (see 3.2.2.4).

The relative differences in the use of different types of loanwords suggests that while women tend to focus more on the form, men appear to index their authority via semantics. For example, men used more pseudo-loans, which are semantically assimilated, and women use more loanwords, which are assimilated in form (see 3.2.2.4 and 3.4.1).

5.2.3 Awareness and attitudes

Chapter 3 has tested the role of extra-linguistic factors and suggested instances of the utilisation of loanwords as markers to convey social meaning. Here it has been hypothesised that different socio-demographic factors affect the use, awareness and attitudes of speakers to Arabic loanwords.

Chapter 4 has investigated speakers' attitudes towards and awareness of loanwords in addition to the association between awareness and attitudes. The chapter shows that the factors of education and language skills, stage of learning Arabic, language skills, gender and religion influence awareness of and attitudes towards loanwords. The attitudinal investigation also suggests that resistance to loanwords is more common than tolerance to loanwords. It has also reached some conclusions which are not in line with the results of previous studies. For example, the multilingual respondents were found to show more opposition to loanwords.

Another extra-linguistic factor that influences attitudes towards and the use of loanwords is exposure to Arabic. Chapter 3 has highlighted that women's lower exposure to Arabic may lead to certain differences in the use of loanwords. Chapter 4 has also confirmed that those with less exposure to Arabic show different attitudes towards Arabic loanwords. The identity-related statements in the attitudinal questionnaire in the pre-Factor Analysis show the association of identity with the use of loanwords (see 4.2.5 and 4.5.1). This has been confirmed by an investigation of the effect of social factors on the use of loanwords.

Attitudes of Kurdish speakers towards loanwords seem to have been motivated more by political stance. Moreover, the study suggests that attitudes were influenced by the ideological and historical experience of the Kurdish people in the past century, which framed the characteristics of the Kurdish people and their views towards life in general and their neighbouring nations in particular.

The differences between men and women in regard to their awareness of and attitudes towards loanwords appear to be due to social rather than linguistic factors. The socio-political experience of Kurds and their suffering under the rule of Arabic-speaking Iraqi former governments should be considered a central factor in their treatment of loanwords and attitudes towards the Arabic language in general. Men were more exposed to Arabic as a result of compulsory service in the Iraqi army and their better opportunities for education. This experience suggests that men's perception of the Arabic language may have been influenced by the exposure to Arabic and so more loanwords entered their vocabulary. The case of Kurdish contact with Arabic is very different from, for example, contact between English and other languages or Arabic with Urdu. Unfortunately, the political events in Iraq in the past century have led to formulation of negative attitudes towards the Arabic language.

Social factors leading to positive attitudes towards loanwords in other languages communities, such as Indonesian, Scandinavian languages, Japanese and French, did not have a

similar effect on attitudes to loanwords among the Kurds (see 4.1.1 and 4.5.1). For example, in other cases, knowledge of other languages contributed to positive attitudes towards loanwords, while in Kurdish, the respondents with more language skills showed negative attitudes towards Arabic loanwords. This study suggests that the level of awareness of loanwords may not be as noticeable as the attitudes among the Kurdish speakers. The association between attitudes to and awareness of loanwords suggests a limited correlation in three domains of politics, identity and general conversation.

Finally, the research suggests the effect of socio-demographic factors upon the outcome of language contact and the use of loanwords. It indicats the relevance of the historical-political experience to the outcomes of the contact. The use of loanwords reflected the social structure of Kurdish society and the experience that has shaped attitudes towards and awareness of loanwords. This consequently indicates an association between the attitudes towards loanwords and their use in Kurdish conversation.

This sociolinguistic and attitudinal analysis of the loanwords suggests that the effect of political and socio-economic factors on the treatment of loanwords is stronger than purely linguistic necessities. Therefore, the historical-political dimension should be thoroughly considered in any future study of Kurdish contact with Arabic. This could be applied to other contact situations with similar settings.

5.3 Further research

With the aim of finding a new approach to the analysis of lexical borrowing and language contact, this study carried out broad investigation into the use of loanwords, considering the structural paradigm, sociocultural factors and attitudes towards and awareness of loanwords. It answered questions relating to the extent of the use of loanwords, the effect of social factors on the use of loanwords and attitudes. This work reached certain conclusions regarding the nature of loanwords assimilation, differences between the social groups in their treatment of loanwords, and the demographic factors affecting the perception of loanwords. The research results open up avenues for further research, especially research into the correlation between language variation and demographic factors. Furthermore, the results indicate the need for more attention being given to the impact of extra-linguistic factors on language use. In addition, this work can lead to and promote more research into language and gender in Kurdish, as well as consideration of broader analyses about the effect of social factors on the use of loanwords and consideration of

attitudinal and awareness analysis, with particular attention to socio-economic factors in other contact situations.

The manner in which loanwords are treated is not solely due to linguistic and cultural issues or the need for borrowing. Consideration should also be given to circumstances and the experience of the community of the receiving language in future analysis of language contact, and of loanwords in particular.

This work is the first study of its kind on spoken CK. It has highlighted the need for further considerations of other social categories. Women seem to have demonstrated a stance on Arabic loanwords that indicates a need for a detailed investigation into language attitudes and attitudes towards loanwords in the broader stratum of the community. This could be vital for language planning and policies, in case of the manifestation of such agendas in the future.

The main theoretical implication is that the effect of contact is not a random occurrence, but rather is driven by other psychological and socio-political consequences of contact between the two communities. Uni-dimensional investigation into the contact situation remains incomplete and does not give a comprehensive overview of the situation. Hence, the empirical side of the investigation of contact should work within a more integrated and multi-dimensional framework that considers social, linguistic, attitudinal and historical-political dimensions. This is to draw a broad and more holistic overview of language contact and its outcomes. The overall results of this work suggest that the study of language contact will not produce comprehensive insight into the situation through purely linguistic analysis; rather linguistic analysis needs to be combined with investigation into extra-linguistic factors as well.

This work has been concerned with a distinct case of language contact that has been embedded in political and socio-economic challenges as well as linguistic factors. This has been addressed with an integral approach that has grammar, social and attitudinal dimensions. This examination of the contact situation can offer a new approach to provide a wider explanation of the outcome as well as the causes of the changes and the treatment of donor language elements in the receiving language. The study has offered a new classification of loanwords based upon the degree of assimilation, both semantically and in form. It has excluded loan translations because they do not involve the receiving language's phonology. The inclusion of pseudo-loans in the classification of loanwords has led to positive outcomes in exploring differences between social classes in the use of loanwords, as men seem to use more pseudo-loans than women.

Considering all the above remarks will certainly enhance the theoretical and empirical aspects of the study of language contact for better understanding of the outcomes of contact and its implications in future.

Appendices

Chapter 3: Appendix 3.2.3

3.2.3 -1 All loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
ALLLWs	Male	10	13.95	139.50
	Female	10	7.05	70.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	ALLLWs
Mann-Whitney U	15.500
Wilcoxon W	70.500
Z	-2.610
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.009
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.007[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender
b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-2 All pure loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
ALLPURE	Male	10	14.15	141.50
	Female	10	6.85	68.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	ALLPURE
Mann-Whitney U	13.500
Wilcoxon W	68.500
Z	-2.760
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.006
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.004[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender
b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-3 All assimilated loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
ALL-ASSIMILATED	Male	10	5.80	58.00
	Female	10	15.20	152.00
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	PUREALL
Mann-Whitney U	3.000
Wilcoxon W	58.000
Z	-3.557
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.000[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender
b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-4 All pseudo-loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PSDUALL	Male	10	14.45	144.50
	Female	10	6.55	65.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	PSDUALL
Mann-Whitney U	10.500
Wilcoxon W	65.500
Z	-2.999
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.003
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.002[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender
b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-5a Imported (pure loanwords)

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PLW-IMPORT	Male	10	13.45	134.50
	Female	10	7.55	75.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	PURE-IMPORTED
Mann-Whitney U	20.500
Wilcoxon W	75.500
Z	-2.233
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.026
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.023[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender
b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-5b Partial substitution loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PRTLSUB	Male	10	14.00	140.00
	Female	10	7.00	70.00
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	PRTLSUB
Mann-Whitney U	15.000
Wilcoxon W	70.000
Z	-2.648
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.008
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.007[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender
b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-5c Truncated loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
TRUNCTD	Male	10	11.05	110.50
	Female	10	9.95	99.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	PRTLSUB
Mann-Whitney U	44.500
Wilcoxon W	99.500
Z	-.416
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.677
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.684[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender

b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-5d Tautological loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
TTLBLND	Male	10	6.35	63.50
	Female	10	14.65	146.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	TTLBLND
Mann-Whitney U	8.500
Wilcoxon W	63.500
Z	-3.437
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.001
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.001[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender

b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-5e Tottaly assimilated loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
ASSIMI	Male	10	10.85	108.50
	Female	10	10.15	101.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	ASSIMI
Mann-Whitney U	46.500
Wilcoxon W	101.500
Z	-.268
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.789
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.796[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender

b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-5f Semantic pseudo-loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PSDSEMNT	Male	10	13.25	132.50
	Female	10	7.75	77.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	PSDSEMNT
Mann-Whitney U	22.500
Wilcoxon W	77.500
Z	-2.115
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.034
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.035[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender
b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-5g Lexical pseudo-loanwords

Ranks

	gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PSDLXC	Male	10	14.20	142.00
	Female	10	6.80	68.00
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	PSDLXC
Mann-Whitney U	13.000
Wilcoxon W	68.000
Z	-3.008
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.003
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.004[b]

a. Grouping Variable: gender
b. Not corrected for ties.

3.2.3-5h Pure loanwords and age

Ranks

	age	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PLW	Below 41	10	7.75	77.50
	41 and Above	10	13.25	132.50
	Total	20		

Test Statistics[a]

	PSDLXC
Mann-Whitney U	22.500
Wilcoxon W	77.500
Z	-2.080
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	. 037
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.035b

a. Grouping Variable: age
b. Not corrected for ties.

Chapter 4

Appendix 4.1.7: Attitudinal and Awareness Questionnaire

1. The Kurdish version

بەشی یەکەم

1. ڕەگەز : پیاو ☐ ژن ☐

2. تەمەن: ژێر 20ساڵان ☐ 30-20 ☐ 40-31 ☐ 50-41 ☐ 60-51☐ +60☐

3. ڕادەی خوێندن: سەرەتایی ☐ ناوەندی ☐ ئامادەیی ☐

تەلەبەی زانکۆ ☐ دەرچووی زانکۆ ☐ خاوەنی بڕوانامەی باڵا ☐

4. کار: ....

5. زامانی زگماکت (زمانی دایک) چیە؟ ....

6. ئایا بە هیچ زمانێکی تر دەئاخڤی جگەلە زمانی زگماکت؟ بەڵێ ☐ نەخێر ☐

گەر وەڵامەکەت بەڵێ یە، زمانەکان دیاری بکە: 1)................... 2)..................
3)....................4)...................

7. ئاست و ڕادەی زانینت لە زمانی عەرەبی چەندە؟

هیچ عەرەبی نازانم ☐ ئاستی زۆر کەم ☐ ئاستێکی بنچینەیی ☐

ئاستی ناوەندی ☐ ئاستی پێشکەوتوو ☐ ئاستی بەرز وەکو زمانی یەکەمم دەتوانم پێی بدوێم ☐

8. بە چی زمانێک لە مەکتەب خوێندووتە؟

سەرەتایی؟ عەرەبی ☐ کوردی ☐ زمانێکی تر ☐

ئامادەیی؟ عەرەبی ☐ کوردی ☐ زمانێکی تر ☐

زانکۆ؟ عەرەبی ☐ کوردی ☐ زمانێکی تر ☐

9. لە چ قۆناغێکی خویندندا دەستت بە خوێندن وفێربوونی عەرەبی کردووە؟

سەرەتایی ☐ ئامادەیی ☐ زانکۆ ☐ لە هیچیان ☐

10. ئایا عەرەبیت وەک بابەتێکی خوێندن لە مەکتەب خوێندووە لە قۆناغی سەرەتایەوە؟ بەڵێ ☐ بەخێر ☐

11. ئایا خۆت بەچی دەژمێری؟ عێراقی ☐ کورد ☐ کوردێکی عراقی ☐

12. ئایا ڕۆلی ئایین لە ژیانت چۆنە؟

زۆر گرنگە ☐ گرنگە ☐ ڕا ی خۆم لای خۆمە ☐ گرنگ نیە ☐ حەزی لێ ناکەم ☐

بەشی دووەم: ئەلف

ئایا هیچ شتێک بەدی دەکەی لەم ڕسانەی خواەوە کە لە کوردی نەچێت، یان ئەو ڕستانە هیچ شتێکیان تیایە کە عادەتەن لە ڕستەی درووستی کوردی بەدی ناکرێت؟

1. هەرکە داوای ئیجازەم کرد ڕاسەن ڕێگەیان پێدام بە بێ پسوولە بچمە ژوورەوە.

....

2. با تاقیکردنەوەکان تەواو بکات ئێستا، دوایی قەیناکا، لەهەر کوێ دەیەوێ با بخوێنت.

....

3. کۆمپانیاکە پسپۆڕی وەک تۆی دەوێت، بۆیە گەر لە تاقیکردنەوەکە دەرچیت ئەوا کارەکەت پێدەدەن.

....

4. دەبێ ڕێز لە یاسا بگرین بۆیە شکات کرد باشری چارەسەریە بۆ کێشە.

....

5. تەجاوزکردنی یاسا دەبێتە هۆی دەرەنجامی نەخوازراو، لەوانەشە ببتە هۆی خەسارەتمەندیش.

....

6. بەم زووانە ئاشکرا بووە کە چیاکانی ئەم وولاتە پڕن لە زێڕ وزیوو سەرچاوەی سروشتی.

....

7. وا بزانم هیچ جیاوازیەک نیە، لێرە یان لەوێ هەمووی عەینی بەزمە.

....

8. جادە چۆل و سێبەر بوو، شنەبای نەرم و کەشێکی بەهاری بە ناوچەکە بەخشیبوو.

....

9. ئەو پڕۆژەیە فیعلەن فاشیلە چوونکە شوێنەکەی بۆ وەبەرهێان گونجاو نیە.

....

10. سەردێری هەواڵە ناوخۆییەکان وا دیارە هەمووی هەمان شێوازیان هەیە.

....

11. ئازیزەکەم تکایە لێرە دانیشەو هەرچی پەرتووکی زیادەت هەیە ببەخشە بە هاوڕێکان.

....

12. هەموو کەس دەزانێت کە ئەمە شارێکی زۆرکۆنە و مێژوونووسە دێرینەکانیش ئاماژەان پێ کردووە.

....

بەشی دووەم: بێ

کام لەم جووت ڕستانەی خوارەوە کوردیەکی پاراو ترە بە ڕای تۆ؟ تکایە دیاری بکە.

1. ئا) کاتێ گەیشتە مەکتەب دەرسەکە تەواو ببوو، کەسیش لە سەفە کە نەبوو.

ب) کاتێ گەیشتە خوێدنگە وانەکە تەواو ببوو، کەسیش لە پۆلەکە نەبوو.

....

2. ئا) زۆرم هەوڵدا، بەڵام مەوزوعەکەم بەبیر نەهاتەوە هەروەک بڵێی ئەوە ئەوەلین جارە گوێم لێ دەبێت.

ب) زۆرم کرد، بەڵام بابەتەکەم بەبیر نەهاتەوە هەروەک بڵێی ئەوە یەکەمین جارە گوێم لێ دەبێت.

....

3. ئا) تازە بە سەلامەتی لەوەی پەڕیمەوە، بۆیە مەڕێک دەکەمە قوربانی و بەسەر فەقیرانی دابەش دەکەم.

ب) تازە بە بێ زیان لەوەی پەڕیمەوە، بۆیە مەڕێک سەر دەبڕم و بەسەر هەژارانی دابەش دەکەم.

....

4. ئا) گەر بۆ سەفرە چوویت، مشورەتی هەموان بکەو تاخیریش مەبە.

ب) گەر بۆ گەشت چوویت، پرس بە هەموان بکەو دواش مەکەوە.

....

5. ئا) کاتێ حەریقەکە گەیشتە مەوقیعەکە، هەموو دەزگاکە ببوو بە خەڵووز.

ب) کاتێ ئاگر کوژێنەکە گەیشتە شوێنەکە، هەموو دەزگاکە ببوو بە خەڵووز.

....

بەشی سێ:

تا چی ڕادەیەک ئەو دەستەواژانەی خوارەوەت لا ڕاستە:

1. عادەتەن، هەموو زمانێک ووشە لەزمانی تر وەردەگرێ

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

2. کاتێ ووشەی کوردی گونجاو هەبێت، ووشەی کوردی بەکاردێنم نەوەک ووشەی لە عەرەبی وەرگیراو.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

3. شتێکی باش نیە کاتێک مامۆستایانی ئایینی ووشەی عەرەبی لە ووتاەکانیان بەکاردێن.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

4. تەنها ووشەی کوردی دەبێ بەکار بێت لەهەموو مەوقفێک، تەنانەت لە ووتاری ئایینیش.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

5. لەهەموو لایەن و بوارەکانی پەروەردە دەبێ ووشەی عەرەبی پەراوێز بکرێ و بەکار نەهێنرێت.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

6. مەکتەب دەبێ سیاسەتێک پەیڕەو بکات زمانی تەلەبەکان پاک بکاتەوەو هانیان بدات خۆ بپارێزن لەبەکارهێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

7. دەبێ خۆدووربگرین لەبەکارهێنانی ووشەی کوردی لەهەموو لایەنەکانی سیاسەت.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

8. زۆر بەکار هێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی نیشانەی کەم وەفایی دەنوێنێ بەرامبەر زمانی کوردی.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

9. بەکارهێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی لە زمانی کوردی بێ وەفایی دەنوێنێ بەرامبەر بە ناسنامەی نەتەوەیی کوردی.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

10. حوکمەت دەبێ سیاسەتێک داڕێژێ بۆ دانانی سنورێک بۆ بەکارهێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی لە کوردی.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

11. خۆلادان لەبەکارهێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی لە ئاخاوتنی کوردی مانای سەربەخۆیی و ڕزگاربوون لە عەرەب دەگەیەنێ.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

12. خۆلادان لەبەکارهێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی لە نووسینی کوردی مانای سەربەخۆیی و ڕزگاربوون لە عەرەب دەگەیەنێ.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

13. بەکارهێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی لە مێدیا زیانی بە زمانی کوردی گەیاندووە.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

14. بێژەرەکانی ڕادیۆو تەلەفزیۆن نابێ ووشەی عەرەبی بەکاربێنن.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

15. نووچەو هەواڵەکان لە ڕادیۆو تەلەفزیۆن دەبێ بە کوردیەکی پەتی بێ و ووشەی عەرەبی تیا نەبێ.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

16. دەزگاکانی مێدیا دەبێ پەیڕەوی تایبەت بە دەزگاکانیان داڕێژن دەربارەی بەکارهێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

17. مێدیا ڕۆڵێکی نەرێنی هەیە لە پاک کردنەوەی زمانی کوری و بگرە زێتر ووشەی عەرەبی دێنێتە ناو زمانی کوردی.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

18. دەبێ ووشەی عەرەبی بە سەربەستی و ئاسایی بەکاربهێنرێ لە کوردی.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

19. باشتر وایە کە ووشەی عەرەبی بەکاربهێنرێ کاتێک لەهەندێ بابەت ووشەی تایبەتمەندی کوردی نیە بۆ گەیاندنی ماناکە.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

20. باشتر وایە کە ووشەی عەرەبی لە نووسینی کوردی بەکارنەهێنرێ بەجۆرێ ئەگەرهاتوو ووشەی تایبەنمەندی کوردیشمان نەبوو بۆ گەیاندنی ماناکە.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

21. باشتر وایە کە ووشەی عەرەبی لە ئاخاوتنی کوردی بەکارنەهێنرێ بەجۆرێ ئەگەرهاتوو ووشەی تایبەنمەندی کوردیشمان نەبوو بۆ گەیاندنی ماناکە.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

22. ئەو کەسانەی ووشەی عەرەبی بەکار دێنن لەکوردی زمانیان وەک ئەو کەسانە ڕەوان نیە کە خۆیان لە ووشەی عەرەبی دەپارێزن.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

23. ئەو وووشە عەرەبیانەی ئێستا لە کوردی بەکاردێن پێویستە لابدرێن ووشەی کوردیان لە شوێن دابنرێ.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

24. هەبوونی ووشەی عەرەبی لەزمانی کوردی زمانەکەمان دەوڵەمەند دەکات.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

25. ئەو کوردیەی ووشەی عەرەبی تیا بەکاردێ بەقەد ئەو کوردیەوە باشە کە پەتیەو عەرەبی تیا بەکارناهێنرێ.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

26. بەکارهێنانی ووشەی کوردی بەتەنیا مانای یەکێتی و هاوخەباتی لەگەڵ برا کوردەکان دەگەیەنێ.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

27. بەکارهێنانی ووشەی عەرەبی لە کوردی مانای بەعیراقی بوونەو بەواتای ئەوەی کورد بەشێکە لە عیراق.

زۆر ڕاستە ☐ ڕاستە ☐ ناڕاستە ☐ بە جارێک ناڕاستە ☐

2. The English translation

SECTION ONE:

1. Gender: □ Male □ Female

2. Age: □Under 20, □ 20 – 30, □ 31 – 40, □ 41 – 50, □ 51 – 60, □ 61+

3. Education: □ Primary school education □ Mid school graduate

□ Secondary school graduate □ University student

□ University graduate □ Postgraduate

4. Profession: ....

5. What is your mother tongue? ....

6. Do you speak languages other than your mother tongue? □ Yes □ No

(If yes, please specify) 1…………………, 2……………………,
3………………..., 4………………………

7. What is your level of Arabic proficiency?

□ No Arabic □Very basic (primary level)

□ Basic level (mid school level) □ Intermediate (Secondary school)

□ Advance level □ Native speaker level

8. In what language(s) did you receive your education?

Primary school □ Arabic □ Kurdish □ other

Secondary school □ Arabic □ Kurdish □ other

University □ Arabic □ Kurdish □ other

9. When did you first learn Arabic through the education system?

□Primary school □ Secondary school □University □ Not applicable

10. Was Arabic a subject at schools since your primary education? □ Yes □ No

11. Do you consider yourself as: □ Iraqi □ Kurdish □ Iraqi Kurd?

12. What is the role of religion in your life?

□ Very important □ Important □ No opinion □ not important □ Undesirable

SECTION TWO:

ONE- Is there something in the following sentences which does not sound Kurdish? OR: Is there something in the sentence that you would not normally find in the Kurdish sentence

1. As soon as I asked for permission, they immediately allowed me to go in without a ticket.

2. You finish the exams first, and then no matter where do you want to study next.

3. **The company needs experts like you; therefore if you pass the test they will give you the job**

4. We have to respect the law, that's why making a complaint is the solution.

5. Violations of the law will lead to unwanted outcomes; it may well cause loss as well.

6. **They have just discovered recently that the mountains in this country are full of gold, silver and natural resources.**

7. If believe they are not different, whether here or there, it is all the same thing.

8. The road was empty and quiet, the soft breeze made the area as if it was spring time.

9. This project is a real failure, because the location is not suitable for investment.

10. The headlines of all local newspapers seem to have the same style.

11. My dear, please sit here and donate the spare books to the friends.

12. Everybody knows that this is a very old city and it has been mentioned by the ancient chronicles.

TWO- Please indicate which sentence of the following pairs sounds more Kurdish and why?

1. a) When he arrived at school, the lesson had already ended, and nobody was in the classroom. □

b) When he arrived at school, the lesson had already ended, and nobody was in the classroom. □

…………………………………………………………………………………………

2. a) I tried very hard, but I could not remember the topic. I felt as it was the first time to hear it. □

b) I tried very hard, but I could not remember the topic. I felt as it was the first time to hear it. □

……………………………………………………………………………………………

3. a) Just if you pass this safely, I will sacrifice a sheep and donate it to charity for the poor.□

b) Just if you pass this safely, I will sacrifice a sheep and donate it to charity for the poor.□

……………………………………………………………………………………………

4. a) If you are going on a trip, consult everybody in the team and do not be late.□

b) If you are going on a trip, consult everybody in the team and do not be late.□

……………………………………………………………………………………………

5. a) When the fire fighters arrived at the scene, the whole station was already turned into ash.□

b) When the fire fighters arrived at the scene; the whole station was already turned into ash.□

……………………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION THREE:

How far do you agree with the following statements? Please tick the box in front of the degree.

1. All languages draw upon words from other languages.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

2. Where a good Kurdish word exists, I would prefer to use a Kurdish word rather than a loanword.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

3. It is in appropriate for the preachers to use Arabic loanwords in their sermons.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

4. Only Kurdish words should be used in all situations even in religious preaching.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

5. In every aspect of education Arabic loanwords should be avoided.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

6. Schools should adopt a policy of purging students' language by urging them to avoid Arabic loanwords.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

7. Arabic loanwords should be avoided in every aspect of Kurdish politics.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

8. The use of a lot of Arabic loanwords signals less allegiance to Kurdish language.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

9. Using Arabic words in Kurdish shows disloyalty to Kurdish identity.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

10. The government should set policies to restrict the use of Arabic words in Kurdish.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

11. Avoidance of Arabic words in Kurdish speech means independence from Arabs.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

12. Avoidance of Arabic words in Kurdish writing means independence from Arabs.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

13. The media's use of Arabic loanwords has damaged Kurdish.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

14. Broadcasters should not use Arabic words.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

15. News bulletins should be in pure Kurdish with no Arabic words.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

16. **Media outlets should set editorial guidelines regarding the use of Arabic loanwords**.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

17. The media's role in the purification of Kurdish language is negative as it is introducing new Arabic words.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

18. Arabic words should be used freely in Kurdish.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

19. It is best to use Arabic loanwords in subjects where there is no Kurdish word to convey the meaning.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

20. It is better to avoid Arabic loanwords in Kurdish writing even when Kurdish terms do not exist.

□ Strongly disagree □ Disagree □ Agree □ Strongly agree

21. It is better to avoid Arabic loanwords in Kurdish speech even when Kurdish terms do not exist.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

22. People who use Arabic words in Kurdish are not as eloquent as those who do not use Arabic.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

23. The current Arabic words used in Kurdish should be replaced by Kurdish words.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

24. The use of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish enriches the language.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

25. Kurdish speech with Arabic loanwords is as good as speech with pure Kurdish words.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

26. Using only Kurdish words in speech means solidarity with fellow Kurds.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

27. Using Arabic loanwords in Kurdish means Iraqiness and Kurds being part of Iraq.

□ Strongly agree □Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

Appendix 4.2.1 Statistical Tests

A. Reliability

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.876	27

B. Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix – attitude variables[a]

	Component						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.All languages draw upon words from other languages.	-.101	-.167	-.144	-.563	.009	-.266	-.363
2. Where a good Kurdish word exists, I would prefer to use a Kurdish word rather than a loanword..	.270	-.074	.102	.219	-.186	.071	.610
3. It is in appropriate for the preachers to use Arabic loanwords in their sermons.	.152	.084	.840	.003	-.040	-.017	.133
4. Only Kurdish words should be used in all situations even in religious preaching.	-.019	.251	.721	.175	.175	.058	.153
5. In every aspect of education Arabic loanwords should be avoided.	.324	.227	.674	.213	.133	.060	-.120
6. Schools should adopt a policy of purging students' language by urging them to avoid Arabic loanwords.	.527	.241	.493	.246	-.009	-.169	-.012
7. Arabic loanwords should be avoided in every aspect of Kurdish politics.	.577	.376	.431	-.010	-.009	-.070	-.124
8.The use of a lot of Arabic loanwords signals less allegiance to Kurdish language.	.348	.644	.185	.380	.020	.093	-.113
9.Using Arabic words in Kurdish shows disloyalty to Kurdish identity.	.270	.704	.160	.371	-.018	-.015	.022
10.The government should set policies to restrict the use of Arabic words in Kurdish.	.403	.446	.434	.140	-.153	.119	.188
11. Avoidance of Arabic words in Kurdish speech means independence from Arabs.	.072	.785	.223	.048	.092	.198	.167
12.Avoidance of Arabic words in Kurdish writing means independence from Arabs.	.262	.775	.124	-.127	.160	.048	.038
13.The media's use of Arabic loanwords has damaged Kurdish.	.514	.464	.265	-.040	.100	-.292	.068
14.Broadcasters should not use Arabic words.	.718	.334	.110	.143	-.017	-.172	.129
15.News bulletins should be in pure Kurdish with no Arabic words.	.852	.145	.100	.078	-.030	-.080	.174
16.Media outlets should set editorial guidelines regarding the use of Arabic loanwords.	.785	.023	-.051	-.049	.120	.048	.042
17. The media's role in the purification of Kurdish language is negative as it is introducing new Arabic words.	.581	.163	.181	.064	-.159	.125	-.279
18. Arabic words should be used freely in Kurdish.	.061	.252	.189	.057	.004	-.418	.613
19. It is best to use Arabic loanwords in subjects where there is no Kurdish word to convey the meaning.	.062	-.118	-.061	-.733	-.121	-.093	-.023
20. It is best to avoid Arabic loanwords in Kurdish writing even when Kurdish terms do not exist.	-.015	.135	.087	-.031	.845	.024	-.050
21. It is better to avoid Arabic loanwords in Kurdish speech even when Kurdish terms do not exist.	.151	-.003	.117	.414	.659	.323	-.029
22. People who use Arabic words in Kurdish are not as eloquent as those who do not use Arabic.	.602	.104	.167	.049	.088	.001	.162
23. The current Arabic words used in Kurdish should be replaced by Kurdish words.	.707	.180	.110	.043	.105	.167	.346
24. The use of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish enriches the language.	-.082	.001	-.148	-.731	.000	.173	-.106
25. Kurdish speech with Arabic loanwords is as good as speech with pure Kurdish words.	-.288	-.023	.090	-.423	-.414	.491	-.012
26. Using only Kurdish words in speech means solidarity with fellow Kurds.	.368	.158	-.109	.096	.251	.351	.431
27. Using Arabic loanwords in Kurdish means Iraqiness and Kurds being part of Iraq.	.008	.191	.046	.077	.174	.761	-.005

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 28 iterations.

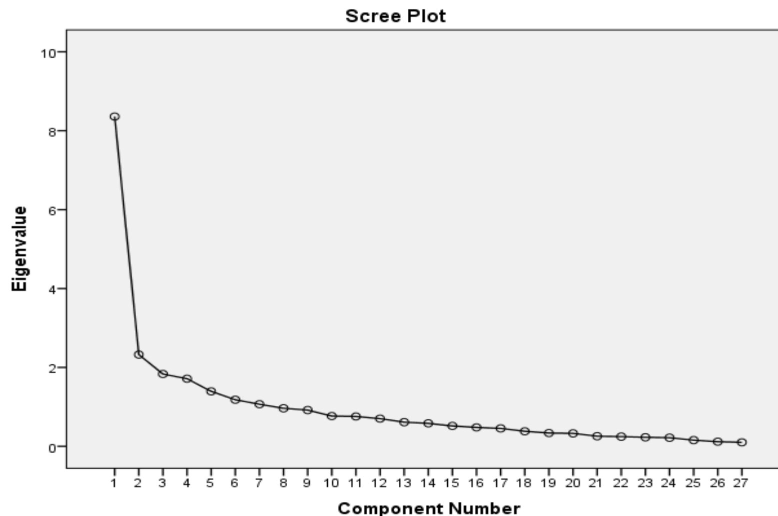
C. Pearson's correlations: demographic variables and attitude variables

Correlations between demographic variables only

		Age	Gender	Highest level of education	Role of religion	Level of Arabic	Identity	Other language	At what stage start learning Arabic
Age (Under 40 / Over 40)	Pearson Correlation	1							
	Sig. (2-tailed)								
	N	120							
Gender (Female/Male)	Pearson Correlation	.355**	1						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000							
	N	120	120						
Highest level of education (School / University / Post-University)	Pearson Correlation	.088	.034	1					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.337	.715						
	N	120	120	120					
What is the role of religion in respondent's life (Not important / Important)	Pearson Correlation	-.371**	-.249**	-.133	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.007	.150					
	N	118	118	118	118				
Respondent's level of Arabic (None or Basic / Intermediate / Advanced)	Pearson Correlation	.372**	.234*	.374**	-.209*	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.010	.000	.023				
	N	120	120	120	118	120			
What does respondent consider his or her identity (Kurdish / Iraq or Iraqi Kurd)	Pearson Correlation	-.076	-.034	-.065	.143	.006	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.415	.712	.482	.125	.951			
	N	118	118	118	116	118	118		
Respondent speaks other languages (No/Yes)	Pearson Correlation	.292**	.345**	.077	-.146	.317**	.085	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.405	.116	.000	.359		
	N	120	120	120	118	120	118	120	
At what stage did respondent start learning Arabic (Primary / Secondary / University)	Pearson Correlation	-.143	-.148	.031	.084	-.251**	-.093	-.255**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.128	.114	.743	.378	.007	.326	.006	
	N	115	115	115	113	115	113	115	115

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

D. Scree plot for attitudinal factors



E. Mean composite of age

ANOVA

Pro-Kurdish / anti-Arabic loanword attitude scale

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.201	1	.201	1.034	.311
Within Groups	22.932	118	.194		
Total	23.133	119			

4.2.2. Gender and Attitudes

ANOVA: Gender and Attitude

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Attitude Factor Score 3	Between Groups	2.718	1	2.718	2.762	.099
	Within Groups	105.282	107	.984		
	Total	108.000	108			
Attitude Factor Score 5	Between Groups	5.349	1	5.349	2.773	.099
	Within Groups	223.736	116	1.929		
	Total	229.085	117			

4.2.3 Education and attitudes

ANOVA: Education and Attitude

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Attitude Factor Score 3	Between Groups	11.783	2	5.892	6.491	.002
	Within Groups	96.217	106	.908		
	Total	108.000	108			
Attitude Factor Score 4	Between Groups	4.773	2	2.387	2.451	.091
	Within Groups	103.227	106	.974		
	Total	108.000	108			
Attitude Factor Score 6	Between Groups	6.544	2	3.272	3.418	.036
	Within Groups	101.456	106	.957		
	Total	108.000	108			
Attitude Factor Score 7	Between Groups	6.032	2	3.016	3.135	.048
	Within Groups	101.968	106	.962		
	Total	108.000	108			

Tukey HSD **Multiple Comparisons**

Dependent Variable	(I) Highest level of education (3 categories)	(J) Highest level of education (3 categories)	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Attitude Factor Score 3	Primary/Middle/Secondary	University Student	-.01095505	.23737219	.999	-.5752086	.5532985
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	-.70639052*	.25106769	.016	-1.3031994	-.1095816
	University Student	Primary/Middle/Secondary	.01095505	.23737219	.999	-.5532985	.5752086
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	-.69543546*	.20913766	.003	-1.1925732	-.1982978
	University Graduate/Postgraduate	Primary/Middle/Secondary	.70639052*	.25106769	.016	.1095816	1.3031994
		University Student	.69543546*	.20913766	.003	.1982978	1.1925732
Attitude Factor Score 4	Primary/Middle/Secondary	University Student	.50676282	.24586753	.103	-.0776849	1.0912105
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	.50258075	.26005318	.135	-.1155874	1.1207489
	University Student	Primary/Middle/Secondary	-.50676282	.24586753	.103	-1.0912105	.0776849
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	-.00418207	.21662251	1.000	-.5191119	.5107477
	University Graduate/Postgraduate	Primary/Middle/Secondary	-.50258075	.26005318	.135	-1.1207489	.1155874
		University Student	.00418207	.21662251	1.000	-.5107477	.5191119
		University Student	.00356979	.22138805	1.000	-.5226881	.5298277
Attitude Factor Score 6	Primary/Middle/Secondary	University Student	-.08473734	.24375007	.936	-.6641516	.4946770
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	.45945843	.25781354	.181	-.1533859	1.0723028
	University Student	Primary/Middle/Secondary	.08473734	.24375007	.936	-.4946770	.6641516
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	.54419577*	.21475691	.034	.0337006	1.0546909
	University Graduate/Postgraduate	Primary/Middle/Secondary	-.45945843	.25781354	.181	-1.0723028	.1533859
		University Student	-.54419577*	.21475691	.034	-1.0546909	-.0337006
Attitude Factor Score 7	Primary/Middle/Secondary	University Student	-.23823506	.24436325	.594	-.8191069	.3426368
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	.30082799	.25846211	.477	-.3135581	.9152140
	University Student	Primary/Middle/Secondary	.23823506	.24436325	.594	-.3426368	.8191069
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	.53906305*	.21529716	.037	.0272837	1.0508424
	University Graduate/Postgraduate	Primary/Middle/Secondary	-.30082799	.25846211	.477	-.9152140	.3135581
		University Student	-.53906305*	.21529716	.037	-1.0508424	-.0272837

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

4.2.4 Language skills and attitudes

ANOVA: Attitude and other language

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Attitude Factor Score 6	Between Groups	11.959	1	11.959	13.324	.000
	Within Groups	96.041	107	.898		
	Total	108.000	108			
Attitude Factor Score 7	Between Groups	4.205	1	4.205	4.335	.040
	Within Groups	103.795	107	.970		
	Total	108.000	108			

4.2.5 Stage of starting learning Arabic and attitudes

ANOVA: Attitude and When Start Learning of Arabic

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Attitude Factor Score 6	Between Groups	5.116	2	2.558	2.527	.085
	Within Groups	102.244	101	1.012		
	Total	107.359	103			

Tukey HSD

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable	(I) At what stage did respondent start learning Arabic	(J) At what stage did respondent start learning Arabic	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Attitude Factor Score 6	Primary school	Secondary school	-.21596451	.27749148	.717	-.8760492	.4441202
		University	-.51294579	.22882533	.069	-1.0572656	.0313740
	Secondary school	Primary school	.21596451	.27749148	.717	-.4441202	.8760492
		University	-.29698129	.30733564	.600	-1.0280580	.4340955
	University	Primary school	.51294579	.22882533	.069	-.0313740	1.0572656
		Secondary school	.29698129	.30733564	.600	-.4340955	1.0280580
		Secondary school	.54764376	.30240147	.171	-.1716958	1.2669833

4.2.6 Religion and attitudes

ANOVA: Role of religion and Attitude

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Attitude Factor Score 3	Between Groups	11.330	1	11.330	12.334	.001
	Within Groups	96.458	105	.919		
	Total	107.788	106			
Attitude Factor Score 4	Between Groups	2.943	1	2.943	2.958	.088
	Within Groups	104.489	105	.995		
	Total	107.432	106			

Results of awareness analysis

Appendix 4.3.2.1

A. Reliability

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.661	17

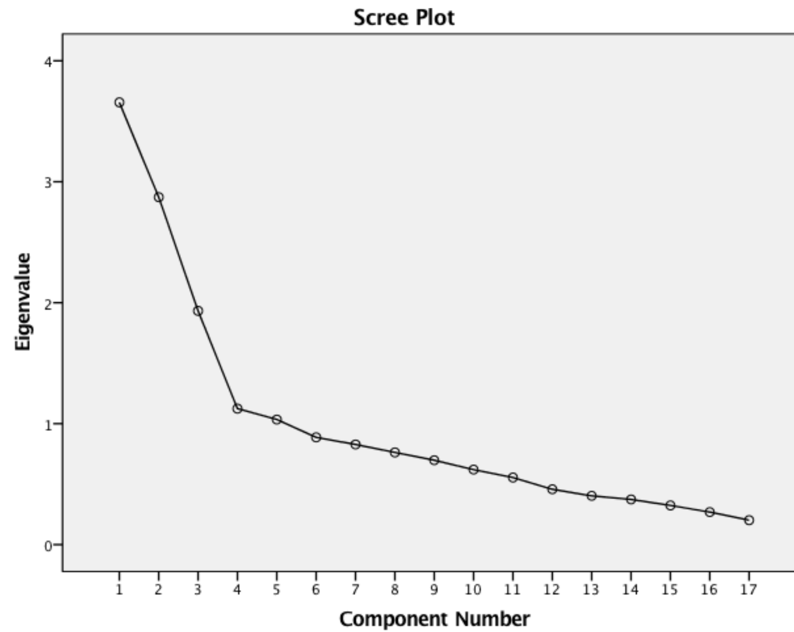
B. Rotated Componant Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix – awareness variables[a]

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW present (not aware/aware) *Pure*	.757	-.188	.025	.184	.199
2. Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW present (not aware/aware) *Fused*	.169	-.175	.578	.021	-.040
4. Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW present (not aware/aware) *Truncated*	.324	.154	.708	-.005	.149
5. Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW present (not aware/aware) *Transfer stem*	.740	-.200	.256	.163	-.046
7. Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW present (not aware/aware)	.528	.233	.382	-.229	.303
8. Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW present (not aware/aware) *Assimilated*	.166	-.213	.680	.080	-.057
9. Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW present (not aware/aware)	.785	.101	.170	-.103	.054
11. Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW present (not aware/aware) Assimilated	.084	-.673	.314	.056	.026
3 RC Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW not present (not aware/aware)	-.313	.621	.054	.003	-.038
6 RC Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW not present (not aware/aware)	.260	.614	-.152	.408	-.250
10 RC Is there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW not present (not aware/aware)	.149	.327	-.594	.122	.026
12 RCIs there something that does not sound Kurdish in the sentence? LW not present (not aware/aware)	.059	.807	-.192	.116	.033
1 RC Identify which sentence sounds more Kurdish (not aware/aware) *Pure*	.164	.011	-.032	.271	.778
2 RC Identify which sentence sounds more Kurdish (not aware/aware) *Partial*	.044	-.121	-.016	.174	.859
3 RC Identify which sentence sounds more Kurdish (not aware/aware) *Transfer stem*	.232	-.030	.148	.522	.401
4 RC Identify which sentence sounds more Kurdish (not aware/aware)	-.160	.058	-.047	.720	.325
5 RC Identify which sentence sounds more Kurdish (not aware/aware) *Pseudo*	.089	.130	-.014	.852	.111

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 9 iterations.

C. Scree plot



4.3.3.1 Awareness and gender

ANOVA: awareness and gender

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Awareness factor score 3	Between Groups	3.676	1	3.676	3.767	.055
	Within Groups	108.324	111	.976		
	Total	112.000	112			
Awareness factor score 4	Between Groups	3.010	1	3.010	3.066	.083
	Within Groups	108.990	111	.982		
	Total	112.000	112			

4.3.3.2 Awareness and education

ANOVA: awareness and education

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Awareness factor score 1	Between Groups	9.326	2	4.663	4.996	.008
	Within Groups	102.674	110	.933		
	Total	112.000	112			
Awareness factor score 2	Between Groups	5.609	2	2.804	2.899	.059
	Within Groups	106.391	110	.967		
	Total	112.000	112			

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Highest level of education (3 categories)	(J) Highest level of education (3 categories)	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Awareness factor score 1	Primary/Middle/Secondary	University Student	.21670358	.23132503	.618	-.3328914	.7662985
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	-.45285386	.25169999	.175	-1.0508567	.1451490
	University Student	Primary/Middle/Secondary	-.21670358	.23132503	.618	-.7662985	.3328914
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	-.66955744*	.21228335	.006	-1.1739121	-.1652028
	University Graduate/Postgraduate	Primary/Middle/Secondary	.45285386	.25169999	.175	-.1451490	1.0508567
		University Student	.66955744*	.21228335	.006	.1652028	1.1739121
Awareness factor score 2	Primary/Middle/Secondary	University Student	-.54815770	.23547548	.056	-1.1076135	.0112981
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	-.24341887	.25621600	.610	-.8521512	.3653134
	University Student	Primary/Middle/Secondary	.54815770	.23547548	.056	-.0112981	1.1076135
		University Graduate/Postgraduate	.30473883	.21609215	.339	-.2086650	.8181426
	University Graduate/Postgraduate	Primary/Middle/Secondary	.24341887	.25621600	.610	-.3653134	.8521512
		University Student	-.30473883	.21609215	.339	-.8181426	.2086650

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

4.3.3.3 Awareness and language skills

ANOVA: Awareness and other language

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Awareness factor score 1	Between Groups	11.403	1	11.403	12.583	.001
	Within Groups	100.597	111	.906		
	Total	112.000	112			

4.3.3.4 Awareness and stage of starting learning Arabic

ANOVA: awareness and at what stage did respondent start learning Arabic

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Awareness factor score 1	Between Groups	5.387	2	2.693	2.773	.067
	Within Groups	102.949	106	.971		
	Total	108.336	108			
Awareness factor score 2	Between Groups	6.218	2	3.109	3.860	.024
	Within Groups	85.385	106	.806		
	Total	91.603	108			

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) At what stage did respondent start learning Arabic	(J) At what stage did respondent start learning Arabic	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Awareness factor score 1	Primary school	Secondary school	-.15979031	.26434450	.818	-.7881593	.4685787
		University	.44466117	.21976223	.112	-.0777320	.9670544
	Secondary school	Primary school	.15979031	.26434450	.818	-.4685787	.7881593
		University	.60445148	.29382019	.104	-.0939837	1.3028866
	University	Primary school	-.44466117	.21976223	.112	-.9670544	.0777320
		Secondary school	-.60445148	.29382019	.104	-1.3028866	.0939837
Awareness factor score 2	Primary school	Secondary school	.41357880	.24074128	.203	-.1586833	.9858409
		University	-.32605966	.20013974	.238	-.8018086	.1496892
	Secondary school	Primary school	-.41357880	.24074128	.203	-.9858409	.1586833
		University	-.73963846*	.26758510	.018	-1.3757106	-.1035663
	University	Primary school	.32605966	.20013974	.238	-.1496892	.8018086
		Secondary school	.73963846*	.26758510	.018	.1035663	1.3757106

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

4.3.3.5 Awareness and Religion

ANOVA: Role of religion and awareness

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Awareness factor score 3	Between Groups	3.501	1	3.501	3.550	.062
	Within Groups	108.461	110	.986		
	Total	111.962	111			
Awareness factor score 5	Between Groups	3.055	1	3.055	3.084	.082
	Within Groups	108.944	110	.990		
	Total	111.999	111			

4.4.1 Appendix association between Attitudes and Awareness

A. Results of the preliminary test on attitudes

1. Association between factors and attitudes to loanwords in different domains

Statements and domain	Social factors									
	gender	Age	Education	Speak other languages	Arabic level	Language of education	Start learning Arabic	Arabic school subject	Identity	Religion importance
1 general		SG		SG						
2 general										
3 religion										SG
4 religion		SG	SG		SG					SG
5 education										SG
6 education										SG
7 politics				SG	SG					
8 identity		SG								SG
9 identity		SG		SG						
10 politics										
11 politics										
12 identity politics	SG									
13 media		SG		SG						SG
14 media										
15 media							SG			
16 media										
17 media										
18 general								SG		
19 general			SG							SG
20 general									SG	
21 general										
22 education								SG		
23 general										
24 general										
25 general						SG				
26 identity			SG							
27 identity	SG			SG	SG					

SG: significant differences are found

2. Association between factors and awareness of different types of loanwords

Type of loanword	Social factors									
	gender	Age	Education	Speak other languages	Arabic level	Language of education	Start learning Arabic	Arabic school subject	Identity	Religion importance
1. Pure LW				SG						
2. Fused compound			SG					SG		
3. dummy statement with no LW.	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
4. Truncated										
5. Transfered stem			SG	SG	SG		SG			
6. dummy statement with no LW	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
7. Compound-blend										
8. Partially assimilated									SG	
9. Analysed compound				SG						
10. dummy statement with no LW	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
11. Assimilated										
12. dummy statement with no LW	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
13.-1 pure LW										
14. -2 Partial										
15. 3 Transferred stem										
16. 4 LW	SG									
17. 5 Pseudo	SG									

SG: significant differences are found

B. The answers to Awareness questions

Statement number	Yes	No	Missing value	Statement number	Yes	No	Missing value
1	98	18	4	8	20	97	3
2	32	85	3	9	107	11	2
3	52	65	3	10	111	7	2
4	74	43	3	11	100	18	2
5	77	40	3	12	113	5	2
6	28	89	3	13	114	5	1
7	89	28	3				

C. Number of 'yes' answers to Awareness questions

No. of yes answers	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Missing value
No. of respondents	2	2	2	8	11	5	12	25	18	15	9	4	7

D. Exploring SCORE1_awareness

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
SCORE1_awareness	113	94.2%	7	5.8%	120	100.0%

E. Normality test

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
SCORE1_awareness	.174	113	.000	.951	113	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

F. Descriptive statistics of awareness

Descriptives

			Statistic	Std. Error
SCORE1_awareness	Mean		8.72	.234
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	8.25	
		Upper Bound	9.18	
	5% Trimmed Mean		8.82	
	Median		9.00	
	Variance		6.187	
	Std. Deviation		2.487	
	Minimum		2	
	Maximum		13	
	Range		11	
	Interquartile Range		4	
	Skewness		-.591	.227
	Kurtosis		-.075	.451

List of abbreviations

1PL:	First person plural
1SG:	First person singular
2PL:	Second person plural
2SG:	Second person singular
3PL:	Third person plural
3SG:	Third person singular
^{A}	Superscript ^{A}: the Arabic form of the word
ADD	Addition
ACC:	Accusative
Adj:	Adjective
Adj comp:	Comparative adjective
ANOVA:	Analysis of Variance
AUX:	Auxiliary
CK	Central Kurdish = Sorani Kurdish
CL	Clitic
DEF:	Definite
DEM:	Demonstrative
Ex-verb:	Borrowed verb used as another part of speech
FA	Factor Analysis
GEN:	Genitive
IMP:	Imperative
IMPF:	Imperfective
INDF:	Indefinite
irreg	irregular
^{K}	Superscript ^{K}: the Kurdish form of the word
KRG:	Kurdistan Regional government
LNK:	Linker
LW:	loanword
MANOVA:	Multivariate Analysis of Variance
NEG:	Negative or negation
OBJ:	Object
PASS:	Passive
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
POSS:	Possessive
PRF:	Perfect
PRS	Present
PST:	Past
PTCP:	Participle
SBJ:	Subject
SBJV:	Subjunctive
SOV:	Subject Object Verb order
SVO:	Subject verb object order
Tr	Transliteration
VSO:	Verb subject object order

References

Abbas, Muna Mohammed (2010), ‘Lexical Analysis of Gender and Language Theories’. *Journal of University of Babylon*, 18, 2, 501-511.

Abdel-Haleem, Muhammad (2011), ‘Arabic as the Language of Islam’, in Stefan Weninger, Geoffrey Khan, Michael P. Streck, and Janet Watson (eds), *The Semitic languages: An international Handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 811-817.

Abdel-Jawad, Hassan Rashid E, (1981), ‘Lexical and Phonological Variation in Spoken Arabic in Amman’. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Abdulaziz, Mohamed (1989), ‘Development of Scientific and Technical Terminology with Special Reference to African Languages’. *Kiswahili* 56, 32-49.

Abdul-Hassan Raad Shakir (1988), ‘Variation in the Educated Spoken Arabic of Iraq: A sociolinguistic study’. PhD thesis, University of Leeds.

Abdulla, Jamal Jalal (1967), ‘Diglossic Bilingualism in Iraq’ M Phil thesis. University of York.

------------ (1980), ‘Some Aspects of Language Purism among Kurdish speakers’. PhD thesis, University of York.

------------ (2012), *The Kurds: A Nation on the Way to Statehood.* Bloomington: Author House.

Abdullah, G. Mansour (2013), ‘*Umayyad Dynasty*’ in Encyclopaedia Britannica. Available at: http://www.britannica.com/topic/Umayyad-dynasty-Islamic-history. [accessed on 23 September 2015]

Abu-Haidar, Farida (1989), ‘Are Iraqi Women More Prestige Conscious than Men? Sex Differentiation in Baghdadi Arabic’. *Language in Society* 18, 471-481.

------------ (2006), ‘Baghdad Arabic, in Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich and Andrzej Zaborski (eds), *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics.* Vol. I, Leiden: Brill, pp. 222-231.

Ahmad, Abdul-Majeed Rashid (1986), ‘The Phonemic System of Modern Standard Kurdish’. PhD thesis, University of Michigan.

Ahmadzadeh, Hashem (2003), *Nation and Novel: A Study of Persian and Kurdish Narrative Discourse.* Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.

Ahmed, Jamal Rashid (2005), *Ẓuhūr al-Kūrd fī al-ta'rīkh: dirāsah shāmilah 'an khalfīyat al-ummah al-Kūrdīyah wa-mahdihā*. Hewlêr: Dezgay bĺawkrdnewey Aras.

Ahmed, Mohammed (2012), *Iraqi Kurds and Nation-Building*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2002), *Language Contact in Amazonia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

------------ (2007), 'Grammars in Contact: a Cross-Linguistic Perspective', in Alexandra Aikhenvald & Robert Dixon (eds), *Grammars in Contact: a Cross-Linguistic Typology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-66.

Alani Rauf Ahmad (1984), 'Henane zimani kelepur'. *Roshanbiri*, 103, 4, 51-570.

Alahmadi, Sameeha (2015), 'Loanwords in the Urban Meccan Hijazi Dialect: An Analysis of Lexical Variation According to Speakers' Sex, Age and Education'. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 5, 6, 34-58.

Al-Ali, Nadja & Pratt, Nicola (2011), 'Between Nationalism and Women's Rights: The Kurdish Women's Movement in Iraq'. *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, 4, 337–353.

Al-ʿAni, H Salman (1970), *Arabic phonology: An Acoustical and Physiological Investigation*. The Hague, Paris: Mouton.

Al-ʾAṣbahānī, al-Rāġib, (1999), *Muḥādarāt al-ʾudaba' wa-muḥāwarāt al-šu'arā' wa-al-bulaġa'.* Vol 1. Dar al-ʾArqam.

Alevi, Tahir, Moradi Siamak and Tagaddomi Mohammad (2013), 'Difference(s) Between Male and Female Speakers of Turkish Regarding Politeness Norms'. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 4, 6, 1332-1337.

Al-Farāhīdī, Al-Ḫalīl bin Aḥmad (2001), *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*. Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl.

Al-Fayrūzābādī, Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb (1997), *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. Beirut: Dār ʾIḥyaʾ al-turāṯ al- ʿArabī.

Al-Ġalāyinī, Muṣtafā (1993), *Jāmi' durūs al-ʾArabiyyah*. Sidon: Al-Maktabah al-'Aṣriyyah.

Al-Ǧawharī, Ismail bin Hammad (1984), *Al-Siḥāḥ ; tāǧ al-lugha wa siḥāḥ al- ʾarabiyya*. Bayrut: Dar al-ʾilm lilmalāyīn.

Algeo, John (2010), *The Origins and Development of the English Language*, (6th edn). Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Alison, Christine (2007), 'The Kurds are Alive: Kurdish in Iraq', in Postgate, J. N. (ed), *Languages of Iraq: Ancient and Modern*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, pp. 136-158.

Al-Masʿūdī (2011), *Murūj al-ḏahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar*, (2nd edn). Vol. 2. Dar Ih̲ya' al- Turath al-'Arabi.

Al-Sāmarrāʾī, Ibrāhīm (2002), *al-Tawzī' al-luġawī al-ğuġrāfī fī al-'Irāq*. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān Nāshirūn.

Altoma, Salih (1969), *The Problem of Diglossia in Arabic: A Comparative Study of Classical and Iraqi Arabic*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Al-Wer, Enam (2007), 'The Formation of the Dialect of Amman: From Chaos to Order', in C. Miller, D. Caubet, J. Watson & E. Al-Wer (eds), *Arabic in the City: Issues in Dialect Contact and Language Variation*. London: Routledge-Curzon, pp. 55-76.

------------- (2014) 'Language and Gender in the Middle East and North Africa', in Susan Ehrlich, Miriam Meyerhoff and Janet Holmes (eds), *The Handbook of Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 396-411.

Amara, Muhammad Hasan (1999), *Politics and Sociolinguistic Reflexes: Palestinian Border Villages.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Anchimbe, Eric (2013), *Language Policy and Identity Construction: The Dynamics of Cameroon's Multilingualism.* Amsterdam: IMPACT: Studies in Language and Society.

Anderson, Benedict (2006), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.

Angoujard, Jean-Pierre (2014), *Metrical Structure of Arabic*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Anīs, Dr Ibrāhīm; Muntaṣir, Dr Abdul Ḥalim; al-Saralihi, ʿAṭiyyah wa Ahmad, Muḥammad H̱alfullah (1972), *Al-Muʿjam Al-Wasīṭ*. al-Qāhirah: Maktabat aš. šhrurūq ad.dawliyyah.

Anttila, Raimo (1989), *Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins Publishing Company.

Appel, Ronald and Muysken, Pieter (1987), *Language Contact and Bilingualism,* (1st edn). London: Edward Arnold.

------------- (2005), *Language Contact and Bilingualism.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Atanga, Lilian (2010), *Gender, Discourse and Power in the Cameroonian Parliament*. Bamend: Langaa Research and Publishing.

Ateş, Sabri (2013), *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands: Baking a boundary, 1843-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

August, D., & Hakuta, K. (1997), *Improving Schooling for Language-Minority Children: A Research Agenda*. Washington D.C: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council.

Awedyk, Witosław (2009), 'Attitudes of Norwegians Towards the Growing Influence of English'. *Folia Scandinavica*, 10, 143-153.

ʿAwnī, Durrīyah (1993), *ʿArab wa-Akrād: Ḫiṣām am wiʾām*. al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Hilāl.

ʿAzīz, Ṣalih ʾAmīn (2012) 'ʾAʿlām aʾimmat al-ʿArabiyyah wa al-ʾAdab min al-Kurd'. *Maǧallat Kuliyyat al-ʾĀdāb- Ǧāmiʿat Ḥalabǧah* Halabjah, 99, 381-400.

ʿAziz, H. M., (2005), *Seliqey zimanewanî w grftekanî zmanî Kurdî*. Slêmanî: Dezgay serdem.

Aziz, Mahir (2011), *The Kurds of Iraq: Ethnonationalism and National Identity in Iraqi Kurdistan*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Badawī, Al-Saʿīd (1973), *Mustawayāt al-ʿArabīyah al-muʿāṣirah fī Miṣr: baḥth fī 'ilāqat al-luġah bi-al-ḥaḍārah*. Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Maʿārif.

Baetens Beardsmore, H (1982), *Bilingualism: Basic Principles*. Avon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, Colin. (1992), *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

----------- (1998), *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, (3rd edn). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, Colin and Jones, Sylvia Prys (1998), *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, Colin and Hornberger, Nancy (2006), *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism,* (3rd edn). Bristol: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Bakir, Murtadha (1986), 'Sex Differences in the Approximation to Standard Arabic: A Case Study'. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28, 3-9.

Bartman, Brendan (2012), *Attitudes to Modern Foreign Language Learning Insights from Comparative Education*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Bary, J. and Maxwell, S. (1985), *Multivariate Analysis of Variance*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Bassiouney, Reem (2009), *Arabic Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

------------- (2010), ‘Identity and Code-Choice in the Speech of Educated Women and Men in Egypt: Evidence from Talk Shows’, in Reem Bassiouney (ed), *Arabic and the Media: Linguistic Analyses and Applications*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 97-122.

Baxter, Judith (2014), *Double-voicing at Work: Power, Gender and Linguistic Expertise*. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan.

Bean, M. and B. Johnstone (2004), ‘Gender, Identity, and ‘Strong Language’ in a Professional Woman’s Talk’, in: Mary Bucholtz (ed), *Language and Woman’s Place: Text and Commentaries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 237-43.

Beattie, Geoffrey (1982), ‘Look, Just Don’t Interrupt’. *The New Scientist*, 95, 859-860.

Beeston, A. F. L (2016), *The Arabic Language Today*. London: Routledge.

Beleibtreu, G. H (1894), *Persian. Das Land Der Sonne und des Lowen. Aus den Papieren eines Reisenden*. Freiburg im Bresgau.

Bennett, Brian P. (2011), *Religion and Language in Post-Soviet Russia*. Oxford: Routledge

Bernstein, Basil (1959), ‘A Public Language: Some Sociological Implications of a Linguistic Form’. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 10, 4, 311-326.

Besîr, Kamîl (1974), ‘Zmanî ʾErebî w kêšay zarawey Kûrdî’. *Gővarî kőrî zanyarî Kurd*, 2, 1, 751-765.

Bialystok, E. (1997), ‘Effects of Bilingualism and Biliteracy on Children’s Emerging Concepts of Print’. *Developmental Psychology*, 33, 429-440.

Bialystok, E., Luk, G., & Kwan, E. (2005), ‘Bilingualism, Biliteracy, and Learning to Read: Interactions Among Languages and Writing Systems’. *Scientific Studies of Reading,* 9, 2, 43-61.

Bialystok, Ellen and Craik, Fergus I.M. (2010), ‘Cognitive and Linguistic Processing in the Bilingual Mind’. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 19, 1, 19-23.

Birdsong, David (2004), ‘Second Language Acquisition and Ultimate Attainment’ in Alan Davies and Catherine Elder (eds), *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 82-105.

Bilaniuk, Laada (2003), ‘Gender, Language Attitudes, and Language Status in Ukraine’. *Language in Society,* 32, 1, 47-78.

Bin Waḥšīyyah, ʾAḥmad bin Abūbakr (1806), *Šawq al-Mustahām fī Maʿrifat Rumūz al-ʾAqlām*. Translated by Joseph Hammer. London: W. Bulmer and Co.

Bitlîsî, Prince Sharaf al-Dîn (2005), *The Sharafnama, or, the History of the Kurdish Nation*. Translated by Mehrdad Izady. California: Mazda Publishers.

Blanc, Haim (1960), 'Style Variations in Spoken Arabic, a Sample of Interdialectal Educated Conversation', in Charles Ferguson (ed), *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 81-161.

------------- (1964), *Communal Dialects in Baghdad. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Blau, Joshua (1981), *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic,* (2nd edn). Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute.

Blau, Joyce, (2000), *Methode de Kurde Sorani*. Editions L'Harmattan.

---------- (2015), "*Written Kurdish Literature"*, in Kreyenbroek, Philip G., Marzolph, Ulrich, and Yarshater, Ehsan (eds), *A History of Persian Literature: Oral Literature of Iranian Languages, Kurdish, Pashto, Balochi, Ossetic, Persian and Tajik*. Volume XVIII. I.B. London: Tauris London.

Bloch, Bernard and Trager, George, L. (1942), *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*. Baltimore: Waverly Press, Inc.

Blom, Jan-Petter, and Gumperz, John (1972), 'Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code Switching in Northern Norway', in John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds), *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, pp. 407-434.

Bloomfield, Leonard. (1933), *Language*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Bohner, Gerd and Wänke, Michaela (2002), *Attitudes and Attitude Change*. Hove: Psychology Press.

Bolitho, R, Carter, R, Hughes, R, Masuhara, H, Tomlinson, B & Ivanic, R (2003), 'Ten Questions About Language Awareness'. *ELT Journal*, 57, 3, 251-259.

Bolonyai, Agnes (2005), 'Who Was the Best?': Power, Knowledge and Rationality in Bilingual Girls' Code Choices'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 1, 1, 3-27.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1991), *Language and Symbolic Power*. Mass: Polity Press.

Brass, Raul (2005), *Language, Religion and Politics in North India.* Lincoln: Universe, Inc.

Brendan O'Leary (2005), 'Power Sharing, Pluralist Federation and Federacy', in: Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry and Khaled Salih (eds), *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 47-91.

Brezinger, M. & Dimmendaal G. J. (1992), 'Social Context of Language Death', in M. Brezinger (ed), *Language death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 3-5.

Brubaker, Rogers (2004), *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press

Bryman, A. (2004), *Social Research Methods,* (2nd edn). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A., & Cramer, D. (2005), *Quantitative Data Analysis with SPSS 12 and 13*. London: Routledge.

Bucholtz, Mary (2004), *Language and Woman's Place: Text and Commentaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

----------- (2010), 'Gender Ideologies and the Interactional Construction of Whiteness in Youth Narratives of Race'. *Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki*, 81, 49-66.

Bucholtz, Mary & Hall, Kira (2005), 'IDENTITY and Interaction: A Sociocultural Linguistic Approach'. *Discourse Studies*, 7, 4–5, 585–614.

Bussmann, Hadumod (2006), *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. Translated and edited by Gregory Trauth and Kerstin Kazzazi. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Cameron, Deborah. (1985), *Feminism and Linguistic Theory*. Houndmills: Macmillan.

----------- (1995), 'Rethinking Language and Gender Studies: Feminism into the 1990s', in Sara Mills (ed), *Language and Gender: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. London: Longman, pp. 31-44.

----------- (1996), 'The Language-Gender Interface: Resisting Co-optation', in V. Bergvall, J. Bing & A Freed (eds), *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice*. New York: Longman, pp. 31-53.

----------- (1997), 'Performing Gender Identity: Young Men's Talk and the Construction of Heterosexual Masculinity', in S. Johnson & U.H. Meinhof (eds), *Language and Masculinity.* England, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 328-335.

----------- (2005), 'Language, Gender and Sexuality: Current Issues and New directions'. *Applied Linguistics* 26, 4, 482-502.

Cameron, Deborah and Kulick, Don (2003), *Language and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carr, T. H., & Curran, T. (1994), ‘Cognitive Factors in Learning About Structured Sequences: Applications to Syntax’. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 16, 205–230.

Carstensen, Broder (1980), ‘Semantische Scheinenthlehnungen des Deutschen aus dem Englischen’ in Viereck, Wolfgang (ed), *Studien zum Einfluß der Englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Carter, R. (2003), ‘Language Awareness’. *ELT Journal*, 57, 1, 64-65.

Chahin, M. (1996), *Before the Greeks*. Cambridge Lutterworth Press.

Chall, J. S. (1983), ‘Literacy: Trends and Explanations’. *Educational Researcher*, 12, 9, 3-8.

Chambers, J. (2009), *Sociolinguistic Theory*. Singapore: Utopia Press Ltd.

Cheng, Rong and Butler, Katharine (1989), ‘Code-Switching: A Natural Phenomenon vs Language Deficiency’. *World Englishes*, 8, 3, 293-309.

Cheshire, Jenny (2002), ‘Sex and Gender in Variationist Research’, in J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill and N. Schilling-Estes (eds), *Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 423-43.

Chomsky, Noam (1965), *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Christie, Jane L (2016), *Negotiating Gender Discourse*: *Michelle Bachelet and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*. Maryland: Lexington Books.

Chyet, Michael (2003), *Kurdish-English Dictionary with Selected Etymologies by Martin Schwartz*. New Haven, CT, London: Yale University Press.

----------- (2007) ‘Kurdish’, in Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich and Andrzej Zaborski (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics.* Vol II, pp. 604-608.

Clyne, Michael (1987), ‘History of Research on Language Contact’, in H von Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar, and Klaus J. Matthreier (eds), *Sociolinguistics-Soziolinguistik*. Berlin: Wakter de Gruyter, Vol. I, pp. 452-459.

Coates, Jennifer (1998), ‘Thank God I’m a Woman: The Construction of Differing Feminities’, in Cameron Deborah (ed), *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader,* (2nd edn). USA & Canada: Routledge, pp. 295-320.

----------- (2004), *Women, Men and Language: A Sociolinguistic Account of Gender Differences in Language,* (3rd edn). Harlow: Longman.

----------- (ed) (2011), *Language and Gender, A Reader*. London: Blackwell Publishers.

Coates, Jennifer and Cameron, Deborah (eds) (1989), *Women in their Speech Communities*. London: Longman.

Comrey, Andrew L. and Lee, Howard B. (2013), *A first Course in Factor Analysis*. Hillsdale: NJ: Erlbaum.

Corson, David (1993), *Language, Minority Education and Gender*. Clevedon. England: Multilingual Matters.

Crawford, Mary (1995), *Talking Difference: On Gender and Language.* London: Sage.

Crystal, David (2006), *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* (5th edn). London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Cummins, James (1979), 'Linguistic Interdependence and the Educational Development of Bilingual Children'. *Review of Educational Research*, 49, 2, 222–251.

Curnow, Timothy Jowan (2001), 'What Language Features Can Be 'Borrowed'?', in Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon (eds), *A Real Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance: Problems in Comparative Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 412-436.

Daulton, Frank E (2011), 'On the Origins of Gairaigo Bias: English Learners' Attitudes Towards English-Based Loanwords in Japan'. *The language teacher*, 35, 6, 7-12.

Davies, Winifred (1995), *Linguistic Variation and Language Attitudes in Manheim-Neckarau*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Dāwūd, Muḥammad Muḥammad (2007), *al-Mu'jam al-Wasīt wa-istidrākāt al-mustašriqīn: ẖulāṣat mustafādah min Hāns Vīr, Rīnhārt Dūzī, Idwārd Layn*. al-Qāhirah: Dār Gharīb

De Klerk, V. (2000), 'Language Shift in Grahamstown: A Case Study of Selected Xhosa Speakers'. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 146, 87-110.

De Vaus, David A., (1991), *Surveys in Social Research*. London: UCL press.

De Waal, Thomas (2010), *The Caucasus: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Diebold, Richard (1971), 'Code-Switching in Greek-English Bilingual Speech', in Elisabeth Woodworth and Robert J. DiPietro (eds), *Report of the Thirteenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 53-59.

Disney, Donald Jr (1980), 'The Kurdish Nationalist Movement and External Influences'. PhD thesis, Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School.

Dreher, Mariam Jean & Zenge, Sara D. (1990), 'Using Metalinguistic Awareness in First Grade to Predict Reading Achievement in Third and Fifth Grades'. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 84, 1, 13-21.

Driver, G. R. (1923), 'The Name Kurd and Its Philological Connexions'. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3, 393-403.

Drummond, Rob and Schleef, Erik (2016), 'Identity in Variationist Sociolinguistics', in Sian Preece (ed), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*. London: Routledge, pp. 50-65.

Du, Lihong (2010), 'Assess the Critical Period Hypothesis in Second Language Acquisition'. *English Language Teaching,* 3, 2, 219-224.

Durkin, Philip (2014), *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dyen, Isidore & James, A.T. & Cole, J.W.L. (1967), 'Language Divergence and Estimated Word Retention Rate'. *Language,* 43, 150-171.

Eckert, Penelope (1989), 'The Whole Woman: Sex and Gender Differences in Variation'. *Language Variation and Change*, 1, 245-267.

----------- (1997), 'Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable', in Coulmas, Florian (ed), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 151-167.

----------- (2004), 'The Meaning of Style', in Wai Fong Chiang, Elaine Chun, Laura Mahalingappa, and Siri Mehus, (eds), *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium about Language and Society-Austin, Texas Linguistic Forum*, Vol. 47, 41–53.

----------- (2008), 'Variation and the Indexical Field'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 12, 453-76.

----------- (2011a), 'Gender and Sociolinguistic Variation', in Jennifer Coates (ed), *Language and Gender: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 57-70.

----------- (2011b), 'Where Does the Social Stop?', in Frans Gregersen, Jeffrey Parrott and Pia Quist, *Language Variation-European Perspective III*: Selected Papers from the 5th International

Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 5), Copenhagen: John Benjamens, pp. 13-29.

----------- (2012), 'Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Sociolinguistic Variation'. *The Annual Review of Anthropology*. June, 87-100.

Eckert, Penelope & McConnell-Ginet, Sally (1992), 'Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21, 461-490.

----------- (1995), 'Constructing Meaning, Constructing Selves: Snapshots of Language, Gender and Class from Belten High', in M. Bucholtz & K. Hall (eds), *Gender Articulated: Language and the Culturally Constructed Self*. New York: Routledge, pp. 119-126.

----------- (2013), *Language and Gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Eddington, David (2015), *Statistics for Linguists: A Step-by-Step Guide for Novices*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Edmonds, C.J. (1957), *Kurds, Turks and Arabs: Politics, Travel & Research in North-Eastern Iraq*. London, Oxford University Press.

----------- (1958), 'The Place of the Kurds in the Middle Eastern Scenes'. *Journal of The Royal Central Asian Society JRCAS*, 45, 2. 141-153.

----------- (1971), 'Kurdish Nationalism'. *Journal of Contemporary History,* 6, 1, 87-107.

Edwards, J. (2006), 'Language Attitudes', in Keith Brown (ed), *The Encyclopaedia of language and linguistics*. Oxford: Elsevier, Vol 6, pp. 324-331.

Eid, Mushira (1988a), 'The Non-Randomness of Diglossic Variation in Arabic'. *Glossia* 16-1, 54-84.

----------- (1988b), 'Principles for Code-Switching Between Standard and Egyptian Arabic'. *Al-Arabiyya* 21.1, 51–79.

Elgibali, Alaa (1985), 'Towards a Sociolinguistic Analysis of Language Variation in Arabic: Cairene and Kuwaiti Dialects'. PhD thesis, Univeristy of Pittsburgh.

----------- (1993), 'Stability and Language Variation in Arabic: Cairene and Kuwaiti Dialects', in M Eid and C Holes (eds), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics V*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 75-96.

El-Hassan, S. A. (1977), 'Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant: A Critical Review of Diglossia and Related Concepts'. *Archivum Linguisticum*, 8, 2, 112–132.

Ellis Rod. (1985), *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

----------- (1994), *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*, (3rd edn). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ennaji, Moha (2005), *Multilingualism, Cultural Identity, and Education in Morocco*. New York: Springer Publications.

------------- (2007), 'Arabic Sociolinguistics and Cultural Diversity in Morocco', in Elabbas Benmamoun (ed), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics*. Vol. XIX, pp. 267-276. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fairclough, Norman (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

------------- (1995), *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Boston: Addison Wesley.

------------- (1996), *Critical language Awareness.* New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

------------- (2001), *Language and Power*. New York: Longman.

Fasold, Ralph (1984), *The Sociolinguistics of Society*, (1st edn). Oxford: Blackwell.

------------- (1987), *The Sociolinguistics of Society*, (2nd edn). Oxford: Blackwell.

------------- (1990), *The Sociolinguistics of Language*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Fehri, Abdelkader Fassi (2012), *Key Features and Parameters in Arabic Grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Ferguson, Charles (1959), 'Diglossia', *Word* 15, 325–340.

------------- (1982), 'Forward', in Braj B. Kachru (ed), *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. vii-xi.

------------- (1996a), 'Standardization as Form of Language Spread', in Thom Huebner (ed), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives: Papers on Language in Society*, *1959-1994*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 189-199.

------------- (1996b), 'On Sociolinguistically Oriented Language Surveys', in Thom Huebner (ed), *Sociolinguistic perspectives: Papers on Language in Society*. *1959-1994*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 272-276.

------------- (1996c), 'Diglossia', in Thom Huebner (ed), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives: Papers on Language in Society*, *1959-1994*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 25-39.

Fernández, Fontecha, Almudena, Jiménez Catalán, Rosa (2003), 'Semantic Derogation in Animal Metaphor: A Contrastive-Cognitive Analysis of Two Male/Female Examples in English and Spanish'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35 (5), 771-797.

Fetaḧ, Muḧemed Maʿrûf (2010), 'Šêwazi axawtn le naw afretanî slêmanida', in Šêrwan Xőshnaw and Qadr Šêrwan (eds), *Kőy Lêkőlinewe Zmanewanyekan*. Hewlêr: Dezgay Mûkrîyan, pp. 87-110.

Fexrî, Nesrîn (1987), 'Rêbazî be kurdî krdnî zarawe', *Rősnbîrî nû*, 114, 123-136.

Field, Andy (2017), *Discovering Statistics Using IBM SPSS Statistics*, (5th edn). Sage Publications.

Field, Fredric (2002), *Linguistic Borrowing in Bilingual Contexts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Finch, Geoffrey (2013), *Word of mouth: A New Introduction to Language and Communication*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fisherman, Haya (1990), 'Attitudes Toward Foreign Words in Contemporary Hebrew'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 86, 1, 5-40.

Fishman, Joshua (1967), 'Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism'. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23, 2, 29-38.

------------- (1989), *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

------------- (2004), 'Language Maintenance, Language Shift, and Reversing Language Shift', in T. K. Bhatia, & W. C. Ritchie (eds), *The Handbook of Bilingualism.* Maiden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 406-436.

Fishman, Pamela (1978), 'Interaction: The Work Women Do'. *Social Problems*, 25, 4, 397-406.

------------- (1980), 'Conversational Insecurity', in Howard Giles, Peter Robinson and Philip Smith (eds), *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*, New York: Pergamon Press, pp. 127-132.

Fraser, J. Bailie (1840) *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia, etc. Including an Account of Parts of Those Countries Hitherto Unvisited by Europeans*. I-II. London: Richard Bentley.

Freed, A. F. (2003), 'Epilogue: Reflections on Language and Gender Research', in J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff (eds), *The Handbook of Language and Gender*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 699-721.

Friesner, Michael L. (2009), 'The Social and Linguistic Predictors of the Outcomes of Borrowing in the Speech Community of Montreal'. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Fromkin, Victoria, Rodman, Robert, Hyams, Nina (2014), *An Introduction to Language*. Wadsworth: Cengage learning.

Gal, Susan (1992), 'Language Gender and Power: An Anthropological View', in Kira Hall, Mary Bucholtz and Birch Moonwomon (eds), *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley*

Women and Language Conference. Berkeley: Berkeley Women and Language Group, pp. 153-161.

Galbraith, Peter (2005), 'Kurdistan in a Federal Iraq', in Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry, and Khalid Salih (eds), *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 268-81.

Gardani, Francesco (2008), *Borrowing of Inflectional Morphemes in Language Contact*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Gardner, Penelope Chloros (2009), *Code-Switching*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gardner, R. C. (1985), *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.

Gardner, R. C & Lambert, W. E. (1972), *Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Garrett, Peter (2010), *Attitudes to Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gellner, Ern.st (1983), *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell Ltd.

Gibbons, S., Kimmel, H. and O'Shea, M. (1997), 'Changing Teacher Behaviour Through Staff Development: Implementing the Teaching and Content Standards'. *Science Schools and Mathematics*. 976, 1, 302-340

Gibbons Jean D. (1993), *Nonparametric Statistics: An Introduction*. California. London and New Delhi: Saga Publications.

Gillham, Bill (2007), *Developing a Questionnaire*. London: Continuum.

Glahn, Richard (2002), *Der Einfluß des Englischen auf Gesprochene Deutsche Gegenwartssprache Eine Analyse Öffentlich Gesprochener Sprache am Beispiel von 'Fernsehdeutsch'*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Gnutzmann, Claus (1997), 'Language Awareness: Progress in Language Learning and Language Education, or Reformulation of Old Ideas?'. *Language Awareness*, 5, 3, 65-74.

Goldstein, Brian. & McLeod, Sharynne (2012), 'Typical and Atypical Multilingual Speech Acquisition', in S. McLeod and B.A. Goldstein (eds), *Multilingual Aspects of Speech Sound Disorders in Children*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp. 84-100.

Google Maps (2015), Google Maps. [online] Available at: https://www.google.com/maps [Accessed 18 Oct. 2015].

Gordon, Elizabeth (1997), ‘Sex, Speech, and Stereotypes: Why Women Use Prestige Speech Forms More Than Men’. *Language in Society*, 26 1, 47-63.

Göksel, Aslı and Kerslake, Celia (2005), *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London and New York: Routledge.

Görlach, Manfred (1997), *The Linguistic History of English: An Introduction*. London: Macmillan Press.

Graedler, Anne-Line (2002), ‘Norwegian’, in Manfried Görlach (ed), *English in Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 57-81.

------------- (2004), ‘*Modern Loanwords in the Nordic Countries*. Presentation of a project’. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 3, 2, 5-21.

Gramley, Stephan (2001), *The Vocabulary of World English*. London: Arnold.

Green, James (2003), ‘The Writing on the Stall: Gender and Graffiti’. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 22, 282-296.

Greenall, Ann Jorid Klugervik, (2005), ‘To Translate or Not to Translate: Attitudes to English loanwords in Norwegian’, in Bent Preisler, Anne Fabricius, Hartmut Haberland, Susanne Kjaerbeck and Karen Risager (eds), *The Consequence of Mobility*. Roskilde: Roskilde University, pp. 212-226.

Grosjean, François (1995), ‘A Psycholinguistic Approach to Code-Switching: The Recognition of Guest Words by Bilinguals’, in Lesley Milroy and Pieter Muysken (eds), *One Speaker, Two Languages Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 259-275.

Gumperz, John J. (1982), *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gündoğdu, Songül (2015), ‘Noun-Verb Complex Predicates in Kurmanji Kurdish: A Syntactic Account’, Proceedings of ConSOLE XXIII, pp 383-405. Available at: http://www.sole. Leidenuniv.nl. [accessed on 25 September 2017]

Gunter, Michael (1997), ‘The Foreign Policy of the Iraqi Kurds’. *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 20, 1-19.

------------- (2010), *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds*. Maryland: Scarecrow Press.

------------- (2016), *The Kurds: A Modern History*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers.

Gürbüz, Mustafa (2016)*, Rival Kurdish Movements in Turkey. Transforming Ethnic Conflict*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Gyler, Louise (2010), *The Gendered Unconscious: Can Gender Discourses Subvert Psychoanalysis?*. London: Routledge.

Haas, Mary R. (1944), 'Men's and Women's Speech in Koasati'. *Language*, 20, 3, 142-149.

Hacî Marf, Abdulrahman (1976), *Zmani Kurdî lajêr rőšnayî főnatîkda*. Bexdad: *Gővarî Kőrî Zanyarî*.

Haig, Geoffrey (2002), Noun-Plus-Verb Complex Predicates in Kurmanji Kurdish: Argument, Sharing Incorporation, or What? STUF. *Language Typology and Universals*, 55, 1, 15-48.

------------- (2006), 'Grammatical Borrowing in Kurdish -Northern Group', in Yaron Matras, & Jeanette Sakel (eds), *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin: New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 165–184.

------------- (2007), 'A Note on Language Politics in Iraqi Kurdistan and Their Repercussions for Pan-Kurdish Cultural Unity'. Unpublished, [accessed: 25 May 2014], https://www.uni-bamberg.de/fileadmin/aspra/bib-haig/language PolicyBadini.pdf

Haig, Geoffrey & Matras, Yaron (2002), 'Kurdish Linguistics: A Brief Overview'. *Language Typology and Universals*, 55(1), 3-14.

Hair, J., Black, W., Babin, B., Anderson, R., & Tatham, R. (2006), *Multivariate Data Analysis,* (6th edn). Uppersaddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Hall, Robert (1968), *An Essay on language*. Philadelphia: Chilton Books.

Hall, T. A. & Hamann, Silke (2003), 'Loanword Nativization in German', *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, 22, 56-85.

Hallberg, Andreas (2016), *Case Endings in Spoken Standard Arabic*. Lund: Lund University.

Halliday, Michael (1972), 'The Users and the Uses of Language', in Joshua Fishman (ed), *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 139-169.

Hansen, Henny Harald (1961), *The Kurdish Woman's Life: Field Research in a Muslim Society, Iraq*. København.

Hasan, 'Abbās (1987), *Al-nahw al-waafi.* al-Qāhirah: Dar al-Ma'arif.

Hasanpoor, Jafar (1999), *A Study of European, Persian, and Arabic Loans in Standard Sorani*. Uppsala: Reprocentralen, Uppsala University.

Haspelmath, Martin & Tadmor, Uri (2009), *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Hassall, Tim, Elisabet Murtisari Titik, Donnelly, Christine & Wood, Jeff (2008), 'Attitudes to Western Loanwords in Indonesian'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 189, 55-84.

Hassanpour, Amir (1992), *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan 1918–1985*. USA: Mellen Research University Press.

------------- (2000), 'The Politics of a Political Linguistics: Linguists and Linguicide', in Robert Phillipson (ed), *Rights to Language, Equity, Power, and Education, Celebrating the 60th Birthday of Tove Skutnabb-Kangas*. Mahwal: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., pp. 33-39.

------------- (2001), 'The Reproduction of Patriarchy in the Kurdish Language', in Shahrzad Majob (ed), *Women of a Non-State Nation*. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publications, pp. 227-263.

------------- (2003), 'The Making of Kurdish Identity: pre 20th Century Historical and Literary Discourse', in A. Vali (ed), *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, pp.106-162.

------------- (2008), 'Kêšey zimanî resmî Kurdî'. *Rozhnama*, 257, 09 July 2008, p 13.

------------- (2012), 'The Indivisibility of the Nation and Its Linguistic Divisions'. *The international Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 217, 49-73.

------------- (2016), 'The Kurdish Experience'. *Middle East Research and Information Project*, pp. 2-7.

Hastings, Adrian (1997), *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haugen, Einar (1950), 'The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing'. *Language* 26, 2, 210–231.

------------- (1953), *The Norwegian Language in America; a Study in Bilingual Behaviour*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

------------- (1956), 'Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide. *American Dialect Society*, 30, (3), pp. 140-142.

------------- (1966), 'Dialect, Language, Nation'. *American Anthropologist, New Series*, 68, 4, 922-935.

------------- (1989), 'The Rise and Fall of an Immigrant Language: Norwegian in America', in Nancy Dorian (ed), *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in language Contraction and Death.* New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 61-73.

Hawkins, Eric (1999), 'Foreign Language Study and Language Awareness'. *Language Awareness*, 8 (3&4), 124-142.

Hay, W. R. (1921), *Two Years in Kurdistan. Experiences of a Political Officer 1918- 1920*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd.

Heah, Carmel Lee Hsia (1989), *The Influence of English on the Lexical Expansion of Bahasa Malaysia*. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka: Ministry of Education.

Heffernan, Kevin (2005), 'Phonetic Similarity and Phonemic Contrast in Loanword Adaptation'. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, 24, 117-123.

------------ (2007), 'The Role of Phonemic Contrast in the Formation of Sino-Japanese'. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics,* 16, 61-86.

Heine, Bernd, and Kuteva, Tania. (2003), 'On Contact-Induced Grammaticalization'. *Studies in Language,* 27, 3, 529-72.

------------ (2005), *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Helot, Christine & Young, Andrea (2002), 'Bilingualism and Language Education in French Primary Schools: Why and How Should Migrant Languages be Valued?'. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 5, 2, 96-112.

Henderson, E.J.A. (1951), 'The Phonology of Some Loanwords in Some South East Asian languages'. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1951, 132-58.

Hengeveld, Kees, Rijkhoff, Jan and Siewierska, Anna (2004), 'Parts-of-Speech Systems and Word Order'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 40, 3, 527-570.

Hennerbichler, F. (2011), *The Origin of the Kurds*. Borsdorf: Winterwork. Available from https://www.edition-winterwork.de/ [accessed on 14 September 2015]

Herring, S. C (1993), 'Gender and Democracy in Computer-Mediated Communication'. *Electronic Journal of Communication*, 3, 2. Available at: http://www.cios.org/getfile/HERRING_V3N293 [accessed on 28 November 2013].

Higgs, Robert (1987), *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of American Government.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hiltermann, Joost R (2007), *A Poisonous Affair: America, Iraq, and the Gassing of Halabja*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hockett, Charles F. (ed) (1979), *The Life and Growth of Language*. W. D. Whitney. New York: Dover Publications.

Holes, Clive (2004), *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Holden, K. T. (1972), 'Loanwords and the Phonological Systems'. PhD thesis, The University of Texas at Austin.

Holmes, Janet (1992), *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. London and New York: Longman.

------------- (1995), *Women, Men and Politeness*. London and New York: Longman.

Hudson, R. (1996), *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Humbley, John (1974), 'Vers Une Typologie de L'emprunt Linguistique'. *Cahiers de Lexicologie*, XXV, 2, 46-70.

Hurford, James R. (1994), *Grammar: A Student's Guide.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, Dell (1974), *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ibn Jinnī (2006), *Al-Ḫaṣāʾiṣ fi ʿilm ʾUṣuūl al-ʿAarabiyyah.* Al-qāhirah: ʿālam al-kitāb al-jadīd lilṭbaʿah wan-našr wat-tawzīʿ. al-Qāhirah: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah

Ibrahim, Ferhad and Gürbey, Gülistan (2000), *The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey: Obstacles and Chances for Peace and Democracy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad ibn Mukarram (2011), *Lisān al- ʾArab*, (5th edn). al-Qāhirah: Maǧmaʿ al-luġa al-ʿArabiyya.

Ihemere, Kelechukwu Uchechukwu (2006), 'An integrated Approach to the Study of Language Attitudes and Change in Nigeria: The Case of the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt City', in Olaoba F. Arasanyin and Michael A. Pemberton (eds), *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics.* Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, pp 194-207.

------------- (2007), *A Tri-Generational Study of Language Choice and Shift in Port Harcourt*. Florida: Universal Publishers.

Irwin, Mark (2011), *Loanwords in Japanese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Izady, Mehrdad (1992), *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook*. Bristol, Pennsylvania: Taylor & Francis.

------------- (1994), ‘Are Kurds Descended from the Medes?’. *Kurdish Life*, 10, 8-10.

James, Carl & Garrett, Peter (1991), *Language Awareness in the Classroom*. London and New York: Longman.

Jastrow, Otto (2007), ‘Iraq Arabic Dialects’, in K. Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, & Andrzej Zaborski (eds), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. II, Leiden-Boston, pp. 414-424.

Jespersen, Otto (1922), *Language: Its Nature, Development & Origin*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Jessner, Ulrike (2008a), ‘Teaching Third Languages: Findings, Trends and Challenges’. *Language Teaching*, 41, 1, 15-56.

------------- (2008b), ‘Language Awareness in Multilinguals. Theoretical Trends’, in J. Cenoz & N. Hornberger (eds), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*. New York: Springer, Vol. 6, pp. 357-369.

Johnson, Jacqueline S. and Newport, Elissa L (1989), ‘Critical Period Effects in Second Language Learning: The Influence of Maturational State on the Acquisition of English as a Second Language’. *Cognitive Psychology*, 21, 60-99.

Johanson, Lars (2002), *Structural Factors in Turkic Language Contacts*. London: Curzon.

Johnstone, Barbara and Scott Kiesling (2008), ‘Indexicality and Experience: Exploring the Meanings of /aw/-monophthongization in Pittsburgh’. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12, 5-33.

Jones, N. K. (1991), ‘Development of Morphophonemic Segments in Children’s Mental Representations of Words’. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 12, 217-239.

Joseph, Brian D. (2007), ‘Broad vs. Localistic Dialectology, Standard vs. Dialect: The Case of the Balkans and the Drawing of Linguistic Boundaries’, in Stavroula Tsiplakou, Marilena Karyolemou and Pavlos Pavlou (eds), *Language Variation-European Perspectives II,* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 119-134.

Justi, Ferdinand, (1873), ‘Note Sur Les Mots Etrangers en Kurde’. Available at: http://www.archive.org /stream/lesnomsdanimaux00justgoog [accessed 25 August 2013].

Jwaideh, Wadie (1960), *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement: Its Origins and Development*. New York: Syracuse University.

Kāẓim, Šurūq (2006), ‘ʿUzūf al-marʾa al- ʿIraqiyyah ʿan al-mušārakah al-siyasiyyah’. *Iraqi Academic Scientific Journals, Journal of Educational and Psychological Research*, 8, 169-180.

Khan, Geoffrey (2007), “Aramaic in the Medieval and Modern Periods”, in J Postgate (ed), *Languages of Iraq, ancient and modern.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, pp. 95-114.

Kahn, Margaret (1976), ‘Borrowing and Variation in a Phonological Description of Kurdish’. PhD thesis, University of Michigan.

------------- (1980), *The Children of the Jinn: In Search of the Kurds and Their Country*. New York: Seaview.

Kākāʾī, Nāẓim (2013), ‘ʾAkrād al-ʾIrāq yadrusūn al-ʾArabiyah wa lākin lā yafhamūnnahā’, *Al-Jazeera,* 1 November 2013. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.net, [accessed on 12 September 2015].

Kamaran, Semanur and Ghorbani, Megane (2015), ‘The Struggle of Kurdish Women Human Rights Defenders Continues in Iraq, Turkey, Syria’. *Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID)*.

Kang, Y. (2003), ‘Perceptual Similarity in Loanword Adaptation: English Post-Vocalic Word Final Stops in Korean’. *Phonology* 20, 2, 219-274.

Kareem, Rebeen (2016), ‘The Syntax of Verbal Inflection in Central Kurdish’. PhD thesis, University of Newcastle.

Kaye, Alan (2007), ‘Arabic Morphology’, in: Alan Kaye (ed), *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 211-247.

Keen, Richard & Cracknell, Richard (2016), ‘Women in Parliament and Government’. *Riefing Paper*, No. SN01250. Available at: www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/sn01250.pdf [accessed on 28 July 2016].

Kenstowicz, Michael (2004a), ‘Issues in Loanword Adaptation: A Case Study from Thai’. *Lingua*, 116, 7, 921-949.

------------- (2004b), ‘The Role of Perception in Loanword Phonology’. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 32, 95-112.

Keresztes, Csilla (2010), ‘Investigation of English Language Contact-Induced Features in Hungarian Cardiology Discharge Reports and Language Attitudes of Physicians and Patients’. PhD thesis, University of Szeged.

Kerswill, Paul (1996), ‘Children, Adolescents, and Language Change’. *Language Variation and Change*, 8, 2,177-202.

------------ (1994), *Dialects Converging: Rural Speech in Urban Norway*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

------------ (2002), 'Koineization and Accommodation', in J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (eds), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 669-702.

Kerswill, Paul, & Ann Williams (2000), 'Creating A New Town Koine: Children and Language Change in Milton Keynes'. *Language in Society*, 29, 65-115.

Khadar, Shafiq Haji (2007), *The Legal Status of the Kurdish Language in Iraq*. Berlin: Media in Cooperation and Transition.

Khalidi, Walid and Ibish, Yusuf (1963), *Arab Political Documents 1963*: *An Annual Collection Based on Arabic Sources, Selected and Translated by the Political Studies and Public Administration.* Beirut: Department of the American University of Beirut.

Kharraki, Abdennour (2001), 'Moroccan Sex-Based Linguistic Difference in Bargaining'. *Discourse and Society* 12, 615-32.

Khorshid, Fuad Hama (1983), *Kurdish Language and the Geographical Distribution of Its Dialects*. Baghdad: Ishbeelia Press.

Kossmann, Maarten (2013), *The Arabic Influence on Northern Berber*. Leiden: Brill.

Kramarae, C. & Treichler, P.A. (1990), 'Power Relationships in the Classroom', in S. Gabriel & I. Smithson (eds), *Gender in the Classroom: Power and Pedagogy*. Urbana-Champaign: Illinois University Press, pp. 41-59.

Kreyenbroek, Philip G (1992), 'On the Kurdish Language', in Philip G. Kreyenbroek, Stefan Sperl (eds), *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 53-65

Kristiansen, Tore (2010), 'Conscious and Subconscious Attitudes Towards English Influence in the Nordic Countries: Evidence for Two Levels of Language Ideology'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 204, 59-95.

Kroskrity, Paul. V (2010), 'Language Ideologies-Evolving Perspectives', in Jürgen Jaspers, Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren (eds), Society and Language Use. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp 192-211.

Kunschak, Claudia (2003), 'Awareness of and Attitudes Toward Variation in L2: Origins, Prevalence and Implications for Second/Foreign Language Teaching'. PhD thesis, University of Arizona.

Kurdistan Government (2011), *Serőki Hêrem-î Kurdistan Serperšti Kőbooneweyeki Frawan Dekat*. Available at: http://www.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?a=38353&l=13&r=26&s=010000. [Accessed on 18 February 2016].

Labov, William (1966), *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

------------- (1972), *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

------------- (1972), *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

------------- (1982), 'Building on Empirical Foundations', in Winfred Lahmann and Yakov Malkiel (eds), *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics*: *Papers from a Conference Held at the Meeting of the Language Theory Division, Modern Language Association*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 17-82.

------------- (1990), 'The Intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change'. *Language Variation and Change* 2, 205-254.

------------- (2001), *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Vol. II: Social factors. Oxford: Blackwell.

LaCharité, Darlene & Paradis, Carole (2005), 'Category Preservation and Proximity Versus Phonetic Approximation in Loanword Adaptation'. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36, 223-258.

Lakoff, Robin (1973), 'Language and Woman's Place'. *Language in Society* 2, 45-80. Reprinted in D. Cameron (1998), *The Feminist Critique of Language,* (2nd edn). London & New York: Routledge.

------------- (1975), *Language and Woman's Place.* New York: Harper Colophon.

------------- (2006), 'Identity à la carte: you are what you eat', in Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin and Michael Bamberg (eds), *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 142-165.

Laihonen, Petteri (2008), Language Ideologies in Interviews: A Conversation Analysis Approach'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12, 5, 668-693,

Lambert, Wallace. E, Hodgson, R. C., Gardner, R. C., & Fillenbaum, S (1960), 'Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages'. *Journal of Abnormal and Social and Social Psychology,* 60, 44-51.

Langer, Nils and Davies, Winifred (2005), 'An Introduction to Linguistic Purism', in Nils Langer and Winifred Davies (eds), *Linguistic Purism in the Germanic Languages*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, pp. 1-17.

Laoutides, Costas (2015), *Self-Determination and Collective Responsibility in the Secessionist Struggle*. London: Routledge.

Lapidus, Ira Marvin (2002), *A History of Islamic Societies,* (2nd edn). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Larson, Karen (1982), 'Role Playing and the Real Thing: Socialization and Standard Speech in Norway'. *Journal of Anthropological Research,* 38, 401-10.

Lawson, Sarah & Sachdev, Itesh (1997), 'Accommodation communicative en Tunisie: une étude empirique, in F. Laroussi (ed), *Plurilinguisme et Identités au Maghreb*. Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, pp. 101-114.

------------- (2000), 'Code-Switching in Tunisia: Attitudinal and Behavioural Dimensions'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32, 9, 1343-1361.

Leezenberg, Michiel (1993), '*Gorani Influence on Central Kurdish: Substratum or Prestige Borrowing?'* . Amsterdam: ILLC publications. X-93-03. ILLC Research and Technical Notice Series, the Netherlands, http//www.cogsci.ed.ac.uk/`siamakr/Kurdish/Papers/Leezenberg93/text.html

------------- (2014), Interviewed by Hesen Qazî for *Rawej: The Kurds*. Sterk TV, 16 May 2014.

Lehmann, Winfred (2013), *Historical Linguistics: An introduction,* (3rd edn). London: Routledge.

Ljung, Magnus (1984), 'The Reception of English Loans in Sweden'. *Scandinavian Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 2, 72-88.

------------- (1988), *Skinheads, Hackers & Lama Ankor. Engelskan i 80-Talets Svenska, (Skinheads, Hackers & Lame Ducks: English in the 80th Century Swedis*). Stockholm: Trevi.

Lohr, Marisa (1999), 'Methods for the Genetic Classification of Languages'. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge.

Loveday, Leo J. (1996), *Language Contact in Japan: A Sociolinguistic History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lundeby, Einar (2005), 'Language Cultivation and Language Planning III: Norway', in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmiiller, Ernst Hakon Jahr, Allan Karker, and Hans-Peter Naumann (eds), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*, II, pp. 212-214.

Mabry, Tristan James (2015), *Nationalism, Language, and Muslim Exceptionalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

MacCallum, Robert C., Keith F. Widaman, Kristopher J. Preacher, and Sehee Hong (2001), ‘Sample Size in Factor Analysis: The Role of Model Error’. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 36, 611-37.

Macaulay, Ronald (1978), ‘Variation and Consistency in Glaswegian English’, in Peter Trudgill (ed), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English*. London: Arnold, pp. 132-143.

MacKenzie, D. N. (1961), *Kurdish Dialect Studies*. London: Oxford University Press.

------------- (1961), ‘The Origins of Kurdish’. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 60, 68-86.

Majidy, Mahsn (2013), ‘Kurdish Male and Female Speakers’ Erratic Use of Arabic Loanwords’, Paper Presented at: *CROSSLING Symposium: Language Contacts at the Crossroads of Disciplines*, 28 February - 2 March, 2013, University of East Finland, Joensuu, Finland.

------------- (2015), ‘The Use and Attitudes to Arabic Loanwords Among Speakers of Kurdish’, Paper Presented at: *Societas Linguistica Europaea SLE 2015 - 48th Annual Meeting*. 2-5 September, 2015, Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), Leiden.

Major, Roy (2001), *Foreign Accent: The Ontogeny and Phylogeny of Second Language Phonology*. London: Routledge.

Maʿlūf, Luwīs (1960), *Al-Munğid fi al-luġah wa-al-ʾadab wa-al- ʿuluūm*. Beirut: al-Makṭbaʿah al-Kāthūlīkīyah.

Meʿrûf, Kemal (2007), ‘Berawrdêk le nêwan zimani kurdiu zimanani dirawsêda’. *Govari Raman.* Hewlêr: Dezgay Xanî, l, 116-117.

Maltz, Daniel N. and Ruth A. Borker (1982), ‘A Cultural Approach to Male-Female Miscommunication’, in John J. Gumperz (ed), *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 196-216.

Mango, Andrew (2004), *The Turks Today*. London: John Murray.

Mansfield, Peter and Trudgill, Peter (1994), ‘A Sex-Specific Linguistic Feature in a European Dialect’. *Multilingua*, 13, 381-386.

Marcel, A. J. (1983), ‘Conscious and Unconscious Perception: Experiments on Visual Masking and Word Recognition’. *Cognitive Psychology*, 15, 197-237.

Mata, Maria de Lourdes; Monteiro, Vera, and Francisco Peixoto (2012) ‘Attitudes Towards Mathematics: Effects of Individual, Motivational, and Social Support Factors’. *Child Development Research*, Vol., 10, pp. 1-10.

Matras, Yaron (2009), *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

------------- (2012), 'Contact, Convergence and Typology', in Raymond Hickey (ed), *The Handbook of Language Contact*. Chichester: Blackwell, pp. 66-85.

Matras, Yaron & Reershemius, Gertrud (1991), 'Standardization Beyond the State: The Case of Yiddish, Kurdish and Romani', in Utta von Gleich & Ekkehard Wolff (eds), *Standardization of National Languages*. Hamburg: UNESCO-Institut für Pädagogik, pp. 103-123.

Matras, Yaron & Sakel, Jeanette (2007), *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Matthews, Peter H. (2004), 'Some Concepts in Word-and-Paradigm Morphology' in Francis Katamba (ed), *Morphology: Critical Concepts in Linguistics*, 1, 157-197.

Mazraani, Nathalie (1997), *Aspects of Language Variation in Arabic Political Speech-Making.* Surrey: Curzon Press.

McCarus, Ernest N. (1958), *A Kurdish Grammar: Descriptive Analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya, Iraq*. New York: ERIC.

------------- (1997), 'Kurdish Phonology', in Alan Kaye, S. (ed), *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 691-705.

------------- (2007), 'Kurdish Morphology', in Alan Kaye, S. (ed), *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, Vol. 2, pp. 1021-1049.

------------- (2009), 'Kurdish', in Gernot Windfuhr (ed), *The Iranian Languages*. London: Routledge, pp. 587-633.

McDowall, David (2007), *A Modern History of the Kurds,* (new edn). New York: I.B. Tauris.

McElhinny, Bonnie (2003), 'Theorizing Gender in Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Anthropology', in Janet Holmes and Miriam Meyerhoff (eds), *The Handbook of Language and Gender*. Blackwell, London, pp. 21 – 42.

McKenzie, Robert (2006), 'A quantitative Study of the Attitudes of Japanese Learners Towards the Varieties of English Speech: Aspects of the Sociolinguistics of English in Japan'. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

------------- (2010), *The Social Psychology of English as a Global Language: Attitudes, Awareness and Identity in Japanese Context*. Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London: Springer.

McKernan, Bethan (2017), ‘The Kurdish Woman Building a Feminist Democracy and Fighting ISIS at the Same Time’, *The Independent.* from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/kurdish-woman-building-feminist-democrac-fighting-isis-at-the-same-time-syria-kurdistan-rojava-new-a7487151.html [accessed 5 January 2017].

Meiseles, Gustav (1980), ‘Educated Spoken Arabic and the Arabic Language Continuum’. *Archivum Linguisticum,* 11, 118–143.

Mesthrie, R., Swann, J., Deumert, A. & Leap, W. (2012), *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Milroy, James (1997), ‘Internal Versus External Motivations for Linguistic Change’. *Multilingua* 16, 4, 311-323.

------------- (2001), ‘Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization’. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5, 530-555.

Milroy, Lesley (1980), *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, Lesley and Gordon, Matthew (2003), *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Minorsky, Vladimir (1927), ‘*The Kurds’*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill.

------------- (1940), ‘Les origines des Kurds’, Actes du XX e Congres International des Orientalistes. Louvain, pp. 143-152.

------------- (1943), ‘The Guran’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XI, 75-103.

------------- (1945), ‘The Tribes of Western Iran’. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 73-80.

------------- (1986), ‘Kurds, Kurdistan’, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, V, p. 439.

Mirwaisi, Hamma (2010), *Return of the Medes: An Analysis of Iranian History*. Arizona: Wheatmark.

Modaressi-Tehrani, Yahya (1978), ‘A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Modern Persian’. PhD thesis, University of Kansas.

Mojab, Shahrzad (2001), ‘Introduction: The Solitude of the Stateless: Kurdish Women at the Margins of Feminist Knowledge’, in Shahrzad Mojab (ed), *Women of a Non-State Nation: The Kurds.* Costa Mesa, CA: MAZDA Publishers, pp. 1-21.

Monaghan, Leila, Jane Goodman, and Jennifer Meta Robinson (2012), *A Cultural Approach to Interpersonal Communication: Essential Readings,* (2nd edn). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers.

Moravcsik, Edith (1978), ‘Language Contact’, in Joseph H. Greenberg (ed), *Universals of Human Language*. Vol. 1: Method & Theory, Stanford, CT: Stanford, pp. 93-122.

Moreau, Noelle Bisseret (1984), ‘Education, Ideology and Class/Sex identity’, in Cheris Kramarae, Muriel Schulz and William M. O’Barr (eds), *Language and Power*. London: Sage publication, pp. 43-61.

Morgan, Marcyliena (2002), *Language, Discourse and Power in African American Culture*. Cambridge University Press.

Morony, Michael (2005), *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

Mufti, Hania and Bouckaert, Peter (2004), ‘Claims in Conflict: Reversing Ethnic Cleansing in Northern Iraq’. *Human Rights Watch*, 16, 4.

Mûkrîyanî, Hejar (1989), *Hanbane Bőrîne, Ferheng-î Kurdî-Farsî*. Tihrān: Surūsh: Intishārāt-i Ṣadā.

Mûkrîyanî, Gîw (1961), *Ferhengî-Mehabad, Kurdî-Arabî*. Hawlêr: Kurdistan.

------------- (1999), *Kurdistan, Kurdi-Kurdi*. Hawler: Dezgay bĺawkrdnewey Aras.

Mullany, Louise (2011), *Gendered Discourse in the Professional Workplace*. Basingstoke, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Müller, Max F. (1875), *Lectures on the Science of Language Delivered at The Royal Institution of Great Britain in April*. May and June 1861. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co.

Muysken, Pieter (1981), ‘Halfway Between Quechua and Spanish: The Case for Relexification’, in Arnold Highfield & Albert Valdman (eds), *Historicity and Variation in Creole Studies*. Ann Arbor: Karoma, pp. 52–78.

------------- (2000), *Bilingual Speech: A typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton Carol (1993), *Social Motivations for Codeswitching, Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

------------- (1998), *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

------------- (2002), *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

------------- (2006), *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Oxford: Wiley.

Myers-Scotton, Carol & Ury, William (1977), 'Bilingual Strategies: The Social Functions of Codeswitching'. *Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 13, 5-20.

Nahchiri, Abdul Hossein (1999), *Ǧoġrafiāy-e Tārīḫī-e Šahrhā.* Tehran: Entiširāt-e Madreseh.

Nahir, Moshe (1977), 'The Five Aspects of Language Planning: A classification'. *Language Problems and Language Planning,* 1, 107-123.

Natali, Denise (2001), 'Manufactoring Identity and Managing Kurds in Iraq', in Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy (eds), *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*. Oxford University Press, pp. 253-288.

------------- (2005), *The Kurds and the State: Evolving National Identity in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Nebez, Jemal (1957), *Ḥarakat al-Taḥarrur al-Kurdiyyah wa Ahdafuhaa*. Dimašq.

------------- (1978), 'Serinc-ek le Çend Zarawe-Yekî Taze-be-Karhatû w Kőr-î Zanya řî Kurd'. *Gővarî Kőlêcî ʾEdebyat*, 22, 79-115.

------------- (2008), *Wisenameki: Etimolojiyayi Zimani Kurdi*. Available Kurdish electronic library: http://www.pertwk.com/ktebxane/taxonomy/term/193

Nettle, Daniel (1999), 'Using Social Impact Theory to Simulate Language Change'. *Lingua* 108, 2, 95-117.

Neustupný, J. V. (1989), 'Language Purism as a Type of Language Correction', in Björn H. Jernudd, Michael J. Shapiro (eds), *The Politics of Language Purism*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 211-223.

Ngom, Fallou (2002), 'Lexical Borrowing as a Sociolinguistic Variable in Saint-Louis-Senegal'. PhD thesis, University of Illinois.

Niebuhr, B. G. (1847), *Vorträge Über Alte Geschichte, an der Universität zu Bonn Gehalten*. Berlin: G. Reimer.

Nissen, M. & Bullemer, P. (1987), 'Attentional Requirements of Learning: Evidence from Performance Measures'. *Cognitive Psychology*, 19, 1-32.

Nîzamadîn, Fazl (1989), *Astêra-Geshe, Kurdî- ʾArab.* Bexda.

Norton, Bonny (1997), 'Language, Identity and the Ownership of English'. *TESOL Quarterly*, *Language and Identity*, 1 (3), 409-429.

------------- (2010), 'Language and Identity', in N. H. Hornberger & S. L. McKay (eds), *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*. Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters, pp. 349-369.

Nūdahī, Šaiẖ Marif (1935), *Al-ʾAḫmadiyya fī Tarjamat al-ʿArabiyya Bil-Kurdiyya*. As-Sulaymaniya: Jiyan Press.

Nunnally, J. C. (1978), *Psychometric Theory,* (2nd edn). New York: McGraw-Hill

O'Barr, William & Atkins, Bowman (1980), 'Women's Language' or 'Powerless Language'?', in Sally McConnell-Ginet, Ruth Borker and Nelly Furman (eds), *Women in language and Society*. New York: Praeger, pp. 93-110.

Ochs, Elinor (1992), 'Indexing Gender', in Alissandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin (eds), *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 335-550.

------------- (2005), 'Constructing Social Identity: A Language Socialization Perspective', in Scott Kiesling and Christina Paulston (eds), *Intercultural Discourse and Communication: The Essential Readings*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 78-91.

Odlin, Terence (1989), *Language Transfer: Cross-Linguistics Influence in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Omoniyi, Tope (2004), *The Sociolinguistics of Borderland: Two Nations, One Community*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Onysko, Alexander (2007), *Anglicisms in German: Borrowing, Lexical Productivity, and Written Codeswitching*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Oppenheim, A. N. (2005), *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. London, New York: Continuum.

O'Shea, Maria (2004)*, Trapped Between Map and Reality, Geography and Perceptions of Kurdistan*. New York & London: Routledge.

Owens, Jonathan (2011), 'Arabic Sociolinguistics', in Stefan Weninger, Geoffrey Khan, Michael P. Streck, and Janet Watson (eds), *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 970-982.

Ozoglu, Hakan (2012), *Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State: Evolving Identities, Competing Loyalties, and Shifting Boundaries*. SUNY Press.

Palany, Jwana (2017), *Ḍayf wa Ḥikaya: ʾAlqannāṣa ʾAl-Kurdiyya Ğwana Palanī: Ḍidd Dāʿiš Kān ʾAmāmī ʾImmā ʾan ʾAqtul ʾaw ʾUqtal.* Interview on: DW.com http://www.dw.com/ar/ ضيف-وحكاية

Pallant, J. (2007), *SPSS Survival Manual-A step by Step Guide to Data Analysis Using SPSS for Windows,* (3rd edn). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Paradis, Carole & Darlene Lacharité (1997), 'Preservation and Minimality in Loanword Adaptation'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 33, 379 - 430.

------------- (2008), 'Apparent Phonetic Approximation: English Loanwords in Old Quebec French'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 44, 87-128.

------------- (2009), 'English Loanwords in Old Quebec French: Fewer Bilinguals Does Not Mean a Great Increase in Naive Phonetic Approximation'. *Langues et linguistique*, 32, 82-117.

------------- (2011), 'Loanword Adaptation: from Lessons Learned to Findings', in John Goldsmith, Jason Riggle and Alan C. L. Yu (eds), *The Handbook of Phonological Theory,* (2nd edn). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 752-778.

------------- (2012), 'The Influence of Attitude on the Treatment of Interdentals in Loanwords: Ill-performed Importations'. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 11, 97-126.

Paradis, Carole & Tremblay, Antoine (2009), 'Non Distinctive Features in Loanword Adaptation: The Unimportance of English Aspiration in Mandarin Chinese Phoneme Categorization', in Andrea Calabrese & W. Leo Wetzels (eds), *Loan Phonology*. John Benjamins, pp. 211-224.

Paul, Ludwig (1998), 'The Position of Zazaki Among West Iranian Languages', in N. Sims-Williams (ed), *Proceedings of the 3rd European Conference of Iranian Studies*. Cambridge, Wiesbaden: Reichert, pp. 163-176.

Pedersen, Holger (1931), *The Discovery of Language*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

------------- (1931), *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century: Methods and Results*, Authorized Translation from the Danish by John Webster Spargo. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Peperkamp, S. & Dupoux, E. (2003), 'Reinterpreting Loanword Adaptations: The Role of Perception'. *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences 2003*, pp. 367-370.

Perfetti, C.A., Beck, I., & Hughes, C. (1987), 'Phonemic Knowledge and Learning to Read are Reciprocal: A Longitudinal Study of First Grade Children'. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 33, 283-319.

Perloff, Richard (2003), *The Dynamics of Persuasion Communication and Attitudes in the 21st Century*, (2nd edn). New York. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

------------- (2010), *The Dynamics of Persuasion Communication and Attitudes in the 21st Century*, (4th edn). New York, London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Perry, John, (2002), 'Arabic Elements in Persian'. *Encyclopedia Iranica*, II, pp. 229-236.

Pešêw, ʾEbduĺĺa (2005a), *Berew Zerdeper*. Hewlêr: Mûkrîyan.

------------- (2005b), *Hespm Hewrew Rkêfm Çiya.* Hewlêr: Mûkrîyan.

Pinto, M. A., Titone, R., and Trusso, F. (1999), *Metalinguistic Awareness: Theory, Development and Measurement Instruments.* Roma: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.

Pisowicz, Andrzej (1985), *Origins of the New and Middle Persian Phonological Systems*. Krakow: Jagiellonian University.

Pohl, J. Otto (1999), *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937-1949*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Poplack, Shanna (1980), 'Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in English y Termino en Español: Toward a Typology of Code-Switching'. *Linguistics*, 18, 581-618.

------------- (1993), 'Variation Theory and Language Contact', in Dennis Preston (ed), *American Dialect Research*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 251-86.

Poplack, Shana and Meechan, Marjory (1995), 'Patterns of Language Mixture: Nominal Structure in Wolof-French and Fongbe-French Bilingual Discourse', in Lesley Milroy and Pieter Myusken (eds), *One Speaker Two Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 199-232.

Poplack, Shana & Sankoff, David (1984), 'Borrowing: The Synchrony of Integration', *Linguistics* 22, 1, 99-135.

Poplack, Shana, Sankoff, David and Miller, Christopher (1988), 'The Social Correlates and Linguistic Processes of Lexical Borrowing and Assimilation'. *Linguistics*, 26, 47-104.

Poplack, Shana and Torres Cacoullos, Rena (2015), 'Linguistic Emergence on Ground: A Variationist Paradigm', in Brian MacWhinney & William O'Grady (eds), *The Handbook of Language Emergence*. Oxford: Wiley publication, pp. 267-291.

Postgate, J. N. (2007), 'Introduction', in Postgate, J. N. (ed), *Languages of Iraq: Ancient and Modern*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, pp. 1-30.

Purse, Lisa & Campbell, Lyle (2013), *Historical Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Qezaz, Shefîq (2000), *Ferhengî Šarezûr: Înglîzî-Kûrdî*. Erbil: Dezgay BÍawkrdnewey Aras.

Rambout, L. (1947), *Les Kurdes et le Droit, Peuples et Civilsations.* Éditions du Cerf.

Rasheed, Amjed (2017), The Kurds Desperately Want Freedom – Why Won't the Free World Support Them?, *The Guardian*, 18 June. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017 [accessed on 15 October 2017]

Recalde Fernández, M. (2000), 'Le Parcours Socioculturel du Galicien'. *Du Moyen Age au XXe siècle. Lengas*, 47, 11-38.

Rendón, Jorge Gómez (2008), *Typological and Social Constraints on Language Contact: Amerindian Languages in Contact with Spanish*. Utrecht: LOT Publications.

Reynaldo, J.A. and Santos, A. (1999), 'Cronbach's Alpha: A Tool for Assessing the Reliability of Scales', *Journal of Extension*, 37, 1-4.

Ringbom, Håkan (1983), 'Borrowing and Lexical Transfer'. *Applied Linguistics*, 4, 3, 207-212.

Robinson, Peter (1995), 'Attention, Memory and the "Noticing" Hypothesis'. *Language Learning*, 45, 283-331.

Romaine, Suzanne (1989), *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

------------- (1992), *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford University Press.

------------- (1995), *Bilingualism,* (2nd edn). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

------------- (2003), 'Variation in Language and Gender', in Janet Holmes and Miriam Meyerhoff (eds), *The Handbook of Language and Gender.* Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 98-119.

Rudvin, Mette (1996), 'The Role of Norms in Text Production: Case Study of a Nineteenth-Century Norwegian Folktale Collection and Its Role in the Shaping of National Identity'. PhD thesis, University of Warwick.

Ryding, Karin C. (2005), *A Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salonen, Erkki (1980), *On the Arabic Dialect Spoken in Širqaṭ (Assur)*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia

Sankoff, D., Cedergren, H., Kemp, W., Thibault, P. and Vincent, D. (1989), 'Montreal French: Language, Class, and Ideology', in Ralph Fasold and Deborah Schiffrin (eds), *Language Change and Variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 107-118.

Sankoff, Gillian. (2002), 'Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact', in Peter Trudgill, J. Chambers and N. Schilling-Estes, (eds), *Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 638-668.

------------- (2006), 'Age: Apparent Time and Real Time', *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics*, (2nd edn). LALI: 01479.

------------- (2013), 'Linguistic Outcome of Bilingualism', in J. K. Chambers & Natalie Schilling (eds), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Malden, MA: Wiley, pp. 501-518.

Sapir, Edward (1921), *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. New York: Harcourt Brace and World Inc.

------------- (1963), 'The Unconscious Patterning of Behaviour in Society', in *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language. University* of California, Berkeley.

Saussure, Ferdinand de (1915), *Course in General Linguistics*. Translated by Wade Baskin. New York: Philosophical Library.

Savignon, Sandra J. (1976), 'On the Other Side of the Desk: A Look at Teacher Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning'. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 32, 3, 295-305.

Sawyer, John (2001), 'General introduction', in: John Sawyer & J.M.Y. Simpson (eds), *Concise Encyclopaedia of language and religion*. Amsterdam, New York, Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 1-3.

Saydam, Yelda (2008), 'Language Use in the Ottoman Empire and Its Problems, 1299-1923'. PhD thesis, Johannesburg University.

Schendl, Herbert (2001), *Historical Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schultz, Murrel (1990), 'Semantic Derogation of Women', in Deborah Cameron (ed), *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader,* (2nd edn). London: Routledge, pp. 134-147.

Schouten, Andy (2009), 'The Critical Period Hypothesis: Support, Challenge, and Reconceptualization'. *TESOL & Applied Linguistics*, 9, 1.

Schwepler, Lori Michelle Dejmal (2000), '*Language Attitudes of Kurdish Refugee Girls'*. MA Thesis, University of Texas.

Seidenberg, Mark. S. and Gonnerman, Laura. M. (2000), 'Explaining Derivational Morphology as the Convergence of Codes', *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 4, 9, 353–361.

Shakely, Ferhad (2016), *Studies in the Modern Kurdish Poetry*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press.

------------- (2018), *Conversation with Ferhad Shakely*, 30 January, London.

Sharifi, Amir (2014), 'Iran's Language War Against the Kurdistan Region'. *Rudaw*. www.rudaw.net http://www.rudaw.net/english/opinion/220520141 [accessed 22 May, 2014].

Sharp, Harriet (2001), *English in Spoken Swedish: A Corpus Study of Two Discourse Domains*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International

Sheyholislami, Jaffar (2011), *Kurdish Identity, Discourse, and New Media*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

------------- (2012), 'Kurdish in Iran: A Case of Restricted and Controlled Tolerance'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 217, 19-48.

Shim, Rosa Jinyoung (1994), 'Englishized Korean: Structure, Status, and Attitudes', *World Englishes*, 13, 2, 225-244.

Shohamy, E. and Donitsa-Schmidt, S. (1988), *Jews vs. Arabs: Language Attitudes and Stereotypes.* Tel Aviv: Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University.

Sībawayhī, Abi Bišhr ʿUṯman (1982), *Al-Kitāb fī al-Naḥū*: *Šarḥ wa Taḥqīq Muḥammad ʿAbd-al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn* (*Ṭ 2*). Al-Qāhirah: Maktabat al-Xanǧi.

Sijs, Nicoline van Der (1999), *Taaltrots*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact.

Silverman, Daniel (1992), 'Multiple Scansions in Loanword Phonology: Evidence from Cantonese'. *Phonology*, 9, 289-328.

Silverstein, Michael (1996), 'Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life', in R. Ide, R. Parker and Y. Sunaoshi (eds), *Salsa III: Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium about Language and Society*. Austin: University of Texas, Department of Linguistics, pp. 266-95.

------------- (2003), 'Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life'. *Language and Communication,* 23, 193-229.

Sindī, ʿAbuzaid Muṣṭafā (1982), ‘Al-Kalimāt al- ʿArabiyya Al-Mustaʿmala Fil-luġa al-Kurdiyya: Muṣṭalah Al- ʾImlā’’. *Gővari Kőrî Zaniyari Kurd, Destay Kurd,* 9, 489-510.

Singh, Rajendra (1981), ‘Aspects of Language Borrowing: English Loans in Hindi’, in Peter Hans Nelde (ed), *Sprachkontact und Sprachkonflikt*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, pp. 113-116.

Smeaton B. H., (1973), *Lexical Expansion Due to Technical Change.* Indiana University, Bloomington.

Smirnova, I. A. & Eyubi, K.R. (1999), Историко -диалектологическая грамматика курдского языка. Санкт –петербург: российская академия наук.

Soane, E. B (1926), *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise: with Historical Notes of the Kurdish Tribes and the Chaldeans of Kurdistan,* (2nd edn). Boston: Small, Maryland and Company Publishers.

Spender, Dale (1980), *Man Made Language*. London: Pandora Press.

------------- (1984), ‘Defining Reality: A Powerful Tool’, in Cheris Kramarae, Muriel Schulz and William M. O’Barr (eds), *Language and Power*, pp. 194-205.

Spolsky, Bernard (2004), *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stanlaw, James (2010), ‘Japanese-English Language and Culture Contact: How Much English Is Found in Japanese, How Is It Used, and Why Should Students and Teachers Care?’. *Journal Canadian Association for Japanese Language Education CAJLE*, 11, 40-59.

Stokes, Jamie, Gorman Anthony and Newman, Andrew (2009), *Incorporated Encyclopedia of the Peoples of Africa and the Middle East*. New York: Facts On File, Inc.

Studer, Patrick & Konstantinidou, Triantafyllia (2015), ‘Language Attitudes and Language Proficiency of Undergraduate Students in English-Medium Instruction’. *Bulletin Suisse de Linguistique Appliquée, Revue Tranel (Travaux Neuchâtelois de Linguistique)*, T3, 215-231

Stukenbrock, Anja (2005), *Sprachnationalismus. Sprachreflexion als Medium Kollektiver Identit ̈Atsstiftung in Deutschland 1617-1945*. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.

Sunderland, Jane (2004), *Gendered Discourse*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Svalberg, Agneta M.-L. (2007), ‘Language Awareness and Language Learning’. *ELT Journal*, 40, 4, 287-308.

Svavarsdóttir, Ásta, Ulla Paatola & Helge Sandøy (2010), ‘English Influence on the Spoken Language - With a Special Focus on its Social, Semantic and Functional Conditioning’. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 204, 43-58.

Swadesh, Morris (1955), 'Towards Greater Accuracy in Lexicostatistic Dating'. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21, 121-37.

Swanson, Margaret (2011), *George & Caroline: The Gendered Discourse of a Royal Scandal*. LAMBERT Academic Publishing.

Şerîf, Şîlan Fetḧî (2015), 'Zimanî Kurdî be Rebazî ʾArabî'. *Kurdistanî Nuwe*. www.knwe.org. [Accessed 30 April, 2015].

Šoriš, Qadir (2015), '*Zmanî Kurdî Leberdem Wiša Beganakanda'*. From blog:http://kadirshorsh.com /?p=882#.VgKlRdJViko [Accessed 23 September, 2015].

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2007), *Using multivariate statistics,* (5th edn). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon/Pearson Education.

Tabani, HabibuĺÍa (1966), *Ber Rasi Awzaʿi Tabiʿi, Eqtesadi w Ensanî Kordestan 'Der Namuna-î Kordestan-î Mokri'*. Rezaʾîya: Wusur.

------------- (2010), *Hawneteweyî Kurd w Mad.* Translated by Jalil Gadani, (2nd edn). Hawlêr: Dezgay Mûkrîyan.

Taha, T.A. (2006), 'College Students' Evaluative Reactions to Arabic Loanwords Used in the Context of the Iraq War'. *Education*, 127, 1, 86-99.

Tai, Pingwu (2004), 'Language Policy and Standardisation of Korean in China', in Minglang Zhou & Hongkai Sun (eds), *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China Theory and Practice Since 1949*, Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 303-316.

Talbot, Mary (2010), *Language and Gender: An introduction,* (2nd edn). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tannen, Deborah (1991), *You Just Don't Understand*. Adobe Digital Editions version, accessed 20 August 2104.

------------- (1993), *Gender and Conversational Interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

------------- (2006), *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. New York: Harper Collins.

------------- (2007), *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*, (2nd edn). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tauli, Valter (1968), *Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning*. Uppsala: University of Uppsala.

Thackston, Wheeler. M. (2006), *Sorani Kurdish Reference Grammar*. Harvard: Iranian Studies at Harvard University.

Thibault, Pierrette & Sankoff, Gillian (1999), 'Evaluation of the French of English Speaking Montreal Youths by their French Speaking Peers'. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 56, 2, 245-281.

Thøgersen, Jacob Martin (2004), 'Attitudes Towards the English Influx in the Nordic Countries: A Quantitative Investigation'. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 3, 2, 23-38.

Thomas, George (1991), *Linguistic Purism*. London and New York: Longman.

Thomason, Sarah G. (1997), 'A Typology of Contact Languages', in Arthur K. Spears and Donald Winford (eds), *The Structure and Status of Pidgins and Creoles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 71–88.

------------- (2001), *Language Contact: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

------------- (2003), 'Contact as A Source of Language Change', in Brian D. Joseph & Richard D. Janda (eds), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 687-712.

------------- (2006), 'Arabic in Contact with Other Languages', Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich and Andrzej Zaborski (eds). *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics.* Vol. 2. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

------------- (2010), 'Contact Explanations in Linguistics', in Raymond Hickey (ed), *The Handbook of Language Contact*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 31-47.

Thomason, Sarah & Kaufman, Terrence (1988), *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Thornbury, Scott (1997), *About Language: Tasks for Teachers of English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thorne, Barrie & Henley, Nancy (1975), 'Sex Differences in Language, Speech and Nonverbal Communication: An Annotated Bibliography', in Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley (eds), *Language and Sex: Difference and dominance*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House, pp. 205-305.

Tofiq, Q. Kakil (2007), *Asayšî Neteweyew Planî Zman*. Hawlêr: Dezgay Bĺawkrdnewey Aras.

Trager, G. L (1972), *Language and Languages*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company.

Traidïa, Par Sandrine (2006), 'The Syntax Status of the Noun in N-V Kurdish Compound Verbs', Paper Presented at World Congress of Kurdish Studies, Arbil, 22 July, 2006.

Trask, R. Larry (1999), *Key Concepts in Language and Linguistics*. London: Routledge.

------------- (2000), *The Dictionary of Historical and Comparative Linguistics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

------------- (2004), *Language: The Basics*. London: Routledge.

Treffers-Daller, Jennifer (2010), 'Borrowing', in Mirjam Fried, Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren (eds), *Variation and Change: Pragmatic Perspectives*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 17-35.

Trudgill, Peter (1972), 'Sex, Covert Prestige and Linguistic Change in the Urban British English of Norwich'. *Language in Society* 1, 179-195.

------------- (2000), *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society,* (4th edn). London: Penguin Books.

Trudgill, P. and Tzavaras, G. (1977), 'Why Albanian-Greeks are not Albanians: Language Sshift in Attica and Biotia', in H Giles (ed), *Language Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press, pp. 171-184.

Tunmer, W., Harriman, M.L., & Nesdale, A.R. (1988), 'Metalinguistic Abilities and Beginning Reading'. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 32, 2, 134-158.

Tyler, A., & Nagy, W. (1989), 'The Acquisition of English Derivational Morphology'. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 28, 649-667

Ünver, Hamid Akin (2015), *Turkey's Kurdish Question: Discourse & Politics Since 1990*. London: Routledge.

Van Benthuysen, Robert. V. (2004), 'Japanese EFL Students' Awareness of English Loanword Origins'. *Journal of Bunkyo Gakuin University,* 4, 169-174

Van Bruinessen, Martin (1989), 'The Ethnic Identity of the Kurds,' in Peter Alford Andrews (ed), *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. Wiesbaden: Ludwic Reicherd, pp. 613-621.

------------- (2001), 'From Adelakhan to Layla Zana', in Shahrzad Majob (ed), *Women of a Non-State Nation*, Mazda Publications, pp. 95-123.

------------- (2010), *Kurdish Ethno-Nationalism Versus Nation-Building States*. Gorgias Press & The Isis Press.

Van Coetsem, Frans (1988), *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact*. Dordrecht: Foris, Publications in Language Sciences.

Van Essen, Arthur (2008), 'Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview', in Jasone Cenoz and Nancy H. Hornberger (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Language and Education,* (2nd edn), 6, pp. 3-14.

Van Hout, Roeland and Muysken, Pieter (1994), 'Modelling Lexical Borrowability'. *Language Variation and Change*, 6, 1, 39-62.

Van Hout, Roeland & Knops, Uus (1998), *Language Attitudes in the Dutch Language Area*. Dordrecht: Fori Publications Dordrecht.

Van Lier, Leo (1995), *Introducing Language Awareness*. London: Penguin Books.

Van Mol, Mark (2003), *Variation in Modern Standard Arabic in Radio News Broadcasts: A Synchronic Descriptive Investigation into the Use of Complementary Particles*. Leuven: Peeters.

Vanly, I. Ch. (1988), 'Regards Sur Les Origins des Kurdes et Leur Langue'. *StudiaKurdica*, 1-5, 39-58.

Vennemann, Theo (2000), 'Zur Entstehung des Germanischen'. *Sprachwissenschaft*, 25, 3, 233-269.

Versteegh, K., & Eid, M. (2006), *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Leiden: Brill.

Vikør, Lars S. (2010), 'Language Purism in the Nordic Countries'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 204, 9-30.

Wahby, T. (1964), "The Origins of the Kurds and their Language". *Kurdistan*, Vol. 9-10, London: 1-16.

Walters, Keith (1996), 'Gender, Identity, and the Political Economy of Language: Anglophone Wives in Tunisia'. *Language in Society*, 25, 4, 515-55.

Wardhaugh, Ronald (2006), *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, (5th edn). Oxford &Maiden, MA: Blackwell Publishing

Waseem, Filza and Asadullah, Saeeda (2013), 'Linguistic Domination and Critical Language Awareness'. *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 70, 799-820.

Watson, Janet (2002), *Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weatherall, Ann (2002), *Language, Gender and Discourse*. Sussex: Routledge.

Weinreich, Uriel (1953), *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems,* (6th edn). The Hague: Mouton.

West, Candace, & Zimmerman, Don (1977), 'Women's Place in Everyday Talk: Reflections on Parent-Child Interaction'. *Social Problems*, 24, 5, 521-29.

------------- (1983), 'Small Insults: A Study of Interruptions in Conversations Between Unacquainted Persons', in B. Thorne, C. Kramarae, and N. Henley (eds), *Language, Gender and Society*, Rowley. MA: Newbury House, pp. 102-17.

------------- (1987), 'Doing Gender'. *Gender and Society*, 1, 125-151.

Whiteley, W. H. (1967), *'Loanwords in Linguistic Description: A Case Study from Tanzania*, East Africa', in Irmengrad Rauch & Charles T. Scott (eds), *Approaches in Linguistic Methodology.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 125-143.

Whitney, William Dwight (1881), 'On Mixture in Language'. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association* 12, 1-26.

Wichmann, Soren and Wohlgemuth, Jan (2005), 'Loan Verbs in a Typological Perspectives', Paper Submitted to the Proceedings of the "Romanisation Worldwide" Conference. Bremen. Available at: http://www.linguist.de/jw/Wichmann_ Wohlgemuth_ verb-borrowing-typology. pdf [accessed on 28 January, 2013].

------------- (2008), 'Loan Verbs in Typological Perspective', in Thomas Stolz, Dik Bakker and Rosa Palomo (eds), *Aspects of Language Contact: New Theoretical, Methodological and Empirical Findings with Special Focus on Romancisation Processes*, Berlin, New York: Mouton, pp. 89-121.

Wiebusch, Thekla and Tadmor, Uri (2009), 'Loanwords in Mandarin Chinese', in Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor (eds), *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 575-598.

Wierzbicka, Anna (1987), *English Speech Act Verbs: A Semantic Dictionary*. Sydney, New York: Academic Press.

-------------- (2003), *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wilson, Thomas (1560), *Arte of Rhetorique* (ed), G. H. Mair. Henry Frowde. Available at: http://www.archive.org/ stream/wilsonsarteofrhe00wilsuoft# page/n7/mode/2up [Accessed on 15 September 2015].

Windfuhr, Gernot (1975), 'Isoglosses: A Sketch on Persians and Parthians, Kurds and Medes', in Monumentum Henrik S. Nyberg, Vol II. Téhéran & Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 457–472.

-------------- (1997), ‘Persian Phonology’, in Alan Kaye (ed), *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*, Vol. 2. London: Routledge, pp. 675-689.

-------------- (2006), ‘Iran vii. Non-Iranian Languages’. *EnIr* 13.4, 377-410.

Winford, Donald (2003), *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

-------------- (2010), ‘Contact and Borrowing’, in Raymond Hickey (ed), *The Handbook of Language Contact*. Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 170-187.

-------------- (2013), ‘Social Factors in Contact Languages’, in Peter Bakker and Yaron Matras (eds), *Contact Languages: A comprehensive guide*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter, pp. 363-417.

Winter-Froemel, Esme (2008), ‘Studying Loanwords and Loanword Integration: Two Criteria of Conformity’. *Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics*, 14, 156-76.

-------------- (2010), ‘Les people, les Pipoles, les Pipeuls: Variance in Loanword Integration’. *Philologie im Netz,* 53, 62-92.

Wohlgemuth, Jan (2009), *A Typology of Verbal Borrowings*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wolfram, Walt and Schilling, Natalie (2016), *American English: Dialects and Variation,* (3rd edn). Wiley Chichester: Blackwell.

Wolfram, Walt & Fasold, Ralph (1974), *The Study of Social Dialects in American English*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Woolard, Kathryn (1997), ‘Between Friends: Gender, Peer Group Structure, and Bilingualism in Urban Catalonia’. *Language in Society*, 26, 4, 533-560.

-------------- (2004), ‘Codeswitching’, in Alessandro Duranti (ed), *Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 73-94.

Wren, Yvonne, Hambly, Helen & Roulstone, Sue (2012), ‘A Review of the Impact of Bilingualism on the Development of Phonemic Awareness Skills in Children with Typical Speech Development’. *Child Language Teaching and Therapy*, 29, 1, 11-25.

Xendan (2018), ‘Bizane ʾAvêsta Xapûr çî Wutwe Ber le Şehîd Bün*î’*, *Xendan*, Kurdistan, 28 January. available at www.xendan.org. [accessed on 29 January, 2018].

Xeznedar, Marf (2001), *Mêjûy ʾAdabi Kurdî*. Hewlêr: Dezgay bĺawkrdnewey Aras.

Yip, Moira (1993), ‘Cantonese Loanword Phonology and Optimality Theory’. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics,* 2, 3, 261-291.

------------- (2002), ‘Perceptual Influences in Cantonese Loanword Phonology’. *Journal of the Phonetic Society in Japan*, 6, 1, 4-21.

Zamir, Jan Roshan, (1982), ‘Variation in Standard Persian: A Sociolinguistic Study’. PhD thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Zebîḧî, ‘Ebdureḧmanî (1981), *Qamusî Zimanî Kurdî: Bergî Yekem*, Bex̆da: Çapxaney Kor̂î Zaniyarî Kurd.

------------- (1988), *Qamus-î Ziban-î Kurdî.* Orumiyeh: Nawend-î bilawkirdineway Ferheng u-’Adab-i Kurdî

Zeinab, Ibrahim (2009), *Beyond Lexical Variation in Modern Standard Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Zenner, Eline; Speelman, Dirk & Dirk Geeraerts (2013), ‘Macro and Micro Perspectives on the Distribution of English in Dutch: A Quantitative Usage-Based Analysis of Job Ads’. *Linguistics* 51, 5, 1019-1064.

Zenner, Eline and Kristiansen, Gitte (2013), ‘Introduction’, in Eline Zenner, Gitte Kristiansen, and Yaron Matras (eds), *Language Contact and Bilingualism: New Perspectives on Lexical Borrowing: Onomasiological, Methodological and Phraseological Innovations*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp.1-18.

Zenner, Eline, Speelman, Dirk and Geeraerts, Dirk (2015), ‘A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Borrowing in Weak Contact Situations: English Loanwords and Phrases in Expressive Utterances in Dutch reality TV show’. *International Journal of bilingualism*, 19, 3, 333-346.

Zhang, Weimin & Hu, Guiling (2008), ‘Second Language Learners’ Attitudes Towards English Varieties’. *Language Awareness*, 17, 4, 342-347.

Zhyan, Aziz (1972), ‘Moqāyasah-ye Baʿẓi Vazhehhā-ye Kordi va Farsi’. *Majmueh-ye Soxhanraniha-ye Dovomin Kongreh-ye Tahqiqat-e Irani*, Vol. I, Danishgah-e Adabiyat va ‘Olum-e Ensani. Mashhad, pp. 359-368.

Zimmerman, Don and West, Candace (1975), ‘Sex Roles Interruptions and Silences in Conversation’, in Thorne, B. and Henley, N. (eds), *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley: Newbury House, pp. 105-129.

Zuckermann, Ghil’ad (2003), *Language Contact and Lexical Enrichment in Israeli Hebrew*, Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan.