# University of Leicester

Diachronic Study of English Loan Words in the Central Kurdish
Dialect in Media Political Discourse

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

by

Dashne Azad Sedeeq BA, MA

School of English

University of Leicester

2017

Diachronic study of English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect in media political discourse

## Abstract

The current study is a diachronic study of the use of English loan words in Kurdish political discourse between 1993 and 2013, based on political articles in the *Xebat* newspaper. During this period a series of radical changes have occurred in socio-political domains in Kurdish society. The coincidence of these changes is expected to have caused a considerable number of borrowings in the representation of political notions. The motivation behind this study is the frequent use of English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect as a consequence of the period of intense contact between Kurdish and English in the Kurdistan region of Iraq from 2003 to 2013. The data demonstrates that there is a dramatic increase in the frequency of use of English loan words most notably in 2005 and 2011 in response to political, economic, and cultural changes in Kurdish society and its increased contact with the English language. In contrast, the frequency of Arabic loan words reduced gradually after Arabic ceased being used as an official language for education, administration, and politics in Iraqi Kurdistan, in 1992.

The data shows that lexical transference is definitely the most common category of transference from English into the dialect as a consequence of the lexical needs of different political terminologies. The examination of semantic fields in this study indicates that English words have been borrowed across a range of political and general spheres. In particular, the results suggest that the high level of borrowing was caused by lexical gaps, such as in the lexis of administration. The Kurdish language had many gaps in this field because its users did not use their language in any administrative official structure until after 1992, when the new political processes necessarily required a great deal of new terminology relating to forming administrative and economic structures and, ultimately, a new government.

The study also explores the process of adaptation by which loan words from English are modified within the structure of the Central Kurdish dialect. The results indicates that the majority of these loan words are adapted to the phonological, orthographical and morphological structure of this dialect of the Kurdish language and that many have become productive elements within the dialect.

<div align="right">Dashne Sedeeq</div>

# Acknowledgements

# Table of Contents

# List of Tables

# List of Figures

# List of Abbreviations

| Abbreviation | Meaning |
|---|---|
| Adj. | Adjective |
| Adv. | Adverb |
| cm | Centimeter |
| CN | Compound Nouns |
| IPA | International Phonetic Alphabet |
| KAL | Kurdistan Academy of Language |
| KRG | Kurdistan Region Government |
| NGO | Non-govermental Organization |
| N | Noun |
| OED | Oxford English Dictionary |
| Prep. | Prepositions |
| Pron | Pronoun |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| V | Verb |

# Typographical Conventions

| Symbols | Typographical Conventions |
| --- | --- |
| < Chevrons> | Words written in the Arabic alphabet e.g. <فيدرال > |
| = Equal | Preceding Latin alphabet transcriptions of Arabic forms e.g.   <فيدرال > = *fidral* |
| / Slash/ | International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in both English and Central Kurdish dilaect e.g. /ˈmɒdn/ and /mɒdern/ |
| [Square brackets] | Enclosing word for word translations. |
| (Brackets) | Enclosing my own definitions or clarifications of the meaning of non-English words. |
| *Italic* | English loan words drawn from my own data, Terms, name of persons, places and cities. |
| '*Single inverted comma in italic*' | English and Kurdish examples not drawn from my own data. |
| "Speech marker" | Enclosing quotations. |

# 1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

Every language has its own set of vocabularies. However, when two or more languages come into contact with one another, words from one language might find their way into the lexical system of another language (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: p.37 and Azeez and Awla, 2015: p.12). Nowadays, with the quick development of human society, science and technology and the growth of economic, political, cultural exchanges among different nations, there are increasing opportunities to communicate with other nations and understand their cultures background. With the growth of international communication and universal connection to the internet, English as one of the powerful global languages, has become a source for lexical borrowing in many different languages. For these reasons, the Kurdish language, like many other languages borrows English words at an unprecedented rate. However, the borrowing of English loan words into Kurdish has also been influenced by local political events and this makes the patterns of borrowing particularly worthy of close attention.

This thesis analyses the media's use of English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect, specifically, in the political articles in a daily newspaper from the Central dialect region. It also examines diachronic change in the linguistic dynamics of English loan words as a consequence of language contact. In the last two decades, a greater overlap between Kurdish and English has resulted in the regular appropriation in different domains of language use. Accordingly, the frequency of English words in the Central Kurdish dialect has increased, and these words are now recognised as a part of this dialect (Thompson, 2014). However, since the current study is limited to the political material on every Monday from the chosen years of 1993, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2011 and 2013, it does not reflect the full impact of the English language on the Kurdish language in general or on this dialect.

There are some linguistic and non-linguistic factors that lead Kurdish native speakers to borrow words from English: the motivations for a language to borrow words from another are always various. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) state that there is no clear linguistic reason for borrowing and no boundary exists to the number of words that can be generated in any language. Nonetheless, due to the situation of the Kurdistan region, some linguistic

factors may directly or indirectly play a substantial role, including language contact. Because Kurdish has a history of intensive contact with dominant languages, especially Arabic, Turkish and Persian, it is pre-conditioned to be receptive to borrowing on different ranks of language use and structure (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.25).

More recently, the Kurdish language has experienced a new linguistic relationship, in which English had had a remarkable effect on the Kurdish dialects in different domains and a variety of ways. This relationship became more apparent when American and British forces invaded Iraq in 2003 and Kurdistan, as a northern area of this country, was exposed to the English language for an extended period of time (see section 2.4).

Another reason for lexical borrowing is the necessity to "fill conceptual gaps" in the recipient language (Petryshyn, 2014: p.6). Due of the lexical gaps in Kurdish in different areas, modern science, politics and administrative, art and technology, earlier native speakers in the Kurdistan region depended on the surrounding languages, especially Arabic to fill their lexical gaps, such as *'daght'* (pressure) and *'ghadr'* (treachy) (Hassanpoor,1992 and Jukil, 2004: p.120). In addition to this, Hassanpoor (1992) states that linguists attempted to replace the Arabic terms with native counterparts as much as they can.

However, English is currently preferred as a second language by Kurds and they seem to be progressively separating themselves from Arabic and adopting loan words from English in preference to their more traditional source language. The countries in which English is a native language possess increasingly extremely progressive technology and modernised systems of communication, which means that English is also valuable to Kurdish-speakers as the language of wider communication.

Non-linguistic factors that may influence borrowing include political and diplomatic relations, technology, economy and cultural contact. The situation is most likely different from when Kurdish native speakers borrowed from Arabic, Turkish and Persian throughout the history, in comparison to when they borrow from English. In both cases, the non-linguistic reasons are more effective. The difference, however, is when Kurdish borrowed from the surrounding languages, particularly Arabic, the political reasons were compelling, since Kurds were officially obliged to use Arabic in all aspects of life. Even though borrowing from Arabic also took place when Kurds became Muslim (see section 1.4 and 1.6).

It is clear that education plays a significant role and English becomes a medium of instruction in the process of education. Furthermore, verbal and non-verbal media have played a great role in the introduction of different English vocabularies into the Kurdish language vocabulary system.

The current study focuses on English loan words used in political written articles. It will analyse the diachronic use of English loan words by examining their frequency and application in the printed media dealing with political issue in the Kurdistan region. It outlines the frequency of English loan word usage in the Central Kurdish dialect and explores how loan words have changed in terms of phonology, morphology and semantics. The study shows how language contact, between English and Kurdish, influence the type and the quantity of loan words present in the Central Kurdish dialect.

The subsequent sections in this chapter consist of two parts: the historical background provides an introduction to the history, language and dialects of the Kurdish region. It also explores the use of the Central Kurdish dialect before the 1990s, and looks at its present use in the Iraqi Kurdistan region. In addition, the second part sets out the aims, research questions, significance of this study and outlines the limitations of this methodological approach.

## 1.2   Historical Background of Kurds

The Kurds are an ethnic group inhabiting the district identified as Kurdistan[1]. Although, O'Leary (2002: p.17) states that the term Kurdistan does not exist for political reasons because their ancient homeland is divided between the neighbouring states Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria and people who live in these areas are citizens of these states. However, nowadays it is used to refer to the Kurdistan region in Iraq or Kurdish area in Turkey, Iran and Syria (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.9). Kurdistan has been the Kurdish people's homeland since 3000 B.C. Kurdistan (Mirawdali, 1993: p.15). In this area the Kurdish people share a similar ethical, cultural and philological heritage, although events in the twentieth and twenty-first century have created divisions between them.

---

[1] Kurdistan usually used for a united Kurdish state.

During World War I, the Sykes-picot Agreement[2] was signed to divide Mesopotamia under the Ottoman Empire into different nation countries. Kurdistan, as a part of Mesopotamia was divided among Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. After World War I and the division of the Ottoman Empire in 1920, the Kurds were expecting to achieve their independence again, based on assurances in the Treaty of Sevres[3] in 1920. The Treaty of Sevres was encouragement for Kurdish nationalists to prepare for a referendum to decide the issue of the Kurdistan homeland. Subsequently, this treaty was cancelled and replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed in 1923. This treaty gave away control of the whole Anatolian peninsula to establish the Republic of Turkey, including the Kurdish homeland in Turkey (O'Leary, 2002: p.17). There is no facility for Kurdish independence in the treaty of Lausanne and this set back Kurdish nationalists' hopes for an independent country.

Kurds are one of the largest stateless nations, with an overall population of more than 30 million[4]. The position of the Kurdish people differs across the four states in which they live.

---

[2] This agreement was established in May 1916, between the British and French governments in secret. Its aim was to divide the Middle East into nation-states and provinces of control to maintain their own colonial interest. Lebanon and Syria were under the French control, while Jordan and Iraq, which includes Kurdistan, and were under the British control (O'Leary, 2002: p.17)

[3] The Treaty of Sevres was drafted at the end of World War I, to deal with the disbanding and division of the Ottoman Empire (Ibid).

[4] BBC, 14th March 2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-29702440. (Accessed: 14th May 2016).
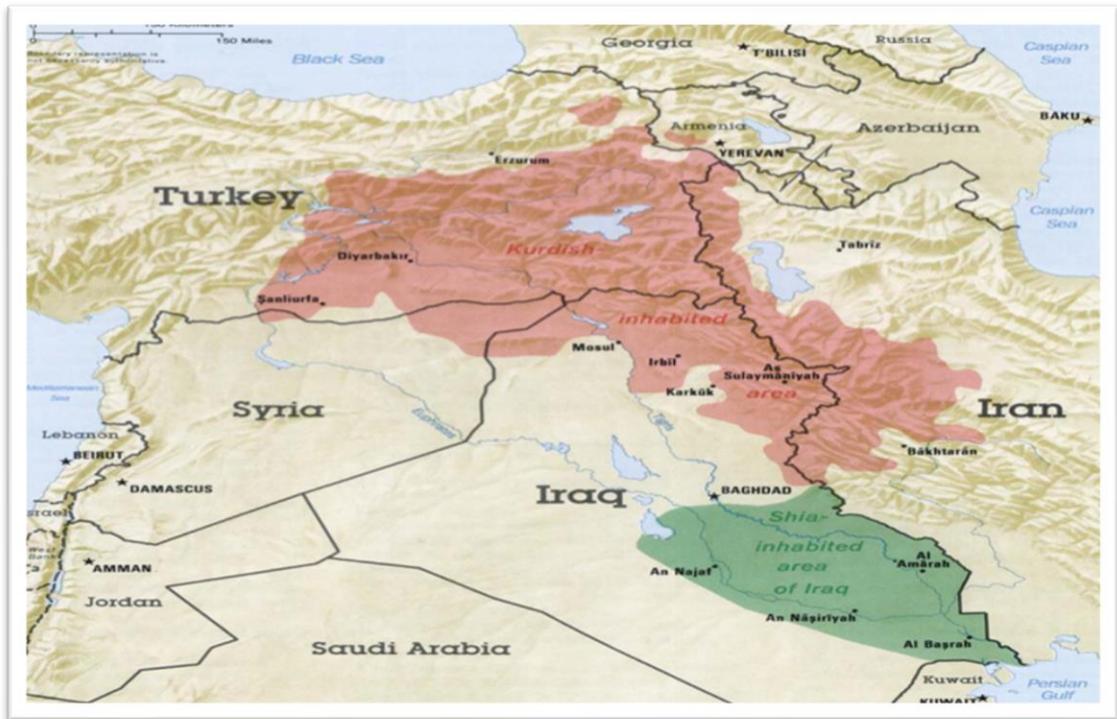
Figure 1[5]:  Kurdish district in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria[6]

In Iraq, the majority of Kurds live in the northern part of the country, which is known as the Kurdistan region of Iraq[7] [8]. After 1991, the Kurdish language became the most extensively spoken language in the region (more details in 1.5 and 1.6) (Skutnabb-Kangas, Sheyholislami, and Hassanpour, 2012: p.181).

Kurds in Iran inhabit in the north western area of Iran, which is known as Rozhalati Kurdistan[9] (Thomason, 2014). Its geographical area includes three main provinces, which share borders with the parts of Iraq and Turkey that are also inhabited by the Kurds (Ibid). In 1946, Kurds in this region established a Kurdish government, but they were quickly repressed by the Iranian government at that time and Kurdish political activities have

---

[5] There is no map shows Kurdistan as a whole, but this one unofficially shows the geographical district of the Kurdish land and their inhabited area, which shows how the area of the Kurdish nation has historically established an original population, embodying their unified cultural identity.
[6] The Kurdish Institute of Paris, 1992,
http://www.institutkurde.org/images/cartes_and_maps/iraq_dissident_areas_1992.jpg (Accessed: 13th October 2014).
[7] This title is used officially and the region is recognised as a federal region in the Iraqi constitution.
[8] Kurdistan Regional Government, http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=050000&r=303&p=213. (Accessed: 5th January 2012).
[9] This is an unofficial terms, used among the Kurds themselves, who have no political status in Iran.

been prohibited in Iran since then. However, the Iranian government does endorse the use of the Kurdish language in certain local broadcastings and publications. It is recognised only as a regional language and is not studied in the Iranian public school system (Archanjo and Arpacik, 2016: p.18).

Neither the Turkish nor the Syrian government distinguish the Kurdish area in their countries. In Turkey, the Kurds mainly inhabit the southern corner of the country (Arslan, 2015: p.24) known as Bakury Kurdistan[10]. The Kurdish people in Turkey were denied the elementary right of citizenship and their cultural heritage according to the Turkish constitution, in which Article 54 states that "every individual who is bound to the Turkish State by ties of citizenship is a Turk" (cited in Arslan, 2015: p.37).

In 1961 the Turkish constitution banned the Kurdish language by stating that "any language that is not the first official language of a state that is recognised by Turkey is not allowed" (Haig, 2004: pp.15-16). However, since 2006 the Turkish government has allowed Kurdish publishing, broadcasting media and education, albeit with some restrictions. Additionally, in the last two years, Kurdish has become an elective subject in public schools in those areas in Turkey in which the Kurds are in the majority[11] (Skutnabb-Kangas, Sheyholislami, and Hassanpour, 2012: pp.181-183).

In Syria, Kurds live in the north east of the country, which was known as Rozhawai Kurdistan.[12] In 2013, the "Rojava Cantons"[13] became a de facto autonomous Kurdish region as a result of civil war breaking out in Syria in 2011. This provided new freedom for Kurds to practice their rights and use Kurdish as a mother tongue in their Cantons. Before this period, Kurds were not permitted to obtain citizenship in Syria and were considered to be foreign citizens. Arabic was the only official language of Syria and the use of Kurdish was prohibited. Kurdish citizens in Syria were not allowed to use Kurdish

---

[10] This is an unofficial term, used among the Kurds themselves. The Kurdish people and their region have no political status in Turkey.
[11] The Kurdish project, 2014, http://thekurdishproject.org/kurdistan-map/syrian-kurdistan/. (Accessed: 5th January 2014).
[12] This is an unofficial term, used among the Kurds themselves for the region they inhabit. The region and the Kurdish people have no political status in Syria.
[13] The Constitution of the Rojava Cantons, https://civiroglu.net/the-constitution-of-the-rojava-cantons/. (Accessed: 16th August 2016).

in official documents, public foundations, daily use and education[14] (Skutnabb-Kangas, Sheyholislami, and Hassanpour, 2012: p.183).

## 1.3   Historical and Geographical Background of the Kurds in Iraq

Since this study deals with the Iraqi region of Kurdistan, it focuses on the historical, the current geographical area and status of this region. Throughout history the Kurdish area belonging to Iraq has seen numerous invaders and conquerors because of its strategically important area. The earliest historical records, in the 7th Century, was of the invasions of the early Persians from the east, followed by Alexander the Great from the west and from the south by Muslim Arabs.  Later in the 11th and 13th centuries, each of Seljuk Turks from the east and the Mongols from the east invaded the country, respectivly. In the 16th century it invaded by both Medieval Persians from the east and Ottoman Turks from the north. The most recent invading force was the collation forces in 2003[15].

In early twentieth century, as a result of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Kurds in the south of Kurdistan became a part of the Iraqi state. The Kurds in Iraq generally enjoyed further national rights than Kurds who live in nearby states, but also they have faced numerous political statuses and different kinds of brutal repression over their history by successive Iraqi government since the mid-1920s[16] [17].

The Iraqi government applied a process of Arabisation from the early 1970s, this process was executed through different channels by changing the whole system into Arabic (Jukil, 2004: pp.62-63 and 66). For example, the educational, administrative and political systems were overhauled and the ethnic demography of some Kurdish cities, including *Kirkuk*, *Khanaqin* and *Sinjar*, was changed by replacing Kurdish inhabitants with Arab settlers. Meanwhile, the Kurdish inhabitants settled in the southern provinces of Iraq, in

---

[14]The Kurdish Project, 2014, http://thekurdishproject.org/kurdistan-map/syrian-kurdistan/. (Accessed: 5th June 2014).

[15] The Kurdish Project, 2014, http://thekurdishproject.org/history-and-culture/kurdish-history. (Accessed: 5th June 2014).

[16] Kurdistan Region Government, http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=050000&r=306&p=216. (Accessed: 5th January 2012).

[17] BBC, 14 March 2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-29702440. (Accessed: 14th May 2016).

which the majority of their population are Arab people[18]. This was a matter of promoting Arab settlement to dilute the Kurdish culture and its language of the region. Also, it is an attempt to reduce the political power and presence of Kurdish people.

During this period, Kurdish native speakers borrowed words from Arabic through their daily contact with Arabs and the regular use of their language (see section 1.4) (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.2)

In 1991, Kurds rose up against the Iraqi government and since that time all administration belonging to the Iraqi government has been withdrawn (O'Leary, 2002: p.18). As a result of the uprising, Iraqi Kurdistan was established as a semi-autonomous region governed by Kurds themselves. Geographically, this region borders Turkey to the north, Iraq to the south, Iran to the east, and Syria to the west. Its area is 40,643 square kilometres and the capital city is Erbil, also known as Hewler[19]. The Kurdistan Region officially comprises parts of the three government of Erbil, Sulemani and Duhok[20].

In 1992, the first Kurdistan national assembly was established and presidential elections were held[21]. As a consequence, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) was set up as an autonomous government of Kurdistan within Iraq. However, the Kurdish governments' rights were restricted, as the Iraqi government imposed an internal barrier on the region. For decades, the people of the Kurdistan Region were deliberately isolated from the world and suffered great hardship under the repressive policies of successive Iraqi governments.[22] Additionally, in the early nineties there were internal problems between Kurdish parties caused by power sharing. This led to a civil war, which continued for four years, finally ending in 1998.

In 2003, collation forces invaded Iraq and, with the support of the Peshmerga[23], entered into conflict with the Iraqi regime of the time. The regime fell and the new constitution was approved by all Iraqi people, including the Kurds, in 2005. The new Iraqi constitution

---

[18] Asia Times Online, 22th October 2002, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/DJ22Ak01.html (Accessed 3th June 2014).
[19] Kurdistan regional government, http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=050000&r=303&p=213. (Accessed: 5th January 2012).
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] The Kurdish Project, 2014, http://thekurdishproject.org/history-and-culture/kurdish-history/. (Accessed: 5th June 2014).
[23] The official military forces of Iraqi Kurdistan.

acknowledged the Kurdish area as a federal region and officially acknowledged the Kurdistan Regional Government and its Parliament[24].

This gave a significant chance for Kurds to practise their rights more independently. The Kurdistan region has recently operated largely independently from Iraq and unofficially as a modern independent nation-state, since it has its own president, parliament, flag and military, in addition to an independent foreign policy and economy. For instance, the KRG has built international and diplomatic relations with different countries around the world, by opening about thirty diplomatic consulates in Erbil[25]. As a result of the Kurdistan regional government's belief in strong alliances and maintaining good foreign ties through continuous dialogue and exchanges with outside communities, many foreign companies have begun to operate in the region, including British and American organisations. This has enforced the economic motivations for learning English.

## 1.4  Kurdish Language

The Kurdish language belongs to the Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian group of Indo-European families (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.10) as shown in Figure 2.

---

[24] Kurdistan Region Government, http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=050000&r=306&p=216. (Accessed: 5th January 2015).
[25] Department of Foreign Relation, http://dfr.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?p=25&l=12&s=010000&r=332. (Accessed: 3rd June 2014).
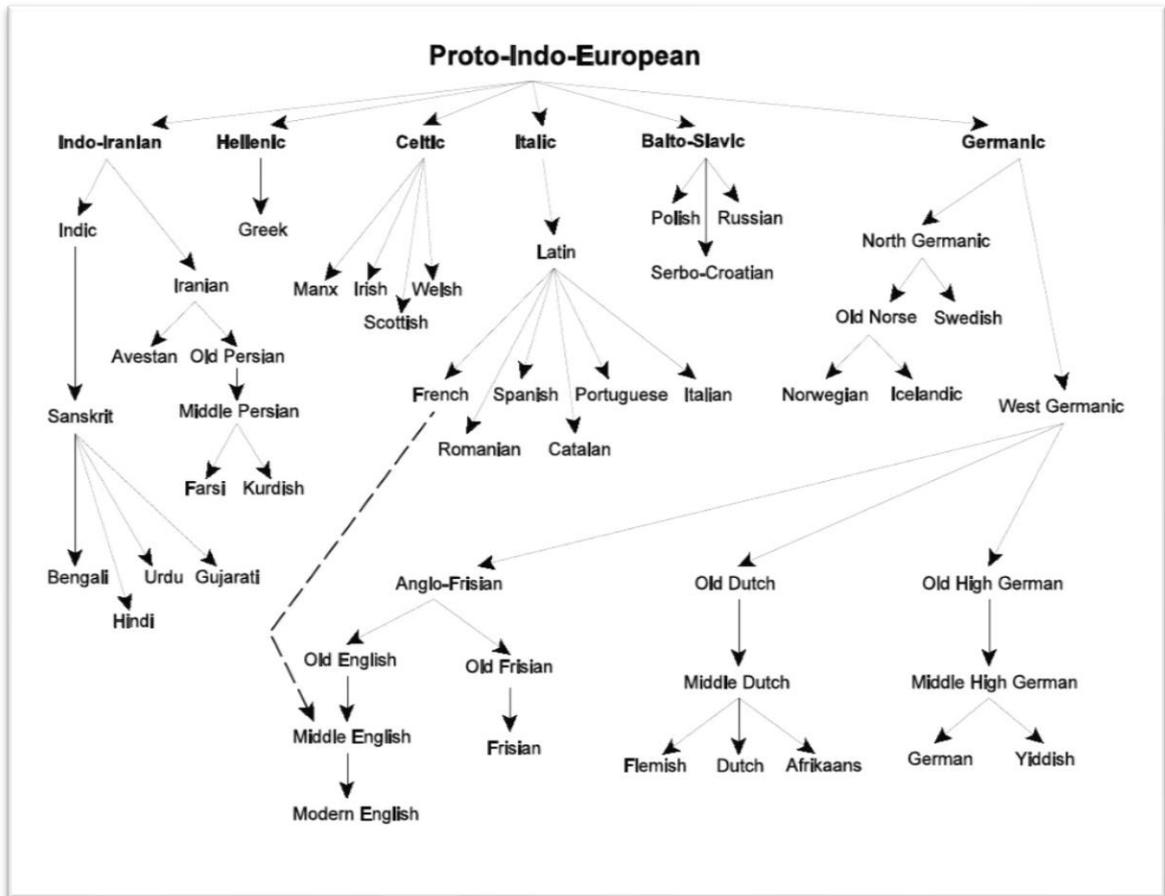
Figure 2: Indo-European language[26]

The Kurdish language provides "a strong expression of antiquity and cultural continuity" (Mirawdali, 1993: p.21) which represents the uniqueness of the Kurdish people. Since ancient times, people who inhabited Kurdistan had their own language, which was different from Arabic, Turkish and Persian (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.23 and Haig and Matras, 2002: p.3). It is "[a]n independent language, having its own historical development, continuity, grammatical system and rich living vocabularies".[27]

In the 7th century, Islam spread in Kurdistan and the Quran was introduced in Arabic (Mirawdali, 1993: p.19). Islamic law offered a route to education and advancement and a small group of Kurds, called the Mala, were educated to become religious leaders. Islamic

---

[26] Jack Lynch, http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/language.html. (Accessed: 5th August 2016).

[27] Kurdish Academic of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/41. (Accessed: 5th June 2014).

culture has also influenced Kurdish society and much linguistic borrowing can be considered a component of these intercultural contacts (Hasanpoor, 1999: pp.17-18). Mirawdali connects the Arabisation process of the Kurdish language with the spread of Islam and described this process, through theoretical and historical insight:

"The dialect of urban population follows the language of the nation or race that has control of (the cities) or has founded them. Therefore, the dialects spoken in all Muslim cities in the East and the West at this time are Arabic….".

<div align="right">(Mirawdali, 1993: p.16)</div>

The Mala made extensive use of Arabic words to interpret the Quran for Kurdish speakers. All books and manuscripts in different fields of Islamic tradition were written in Arabic, as the original language of religion, including the Quran as direct word of God, the Hadith and Islamic law (Mirawdali, 1993: pp.22-23 and Hasanpoor, 1999: pp.18, 27, 144 and 158). The Mala were not always able to find or willing to use equivalent words in Kurdish, in order to explain these things to the lay-people, and thus tended to use Arabic religious terms even when speaking Kurdish.

Mirawdali (1993: p.22) states that Islam has played an additional significant role in changing the Kurdish language because Muslim hereditary rulers acquired power over Kurdish-speakers. All Islamic (religious) laws are in Arabic, so it is necessary to use Arabic in the legal systems of all Islamic provinces. It can be said that this criticism is from a secular perspective, rather than from a logical point of view. The fact is that, in addition to religious factors, there are a multitude of other factors such as politics, education and social contact. The Kurdish language is not only affected by the language of Islam, Arabic, but it is also influenced by the surrounding language including Turkish and Persian.

Both religion and state power have thus had a crucial effect on the Kurds' culture and language (Ibn Khaldun cited in Mirawdali, 1993: p.22). The majority of Kurds are Muslims nowadays, and most of them are fluent in Arabic because they read the Quran and worship entirely in Arabic. At the same time, there is no social prohibition on using Kurdish to discuss religion or on using Kurdish for social interaction in a religious setting and many Arabic loan words have now been incorporated into the Kurdish lexis of religion.

Estimations of the number of Kurdish speakers vary from 20 million to 40 million (Edmond, n.d.: p.2). Certainty is difficult because, except in Kurdish Iraq, Kurds have not been permitted to use their language officially in their daily lives.

In the early part of the twentieth century, Edmunds, who was travelling within a group of Western colonial travellers, claimed that the Kurdish language is a corrupt type of Arabic, Turkish and Persian language (Mirawdali, 1993: p.22). This may have held some truth for the writer at the time, as preconceptions and aggression towards the Kurds throughout history would have a significant role in steering writers and the limited knowledge that Edmunds would have had, the influence that Arabic interpreters and commentators might have had on him and the history of borrowing that may have appeared to support this perspective.

Dividing Kurdistan has impacted on Kurds in the different regions in a variety of ways, including social, political, economic, cultural, and linguistic. In fact, the Kurdish language incorporates a range of closely connected languages spoken over a large area that includes Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. For this reason it is normal to find foreign words in Kurdish. But this does not mean that Kurdish is a corrupt language, as stated by Edmunds and his colleagues; Kurdish has its own structure in terms of phonetic, morphology, grammar and semantics (Hamawandy, 2012: p.1 and Sharifi, 2013: p.85). Lexical borrowing is not a new phenomenon in Kurdish. Like English, it has borrowed numerous words from a variety of other languages, including Arabic, Turkish and Persian (Abdulla, 1980: p.8, Hasanpoor, 1999: pp.10, 21 and 45, Al-Khatib and Ali, 2010: p.7 and Yildiz and Akbarov, 2012: p.225) without losing its own identity.

Language contact has played a important role in the growth of Kurdish. Mostly the Language contact between Kurdish with Arabic, Turkish and Persian occurs as result of the geographical boundaries and political dominates. Geographically, Kurds are a part of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria and through daily contact with original citizens of these countries, most of Kurds become bilingual. According to Crystal (1992), the existence of bilingualism as a consequence of geographical proximity facilitates language change:

"A situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity between languages or dialect, so that a degree of bilingualism comes to exist within a community. The languages (also called contact vernaculars) then begin to influence each other, such as by introducing loan words or making changes in pronunciation".

Political factors have also influenced the Kurdish language, largely by the governments in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria attempting to impose their own languages on Kurdish speakers. Kurdish identity, culture and language were denied by these dominant states and Kurdish speakers were exposed to intensive contact with the surrounding languages. According to Hudson (2000: pp.423-424), political factors play a role in extended or close contact between languages. This essentially results in extensive language change, especially when one language is numerically or politically dominant. For example, in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, Arabic-speakers were numerically and politically dominant; therefore, most of the Kurdish population spoke both Kurdish and Arabic, as with Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Syria (Jukil, 2004: p.63). This has resulted in widespread borrowing of words from the dominant languages. In addition, Hasanpoor (1999: p.25) argues that there is a close connection between language and nation, and that the intensive contact between the Kurdish language and the state language in each country has created effective changes at all levels of language use and structure. For example, in the early twentieth century Arabic became the official language of the whole of Iraq, including the areas inhabited by Kurds (Jukil, 2004: p.58). The Iraqi regime practised anti-Kurdish policies, an Arabisation resulting from the language policies of the Iraqi government in the early seventies to the early nineties.

Dominant languages such as Arabic, Turkish and Persian are used by Kurdish native speakers as mentioned by Hassanpoor (1999: p.63), due to their elevated social status and political advantage. For example, Arabic became the standard language of communication between speakers of Arabic and Kurdish. Kurds always switch to Arabic when they want to communicate with an Arab and Kurdish speakers in some Kurdish areas even stopped using Kurdish among themselves, especially those Kurds who live in cities where most of its population speak Arabic, such as *Kirkuk*, *Khanaqin* and *Musil*.

In addition, the education system caused the language to change. Arabic became the standard language used at all educational levels in Iraqi Kurdistan before 1991. Kurdish and Arabic were both taught in schools, but higher education was largely conducted in Arabic due to the limits of in the Kurdish vocabulary and the absence of reference works and text books in Kurdish (Jukil, 2004: pp.120-121). Also, most publishing materials, administration and broadcasting media were in Arabic during this period (Ibid).

Hasanpoor (1999: pp.46-67 and 158) states that the unique and rich literary tradition of Arabic, Persian and Turkish influenced the Kurdish poets of the classical period, who used a large number of loan words in their literatures, consequently affecting the Kurdish language.

## 1.5  Kurdish Dialect

There are different views about the classification of the Kurdish dialects.  In his *Sharafnama* (The Book of Honor), written in 1597, Bedlisi classifies the Kurdish language into four dialects: Kurmanji, Lori, Gorani and Kalahori (cited in Mirawdali, 1993: p.23). The status of these dialects might be expected to have changed in the intervening period because of the political situations and the growth of Kurdish society, and Mackenzie (1961: pp.177-178) identified three collections of dialects: the Northern (Kurmanji), Central (Sorani) and Southern (Hawrami) dialects. The current study follows this classification because it is the one used by the most credible modern studies of Kurdish (Nabaz, 1976: p.15, Mirawdali, 1993: pp.23-24 and Hasanpoor, 1999: p.36).

In contrast, Hama Khorshid (1983: pp.15-29) recognises four dialects based on their linguistic use and geographical distribution. North Kurmanji dialect, spoken in the parts of Kurdistan, i.e., Turkey, Syria and by a small group of Kurds in Iraq. Central Kurmanji, which is also called Sorani, spoken in the west of Iranian Kurdistan and in the eastern and southern areas of Iraqi Kurdistan. South Kurmanji, including the sub-dialects of Lori, Bakhtyari, Mamasanni, Kalahori and Laki and commonly spoken in the south-eastern part of the Kurdistan region of Iraq and in the most region of Iran (Azeez and Awla, 2015: p.14). Finally, Gorani, which consist of the sub-dialect of original Hawrami, Bajilani, Gorani and Zaza spoken in different small areas on the border lines between the Iraqi and Iranian parts of Kurdistan (Mirawdali, 1993: p.24).

The differences between Bedlisi and Hama Khorshid's classifications are that, the former considered Lori and Kalahari as separate dialects, emphasizing the differences between them, while Hama Khorshid considered Lori and Kalahari as sub-types of South Kurmanji, focusing instead on the similarities between them.  In contrast, Hama Khorshid classified the dialect according to geographical area and gives more details about sub-types of the dialect.

Even today, it is hard to decide the precise number of Kurdish speakers of each dialect (Jukil, 2004: p.22). According to Mackenzie, the Northern dialect is the most commonly spoken in the parts of Kurdistan, which are in Turkey, Syria and in the Duhok province, a small area in Iraqi Kurdistan (Gautier, 1996: p.5). The Central dialect is commonly spoken in the eastern and southern Kurdistan part of Iraq and some area in Iran, while the Southern dialect is spoken mostly in the area of Kurdistan in Iran and small area in Iraqi Kurdistan.

## 1.6   The Kurdish Language in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Since 1992, numerous changes have occurred in all aspects of life in the Kurdistan region. One of these changes is that Kurdish has become the official language of this area and has thus replaced Arabic in several domains, including administration, government, and private correspondence[28]. Moreover, Kurdish has become the medium of instruction in school-level education for all subjects. Arabic is still generally used in higher education alongside English. Lecturers often switch between the languages to accommodate different students' needs. According to Jukil (2004: p.58), this might be a result of limited vocabulary or the lack of reference works in Kurdish. The majority of Kurds in Iraq are bilingual as was the case before the Kurdish uprising in 1991 when the Arabic language was the official language of admistrative and organisation, education and media (Jukil, 2004: p.59).  Recently, there are age differences, for example a young generation would be less likely to learn Arabic than in 1991 because they are learning English instead.

In the Kurdish region of Iraq, the Northern, Central and Southern dialects are all spoken (see section 1.5), with the Central and Northern dialects most widely used. This is because of the of number of speakers of these two dielects in the region and the existence of rich litreture (Mohammadi, n.d.: P.105). The Central dialect is spoken in the Erbil and Sulemani areas, while the Northern dialect is spoken in Duhok area[29].

---

[28] Kurdistan Regional Government, http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=050000&r=305&p=215. (Accessed: 5th June 2014).

[29] Ibid

Figure 3: Map of the Kurdish Regional Government[30] [31]

The Central and Northern dialects have become the language of media and publications in the Kurdistan region and many daily, weekly and monthly, newspapers and magazines are published in both dialects [32]. According to Hasanpoor (1999: p.57), Kurdish journalism continues to play a prominent role in the expansion of both dialects. As the media has developed Kurdish language in the region. Also, the regions's population has

---

[30] Travel Iraqi Kurdsitan, http://www.traveliraqikurdistan.com/home/welcome/. (Accessed: 2nd August 2016).

[31] The green area is a rough indication of the boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan.

[32] Kurdish Academy of language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/548. (Accessed: 6th June 2014).

increased, and today approximately most of the inhabitants of the Kurdistan region can speak or understand both of the major dialects.

This does not mean that there is no language conflict between the Central and Northern dialects in terms of which is considered the standard language (Skutnabb-Kangas, Sheyholislami and Hassanpour, 2012: P.183). One group of Kurdish writers and academics have stated that, as the Central dialect has already developed in terms of status and prestige, they sent a letter to the relevant authorities in the provincial government, the KRG, to demand that the Central Kurdish dialect be recognised and promoted as the standard Kurdish language in the region (Ghazi, 2009). There is, however, a continuous debate between the speakers of both dialects and a range of linguists as to whether the Central dialect alone, or both the Central and Northern dialects, should be assigned as the official language in the region. The Kurdistan Regional Government's strategy in this matter is to encourage both main dialects within the system of education and local media[33].

## 1.7 Brief Structural Background Differences of the Northern and Central Dialects of Kurdish

This section focuses on some fundamental linguistic variances between the Northern and Central dialects. There is no official document of which dialect are used but the Central dialect is widely used in formal official documents such as administration, education and media within the Iraqi Kurdistan region.

Thackston (2006: p.11) demonstrates that there are some morphological modifications between the two dialects. For example: the definite article <هكه- > = –eke appears only in the Central dialect as in <پرۆسهكه > = proseke (the process). In contrast, the prefix <ڤێ- > = vê - is used instead for the definite article in the Northern dialect as in <ڤێپرۆسێ>= vêprosê (the process). Furthermore, the verbal suffix < هوه- > = -ewe is used in the Central

---

dialect to indicate the past tense, while verbal prefix <ﭬﻪ-> = ve- is used in the Northern dialect[34]. For example:

-     [Central dialect written in Arabic alphabet]      قوتابیهکه چیرۆکهکهی خوێندهوه.

- Qutabyeke Círokekey   Xw'end**ewe**.          (Latin alphabet)

    [Student story the read]                 (word for word translation)

- Vêqutabí Ciroka **ve**xwend[35]             (Northern dialect)

    [the student story read]                (word for word translation)

- The student read the story.            (fluent English translation)

Mackenzie (1962), Haig and Matras (2002: pp.5-6) and Thackston (2006: p.7) state that nouns in the Northern dialect are either masculine or feminine. Usually, gender must be learned along with the word, but in some cases gender is assigned to grammatical functions or categories of words. For example, all infinitives used as nouns, abstract nouns ending in –î and the names of towns, cities, and countries are all feminine. The Central dialect lacks these distinctions however, since there is no gender.

The Central dialect is used to take over the roles of the cases ending (Esmaili and Salavati, 2013: pp.300-301). This makes the Northern dialect more linguistically archaic than the Central.

In the Northern dialect, the singular feminine marking appears in the form of nominal oblique case ending –ê and –î for singular masculine[36] (Haig and Matras, 2002: p.6). For example:

- Le mala tê[37].             singular feminine    (Northern dialect)
  [in home your]                    (word for word translation)
- In your home.                       (fluent English translation)
- Merghî mn[38].             singular masculine   (Northern dialect)

---

[34] Kurdish Academy of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/50. (Accessed: 10 February 2012).

[35] The Latin Kurmanji letters are used based on the Table 1.

[36] Kurdish Academy in Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/50. (Accessed: 10 February 2012).

[37] Based on the Northern (Latin Kurmanji) in the Table 1, (see section 1.8).

[38] Based on the Northern (Latin Kurmanji) in the Table 1, (see section 1.8).

- [death my]                                        (word for word translation)
- (My death)                                        (fluent English translation)

Secondly, there are phonological differences on certain levels. For example, according to Mackenzie[39], the phonological features that distinguish the two dialects are, firstly, the long vowel /i: / in the Central dialects, which does not appear in the Northern dialect. For example,

(Central dialect)            /małi: min/                    مالّیی من[40].

(word for word translation)                                    [house my]

- My house.                                          (fluent English translation)
- Mala mn.                   /mala min/              (Northern dialect)
- [house my]                                          (word for word translation)
- My house.                                          (fluent English translation)

Also, he states that the Northern dialect has aspirated distinction /p/, /t/ and /k/ and it velarised consonants /s/, /t/, and /z/ which does not occur in the Central dialect. Another distinguishing phonological feature of the Northern dialect, stated by Haig and Matras (2002: pp.5- 7), is a phonemic aspiration in the voiceless stop, which does not appear in the Central.

As result of these differences between the main dialects, some scholars have argued that they are different language Edmonds (n.d.: p.2):

"[The] reasons for describing Kuirmanji and Sorani as 'dialects' of one language are their common origin and the fact that this usage reflects the sense of ethnic identity among the Kurds. From a linguistic or at least a grammatical point of view, however, Kuirmanji and Sorani differ as much from each other as English and German, and it would seem appropriate to refer to them as languages" .

(Kreenbroek 1992 cited in Gautier 1996: p.4)

---

[39] Kurdish Academy in Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/50. (Accessed: 10 February 2012).
[40] Based on the Arabic alphabets on the Table 1, (see section 1.8).

However, Thackston (2006: p.ix) and Kreenbroek (cited in Gautier 1996: p.4) disagreed and argued that these dialects are from the same origin and they are closely related to each other. Mutual intelligibility between Kurdish dialects is controversial. For example, Mackenzie states that it is difficult for Kurds using different dialects to communicate, meaning they are unable to communicate efficiently in all contexts, largely because of differences in vocabulary and pronunciation (Thackston, 2003: p.10). Aside from all the differences mentioned in terms of morphology, phonology and written style, these dialects are mutually understandable to native Kurdish speakers, especially for educated and urban people (Jukil, 2004: pp.69-70).

Dialect differences are now being taught at school in Iraqi Kurdistan, so young learners, in particular, have more opportunities to learn about other dialects. Also, there is a great deal of consistency in the basic grammatical structure and in most of the lexis of both dialects.

It is easy to note that the impact of prestige upon these dialects is considerable. For example, in Iraq each dialect of Kurdish is mutually intelligible, though it is more likely that a Kurmanji speaker will understand a Sorani speaker than vice-versa (Thackston, 2003: p.10). Accordingly, the current study does not attempt to analyse the English loan words in all other dialects; however, it focuses on the loan words that are used in Sorani written texts.


## 1.8   Writing Style in the Kurdish Dialect

These two dialects of Kurdish are different in their writing system. Kurmanji is written in a variety of alphabets. For example, the modified Turkish Latin alphabet is used by Kurdish people who live in Turkey and Europe, and Kurds who lives in Syria use the Latin script when they write Kurdish (Thackston, 2006: p.ix), while, the Kurmanji dialect in the Kurdistan region is written in Arabic alphabet.

The Central Kurdish dialect uses Arabic orthography and script. The Arabic alphabet has 28 letters which, in writing the Central dialect, are supplemented by twelve extra letters to represent Kurdish sounds that do not exist in Arabic. Kurdish linguists reformed the Arabic alphabet by deleting some phonemes from Arabic as $<$ث$> = $ / θ /, $<$ذ$> = $ / ð /, $ <$ص$> = $ /ß/, $<$ض$> = $ /∂/, $<$ط$> = $ /†/ and $< $ظ$ > = $ /Ω/, which do not correspond to

phonemes in Kurdish (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.50). However, in the Kurdish alphabet some phonemes are added as <ڵ> = /ł/, <ڕ> = /ř/, <چ> = /ʧ/, <ڤ> = /v/, <گ> = /g/, <ج> = / ʤ /, <پ> = /p/, <ئ> = /e/, <ۆ> = / ɒ /, <وو> = /u: /, <ه> = /a/ and <ئ> = /ʔ/.

The Arabic alphabet is written from right to left and makes no distinctions between capital and lower case (Nabaz, 1976: p.79). This alphabet is used to represent the sounds of the words as closely as possible. There are different accents within the Central dialect, but written documents are usually represented in the Sulemani accent. This script is used in all the official documents in the region.

In contrast, the Northern dialect uses the Turkish adaptation of the Latin script, with five additional letters (Ç /tʃ/, Ê /ɛ/, Î /i: /, Û /u: /, Ş /ʃ/) (Thackston, 2006: pp.1-4). In keeping with the conventions of the Roman alphabet, the Northern dialect is written from left to right and uses capitals for names.

The use of the Latin script for the Northern dialect was introduced by Jaladat Badrxan, one of the most well-known Kurdish writers, linguists and journalists of the inter-war period, who published a Kurdish cultural magazine called *Hawar* in 1932 and 1933 (Hasanpoor, 1999: pp.44-45 and Haig and Matras, 2002: p.4). The first 23 issues used the Arabic script, but from issue 24 onward (1932), the magazine switched to the Latin alphabet (Ibid). This decision drove the development and spread of the Latin alphabet in the Northern dialect area (Nabaz, 1976: p.84).

The following examples shows some differences between the two dialects beyond their written form, in which the Northern dialect use the Latin script with initial capital letter, while the Central use the Arabic script with no capital:

- Ji bo rojên bê, az plan u bernaman çêdikim[41].          (Northern dialect)

 [For day coming, I am plan and programme making].          (word for word translation)

- بۆ رۆژانى داهاتوو پلان و پرۆگرامان داناو          (Central dialect)

(word for word translation)          [making I am programme and plan coming

                                                                 days for]

---

[41] The Latin Kurmanji script as in Table 1.

-   I am organising plans and a programme for the coming days.  (fluent English translation)

The data for this study consists of samples of written Kurdish, supplemented by the Arabic alphabet. In the current study, these are presented in the original Arabic alphabet and have then been transliterated in the Latin script, with translations in English. However, for the Northern examples, where available, the Latin Kurmanji script is used with the translation in English (see Table 1). The rationale for shifting from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin script in this study is for the sake of the reader's understanding of the translation scheme of the loan words in the articles; although the original texts read from right to left, the word for word English translations read from left to right to ensure comparability. In addition, using Arabic script shows how the English loan words are written and used in the Kurdish data collected for this study.

Table 1 shows a contrast among the groups of alphabets used by Northern, Central and Southern dialects of the Kurdish language; in addition it shows the Yekgirtu system, which is provided by the Kurdish Academy of language.

Many Kurdish linguists have agreed that there is an urgent need to standardise the writing system across the Kurdish dialects to revive and promote the use of the Kurdish language, to facilitate communication and to create a stronger sense of nationhood (Nebez, 1976: p.25). Likewise, Hasanpoor (1999: p.21) and Abdulla (1980: p.209) focus on the process of standardising the writing style of the Kurdish language and argue that this strengthens the language. Since the 1930s, numerous efforts have been made to standardise the language by Romanising all Kurdish dialects, though we have seen that this did not succeed across all dialects and thereby introduced even more variation into written Kurdish (Edmond, n.d.: p.4).

Romanisation still persists and the movement towards this has been renewed once more in recent years. A new unified system of writing using the Roman alphabet, called *Yekgirtu* has been introduced with a common alphabet by the Kurdish Academy of Language (KAL)[42]. The KAL is an electronic non-governmental organization; it is more

---

[42] Kurdish Academy of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/2. (Accessed: 10th February 2012).

of an influential body rather than an official one. Its work began in 1992 when it was formed by a group of global Kurdish linguists. The KAL is most often used in the absence of stronger sources of information about the fundamental bases of Kurdish language and its writing system, but it offers informative explanations that facilitate the better understanding of Kurdish language. Most specifically, it houses all the discussions about overcoming the limitations of the Kurdish writing system. Thus, to some extent, KAL has succeeded in addressing this problem[43] (see Table 1). The KAL believes that Yekgirtu may help to provide the Kurds with easy access to the internet via communication networks such as Facebook and Twitter, as well as to other electronic media[44]. Political discourse across boundaries from social media plays an important role in the Kurdish nationalist cause, especially in the modern era, and Edmond (n.d., p.4) states that:

"Politically Kurdish language and dialect has never been so important an issue, with the capacity to change the political landscape of the Middle East. While the role of a unified Kurdish language or alphabet can fulfill both academic and nationalistic goals simultaneously, it is, however, imperative that the wider academic community itself remain as impartial as possible in this regard, difficult as this may be".

Linguistically, it can be said that having all these issues in a language is quite a normal phenomenon, while politically they would have their effects. For instance, the inequality that Kurds have faced from state governments may provoke a continuous response to this inequality and the absence of a national identity. Protecting the Kurdish language from incursions has become emblematic of patriotic pride.

The Yekgirtu system brings different arguments among linguists. Some agree that both the Latin and Arabic scripts should be used since the system will be introduced officially[45]. The KAL and Sabir (2008) states that before a unified alphabet can be introduced, it would be necessary to achieve consensus among speakers of the various dialects of Kurdish

---

[43] Kurdish Academy of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/1. (Accessed: 10th November 2016).

[44] Kurdish Academy of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/2. (Accessed: 10th February 2012).

[45] Ibid.

| International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) | Yekgirtu (proposed unified Kurdish script) | Northern (Latin Kurmanji script) | Central and Southern dialect (both modified Arabic alphabet) |
|---|---|---|---|
| /a: / | A a | A a | ا |
| /b/ | B b | B b | ب |
| /tʃ/ | C c | Ç ç | چ |
| /d/ | D d | D d | د |
| /a/ | E e | E e | ه |
| /ʔ/ | 'E 'e | E e | ئ |
| /e/ | 'E 'e | Ê ê | ئ |
| /f/ | F f | F f | ف |
| /g/ | G g | G g | گ |
| /h/ | H h | H h | ه |
| /ħ/ | 'H h | H h | ح |
| /ɪ/ | I i | I i | ى[46] |
| /i: / | Í í | Î î | یى |
| /dʒ/ | J j | C c | ج |
| /ʒ/ | JH jh | J j | ژ |
| /k/ | K k | K k | ك |
| /l/ | L l | L l | ل |
| /ɫ/ | L l | (ł) does not exist | ڵ |
| /m/ | M m | M m | م |
| /n/ | N n | N n | ن |
| /ɒ/ | O o | O o | ۆ |

---

[46] Usually used in the middle position.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /p/ | P p | P p | پ |
| /q/ | Q q | Q q | ق |
| /r/ | R r | R r | ر |
| /ř/ | R r | R r | ڕ |
| /s/ | S s | S,s | س |
| /ʃ/ | Sh sh | Ş ş | ش |
| /t/ | T t | T t | ت |
| /ʊ/ | U u | U u | و |
| /u: / | Ú ú | Û û | وو |
| /v/ | V v | V v | ڤ |
| /W/ | W w | W w | و |
| /x/ | X x | X x | خ |
| /ɤ/ | Ẋ ẋ | Ẋ ẋ | غ |
| /ʕ/ | 'E 'e | E e | ع |
| /j/ | Y y | Y y | ى |
| /z/ | Z z | Z z | ز |

Table 1:  Kurdish alphabet systems (Yekgirtu, Latin and Arabic scripts)[47]

## 1.9   Research Aims and Questions

This study has three main aims. First, it aims to explore the extent to which Kurdish journalists have adopted English loan words when writing in Kurdish newspapers. The study thus identifies English loan words in a sample of political articles in a daily newspaper published in the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

My original hypothesis was that the frequency of English loan words will have increased recently in comparison to Arabic. Therefore, the frequency of Arabic loan word use are analysed, alongside the English loan words used within the data collected, since some Kurdish linguists (Abdulla 1980, Hassanpour 1992 and Hasanpoor, 1999) argue that the process of borrowing in the case of Kurds is not only a linguistic phenomenon but they are also a social and political and related to the national, ethnic and cultural identities of Kurds. Therefore, one of the aims is to show the frequency of Arabic loan words in the selected years and compare them with the use of English loan words. Also, the study attempts to examine the semantic distribution of political English loan words and their frequency of use diachronically.

It is widely acknowledged that the Kurdish language is affected by loan words from Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and much research has already been conducted into this subject (Abdulla 1980: p.88, Hasanpoor, 1999: p.2 and Yildiz and Akbarov, 2012: p.425). However, this study seeks to discover the impact of English loan words on the Central Kurdish dialect, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques to address the following questions:

- How are English loan words modified (phonetically, morphologically and semantically) in the Central Kurdish dialect?
- What are the diachronic adaptation in terms of phonology, morphology, semantic and orthography?
- What are the hierarchies of borrowability in the Central Kurdish dialect?
- What parts of speech are most frequently borrowed from English?
- Has there been any change in the frequency of use of English and Arabic loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect during the period studied (1993 to 2013)?
- What is the semantic distribution of the political English loan words in Kurdish political discourse?

## 1.10 Significance of the Study

The current study is important for a number of reasons. There are a limited number of studies of English loan words in Kurdish, none of which is systematic or thorough in its consideration of the various linguistic aspects of loan words. This study aims to help clarify the processes of linguistic transfer from English to the Central Kurdish dialect and to investigate the adaptation of English loan words to the new lexical Kurdish structure system.

Many Kurdish linguists and politicians see the purity of the Kurdish language as symbolic of the survival of the Kurdish people and their culture (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.159). This study provides a different perspective on this debate, by exploring and offering a better understanding of the value of loan words in modernizing and enriching Kurdish political discourse. Documenting these findings will help to provide a clear understanding of the use of English loan words and the effect they have on the language, which will help native speakers and writers to realise the difference between the linguistic transfer, where English words are borrowed into Kurdish, and problems of linguistic interference, where Arabic words are borrowed into Kurdish.

Therefore, in this case it may help the writers to be selective in the appropriation process, and only use English words as a lexical resource to fill their lexical gap in the Central Kurdish dialect, rather than use it as a language of power on the Central dialect like the Arabic language had it before 1991.

This point has more a political agenda, it may help Kurdish purists to know about the gaps, should they wish to fill them. It may also assist Kurdish linguists, who are interested in producing an etymological dictionary, to standardise and unify the use of loan words in terms of phonology, morphology, semantics and orthographic appearance of the loan words in the Kurdish articles. For example, some of the loan words are performed with more than one spelling and pronunciation in Kurdish articles sampled in this study; for example, *shovel* is pronounced as /ʃɒvɫ/ and /ʃɒfɫ/. This difference in appearance might cause difficulty, especially for those who have a limited knowledge of English language.

In addition, it will provide a comprehensive record of the appearance of the current loan words in the Central dialect contexts. This will help to show the historical dimensions of loan words in different perspectives by providing the chronology of historical facts, following two significant political changes in the Kurdistan region of Iraq: the Kurdish

uprising in 1991 and the invasion of Iraq by allied forces in 2003. The data also illustrates the subsequent development of the governmental and administrative systems of the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

Alongside the cultural impact, this study will interpret the role of loan words with regards to communication and language contact. It will do this by showing how the Kurdish community in this region of Iraq has forged connections with foreign cultures, specifically those that are English-speaking. Finally, it provides a detailed analysis of English loan words, which can also be beneficial for upcoming studies in this field.


## 1.11 Outline of the Study

This study covers the following contents in seven chapters:

Chapter one is the 'Introduction', dealing with the historical background of Kurds, their origin, country, language, dialects and geographical distribution. It also provides a summary of the current study, discussing its aims, research questions, significance and limitations.

Chapter two is 'Borrowing Theories and Literature Review'. This chapter examines previous research on the use of loan words in Kurdish, and looks at the significance of this study in comparison to earlier research. It also discusses theories of borrowing, including language contact and related terminologies such as bilingualism, interference and code switching. The main characteristics of loan words and the structure and movements are also critically discussed.

Chapter three is 'Methodology'. This chapter gives an overview of the data collected and outlines the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The chapter clarifies the mathematical procedure applied to the data and offers a historical perspective about the source.

Chapter four is the 'Phonological Adaptation of English Loan Words in Central Kurdish Dialect'. This chapter reviews the relevant literature in the field and presents the sound systems of the spoken Kurdish and English languages. The aim is to classify the differences and similarities between the two dialects. The chapter then focuses on an analysis and discussion of data in terms of the phonological adaptation of English loan

words. This is undertaken by classifying the data into two categories: modified loan words and unmodified loan words. The data is then qualitatively and quantitatively analysed.

Chapter five is the 'Morphological Adaptation of English Loan Words in Central Kurdish Dialect'. In a similar vein to the previous chapter, it reviews the relevant literature in the field and presents the basic morphological structures of both languages. Subsequently, the morphological changes that are applied to English borrowed items are discussed.

Chapter six is the 'Semantic Adaptation of English Loan Words in Central Kurdish Dialect', which begins with an overview of relevant literature in the field. This penultimate chapter analyses the semantic change in the use of English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect. It also shows how English loan words have become increasingly valuable in this dialect by highlighting the most frequently used loan words. In addition it shows the diachronic semantic distribution of loan words.

Chapter seven is the 'Conclusion'. It summaries the findings from the study and offers recommendations for further research.

# 2 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1 Introduction

Kurdistan is a multi-lingual region, so Kurdish speakers have had extensive contact with nearby language communities. This long-term social contact between multilingual communities has resulted in many different types of language mixing phenomena. For this reason, the Kurdish native speaker may, intentionally or unconsciously, introduce features at different levels, of the various languages to which they have been exposed. When different languages undergo interaction on a temporary or casual basis, they often share words with each other (Haugen, 1950: p.210, Appel and Muysken, 1987: p.251 and Crystal, 2010: p.48). These loans may be temporary, or may become permanent in the borrowed language; they may retain their foreignness or become fully integrated and productive in their new linguistic context.

Kurdish shares some of its basic lexis with related Indo-Iranian languages, and has been influenced, in different countries, by a variety of linguistic and cultural impacts. For example, Iraqi and Syrian Kurds have contact with Arabic cultural and educational systems; and therefore have accepted a significant number of Arabic words. Kurds in Turkey have borrowed words from Turkish and Kurds in Iran have adopted Persian lexis.

This chapter reviews the literature of lexical borrowing in the Central Kurdish dialect, as well as language contact, with specific reference to loan words in Kurdish. It also defines and describes the types and features of loan words related to the data collected for this study. The main characteristics of loan words and their structure and movements are also critically discussed here.

This study will also show how the level of language contact the impact on loan words in Kurdish, relating to the principle of Thomason and Kaufman's theory (1988), using examples collected from a Kurdish newspaper. Alongside borrowing, this chapter also deals with some basic notions and related terminologies that are vital, to be recognized differently from borrowing, for this study such as interference, as well as bilingualism and code switching in Kurdish, although these are beyond the scope of this thesis. The aim of identifying these notions is to make it clear how loan words are different or similar to related phenomena.

There has been a great deal of research on borrowing in different languages, so this literature review focuses on studies of loan words within Kurdish. It will then show what makes this study different from others, and look at the significance of it in comparison to earlier research.

## 2.2   Borrowing or Loan Word

The process of language contact and change has been studied from a number of different perspectives, with each field of expertise developing its own focus and terminology. In their extensive study of loan words in 41 languages Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: p.55) state that loan words are a common and universal phenomenon, and are found in all languages with varying average rates.

Providing a proper definition of borrowing is challenging since linguists have used many different terminologies. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus that loan words or borrowings are linguistic elements which are taken from one language (the donor language or the model language) and used in another (the recipient language) (Haugen, 1950: p.212, Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: p.37, Myers-Scotton, 2006: pp.209-211 and Curnow, 2001: p.413). Hudson (2000: p.246) and Myers-Scotton (2006: p.209) argue that the terms are synonymous, but they refer only to lexical loans and not grammatical features in their understanding of *borrowing*, whereas Haugen treats loan words as a specific type of borrowing (1950: p.213).

As a pioneer in this field, Haugen defines borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (1950: p.212). Haugen is non-specific in his definition because he does not explain the concept of *pattern,* but he certainly includes linguistic items within his definition. In this definition, Haugen focuses on the overall process of borrowing and describes borrowing as a process rather than a state.  He explores the integration of foreign patterns into another language, seeing the foreign language as dominant and treating it as "the model" (1950: p.212).

Hudson defines *borrowing* as "just taking a word from another language" (2000: p.246). In contrast, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: p.36) and Thomason (2001: p.236) state that *borrowing* is a synonym of *adoption*, i.e. is a common word used for all kinds of "transfer or copying processes" (Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009: p.36) which are adopted from

donor languages into the recipient language. Alternatively, Görlach (2003) focused on borrowing in a restricted context by looking only at *Anglicisms*. He defined *Anglicism* as "a word or idiom that is recognisably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language" (2003: p.1). This term is rarely used by other researchers in the field (but see Petryshyn, 2014: pp.6, 40-41 and 52, who uses it synonymously with the more general *loan word* and *borrowing* in his study of English influence on Ukrainian and Russian), perhaps because it may have negative connotations from his purist perspective.

Clearly *Anglicism* deals only with borrowing from English, whereas borrowing is not limited to any specific language. Having a specific term for borrowing from English might be due to the current awareness of some linguists that English is an international and dominant language in many fields, whether it be technology and science, power and politics or economics. It is notable that Görlach includes in his definition only those words that keep their original form i.e. he excluded those loan words which may have partly or fully adapted to the structure of the recipient language, which is presumably a process of nativisation rather than Anglicization. The data in this study and previous research (Abdulla, 1980 and Hasanpoor, 1999) state that most loan words have been fully or partly adapted at various linguistic levels in the Kurdish language.

In this study, *loan word* is used to refer specifically to lexical borrowing. Loan words are a sub-type of borrowing, which includes non-lexical linguistic influence as vocabulary (lexical item and lexeme), but also sound patterns, syntactic patterns and even cultural of one language upon another.

## 2.3   The Features of Loan Word

There are different possible characteristics for loan words according to various language situations. In general, there are two main categories of linguistic borrowing: lexical borrowings (also known as loan words) and extra-lexical borrowings such as structural, phonological, phonetic and syntactic borrowing. Crystal (2010: p.48), Curnow (2001: p.417) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988: p.14) claim that any linguistic item might potentially be borrowed. The possibility of borrowing some items is, however, larger than others. Thomason (2001) claims that vocabulary is borrowed before structure, but certain

borrowing of structure would occur if there was concentrated contact between two languages, i.e. if there were more bilinguals of the donor language in the recipient language. Also, according to Curnow (2001: pp.425-426), borrowing vocabulary comes at the top of the language structure pyramid and it is then followed by morphology, phonology and syntax. Additionally, Crystal (2010: p.48) claims that linguists do not regularly talk about *loan pronunciation*, *loan spelling* and *loan grammar*, all of which are found in the process of language borrowing. The collected data for this study provides many examples of loan words, but no examples of extra-lexical borrowings. This is followed by morphology as some suffixes are borrowed.

Loan words have certain common features. Myers-Scotton observes that words are generally borrowed, "from the more prestigious language to the less prestigious one" (2006: p.211) and this is true of most of the loan words in Kurdish. What makes one language more prestigious than another varies by time and location, but Myers-Scotton observes that speakers of the prestigious language often control most of the valued resources such as political authority, social life and key economic sectors.

For example, during the 1970s and 1980s, speakers of Arabic had political power in the Kurdish region of Iraq, and as a result of this, their standard of living and education were both of a higher level and considered to be more elegant. The use of Arabic loan words became a mark of education and prestige in all domains of life in the region. Jukil (2004: p.70) indicates that  most of Kurdish speakers studied Arabic during this period, starting in their earliest stages at schools and not finishing until university, so that those who were more highly educated would have a better command of written Arabic. In this way, Arabic loan words functioned as markers of educational level before the 1990s.  Here, it is indicated that the language of power or of state can be the language of prestige. This is the circumstance in a long socio-cultural interface between the governing states and the nations ruled. There is a non-stop struggle between the Kurds and the state. Kurdish competes with Arabic and has been able to replace or supplement it in several domains, as in the system of education, administration, private communication and in the broadcasting media, printed and visual (Jukil, 2004: p.45). More recently, Arabic has been supplanted by English as the higher prestige language in the region. English has been particularly influential in different spheres as technology education, politics, economy and science progressively since 2003 (see section 2.4).

In the data collected for this thesis, some English loan words were repeated frequently in the newspapers' selected articles, including *group* (which occurs a total of 37 times in six years), *factor* (37 occurrences), *centre* (27 occurrences), and *ideology* (31 occurrences). As these words have become so frequent in Kurdish, writers might use them merely to make their writing appear more stylish so it is likely to be a social reason rather than a linguist one, or use them out of habit, even though there are native equivalents in each case: (komel), (hokar), (nawend) and (biroke), respectively (Karadaghi, 2009: pp.20, 45, 57 and 68). These examples of "core borrowing" (Myers-Scotton, 2006: p.215), might be a result of the prestige of English and the culture associated with it. For this to occur, it does not matter if English is widely spoken in the Kurdish community or not (Myers-Scotton, 2006: pp. 216-217). However, linguistic factors do sometimes play an important role in borrowing and high frequency of use are used to fill the lexical gaps in Kurdish such as *democracy, parliament, party, federal* (see section 6.9).

The adaptation process is another feature in which the English loan words are commonly adapted to the structure of the Central Kurdish dialect. This process is a unique feature of loan words, and is confirmed by different researchers in different languages, such as Haugen (1950: p.216), Aitchison (2001: p.142), Hoffmann (2011: p.137) and Petryshyn (2014: p.5). During this process, according to Aitcheson (2001: p.142), words have to be shifted into the structure of the recipient language through a process which Hudson (2000: p.247) called the nativisation of loan words, and Hasanpoor (1999: pp.24 and 153) described as the Kurdification of loan words.

The nativisation process occurs at different levels. Almost all of the loan words in my data are nativised in spelling by being presented in the Arabic alphabet as <گروپ> = *grup* (group); <فاشیست> = *fashist* (fascist) and <بایکۆت> = *baykot* (boycott) (see section 6.6). This type of nativasation may occur too when the recipient and donor language have the same written style. For example, there is a spelling nativisation of some Arabic loan words in Kurdish, where the two dots are deleted form the Arabic words <سیارة> = seyare (car) when borrowed by Kurdish and becomes <سیاره>, because <ة> does not exist in the Kurdish alphabet structure. Also, the data shows that there are a significant number of English loan words that are changed phonologically as in channel /ˈtʃænəl/ which is changed to <کەناڵ> /kana:ɫ/ in the Central dialect as a result of phonological adaptation (see Chapter Four).

## 2.4  The Contact Between English and the Central Kurdish Dialect

A new period of language contact began when American and British forces came to Iraq in 2003. In the beginning, the contact was restricted, being largely military in nature. Due to the small number of these forces in the Kurdistan region of Iraq at that time and the unstable political situation, there was limited contact with the Kurdish population at large. However, through more extensive business and educational contacts, English has since become a more wide-spread source of borrowing, mainly in the areas of technology education, politics, economy and science (The English Effect, 2013: p.5). This motivates Kurdish speakers to learn English for personal advancement by access to the international lingua franca (Jukil, 2004: p.65).

Driven by the desire for personal advancement and by contact with English speakers, large numbers of younger Kurdish speakers want to learn English and speak it well (Jukil, 2004: p.65). There are several factors that motivate young Kurdish speakers in the Kurdistan region to learn English. Firstly, the promotion of English as an international language became a deliberate government policy under the democratically elected government of the region, which has set out plans for economic, political and educational development[48]. As a result of an advanced era of economic growth, many British, American, Canadian and other foreign companies have started to work in Kurdistan, and it seems possible that economic forces may result in English being used more than Arabic in the area, though the use of Arabic in the religious sphere is unlikely to be significantly reduced. The government encourages and provides information and facilities relating to foreign investors and the English language is the main medium of communication with these companies[49]. This means that people who are fluent in English have access to more employment opportunities and to significantly higher salaries.

Secondly, the Kurdistan Regional Government is currently seeking to extend its diplomatic relationships, particularly in North America and Europe. For example, there is now a strong link between the Kurdish government and the United Kingdom (UK). The KRG strictly follows the political developments, in the UK by participating and meeting

---

[48]  The  KRG  high  REPRESENTATION  to  the  UK,  http://uk.
gov.krd/pages/page.aspx?lngnr=12&smap=030000&pnr=25. (Accessed: 5th  March 2014)

[49] Ibid

with Members of Parliament, as well as governmental and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). The English language is used as the point of contact in these meetings[50]. For these reasons, the KRG has made it a priority for English to be taught systematically as a school subject and assigned it as the language of technology education, politics, economy and science. At this time, there are a considerable number of Kurdish students applying for scholarships to study for postgraduate degrees in well-known international universities in the UK, America, Europe, Australia and Asia[51]. More than 50% of Kurdish students funded to study abroad by "the KRG-HCDP Scholarship program" have studied in UK universities (Hawlati, 2011), and applicants' fluency in English is tested as part of the application process.

Finally, there is a general reason that motivates individual Kurdish citizens to learn English which is not just about personal advancement: English is also the language of western popular culture. English has progressively become the effective system for universal culture and conversations about it. According to a British Council report of 2013, English became the dominant global language in the 21st century (The English Effect, 2013: p.7). It is spoken by a quarter of the world's population as the main language of communication through social media, information technology, science, entertainment (film, music), economy and diplomacy (Ibid). This has led to a situation in which people from different cultures come into contact with and through English. By this means, features from one culture transfer to others (Heath, 1984: p.393). In turn, this cultural relationship between the people of the Kurdistan Region and foreign culture, in which English is used as "lingua franca", has led to further linguistic borrowing.

During the era of language contact between English and Kurdish, many English words have been borrowed into Kurdish; while only three Kurdish words *'Kurd'* "Origin: A borrowing from Kurdish" [52]; *'Kermanji'* "Etymology: Kurdish" [53] and *'Peshmerga'*

---

[50] The KRG high REPRESENTATION to the UK, http://uk. gov.krd/pages/page.aspx?lngnr=12&smap=030000&pnr=25. (Accessed: 5th March 2014).

[51] Mistry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, www.mhe-krg.org/node/249. (Accessed: 2nd January 2014).

[52] "A member of a mainly Islamic people living mostly in northern Iran and Iraq, Syria, eastern Turkey, and regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia (the area being collectively known as *Kurdistan*), and speaking Kurdish, a language of the Iranian group". "Kurd, n. and adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 26 November 2016.

[53] "A language of the Iranian group spoken by the Kurds of Kurdistan". "Kermanji, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 5 September 2016.

"Origin: A borrowing from Kurdish" [54], are listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as Kurdish loan words in English.

## 2.5 Theories of Borrowing

The contacts between the speakers of different languages often result in extensive language change. Weinreich (1953), who first talked about 'languages in contact', later clarified the concept by explaining that: "two or more languages are in contact if they are alternately used by the same persons" (Weinreich, 1966: p.1). Weinreich's understanding of language contact relies on a language community that includes bilingual speakers. Through this existing bilingualism in the community, a range of changes occur through the impact of one language's structure on the other through borrowing, interference and code switching (Matras, 2011: p.207). The boundaries, if clear boundaries there are, between these phenomena depend on the level of contact between languages and bilingualism in the community.

According to Thomason and Kaufman, when there is language contact among bilinguals, borrowing occurs (1988: p.37). The disparity in types of borrowing, whether they are lexical or extra-lexical elements, is determined by the situation, time and place as well as the level of contact. During the borrowing process, in general the first foreign features to enter the recipient language are lexicals. Based on the theoretical hierarchy of borrowing by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: pp.20-21 and 74-75), lexical borrowing is a result of casual contact. With this type of contact, the degree of bilingualism would be at an early stage, so lexical borrowing frequently takes place without widespread bilingualism. The type of borrowing that occurs in this study shows that most of the borrowed items from English to Kurdish are in the framework of lexical items. In 2004, Jukil observed that there was only a small group of English bilinguals in Kurdistan (2004: p.70). This accords with McMahon's (1994: p.200) argument, that borrowing is not dependent on bilingualism: lexical borrowing from one language to another often takes place without widespread bilingualism, or may be based on a small group of bilinguals of both the recipient and donor language. According to McMahon's point of view, the small group

---

[54] pēšmerge. "A member of a Kurdish nationalist revolutionary army established in the early 1960s". "peshmerga, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 5 September 2016.

of bilinguals in the Kurdish community would have been sufficient to control the spread of lexical borrowing amongst the monolingual majority.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: pp.37-38) further argue that bilingualism which results in prolonged contact between the recipient and the donor languages can lead to interference in extra-lexical elements, including phonetic, syntactic and inflectional influence (Weinreich, 1966: p.1 and Myers-Scotton, 2006: p.210). There are no examples of these types of interference in the data relevant to this study. Since most Kurdish speakers are bilinguals speaking either Arabic, Turkish or Persian alongside their first language (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.18 and Jukil 2004: pp.65-66), there might be interference of some linguistic features from these languages. For example, as a result of the prolonged contact between Arabic and Kurdish, most of the previous research on Kurdish, as the Kurdish Academy of Language[55] and Haig and Matras (2002: p.5) observe that the phonemes /ʕ/ = <ع>, /q/ = <ق> / and /ɤ/ = <غ> and / ħ / = <ح> have been borrowed from Arabic and incorporated into the phonological structure of Kurdish.

Code-switching also requires some degree of bilingualism (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: pp.96 and 241, Lipski, 2005: p.1 and Myers-Scotton, 2006: p.234). Gumperz (1982: p.59) defines it as "juxtaposition of elements from two (or more) languages or dialects", and these elements are not used frequently in different contexts and keep their semantic features, as in the source language (Dako, 2002: p.50). According to Crystal, code switching frequently occurs in an informal context (1992: pp.69-70). Thomason (2001: pp.69-70) states that it is not necessary that borrowers should be native speakers. For example, when Kurdish native speakers speak English fluently, they can introduce English items into Kurdish as a loan word. According to Thomason, introducing English into this situation does not mean that the speaker has not succeeded in mastering the mother tongue language or there is no equivalent Kurdish word, but simply that the speaker wants to use specific convenient English words whilst speaking Kurdish. So the English words is a temporary item rather than introducing it as borrowing. However if the temporary item is repeated or used by other English native speakers, it is called

---

[55] The Kurdish Academy of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/3. (Accessed: 10th February 2012).

borrowing. In this situation, it is more likely to be called code switching rather than a temporary item.

There is no example of code-switching in the data relevant to this study, although Jukil (2004) and Zebari (2012) provide examples of switching from Kurdish to Arabic as a result of bilingualism in Kurdish society. Jukil (2004: pp.50-53 and 64), Hasanpoor (1999: pp.18 and 25) and Zebari (2012: p.2460) affirm that the Kurdish community use two or more languages in conversations as the norm rather than as an extraordinary phenomenon. Furthermore, all of them indicated that most of the Kurdish people in the Kurdistan region of Iraq are bilingual in Arabic and Kurdish. For example, Zebari (2012: p.2462) shows code switching through sentence borders:

- "pərlamaːniː berjjaːr da ku həlbežaːrtin na hena taʔǰiːl krin.. kut **ʔ**iǰraː**ʔ** al?intixabaːt fiː

  [Parliament   decision  issue to elections not delay said perform the-elections

  maww9ediha al moHaddaːd"[56].            (Northern dialect)

   in appointment the specific]            [word for word translation]
- The parliament decided that there is no delay of the appointment of elections. (Fluent English translation).


From the above example, the speaker uses Kurdish in the first part of the sentence *pərlamaːniː berjjaːr da ku həlbežaːrtin na hena taʔǰiːl krin.. kut*, and switches to Arabic in the second part, which explains what the parliament decided: *ʔiǰraːʔ al?intixabaːt fiː maww9ediha al moHaddaːd*. Here, since parliament conducts its discussions in Arabic and that code-switching presents the outcome of that discussion as if it were direct speech. Bilingual speakers also use code switch between English and Kurdish.

- I am really sick, serm d'eshy[57].

                    [head I suffering]            (word for word transaltion)
- I am really sick, (I have headache).            (fluent English)

---

[56] Kurdish sentence cited in Zebari (2012: 2462).
[57] This example comes from a conversation in which I was a participant.

It is useful to distinguish between borrowings and code-switching, although in practice it is not always easy to separate them and decisions may be influenced by the methodological and theoretical approach of the researcher. Notably, throughout the data collection process, the problem of attributing the word of code switching or borrowing to a vital total of cases faced, therefore several clear procedures were needed to distinguish between the aforementioned terms. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: pp.35-36) state that any foreign items that occur in a particular context tend to be either code switching or lexical borrowing. More specifically, even though some of the research in this field does not agree on a clear and precise prosedure to make differences between code switching and browning, although different linguists have attempted to show specific characteristics to individual term, such as Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988); Appel and Muysken (1987), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and Myers-Scotton (2006).

For example, Thomason and Kaufman state that borrowing, unlike code switching, includes one item because a non- native clause does not occur accidently in a sentence unless the speaker or writer wants to convey their message clearly by switching to the foreign elements. Based on this, and for the purpose of this study, all the single English linguistic items have been identified as loan words, those items which have been incorporated in the lexicon of Kurdish. Some English phrases are used by the writers as clarification for the readers. For instance, the *MOH* (memorandum of understanding) is used within the Kurdish texts in addition to the use of the native equivalent beside as ‹بیانامەی لێکتێگەیشتن› , and it accepted as a loan word.

Appel and Muysken (1987: p.172) assume that the morphological and phonological structures of the borrowed items are adapted to the structure of the recipient language. On other hand, Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988: p.93) state that phonological adaptation occurs in both code switching and borrowing, but morphological adaptation will only occur in borrowing. Similar to Poplack, Sankoff and Miller, Tatsioka (2008: p.135) states that the extent of the linguistic adaption process might be a sufficient way to distinguish between borrowing and code switching. This process may be rare when using a foreign item for the first time. However, it may occur after a series of uses of foreign items by the speaker, since borrowing is a historical change which is settled in the host language. In most cases loan words are fully adapted into the structure of the recipient language, and appear to be native words, but in code switching there is a obvious boundary between the items of two languages. The current study deals with those items which do not suddenly

occur in the Kurdish language, and more often than not are used in the Kurdish articles as borrowing. In addition, almost all of the collected loan words are adapted into the structure of the Kurdish language in different respects (details are in Chapters Four, Five and Six).

The Appel and Muysken views are difficult due to the logical reason that not all non-adapted features are good evidence of code switching, as there might be a different degree of loan words adaptions. For example, Heath (1984: p.69) states that some loan words are not fully adapted to the phonological and morphological structure of the recipient language i.e. they maintain the form they had in the donor language. Likewise, Hasanpoor (1999: pp.140, 153-154) shows that there are a number of Arabic and Persian linguistic borrowings that are used in Kurdish with exactly the same phonological and morphological character as in Arabic and Persian. On the other hand, the ideas of Poplack Sankoff and Miller (1988), Myers-Scotton (2006) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988: p.96) are more applicable to the data of this study. When they indicate that borrowing only refers to lexical items i.e. distinguish the feature of borrowing as no more than one word. Additionally, they agreed that any foreign word follows the word order of the recipient language and is accepted as borrowing words, whereas in the case of code switching, the foreign word follows the order of the donor language Myers-Scotton (2006: p.254).

## 2.6    Types of Loan Word

Haugen (1950), Crystal (1992) and Hoffman (2011) have classified loan words into different types according to their degree of incorporation in the recipient language, their rate of use in the speech community, and the sociolinguistic context of borrowing. Hoffman (2011: pp.103-104) also states that loan words may be classified geographically, according to the languages they are borrowed from, which are likely to be geographically contiguous. This statement is appropriate to the Arabic, Turkish and Persian loan words in Kurdish, since all these languages originated as neighbours, but it does not apply to the loan words from English that are the focus of this study.

Alternatively, Haugen (1950: p.212) classified loan words according to the degree of adaptation in the recipient language. They were classified as *imported*, when the loan word occurs as in the donor language and keeps its original form, or *substituted*, when

the loan word may slightly change so as to fit with the linguistic pattern of the recipient language. Imported lexical borrowings may be easier to identify, whilst substituted lexical borrowing may become more assimilated within the linguistic structure of the receipt language.

## 2.7 Haugen's Typology of Loan Word

Haugen (1950: pp.214-215) goes on to divide borrowing more precisely into loan words, hybrids (loan blends) and loan shifts according to the degree of morphemic substitution. This typology is widely used within the field (see, for example, Weinreich 1953: pp.50-53, Crystal 1992: pp.46-47 and Petryshyn 2014: p.12). The differences between these groups based on the morphological and phonological structure of the words and their meanings create in the donor language and are displayed in a recipient language.

Loan words (Haugen 1950: p.213) are those borrowings in which the meaning and phonemic characters of the loan word are both imported. Examples from the data collected for this study include *block, team* and *bill*, in which there is no change in the meaning or the phonemic form. Also, there are loan words that are borrowed using their exact meaning, but with some adjustment to their phonological shape so that it fits within the phonetic structure of Kurdish. An example of this would be the English form *side* /sʌɪd/. This diphthong does not occur in the Kurdish phonological structure, and thus /ʌɪ/ is changed to /ɑːj/, producing /sɑːjd/.

In hybrids (loan blends), the meaning is borrowed and the form consists partly of non-native morpheme and partly of native ones that correspond to foreign morphemes, i.e. there is only partial morphemic importation (Haugen 1950: p.214 and Crystal 1992: pp.46-47). Examples among the English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect, include *candidate*, from which the base <کاندید> = *candid* is borrowed, with the addition of the Kurdish suffix <کردن> = *krdn* (to produce) to create the word <کاندیدکردن> = *kandidkrdn* (to candidate) (see section 5.7, 5.7.1, 5.7.2, 5.7.3 and 5.7.4).

In loan shifts, the meaning is borrowed but the form is from the native language (Haugen, 1950: p.215). As the adaption of English word in Kurdish *principle* becomes <پرنسیپ > = *prnsip*. Haugen (1950: p.215) treats this type of borrowing as a *semantic loan* or *loan translation*, which involves the borrowing of only a novel meaning for an existing or new

55

word in the native language. Loan translation (calque) is a translating one by one morpheme into corresponding morphemes in Kurdish and structure of the English word (Crystal, 1992: p.54 ), such as *non-governmental organisation*, which becomes <ڕێکخراوه ناحکومییهکان> = *r'e kxrawe na hkumiekan*, in which the novel meaning is expressed in words that are native to Kurdish[58].

## 2.8    Previous Research into Attitudes to Loan Words in Kurdish

There are a few published and unpublished research articles on loan words in Kurdish from Arabic, Persian and Turkish. This section will provide a review of studies from the last fifty years, exploring their scope and limitations. These studies can be divided into two main groups: researchers who reject or resist borrowing in Kurdish and those who tolerate them.

During the 1970s and 1980s most studies lean towards a purist approach, seeing loan words as a threat to the integrity or character of Kurdish, and advocating their rejection as an effective means of ensuring the survival of the Kurdish language. It is probable that most of these Kurdish researchers (Basir, 1974, Abdulla, 1980, Hassanpour, 1992 and Hasanpoor, 1999) felt troubled by loan words in the Kurdish language because of their anxieties about Kurdish identity and nationhood. After the division of the Kurdish homeland across four nation states (Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria), the absence of a national identity to promote standardisation has inhibited the development of Kurdish into a strong and unified language and this has led to linguistic protectionism. For this reason, introducing loan words into the Kurdish language has created frustration and uncertainty among Kurdish speaking citizens (Basir, 1974). As a matter of fact, before the establishment of the Kurdistan region government, this was also a reaction to the inequality that Kurds have faced from their ruling governments, in that their efforts to protect the Kurdish language from incursions is emblematic of patriotic pride.

Most of the linguists that prescriptively reject borrowing, studied Arabic and Persian loan words. Their rejection is justified by sociopolitical reasons. This might be a reaction to the division of Kurdistan in the last centuries among the four neighboring states, as

---

[58] *r'e kxrawe* means organization and *na- hkumiekan* means non-governmental.

mentioned above. The Kurdish language has been repressed by the ruling authorities of these states and they have tried to weaken the language in various ways. The language of the states: Arabic, Turkish and Persian, became their official languages, and this is why the majority of Kurdish speakers are bilingual. Abdulla (1980) and Hasanpoor (1999) both see borrowing as a result of bilingualism. They explain that the majority of Kurdish speakers are bilinguals in Kurdish, Arabic, Persian or Turkish as a result of their contact with main language states and that some loan words are borrowed because they have more prestige than the Kurdish equivalent.

As a reaction to this, Kurds have experienced intolerance. Their national identity encourages them to protect the language from any kind of changes, of which borrowing would be one (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.21). From this viewpoint, they think borrowing may create a threat to the survival of the Kurdish people and their language. The whole process of purifying language has not been studied by Kurdish linguists systematically. Since the Kurdish purists who live in Iraqi Kurdistan are mostly in conflict with the Arab state, they are liable to reject Arabic loans in the Kurdish language structure. However, Kurdish purists in the Kurdish areas in Iran tend to feel more negatively towards Persian than Arabic loan words (Ibid).

In contrast, borrowing could be seen as strengthening the Kurdish language by filling lexical gaps and enabling it to function in a wide range of modern contexts actively promote this approach. Hasanpoor argues that lexical gaps in Kurdish should be filled by "coinage, internal borrowing[59], and other means of extending the lexical resources of the language" (1999: p.2). More recently, there has been a move to replace Arabic loan words with English ones in the Kurdish language (Edmond, n.d.: p.3). This study will examine this phenomenon by relative rates of English and Arabic borrowing, in the selected chosen years, in the political texts of Kurdish Iraq.

Additionally, Abdulla (1980: pp.178-179); Hasanpoor (1999: pp.44, 73, 78 and 176) and Thomason (2014) state that linguists, writers and poets tried to purify their language from Arabic loan words for the purpose of developing their language. Furthermore, Abdulla argues that one of the essential stages in the development of the Kurdish language is for those who mentioned above to purify it of any borrowed linguistic terms (Abdulla, 1980:

[59] It means to borrow words from other Kurdish dialects to fill the lexical gaps (Hasanpoor, 1999: 78).

p.203). He illustrates this position by asserting that "certainly the Kurdish language has been developed to a point where it can, without much reliance on Arabic express various scientific and social subjects taught in schools and even at college level where Kurdish is studied" (Abdulla, 1980: p.214). Practically, Abdulla shows how Kurdish developed by dropping the frequency of Arabic loan words. He found that 46.4 % of the total word count in his text sample from 1924 - 1939 consisted of Arabic loan words. This had come down to 9.58% of the total word count in the sample from 1939 - 1958 and to 4.4 % in the sample from 1958 - 1973, (Ibid: p.181).

Hassanpour (1992) and Hasanpoor (1999: pp.19, 22 and 35) explicates the mutually reinforcing relationship between creating a Kurdish nation and developing the Kurdish language. He stated that politics and government policies affect language standardisation and modernisation, and that borrowings also affect the standardisation and modernisation process in the Kurdish language. All the researchers argue that protection from loan words is one of the prerequisites for the successful development and maintenance of the Kurdish language.

In addition to this, some researcher as Basir (1974) seconded by Sajadi (1974, pp.148-178) and Aziz (2005: p.54) show their resistance to the reason for borrowing. They state that the process of borrowing may be harmful to Kurdish because having more loan words sometimes leads Kurdish speakers to use foreign words even where a native equivalent is available. Sometimes loan words are not needed to fill lexical gaps, but seem to have more prestige than the Kurdish equivalent. For instance, many speakers now use the Arabic word <مەكتەبە> = *'meketebe'* (library) in preference to the Kurdish <پەرتوكخانە> = *'pertukxane'* (library) and <تجارەت> = *'ticaret'* (trade) is often used instead of the native word <بازرگانی> *'bazrgany'* (trade). This is also evident in the data collected for this study, in which some articles use both an English loan word and the Kurdish equivalent side by side. There are some English loan words, such as *agenda* used instead of <بەرنامەی كار> = *'bernamey kar'*, and *idea* for the native word <بیرۆكە> *'biroke'* in the Central Kurdish dialect. In some articles, both the loan and native words are used at the same time (see Chapter Six). On the contrary, more recent commentators such as Mohideen (2009: p.5), argue that psychological factors motivate the use of English loan words, instead of native equivalents, and that this is appropriate in some cases because English is an international language and the language of technology. Using English loans in appropriate contexts signals modernity and sophistication to speakers and readers.

Some research into loan words in Kurdish accepts borrowing in some cases, arguing that borrowing is a normal linguistic phenomenon that occurs in all languages without damaging their integrity or identity. However, Kurdish researchers have often attached conditions to this acceptance. For instance, Sajadi (1974) and Aziz (2005) tolerate loan words as long as they are written in the Kurdish alphabet and are close to the phonological pattern of Kurdish. Their opinions appear to demonstrate wisdom in this field, as the Kurdish writing system is different from that of English (see section 1.8). Using two different writing styles in the same text, the Roman alphabet for English borrowed words and the Arabic alphabet for the native Kurdish word would cause randomness. This is due to the aforementioned writing styles having different characteristics. Firstly, the Kurdish reader used to read from right to left, but suddenly within the text they face an English word and they would have to shift their direction of reading from left to right. Secondly, since most Kurdish people are not bilingual with English, they are not able to read the word easily, a problem which might cause them to misunderstand the meaning too. Most of the loan words in this study accord with this condition; however some of the data, particularly the acronyms and initialisms, are written in Latin form within the Kurdish texts (see section 6.6).

Sajida (1974) tolerated some Arabic words in Kurdish, borrowed through the spread and influence of Islam. For instance, *'khalife'* = ⟨خلیفه⟩ (khalifa) and *'haj'* = ⟨حهج⟩ (pilgrimage) have been adopted in Kurdish from Arabic. Basir (1974) and Helimi (1975) argue that even these religious words should be altered to fit the phonological system of Kurdish, and that once that alteration has taken place, they will have become native words in Kurdish. For example, 'alqaẓa u laqadr' originally in Arabic is ⟨قضاء و القدر⟩ ("destiny, fate"), occurs in the Kurdish form as ⟨قهزا و قهدر⟩ pronounced /qaza w qadar/, because /ẓ/ is not found in Kurdish. Faxri (1987) argues that it is not just the religious words from Arabic that should be adapted to the phonetic structure of the Kurdish language, but that all loan words should be nativised in order to harmonise with the phonological system of Kurdish, or translated into an equivalent Kurdish word.

Sajadi also argues that words borrowed from Persian are in fact part of the Kurdish language and not loan words (1974: p.149). He explains this position by observing that Kurdish and Persian are both Indo-Iranian languages and that they therefore have many words in common. This is also found in other languages belong to the same language family, which share words amongst themselves. For example, Hebrew, Arabic and

Amharic all share the word '*salaam*' (hello). All three of these languages belong to the Semitic language family, and words that are cognate in these languages are not treated as loan words.

Furthermore, Abdulla (1980) and Hasanpoor's (1999) prescriptive stance, collected their data from numerous types of sources, including written and oral materials, participant observation, interviews, correspondence, and government documents. For example, Abdulla's study uses varied written texts from the beginning of the last century such as newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and some translated textbooks published from 1924 - 1958. Likewise, Hasanpoor (1999) collected his data from different articles written by popular Kurdish authors, poets and nationalists, for example *Hemin*, *Hesenzade*, *Hejar*, *Secadî*, *Nebez* and *Mes'ûd Mihemed*. These articles were published in different books and magazines, so they did not collect the data from one book or source.

The use of a multiplicity of sources in these studies was motivated by some factors. Firstly, most of the chosen writers and poets have played a significant role in Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan and their writings were used in teaching and learning Kurdish at that time. Generally, researchers want to answer the research questions that go with the objectives of their study. In this case, depending on more than one source might provide the researcher with a huge amount of information without guaranteeing appropriateness (Denscombe, 2014). For instance, since the data collected in Hasanpoor's study depends on different texts by different writers, poets and translated texts, each of them has its own style and different language techniques, for instance the technique and language used for the translation is quite different from the language that is directly used by the writer himself, but Hasanpoor does not explore the differences between the languages used in these source types. However, an organised sampling is more simple and straightforward than arbitrary sampling. Also, it can be more helpful to cover a wide study area.

Moreover, Hasanpoor (1999: pp.21-28) states that he sent a questionnaire to different Kurdish writers all over the world about how they have learned written Kurdish and how they approach the purification of Kurdish texts from different loans words. In this case, Hasanpoor collecting his data by survey, which is more artificial because of the experimental situation. For example, he asked the individual to do something particular, related to the topic of his study, is split from the natural situations in which language is

used. However, within the artificial data Hasanpoor uses his perception as a basis of data or by giving instructions to the contributors about how and what they have to do.

There are also limitations to these studies' data analysis. For instance, Hasanpoor's detailed study considered loan words from Persian, Arabic and European languages, but without reference to geographical or chronological variation. Although his stated aim was to focus on linguistic change as a result of language contact, and to consider lexical borrowing as an alternative to other types of change, Hasanpoor did not mention any kind of contact between Kurdish and any European languages, focusing instead on a detailed exploration of contact with Arabic and Persian. This renders the title 'A Study of European, Persian, and Arabic Loans in Standard Sorani' misleading. Moreover, only one of Hasanpoor's six chapters are on loan words: the other five provide a detailed account of Kurdish history and the history of the language. As a bilingual speaker of Kurdish and Persian, Hasanpoor tends to classify loans as Persian even though they are also found in Arabic. European loan words are represented only as indirect borrowings through Persian and Arabic into Kurdish, suggesting that there had been little to no direct contact between European languages and Kurdish by the late 1990s.

To conclude, most studies of loan words in Kurdish focus on one of two things. The first group are informed by their political views regarding the relationship between Kurdish nationalism and the Kurdish standard dialects. In the interests of standardisation, purity and national identity, they argue that Kurdish should be purified, and purged of loan words. The second group focuses on phonological change in loan words within Kurdish, again often from a prescriptive perspective which argues that loan words should be nativised so that they enrich rather than contaminate the language.

## 2.9   The Contribution of the Present Study

In general, the previous research in this field has focused on the impact of Arabic and Persian loan words on Kurdish. Researchers have described their data largely by focusing on the phonetic changes of loan words, or on the process of standardisation under the condition of intensive language contact and purification. The difference between the current study and previous research is that this is a descriptive, rather than prescriptive study, focusing on the years 1993, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2011 and 2013 to bring the study of Kurdish loan words up to date.

It is also unique in being a diachronic study of this changing linguistic context which analyses loan words morphologically and semantically as well as phonologically. Moreover, it uses a more systematic methodology than earlier studies by collecting its data from a single source and focusing on a specific dialect rather than trying to represent the language as if it were a homogenous whole.

Finally, this study is pioneering in its consideration of the semantic distribution of the loan words and the orthographic form of English loan word to the research literature in Kurdish. Focusing on loan words in the political sections of a newspaper facilitates a focus on the relationship between cultural (in this case political) change and language development.

# 3 CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

## 3.1 Introduction

Research into language borrowing overlaps with a number of disciplines also concerned with the study of humans and their communication, such as the fields of anthropology, sociology and psychology. However, Thomason (2001) asserts that borrowing is a linguistic matter rather than a social one.

The process of data collection in this study deals with the lexical borrowing only. This chapter proceeds with a brief examination of the research sample as related to the present study. Then there is a review of relevant research methods used in language studies. Finally, the research questions and research design adopted in this study are presented and discussed.

## 3.2 The Source of the Data

The source of data for this study is natural in Meyer and Nelson's (2006: pp.93-94) terms, in that it is collected from an actual corpus of language, consisting of instances of real language usage. At the same time, my data is *behavioural* or *reflective* of how the language is used, in that journalists are self-conscious language-users and self-conscious quoters of the language usage of others.

Generally media is a significant source for linguistic data because it acts as a mirror of different language features that are also found in ordinary speech. The language used in media also reflects the wider society by showing cultures, attitudes and opinions by the way it presents people and topics (Ibid). The attitudes of Kurdish people towards the use of English loan words are also a crucial factor in understanding their usage and their likely integration into Kurdish in the longer term. It also gives some general context to analysis the data within this study.

The media also shapes language use and might, therefore, be in the forefront of changes currently in progress. Furthermore, availability is important too as a media language is easier to collect than other source of data, for example, conversation (Sheyholislami, 2010: pp.290 and 292). Due to intensive use of media in the Kurdistan region and has

recently become dominant in describing everyday events and life of people in Kurdistan (Ibid).

The selection of newspapers as the data source for this project is partly practical, in that written language is more permanent than audio and visual media, and printed media is possibly the easiest and most available approach for identifying and analysing language usage. Similarly, Petryshyn (2014: p.48) preferred written materials, but the difference between the current study and Petryshyn's is that he dealt with the online written material, which is easily downloaded and kept, and can be accessed electronically whenever needed. The current study, however, deals with traditional printed media which is important in the case of the current study because of its diachronic focus and the data is easily and reliably datable in relation to political developments.

Secondly, the study of newspaper's language has much to suggest to the diverse disciplines on whose area it touches. That is why it is a useful source, especially for collecting data in this field of study, since its language reflects all the linguistic changes, as well as the political and cultural developments in Kurdish society. The idea of collecting data based on newspapers is supported by Krtalic and Hasenay (2012: p.3) as they stated that it can be an significant source of material for academic study, particularly in the area of social sciences and humanities studies. Similarly, Jukil (2004: p.79) stated that media is a source of lexical modernisation as it requires the use of new terms and concepts in different fields in the Kurdish community.

Thirdly, hard-copy journalism is one of the most significant channels for demonstrating language novelties and language change. Newspapers play a significant role in a gradually shifting process of lexical form, from a narrow specific area of function to wider daily use (Petryshyn, 2014: p.40). This means that newspapers can usefully show language change over the time. Consequently, in order to realise the frequency of the use of English words, it was decided to study the texts of the Kurdish newspapers, *Xebat*. The primary source for this study is the *Xebat* Newspaper and the data for this study were consequently from Kurdish writing articles as represented there.

Having chosen to study data from newspapers it was necessary to select one or more newspapers as data sources. *Xebat* is a Kurdish political daily newspaper published in the

Kurdistan Region of Iraq as the organ of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)[60]. First published in April 1959[61], *Xebat* is one of the most widespread and widest read newspapers in the region by majority of people since it covers a variety of different areas (Jukil, 2014: p.93). Although it is a well-established newspaper, it has passed through many different and difficult stages during these times. In the early seventies this newspaper changed its name from *Xebat* to *Brayati*, using the same approaches and programmes as *Xebat*, reverting to its original name in 2005 (Darwesh, 2015). Publication was stopped for several years because of the political status of the KDP in the middle of the seventies and again during the late eighties.

It is now the only Kurdish-language newspaper that is issued seven days a week, and it has a circulation of 30,000 for each issue. Most of the back-issues are available in the *Central Library of Sallahaddin University*, free of charge, which also made it a suitable source of data. Until the present time, it has published more than 5000 issues (Darwesh, 2015). No Kurdish newspaper has an electronic archive.

The *Xebat* newspaper covers a range of different domains including politics, economics, business, sports and culture. To address the main hypothesis of the impression of English loan words on the word structure of the Central Kurdish dialect and how they are adapted to its linguistic structure, this study focused on a specific area of coverage from selected years in the *Xebat* newspaper, namely the coverage of political issues in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. From this newspaper political articles were selected from every Monday during the years 1993, 1999, 2003, 2011 and 2013. These articles generally discussed the political process within Kurdistan in a relatively formal written style. The political page is highly popular and more people read it according to the reader's measurement percentages[62]. In a case when an issue of the Monday article was not available, presumably because of a public holiday, the equivalent section from the Tuesday issue was taken.

---

[60] *Xebat* newspaper, 2015, http://www.xebat.net. (Accessed: 5 January 2016).

[61] The Kurdish project, http://thekurdishproject.org/history-and-culture/kurdish-democracy/kdp-kurdistan-democratic-party/ (Accessed: 2 July 2016).

[62] The Global newspaper, 2008, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Xabat+celebrates+49th+year+of+publication.-a0217265276. (Accessed: 5th March 2014).

During the period covered by this study a series of radical changes have occurred in socio-political domains in Kurdish society, particularly in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. The coincidence of these radical political developments and the Kurdish language boom in media generally, and newspapers specifically might be expected to have caused a considerable number of borrowings in the representation of political notions. In 1992, Kurdish became an official language in the Kurdistan region of Iraq with Arabic no longer used as an official language by citizens in this region. 1993 is considered to be turning points due to the situation in the region, so it is vital to show how the loan words are used in this year as the beginning points of changes in Kurdistan in comparison to the following years. It therefore represents the first full year in which Kurdish functioned as the official language of the region. Sampling every sixth year thereafter has enabled the coverage of the period up to 2011, which political developments that occurred during this period. In 2005 and 2011, the first national referendum and an election to the new Iraqi constitution held, which officially identifies the Kurdistan Region's organisations as well as the Kurdistan Regional Government and the Kurdistan Parliament for the first time[63].

However, sampling only every sixth year became problematic for the later period, during which political change accelerated. In 2003 a new era of English language began in the region through contact with the American and British forces which then shifted and developed to economic, diplomatic and culture contacts. The data from 2013 represents the most up-to-date sample at the time the data was collected.

## 3.3  Data Collection Challenges

Throughout the process of data collection many problems were encountered. In the first stage of data collection from a newspaper, some main challenges were faced inculding in a huge amount of newspapers, their material and content features, and numerous user or reader requirements.

The first problem was what the raw material for data collection would be. After searching for different relevant studies it was agreed that data would be collected from a Kurdish

---

[63] Kurdistan Regional Government, http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=050000&r=306&p=216. (Accessed: 5th January 2015).

newspaper. However, English loans are employed in Kurdish from different sources as books and articles, TV and radio programmes, and in natural spoken conversations. From a variety of the sources and media, this study particularly selected newspapers as the main source for its data collection. Information and material that can be found in newspapers is presented in different types of media. Therefore, it is normal that everyday newspapers publish articles which have sufficient lexical items. This does not essentially mean that the newspaper is the only source of language change; however it is a reflection of this change which needs deliberation.

After choosing *Xebat* newspaper to be the raw material for this study, as mentioned above, additional problems were encountered. Photocopying the relevant pages of the newspaper was not an easy task, especially from Kurdistan, as it was very time consuming and difficult. However, the data was available online from 2012 onward. These are all general problem that any researcher might face during the data collection. Another problem was counting words in Kurdish as words are not divided consistently, so column centimetres were used to estimate the number of words and identify the changing proportion of loan words in the data. Similarly, the writing system is another problem that makes the process of extracting English loanwords more difficult. Kurdish mostly uses the Arabic alphabet to represent both conventional native words and loan words. This makes it difficult to extract the English and Arabic loan words.

## 3.4    Selection and Exclusion Criteria for the Data Sample

The written material was chosen for this study. For this purpose, *Xebat* newspaper issues published in the year 1993, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2011 and 2013 were used (see section 3.2). While, issues of the *Xebat* newspaper published in the years not listed here were excluded.

Then, the political articles on the specific page called *Kurdistanic affairs*[64] was chosen from every Monday within the selected years, but the other articles on different pages were ignored.

Each text in the *Kurdistanic affairs* is taken under consideration, regardless of its size. All the written language within the text were studied, apart from the tables,

---

[64] This section in the newspaper discusses the political matters related to the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

advertisements and pictures which were not taken into consideration as a part of the whole article.

The collected data include all writers, not taking into account the personalities of journalists, age, gender, or their social and political backgrounds. Names of people, geographical names, countries, months, days, currency, websites, as well as names of authors of articles were omitted.

Within the chosen texts, in *Kurdistanic affairs*, the title and subtitle are included in the analysis as they are considered as a part of the whole article. All the written Initialisms and acronyms within the texts are also included within the data. However, the dates of articles publication and the title page[65] do not count as a part of the text, therefore they were not analysed.

To avoid dialect differences between the Central dialect and the Kurmanji dialect in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, and since Central dialect is spoken in a large area in the region, all collected data are limited to the Central dialect texts, while articles in the Northern dialect were not examined.

## 3.5   The frequency calculation

The present study is based on extensive selected written data from approximately 246 political articles. Individual issues fluctuated in length from 24 to 32 normal sized newspaper sheets. Table 2 shows the number of articles and estimated total words in each year. The number of articles is relatively similar in each of the selected years and ranges between 36 and 46.

---

[65] At the top of the each page in the *Xebat* newspaper the title and the date are shown.

| Years | Article numbers | Estimated total number of words | Total number of English loan words (type) | Total number of English loan words (token) | Total number of English loan words |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1993 | 36 | 52775 | 226 | 950 | 1251 |
| 1999 | 38 | 54686 | | 1074 | 1100 |
| 2003 | 46 | 66358 | | 1108 | 1031 |
| 2005 | 41 | 43654 | | 843 | 500 |
| 2011 | 43 | 47648 | | 1011 | 683 |
| 2013 | 42 | 55100 | | 964 | 650 |

Table 2: Total number of articles in the sample from each year with the frequency of loan words

Counting words in Kurdish is problematic because words are not divided consistently, so the number of 10 centimetres (cm) per article were counted and multiplied by the number of words written in a sampled 10 cm section. This provided an estimated total word count within the sample so that the changing proportion of loan words could be explored (see Table 3). For example, on 10/1/2005 there were 19 portions of 10 cm in one page, and there were 75 words in one 10 cm, producing a total estimated word count of 1425. In 17/1/2005 there were 16 portion of 10 cm word blocks and 65 words per 10 cm, producing a total estimated word count of 1040. For the purpose of accuracy, the average of the number of words per 10 cm were therefore calculated as:

(Total number of words per 10 cm (2915) / how many articles were used (41[66]) = 71.1)

Finally, to find the estimated total number of words per year, first the estimated words per page needed to be found by multiplying the number of 10 cm in each page by the average, for example on 10/1/2005 (19* 71.1 = 1351). Counting the words per page then gave a total estimated number of words in each year.

---

[66] (see Table Table 2)

| Date | Number of words per 10 cm | Average | How many 10 cm? | Estimated words per page | Number of English loan words | Number of Arabic loan words |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10/01/2005 | 75 | 71.1 | 19 | 1351 | 40 | 36 |
| 17/01/2005 | 65 | | 16 | 1138 | 13 | 39 |
| 24/01/2005 | 91 | | 12 | 853 | 39 | 7 |
| 31/01/2005 | 73 | | 10 | 711 | 13 | 10 |
| Total | 2915 | | | 45654 | 843 | 500 |

Table 3: Detailed frequency in January 2005

After identifying the loan words by making a list (detail in section 3.6), the token number of the English and Arabic loan words were counted. Token means an individual occurrence of a loan word in a year, regardless of how often it is repeated. Both token and type are used in this study. For example, to show the frequency of the adapted and non-adapted loan words to the phonological structure of Kurdish, this study depends on the relevant frequency of the type of loan word. This is because the phonological changes are the same regardless of how many times they are repeated in the same text or a different one. This study depends on the token number, however, to show the relevant frequency of English and Arabic usage in an individual year.

## 3.6   Data Processing Analysis

This research is an analytical study of loan words as a feature of language contact. It provides a detailed analysis of the linguistic changes of the English loan words and clear evidence in the sample of the data. The data analysis is based on a descriptive approach to diachronic change in loan word usage. Its main objective is to explore how, and to what extent, the English loan words adapt linguistically in the Central Kurdish dialect by focusing on the changes through the years from a descriptive perspective. Also, this study illustrates the frequency and the usage of English and Arabic loan words used in the dialect in different chosen years. Furthermore, it shows a diachronic semantic distribution of the loan words.

To examine the use of loan words in the given source and to achieve the purposes of this study, a set of procedures were devised and developed through the course of data collection. Initially, the selected pages for each Monday were read thoroughly and each word which was apparently of foreign origin, either English or Arabic, was highlighted. In some cases, the Roman alphabet is used for the initialisms and acronyms which are written in capital Roman letters as they are in English text, such as *TV*, *BBC*, *CD* and *NATO*. Some writers also expand acronyms using the Roman alphabet, such as *CIA* (Central Intelligence Agency). In this case, it was easier to highlight the English loan word. Identifying the loan words in the newspapers texts is usually more problematic, however, because Kurdish generally uses the Arabic alphabet to represent both conventional native words and loan words, which means that loan words are not generally identifiable by their form. The material was therefore reviewed twice to double-check that no eligible items had been overlooked.

Following their initial identification, the English and Arabic loan words were extracted to create an inventory of these borrowed words. The process of identifying, verifying and categorising loan words was based on the researcher's knowledge of Kurdish, English and Arabic. This is because there is no comprehensive etymological dictionary in Kurdish to recognise the native words and the borrowed ones by showing their origin. To determine the ratio of native words to loan words and to know the precise frequency of the loan words in Kurdish is not an easy task. Wahby and Edmonds' Kurdish-English dictionary, published in 1966, mostly includes loan words from Arabic, Turkish and Persian. In addition, it is not an up-to-date dictionary. Hasanpoor (1999: p.31) also argued that Wahby and Edmonds were not precise in showing the origin of the word as they marked some Persian words as Kurdish. Most of the other dictionaries in Kurdish are lexicographical dictionaries, such as Ferhengi Xal, according to Hasanpoor (1999: p.83). There is a lack of information, such as grammatical information, in most of the lexicographic dictionaries, and even then, there are many shortcomings in definitions of words as Hasanpoor stated (Ibid). The dictionaries, Ferhengi Xal and Kurdish- English dictionary, are not suitable in the case of this study and they cannot be used as a basis for producing data about borrowing since loan words are frequently not included in the dictionaries. The former one does not give any record of loan words and the origin of the words, while the second one mostly deals with Arabic, Turkish and Persian loan words. It seems that the problem of the lack of information about the etymology of words appears

in other languages as well. Evripidou (2001) stated that etymology has long been out of fashion with many linguists, and in many dictionaries, especially those designed for foreign learners of English, as they do not record any information about the origin of words.

However, the English loan words, relevant in this study, were also analysed grammatically with reference to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) so that they could be categorized as belonging to different parts of speech, such as noun, adjective, verb and adverb.

After the process of highlighting the loan words, the data was organised by making a list of the all English and Arabic loan words. The English words were analysed linguistically with regard to the most siginficant phonological, morphological, semantic and orthographical changes that loan words have undergone. This analysis was done with reference to the structure of both Kurdish, specifically the Central dialect, and English to identify changes which occur to the loan words as they are adapted. Using Haugen's classification, the English loan words were divided into non-adapted and adapted groups (see section 2.6 and 2.7).

The non-adapted loan words deal with the unchanged structure of the loan words individually in the aspects of phonology, morphology, semantically and written form. The second group was further analysed to identify phonological, morphological, semantic and orthographical modifications, some of which co-occurred in a single item. Some of these changes occurred as adaptations to the structure of the Central Kurdish dialect represent the nativisation of English loans within Kurdish. This nativisation process includes those loan words that are changed with morphemic substitution and become nativised in the Central dialect by means of changing, adding or deleting phonemes, as well as replacing a foreign morpheme with a native equivalent. It also includes the Semantic adaptation of changes to the meaning of the English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect, does not necessarily represent nativisation, in that terms may have been borrowed from the outset with a restricted or more generalized meaning than within English (more detail in Chapter Four, Five and Six).

For the sake of analysing the data, in the phonological adaptation chapter the pronunciation of all the types of English loan words based on the British transcription of these words in the online *Oxford English Dictionary* was entered into an excel sheet. The

transcription of the loan words in Kurdish was then added too, so the individual word's transcription in both languages was transcribed separately and then compared to identify any phonological changes that might have occurred (see Chapter Four). Within this procedure the orthographical adaptions analysed too since there is inter-related between the pronunciation of words in Kurdish determines how they are written (see section 4.9 and 6.6).

For the purpose of morphological analysis, the loan words were classified into different types of morphemes which were then sub classified into: free loan morphemes with no bound morphemes, free loan morphemes with English bound morphemes and free loan morphemes with native bound morphemes. This classification is mainly based on the morphological structures of both English and the Central Kurdish dialect. The purpose of this classification was to distinguish any morphological changes that might have occurred. In addition, the frequency of all these classifications were found too, for the sake of qualitative analysis in this study (see Chapter Five).

For the sake of semantic adaption, the meaning of the loan words in the texts are compared with the listed sense in the *Oxford English dictionary* to identify the changes in the meanings of words as expansion, narrowing, and shifting. Then, the token English loan words were classified into different headings according to their sematic distributions. This classification is influenced by the political situation and how the government works in the Kurdistan region of Iraq (see Chapter Six).

In addition to the above mentioned procedures, this study deals with tabulating the linguistic analysis in numerical forms, beside the frequency of the loan words too. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse the Arabic loan words in detail, these have also been tabulated in order to observe changes in the ratio of loans from English and Arabic in the Kurdish language through the selected years. This study hypothesised that the Arabic loan words would have decreased chronologically in the chosen years from 1993 to 2013.

## 3.7 Approach of the Data Analysis

Equivalent to the qualitative approaches, this study also deals with the analysis of English loan words quantitatively in the political texts. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller's study

(1988) first presented comprehensive quantitative analysis of borrowing and made a contrast between the distribution of loan words and native words in a corpus. However, this approach has rarely been used before in previous research on loan words from Arabic, Persian and Turkish in Kurdish. Even if these loans were quantified, information was only given with regard to the frequency of use at one moment in time, not the changing frequency across time. For example, Hassanpour (1992) calculated the relative percentage of native words and loan words from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and European languages in the *Kurdish- English dictionary*[67]. Similarly, Abdulla (1980: pp.24, 26-27 and 29) showed the percentage of Arabic loan words. Neither adopted a diachronic approach to explore changing rates of usage.

Responding to this unfamiliar approach in previous research, this study analyses and quantifies the degree of change in the use of loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect. The quantitative analysis of the loan words provides a detailed account of the frequency of English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

In addition, the data analysis diachronically shows the qualitative and quantitative changes of loan words. Generally, there are two different and complementary viewpoints in linguistic studies: the diachronic approach deals with the study of a language through different periods in history, while the synchronic approach reflects a language without taking its history into account (Stubb, 2002: p.50). These two main time-based dimensions of language study were first identified by Ferdinand de Saussure in *General Linguistics* (Ibid).

Previous research on loan words in Kurdish mostly deal with a sudden language transition as a consequence of the borrowing process. They have also been limited in scope and depth and tended towards prescriptivism. For example, Sajadi (1974) and Aziz (2005: p.454) focused on the sudden change of Arabic loans in Kurdish and described their data largely according to the phonetic changes these loans had undergone.

It is worthwhile mentioning that, due to the situation and history of Kurds, both time and place are important factors in the dynamic change of the Kurdish language. The history of the events in the Kurdish areas in the four states has a significant role in reflecting the

---

[67] This dictionary was published by Wahby and Edmond in 1966.

expansion and changes of the language over time. Within the division of Kurdistan in 1916, Kurdish has a long history of borrowing words from the dominant state languages such as Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and a significant number of loan words exist in the Kurdish lexicon (Hassanpoor, 1999: p.151).

Concerning time, this study recognises that historical events are a highly significant factor contributing to the Central dialect change. This thesis is a diachronic study of change of the Kurdish language. By this approach the data will contribute to a coherent analytical framework for the borrowing process in the Central Kurdish dialect. It shows how the Kurdish language, namely the Central dialect, changed over time in selected years as a consequence of lexical borrowing from English. For example, this study hypothesises that the frequency of English loan words gradually increased in 2003 and onward because intensive contact between the Kurdish community and English-speaking societies started to become increasingly common in approximately entire areas of life.

Also, the factor of place has a significant role in this study. Geographically, this study is restricted to the Kurdistan region of Iraq. Some researchers (Thompson, 2014 and Edmond, n.d.: p.3) have assumed that the frequency of Arabic loan words has decreased in the Central Kurdish dialect in this region since the Kurdish language became the official language in this region and it is the main dialect used by the media and is also the dominant language in daily use in the region. Moreover, it is unlike the Kurdish regions of Turkey, Iran and Syria, where Kurdish is used in restricted contexts alongside a dominant official language.

# 4 CHAPTER FOUR: PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

## 4.1 Introduction

Every language has its own specific phonetic system, which will usually differ from other language systems in the number of phonemes, their classification and in their nature. Moreover, different systems of sound clustering make dissimilar syllable structures among languages. These dissimilarities cause numerous changes in words borrowed from English into the Central Kurdish dialect. Most of the phonological changes in these loan words modify them in keeping with the rules that govern the sound distribution and cluster constraints in the recipient language.

Native speakers of a language are not always conscious of the phonological dissimilarity between their own language and the source languages from which loans are borrowed and they are not always aware of the status of a word that has been borrowed and used within their own language; therefore, some loan words will be assimilated within the recipient language and others will not (Al-omoush and Al faqar, 2010: p.28). More specifically, Haugen (1950: p.215) states that many speakers are entirely unaware of the process by which foreign sound sequences are transformed into the phonological system of the native language. He also sets out the stages by which loan words are adopted and adapted, first by bilinguals and then by monolinguals attempting to copy bilinguals' pronunciation of the loan words (Ibid). It is certainly true that speakers of the Central dialect do not pronounce all loan words from English as a native speaker would, but this is complicated further by the fact that not all English native speakers would necessarily pronounce these words in the same way.

Petryshyn (2014: p.13) states that phonological change is the first step of adaptation when a word first comes into a new language. Since there is no etymological Kurdish dictionary, it is not easy to achieve an authoritative identification of English loan words and of their early use in Kurdish. For this reason, this study's analysis of the phonological changes in these loan words provides a starting point for future studies of English loans in Kurdish and for studies of English loans in other Kurdish dialects.

In order to explore the phonological changes that occur in English loans in the Central Kurdish dialect, it is necessary to outline the phonological structure of the Central dialect of Kurdish and of English, and to identify the similarities and differences between them.

This section also provides a phonological analysis of the loan words collected in the present study and explains the changes that English loan words undergo when they are used in the Central dialect by reference to the phonological structures of the two languages. In addition, it explores segmental changes that occur in individual loan words through the study time period.

## 4.2  Consonants in Kurdish

Generally, consonants can be identified in terms of place of articulation, manner of articulation and whether they are voiced or voiceless. There is no scholarly consensus on the number and the nature of Kurdish consonants. For example, the Kurdish Academy of Language distinguishes 25 consonants[68], while Mackenzie (1962), Ahmad (1986) and Fatah (1997) identify 27, but Rahimpour and Dovaise (2011) list 30. The reasons for this dispute lie in distinctions between a descriptive and purist approach to the Kurdish sound structure. Haig and Matras (2002: p.5) argue that because the phonemes /q/ and /ɤ/ are borrowed from Persian and Arabic, they should not be classified as Kurdish phonemes. The Kurdish Academy of Language recognises /q/ as a native phoneme, but not /ɤ/and /ħ/[69]. Rahimpour and Dovaise (2011: p.75) consider /ŋ/ as a Kurdish phoneme; however, this is not found in the classification by Fattah (1997), who explicitly states that there is no individual phoneme to represent this sound in Kurdish. He argues that this sound is represented by a combination of two consonants: either /n/ with /g/ or /n/ with /k/.

All categorisations of Kurdish consonants consulted for this project are divided according to their place of articulation (Fattah, 1997 and Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011) and distinguished by whether the airstream is partially or completely stopped in the vocal tract. This airstream blockage affects the factors of determination of 'the consonant's acoustic' properties [70]. Amin (2004) identifies further disagreements regarding the Kurdish sound system, in particular relating to the place of articulation and manner of articulation. For example, Fatah (1997) recognised the phoneme /ʧ/ and /ʤ/ as fricatives,

---

[68] Kurdish Academy of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/2. (Accessed: 10th February 2012)

[69] Kurdish Academy of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/3. (Accessed: 2nd March 2010).

[70] Kurdish Academy of Language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/119. (Accessed: 10th February 2012).

while Kurdish Academy of language categorised them as plosives. In addition, some researchers classify consonants without taking into consideration that Kurdish has different dialects. Among the 29 consonants identified by Fatah (1997), /v/ is more frequently found in the sound structure of the Northern rather the Central dialect.

| | Bilabial | | Labio-dental | | Dental | | Alveolar | | Post-alveolar (palate-alveolar) | | palatal | | Alveo-palatal | | Velar | | Post-velar | | Uvular | | Pharyngeal | | Glottal | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng | Kur | Eng |
| Plosive | p b | p b | | | | | t d | t d | | | | | | | k g | k g | | | q | | | | ʔ | ʔ |
| Affricate | | | | | | | | | ʧ dʒ | ʧ dʒ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fricative | | | f v | f v | | θ ð | s z | s z | | | ʃ ʒ | ʃ ʒ | | | | | x ɣ | | | | ħ | | h | h |
| Nasal | m | m | | | | | n | n | | | | | | | | ŋ | | | | | | | | |
| Lateral | | | | | | | l | l | ɫ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vibrate | | | | | | | r | r | | | | | ř | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Semi vowel | w | w | | | | | | | | | j | j | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 4:  Kurdish and English consonants chart[71]

## 4.3    Classification of Consonants in Kurdish and English

### 4.3.1  Plosives

Plosive consonants are produced when air-flow is completely blocked in the vocal tract and then released. There are eight plosive phonemes in Kurdish (/p/ = /پ/, /b/ = /ب/, /t/ = /ت/, /d/ = / د/, /k/ = کـ /, /g/ = /گ/, /q/ = /ق/ and /ʔ/ = /ئ /) and six in English (/ p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/ and /g/) (Roach, 2000: p.32 and Yale, 2010: pp.35-36). In both languages, the phonemes /b/, /d/ and /g/ are voiced and the phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/, /q/ and /ʔ/ are voiceless. In both languages some of the phonemes have the same place of articulation. For instance, bilabials consonants are produced by the two lips as in /p/ and /b/. The phonemes /k/ and /g/ are velar: made when the back of the tongue comes into contact with the velum. Alveolar consonants, such as /t/ and /d/, are shaped when the tongue blade is pressed against the alveolar ridge.

The phoneme /q/, which is not a phoneme in English, is accepted as a Kurdish phoneme by Fattah (1997) and Rahimpour and Dovaise (2011: p.75), though Hasanpoor (1999: p.70) notes that some purists consider it to be an Arabic phoneme found only in Arabic loan words. /q/ is uvular, produced when the back of the tongue is in contact with the uvula.

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is produced while the narrowing occurs in the glottis. In English /ʔ/ it appears frequently; however, according to Roach (2000: p.32) it is just as a substitute pronunciation for /p/, /t/ or /k/ (Roach, 2000: p.32).

In this study, the glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs only initially in those English loan words that start with a vowel, as vowels do not usually occur initially in Kurdish. This glottal stop is always followed by the original or modified vowel, i.e. it does not occur alone as /ʔa: / = < ئا>, /ʔe/ = <ئێـ>, /ʔɒ/ = <ئۆ> and / ʔa/ = <ئە>.

### 4.3.2  Fricatives

These sounds are produced when the air escapes with vibration or friction. They include (/f/ = /ف/, /v/ = / ڤ/, /s/ = /س/, /z/ = /ز/, / ʒ / = /ژ/, /ʃ/ = /ش/ and /h/ = /ە/), which are found in both languages. Additionally (/ɤ/ = /غ /, /x/ = /خ / and /ħ/ = /ح / ) exist in Kurdish, while /θ/ and /ð/ exist in the English consonant structure and not in Kurdish.

The phonemes /v/, /z/, /ʒ /, /ɤ/ and /ð/ are voiced and /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /x/, /h/, /ħ/ and /θ/ are voiceless.

The phonemes /f/ and /v/ are labio-dental in both languages, produced by contact between the lower lip and the upper front teeth (Fattah 1997 and Roach, 2000: p.52). The alveolar consonants /s/ and /z/ are produced with the tip of the tongue pressed against the alveolar ridge (Fattah, 1997 and Roach, 2000: pp.32 and 51). /ʒ/ and /ʃ/ are palato-alveolar (post-alveolar), produced when the front of the tongue touches the end of the alveolar ridge and the beginning of hard palatal (Ibid). The glottal consonant /h/, is created when a narrowing occurs in the glottis in both languages (Fattah 1997 and Roach, 2000: p.52).

The phoneme /ɤ/and /x/ in Kurdish are post-velar consonants, produced with the back of the tongue raised to touch the back part of the velum (Fattah, 1997). In Kurdish, the /ħ/ is a pharyngeal consonant, produced with the tongue retraced backwards so that it is in contact with the pharynx (Ibid).

Finally, the /ð/ and /θ/ are dental, produced when the tip of the tongue were placed between the teeth (Roach, 2000: p.50).

### 4.3.3 Affricates

Affricatives are produced when a sound starts as a stop and ends with a slow release of the air, causing a buzzing sensation. Two affricate consonants in Kurdish and English coincide with one another: /ʧ/ = /چ / (voiceless) and /dʒ/ = /ج / (voiced). Both are palato-alveolar (post-alveolar) consonants, produced with the front of the tongue in contact with the rear part of the alveolar ridge.

### 4.3.4 Laterals

Laterals consonants are produced when the air escapes around the side of the tongue. The only lateral phoneme in English is /l/, which is found in two allophones: the clear [l],

found before vowels as in '*lea*' /li: /[72], and the dark [ɫ], found when it follows a vowel in '*eel*' /i:l/ or preceding a consonant, as in '*eels*' /i:lz/ (Roach, 2000: p.61).

/l/ in both languages is alveolar, in that it is produced with the tip of the tongue and some part of the blade in contact with the alveolar ridge (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams, 2003: p.242). In Kurdish /ɫ/ is post-alveolar, produced with the front of the tongue in contact with the rear part of the alveolar ridge (Fattah, 1997). In Kurdish /l/ = /ل / and /ɫ/ = /ڵ/, both voiced, are independent phonemes rather than allophones, demonstrated by the existence of minimal pairs like < چل > /ʧɪl/ (forty) and <چڵ > /ʧɪɫ/ (tree branch) (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: p.75). The phoneme /ɫ/ never appears in a word-initial position.

## 4.3.5 Nasals

Nasal consonants are produced when air escapes through the nasal cavity. Kurdish has two voiced nasal consonants: /m/ = /م/ (bilabial) and /n/ = /ن/ (alveolar). These are both also found in English, where they are joined by /ŋ/.

## 4.3.6 Vibrated

Kurdish has two voiced vibrated phonemes /r/ = /ر / is alveolar and /ř/ = /ڕ/ alveo-palatal. However, according to Roach (2000: pp.62-63) and Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003: p.242), /r/ is created in different ways. Most English speakers produce a retroflex [r] by curling the tip of the tongue back behind the alveolar. In Kurdish, however, the flap /r/ is created by making a single tap of tongue and the /ř/ is creating by a sequence of taps by tongue (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: pp.75-76). This distinction is phonemic, so that <دراو > /drɑ:w/ (money) and <دڕاو > /dřɑ:w/ (ragged) are minimal pairs in Kurdish (Ibid).

---

[72] This chapter mostly uses IPA symbols whenever a phonetic transcription is essential for both languages, English and Kurdish.

### 4.3.7 Semi Vowels (glides)

Two voiced semi vowels /w/ = /و/ and /j/ = /ى/ are found in both Kurdish and English. The phoneme /w/ is bilabial in both languages and /j/ is palatal, articulated with the front of the tongue touching the end of the alveolar ridge and the beginning of hard palate. Both are voiced. In Kurdish, /w/ and /j/ occur as the second member of phonemic diphthongs (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: pp.76-77).

## 4.4   Vowels in Kurdish:

Vowels are those speech sounds made by air coming out through the vocal tract without restriction. Vowels in Kurdish are generally characterised as high, mid or low and front, central or back depending on the position of the tongue during their articulation. Kurdish vowels can also be classified according to the position of the lips (Fattah, 1997).

Nearly all Kurdish scholars recognise eight simple vowels in Kurdish, including three long vowels (/i: /= /ى/, /u: / = /وو/, /ɑ:/ = /ا/) and five short (/ɪ /, /e /= /ئ/, /a/ = /ه/, /ɒ / = /ۆ/, /ʊ/ = /و/) (Fatah, 1997: p.14, Ameen, 2004: p.15, Thackston, 2006: p.1 and Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: p.77). There is a general agreement that there are no diphthongs in Kurdish (Fattah, 1997), but Rahimpour and Dovaise (2011: p.77) state that there are six, in which, a simple vowel combines with one of the semi vowels /w/ or /j/ as /ej/, /aj /, /ʊj /, /ɒj /, /aw /, and /ɑ:w/.

Fattah states that, although there are no diphthongs in Kurdish, diphthongal combinations of two vowels do occur in Kurdish. Their representation in writing may be what has caused this confusion. For example, < خەو > /xaw/ (sleeping), contains <a > and < ʊ >; when these two consonants vowel sounds come together in Kurdish, they combine to produce /aw/, i.e. in which the /ʊ/ shifts to the semi vowel /w/ (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: pp.76-77). For the vowel /a/ as in < دەست > /dast/ (hand) and <و > for /ʊ/ as in < کور > /kʊř/. Normally <ا> stands for the vowel /ɑ:/ as in < باز > /bɑ:z/ (eagle) and <ى> stands for the vowel /i: / as in < ژیر > /ʒi:r/ (wise). In < دایک > /dɑ:yk/ (mother), <دایک >, the vowel /i: / shifts to the semi vowel /j/ and becomes /i:y/ (Ibid). When the semi vowels /w/ and /j/ occur with vowel combinations are accepted as diphthongs according to Rahimpour and Dovaise (2011: pp.76-77).  This study follows Rahimpour and Dovaise in presenting the diphthongs in transcribing the Kurdish word.

In contrast, English has twelve pure vowels, five of which are long (/i: /, /ɜ: /, /ɑ: /, /ɔ: /, /u: /) and seven short (/ɪ/, /ɛ/, /æ/, /ʌ/, /ɒ/, / ʊ/, /ə/) (Roach, 2000: pp.15-20). Roach (2000: pp.22-23) identifies eight diphthongs in English /ɪə/, /eə/, /ʊə/, /eɪ/, /aɪ/, /ɔɪ/, /əʊ/, /aʊ/.

## 4.5    Classification of Vowels in Kurdish and English[73]

## 4.5.1   Part of the Tongue

### 4.5.1.1   Front Vowels

Front vowels are produced using the front part of the tongue, as in /a/ and /i: / in Kurdish and /ɪ/, /æ/, /ɛ/, and /i: / in English.

### 4.5.1.2   Central Vowels

The phonemes /ɪ/, /e/ and /ɑ: / are produced using the central part of the tongue in Kurdish. Central vowel in English are /ʌ/, /ə/, /ɑ: / and /ɜ: /.

### 4.5.1.3   Back Vowels

Back vowels, /u: /, /ʊ/, /ɒ/, are produced in both languages using the back part of the tongue. English has an additional back vowel in /ɔ:/, which does not exist in Kurdish.

## 4.5.2  High Vowels

This type of vowel is produced while the tongue is raised high inside the mouth, as in /ɪ/, /i: /, /ʊ/ and /u: /in both languages, in addition to /ə/ in English.

---

[73] Vowel classification is based on Fatah (1997) and Rahimpour and Dovaise (2011) for Kurdish, and on Roach (2000) for English.

### 4.5.3 Mid Vowels

The phonemes /e/, /ɒ/in Kurdish and /ɛ/, /ɜː /, /ɔː /, in English are produced with the tongue mid high or mid low in the mouth.

### 4.5.4 Low Vowels

The low vowels are shaped with the tongue low inside the mouth as in /ɑː/ and /a/ in Kurdish and /æ/, /ʌ/, /ɒ/and /ɑː / in English.

### 4.5.5 Unrounded Vowels

In this type of vowel, the lip shape is neutral. They comprise /e/, /ɪ/, /iː /, /a/, /ʌ/, /ɜː / and /ɑː/.

### 4.5.6 Spread Vowel

In this type of vowel, the lip shape is moved away from each other. It includes /ɪ/, / ɛ/, /æ/, /iː /.

### 4.5.7 Rounded Vowels

This type of vowel is produced where the corners of the lips are brought close to each other as in /ʊ/, /uː /, /ɔː / and /ɒ/ Roach (2000: pp.15-16 and 19-20).

## 4.6 Literature Review

There is considerable research literature concerning the phonological changes of loan words in the recipient's language. In general, there is agreement that most loan words are adapted, so that they fit within the phonological structure of the recipient language (Weinreich, 1966: pp.14-29, Campbell, 1998: pp.60-64, Hasanpoor, 1999: p.157; Al-Qinai, 2000; pp.23-24 and Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams, 2003: p.512).

Most of the phonological changes that these scholars have observed are for the purpose of nativisation, in which loan words undergo changes so that they fit with native phonological constraints in the recipient language. For example, Hasanpoor (1999: p.50) states that the sound /θ/ shifts to a /s/ in Arabic loan words in Kurdish, since /θ/ does not exist in the phonological structure of this recipient language. The same thing occurs in English loan words (see section 4.11.1).

Other scholars have found that some loan words remain as similar as possible to the donor language (Al-omoush and Al Faqar's, 2010: p.28 and Azeez and Awla, 2016: p.17). For instance, Azeez and Awla (2016: pp.17 and 21-28) identify '*academy*', '*feedback*', '*gallery*' and '*helicopter*' as assimilated loan words from English which have been adopted in Kurdish without any change in pronunciation. The limitation here is that they do not conflict with the phonological constraints that Kurdish is subject to, so there is nothing in these English loan words which requires them to accommodate phonologically.

However, one of the constraints is that a word in Kurdish cannot begin with a vowel and to overcome this, the vowel is frequently assimilated by adding the glottal stop /ʔ/. For this reason, the loan word *academy* /əˈkadəmi/, is classified in the current study as a modified loan word, since there are different segments added to this word, transforming it to /ʔakɑːdiːmjɑː/.

This contradiction in ideas may be because the current chapter shows a comprehensive detailed phonological structure of both languages, in which the first change in *academy* is because of on non-existent vowel /ə/ in the Central Kurdish dialect, in addition to prosthesis phenomenon by adding a glottal stop to break up unaccustomed sound. Also, it shows the vocalic lengthening of the vowel /i/ to /ɑː/, which makes the final syllable liable to be stressed, since stress in Kurdish usually falls on the final syllable of a word.

Both patterns are found in the loan words collected for this study. Unmodified English loan words that have been borrowed without phonological changes are few in number. This is in keeping Ruijgrok's (2009: p.5) finding, in which a relatively small group of English loan words in Japanese were found to retain their English pronunciation. Basir (1974: pp.50-68) found similarly that there are a small number of Arabic loan words in Kurdish with no change, such as < وهفات > = *'wefat'* (death) or < قهوم > = *'qeum'* (an ethnic group).

Unusually, Azeez and Awla (2016: p.17) found that their data consisted largely of unmodified loan words. Hafez (1996: p.3) argues that unchanged loan words are largely found when they are recurrently used by monolingual speakers in the recipient language so that their foreign pronunciation is maintained, or when they are freshly used in the recipient language, so that their pronunciation has not yet been adapted.

The second group of loans in this study consists of a significant number of English loan words which have been adapted to conform to the phonological structure of Kurdish. These are modified loan words. As in the data collected for this study, Hafez (1996: pp.3-5), Ruijgrok (2009: p.2) and Al-omoush and Al faqara (2010: pp.28-29) all found that most loan words are partly or fully adapted to the structure of the recipient language. Many of these adaptations are systematic, including the adaptation of sounds that do not exist in the recipient language, which may result in sounds being added, deleted or shifted.

The cross-linguistic diversity of syllable structure also has a significant impact on loan words. For example, Cannon (1996: pp.74-75 and 425) and Hasanpoor (1999: p.149) found that some of the phonemes are altered in loan words to adapt to the phonological structure of the recipient language. For instance, phonemic addition is in fact one of the hang occurs in the English loan words when they are borrowed to the Kurdish language. In some cases, a vowel insertion to the borrowed words is due to the diversity of syllable structure in both languages such as in the word *screen* /skri:n/ and becomes < سیکرین > /si:kri:n/.

Most of the research in this area, by Basir (1974), Abdulla (1980), Hasanpoor (1999), Al-omoush and Al faqara (2010) was conducted using qualitative methods. The limitation in this approach is that the researchers are not able to apply the knowledge to different settings and the outcomes are interpreted through the researchers' subjective perspectives.

For example, Basir (1974); Abdulla (1980) and Hasanpoor (1999) state that having loan words in Kurdish may harm the language. Linguistically, borrowing is a normal phenomenon, which in all likelihood occurs in many different languages. However, they insisted that borrowing should be resisted and this nationalistic position is built into their interpretation of linguistic data.

Basir (1974); Abdulla (1980) and Hasanpoor (1999) were not able to create a larger and more convincing sample by looking across all of the relevant words. The quantitative method that Abdulla and Hasanpoor followed, means that they were unable to show the trend of the phonological changes of the loan words rather than they are just presenting changes based on individual words.

Another limitation that previous studies have, when they deal with phonological aspect of loan words is that they often depend on multiple sources. For example, Al-omoush and Al faqara (2010: p.28) collected their data opportunistically, from the daily conversations of ordinary people in shops, from signs, billboards and from television. In one way this can be seen as strength, in that their data is rich and reflects many linguistic contexts. However, there is no clear organisation to reflect this multiplicity of sources and no attempt to collate these sources to produce a representative sample.

The current chapter attempts to avoid these limitations by combining qualitative and quantitative methods. It presents a comprehensive analysis of the phonological change found in English loan words in the Central dialect by focusing on the pattern of phonemic replacement, addition or subtraction and on how the English loan words fit within the phonological syllable structures of the Central dialect. In addition, it investigates patterns in the diachronic change in these loan words through the year selected for this study.

## 4.7  The Contribution of the Present Study and Methodology

Previous research has outlined the phonological changes of the borrowed words from Arabic and Persian into Kurdish and English into Kurdish without explaining the steps that help them to identify these changes (Hasanpoor, 1999 and Azeez and Awla, 2016). Although they claimed to be studying changes in language, these researchers relied on a synchronic data sample.

The spelling of loan words in Kurdish is not fixed by an authoritative dictionary tradition, but because the Arabic alphabet is phonetic, the way the loan words are written in the articles indicates the way the writer considers that they should be pronounced.

Transcribing the words in both languages individually facilitated the identification of phonetic changes. Subsequently, the loan words were divided into two groups: unmodified loan words and modified loan words. After that, changes in the examples in the second group were sub-categorized into systematic sound changes and unsystematic modifications.

## 4.8  Result and Discussion

The total number of types of English loan words identified in political journalism in the Central dialect of Kurdish is 226 words (see Appendix 1). Of these, 13 (5.7%) are unmodified, in that they are used in the Central dialect with exactly the same phonological character as in English (see Table 5). The unmodified English loan words in Kurdish are largely loan initialisms, as *CD*, *WFP* and *MOH*.

| English words | IPA | Kurdish form | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|
| team | /tiːm/ | تیم | /tiːm/ |
| chance | /tʃɑːns/ | چانس | /tʃɑːns/ |
| block | /blɒk/ | بڵۆك | /blɒk/ |
| TV | /tiːviː/ | تی ڤی | /tiːviː/ |
| BBC | /biːbiːsiː/ | بی بی سی | /biːbiːsiː/ |
| CD | /siː diː / | سی دی | /siː diː / |
| WFP | /ˈdʌb(ə)ljuː ɛf piː/ | WFP | /ˈdʌb(ə)ljuː ɛf piː/ |
| MOH | /ɛm əʊ eɪtʃ/ | MOH | /ɛm əʊ eɪtʃ/ |

| CNN | /siː ɛn ɛn/ | CNN | /siː ɛn ɛn/ |
|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|
| KGB | /keɪ dʒiː biː/ | KGB | /keɪ dʒiː biː/ |
| UN | /juː ɛn/ | UN | /juː ɛn/ |
| CIA | /siː ʌɪ eɪ/ | CIA | /siː ʌɪ eɪ/ |
| NGO | /ɛn dʒiː əʊ/ | NGO | /ɛn dʒiː əʊ/ |

Table 5: Unmodified English loan words

In the other 213 English loan words (94.3%), various kinds of changes occur in the number and the nature of phonemes, in their distribution and in the occurrence of phonemic clusters. Minor phonological changes occur when a sound in an English loan word is replaced by the closest native equivalent phoneme in the Kurdish language. This is due either to the non-existence of the English phoneme in Kurdish or to the adaptation and simplification of syllable clusters that are incompatible with Kurdish phonology; alternatively, the changes are mostly differently from the unique English word and the loan words become more like the native Kurdish words. Petryshyn (2014: p.5) argues that when loan words are used for a long time in a particular language, they can be modified according to the system of the recipient language to such a degree that it is occasionally hard to distinguish between these words and native ones. For example, the English loan *project* /ˈprɒdʒɛkt/ and *budget* /ˈbʌdʒɪt/ become <بودجه > /buddʒa/ and <پرۆژه > /prɒʒa/ in Kurdish, through a sequence of sound changes including vowel shifting, segment addition and /t/ deletion.

## 4.9 How Orthographic Appearance Affect Changes

The spelling of English loan words can have an impact on segmental changes in Kurdish because Kurdish native speakers are accustomed to a close correspondence between the written and spoken form of a word. This expectation may be realised, either in the retention of an unarticulated English phoneme in Kurdish spelling, as in Table 6, or by shifting English phonemes into the closest Kurdish realisation, as in Table 7 and Table 8 shows the unsystematic realisation of orthographic rules in English loan words.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| unarticulated /r/ | formula | /ˈfɔːmjʊlə/ | فۆرمیولا | articulated /r/ | /fɒrmiːwlɑː/ |
| | reform | /ˌriːˈfɔːm/ | ریفۆرم | | /riːfɒrm/ |
| | modern | /ˈmɒdn/ | مۆدێرن | | /mɒdern/ |
| | factor | /ˈfaktə/ | فاکتەر | | /fɑːktar/ |
| | terror | /ˈtɛrə/ | تێرۆر | | /tiːrɒr/ |
| | word | /wəːd/ | ۆرد | | /wɒrd/ |
| | workshop | /ˈwəːkʃɒp/ | ۆرکشۆپ | | /wɒrkʃɒp/ |

Table 6: The realisation of unarticulated /r/ in English loan words

Table 6 shows phonetic addition in the Kurdish pronunciation of English loan words. The words *formula*, *reform*, *modern*, *factor*, *terror, word* and *workshop* contain <r> in their English spelling but not in their pronunciation, while the <r> is retained in their realisation in Kurdish. This indicates that Kurdish native speakers depend on the written forms of the English loan words rather than the pronunciation. This is quite reasonable according to Roach (2000: p.63), who states that it is difficult for many foreign learners to observe the rule that <r> is only pronounced when it occurs before vowels. Another reason could be because the <r> is not pronounced in Standard British English, but it is in various non-standard British accents and, more importantly, in the most prestigious accents of American English. Therefore, this pronunciation could be a result of learning English from Americans rather than directly from the spelling.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ə/ | con-federal | /kənˈfɛdərəl/ | کۆنفیدراڵ | /ɒ/ | /kɒnfiːdrɑːɫ / |
| | genocide | /ˈdʒɛnəsaɪd/ | جینۆساید | | /dʒiːnɒsɑːjd/ |
| | computer | /kəmˈpjuːtə/ | کۆمپیتەر | | /kɒmpiːtar/ |
| | control | /kənˈtrəʊl/ | کۆنترڵ | | /kɒntřɒɫ/ |
| | theory | /ˈθiːərɪ/ | تیۆری | | /tiːɒriː/ |
| | terror | /ˈtɛrə/ | تێرۆر | | /tiːrɒr/ |
| /əː/ | word | /wəːd/ | ۆرد | | /wɒrd/ |
| | workshop | /ˈwəːkʃɒp/ | ۆرکشۆپ | | /wɒrkʃɒp/ |

| /ɔː/ | formula | /ˈfɔːmjʊlə/ | فۆرمیولا | | /fɒrmyuːlɑː/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | form | /fɔːm/ | فۆرم | | /fɒrm/ |
| | reform | /ˌriːˈfɔːm/ | ریفۆرم | | /riːfɒrm/ |
| /əʊ/ | role | /rəʊl/ | رۆڵ | | /ř̌ɒɫ/ |
| | social | /ˈsəʊʃl/ | سۆشیاڵ | | /ˈsɒʃjɑːɫ/ |
| | codetta | /kəʊˈdɛtə/ | کۆدەتا | | /kɒdatɑː/ |

Table 7: The realisation of the /ə/, /əː/, /ɔː/ and /əʊ/ in English loan words

Table 7 shows that /ə/, /əː/, /ɔː/ and /əʊ/ are all represented by [o] in their Kurdish realisation, and in each case this appears to be motivated by the spelling of the word in English.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| unarticulated /b/ | bomb | /bɒm/ | بۆمب | articulated /b/ | /bɒmb/ |
| /ɪ/ | rocket | /ˈrɒkɪt/ | رۆکێت | /e/ | /rɒket/ |
| /ʌ/ | company | /ˈkʌmp(ə)ni/ | کۆمپانیا | /ɒ/ | /kɒmpɑːnjɑː/ |
| /j/ | Europe | /juərəp/ | ئەوروپا | /ʔ/ | /ʔawruːpɑː/ |

Table 8: Miscellaneous realisations of orthographic rules in English loan words

Table 8 shows unsystematic miscellaneous realisations of orthographic rules in English loan words. A larger data sample might have produced enough examples to confirm that these are systematic realisations. The word *bomb* which includes an unarticulated final <b> in its English spelling, persists in both the written and pronunciation form in Kurdish.

Similarly, in *rocket,* shifting /ɪ/ to /e/ appears to reflect the English spelling of this word. In *Europe,* the glottal stop that usually occurs before a word-initial vowel is replaced by /j/ in the Kurdish realisation; according to Kurdish rule, the vowel does not occur initially. This replacement is based on the appearance of <e> in the initial position of *Europe*.

Unlike the instances in Table 7 and Table 8, where unrealised graphemes in English are represented in Kurdish pronunciation, the <g> in the English spelling of *campaign* /kæmˈpeɪn/ does not occur in Kurdish pronunciation of this word: <کامپین > /ka:mpajn/.

## 4.10 Phonemic Deletion

However, the orthographic rule in Kurdish does not apply all the time to the English loan words in Kurdish. This is because of the phonological environment of some phonemes, which prevents the application of orthographic rules.

| English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|
| cabinet | /ˈkæbɪnɪt/ | کابینه | /kabi:na/ |
| budget | /ˈbʌdʒɪt/ | بودجه | /buddʒa/ |
| syndicate | /ˈsɪndɪkət/ | سەندیکا | /sandi:ka:/ |
| parliament | /ˈpɑ:lɪm(ə)nt/ | پەرلەمان | /parlamɑ:n/ |
| candidate | /ˈkændɪˌdeɪt/ | کاندید | /ka:ndi:d/ |
| project | /ˈprɒdʒɛkt/ | پرۆژه | /prɒʒa/ |

Table 9: /t/ deletion in English loan words

Table 9 shows that the voiceless stop /t/ is deleted in a word final position. The nativisation here is in keeping with the phonological structure of Kurdish, which usually does not allow the plosive /t/ to occur at the end of words (Fattah, 1997). In addition, to the /t/ deletion in /ˈkændɪˌdeɪt/ and /ˈprɒdʒɛkt/ the vowel /eɪ/ and consonants /k/ are also deleted.

## 4.11 English Phoneme Shifting

English phoneme shifting can be categorised as follows: shifting in consonants found in Kurdish, shifting in consonants not found in Kurdish, shifting in vowels found in Kurdish and shifting in vowels not found in Kurdish.

## 4.11.1 Shifting of Consonants Not Found in Kurdish

There are differences in the number of consonants and vowels in Kurdish and English. English has 25 consonants and Kurdish has 28 consonants occur in both languages, but there are 3 consonants in English (/ŋ/, /θ/ and /ð/) which do not occur in Kurdish. On the other hand, there are 6 consonants in Kurdish that do not exist in English (/q/, /x/, /ɣ/, / ħ/, / ɫ/, and /ř/). These disparities explain some of the consonant shifting in English loan words in the Central dialect. For example, the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ in English loan words is often replaced by /t/ in Kurdish, particularly when it occurs in the first syllable. Also, it shifts to /s/ as shown in Table 10.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /θ/ | commonwealth | /ˈkɒmənwɛlθ/ | کۆمۆنوێڵس | /s/ | /kɒmɒnweɫs/ |
| | pathology | /pəˈθɒlədʒi/ | پاسۆلۆجی | | /pɑːsɒlɒdʒiː/ |
| | ethic | /ˈɛθ ɪk/ | ئێتیک | /t/ | /etiːk/ |
| | theory | /ˈθiːərɪ/ | تیۆری | | /tiːɒriː/ |

Table 10: Consonant shifting in English loan words containing /θ/

Table 10 shows that in *commonwealth* and *pathology* Kurdish native speakers adapt the unfamiliar /θ/ to /s/, while *ethic* and *theory* are shifted to /s/. Shifting from /θ/ to /s/ could be seen as more logical than shifting /θ/ to /t/, because /θ/ and /s/ are both fricatives, while /t/ is a plosive phoneme. Hasanpoor (1999: p.50) observed that /θ/ in Arabic loan words are largely replaced by /s/ in Kurdish.

The English phoneme /ŋ/ also does not occur as an independent phoneme in Kurdish, although it is realised as an allophone of /n/ (Fattah, 1997). Usually /ŋ/ is represented in Kurdish as <نگ> or <نک>, equating to <ng> and <nk> respectively. Table 11 shows that the process of nativisation of these loan words by splitting the /ŋ/ into /n/ with /g/ as in *meeting* or shifting to /n/ as *bank*, *tank* and *congress*, followed by /k/ or /g/ as in their English spelling. These all depend on the orthography of the English word.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| / ŋ/ | meeting | /ˈmiːtɪŋ/ | میتینگ | /ng/ | /miːtiːng/ |
| | bank | /baŋk/ | بانك | /n/ | /bɑːnk/ |
| | tank | /taŋk/ | تانك | | /tɑːnk/ |
| | congress | /ˈkɒŋgrɛs/ | كۆنگرێس | | /kɒngres/ |

Table 11: The realisation of /ŋ/ in English loan words

## 4.11.2 Shifting of Consonants Found in Kurdish

The data also shows that some consonants are shifted occasionally even though they exist in the structure of Kurdish consonants. For example, Table 12 shows how the voiceless post-alveolar affricative /ʧ/ is changed to the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ or voiceless velar plosive /k/ as in *chance* and *channel* even though /ʧ/ is found in native Kurdish words. Also, it shows that similarly, /k/ is changed to /ʃ/ in *anarchism* and *archive*. Table 13 shows the changes of the alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ to alveo-dental fricative /s/ as in *commission* and *opposition*. Finally, Table 14 shows that the voiced post-alveolar affricative /dʒ/ in English changes to voiced alveo-palatal fricative /ʒ / in Kurdish.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /tʃ/ | chance | /tʃɑːns/ | شانس | /ʃ/ | /ʃɑːns/ |
| | channel | /ˈtʃænəl/ | كەناڵ | /k/ | /kanɑːɫ/ |

95

| /k/ | anarchism | /ˈænəkɪz(ə)m/ | ئەنارشیزم | /ʃ/ | /ʔˈanɑːrʃiːzm/ |
| | archive | /ˈɑːkʌɪv/ | ئەرشیڤ | | /ʔarʃiːv/ |

<p style="text-align:center">Table 12: The realisation of &lt;ch&gt; (/tʃ/ and /k/) in English loan words</p>

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ʃ/ | commission | /kəˈmɪʃən/ | کۆمسیۆن | /s/ | /kɒmiːsjɒn/ |
| | opposition | /ˌɒpəˈzɪʃn/ | ئۆپۆزسیۆن | | /ʔɒpɒzsjɒn/ |

<p style="text-align:center">Table 13: The realisation of /ʃ/ in English loan words</p>

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /dʒ/ | agency | /ˈeɪdʒ(ə)nsi/ | ئاژانس | /ʒ/ | /ʔɑːʒɑːns/ |
| | project | /ˈprɒdʒɛkt/ | پرۆژه | | /prɒʒa/ |

<p style="text-align:center">Table 14: The realisation of /dʒ/ in English loan words</p>

There is no phonological reason to change these consonants in Kurdish; all of them are available in the phonemic structure of Kurdish. Hasanpoor (1999: p.117) argues that these are French loan words in Kurdish, as it is noticeable that the changed consonants reflect their pronunciation in French. However, there is no evidence of direct language contact between Kurdish and French. This may be evidence of French influence on Arabic, meaning these words have come indirectly into Kurdish from French via Arabic.

In same chosen articles relevant to the current study, there is no such change of consonants in *chance*, *archive* and *anarchism*.

## 4.11.3 Shifting of Non-found Vowels in Kurdish

Changes also occur in the vowels in English loan words. There are only eight vowels in Kurdish (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: p.77). This means that there are many vowel sounds in English which do not exist in Kurdish such as simple vowels /ə/, /æ/, /ʌ/, /ɜː /, /ɔː / ɛ/ and diphthongs /ɪə/, /eə/, /ʊə/, /ɪe/, /aɪ/, /ɔɪ/, /əʊ/, /aʊ/ (Roach, 2000:  pp.15-20 and 22-23). As a result of these contrasts some vowel changes occur to the English loan words in the Central dialect.

First, the unstressed vowels pronounced as /ə/ in English undergo different kinds of shifting in Kurdish. Rahimpour and Dovaise (2011: p.77) have observed that /ə/ is not found in Kurdish but that it is represented as /ɪ/ in loan words. However, the data collected for this study does not support this observation, as shown in Table 15.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ə/ | company | /ˈkʌmp(ə)ni/ | کۆمپانیا | /ɑː/ | /kɒmpɑːnjɑː/ |
| | demagogue | /ˈdɛməgɒg/ | دیماگۆگی | | /dimɑːgɒgiː/ |
| | con-federal | /kənˈfɛdərəl/ | کۆنفیدرالَ | | /kɒnfiːdrɑːɫ / |
| | channel | /ˈtʃænəl/ | کەنالَ | | /kanɑːɫ/ |
| | camera | /ˈkam(ə)rə/ | کامیرا | | /kɑːmiːrɑː/ |
| | campus | /ˈkæmpəs/ | کامپس | /a/ | /kɑːmpas/ |
| | centre | /ˈsɛntə(r)/ | سەنتەر | | /santar/ |
| | computer | /kəmˈpjuːtə/ | کۆمپیتەر | | /kɒmpiːtar/ |
| | apartment | /əˈpɑːtmənt/ | ئەپارتمانت | | /ʔapɑːrtmɑːnt/ |
| | academy | /ˌəˈkadəmi / | ئەکادیمیا | | /ʔakɑːdiːmj ɑː/ |
| | atom | /ˈatəm/ | ئەتۆم | /ɒ/ | /ʔatɒm/ |
| | censor | /ˈsɛnsə(r)/ | سانسۆر | | /sɑːnsɒr/ |
| | colonialism | /kəˈləʊnɪəlɪz(ə)m/ | کۆلینالیزم | | /kɒliːnaːliːzm/ |
| | con-federal | /kənˈfɛdərəl/ | کۆنفیدرالَ | | /kɒnfiːdrɑːɫ / |
| | genocide | /ˈdʒɛnəsaɪd/ | جینۆساید | | /dʒiːnɒsɑːjd/ |
| | computer | /kəmˈpjuːtə/ | کۆمپیتەر | | /kɒmpiːtar/ |

Table 15: Realisations of /ə/ in English loan words

Table 15 shows that /ə/ shifts to /ɑ:/, particularly when it appears initially, as in *apartment* and *academy*. In addition to the shifting there is a glottal stop insertion before the /ɑ:/ in Kurdish realisation, since /ʔ/ precedes any initial vowel in Kurdish.

The /ə/ changes to /ɑ: / when it is followed by /ɫ/ as in *confederal* and *channel* and when it is followed or preceded by the nasal /n/ and /m/ as in *company* and *demagogy*. Shifting /ə/ to /ɑ:/ is more reasonable because both are articulated using the central part of the tongue.

However, in *compose*, *centre* and *computer* the /ə/ shifts to /a/, when it occurs in the final syllable. /ə/ changes to /ɒ/ when it occurs in the final syllable, as in *atom* and *censor*, when it occurs in the first syllable preceded by the /k/ as in *colonialism* and *con-federal*, or when it is preceded or followed by the nasal /n/ or /m/ as in *genocide* and *computer*, respectively. All of these are represented by [o], which may be motivated by the spelling of the word in English. Lastly, the /ə/ is changed to /i: / in *camera*, as in Table 16.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ə/ | camera | /ˈkam(ə)rə/ | كاميرا | /i: / | /kɑːmiːrɑː/ |

Table 16: Unsystematic realisations of /ə/ in English loan words

The /æ/, which is not found in Kurdish can be shifted to /a/ and /ɑ:/ as in Table 17.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /æ/ | anarchism | /ænəkɪz(ə)m/ | ئەنارشیزم | /a/ | /ʔanɑːrʃiːzm/ |
| | anti | /ˈæntɪ/ | ئەنتى | | /ʔantiː/ |
| | channel | /ˈtʃænəl/ | كەناڵ | | /kanɑːɫ/ |
| | satellite | /ˈsætɪlaɪt/ | سەتەلایت | | /ˈsatalɑːjt/ |
| | bank | /bæŋk/ | بانك | /ɑ: / | /bɑːnk/ |
| | campaign | /kæmˈpeɪn/ | كامپەین | | /kɑːmpajn/ |
| | campus | /ˈkæmpəs/ | كامپەس | | /kɑːmpas/ |

| | candidate | /ˈkændɪˌdeɪt/ | كانديد | | /kɑːndiːd/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | guarantee | /gærənˈtiː/ | گارەنتى | | /gɑːrantiː/ |
| | tactic | /ˈtæktɪk/ | تاكتيک | | /ˈtɑːktiːk/ |
| | contract | /ˈkɒntrækt/ | كۆنتراكت | | /kɒntrɑːkt/ |

Table 17: The realisation of /æ/ in English loan words

Table 17 shows that /æ/ changes to /a/, when it occurs initially, as in *anarchism* and *anti*. As explained above, a glottal stop is inserted before word-initial vowels and also medially in *channel* and *satellite*. Shifting /æ/ to /a/ is more reasonable since both are articulated using the front of the tongue.  Also, in *channel* and *satellite* the /æ/ is realised as /a/.

However, /æ/ shifts to /ɑː/, when it is followed by nasals /n/, /m/ and /ŋ/ as in *candidate*, *compass*, *campaign* and *bank*, respectively, or when it precedes the plosives /g/ and /t/ as *guarantee* and *tactic*.

The vowel /ʌ/ is realised in Kurdish by /ɒ/, /a/ and /ɑː / since it does not occur in Kurdish. Here, the possible reason for the vowel /ʌ/ being realised by three different vowels in Kurdish is that it is primarily governed by the phonological rules: it changes to /ɒ/ when it is preceded by plosives /k/ and /g/, as in *company* and *government*, as in Table 18. This change may be influenced by the spelling of the word in English. The /ʌ/ is also realised as /a/ and /ɑː / as shown in  Table 19.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ʌ/ | company | /ˈkʌmp(ə)ni/ | كۆمپانیا | /ɒ/ | /kɒmpɑːnjɑː/ |
| | government | /ˈgʌvənmənt/ | گۆڤەرمێنت | | /gɒverment/ |

Table 18: The realisation of /ʌ/ in English loan words

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ʌ/ | blood | /blʌd/ | بڵەد | /a/ | /bɫad/ |
| | bus | /bʌs/ | پاس | /ɑː/ | /pɑːs/ |

Table 19: Unsystematic realisation of /ʌ/ in English loan words

The instance of *bus* in the above table indicates that in rare cases there is an unsystematic motivated segment change in Kurdish because of the existence of a homophone. The sound /ʌ/ in *bus* does not occur in the phonological system of the Kurdish language, so it usually shifts to /a/, /ɑː/ or /ɒ/ as mentioned above. When this word is interpreted in the Central dialect as /bas/, it is homophonic with the Kurdish word <بەس> which means 'only'. If it is interpreted as /bɑːs/, it is homophonic with a Kurdish word <باس> , meaning '*subject*' or '*topic*'. Interpreted as <بۆس> /bɒs/, it would be homophonic with the English word '*boss*'. Avoidance of these homophones may therefore have resulted in the exceptional replacement of the English consonant /b/ by nearest correspondent in Kurdish, so that *bus* becomes <پاس> /pɑːs/.

Finally, the vowel /ɛ/ is not found in the vowel system of Kurdish and it is either changed to /a/ or to /e/ (see Table 20). It is also changed unsystematically to /iː/, /ɪ/ or /ɑː / as shown in the following Table 21.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ɛ/ | centre | /ˈsɛntə(r)/ | سەنتەر | /a/ | /santar/ |
| | codetta | /kəʊˈdɛtə/ | کۆدەتا | | /kɒdata/ |
| | congress | /ˈkɒŋgrɛs/ | کۆنگرێس | /e/ | /kɒngres/ |
| | dialect | /ˈdʌɪələkt/ | دیالێکت | | /djɑːlekt/ |

Table 20: The realisation of /ɛ/ in English loan words

100

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ɛ/ | secretary | /ˈsɛkrɪtərɪ/ | سیکرتێر | /i: / | /si:krter/ |
| | | | سکرتێر | /ɪ/ | /skrter/ |
| | censor | /ˈsɛnsə(r)/ /-ə(r)/ | سانسۆر | /ɑ:/ | /sɑ:nsɒr/ |

Table 21: Unsystematic realisation of the /ɛ/ in English loan words

The vowel /ɛ/ in *secretary* is changed to /i: / and becomes /si:krtɛr/ < سیکرتێر >. The data shows that in some articles the /ɛ/ vowel changes to /ɪ/. The first change, when it changes to /i: / is more in keeping with the phonological structure of the Central dialect. The second change rarely happens because /ɪ/ is hardly used in the Central dialect, where it fulfils a function almost akin to schwa in English (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: p.77). Changing the /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ in < سکرتێر >, the writer may be more affected by Arabic structure, since in Arabic there is something known as *Kasrah*[74]. It is not an Arabic script, merely a symbol that does not exist in Kurdish at all. In < سکرتێر >, the /ɪ/ does not occur as an individual grapheme in the written representation of this word, although it does occur in the pronunciation (spoken form).

## 4.12 Shifting of Found Vowel in Kurdish

Similarly to consonants, some of the vowels are changed even though they exist in the vowel structure of Kurdish. For example, the vowel /ɒ/ changes systematically either to /ʊ/ when followed by plosives /k/ and /p/ as in *democracy* and *propaganda* (see Table 22). Alternatively, it shifts to /a/ when it is followed by lateral consonants /ɫ/ and /l/ as in *altar* and *technology*. There is also an insertion of a glottal stop in *alter* before the /a/; this is because /ʔ/ should precede any initial vowel in Kurdish.

Table 23 shows unsystematic shifting of the back rounded vowel /u: / to /i: / as in *computer*. Some samples of the data show that the sound /ɪ/ is changed to /i: / and /a/; this

---

[74] A similar diagonal line below a letter is called a *kasrah* and transcript as a short vowel /ɪ/.

change occurs when it is followed or preceded by the nasal /n/ as in *syndicate* and *carnival*.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ɒ/ | democracy | /dɪˈmɒkrəsi/ | دیموکراسی | /ʊ/ | /diːmʊkrɑːsiː/ |
| | propaganda | /ˌprɒpəˈɡandə/ | پروپاگەنده | | /prʊpɑːɡanda/ |
| | alter | /ˈɒltə/ | ئەڵتەر | /a/ | /ʔaɫtar/ |
| | technology | /tɛkˈnɒlədʒi/ | تەکنەلۆجی | | /taknalɒdʒiː/ |

Table 22: The realisation of /ɒ/ in English loan words

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /uː/ | computer | /kəmˈpjuːtə/ | کۆمپیتەر | /iː/ | /kɒmpiːtar/ |
| /ɪ/ | syndicate | /ˈsɪndɪkət/ | سەندیکا | /a/ | /sandiːkɑː/ |
| | carnival | /ˈkɑːnɪvəl/ | کەرنەڤاڵ | | /karnavɑːɫ/ |

Table 23: Unsystematic vowel changes

## 4.13  Monophthongisation

This phenomenon occurs frequently in the data collected for this study, in which all the diphthongs found in the English loan words are changed to pure vowels in Kurdish or to a combination of pure vowels with semi vowels. This is because diphthongs usually occur in this shape within the phonological system of Kurdish (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: pp.76-77). The changes in the data in this phenomenon are classified in three categories: diphthongs that shift to long vowels (see Table 24), diphthongs that shift to short vowels (see Table 25) and a combination of diphthongs (see Table 26).

102

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /eɪ/ | dictator | /dɪkˈteɪtə/ | دیکتاتۆر | /ɑː/ | /diːktɑːtɒr/ |
| | radio | /ˈreɪdɪəʊ/ | رادیۆ | | /rɑːdjɒ/ |
| /ɪə/ | totalitarian | /təʊtælɪˈtɛərɪən/ | تۆتالیتاری | /iː/ | /tɒtɑːliːtɑːriː/ |
| | imperialism | /ɪmˈpɪərɪəlɪz(ə)m/ | ئیمپیریالیزم | | /ʔiːmpiːrjɑːliːzm/ |

Table 24: The realisation of /eɪ/ and /ɪə/ in English loan word

Table 24 shows that the diphthongs /ei/ and /ɪə/ shift to long vowels in Kurdish. The diphthong /ei/ shifts to /ɑː/ as in *dictator* and *radio*. The diphthong /ɪə/ in *totalitarian* and *imperialism*, shifts to /iː/, when it is followed or preceded by /r/.

Table 25 shows the diphthong /əʊ/ shifts to short vowels /ɒ/ and /u/. The diphthong /əʊ/ is mostly realised by the pure vowel /ɒ/ in Kurdish, either when preceded by /f/ as in *photograph* and *telephone*, or when it preceded or followed by /l/ as in *diplomat*, *local*, *encyclopaedia* and *Petroleum*. However, in *codetta* and *Pluralism*; it shifts to /ʊ/. In *pluralism* it may be affected by the orthographic appearance of [u] in English, while in *codetta* the reason for this shift is unclear.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /əʊ/ | photograph | /ˈfəʊtəɡrɑːf/ | فۆتۆگراف | /ɒ/ | /ˈfɒtɒɡrɑːf/ |
| | telephone | /ˈtɛlɪfəʊn/ | تەلەفۆن | | /talafɒn/ |
| | diplomat | /ˈdɪpləʊmæt/ | دیپلۆمات | | /dplɒmɑːt/ |
| | local | /ˈləʊkəl/ | لۆکاڵ | | /lɒkɑːɫ/ |
| | encyclopedia | /ɛnˌsaɪkləʊˈpiːdɪə/ | ئینسایکلۆپیدیا | | /ʔiːnsɑːjklɒpiːdjɑː/ |
| | petroleum | /pɪˈtrəʊlɪəm/ | پترۆلیۆم | | /ptrɒljɒm/ |
| | social | /ˈsəʊʃl/ | سۆشیاڵ | | /ˈsɒʃjɑːɫ/ |
| | codetta | /kəʊˈdɛtə/ | کۆدەتا | /ʊ/ | /kʊdatɑː/ |
| | pluralism | /ˈplʊərəlɪz(ə)m/ | پلورالیزم | | /plʊrɑːliːzm/ |

Table 25: The realisation of /əʊ/ as short vowel in English loan words

Table 26 shows the diphthong /ʌɪ/ changes to /ɑːj/ as in *site*, *type*, *side* and *idea*. /ɪə/ also shifts to /jɑː/, when it occurs in the final position, as in *media*, *idea* and *encyclopaedia*.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ʌɪ/ | site | /sʌɪt/ | سايت | /ɑːj/ | /sɑːjt/ |
| | type | /tʌɪp/ | تايپ | | /tɑːjp/ |
| | side | /sʌɪd/ | سايد | | /sɑːjd/ |
| | idea | /ʌɪˈdɪə/ | ئايديا | | /ʔɑːjdjɑː/ |
| /ɪə/ | idea | /ʌɪˈdɪə/ | ئايديا | /jɑː/ | /ʔɑːjdjɑː/ |
| | media | /ˈmiːdɪə/ | ميديا | | /miːdjɑː/ |
| | encyclopaedia | /ɛnˌsaɪkləʊˈpiːdɪə/ | ئينسايكلۆپيديا | | /ʔiːnsɑːjklɒpiːdjɑː/ |

Table 26: The realisation of /ʌɪ/ and /ɪə/ in English loan words

The below Table 27 shows unsystematic realisations of the diphthong /aɪ/ when it shifts to /ɑːj/ as in *encyclopaedia*, and /eɪ/ shifts to /aj/ or /iː/, correspondingly in *communication* and *renaissance*. Finally, in *Europe* the diphthong /ʊə/ is changed to /aw/. Similarly to vowels, the diphthong combination does not occur in Kurdish word initially, so it is always preceded by the glottal stop /ʔ/.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /aɪ/ | encyclopaedia | /ɛnˌsaɪkləʊˈpiːdɪə/ | ئينسايكلۆپيديا | /ɑːj/ | /ʔiːnsɑːjklɒpiːdjɑː/ |
| /eɪ/ | communication | /kəˌmjuːnɨˈkeɪʃn/ | كۆميونيكەيشن | /aj/ | /kɒmjuniːkajʃn/ |
| /eɪ/ | renaissance | /rɨˈneɪs(ə)ns/ | رێنيسانس | /iː/ | /reniːsɑːns/ |
| /ʊə/ | europe | /ˈjʊərəp/ | ئەوروپا | /aw/ | /ʔawrupɑː/ |

Table 27: Unsystematic realisation of /aɪ/, /eɪ/ and /ʊə/ in English loan words

104

## 4.14 Consonant Change of Non-existing Correspondence

The symbol <r> in English represents both flap <r> and trill <ř>. However, in Kurdish there are two different symbols to represent /r/: it can be represented as <ر> for <r> and <ڕ> for <ř> (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: p.80). Similarly, the /l/ in English is realised by two dissimilar allophones of light and dark (Jones, 2011: p.ix); in Kurdish these are two separate phonemes <ل> = <l> and <ڵ> = <ł> (Ibid). As Kurdish is written in a phonetic script, these English allophonic variations are represented by the use of different letter forms.

Table 28 shows how the consonants /ř/ and /ł/ perform as independent phonemes in Kurdish. In agreement with the phonological structure of Kurdish, the trill /ř/ occurs in different position. For instance, in *risk*, *report*, *roll* and *referendum* it occurs initially, while it occurs medially in *control*.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /r/ | risk | /rɪsk/ | ریسک | /ř/ | /ři:sk/ |
|  | report | /rɪˈpɔːt/ | راپۆرت |  | /řa: pɒrt/ |
|  | referendum | /ˌrɛfəˈrɛndəm/ | ریفراندۆم |  | /ři:frɑːndɒm/ |
| /r/ and /l/ | role | /rəʊl/ | ڕۆڵ | /ř/ and /ł/ | /řɒł/ |
|  | control | /kənˈtrəʊl/ | کۆنترڵ |  | /kɒntřɒł/ |
| /l/ | social | /ˈsəʊʃl/ | سۆشیاڵ | /ł/ | /sɒʃɑːł/ |

Table 28: The realisation of /r/ and /l/ in English loan words

## 4.15 Prosthesis

When a loan word begins with a vowel, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is added initially in Kurdish, as the phonological structure of Kurdish does not allow initial syllables beginning with a vowel. This phenomenon also appears in English loan words in Arabic, since the phonological structure of Arabic does not permit vowels in the initial position. Al-omoush and Al faqara (2010: p.27) observed that the glottal stop /ʔ/ frequently precedes the initial

position vowel in the English borrowed words in Arabic. For example, the loan automatic /ˌɔːtəˈmatɪk/ becomes /ʔuːtumɑːtiːkiː/ in Arabic.

Hasanpoor (1999: p.149) explains that since the Kurdish language uses the Arabic alphabet, Kurdish is influenced by this phonological rule in Arabic. Therefore, many Kurdish purists avoid using the glottal stop /ʔ/ which, according to them, it is an Arabic invasion into Kurdish (Ibid). However, Table 29 shows that the glottal stop is commonly used initially when the loan words starts with a vowel sound. Rahimpour and Dovaise (2011: p.75) state that the glottal stop /ʔ/ is entirely predictable in this position and this is upheld by the data of this study. Probably after adding glottal stop vowels are changed, for instance in *active* the /a/ shifts to /ɑː/, all the other changes are mentioned in other section within this chapter.

| Initial vowel sound | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /a/ | academy | /ˌakəˈdiːmɪə/ | ئەکادیمیا | added /ʔ/ | /ʔakɑːdiːmjɑː/ |
| | active | /ˈaktɪv/ | ئاکتڤ | | /ʔɑːktv/ |
| | atom | /ˈatəm/ | ئەتۆم | | /ʔatɒm/ |
| /ɪ/ | emergency | /ɪˈmɜːdʒənsɪ/ | ئێمەرجنسی | | /ʔemrdʒnsi:/ |
| | election | /ɪˈlɛkʃən/ | ئڵێکشن | | /ʔlekʃn/ |
| /ə/ | apartment | /əˈpɑːtmənt/ | ئەپارتمانت | | /ʔapɑːrtmaːnt/ |
| /ɔː/ | autonomy | /ɔːˈtɒnəmi/ | ئۆتۆنۆمی | | /ʔɒtɒnɒmi:/ |
| /ɛ/ | ethnic | /ˈɛθnɪk/ | ئێتنیک | | /ʔeti:k/ |

Table 29: English loan words with initial vowels

## 4.16  Syllable Structure Change

Some changes occur because of the different syllable structures of English and Kurdish. These are usually to simplify sound clusters, largely by anaptyxis, the insertion of a vowel into a consonant cluster (Crystal, 1992: pp.20 and 123). This is a result of Kurdish speakers' difficulties in pronouncing unfamiliar English consonant clusters. For example, the consonant clusters at the end of *modern* and *civil* are split by the insertion of /e/ and /iː/, which extends the words' phonological structure to two syllables.  This insertion

leads to a change in stress position, with the main stress moving to the final syllable, in keeping with Kurdish stress patterns.

| English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Phoneme insertion | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| modern | /ˈmɒdn/ | مۆدێرن | /e/ | /mɒˈdern |
| civil | /ˈsɪvl/ | سیڤێل | /i: / | /siːˈviːl/ |

Table 30: The insertion of phoneme /e/ and /i: / in English loan words

The usual syllable structure in Kurdish is (C)CVC(C)(C) (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: p.76); that is, the Kurdish language permits up to two consonants in word-initial clusters and up to three consonants in word-final clusters. Some loan words collected for this study contain consonant clusters that do not conform to the Kurdish sound cluster system; these tend to be simplified or interrupted by vowel insertion. This process of simplifying complex consonants clusters occurs regardless of the syllable's position within a word.

To begin with, the initial consonant cluster CCCV- exceeds the number of consonants, permitted in a word-initial cluster in Kurdish. Therefore, it is modified by inserting /i: / between the /s/ and /t/ and becomes CVCC- as in Table 31.

| English cluster | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish cluster | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CCCV- | strategy | /strætɪdʒɪ/ | سیتراتیژی | CVCC- | /siːtrɑːtiːdʒiː/ |

Table 31: Cluster change of the CCCV- to CVCC- in Kurdish

There are other cases in which the initial cluster of a loan word is CCV-, which is permitted in the Kurdish cluster structure, but a vowel is still inserted as in Table 32.

| English cluster | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish cluster | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CCV- | clinic | /ˈklɪnɪk/ | کلینک | CVCV- | /kiːliːnk/ |

Table 32: Cluster change of the CCV- to CVCV- in Kurdish

When the final sound cluster of English loan words takes the form –VCC, which is sometimes maintained in Kurdish. In some cases Kurdish native speakers insert a vowel to make these clusters easier to pronounce, as shown in Table 33, in which the vowels /e/ and /iː / are inserted in the final consonant cluster of *model* and *civil*. This gives a new phonological form consisting of two syllables in the Kurdish realisation and also shifts the stress to the final syllable.

| English cluster | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish cluster | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -VCC | model | /ˈmɒdl/ | مۆدێڵ | -VCVC | /mɒdeɫ/ |
| | civil | /ˈsɪvl/ | سیڤیل | | /siːviːl/ |

Table 33 Cluster change of -VCC to -VCVC in Kurdish

The below Table 34 shows that cluster –CVCC does not change and keeps the same structure as in English, as in *contract* and *renaissance*. Conversely, in *chauvinism,* the cluster -CVC is changed in Kurdish and becomes -CVCCC. The optional schwa /ə/ is deleted and no other vowels are inserted, since this final cluster structure -VCCC is in keeping with the phonological structure of Kurdish (see Table 35).

| English cluster | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish cluster | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -CVCC | contract | /kɒntrækt/ | كۆنتراكت | -CVCC | /kɒntrɑːkt/ |
| - C(V)CC | renaissance | /rɪˈneɪs(ə)ns/ | رێنیسانس | | /reniː sɑːns/ |

Table 34: Keeping –CVCC in English loan word

| English cluster | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish cluster | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -C(V)C | chauvinism | /ˈʃəʊvɪnɪz(ə)m/ | شۆڤینزم | -CVCCC | /ʃɒviːnzm/ |

Table 35: Cluster change of –C(V)C and – (V)CCC in Kurdish

## 4.17 Vocalic Lengthening

Short vowels in English loan words are sometimes lengthened; a phenomenon noted by Al-omoush and Al faqara (2010: pp.28-29) in relation to Arabic loans in English. They claimed that the phonological structure of this language is designed for making stressed long vowels in the final syllable of multi-syllabic words. They found that vowel lengthening in Arabic loan words occurred only in the final position; however, the data in this study indicates that this change occurs in a variety of positions in English loan words. For example, the short vowel /ɪ/ is lengthened and shifts to /i: /, in several positions, when the /ɪ/ occurs in the first syllable as in *symbol* and *system* or when it occurs in the middle position as *constitution* (see Table 39). It is also lengthened in syllable-final position, as in *anti*, *emergency*, *logic* and *ethnic* (see Table 36). This indicates that vowel lengthening occurs in the Kurdish phonological structure in all positions.

Regardless of the number of syllables in a word, Kurdish tends to put primary stress on the last syllable (Fattah, 1997), and this pattern is applied to nativised English loan words too. Short vowels in the last syllable are sometimes lengthened in the Kurdish realisation as a result, as shown in Table 36. The second group deals with the short vowels which do not exist in Kurdish (see Table 37, Table 38 and Table 39).

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ɪ/ | anti | /ˈæntɪ/ | ئەنتى | /iː / | /ʔaˈntiː/ |
| | emergency | /ɪˈmɜːdʒənsɪ/ | ئێمەرجنسى | | /ʔeˈmrdʒnsiː/ |
| | logic | /ˈlɒdʒɪk/ | لۆجیک | | /lɒˈdʒiːk/ |
| | ethic | /ˈɛθɪk/ | ئێتییک | | /ʔeˈtiːk/ |
| | mechanic | /mɪˈkanɪk/ | میکانیک | | /miˈkɑːˈniːk/ |
| /ə/ | international | /ɪntəˈnæʃənəl/ | ئینتەرناشناڵ | /ɑː/ | /ʔiːntarnɑːˈʃnɑːɫ/ |
| | immigrant | /ˈɪmɪgrənt/ | ئیمیگرانت | | /ʔiːmiˈgrɑːnt/ |
| /a/ | plan | /plan/ | پلان | /ɑː/ | /ˈplɑːn/ |
| | program | /ˈprəʊgram/ | پرۆگرام | | /prɒˈgrɑːm/ |
| /i/ | pathology | /pəˈθɒlədʒi/ | پاسۆلۆجى | /iː / | /pɑːsɒlɒˈdʒiː/ |
| | quality | /ˈkwɒlɪti/ | کواڵتى | | /kwɑːˈɫti/ |
| | academy | /əˈkadəmi/ | ئەکادیمیا | /jɑː/ | /ʔakɑːdiˈmjɑː/ |
| | technology | /tɛkˈnɒlədʒi/ | تەکنەلۆجیا | | /taknalɒˈdʒjɑː/ |
| | tragedy | /ˈtradʒɪdi/ | تراجیدیا | | /trɑːdʒiˈdjɑː/ |

Table 36: The effects of stress position on vowel lengthening

The short vowel /ɪ/ does not occur in the final position in native Kurdish words (Rahimpour and Dovaise, 2011: p.77) and largely shifts to /iː / as in *emergency* and *anti*. Table 36 shows that the stresses in *anti*, *emergency*, *logic* and *ethic* lie on the first syllable in English, whereas in the Kurdish realisation the short vowel /ɪ/ shifts to /iː /, which has the same place of articulation as /ɪ/. As a result of this shift, the stress moves onto the last syllable in Kurdish. These instances adhere to the Kurdish rule that stresses mostly occur in the last syllable and in this respect the last syllable contains a long vowel, making it liable to be stressed.

Similarly, the stress also moves to the last syllable when /ə/ shifts to /ɑː /, as in *international* and *immigrant*. Also, Table 36 shows how the short vowel /a / shifts to / ɑː / in English loan words. Even though /a/ is available in the vowel structure of Kurdish, this change appears to be conditioned by the presence of a following nasal /n/ or /m/ and stress position.

Finally, Table 36 shows that shifting the vowel /i/ when it occurs in the final position changes either to /i: / as in *pathology* and *quality*, or to /jɑː/ as in *academy*, *technology* and *tragedy*.

Another group of short vowels do not exist in the vowel structure of Kurdish, as is shown in Table 37, Table 38 and Table 39.

Table 37 shows the vowel /ɛ/ is changed to /i: / when it appears in the initial syllable, as in *federal*, *terror*, *referendum*, *demagogy* and *genocide*, while in *con-federal*, appears in the second syllable.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ɛ/ | federal | /ˈfɛdərəl/ | فیدڕاڵ | /i: / | /fiːdřaːɫ/ |
| | terror | /ˈtɛrə/ | تێرۆر | | /tiːrɒr/ |
| | referendum | /ˌrɛfəˈrɛndəm/ | ڕیفراندۆم | | /řiːfrɑːndɒm/ |
| | demagogue | /ˈdɛməgɒg | دیماگۆگیى | | /ˈdiːmɑːgɒgy/ |
| | genocide | /ˈdʒɛnəsaɪd/ | جینۆساید | | /dʒiːnɒs ɑːjd/ |
| | Con-federal | /kənˈfɛdərəl/ | کۆنفیدڕاڵ | | /kɒnfiːdřaːɫ / |

Table 37: The realisation of the vowel /ɛ/ in English loan words

Table 38 shows that /ə/ is often, but not consistently, replaced by the long vowel /aː /. In *pathology*, the second /ə/ shifts to a short vowel /ɒ/ and in *international* the first /ə/ shifts to /a/.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ə/ | pathology | /pəˈθɒlədʒi/ | پاسۆلۆجى | /ɑː/ or /ɒ/ | /pɑːsɒlɒdʒiː/ |
| | international | /ˌɪntəˈnaʃņ(ə)l/ | ئینتەرناشناڵ | /a/ | /ʔiːntarnɑːʃnaːɫ/ |

Table 38: The realisation of the vowel /ə/ in English loan words

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ɪ/ | constitution | /kɒnstɪˈtjuːʃən/ | كۆنستیتیوشین | /iː/ | /kɒnstiːtiːwʃiːn/ |
| | symbol | /ˈsɪmbəl/ | سیمبول | | /siːmbʊl/ |
| | system | /ˈsɪstɨm/ | سیستەم | | /siːstam/ |
| | interaction | /ɪntərˈækʃən/ | ئینتەرئاكشن | /ʔiː / | /ʔiːntarʔɑːkʃn/ |

Table 39: The realisation of the vowel /ɪ/ in English loan words

However, in *constitution*, *symbol* and *interaction* the reason for lengthening may be that the Kurdish native speaker is motivated to shift the /ɪ/ in the Kurdish realisation of the loan word, since there is no letter to represent /ɪ/ in Kurdish, while it is noticeable in pronunciation rather than written form. In addition to the shifting /ɪ/ to /iː / in *interaction*, the glottal stop is added, since words cannot begin with vowels in Kurdish.

## 4.18 Vocalic Shorting

The data also show that there are instances in which long vowels shift to a short ones, as shown in Table 40. There might be a phonological reason behind these shifts, or it could perhaps be a random occurrence with no specific reason. For example:

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ɔː / | formula | /ˈfɔːmjʊlə/ | فۆرمیولا | /ɒ/ | /fɒrmjuːlɑː/ |
| | form | /fɔːm/ | فۆرم | | /fɒrm/ |
| | reform | /ˌriːˈfɔːm/ | ریفۆرم | | /riːfɒrm/ |
| | organ | /ˈɔːg(ə)n/ | ئۆرگان | | /ʔɒrgɑː n/ |
| | report | /rɨˈpɔːt/ | راپۆرت | | /rapɒrt/ |
| /əː / | word | /wəːd/ | ۆرد | /ɒ/ | /wɒrd/ |
| | workshop | /ˈwəːkʃɒp/ | ۆركشۆپ | | /wɒrkʃɒp/ |
| /ɑː / | carnival | /ˈkɑːnɪvəl/ | كەرنەڤاڵ | /a/ | /karnavɑːɫ/ |
| | parliament | /ˈpɑːlɨm(ə)nt/ | پەرلەمان | | /parlamɑːn/ |

Table 40: The shortening of long vowels in English loan words

Table 40 shows that the long vowel /ɔː / shifts to /ɒ/, when it is followed by unpronounced /r/ as in *formula*, *form*, *reform*, *organ* and *report*. This is presumably because /ɔː / does not exist in the vowel system of Kurdish, so a similar back vowel /ɒ/ is employed instead. Furthermore, it shows that /ə: / shifts to /ɒ/ when it preceded by the semi vowel /w/. Here, it is perhaps affected by the spelling of *word* and *workshop* in English.

In addition, Table 40 shows that /ɑː / shifts to /a/ when followed by unarticulated /r/ in English. However, this does not occur consistently, as in *party* /ˈpɑːti/ the /ɑː / پارتی /pɑːrti:/

While the changes in Table 41 do not occur consistently, there is an unsystematic changing of /ə: / and /ɑː / in English loan words.

| English phoneme | English example | IPA | Kurdish realisation | Kurdish phoneme | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ə: / | alternative | /ɔːlˈtəːnətɪv/ | ئەڵتەرناتیڤ | /a/ | /ʔaltarnɑːtiːv/ |
| /ɑː/ | party | /ˈpɑːti/ | پارتی | /ɑː/ | /pɑːrti:/ |

Table 41: Unsystematic realisation of /ə:/ and /ɑː / in English loan words

## 4.19 Numerical and Diachronic Changes of Loan Words

This section deals with the phonology of English loan words by examining the changes and adjustments in speech sounds over a period of time. The data shows that some of the English loan words appear with more than one spelling in the Kurdish articles sampled for this study. It should be acknowledge that these differences may not be entirely phonologically driven: they could also be influenced by the educational level or English fluency of the writer.

| English word | IPA | Kurdish word | IPA | 1993 | 1999 | 2003 | 2005 | 2011 | 2013 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sociology | /ˌsəʊsɪˈɒlədʒi/ | سۆسیۆلۆژی | /sɒsyɒlɒʒi: / | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 5 |
| | | سۆسیۆلۆجی | /sɒsyɒlɒdʒi: / | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| methodology | /mɛθəˈdɒlədʒi/ | مێتۆدۆلۆژی | /metɒdɒlɒʒi: / | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | | مێتۆدۆلۆجی | /metɒdɒlɒdʒi:/ | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| psychology | /ˌsəʊʃɪˈɒlədʒi/ | سایكۆلۆژی | /sɑːkɒlɒʒi:/ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | | سایكۆلۆجی | /sɑːkɒlɒdʒi: / | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| technology | /tɛkˈnɒlədʒi/ | تەكنەلۆژی | /taknalɒʒi:/ | 0 | 0 | 5 | 9 | 2 | 2 |
| | | تەكنەلۆجی | /taknalɒdʒi:/ | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| pathology | /pəˈθɒlədʒi/ | پاسۆلۆجی | /pasɒlɒdʒi:/ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| anthropology | | ئەنترۆپۆلۆجی | /ʔntɒpɒlɒdʒi:/ | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| oncology | /ɒŋˈkɒlədʒi/ | ئۆنكۆلۆجی | /ʔɒnkɒlɒdʒi:/ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| college | /ˈkɒlɪdʒ/ | كۆلێژ | /kɒleʒ/ | 2 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 8 |
| | | كۆلێج | /kɒledʒ/ | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| logic | /ləˈdʒɪk/ | لۆژیك | /lɒʒi:k/ | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| | | لۆجیك | /lɒdʒi:k/ | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| tragedy | /ˈtradʒɪdi/ | تراژیدی | /trɑːʒi:di:/ | 5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| | | تراجیدی | /trɑːdʒi:di:/ | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| strategy | /ˈstrætɪdʒɪ/ | ستراتیژی | /stɑːti:ʒi:/ | 10 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 10 | 12 |
| | | ستراتیجی | /stɑːti:dʒi:/ | 4 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 9 | 8 |
| shovel | /ʃʌvl/ | شۆڤڵ | /ʃɒvɫ/ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | | شۆفڵ | /ʃɒfɫ/ | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| negative | /ˈnɛɡətɪv/ | نێگەتڤ | /negatv/ | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | | نێگەتف | /negatf/ | 1 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| archive | /ˈɑːkʌɪv/ | ئەرشیڤ | /ʔarʃiːv/ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | | ئەرشیف | /ʔarʃiːf/ | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | ئەرکایڤ | /ʔarkɑːjv/ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| chauvinism | /ˈʃəʊvɪnɪz(ə)m/ | شۆڤینزم | /ʃɒviːnɪzm/ | 0 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 8 |
| | | شۆفینزم | /ʃɒfiːnɪzm/ | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| carnival | /ˈkɑːnɪvəl/ | کەرنەڤاڵ | /karnavɑːɫ/ | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | کەرنەفاڵ | /karnafɑːɫ/ | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| democracy | /dɪˈmɒkrəsi/ | دیموکراسی | /diːmukrɑːsiː/ | 93 | 62 | 61 | 58 | 54 | 68 |
| | | دیموکراتی | /diːmukrɑːtiː/ | 100 | 57 | 70 | 20 | 10 | 12 |
| | | دیموقراتی | /diːmuqrɑːtiː/ | 20 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| bank | /bæŋk/ | بانک | /bɑːnk/ | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 11 |
| | | بانق | /bɑːnq/ | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 7 |

Table 42: Diachronic change and frequency in English loan words

Table 42 demonstrates that there are some diachronic trends in the use of variant forms for some English phonemes. For example, the data shows that /dʒ/ can be articulated in two different ways in some examples: either /dʒ/ is maintained or it shifts to /ʒ/. The shift occurs particularly frequently in words ending with the suffix –logy.

| Phoneme realisation in Kurdish | 1993 | 1999 | 2003 | 2005 | 2011 | 2013 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /dʒ/ | 25 | 16 | 12 | 8 | 10 | 13 |
| /ʒ/ | 17 | 12 | 18 | 23 | 30 | 35 |

Table 43: The realisation of /dʒ/ as /ʒ/ or /dʒ/ in the English loan words
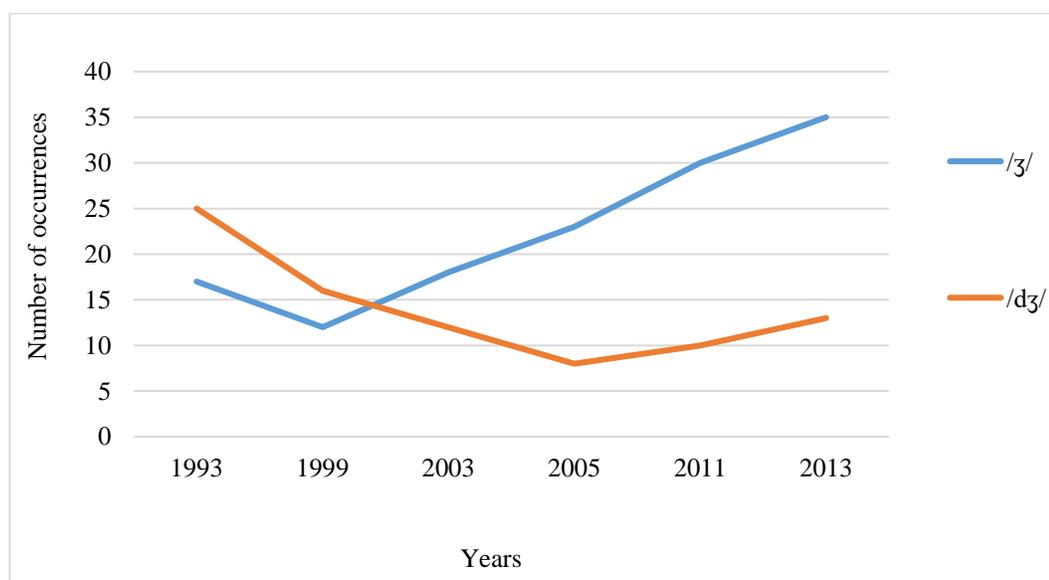


Figure 4: The diachronic frequency of realisation /dʒ/ in English loan word

Figure 4 indicates that, although both forms of /dʒ/ persist in Kurdish, the nativised version overtakes the non-nativised form in the early twenty-first century. Interestingly, the early trend is towards nativisation, but there appears to be a subsequent counter-trend toward a closer realisation of English pronunciation. The frequency of shifting /dʒ/ to /ʒ/ is sharply increased starting from 17, 12, 18, 23, 30 and 35 in the years 1993, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2011

and 2013, correspondingly. However, the occurrence of /dʒ/, when it is maintained, is slightly decreased, starting from its highest point at 25 in 1993 to 8 in 2005. It started to increase again in the last two chosen years.

The data also shows that the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ in the English words in Kurdish occurs either as /v/ or as the voiceless labio-dental /f/ over time in the data sampled as in *shovel*, *negative*, *archive*, *chauvinism* and *carnival*.

| Phoneme realisation in Kurdish | 1993 | 1999 | 2003 | 2005 | 2011 | 2013 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /v/ | 0 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 10 |
| /f/ | 4 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 2 |

Table 44: The realisation of /v/ as /v/ or /f/ in the English loan words
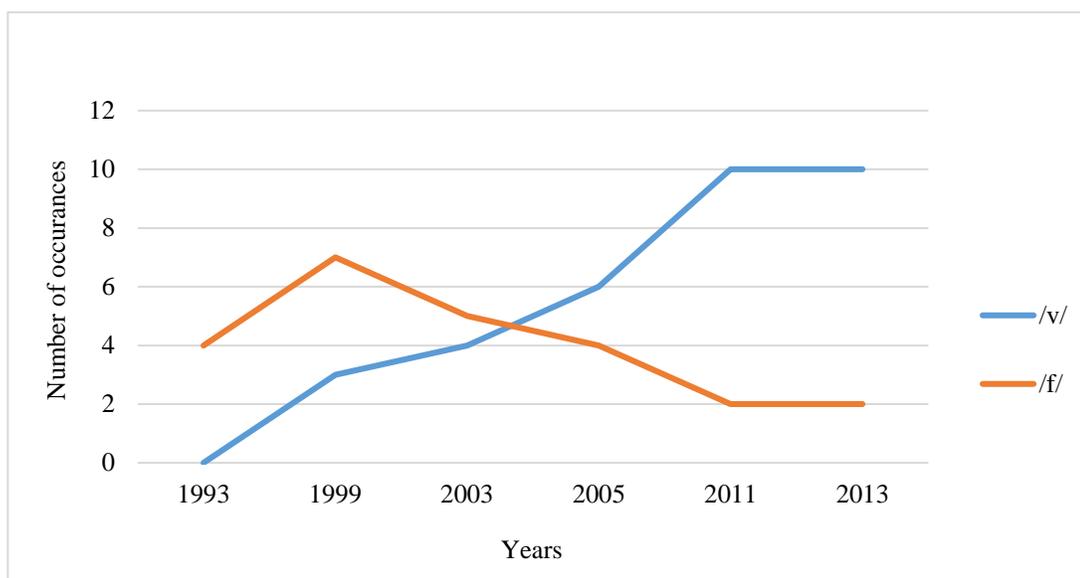


Figure 5: The diachronic frequency of realisation /v/ in English loan words

Figure 5 shows the frequency of /v/ as /v/ and /f/ in the Kurdish realisation of English words. Overall, in early 1990s, /v/ often shifts to /f/, and this may be because of the influence of

Arabic on Kurdish at that time. Hafez (1996: p.385) states that <v> is an allomorph of /f/ in Arabic, and that /v/ is not a phoneme in Arabic. The phoneme /v/ is also infrequently used in the Central dialect (Fattah 1997). However, Figure 5 shows that the phoneme /v/ also occurs without any modification in English loan words used in Kurdish. It is deduced that the preference of Kurdish purists is to borrow directly from English or any European languages, rather than through Arabic or Persian (Hasanpoor, 1999: pp.27 and 80).

The diachronic trend in the 1990s was towards nativisation, which is a similar trend to that shown in Figure 4. This is also followed by counter-trend towards the closer realisation of English pronunciation, in which, the data shows that frequency of the /v/ realisation increases significantly.

The phoneme /k/ is realised as /k/ and sometimes as /q/ in English loan words used in Kurdish as in *democracy* is realised as in /di:mukra:si:/ and /di:mukra:ti:/ or /di:muqra:ti:/ or *bank*, which is realised as /ba:nk/ or /ba:nq/. The phoneme /q/ was introduced into Kurdish through Arabic loan words and purists have argued that it should be purged from the language (Marif, 1975: pp.34-38). This may have motivated the maintenance of the forms with /k/ rather than /q/.

| Phoneme realisation in Kurdish | 1993 | 1999 | 2003 | 2005 | 2011 | 2013 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /k/ | 193 | 119 | 132 | 78 | 66 | 91 |
| /q/ | 20 | 12 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 7 |

Table 45: The realisation  of /k/ as /k/ or /q in the English loan words
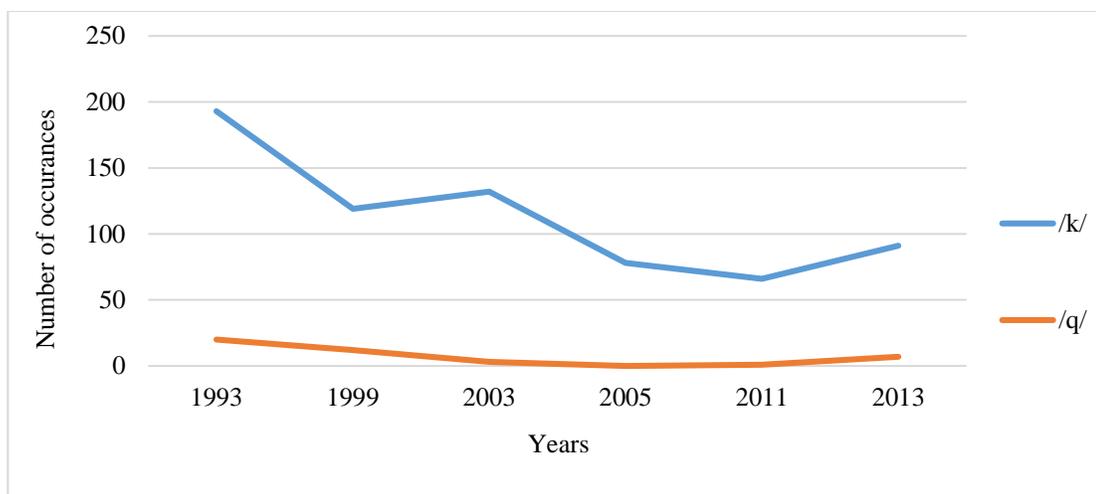
Figure 6: The diachronic frequency of realisation /k/ in English loan words

Figure 6 demonstrates that the trend of the change towards a more English-sounding realisation of loans is not predictable or consistent across all examples.

In which it shows that /k/ is realised as /k/ considerably more frequently than /q/. As per the chart, the realisation of /k/ as /k/ much the same as the English realisation, starts from its peak in 1993. Similarly, in 1993 the frequency of /q/ was recorded at its highest point, then reduced in the following years 1999, 2003, 2011 and 2013, respectively, whilst it was not used at all in 2005.

Finally, the phoneme /s/ is realised as /s/ and /t/ in the English loan words in Kurdish as in *democracy* /di:mukra:si:/ or /di:mukra:ti:/ and /di:muqra:ti:/ .

| Phoneme realisation in Kurdish | 1993 | 1999 | 2003 | 2005 | 2011 | 2013 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /s/ | 93 | 62 | 61 | 58 | 54 | 68 |
| /t/ | 120 | 67 | 72 | 20 | 10 | 12 |

Table 46: The realisation of /s/ as /s/ or /t/ in the English loan words
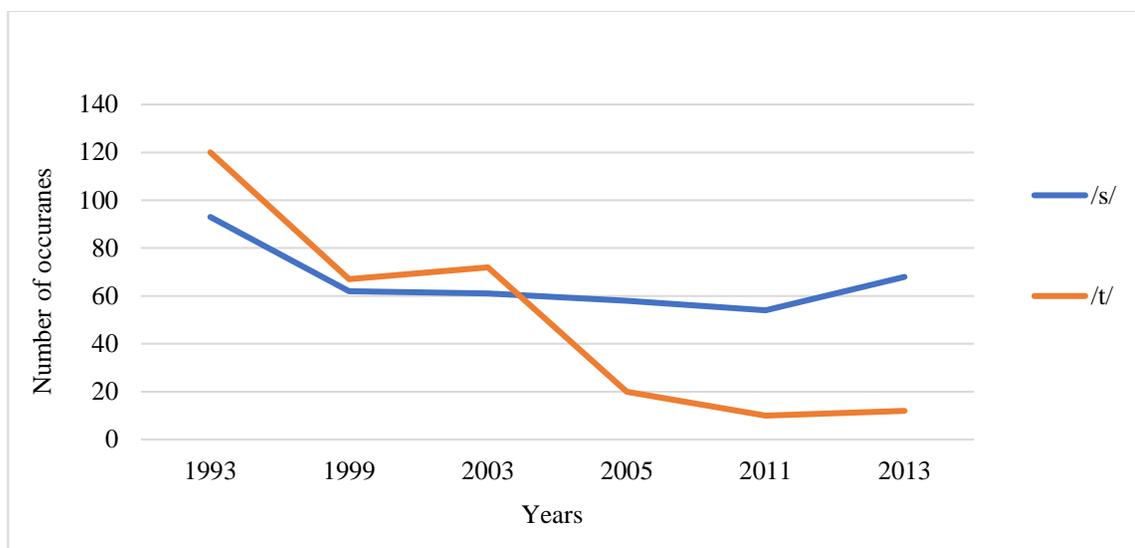
Figure 7: The diachronic frequency of realisation /s/ in English loan word

Figure 7 indicates that the phonological pattern /s/ is more stable than the /t/ alternative. It started from its peak in 1993, before decreasing over the next two decades, and slightly increasing in 2013. In contrast, the realisation of /s/ as /t/ peaked in 1993 and fell thereafter, with a slight recovery in the data sample from 2013.

## 4.20  Summary of the Chapter

The majority of English the loan words relevant to this study adapted to the phonological structure of the Central Kurdish dialect. The data suggests that a relatively small number of English loan words sustain their original phonological structures, which mostly includes loan initialisms. Phonological change is brought about by the application of a process of nativisation to loan words. The changes occur in both vowels and consonants and can include shifting, deletion, and addition.

The Kurdish realisation of English loan words retains a clear differentiation between the /r/ with /ř/ and /l/ with /ɫ/, as these are independent phonemes in Kurdish. In addition, there are various phonological phenomena evident within the data. Several dissimilar types of segment change appear in the collected data; these include epenthesis (anaptyxis, prothesis), monophthongization, vocalic shorting, and vocalic lengthening. In addition, a small number of consonants and vowels seem to have been altered in an unsystematic fashion.

Finally, this chapter shows the phonological chnages of English loan words over a period of time. In which a minor group of phonemes are pronounced in two different ways in Kurdish as /dʒ/, /v/, /k/ and /s/.  The diachronic analysis suggests that in some cases Kurdish writers are motivated by their desire to use a form closer to English than Arabic.

# 5 CHAPTER FIVE: MORPHOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

## 5.1 Introduction

In much the same way that loan words can be adapted to the phonological structure of Kurdish, they may also be adapted morphologically. The current chapter provides a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the diachronic morphological adaptation of English loan words into the Central Kurdish dialect through reference to the morphological structures of the two languages. This analysis includes all aspects of the derivational and inflectional assimilation through the creation of a list of free and bound morphemes among the loans from English in the data collected for this study. These free and bound morphemes sometimes co-occur with other morphemes from both English and Kurdish. The hypothesis of this chapter is that the bound morphemes, whether derivational or inflectional, may follow native Kurdish patterns rather than those of English.

This chapter also explores several related questions such as the types of morpheme which are mostly borrowed from English and the structural patterns used after the integration of loan words, whether any affixes are borrowed from English, and which parts of speech are generally borrowed.

In order to address these questions, it is necessary to analyse the morphological structure of words in both languages. Discussion of the two languages is difficult without outlining the basic morphological structure of both the Central Kurdish dialect and English, in order to identify the similarities and differences between them. In this chapter, the morphological structure of the loan words is examined in terms of their internal structure, primarily through an analysis of the types of morphemes, affixation and classes of words used, and how these are adapted to the morphological structure of Kurdish.

## 5.2 The Morpheme and Its Types

There is general agreement among linguists that the term 'morpheme' refers to the smallest meaningful unit of a word; each word may contain one or two meaningful units (Fromkin,

Rodman and Hyams, 2003: p.588 and Fattah, 2006: p.8). Similarly, Marf defines a morpheme in Kurdish (2000: p.27) as "a word or a part of a word which has a meaning and which cannot be divided into smaller meaningful parts without violation of its meaning or without meaningless remainders".

In Kurdish, there are various views on the classification of morphemes. Depending on the way in which morphemes occur in speech, they can be classified into free and bound types, as described by Fattah (2006: p.8) in the traditional grammar of Kurdish and by Yule (2010: p.66) in English.

A free or independent morpheme is one in which the morpheme can function as a word; it is defined as a single meaningful word which can stand alone, such as '*book*', '*close*', '*eat*' (Yule, 2010: p.66). According to Fattah, a free morpheme in Kurdish can be categorised into two groups: lexical and functional morphemes. Lexical morphemes includes nouns such as <دار > '*dar*' (tree), < مندالٌ > '*mndal*' (child), <بالٌ> '*bal*' (wing); verbs such as <هات> '*hat*' (come), <چوو> '*chú*' (go), <کوشت> '*kusht*' (kill); and adjectives such as<دريٌژ > '*drezh*' (long), <گەورە> '*gewre*' (big), <سارد> '*sard*' (cold) (Fattah, 2006: pp.79-86). This set of nouns, verbs and adjectives conveys the content of messages in Kurdish in the same way as in English. Functional morphemes consist largely of the functional words in both languages, for example conjunctions such as <و> '*u*' (and), <بەلٌام> '*belem*' (but); prepositions such as <بۆ>'bo' (to), <بە> 'be' (in/at); and pronouns, such as <من> '*mn*' (I), <خۆم> '*xom*' (myself). These carry grammatical rather than lexical meaning.

In a similar way to English, bound or dependent morphemes in Kurdish are minimal grammatical morphemes, usually attached to a free morpheme so as to have a distinct meaning (Crystal, 1992: p.47 and Marf, 2000: p.33). Bound morphemes in both English and Kurdish usually occur in the form of affixes. According to Fattah (2006: p.48), the root has a semantic value, but each language uses affixes for the purposes of creating new words, according to morphological criteria for language classification. In English, affixes are classified according to their position into three types: prefixes '*in-, sub-, re-, anti-*[75]', infixes

---

[75] *Anti* in the Kurdish texts is generally treated as a free morpheme, as in '"eenty dimukrasy" (anti democracy). However, in English, this term is used only as a prefix. ("anti, adj. and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 7 November 2016).

*'gave, ground'* and suffixes *'-al, -ure, -ism'* (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams, 2003: pp.83-84). However, in Kurdish, affixes only occur in the form of prefixes and suffixes (Hamawandy, 2012: pp.10-11). Prefixes include <به-> *'-ba'*, <دا> *'da-'* and suffixes <ایهتی-> *'-ayetí'*, <ەکە-> '-eke'[76]. In most cases, there is no infix morpheme in Kurdish although Fattah has argued that infixes existed in archaic Kurdish.

| Kurdish | Meaning in English | Loan words |
|---------|--------------------|-----------|
| sha**ba**k | dawn | shak |
| as**w**ar | relics | asar |
| bz**a**utin | movement | bzutin |

Table 47: Infixes in ancient Kurdish

(Fattah, 2006: p.37)

This table shows how infixes were used in the ancient Kurdish language. However, this view is rejected by the majority of the modern Kurdish linguists, including authors such as Hamawandy (2012: p.10). His justification is that these words may be borrowed from the Arabic language, with sound changes, and these changes may be a result of the phonological integration of loan words rather than infixes. No examples of infixes occur in the English loan words in the data collected for this study.

Affixes in both English and the Central Kurdish dialect are classified according to their function into derivational affixes (derivational morphemes) and inflectional affixes (inflectional morphemes) (Hamawandy, 2012: p.10). Derivational affixes in Kurdish are similar to those in English, and are used in creating news word; that is, new words are formed by changing the grammatical class of a word through the addition of a either a prefix, a suffix, or both. For example, the suffix '*-ness'* changes the adjective *good* to the noun *goodness*; the noun *care* becomes the adjective '*careful'* or '*careless'* (Ibid: p.9). Similarly, in Kurdish,

---

[76] Kurdish Academy of language, 2008, http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/668. (Accessed: 11th July 2015)

&lt;گەر&gt; = *'gar'* (move) is the root verb, and when the suffix *'–ok'* is added, this becomes the adjective  &lt;گەرۆک&gt; = *'gerok'* (movable). However, the grammatical class of a word is not always changed by the addition of a derivational suffix. For example, the word *'kar'* = (job) is a noun, and when the suffix *'–ga'* is added to make *'karge'* (factory), this is remains a noun although the meaning is changed (Hamawandy, 2012: p.5).

| Derivational morpheme | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central Kurdish dialect | | | English | | |
| Derivational morpheme | Function | Example | Derivational morpheme | Function | Example |
| -ga | forming names of places | 'yariga' (stadium) | -ify | forming a verb | 'purify' |
| -yar, -saz, -ewan, -ewa, -chy | forming a simple agent noun | *'zmanewan'* (linguist) *'Postecy'* (postman) | -cation | forming a noun | purification |
| -iety, -'ety | forming an abstract noun | 'yak'ety' (union) | -ly | forming an adverb | hopefully |

Table 48: Derivational morphemes in the Central Kurdish dialect and English

In both languages, the inflectional morphemes are used to show aspects of the grammatical function of a word rather than to produce a new word. They are frequently used to demonstration whether a word is singular or plural, whether it is present or past tense, or a comparative, possessive or superlative form (Yule, 2010: p.64 and Hamawandy, 2012: p.5). In a similar way to English, the inflectional morphemes in Kurdish include the plural suffix &lt;ان-&gt; = *'-an'* with its allomorphs  &lt; ات-&gt; = *'-at'*, &lt; یان-&gt; = *'-yan'* and &lt;هات-&gt; = *'-hat'*, the superlative and comparative suffixes and marks for tense and aspect. In addition, the Kurdish

inflectional system includes the definite article <ه‌که-> = *'-eke'* with its allomorphs[77] <ه‌که‌ی-> = *'-ieke'*, <ک‌ه-> = *'-ek'* and <ک‌ه‌ۆ-> = *'-oke'*, indefinite articles <ک‌ی‌ن-> = *'-'ek'* or <ک‌ه‌ی-> = *'iek'* (Thackston, 2006: p.8) and izafa marker[78] <ی-> = *'-y'* (Mohidden, 2009: pp.38-39). The definite and indefinite articles and the proposition *of* in English all occur in the form of individual words, as *the*, *a* or *an* and *of*, unlike in Kurdish, in which they are attached to the word, for example *'part**eke**'* (the party), *'part**'ek**'* (a party) and *Perleman**y** Kurdistan* (Parliament of Kurdistan).

---

[77] The different allomorphs depend on the phoneme endings of the word; for example, '-eke' is used with words ending with a consonant, and '-ke' is used with words ending with a vowel.

[78] matches to the preposition *of*, and is added between a noun and an adjective in a phrase (Hamawandy, 2012: p.12).

| Inflectional morpheme | | | | | | | |
| Central Kurdish dialect | | | | English | | | |
| Parts of speech | Inflectional morpheme | Function | Example | Parts of speech | Inflectional morpheme | Function | Example |
| nouns | <ان-> '-an' | plural marker | 'kuran' (boys) | noun | -s | plural marker | 'dogs' |
| noun and adjective | <ەکە-> '-eke' | definite marker | 'kureke' (the boy) | | | possessive | 'dog's' |
| | <ێک-> '-'ek' | indefinite marker | 'kurek' (a boy) | verb | | third person singular (present tense) | 'writes' |
| | <ی-> '-y' | izafa marker | perleman**y** Kurdistan (Parliament of Kurdistan) | | -ed | past tense marker | 'booked' |
| verb | <وو-> '-ú' <ی-> '-y' | past marker | 'hatú' (came) | | -ing | present participle marker | 'booking' |

| | <دە-> 'de-' | present marker | 'dexwa' (eats) | | -en | past participle marker | 'written' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| adjective | <تر-> '-tr' | comparative | 'nziktr' (closer) | adjective | -er | comparative | 'closer' |
| | <ترین-> '-trin' | superlative | 'nziktrin' (closets) | | -est | superlative | 'closest' |

Table 49: Inflectional morphemes in the Central Kurdish dialect and English

## 5.3   Lexical Morphemes in the Structure of the Central Kurdish Dialect

The Central Kurdish dialect has six parts of speech, including nouns (N.), pronouns (Pron.), adjectives (Adj.), verbs (V), adverbs (Adv.) and prepositions (Prep.) (Abdulla, 1980: p.23). The Kurdish lexical morpheme has a complex morphology structure, and one of the reasons behind this complexity is the widespread use of derivational and inflectional morphemes. Generally, gender and number are conveyed through case endings, as well as through the izafa positive inflection, although in Central Kurdish, only number is indicated rather than gender. Nouns and adjectives in the Central Kurdish dialect are either singular or plural; the plural nouns and adjectives are shaped by the addition of the suffix '–an' (Abdulla, 1980: p.23). Nouns and adjectives are distinguished by their function rather than their form.

Kurdish, like other west Iranian languages, is typologically non-harmonic in its component order. It has a head-modifier ordering of clauses; the verb is located in the final position, but noun phrases use a head modifier. One of the most noticeable structures of the noun phrase is the izafa construction '-y'; which always occurs between nouns and adjectives. The hierarchy of the Kurdish structure is subject, object and then verb (Haig and Matras, 2002: p.5).

Verbs in the Central Kurdish dialect are derived from the infinitive by eliminating the infinitivising marker –in from the root; for example, 'rosht' (go) is derived from 'roshtin' (to go). Kurdish has two tenses, present and past. The present has one form, for example 'derom' (I go), while the past tense has four dissimilar forms: the past simple 'roshtm' (I went), the immediate past 'roshtume' (I have gone), the past continuous 'daroshtm' (I was going) and the past perfect 'roshtbum' (I had gone) (Abdulla, 1980: p.23 and Haig and Matras, 2002: p.5).

Verbs in Kurdish occur in two different forms: a simple verb, which is generally a single element such as in the examples in the above paragraph, or compound verb which consists of two features. The first one can be a noun, adjective and adverbs but the second feature is a verb. For example, 'mele' (swimming) as a noun with the infinitive verb 'krdin' (to make) and becomes 'melekrdin' (to swim) or the adjective 'rast' (right) becomes 'rastkirdin' (to make something straight, or to tell the truth) (Abdulla, 1980: pp.23-24). The data shows that

129

the loan verbs in this study mostly occur in the second form (see section 5.7.4, Table 59 and Figure 16).

## 5.4  Result and Discussion

A familiar problem, which continually arises in discussions of language contact, is the question of which linguistic features can be borrowed from one language to another. The firm conclusions which have been drawn by most studies of language contact are that any linguistic units can be shifted from one language to another (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: p.44, Haspelmath, 2008: pp.49-48 and Crystal, 2010: p.48). However, all observers agree that certain features of languages are easier to borrow than others, and that not all features have a similar or even a practical way of being borrowed. Consequently, a detailed hierarchy of borrowed items has been suggested by several authors, for example by Haugen (1950) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988). Haugen's hierarchy deals more with the ordering of linguistic elements, while Thomason and Kaufman connect the types and ordering of linguistic elements with the strength of contact between the donor and recipient language. In their work, Thomason and Kaufman state that lexical items, especially non-basic vocabulary, are always the first elements borrowed; more intensive contact may also lead to structural borrowing, that is, phonological and syntactic influence.

The data collected for this study shows that Kurdish has borrowed some elements more frequently than others from English. Free independent morphemes have a much greater rate of borrowing than bound grammatical morphemes. Haspelmath (2008: p.49) has also acknowledged that free morphemes, and specifically lexical morphemes, are more often borrowed than grammatical bound morphemes, as shown in Table 50.

| Types of morphemes | |
|---|---|
| Free morphemes | Bound morphemes |
| 208 | 20 |
| 100% | 10% |
| Total number of types of loan words | 208 |

Table 50: Frequency of the types of morpheme of English loan words

Table 50 50 demonstrates the frequency of the types of morphemes of English loan words which can be identified in the data sampled for this study. As discussed in Chapter Three, there are 226 types of loan word in the Central Kurdish dialect borrowed from English. Among these, 18 types of English loan words are acronyms and initialisms, which are not classified as a morpheme in this study. This gives a percentage of:

18 (acronyms and initialisms) / 226 (types of English loan) = 7.9 %.

The remaining 208 English loan words, with a rate of 100%, are free morphemes. These 208 words are borrowed either as a free English morpheme with no associated bound morpheme in English, such as *parliament*, *system*, and *negative*, or as a free English morpheme with a bound English morpheme attached, such as *anarchism*, *chauvinism* and *chemical*. There are only 20 types of bound English morphemes which are attached to the free English morphemes.

Many researchers (Palmer, 2008: p.231 and Matras, 2015: p.47) state that bound morphemes are restricted to those borrowed from other languages. However, the data in this study indicated that the frequency of bound morphemes borrowed from English is approximately 10 % (20/ 208).

More specifically, the type of free morpheme which is most frequently borrowed is the lexical morpheme. In this study, the data indicates all of the 208 free loan morphemes are lexical words and do not show any features of the functional words borrowed in the Central Kurdish dialect. This view is also supported by van Hout and Muysken, who state in their study of the Quechua corpus that lexical words are more extensively borrowed than functional words (cited in Haspelmath, 2008: p.49). In addition, Weinreich (1953: p.56) has stated that "the vocabulary of a language, considerably more loosely structured than its phonemics or its grammar, is beyond question the domain of borrowing par excellence".

This study combines the hierarchies of borrowing set out by Haugen (1950) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988: p.74). In his hierarchy, Haugen ranked nouns as being easiest to borrow,

followed by verbs, adjectives, and then adverbs and prepositions. The data relevant to this study confirms that the frequency of nouns is higher than that of adjectives, verbs and adverbs (see section 5.5). The data includes no examples of borrowed prepositions. The hierarchy developed by Thomason and Kaufman depends on the type and nature of the contact between the two languages. Based on these authors' 'borrowing scale', the casual contact between Kurdish and English causes lexical borrowing of non-basic elements (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: p.74); these non-basic content words contain nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Functional words are only borrowed when there is slightly more intensive contact between languages. The contact between Kurdish and English has been significant only in the last decade, and particularly from 2003 onwards, and most of the borrowed features are therefore non-basic vocabulary. Additionally, Thomason and Kaufman state that phonological, morphological and syntactic borrowing needs a strong contact between languages (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: p.75 and Thomason, 2001: p.10). Despite the short period of contact between Kurdish and English, the data confirm that English has had some effect on the morphological structures of Kurdish through the borrowing of a number of bound morphemes, and especially derivational morphemes (see section 5.10).

The reason for this is that lexical morphemes include the content words, nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs; these are defined as open-class words. Open-class words are the elements of words which have lexical meaning, and new words can be easily added to them (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams, 2003: p.73). There is therefore a high possibility of coining new words by putting two words together to form new nouns and verbs, and by borrowing new words from other languages (Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009: p.197). Conversely, functional morphemes are referred to as closed-class words and include words such as articles, pronouns and prepositions. Closed classes generally fulfil a grammatical function, and it is much more difficult for a new word to enter this class (Ibid: p.74). In addition, there may be the cultural motives behind the reality that lexical items are so conducive to borrowing; native Kurdish speakers frequently need to introduce new notions in the political field to fill the lexical gaps in this area.

The data also show a group of compound English loan nouns, which are classified as free morphemes. The structure of these compound nouns (CN) is problematic; particularly for a

monolingual native speaker of Kurdish, it can be difficult for native speakers to analyse loan words containing more than one morpheme. For instance, the loan expressions *cameraman*, *database* and *self-determination* are usually separated into the single free morphemes *camera* and *man*, *data* and *base, self* and *determination*. However, in some texts these expressions retain their English structure.

## 5.5   Semantic Word Classes

The free morphemes found in the data from the sampled years consist entirely of content words, which are nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. These occur with varying rates and frequencies, and some features are more likely to be borrowed from English than others.

Table 51 shows that the English loan word types can be classified into several semantic word classes. Some types of loan words are categorised in more than one semantic word class (see Appendix 1). For example, *federal*, *classic*, *international*, *logical*, *national*, *socialist* and *systematic* can be used as both nouns and adjectives and are classified here according to their use in Kurdish contexts. Although, the percentage deals with the type of the loan words, not tokens, that is why these words are counted twice.

| Parts of speech | Total number of types | Total types of loan word | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| noun | 204 | 226 | 90.2 % |
| adjective | 20 | | 8.8 % |
| verb | 3 | | 1.3 % |
| adverb | 2 | | 0.8 % |

Table 51: Analysis of the semantic word class of types of English loan words

Table 51e 51 shows the percentages of the types of English loan words in terms of their semantic word classes of noun, adjective, verb and adverb. Overall, it demonstrates that

nouns are considerably more frequent among the English loan words than all other parts of speech in the Central dialect.

The data shows that nouns occur at a rate of 90.2 % (204/ 226), whereas the other categories are much smaller. The adjective class is the second largest, with a frequency of 8.8 % (20/ 226); the other word classes of verb with a frequency of 1.3 % (3/ 226) and adverb are very much smaller, with frequencies of 0.8 % (2/ 226) for each.

These results accord with Haugen's hierarchy of borrowing, in which he identifies nouns as being easiest to borrow, followed by verbs, adjectives and adverbs. This hierarchy is somewhat supported by numerous other linguists in this field, such as Appel and Muysken (1987: p.172), Poplack Sankoff and Miller (1988: p.63), Curnow (2001: p.415), Haspelmath (2008, pp.49-50), Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009, pp.61-64) and Matras (2011). The outcomes of ordering semantic word classes are presumably different depending on the languages involved; however, despite differences in these languages and in the periods of contact between these languages, a universal conclusion is that nouns are most regularly borrowed.

There are several possible reasons for nouns being borrowed more frequently from English, and for the lower frequencies of borrowing of adjectives, verbs and adverbs. One of these is that it is easy to form verbs, adjectives and adverbs from a noun. Nouns in Kurdish are characterised by a set of features or markers, in which nouns are easier to change in terms of their morphological form; these markers include parts of speech, numbers, and word-building.

The data show that certain nouns have been borrowed and then transformed into verbs or adjectives in Kurdish by the addition of a native suffix or prefix. For example, the words *atom* and *dictator* are borrowed as a noun, and then the native Kurdish suffixes *–y* and '*–iat'* are added to make adjectives in the Central Kurdish dialect; these then become *atomy* and *diktatoriat*, meaning 'atomic' and 'dictatorial' (see Table 58).

In the articles sampled, some of the English nouns form compound words which function as verbs. For example, the words *control*, *dialogue* and *democracy* are all borrowed as nouns to which various native Kurdish suffixes such as '*–danan'*, '*-krdn'* and '*ba-…-krdn'* are added

to turn these nouns into verbs in the Central Kurdish dialect. These become *kontrolkrdn* 'to make systematic', *badialoguekrdn* 'to form a dialogue' and *badimukrasykrdn* 'to practise democracy' (see Table 59).

A further reason is presumably that verbs are comparatively difficult to borrow because they tend to be more highly inflected (Curnow, 2001: p.415). In this case, the inflection systems have to be taken into account in both the donor and the recipient languages. For example, a verb in English contains inflectional morphemes which have a strictly grammatical function and mark the properties of tense, plurality, and possessive, comparative and superlative aspects. This is therefore not straightforward for non-bilingual Kurdish speakers to understand, and these speakers are likely to face problems in determining exactly what the roots are and how to fix these morphemes with the morphological system used in their own language. The lower possibility of borrowing verbs in English may also be due to the complex system of morphemes in Kurdish.

Weinreich (cited in Curnow 2001: p.415) also analyses the statement that verbs are problematic to borrow, and takes the view that the relative difficulty of borrowing verbs is lexical and semantic in origin rather than grammatical. In general, languages are more likely to borrow a word which refers to a concrete object, rather than a word which refers to an action. Van Hout and Muysken (1994: p.42) state that, "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". According to Appel and Muysken (1987: p.172) further anlysis the source of these hierarchies; depends on the coherence relations of paradigmatic and syntagmatic in language form, for example pronouns are less possible to be borrowed since the pronoun structure in the Kurdish language is more strongly organised than the other classes of adjective and noun. Classes that are inflexibly fixed in the syntagmatic relations of a sentence, for example verbs, offer fewer possibilities for borrowing than nouns. In which nouns are less critical to organis the sentence structure.

## 5.6 Morphological Adaptation of Loan Words

The data indicate several examples of the morphological adaptation of English loan words to the grammatical structure of Kurdish. The majority of English loan words in Kurdish are subject to the morphology of the recipient language. Table 52 shows the diachronic trends in how loan words have been adapted morphologically.

| Year | Loan word without morphological adaptation | | | Loan word with morphological adaptation | Token loan word |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | Free loan morpheme with no bound morpheme | Free loan morpheme with English bound morpheme | Total with no morphological adaptation | Free loan morpheme with native morpheme | |
| 1993 | 196 (20.6%) | 19 (2%) | 215 (22.6%) | 652 (68.6%) | 950 |
| 1999 | 146 (13.5%) | 21 (1.9%) | 167 (15.5%) | 810 (75.4%) | 1074 |
| 2003 | 138 (12.4%) | 70 (6.3%) | 208 (18.7%) | 836 75.4% | 1108 |
| 2005 | 62 (7.3%) | 79 (9.3%) | 141 (16.7%) | 680 (80.6%) | 843 |
| 2011 | 82 (8.1%) | 79 (7.8%) | 161 (15.9%) | 835 (82.5%) | 1011 |
| 2013 | 82 (8.5%) | 85 (8.8%) | 167 (17.3%) | 745 (77.2%) | 964 |

Table 52: Frequency of different types of free morpheme of English loan words

In general, the data in Table 52 can be classified into loan words without morphological adaptation and those with morphological adaptation. The former classification includes English free morphemes used in the Kurdish texts without any bound morphemes, whether English or Kurdish, or with a free English morpheme with a bound English morpheme. The latter category involves those free English morphemes which are attached by native Kurdish bound morphemes.
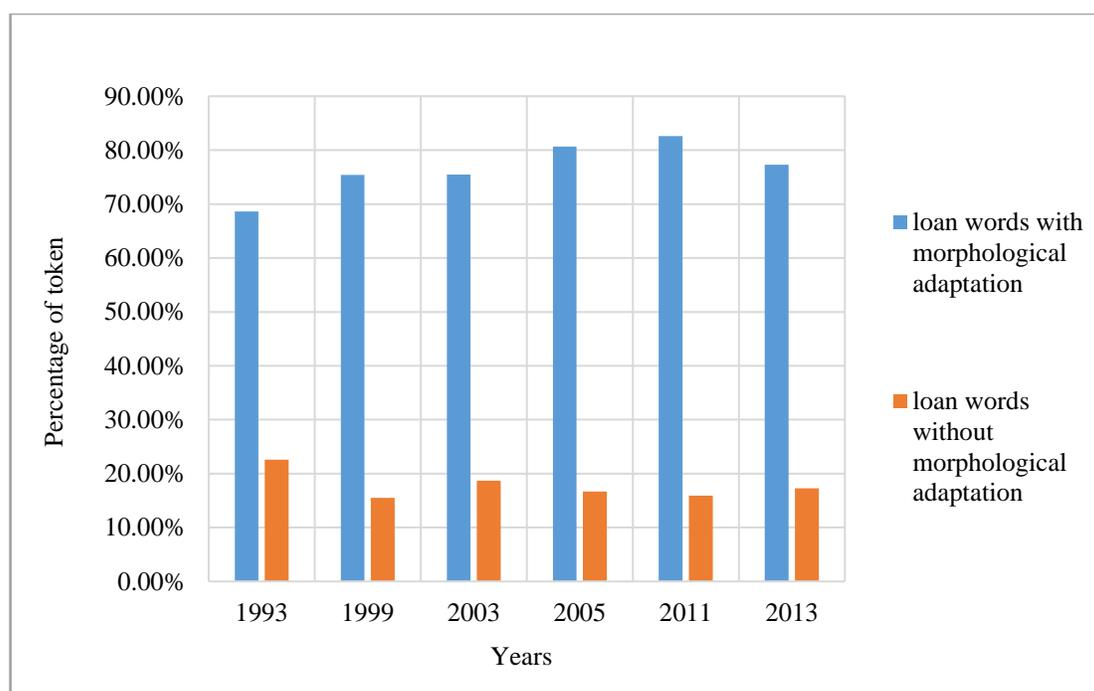


Figure 8: Percentages of loan words with and without morphological adaptation

Figure 8 illustrates that the nativised version generally overtakes the non-nativised form within the years chosen for this study. The relative frequency of the loan words which are adapted to the morphological structure of Kurdish has significantly increased almost every year, from 68.6 % in 1993 to 82.5 % in 2011, although there is a slight decline in 2013 to 77.2 %.

On the other hand, the frequency of non-adapted loan words fluctuates over these years. In 1993, the highest rate of 22.6% was recorded. This is presumably due to the limited

138

knowledge of the morphology of English by Kurdish native speakers; as a result of the limited contact of the time, loan words were being used in a way that was closer to that in English.

## 5.7   Free Loan Morpheme with Native Kurdish Morpheme

In this type, the English loan words show morphemic importation in which the English free morphemes stay unchanged. While, the other part of the lexical item borrowed from the English language is substituted by a native equivalent morpheme belonging to the Central Kurdish dialect.

The frequency of free loan morphemes with a native Kurdish bound morpheme is higher than that of free loan morphemes with no bound morpheme and free loan morphemes with an English bound morpheme.
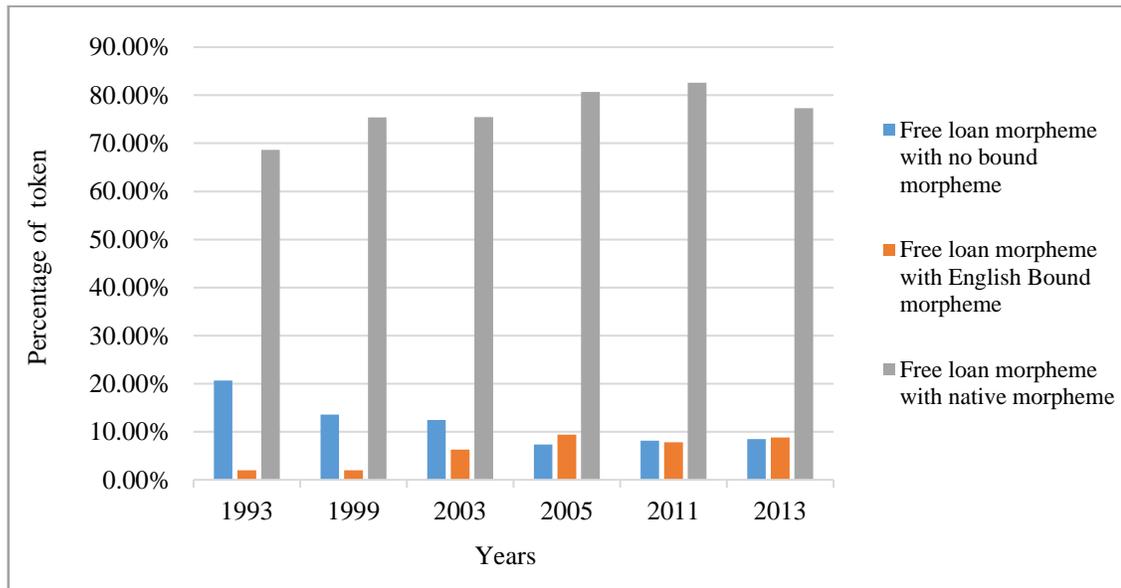


Figure 9: Diachronic percentage of the types of free morpheme of English loan words

The data in Figure 9 show that the use of free English loan morphemes with native Kurdish bound morphemes has significantly increased throughout the selected years. This indicates

that most of the English loan words are adapted to the morphological system of Kurdish, where English free morphemes are attached to one or two native Kurdish bound morphemes.

Consequently, "loan blends relate to words of foreign origin where the addition of a native morpheme to a foreign one is apparent" (Al-omoush and Al Faqara, 2010: p.29). According to Al-omoush and Al Faqara (Ibid), this morphological adaptation accounts for "complete transmorphemisation" which refers to the replacement of a foreign morpheme by a corresponding native one. According to Hasanpoor (1999: p.153), the strategy of loan blending shows the process of Kurdification of loan words. The data show that the nativisation process in Kurdish occurs at different levels, and takes place by the attaching of numerous Kurdish inflectional and derivational affixes to the English loan words as described below.

## 5.7.1 Definite and Indefinite Markers

The Kurdish definite article <-هکه> = '-eke' with its allomorph, and the indefinite article <یَك> = '-'ek'[79] or <یهك-> = '-iek',[80] are attached to most of the free English morphemes belonging to the class of nouns, as shown in Table 53 and Table 54.

| English definite article | Loan word | Kurdish definite article | Kurdish realisation (Latin script[81]) | Kurdish realisation (Arabic script) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| the | regime (N) = rjh'em[82] | -eke | rjh'emeke (N) | رژێمهکه |
|  | terrorist (N) = *tirorist* |  | tiroristeke (N) | تیرۆریستهکه |
|  | channel = *kenal* |  | kenaleke | کهناڵهکه |
|  | party = |  | partieke | پارتیهکه |

---

[79] '-'ek' is used with words ending with a consonant.
[80] '-iek ' is used with words ending with a vowel.
[81] The Yekgirtu letters are used based on Table 1 (see section 1.8).
[82] The loan word is used in Kurdish in this way.

| | party | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | project = projhe | -ke | projhe[83]ke | پرۆژەكە |
| | camera = kamira | | kamirake | كامیراكە |

Table 53: Kurdish definite articles attached to English loan words



Figure 10: Kurdish definite article used with the English loan word in the text[84]

Figure 10 shows a sample of a typical collected Kurdish article with two highlighted English loan words. These loan words are <پرۆژەكە> (project + the) = *projheke*.

| English indefinite article | Loan word | Kurdish indefinite article | Kurdish realisation (Latin script[85]) | Kurdish realisation (Arabic script) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | role = rol | -'ek | rol'ek' | رۆڵێك |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | parliament = perleman | | perleman'ek | پەرلەمانێك |
| | channel = kenal' | | kenal'ek | كەناڵێک |
| any | conference = konfrans | her -'ek | her konfrans'ek | هەر كۆنفرانسێك |
| | camera = kamira | | her kamiraiek | هەر كاميرايەك |

Table 54: Examples of Kurdish indefinite articles attached to English loan words

Table 53 and Table 54 also show the definite and infinite articles. Unlike in English, in which these occur as independent words such as *the* and *a,* in Kurdish they occur as an inflectional morpheme and are attached to loan words as they are to native words. The Kurdish indefinite article *her* is used in the same way as 'any' in English, as an independent word in addition to the attached inflectional morpheme '-*'ek*'.

Figure 11: Examples of the Kurdish indefinite article used with English loan words in the text[86]

This typical piece of Kurdish text demonstrates two occurrences of English free morphemes; the word <سیستەم> (system) is attached to the indefinite Kurdish marker to form <سیستەمێکی> (system + a) = *sistem'eky*.

## 5.7.2 Singular and Plural Markers

Most of the nouns in the data collected for this study appear in singular form; Kurdish speakers tend to keep the main English morpheme unchanged. However, when these do occur in the plural form, the English plural suffix is replaced by the corresponding Kurdish plural marker (see section 5.2).

| English plural markers | Loan word | Kurdish plural marker | Kurdish realisation (Latin script) | Kurdish realisation (Arabic script) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -s | role = rol | -yan | rolyan | ڕۆڵیان |
| | method = m'etod | | m'etodyan | مێتۆدیان |
| | candidate = kandid | -an | kandidan | کاندیدان |
| | dictator = dktator | | dktatoran | دکتاتۆران |

Table 55: Examples of Kurdish plural markers attached to English loan words

Figure 12: Examples of a Kurdish plural marker attached to an English loan word in the text[87]

This typical piece of Kurdish text demonstrates the English free morpheme <میتۆد> = *metod* (method) is attached to the plural Kurdish marker <یان-> = '*-ian*' to form <میتۆدیان > (methods) = *metodian*.

[87] *Xebat* newspaper, 17th January 2011, issue no. 3676.

## 5.7.3 The Izafa Marker

The Kurdish inflectional morpheme izafa <ى-> (of) = *'-y'* is attached to most of the loan words. The izafa marker works to link words and form *endocentric constructions*[88] (Abdulla, 1980: p.101).

The izafa marker is used between the loan words indicating that they have been permanently adapted into the morphological structure of Kurdish, as illustrated in Table 56.

| Loan word | Kurdish Izafa marker | Kurdish realisation (Latin script) | Kurdish realisation (Arabic script) |
|---|---|---|---|
| secretary = *skrt'er,* party = *party* | -y | skrt'ery party (secretary of party) | سکرتێری پارتی |
| role = rol | | roly galy kurd (role of the Kurdish nation) | رۆڵی گەلی کورد |
| Organ = *'eorgan* democratic = *dimukraty* party = *party* | | organy party dimukraty (organ of democratic party) | ئۆرگانی پارتی دیموکراتی |

Table 56: Realisation of Kurdish izafa marker attached to English loan words

---

[88] An endocentric construction is a structure that contains a head, which is the single compulsory element in the structure, accompanied by one or two optional elements.
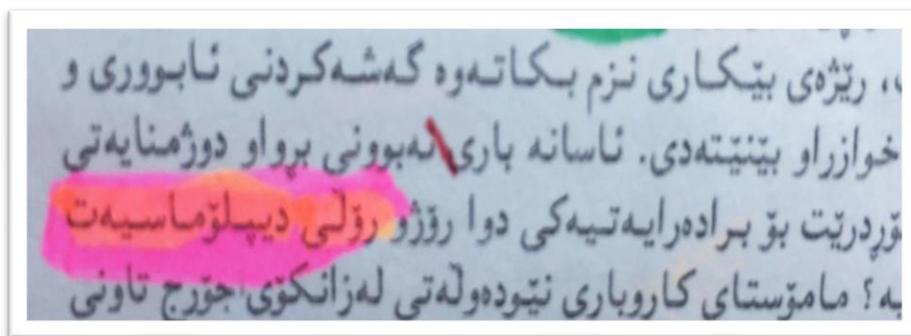
Figure 13: Examples of Izafa markers attached to English loan words in the text[89]

This typical piece of Kurdish text demonstrates the two English free morphemes <ڕۆڵ> = *rol* (role) and <دیپلۆماسیەت> = diplomasiat (diplomatic), there is an Izafa marker <ی-> = '–y' attached to the *role* to form <ڕۆڵی دیپلۆماسیەت> (role of diplomatic) = *roly diplomasiat.*

Several of the loan words are attached to more than one bound morpheme. The examples in Table 57 are attached to the definite marker and the plural marker simultaneously.

| Loan word | Kurdish inflectional morpheme | Kurdish realisation (Latin script) | Kurdish realisation (Arabic script) |
|---|---|---|---|
| post = post | -ek -an | postekan (the posts) | پۆستەکان |
| system = *sistem* | | sistemakan the systems | سیستەمەکان |
| federal = *fidraly* | -iek -an | Fidraliekean (the federals) | فیدرالیەکان |
| principle = *prensip* | -ek -an -y | prensipekany (the principles of) | پرەنسیەکانی |

---

Table 57: Examples of more than one bound morpheme attached to a single loan word



Figure 14: Examples of several bound Kurdish morphemes attached to a single loan word in the text[90]

Figure 14 shows how the English loan words <ئۆپراسیۆن> (oppression), and <میکانیزم> (mechanism) are attached to the Kurdish definite morphemes –*ek* and plural morpheme –*any*. They occur as <ئۆپراسیۆنەکانی> (the oppressions) = *'eoprasionekany* and <میکانیزمەکانی> (the mechanisms of) = *mikanizmekany*.

---

[90] *Xebat* newspaper, 14th January 2013, issue no. 4236.

## 5.7.4 Derivational Kurdish Morphemes

In addition to inflectional morphemes, derivational Kurdish morphemes may also be attached to the English free morphemes.

| Loan word | Kurdish derivational morpheme | Function | Kurdish realisation (Latin script) | Kurdish realisation (Arabic script) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| dictatorship (N) = *dktator* | –iety | forming abstract noun | dktatoriety[91] | دكتاتۆریەتی |
| terrorist (N) = t'erorist | -y | to create adjective | t'eroristy [92] | تێرۆریستی |
| parliament (N) = perleman | -tar ـتار | changing meaning | perlemantar[93] | پەرلەمانتار |
| syndicate (N) = *sendika* | -kar کار | changing meaning | sendikakar[94] | سەندیكاكار |

Table 58: Examples of Kurdish derivational morphemes attached to a loan word

Attaching a Kurdish derivational morpheme to free loan morphemes sometimes aids in forming a new word, and this adds to the vocabulary in Kurdish. For example, the meanings

---

[91] Meaning: dictatorial.
[92] This has the same meaning as in English; only its part of speech is changed.
[93] Meaning: member of Parliament.
[94] Meaning: a person who works for a syndicate.

of *parliament*[95] and *syndicate*[96] are borrowed from English, and when they are attached to the Kurdish morphemes '-*tar*' and '-*kar*' they receive new meanings as 'member of Parliament' and 'a person who works for a syndicate' respectively.
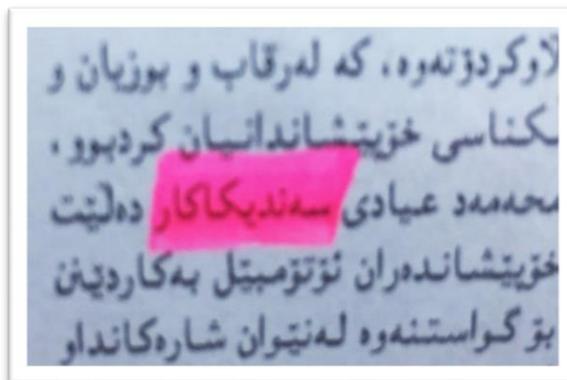


Figure 15: Example of Kurdish plural markers attached to English loan words in the text[97]

Figure 15 shows that the English loan words <سەندیکا> (syndicate), is modified by the Kurdish derivational morphemes '–*kar*'. They occur as <سەندیکاکار> (a person who works for a syndicate) = *sendikakar*.

Furthermore, the data also show that the loan words can sometimes be used to form a compound infinitive verb by attaching verb elements such as <کردن> '*krdn*' (to do), <هاوێژ> '*haw'ejh*' (to throw), and <دانان> '*danan*' (to put) to some of the loan words. In this case, the parts of speech of the loan words change correspondingly, and verbs are then formed from these words.

| Loan words (N) | Verb element (V) | Compound infinitive in Kurdish (V) | Kurdish realisation of the compound |
|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |

[95] A formal council or assembly of magnates summoned; "parliament, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 1 October 2016.

[96] A council or committee appointed for some specific duty. "syndicate, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 1 October 2016.

[97] *Xebat* newspaper, 24th January 2011, issue no. 3682.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| bomb = *bomb* | haw'ejh (to throw) | bombahaw'ejh ( to throw a bomb) | بۆمبا هاوێژ |
| candidate = *kandid* | krdn (to nominate) | kandidkrdn (to nominate a candidate) | کاندید کردن |
| censorship = *sancor* | danan (to impose or to implement) | sancordanan (to impose censorship) | سانسۆر دانان |
| system = *sistem* | | sistemdanan (to implement a system) | سیستەم دانان |
| programme = *program* | | programdanan (to implement a programme) | پرۆگرام دانان |
| democracy = *dimukrasy* | be-....-krdn (to practice) | badimokrasikrdn (to practice democracy) | بەدیموکراسی کردن |
| dialogue = *daialog* | | badaielogkrdn (by forming a dialogue) | بەدایەلۆگ کردن |

Table 59: Formation of compound infinitive verbs
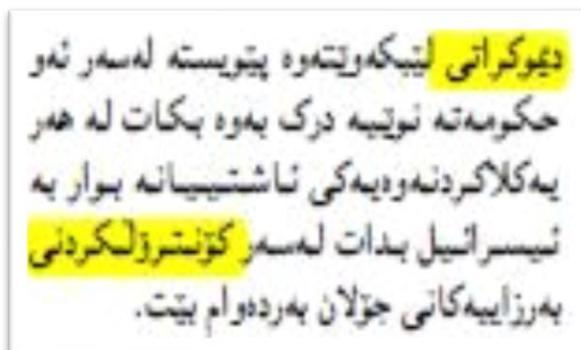


Figure 16: Example of formation of a compound infinitive verb in the text[98]

Here, Figure 16 shows that the highlighted loan word ⟨کۆنترۆڵ⟩ (control) is modified by the verb element ⟨کردن⟩ '*krdn*' (to do) to form a compound infinitive verb ⟨کۆنترۆڵکردن⟩ (to control) = *kontrolkrdn*.

## 5.8  Free Loan Morpheme with No Bound Morpheme

Figure 9 (see section 5.7) also shows the diachronic trend in the free loan morphemes which stand independently of attached English or Kurdish bound morphemes. Unlike the free loan morpheme with Kurdish bound morpheme, the relative frequency of this type significantly decreased in most years, from 20.6 % in 1993 to 7.3 % in 2005, although this increased in 2011 and 2013.

The morphological adaption of the English loan words in this type can be described in terms of "zero transmorphemisation", as described by Al-omoush and Al faqara (2010: p.29). In this sense, no Kurdish affixes are attached to the English loan words and these remain in the same morphological form in which they occur in English.



Figure 17: Examples of free English loan morphesmes with no bound morpheme[99]

---

[99] *Xebat* newspaper, 14th January 2013, issue no. 4236.

Figure 17 illustrates how the free English morphemes < دیالۆگ> (dialogue) = *daialog*, <لۆژیک> (logic) = *lojhik* and <کۆمپانیا> (company) = *kompania* are used in a typical Kurdish article without being attached to either a native or loan bound morpheme.

## 5.9 Free Loan Morpheme with English Bound Morpheme

The diachronic frequency of this group fluctuates. The bar chart in Figure 9 (see section 5.7) indicates that the trend within this group in the 1990s, and particularly in 1993 and 1999, was very low, and these show very similar percentages. In the last decade of the last century, the contact between Kurdish and English was very limited. However, the frequency of use of this group increased significantly in 2003, and reached its peak in 2005 with a frequency of 9.3 %. Following this, there was a slight decrease in the more recent years of 2011 and 2013. This demonstrates that the level of contact between English and Kurdish from 2003 onwards was higher than in the 1990s. This is due to the level of contact significantly increasing after 2003; a new age of language contact began when American and British forces came to Iraq in 2003 (Gunter, 2010: p.5). According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988: pp.78-79) the borrowing of a bound morpheme requires rather more intense contact between the donor language and the recipient language. Matras (2015: p.47) confirms that bound morphemes are less frequently borrowed than free morphemes. Among the reasons offered for this is the *paradigmaticity* of bound morphemes, in addition to their abstract semantic value, and the assumption that speakers of the recipient language are somewhat less aware of morphology (Ibid).

## 5.10 Types of English Bound Morpheme Borrowed

The most frequent type of bound morpheme borrowed from English is the derivational form, and these are limited in number (see Table 50). The English derivational bound morphemes are not always used with a Kurdish free morpheme, but instead are usually attached to the English free morpheme. According the borrowing scale put forward by Thomason and Kaufman, the bound morphemes are separated from borrowed words and attached to the

native lexis only after a more intense level of contact between the donor and recipient langauge.

| Derivational English morpheme attached to the loan word | | |
|---|---|---|
| Derivational morpheme | Function in English | Example of loan words used in the Kurdish texts |
| -al[100] | forming an adjective | classical, logical and practical |
| -ic[101] | forming an adjective | systematic, classic and diplomatic |
| -ive[102] | forming an adjective | alternative |
| -arian[103] | forming an adjective | totalitarian |
| -ship[104] | denoting the state or condition of being expressed by the noun | dictatorship and censorship |
| -logy[105] | forming nouns with the sense 'the science or discipline of (that indicated by the first element)' | methodology, sociology, anthropology and psychology |
| -ty[106] | forming a noun | loyalty |
| -ist[107] | forming a simple agent noun | terrorist, communist and Socialist |
| -ism[108] | forming the name of a theory or religious, ecclesiastical, | liberalism, pluralism, monopolism, realism, nationalism, modernism, mechanism, federalism, imperialism, |

---

[100] "-al, suffix1." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016.

[101] "-ic, suffix" *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016.

[102] "-ive, suffix." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 4 October 2016.

[103] "-arian, suffix." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016.

[104] "-ship, suffix." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016.

[105] "-logy, comb. form." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016.

[106] "-ty, suffix1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016

[107] "-ist, suffix." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016.

[108] "-ism, suffix." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016.

| | philosophical or political system | colonialism, chauvinism, fascism, anarchism, Marxism and Leninism |
|---|---|---|
| -er[109] | forming a derivative noun with the general sense 'a person who has to do with' | reporter, ruler |
| -ise[110] | forming a verb | organise |
| -ing[111] | forming a verbal derivative | voting, meeting |
| -ly[112] | forming an adverb | federally |
| -graphy[113] | an abstract Greek noun used to form a compound word | demography |
| neo-[114] | forming a compound modified form of some doctrine or belief | Neo-Nazism |
| petro-[115] | forming a compound noun | petroleum |
| self-[116] | forming a compound, used with a noun | self-determination |
| alter- | forming a compound | alternative |
| -cide[117] | forming a compound noun with the sense of killing | genocide |

[109]"-er, suffix1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 4 October 2016.

[110] "-ize, suffix." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 3 October 2016.

[111] "meeting, adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 16 July 2016.

[112] "-ly, suffix2." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 26 July 2016.

[113] "-graphy, comb. form." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 11 July 2016.

[114] "neo-, comb. form." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 12 July 2016.

[115] "petroleum, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 4 October 2016.

[116] "self-, prefix." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 4 October 2016.

[117] "-cide, comb. form2." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 4 October 2016.

| -cratic[118] | forming a compound adjective corresponding to a noun | bureaucratic |
|---|---|---|

Table 60: Borrowed derivational English morphemes

Table 60 shows various examples of the derivational morphemes which are borrowed from English. These morphemes mostly occur in the form of suffixes, although certain prefixes also occur, such as *alter-*, *self-*, *petro-*, and *neo-*. The borrowed derivational morphemes have multiple functions; some of these are used to form various parts of speech, such as *–al*, *-ic*, *-ive*, and a group of them are used to form compound words such as *-graphy*, *-cratic*, *neo-*. Among the derivational loan morphemes, only two suffixes are used to form verbs (*-ise)* and adverbs (*–ly)*.

The majority of the free English loan morphemes that are attached to English derivational morphemes have the suffix *–ism*. This morpheme deals with the terminology of various systems and theories within the field of politics and government (for instance *imperialism*, *pluralism* and *federalism*) and economics (for instance *monopolism*). Since the current work deals with loan words in the political discourse, these types of loan words are expected to occur in the data.

---

[118] "-cratic, comb. form." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 4 October 2016.

Figure 18: Examples of derivational English morphemes with free morphemes in the text[119]

The highlighted loan words in Figure 18 are ‹ئايديالی› (ideally) = ‹ئايديالی› *ʔaidialy* and ‹ئايدياليزم› (idealism) *ʔaidializm,* and are used twice in the same form.

---

[119] *Xebat* newspaper, 11th April 2011, issue no. 3747.

## 5.11 Summary of the Chapter

The data in this chapter analyse in term of morphology, in which shows many adaptions deal within the scope of the Central Kurdish dialect structure.

Throughout the comparatively short period of language contact between English and this dialect, lexical items are often borrowed from English. In addition to this, the loan words show a statistically much stronger preference for the semantic class category of nouns.

The adaptation process in this chapter depends on the structures impact of English on the Central dialect with regard to free or bound morphemes appear to be the importance of the position of these elements. The data show several illustrations of the morphological adaptation of the English loan words, in which the majority of English loan words in Kurdish are subject to the morphological structure of the Central Kurdish dialect. Quantitatively, the frequency of English free loan morphemes that are attached to native Kurdish bound morphemes is relatively higher than the rates of occurrence of free loan morphemes alone or free morphemes attached to English morphemes.

The diachronic trend of the data shows that adaptation to the morphological structure of Kurdish has increased significantly nearly each year since 1993, however there is a slight tendency back towards less integrated forms in 2013. Conversely, the frequency of non-adapted loan words reached its maximum in 1993.

# 6 CHAPTER SIX: SEMANTIC ADAPTATION

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the semantic changes in the political lexis of English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect, which are deeply connected with the political status of the Kurdish community. It aims to illustrate how the meanings and forms of English loan words have been integrated into the lexical system of this dialect across the years within the sample investigated.

This chapter deals with the frequency of English and Arabic loan words in observed political discourse. These political loan words are then classified into different semantic distributions by year to reveal any trends in semantic distribution across time. The study thus provides a diachronic account of the influence of English on the Kurdish political lexis during this period of significant change. In addition to this, it displays the frequency of the fifteen most-frequently used loan words throughout the selected years and gives some explanations of why some terms might occur with higher frequency than others.

## 6.2 Literature Review

This chapter explores the semantic adaptation of English loan words to the semantic structure of the Central dialect of Kurdish. To the best of the author's knowledge, there is no previous research in this precise area, but related previous studies exploring semantic changes in Arabic and Persian loan words in Kurdish do exist.  For example, Hasanpoor (1999: pp.152-153) and Abdulla (1980: pp.146-147) classified their data into loan shift extension and loan shift creation types that generate new native morphemes with meanings based on their Arabic or Persian models. For instance, the loan '*maf*' (rights) as a loan shift extension in Kurdish has acquired the extended meaning (human rights) as used in Persian, with the same meaning (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.27). In addition, Hasanpoor treated loan translation as a kind of creation rather than simple lexical borrowing. His justification for this is that loan words are typically formed by Kurdish substitution rather than being borrowed items in and of themselves. For example, the Persian word *'danishgha'* (university) consists of two parts '*danish' + 'gha'*

(knowledge + place) and is borrowed into Kurdish as '*zanistge*' (knowledge + place). The current chapter aims to shed some light on similar lexical semantic changes in English loan words once they are borrowed into Kurdish.

Earlier studies have also considered rates of lexical gain and loss among loan words in Kurdish. For instance, Hasanpoor (1992) tried to estimate the frequency of lexical gain in Kurdish from Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and European loan words. The limitation of this study is that Hasanpoor discussed lexical gain based only on Wahby and Edmonds' dictionary (1966) and did not collect his own data. Thus, his research did not add anything to the knowledge of loan words from various sources as presented by Wahby and Edmond. In addition, Hasanpoor (1992) stated that many Arabic loans in Kurdish fell from use during the period, which he described as lexical loss of these Arabic words. According to Hasanpoor, this happened because of the replacement of the Arabic loan word with a new loan word from Persian or a native Kurdish equivalent. In support of this position, he presents a list of Arabic loan words that had been replaced by Persian loan words, such as '*tijarat*' (trade) and '*iqtidar*' (power) replaced by '*bazirganikrdn*' and '*twana*'. A group of words were also replaced by Kurdish words; these include '*idrak*' (realisation), '*waqt*' (time), and '*zeman*' (period) replaced by their Kurdish equivalents '*peypebirdin*', '*kat*', and '*dem*', respectively (Hasanpoor, 1992).

Another point that this chapter addresses is the semantic distribution of English loan words within the political field, which is a new contribution in terms of the Central dialect. Many studies of loan words do not address the issue of semantic adaptation, and this creates a number of significant limitations for their analysis.

The quality of the loan words and their classification into different titles is one such limitation. Most of the relevant studies to this section show how loan words are classified into different fields such as politics, social, science and technology, education, and religion; studies of this type include Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988), Cannon (1996) and Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009). In their loan word typology project and the accompanying world loan word database, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: pp.6-8) present 1460 lexical meanings. They divide these meanings into twenty-four fields, including the physical world, animals, the body, food and drinks, clothing and grooming, and social and political relations.

However, this chapter is distinguished from these previous studies by dealing only with the semantic distribution of political loan words and with their classification within that field.

As an additional contribution, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) focus on the borrowed senses of loan words i.e. loaned senses rather than directly loaned words themselves. This can cause problems where a single meaning might belong to more than one word and there is no objective way of determining exactly where one sense is distinguished from another. '*People'* is one of the examples provided by Haspelmath and Tadmor, as it is a word that might refer to a *nation*, to *individuals*, to *citizens* collectively, or specifically to those without an elevated rank in society. It is not always possible to categorize a single usage to such precise definitions, either because the definitions imply a greater distinction than exists in reality or because the usage is ambiguous by accident or by design.

Some distinctions of loan senses between the categories are subjective. For example, some of the loan senses listed in the field of social and political relations might instead have been categorized under '*people'*, such as *king*, *queen*, *enemy*, and *guest*. However, this subjectivity might have positive points, as it can display an awareness that some words have more than one meaning but only one meaning is borrowed; it is, of course, extremely unusual for all the senses of polysemous loan words to be borrowed. The data for the current study also shows that the meanings of some loan words are limited in this way, such as the word *party*, which has several definitions in English dictionaries, of which only one is borrowed to Kurdish (see section 6.5).

The political loan words examined in previous studies deal with basic notions and general terms in politics. For instance, *to rule* or *govern*, *to liberate*, *people*, *king*, *queen, plot* and *enemy* are the types of loan senses which are classified in the political domain of the typological project by Haspelmath and Tadmor (1999: pp.32-33). Similarly to Haspelmath and Tadmor, Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988: pp.60-62). Cannon (1996: p.35) and classify political loan words in very general terms. Cannon classified historical and political terms in the field of social science; this work includes other terminologies such as economics, industry, linguistics, and sociology. This may be because the sources of his data were not bounded solely by the political contexts.  The kinds of political loan words in the current study directly relate to the political structure in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, which means

that they are mostly technical terms in politics rather than general terms. Political loan words from English cover a range of semantic areas, including political ideas, administrative and economic structures, political parties and international organizations, political processes and public activities, and media and technology. For this reason, *colonialism*, *parliament*, *democracy*, *opposition*, *party*, *referendum,* and *boycott* are among the most frequently used loan words in the data sampled for this study although they are unlikely to be the most frequently used English loans in daily usage.

Finally, comparison by the frequency of use is necessary in each semantic field. Take for example, the frequency of use loan sense in Haspelmath and Tadmor's work, which counts only 36 loan senses in the political domains out of the total 1460 examined (2009: p.7); similarly, Cannon (1996: p.35) tabulates 58 loan words without reference to their frequency of use. Although Poplack and her colleagues do not give a precise number of loan words in each field, they identified 2000 political loan words, which they classified into 50 semantic fields. In each case, the method of classification and the methodology used in data collection underlie limitations in the findings derived from these studies. For instance, collecting data from 41 languages from around the world, as Haspelmath and Tadmor did, requires an analysis of 1460 loan senses across all of these languages.

Alternatively, Poplack and her colleague collected data from informal conversation, and this provided them with 2000 different borrowed items. Collecting data from informal conversation is a strength for this type of study because it represents the language of real conversation. However, methodologically, there are limitations to the use of this method for a semantically focused study in that one either has to collect a large quantity of raw data to glean the occasional loan word or the researcher must tell people what to talk about, which goes a long way towards undoing the advantages of collecting conversational data.

The language that is used for newspapers, which this study is based on, reflects the wider society in terms of culture, attitudes, and opinions by the way it presents people and topics (see section 3.2). The data collection method and analysis used in the study have been designed to explore the frequency of use of English loan words in a genuine, though restricted, real-world context. This methodology also facilitates the analysis of loan words both by semantic field and diachronically.

## 6.3 The Data

All English loan words in the data sample were entered into Excel spreadsheets (see section 3.3 and 3.4). Then, for the purpose of analysing the semantic distribution, these loan words were classified under nine headings: political ideas; administration and economic structure; media and technology; party and organisation; ruler and person; political process and public activities; political violence; legislation and planning; and miscellaneous.

The different frequency of distribution of terms across the semantic categories reflects changes in the political situation over time during the previous two decades in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, as outlined in Chapter One. The government and administrative experience of Kurdistan region productively began after the Kurdish uprising in 1991, because the Kurdish people were no longer required to live under the rule of the previous Iraqi regime (Sadik, 2013: pp.8-9). In 1992, the first democratic election was held and the Kurdish government and parliament were established. According to Sadik (2013: p.9) the governmental system in the Kurdistan region has responsibility for administrative systems, include legislative and executive authorities and for political parties and the impact of these on the political system in the region. In addition, the Kurdistan regional government has worked to ensure that there is a connection between civil society and the government system by supporting internal and international organisations, and the media in playing a more productive role in promoting discussion and updating public opinion[120].

Data classified under the heading *political idea* largely deals with ideas that are used to conceal the deeper realities of political life in either a positive or negative way. For example, *federalism[121]*, *reform[122]*, and *autonomy[123]* are concepts which refer to the best way to form a successful political and government system in the region. In contrast, some other ideas might

---

[120] The KRG high REPRESENTATION to the UK, http://uk. gov. krd/pages/page.aspx?lngnr=12&smap=030000&pnr=25. (Accessed: 5th August 2015)

[121] "federalism, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 2 August 2016.

[122] "reform, n. and adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 2 August 2016.

[123] "autonomy, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 2 August 2015.

describe negative concepts that have affected the system of government such as *chauvinism*[124], *fascism*[125], and *radicalism*[126].

The category of *administration and economic structure* is the largest in this project. The loan words classified under this heading generally deal with political terms that play an essential role in the establishment and system of Kurdish government, such as *federal*, *parliament*, *diplomatic*, *technocrat*, *consulate*, *cabinet,* and *government*. Alternatively, they deal with public services, such as *passport, company, and college.* In addition, terms for all forms of economy are also classified here, including *budget, bill*, and *bank*. This is because the economy is considered to be an important pillar of the administration system in the region (Sadik, 2013: p.9).

The third category is *media and technology*. Loan words in this category relate to mass communication including *television* and *radio*. In addition, this grouping deals with the events and things that are discussed and shown in the media such as *news*, *film*, *report*, *photograph*, and *video.* Some other terms correlated to media fit in this category as well, including *censorship*, *channel*, *propaganda*, and *organ*. In addition, the category includes terms for all forms of technology and communication such as *technology*, *internet* and *computer*.

Smaller categories are *party and organisation* and *ruler and person. Party and organisation* largely consists of acronyms for international organisations, including *UN*, *UNESCO*, *UNHCR*, *WFP*, *FBI*, *CIA* and the names of the local Kurdish parties as *PUK*, *PDK*, and *PKK*. The semantic category of *ruler and person* deals with individuals who exercise power in society or who are in command or authority, and it includes words such as *police*, *diplomat*, *regime*, and *dictator.* It also incorporates those working for media organisation as in *reporter* and *cameraman* or *government staff in general*.

---

[124] "chauvinism, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 2 August 2015.
[125] "fascism, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 2 August 2015.
[126] "radicalism, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 13 August 2015.

*Political process and public activities* is a category that incorporates words for political meetings that solve issues and make decisions in the region, including *congress*[127], *meeting*, and *dialogue*. Where groups of experts gather for certain civil activities and events, terms such as *seminar*, *conference*, and *workshop* are more likely to be used. Terms dealing with the democratic process, including *voting*, *election*, and *referendum*, are also classified in this section.

The category of *political violence* includes terms used to describe violence done by either successive Iraqi governments or radical groups to achieve their political goals, and includes words such as *genocide*, *bomb, tank*, *TNT*, *terror*, and *terrorist*.

The *legislation and planning* group includes terms related to legislation and law making, such as *constitution*, as well as including terms that describe a series of actions that you need to take: *plan*, *project*, *mechanism*, and *contract*.

Finally, there is a group of loan words that do not fit within the defined groups; these are general terms, and they are therefore classified solely as miscellaneous; they include terms such as *factor*, *positive*, *control*, *dynamic*, *doze*, *chance*, and *idea*, which are not specifically political in their application.

## 6.4   Quantitative Semantic Analysis

The method adopted in this chapter is quantitative, in that the frequency of use of each loan word is noted and these figures collated to produce an annual total for each loan word and for the categories they fall into. For example, in 2003, the word *dictatorship* was used in seven articles with the following frequencies: one, two, three, five, six, eight, and ten. This produces a total for the year of 35 times. The annual totals for each word were then collated to produce annual totals for each semantic category, as shown in Table 61.

---

[127] The Kurdish representitatves referred to by *congress* are those attending political meetings and they are not representatives from the parties in a govermental body.

Raw totals for usage are not adequate as representations of frequency of use because the political sections in the newspapers under examination vary in size and layout over time. For this reason, the frequency could not be calculated per article, column inch, or page. This chapter therefore explores the frequency of occurrence of individual terms and semantic categories through time per thousand words. The total number of words for each year tends to be large; for instance, in 2003 it was 66,358. However, the number of instances of any individual word tends to be small. For example, the total frequency of the loan words that belong to the category *political idea* in 2003 was 165. In order to avoid expressing results as small decimals, they are therefore presented per thousand words of text rather than as a percentage, using the following formula:

(total number of occurrences / estimated number of words)* 1000 = frequency per thousand words

Using this, the figure for the category *political idea* in 2003 is (165 / 66358)* 1000 = 2.4 per thousand words.

| political idea | Number of occurrence | Estimated number of words in 2013 | Frequency per thousand words |
|---|---|---|---|
| communist | 8 | 66358 | 2.4 |
| radical | 3 | | |
| reform | 3 | | |
| totalitarians | 3 | | |
| colonialism | 4 | | |
| autonomy | 4 | | |
| chauvinism | 5 | | |
| modernism | 8 | | |
| nationalism | 8 | | |
| fascism | 11 | | |
| dictatorship | 35 | | |
| federalism | 71 | | |
| loyalty | 2 | | |

| total number of occurrence | 165 |
|---|---|

Table 61: The total number of each loan word (token) in the semantic field 'political idea' in 2003

## 6.5   The Meaning Adaptation of the English Loan Words

Most of the English loan words collected for this study have more than one meaning in English with a series of sub-meaning of which it is usual that only one is borrowed into the Central dialect. This type is called narrowing (specialisation). For example, *party*[128] has numerous meanings in English, including "a social gathering of invited guests" but the Central dialect has borrowed only "a formally constituted political group". Likewise, the OED lists several meanings for *film*[129], including "a thin skin or membranous covering" and "a thin coating". In Kurdish, however, its meanings are restricted to those related to cameras and motion pictures. Here, a question arises as to whether or not this is an artefact of the collected data, because it is obvious that the data collection for this project deals only with political senses; this therefore does not necessarily reflect whether the terms *party* and *film* are used with other senses in other parts of the newspapers that this study sampled. As a native speaker, I can confirm that there is a Kurdish word for the sense of "a social gathering of invited guests" which is  <ئاهەنگ> = '*eaheng*' and that the English loan word *party* is not used with this sense. The other meanings of *film* tend to be expressed by phrases in Kurdish and it will be interesting to monitor whether *film* comes to be used for these senses in the future.

Some of the loan words are borrowed with more than a sense, as in *diplomatic*, which is listed with several senses in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, including:

"A. adj.

---

[128] *"party, n." OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2015. Web. 1 July 2015.
[129] *"film, n." OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2015. Web. 1 July 2015.

1. Of or pertaining to official or original documents, charters, or manuscripts; textual.

*diplomatic copy*, *diplomatic edition*, an exact reproduction of an original. 1711- 1874.

2. Of the nature of official papers connected with international relations. 1780- 1780.

3. Of, pertaining to, or concerned with the management of international relations; of or belonging to diplomacy. diplomatic bag, one containing the official mail of members of the diplomatic body; cf. bag n. 7b; diplomatic body, diplomatic corps (French corps diplomatique), the body of ambassadors, envoys, and officials attached to the foreign legations at any seat of government; diplomatic immunity, the exemption from arrest, taxation, searches, etc., granted under international law to diplomatic personnel, their families and staff, when staying in a foreign country; diplomatic service, that branch of the public service which is concerned with foreign legations. 1789- 1971.

4. Skilled in the art of diplomacy; showing address in negotiations or intercourse of any kind. 1826- 1877.

B. n.

1. A diplomatic agent; = diplomatist n. 1791- 1836

2. The diplomatic art, diplomacy. Also in pl.  diplomatics n. and † in Latin form diplomatica (obs.). 1794- 1803.

3. 'The science of diplomas, or of ancient writings, literary and public documents, letters, decrees, charters, codicils, etc., which has for its object to decipher old writings, to ascertain their authenticity, their date, signatures, etc.' (Webster, 1828). Also in pl. 1808- 1894"[130].

However, only senses relating to skill in the art of diplomacy showing address in negotiations or intercourse of any kind and management of international relations and a sense to a diplomatic agent are borrowed from English, A 3 and 4 with B 1.

Another semantic change that affects this study is the process of generalisation (expansion), in which the meaning of a loan word is widened by obtaining a new sense/ meaning

---

[130] "diplomatic, adj. and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 23 November 2016.

(Filipović, 1968: p.110 and Crystal, 2010: p.332). By this means, in addition to retaining their original meaning, English words incorporated into the Central dialect may acquire additional meanings in the Central dialect. For example, the word *arm* has several meanings in English, but it has an additional meaning, *logo*, in Kurdish, where it is used to refer to a special design or visual object representing a company or group. The word *arm* in Kurdish is thus used in the sense of both *coats of arms* and for the more modern *commercial logos*. The English word *logo* is not used in Kurdish. Similarly, the loan word *congress* in Kurdish has an additional meaning besides its meaning in English of "a formal meeting or assembly of representatives for the discussion or settlement of some question in politics or as an annual meeting of some association in the society"[131]. The additional meaning occurs when it comes with the Kurdish word *'rojhnameuani'* (press), when it becomes *'kongre i rojnameuani'* (press conference). Here, instead of borrowing the word *conference* from English to Kurdish, Kurdish speakers employ the word *congress* to approximate the English phrase *press conference*.

Other loan words have changed their connotations from negative to positive meanings such as the word *nationalism*. The core ideology of this term usually has a positive connotation in Kurdish, because is built on the parting of Kurds from Arabs, Persians, and Turks. It therefore usually indicates support for national independence or self-determination. However, in English it sometimes has negative connotations in that it can refer to support for the interests of one nation to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations[132].

Conversely, a few of the loan words have changed their connotations from positive to negative, such as the word *plan*. In English, it means "an organized (and usually detailed) proposal according to which something is to be done; a scheme of action; a strategy; a programme, schedule"[133]. This word used directly in Kurdish has the same positive meaning as in English; however, the insertion of the vowel /i: / in the initial consonant cluster of the loan word *plan* = <پلان> /plan/ causes it to become <پيلان> /piːlaːn/. In this form, the word has negative connotations of conspiracy and means "the action of conspiring or a grouping

---

131 "congress, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 25 August 2016
132 "nationalism, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 24 July 2016.
133 "plan, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 24 July 2016.

of people for an evil or unlawful purpose", which might be expressed in English using the word *plot*.

Finally, some Kurdish compounds are created under the influence of English by the use of synonymous forms in Kurdish.

| English word | Kurdish word |
|---|---|
| - European Union | ‫یەکێتی ئەوروپا‬ - <br> [European union] <br> (word for word translation) |
| - Central Intelligence  Agency | ‫دەزگای ناوەندی هەواڵگری‬ - <br> [intelligence central agency] <br> (word for word translation) |
| -United Nations | ‫نەتەوە یەکگرتووەکان‬ - <br> [United nation] <br> (word for word translation) |

Table 62: Semantic translation of English structure into Kurdish

These examples in Table 62 emphasize that the native equivalent of these loan words already existed in the lexical structure of the Central dialect, so the response to introducing these terms was to translate the semantic meaning of loan words by using corresponding Kurdish terms. For example, the Kurdish equivalent of *united* is *'yekgrtuekan'* and for *nation* is *'netewe'* and these produce the Kurdish form *'netewe yekgrtuekan'*, with the noun appearing before the adjective, as is usual in the syntax of Kurdish. Based on Kurdish syntax structures, the terms *union*, *agency*, and *nations* are nouns and occur first, while *European*, *central*, and *united* are adjectives which follow the nouns. Crystal (1997: p.332), Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003: 514) and Görlach (2003: p.96) identify similar forms in their studies, where loan translations are re-shaped by the syntax of the recipient language. However, Hasanpoor (1999: p.154) argues that this converse substitution represents a new creation rather than a

169

type of loan in his study, because it consists solely of native materials. This classification may be motivated by his purist ideology.

## 6.6   The Orthographic Adaptation of Loan Words

When an English word is borrowed into the Central Kurdish dialect, it undergoes both phonological and orthographical changes to the phonemes and written form, since the words are pronounced as they are written.

Overall the data shows that the English loan words occur in two orthographic styles. Orthographic style in this sense includes writing style, standards of spelling of the loan words, capitalization, word breaks, and punctuation. The loan words relevant to this study are such that the form is typically, though not invariably, written in an Arabic script. In fact, almost 92% (208/ 226) of such words were borrowed with English meanings but Kurdish orthographical forms. These loan words follow the technique of writing style as in Kurdish, reading from right to left, using Arabic script in Kurdish articles rather than using the Latin script that would be used in an English language context. The standard spellings of these words are based on how these words are pronounced, as shown in  Figure 19.

Figure 19: English loan words written in Arabic script in the Kurdish text[134]

Figue 19 shows a typical Kurdish newspaper article, chosen from 2013, containing English loan words written in the Arabic alphabet. Without reading the article word-by-word, it is difficult to recognise the English words because all the words are written in the same alphabet and follow the same technique of writing style in Kurdish (See section 1.8). However, the highlighted words, <سیستەمە> = sisteme (this system), <پرۆسەی دیموکراتی> = prosey dimukraty (democratic process) <ئۆپۆزسیۆن> = opozsion (opposition), < پەرلەمان > = perleman (parliament) and < ڤێتۆ > = Vito (veto) are English loan words written in the Arabic alphabet.

In less frequent cases, some loan words are easy to distinguish because they are written between brackets; however, they still follow the same orthographic technique as a Kurdish native word, such as the loan word <ریفراندۆم> (referendum) in Figure 20. While, in the same figure the highlight word <پەرلەمانی> (parliament of) is written without the brackets.

Figure 20: English loan words written in Arabic script in the Kurdish text[135]

During the process of shifting the Latin script of the English loan words to Arabic script two steps must be taken into consideration by Kurdish native speakers. They must first identify graphemes across alphabetical systems (such as p = <پ>), and then to find a solution for those English graphemes which are without an equivalent in Kurdish. For example, /tʃ/ and /θ/ are rendered in English as <ch> but rendered as <چ> in Kurdish, while <th> does not exist either in the native graphemes or in the sound structure of Kurdish (see section 4.11.1). Here, the native speaker might find several different ways to represent this in native graphemes. Based on the collected data, <th> is generally represented as <ت> <t> in Kurdish native form.

A second style of writing of loan words found in the data deals with English acronyms and initialisms. This style group is comprised of 7.9 % (18/ 226) of the sample, and covers several types of English acronyms and initialisms. Examples are shown in Table 63.

---

[135] *Xebat* newspaper, 4th Feb. 2013, issue no. 4251.

| Loan word appearance in Kurdish articles | 1993 | | | 1999 | | | 2003 | | | 2005 | | | 2011 | | | 2013 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Latin | Arabic alphabet | both | Latin | Arabic alphabet | both | Latin | Arabic alphabet | both | Latin | Arabic alphabet | both | Latin | Arabic alphabet | both | Latin | Arabic alphabet | both |
| BBC / بی بی سی | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| CD | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| CIA / سی ئای ئەی | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| CNN | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| FBI | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| KGB | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| MOU | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| NATO / ناتۆ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| NGO | 0 | 0 | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| PDK / پ.د.ک | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| PKK / پ.ک.ک | 10 | 8 | 0 | 37 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| PUK | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| TNT | 12 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TV / تی ڤی | 7 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| UN | 16 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 0 | 45 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| UNESCO | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| UNHCR | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| WFP | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total of tokens | 67 | 12 | 4 | 81 | 2 | 14 | 61 | 0 | 3 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 3 | 45 | 3 | 4 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency per thousand | 1.2 | 0.2 | 0.08 | 1.4 | 0.04 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 0 | 0.05 | 0.5 | 0 | 0 | 0.2 | 0 | 0.06 | 0.8 | 0.05 | 0.07 |
| Estimated total number of words | 52775 | | | 54686 | | | 66358 | | | 43654 | | | 47648 | | | 55100 | | |

Table 63: English Acronyms and initialisms in Kurdish

Table 63 shows the frequency of occurrence of the 18 types orthography used for English acronyms and initialisms in typical Kurdish articles, most of which use these in different ways. However, because the recipient and donor language use different alphabets, the examples in this table are the exception rather than the rule. Such loan acronyms and initialisms frequently occur in three different ways in the Kurdish texts: either in Latin script alone, Arabic script alone, or both scripts beside one another.
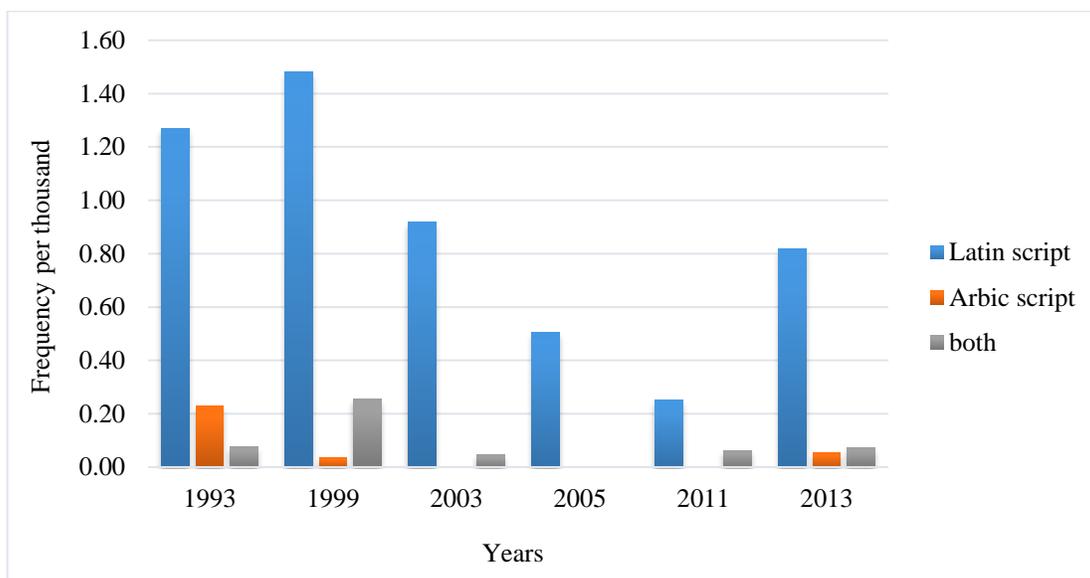


Figure 21: Frequency per thousand words of English acronyms and initialisms

Figure 21 indicates the diachronic frequency per thousand of different orthographic forms of English acronyms and initialisms in the years 1993, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2011, and 2013. Overall, the bar chart shows that the bulk of the English acronyms and initialisms are written in Latin script in a similar manner to their occurrences in English.

It is easy to notice from the chart that acronyms and initialisms which are written in Arabic script alone peaked in the early nineties then declined through that decade, as shown by the rates of 0.23 and 0.04 per thousand in 1993 and 1999, respectively. At that time Arabic had only recently, in 1991, stopped being an official language in the Kurdistan region. In the other chosen years, 2003, 2005, and 2011, Arabic script alone is not used for loan initialisms

and acronyms at all. Then more recently in 2013, it is used again, at a rate of 0.05 per thousand words.

In the years 1993, 1999, and 2013, the Kurdish writers appear to want to create a balance between nativising acronyms and initialisms by using Arabic script, using Latin script in the original form as in English, or using both scripts together in texts. In contrast, in 2005, only the Latin script was used through the entirety of 22 tokens of 5 types of acronyms and initialisms in the texts.

In 2003 and 2011, Kurdish writers avoided using Arabic script for acronyms and initialisms. Instead, they were written either with Latin script, at rates of 0.9 and 0.2 per thousand words, respectively, or with both Arabic and Latin script used at rates of 0.05 and 0.06 per thousand words, respectively. Latin script is employed in two ways in the Kurdish newspaper articles: to write initialisms such as *BBC*, *CIA*, and *TV* and for acronyms such as *NATO*. As schematized in Table 63, most of these loan acronyms and initialisms keep the same orthographic form as in English rather than transliterating them into Arabic script.

The Kurdish writers mostly follow the techniques of Standard English orthography for those acronyms and initialisms which are written in Latin script, working from left to right and retaining all capital styling for initialisms in the native Kurdish text, as in Figure 22. This is in spite of the fact that usually Kurdish texts write from right to left and there is no capital letter in Arabic script (See section 1.8). However, in some articles, the writer does not follow the usual technique for writing initialisms as in English; this is shown in Figure 23.

Figure 22: English initialisms written in Latin script (following English orthography rules) in the

Kurdish text[136]

Figure 22 shows a typical Kurdish newspaper article, chosen from 2003, containing initialisms borrowed from English written in the Latin alphabet alone. As shown in this figure, the highlighted acronyms (*UN* and *UNHCR*) are written in Latin script. These examples indicate that, unlike the loan words shown in Figure 23, the forms of these loans are borrowed from English along with the meaning. Supporting this, Crystal (2010: p.48) states that the foreign letters can be borrowed to the recipient language in addition to lexical forms.

Figure 22 also illustrates the way in which there are some other highlighted loan words in the same text that are written in Arabic script: <دیموگرافی> = *dimografy* (demography), <رژێمی> = *rzh'emy* (regime of), <ئاژانسەکان> = *'eazhansakan* (the agencies), <میکانیزمەی> = *mikanizmey* (this mechanism), and <کۆنگرەیەکی> = *kongreiaky* (a congress).

---

Figure 23: English initialisms written in Latin script (not following English rules) in the Kurdish text[137]

The typical Kurdish text in Figure 23 shows an inconsistency of use in the orthographic forms of English loan initialisms by Kurdish writer. Three loan initialisms are used in figure 23, and in each case the form is different from the others. The loan phrase *UN,* unlike *MOU* and *W.F.P.*, is written in lower case letters on two occasions. However, in the same text, the same loan is also used following the initialism technique used in English.

---

[137] Xebat newspaper Xebat newspaper 17th January 2011, issue no. 3676

In addition, Figure 22 indicates that the initialisms *WFP* and *MOU* are shown in three ways: first the Kurdish equivalents word for these initialisms are given as ‹بەرنامەی خۆراکی جیهانی › = *barnamey xoraki jihany*, and ‹یاداشتنامەی لەیەک گەیشتن › = *yadashty leiek geishtn*, which are accepted as loan translations. Then, the English loan initialisms *W.F.P* and *MOU* are given, and finally the full English component words are given as *WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME* and *Memorandum of Understanding*. This detail is added to provide clarification for the reader.

In this article, the writer also uses a full stop in the place of deleted parts so as to show the ellipsis of letters as in *W.F.P*.

On the other hand, in some articles, some acronyms and initialisms are written in Arabic script in addition to Latin script and there is no consistent pattern as to which one comes first. Here, the technique which is used to represent English loan initialisms is letter-by-letter shifting of the Latin script to the Arabic. A few acronyms and initialisms are written in both the Arabic and Latin scripts. The data laid out in Table 63 shows that out of 18 types of acronyms and initialisms, only six types occur in both forms, and these take on a different ratio in each year: *BBC*, *CIA*, *NATO*, *PDK*, *PKK*, and *TV*.

In *BBC* and *CIA*, letter-by-letter shifts are used to produce ‹بی بی سی› = *by by cy* and ‹سی ئای ئەی› = ciy 'ey 'eey, respectively; each segment is pronounced individually. The logic of this style is that the articulation is imitated graphically by the punctuation system; as this does not work when the acronym is pronounced as a word, as in the acronym *NATO*, the English letters are shifted to the native equivalent letter.

The difference between *BBC* and *CIA* and NATO is that, with the initialisms, the writers make space between the letters when they shift to Kurdish, while, within the acronyms, the letters are combined together as in English. However, the writers are not always consistent about the ways they present acronyms and initialisms when they are written in Arabic. Some of these are therefore written with more than one form when they are shifted to Arabic script. For example, *TV* is written as both ‹تیڤی› = tivi and ‹تی ڤی› = ti vi, where the former occurs as one word and the latter as two words.

The data shows that some English initialisms do not, in fact, stand for the initial letters of the English terms; instead, they are stand for the initial letters of the Kurdish terms. For example, the initialisms *PDK* and *PKK* represent the Kurdish terms ⟨پارتى ديموكراتى كوردستان⟩ = *party dimukraty Kurdistan* (Democratic Party of Kurdistan) and ⟨پارتى كرێكارانى كوردستان⟩ = *party kr'ekarany Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Workers' Party), respectively. This demonstrates another way in which English has influenced Kurdish, in which initialisms previously occur rarely.

## 6.7   The Frequency of Loan Words in the Kurdish Articles

Frequency counts are important for the analysis of lexical borrowing, because generally it can be presumed that lexical stability increases with frequency of use (Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009: p.15). Table 64 encompasses the frequency of the tokens of English and Arabic loan words for each year analysed.

| Year | Number of English loan words | Frequency of token English loan words per thousand words | Number of Arabic loan words | Frequency of token Arabic loan words per thousand words | Estimated total number of words |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1993 | 950 | 18 | 1251 | 23.7 | 52775 |
| 1999 | 1074 | 19.6 | 1100 | 20.1 | 54686 |
| 2003 | 1108 | 16.7 | 1031 | 15.5 | 66358 |
| 2005 | 843 | 19.3 | 500 | 11.4 | 43654 |
| 2011 | 1011 | 21.2 | 683 | 14.3 | 47648 |
| 2013 | 964 | 17.5 | 650 | 11.8 | 55100 |

Table 64: The number and frequency per thousand of English and Arabic loan word

This table shows the number of tokens of English and Arabic loan words in the years 1993, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2011, and 2013. The frequency per thousand of the English and Arabic loan words in each year are given as well, based on the estimated total number of the words in each year, which is also shown.
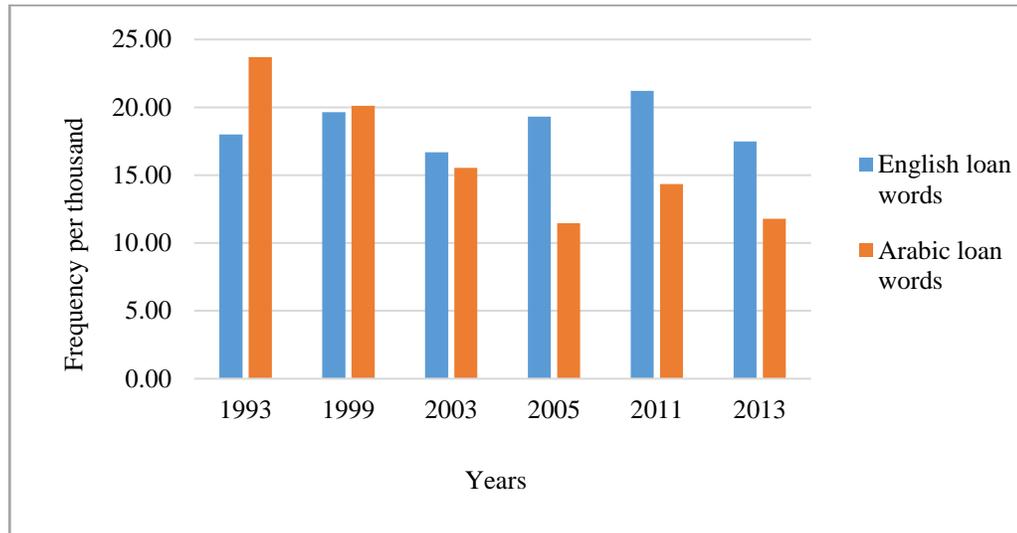
Figure 24: The frequency of English and Arabic loan words per thousand

The bar chart in Figure 24 shows the frequency of English and Arabic loan words per thousand in the sampled years. Overall, over the six years, the frequency of usage of English loan words has fluctuated, reaching its highest level in 2011.

In 1993, when English loan words were at the rate of 18 per thousand, Arabic had only recently ceased being an official language for education, administration, and politics in Iraqi Kurdistan, in 1991. It appears that Arabic still had an effect in the year 1993, when it was at its most prevalent compared to other years, at a rate of 23.7 words per thousand.

Gradually, with the growth of the widespread trend of "nationhood among the Kurds people", Arabic was less frequently used and there was a significant decline in the amount of Arabic speakers between the Kurdish communities within Kurdish regional areas (Hasanpoor, 1999: p.71). As a consequence, there was a notable decline in the frequency of Arabic loan words in the newspapers sampled, falling to rates of 20.1, 15.5, and 11.4 per thousand in the years 1999, 2003, and 2005, respectively. However, there was a sudden increase in the frequency of Arabic loan words to 14.3 per thousand in 2011, while in 2013, the rate declined again to 11.8 per thousand.

After a rise in the frequency of English loan words in 1999 to a rate of 19.6 per thousand, the corresponding decrease in 2003 is harder to explain. English loan words reached their lowest frequency in 2003 at the rate of 16.7 per thousand. At this time, in 2003, there were more opportunities for English and Kurdish speakers to come into contact with one another because of the American and British military bases in the Kurdistan region and the presence of various English-speaking journalists covering the war situation at that time (see section 2.4). These factors, along with increased commerce following the war, may explain the significant increase of the application of English loan words in 2005 to 19.3 per thousand; these then reached their highest point with a rate of 22.1 per thousand in 2011.

The overall decline in the frequency of Arabic loan words agrees with the findings of Kurdish researchers such as Abdulla (1980) and Hasanpoor (1999), who reject or resist the concept of borrowing in Kurdish, especially in terms of Arabic loan words (see section 2.8). Conversely, at the same time, the data shows the frequency of using English words has generally increased over time. Of course there are different reasons, in addition to psychological factors, for the lexical motivation to borrow from English. English is an international language, and using English loans within articles signals modernity and sophistication to speakers and readers. In addition, Arabic was no longer the language of power after the 1990s, and language contact between Kurdish and Arabic speakers occurred only in limited forms. This led to a decline in the rate of bilingualism in the Kurdish community. This is likely to have contributed to the decline in Arabic loan words, especially in formal contexts. Vocabulary needs arising as a result of this lexical gap are likely to have led Kurdish native speakers to depend on English as an alternative.

## 6.8   Semantic Distribution of English Loan Words

Performing a frequency count of words under each heading is important in order to conduct a diachronic analysis of lexical borrowing when examining the semantic distribution of the English loan words seen in this study. Generally, the semantic distribution gives precise identity criteria for the semantic content of the English loan words. In addition, the statistical distribution of the loan words under each sematic heading plays a significant role in

characterizing the semantic behaviour of these words in the context of Kurdish newspapers. The distribution of the political borrowed items in this study was spread over nine headings (see section 6.2):

| Year | Political idea | Administration and economic structure | Media and technology | Party and organisation | Ruler and person | Political process and public activities | Political violence | Legislation and planning | Miscellaneous | Total of tokens |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1993 | 127 | 265 | 52 | 136 | 90 | 84 | 29 | 52 | 115 | 950 |
| per thousand | 2.4 | 5.02 | 0.9 | 2.5 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 2.1 | |
| 1999 | 45 | 234 | 45 | 266 | 68 | 116 | 33 | 80 | 189 | 1074 |
| Per thousand | 0.8 | 4.2 | 0.8 | 4.8 | 1.2 | 2.1 | 0.6 | 1.4 | 3.4 | |
| 2003 | 165 | 221 | 66 | 88 | 142 | 74 | 49 | 107 | 196 | 1108 |
| Per thousand | 2.4 | 3.3 | 0.9 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 1.6 | 2.9 | |
| 2005 | 61 | 215 | 58 | 32 | 75 | 55 | 76 | 54 | 217 | 843 |
| Per thousand | 1.4 | 4.9 | 1.3 | 0.7 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 4.9 | |
| 2011 | 56 | 244 | 99 | 78 | 63 | 49 | 23 | 117 | 282 | 1011 |
| Per thousand | 1.1 | 5.1 | 2.08 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.03 | 0.4 | 2.4 | 5.9 | |
| 2013 | 33 | 277 | 194 | 110 | 31 | 88 | 35 | 122 | 81 | 964 |
| Per thousand | 0.6 | 5.03 | 3.5 | 2 | 0.5 | 1.6 | 0.6 | 2.2 | 1.4 | |

Table 65: The frequency of tokens English loan words in each semantic field
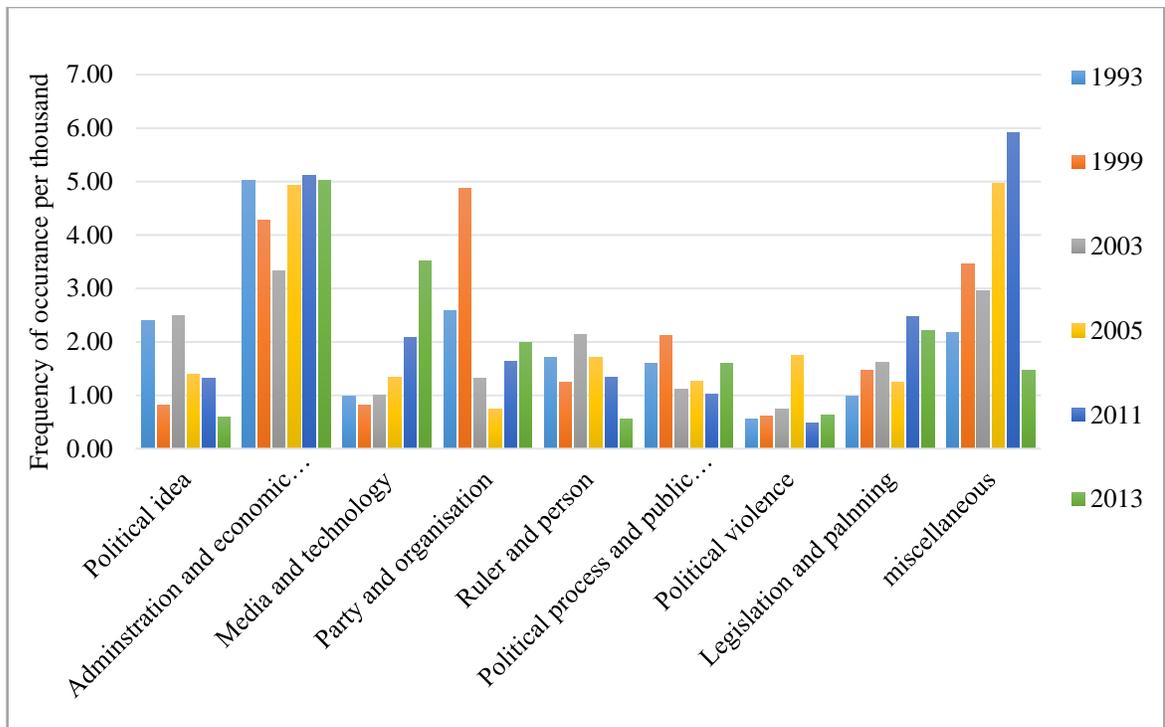
Figure 25: The frequency of semantic distrbuion of English loan word tokens per thousand words

Overall, the frequencies of words within each semantic field fluctuates wildly and will be discussed with reference to three levels which are determinded by dividing the maximum of 5.99 into three equal bands: high levels of borrowing, with rates of 4 to 5.99 per thousand words; moderate borrowing, with a borrowing rate of 2 to 3.99 per thousand words; and finally, low-level borrowing, with a frequency of 0.00 to 1.99 per thousand words. The semantic field classifications relate to domains that have been typically influenced by the political situation in the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

The *political idea* field mostly displays a low level of borrowing, except in 1993 and 2003, when the frequency of borrowing is recorded as moderate. These two periods became turning points and marked the beginning of a new era in Kurdistan; these changes meant that different political terminology was needed to establish a well-organised administrative system in the region.

Overall, Kurdish newspapers pay most attention to mundane matters of administration and economic structure. Loan words in the category *administration and economic structure* occur

with high frequency across most of the data sampled, though they are not evenly distributed across the period studied. In 1993 and 2013, loan words in this category were recorded at their highest frequencies of 5.02 and 5.03 per thousand words, respectively. The explanation for this lies with the history of the Kurdistan region after 1991. The Kurdish people elected their own government for the first time in 1992, and this process necessarily involved a great deal of new terminology in order to form a new administrative and economic structure for the government. The KRG's most important priorities in its early stages were to fill the political and administrative gap that occurred after the 1991 uprising and to provide public services and basic facilities to its citizens (Sadik, 2013: pp.8-9). The rate of borrowing declined to 4.2 per thousand words in 1999, but this still falls within the high-frequency level of borrowing. This decline may because of the civil war between the Kurdish parties from 1994 to 1997 and the on-going threats by the former Iraqi regime. It was not an easy task for the new Kurdish government to establish a stable democratic government (Sadik, 2013: p.12). Similarly, in 2003, because of the on-going conflict at that time, there was less focus on *administration and economic structure,* and loan words in this category show a declining trend in that period, bottoming out at 3.3 per thousand.

However, from 2005, the Kurdish government was working towards creating a systematic administrative structure and providing services to its citizens. The Kurdish government was formally recognised as a federal regional government in Iraq by the Iraqi constitution at that time, and as stipulated in Iraq's federal constitution, the KRG therefore claimed the right to exercise executive power in relation to legislation, national security, regional budget, education, health, natural resources, international relations, and economic sectors. This move had an obvious impact on the number of loan words used from semantic heading in this period. Figure 25 demonstrates that the number of loan words used to refer to administration and economic structure retained a high-level frequency continuously in 2005 and 2011 to 2013, with frequencies of 4.9 and 5.1 per thousand words.

The semantic field *party and organization* showed both moderate and high levels of frequency in the 1990s, in 1993 and 1999, respectively. However, this declined to a low frequency of borrowing in the years 2003, 2005, and 2011 with rates of 1.3, 0.7, and 1.6 per thousand words respectively. Most of the Kurdish parties use their Kurdish names, but

sometimes they use the Romanized initial letters of their names in the form *PDK*, *PKK,* and *PUK*.

In addition, at that time in the early 1990s, several different UN organizations and international NGOs played an important role in the Kurdistan region. Their roles were to support the KRG in its policy of rehabilitation, helping the area to retain autonomy of action and decision making and to build a civil society. In addition, they provided humanitarian help in terms of education, refugees, and health. After the KRG's situation improved, politically, economically, and socially, the international organization's primary aims were amended to supporting local organizations to develop self-reliance.

Figure 25 illustrates that the heading *media and technology* mostly demonstrated a low frequency rate in the years 1993, 1999, 2003, and 2005, though this increased to a moderate level of borrowing in 2011 and 2013. It also illustrates that the frequency of the loan words classified under the heading *political violence* demonstrates a low-level frequency in all selected years.

The frequencies of loan words under the headings of *ruler and person*, *political process and public activities* and *legislation and planning* fluctuate; in the main, they express moderate to low frequencies of borrowing in the selected years.

Finally, the frequency of loan words in the *miscellaneous* category ranges among all three levels of borrowing, this is because includes all the loan words which are not exactly political in their application. The years 1993, 1999, and 2003 demonstrated moderate levels of borrowing with rates of 2.1, 3.4, and 2.9 per thousand words, respectively. In 2005 and 2011, the frequency of borrowing for these loan words was classified as high, with the highest frequency occurring in 2011 with 5.9 per thousand words.

The high frequency of words borrowed from under some of the headings depends on the number of types of loan words in addition to their frequency of occurrence. For example, the relatively higher frequency in the *miscellaneous* category in 2011 mostly depends on the types of loan words under this heading rather than the frequency of occurrence of a single loan word type. In contrast, the high level of borrowing seen in *party and organisation* in 1999 (Figure 25) is not because of numerous different types of loan words. Only nine loan

187

types were used in that year, but there were multiple reoccurrences of the words *party*, *PKK,* and *UN*, which were among the top most frequently repeated loan words in 1999.

## 6.9   Diachronic Reoccurrence of Loan Words

In addition to noting the frequency of tokens under each of the semantic headings, the number of *types* of loan words is also important. Most of the loan words' types are repeated in the selected years with different frequencies; some occur with high frequency, others with low.

This frequency indicates how these English words become pinned down and become a part of the Central Kurdish vocabulary. According to Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: p.15), these frequencies may indicate the lexical stability of the borrowed words in the recipient language. For example, the data shows that some of the loan words are used over hundred times; *democracy* ranked as the most-repeated loan word in 1993, 1999, and 2003 and was repeated regularly throughout each year.

The proportion of the loan words and their reoccurrences in this study demonstrates a rate across the time period observed that suggests that they have become integral to Kurdish. Table 66, which deals with the most frequent loan words, lists the number of occurrences in the years 1993, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2011 and 2013 to illustrate the diachronic expansion of the types of the loan words.

| Loan word | 1993 | Loan word | 1999 | Loan word | 2003 | Loan word | 2005 | Loan word | 2011 | Loan word | 2013 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| democracy | 213 | party | 170 | democracy | 133 | democracy | 78 | democracy | 64 | democracy | 80 |
| regime | 61 | democracy | 129 | regime | 116 | federal | 61 | list | 62 | system | 65 |
| congress | 56 | congress | 89 | mechanism | 85 | terror | 59 | system | 60 | list | 59 |
| party | 52 | PKK | 47 | federalism | 71 | regime | 56 | process | 41 | case | 50 |
| parliament | 41 | regime | 45 | UN | 45 | process | 41 | opposition | 37 | federal | 47 |
| dictatorship | 32 | parliament | 37 | role | 39 | parliament | 36 | passport | 32 | monopolism | 44 |
| police | 22 | UN | 36 | terror | 37 | system | 36 | parliament | 31 | opposition | 40 |
| PKK | 18 | system | 29 | process | 36 | centre | 22 | role | 29 | parliament | 31 |
| autonomy | 17 | role | 26 | dictatorship | 35 | group | 21 | regime | 25 | company | 28 |
| nationalism | 16 | terrorist | 23 | parliament | 34 | social | 19 | federal | 25 | plan | 25 |
| project | 16 | diplomatic | 23 | reformist | 30 | list | 19 | plan | 23 | strategy | 20 |
| UN | 16 | plan | 18 | group | 27 | dictatorship | 15 | post | 22 | bank | 18 |
| Leninism | 15 | ideology | 15 | party | 26 | Principle | 13 | company | 21 | report | 18 |
| fascist | 15 | process | 15 | report | 24 | nationalism | 12 | dictatorship | 21 | news | 18 |
| conference | 15 | project | 15 | company | 24 | commission | 12 | party | 20 | Terror | 17 |
| systematically | 14 | cabinet | 13 | principle | 22 | internet | 11 | strategy | 19 | boycott | 16 |
| strategy | 14 | radio | 12 |  |  | role | 11 | diplomatic | 15 | position | 15 |
| system | 14 | strategy | 12 |  |  | chauvinism | 10 |  |  | agency | 15 |
| group | 13 | principle | 12 |  |  | referendum | 10 |  |  |  |  |
| committee | 13 | control | 12 |  |  | post | 10 |  |  |  |  |
| academy | 12 | dialogue | 11 |  |  | Technology | 10 |  |  |  |  |
| document | 12 |  |  |  |  | police | 9 |  |  |  |  |

| plan | 12 | | | | | channel | 9 | | | | |
|------|----|--|--|--|--|---------|---|--|--|--|--|
| TNT | 12 | | | | | radio | 9 | | | | |
| PDK | 10 | | | | | congress | 9 | | | | |
| UNISCO | 10 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tragedy | 10 | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 66: The most frequently used English loan words in each year

Table 66 shows the top fifteen loan words which display high frequencies and regular use in each selected year. The relevant high frequencies of the loan word types in Table 66 relate to their semantic heading distribution. This apparently confirms the continued expansion of the number of English loan words to the fill lexical gaps over the selected period. Many linguists such as Hasanpoor (1999: p.2) and Jukil (2004: p.65) state that this is due to the paucity of the Kurdish lexical structure and the necessity for terminological recourses in different disciplines such as social sciences, pure sciences, and politics. The question "*what is the Kurdish word for…?*" is often raised in different informal situations, and to fill any gaps that become apparent, Kurdish people are motivated to borrow words; this is supported by the essential hypothesis described by Kachru (1994: p.139) termed the deficit hypothesis. The deficit hypothesis "presupposes that borrowing entails linguistic 'gaps' in a language and the prime motivation for borrowing is to remedy the linguistic 'deficit', especially in the lexical resources of a language" (Kachru, 1994: p.147). The loan words relevant to this study are mainly borrowed to fill gaps that exist in the political area. These words then become a part of the Central Kurdish vocabulary and can be treated as lexical gains. The high and moderate reoccurrence of the loan words in addition to their phonological, morphological, and orthographic and semantic adaption to the structure of the Central dialect all suggest that these loans are likely to become incorporated into the vocabulary of Kurdish.

However, borrowing words from English is not always done to fill lexical gaps in the Central Kurdish dialect. Some words are borrowed and used by Kurdish writers in their articles despite the fact that native equivalents exist, seemingly because English loans have additional prestige. However, it is not easy to prove this, since there is no definitive way to differentiate words that are used for the purpose of filling a lexical gap and those used for prestige.

Factors other than prestige clearly play a role in the frequency with which loan words are used. The data in Table 66 shows that most of the loan words that occur with a high frequency are classified under the heading of *administration and economic structure* in each selected year. The overall frequency of this heading, as shown in Figure 25, is high because when Kurdistan was finally allowed to administer its own government, a wider range of technical

political terms was required. If loan words were used mainly because of their prestige, there would be a high frequency of occurrence in other headings too, and this is not the case.

The high frequency of utilisation of some of the loan words is connected with international and global events, such as the word *terror*, which is important due to the 11th of September 2001, and is used regularly and with a high frequency in the Kurdish media. Some words are affected by internal events in Iraq and Kurdistan. For example, *federal* was not among the most frequently used words in 1993 and 1999, as in Table 66; however, its frequency of use increased in 2003 and in later years because in 2005, the Kurdistan region was officially recognised as a federal region by the Iraqi constitution (see section 1.2).

## 6.10 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter shows the expansion in the frequency of English loan words due to language contact and their progressive nativisation, semantic adaptation and productive use indicates that they have become a part of the Central Kurdish vocabulary. The data shows, in general, that the use of English loan words increases substantially across the period studied, most notably from 2003 in response to political, economic, and cultural changes in Kurdish society and its increased contact with the English language. On the other hand, the frequency of Arabic loan words has reduced gradually during the same period.

Most of the loan words in this study follow the same orthographic style as native Kurdish words in the native texts, using the Arabic alphabet. However, the written form is different for English acronyms and initialisms, many of which retain their original English form in the Kurdish texts, although there is some variation in the use of capitalisation and full stops in these forms.

Also, this chapter deals with semantic distribution, in which the loan words classify can be clustered into nine headings, each of which serves an aspect of political dialogue. The investigation of semantic fields conducted during this study indicates that English words have made an impression in each heading, though loan words appear with different frequencies. Each heading includes different types of loan words in a non-random fashion; these are classified depending on their political, economic, and cultural status in the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

# 7 Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Research

## 7.1 Introduction

This brief chapter is comprised of two sections, the first of which is devoted to the conclusions derived from the work as a whole. The second section offers suggestions for further studies that could be conducted in the realm of lexical borrowing from English into the Kurdish language to further examine aspects that have not been exhaustively explored in the current study.

This thesis deals with the absorption of English loan words into the Central Kurdish dialect, examining this process by means of contemporary written language. This analysis of newspaper articles' use of English loan words in political discourse in the Central Kurdish dialect provides the groundwork for discussions of the details and consequences behind their incorporation into the Kurdish Central dialect. The results of the current study also provide a clear vision of the current issue of loan words in the context of the Central dialect.

There are two significant contributions to the field made by the study. The first is connected with the diachronic adaptation of loan words. The results show that lexical borrowing is a process that takes place over time. In the early stages of borrowing, most of the loan words follow the structure of the English donor language; however, with the passage of time, these loan words become adapted to the structure of the Kurdish language. The second contribution concerns the semantic distribution of loan words; the outcomes of this display the fact that English words under the heading of administration and economic structure have been borrowed with a higher frequency. This was caused by previous lexical gaps in these areas, which became problematic in the early 1990s when appropriate terminologies were required for the formation of a government administration structure.

In response to the research questions, the current study provides the conclusions discussed in this chapter.

## 7.2 Hierarchies of Borrowability in the Central Kurdish Dialect

The collected data does not show any kinds of borrowing on the level of phonology and syntactic structure from English. The data shows that, within the Central Kurdish dialect, not all features are borrowed equally from English. There are several different levels in the hierarchy of borrowability. Generally, it is clear that lexical transference is by far the most common type of transference from English into Central Kurdish, although a few bound morphemes also make the transition. Within lexical borrowing, content words have greater priority than function words, as is predicted by earlier studies of borrowing. Nouns are borrowed from English with the highest frequency, followed by adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, all of which appear with frequencies of less than 10 %. No borrowing of conjunctions, pronouns, or prepositions is evidenced in this data. This borrowing from English on a lexical level confirms that there is casual contact between speakers of the Central Kurdish dialect and English speakers and that the borrowing that has occurred does not represent a challenge to the structure of Kurdish.

In addition to this, the data confirms that free morphemes are widely recognized as being easier to borrow from English than bound morphemes. The data does show that some bound morphemes are also borrowed into Kurdish; however, these are limited in number and are often attached to English loan free morphemes.

## 7.3 The Diachronic Adaptation Process of the Loan Words

The current study's emphasis is on lexical borrowing as a process over time, in particular across the years 1993 to 2013. The process of adaptation shows how loan words from English are adapted to the structure of the Central Kurdish dialect in terms of phonology, morphology, semantics, and orthography. The degree of adaptation each English loan word undergoes to become part of the Central Kurdish dialect was found by this study to be based on the structure of both languages. English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect can be divided into those that are adapted and those that are not adapted to the structure of the recipient language. For some loan words both an adapted and a non-adapted form are found. For instance, the data shows that most of the English loan words are adapted to the structure of Kurdish in terms of phonology, orthography and morphologically. However, some of them entirely follow the morphological structure of

195

the donor language as *socialism*, *colonialism* and *fascist*. They are keep the same semantic word class and same suffixes as in English in the Kurdish texts.

This study's diachronic approach facilitates the identification of the time-scale over which nativised versions of loan words have overtaken the non-nativised. Although there are some exceptions, loan words are generally nativised progressively throughout the period studied. There is a slight trend back towards less integrated forms after 2011, which may have been motivated by individuals' desire to display the extent of their fluency in English following the intense contact with English and better educational chances in to learn English.

Diachronically, orthographical adaptation clearly occurs for almost all the loan words observed in each selected year. The loan words are therefore used in the same manner, and produced using the same techniques and styles, as Kurdish words: using the Arabic alphabet, writing from right to left, and no capital letters even for those loan words that usually start with a capital letter. For example, ⟨لينينزم⟩ = *lininzm* (Leninism) and ⟨مارکسیزم⟩ = *marksizm* (Marxism), both are represented in capital letter in the donor language while in Kurdish they follow the same structure as a native Kurdish do.

In addition, the findings also show that only a limited number of acronyms and initialisms have been adopted, though these are mostly written in the Latin alphabet. In the 1990s, when the Latin script was less familiar, there was a trend towards using the Arabic alphabet for these acronyms and initialisms; however, these Arabicized forms were not used after 2003, probably because of improved educational opportunities in English.

Phonologically, most of the loan words over the selected years follow parallel changes for individual sounds. However, a small group are pronounced in two different ways in Kurdish and diachronic analysis suggests that in some cases Kurdish writers are motivated by their desire to use a form closer to English than Arabic. For instance, the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ in English words in Kurdish occurs either as /v/ or as the voiceless labio-dental /f/; this version is derived from the Arabic, since /v/ is an allomorph of /f/. This is apparent by analysing the data over time; the results show the frequency of /v/ as /v/ in Kurdish is significantly increased from 1993, and reaches its highest point in 2011; conversely, the frequency of /v/ as /f/ decreases across the selected period.

Morphologically, the data suggests that native speakers were not aware of the adaptation process when they first began to employ English loan words rather than Arabic ones. The

data shows that the frequency of loan words which are adapted to the morphological structure of Kurdish has increased considerably almost every year since 1993, however there is a slight tendency back towards less integrated forms in 2013. Conversely, the frequency of non-adapted loan words reached its maximum in 1993; this rate is not stable over time, but it has never reached the same rate as in 1993 since that time.

## 7.4 Phonological and Orthographic Adaptation of English Loan Words

The analysis of the phonological and orthographical adaptation of English loan words is by necessity inter-related since because the pronunciation of words in Kurdish determines how they are written.

The data indicates that phonological shifts are more frequent than deletion or addition of segments when words are borrowed from English into Kurdish. One of the more obvious reasons is because of contrast in the number of vowels and consonants between English and Kurdish. For instance, phonemes that are not found in Kurdish are generally shifted to phonemes that do exist in Kurdish, often those that have the same place or mode of articulation as /æ/ when shifts to /a: / both are shaped with the tongue low inside the mouth, and when /θ/ shifts to /s/ both are articulated when the air escapes with vibration.

The changes are mostly constrained by how closely the phonological rules of the Kurdish language can accommodate the pronunciation of English words. However, the realisation of [o] in English examples is sometimes influenced by its spelling rather than its pronunciation in English.

The data also shows some evidence of phoneme insertion to retain unarticulated phonemes in the Kurdish realisations of English words, particularly in the cases of the non-initial /r/ and the insertion of a glottal stop before word-initial vowels. Phoneme deletion, in contrast, is mostly restricted to /t/ when it occurs at the end of a word.

## 7.5   Morphological Adaptation

The majority of the loan words were used in correspondence with the morphological structure of the Central Kurdish dialect to convey their grammatical function in a Kurdish context.

The English loans observed within this study can be categorised into several categories. The first is words which are borrowed in the form of free morphemes such as *system*, *passport*, *and federal*. Usually, these types of English loan word are nouns. However, these nouns are easily shifted by adding Kurdish derivational morphemes to form adjectives in Kurdish; in this way, *t'erorist* (terrorist) (noun) + *-y* becomes *t'eroristy* (terrorist) (adjective) and compound verb as *bomba* (bomb) (noun) + *haw'ejh* (to fire) (verb) becomes *bombahaw'ejh* ( to fire bombs at).

The second group features loan words consisting of a free morpheme and a bound morpheme. These occur in two ways. One group features a free English morpheme attached to an English loan bound morpheme as in *nationalism*, *loyalty*, *reporter,* and *federally*. All of the borrowed English bound morphemes are derivational morphemes such as *-ism*, *-ist* and *–ly*. These are only ever attached to English free morphemes: they are not (yet) productive in Kurdish.

The other group include loans that consist of an English free morpheme connected to a native bound morpheme as in ⟨رۆڵیان⟩ = *rolian* (roles) and ⟨ئەکادیمیەکە⟩ = *'eekadimieke* (the academy). This represents a further step in the nativisation process by which loan words become productive elements in Kurdish. Significantly, in all of the years within the study, the results shows that most of the loan words in this study, types and tokens, are borrowed as free morphemes from English and then are nativised them by adding Kurdish bound morphemes.

Most of the loan nouns borrowed into Kurdish are nativised by adding Kurdish inflectional suffixes such as the indefinite article *-'ek*, definite article*, -eke*, the izafa marker *–y*, or the plural ending *–an*. An example of this type of word is ⟨بانکەکان⟩ = *bankekan* (the banks). Loan words are also nativised by attaching with Kurdish derivational suffixes such as *–iet(y)*, *–tar* and *–kar* as ⟨دکتاتۆریەت⟩ = *dktatoriety* (dictatorship) and ⟨دیموکراتیەت⟩ = *dimukratiet* (democracy).

The data shows that the tendency to use English bound morphemes was very low in the 1990s, particularly in 1993 and 1999. However, their frequency increased significantly in 2003 and continued throughout the following years. This indicates that the level of contact between English and Kurdish in the early period, specifically in 1993 and 1999, was very limited, and more extensive influence was found only after 2003. The data and the results of this study also suggest that this contact is still in its early stages, and it is likely therefore to be subject to further development.

## 7.6 Semantic Adaptation

This study attempted to analyse semantic changes in English loan words in the Central Kurdish dialect within the context of expansion, narrowing, and shifting (translating) of meanings. The data indicate that semantic changes by expansion and narrowing occur due to generalization in the sense of the loan words, by adding a new meaning in addition to the borrowed meaning from English, and by restriction of a generalized sense.

In general, the loan words usually have more than one sense defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*; however, the results show that lexical items are never borrowed from English as complete dictionary entries: in the data collected for this study the senses with which words are borrowed are always limited, usually to one. For example, *organ*[138] in the OED has four main groups of sense listed, with a series of sub-senses: senses relating to musical instruments, senses relating to vocal music, biological senses and a sense referring to a means or medium of communication or of expression of opinion; only the last sense is borrowed into Kurdish.

## 7.7 Semantic Distribution

This study focused on linguistic borrowing from English into Kurdish as a result of the lexical needs of different political terminologies. The data shows that Kurdish writers do not hesitate to use and disseminate English loan words in their articles within the political domain. Taking a diachronic view of the borrowed English words in the collected data,

---

[138] "organ, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 3 November 2016.

the number of English loan words increases over time and their progressive nativisation indicates that they have become part of the Central Kurdish vocabulary.

The investigation of semantic fields conducted during this study indicates that English words have been borrowed across a range of political and general domains. For example, the results suggest that the high level of borrowing under the heading of *administration and economic structure* was caused by lexical gaps in this area of the lexis. The Kurdish language had many gaps in the administrative area because its users did not have the chance to use their language in any administrative official structure until after 1992, when the new political processes necessarily involved a great deal of terminology relating to forming a new administrative and economic structure and, ultimately, a new government.

## 7.8   The Frequency of English and Arabic Loan Words

Borrowing from English is an ongoing process in the Central dialect as a consequence of increased contact between English speakers and the speakers of this dialect. The findings confirm that the political conditions in the Kurdistan region have a significant influence on the frequency of borrowing into the Central Kurdish dialect.  This is particularly evident in the frequency of Arabic loan words, which were relatively frequently used compared to English loan words in the early 1990s, specifically in 1993 and 1999. This was because of prolonged continuous contact with the Arabic language and its intervention in different areas of Kurdish life from the early 1920s until 1991, when it stopped being an official language in Iraqi Kurdistan. The data shows that Kurdish native writers tended to use English loan words more than Arabic ones after this time, most notably in 2003 and later in response to political, economic, and cultural changes in Kurdish society and its increased contact with the English language.

## 7.9   Suggestions for Further Studies

This study is restricted to examining English loan words related to political issues in the Central Kurdish dialect. Further investigation is needed into words borrowed from English across a wider range of semantic fields and discourse types in order to gain a more complete picture of the types of words that make this transition.

The opinions and attitudes of Kurdish people towards the use of English loan words are also a crucial factor in understanding their usage and their likely integration into Kurdish in the longer term. This would best be done by additionally studying the influence of age, gender, and education level on such acceptance. The extent of informal borrowing from English could be investigated by focusing on the younger generation's use of language on social media such as Twitter and Facebook. During background research for this study, it also became apparent that there is a literature gap in terms of loan words in the Northern Kurdish dialect, and any further studies of the versions of Kurdish used in other countries area would therefore expand the field.

Further study of English loans words in spoken Kurdish is also required to explore different social contexts and cultural norms as well as variations depending on gender, level of education, degree of bilingualism, age, and other social factors. This would enable the identification of the social groups which are driving this borrowing. Moreover, looking at speech would also facilitate study of pronunciation separately from the written forms to determine whether they truly do correspond. Furthermore, collecting spoken data could also generate systematic evidence of code switching in parallel with loan word usage.

Finally, study can be done by comparing the frequency of the English language with Arabic, specifically looking at the replacement of Arabic loan words by English ones.

# Appendix One: List of the English Loan Words

| Total type of loan words | Loan words | Parts of speech |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | academy | N |
| 2. | active | N and Adj. |
| 3. | agency | N |
| 4. | agenda | N |
| 5. | alternative | N and Adj. |
| 6. | anarchism | N |
| 7. | anthropology | N |
| 8. | anti | N and Adj. |
| 9. | apartment | N |
| 10. | archive | N |
| 11. | arm | N |
| 12. | atom | N |
| 13. | atomic | N and Adj. |
| 14. | autonomy | N |
| 15. | bank | N |
| 16. | BBC | Initialism |
| 17. | beurocratic | Adj. |
| 18. | bill | N |
| 19. | block | N |
| 20. | blood | N |
| 21. | bomb | N |
| 22. | boycott | N |
| 23. | budget | N |
| 24. | cabinet | N |
| 25. | camera | N |
| 26. | cameraman | N |
| 27. | campaign | N |
| 28. | campus | N |
| 29. | candidate | N |
| 30. | carnival | N |
| 31. | censor | N and V |
| 32. | censorship | N |
| 33. | centre | N |
| 34. | chance | N |
| 35. | channel | N |
| 36. | chauvinism | N |
| 37. | chemistry | N |
| 38. | CD | Initialism |
| 39. | CIA | Initialism |
| 40. | civil | N |
| 41. | class | N |
| 42. | classic | N and Adj. |
| 43. | classical | N and Adj. |
| 44. | clinic | N |

| 45. | CNN | Initialism |
|---|---|---|
| 46. | codetta | N |
| 47. | college | N |
| 48. | colonel | N |
| 49. | colonialism | N |
| 50. | comedy | N |
| 51. | commission | N |
| 52. | communist | N |
| 53. | company | N |
| 54. | computer | N |
| 55. | con-federal | N |
| 56. | conference | N |
| 57. | congress | N |
| 58. | constitution | N |
| 59. | consulate | N |
| 60. | contract | N |
| 61. | control | N and V |
| 62. | council | N |
| 63. | data | N |
| 64. | database | N |
| 65. | de facto | N |
| 66. | demagogue | N |
| 67. | democracy | N |
| 68. | demography | N |
| 69. | dialect | N |
| 70. | dialogue | N |
| 71. | dictator | N |
| 72. | diplomat | N |
| 73. | diplomatic | N |
| 74. | document | N |
| 75. | doze | N |
| 76. | dynamic | N |
| 77. | election | N |
| 78. | chemical | Adj. |
| 79. | email | N |
| 80. | emergency | N |
| 81. | encyclopaedia | N |
| 82. | ethnic | N and Adj. |
| 83. | factor | N |
| 84. | fascism | N |
| 85. | fascist | N and Adj. |
| 86. | FBI | Initialism |
| 87. | federal | N |
| 88. | federalism | N |
| 89. | federally | Adv. |
| 90. | festival | N |
| 91. | file | N |
| 92. | film | N |

| 93. | form | N |
|---|---|---|
| 94. | formula | N |
| 95. | general | N and Adj. |
| 96. | dictatorship | N |
| 97. | genocide | N |
| 98. | geopolitical | N |
| 99. | government | N |
| 100. | group | N |
| 101. | guarantee | N |
| 102. | idea | N |
| 103. | ideology | N |
| 104. | immigrant | N |
| 105. | imperialism | N |
| 106. | international | N and Adj. |
| 107. | internet | N |
| 108. | KGB | Initialism |
| 109. | Leninism | N |
| 110. | liberal | N |
| 111. | liberalism | N |
| 112. | librarian | N |
| 113. | list | N |
| 114. | logic | N |
| 115. | logical | N |
| 116. | logistic | N and Adj. |
| 117. | loyalty | N |
| 118. | Marxism | N |
| 119. | mechanic | N |
| 120. | mechanism | N |
| 121. | media | N |
| 122. | meeting | N |
| 123. | method | N |
| 124. | methodology | N |
| 125. | mobile | N |
| 126. | model | N and Adj. |
| 127. | modern | N and Adj. |
| 128. | modernism | N |
| 129. | monopolism | N |
| 130. | MOU | Initialism |
| 131. | national | N |
| 132. | Nationalism | N |
| 133. | NATO | Acronym |
| 134. | negative | N |
| 135. | Neo-Nazism | N |
| 136. | protocol | N |
| 137. | News | N |
| 138. | NGO | Initialism |
| 139. | office | N |
| 140. | opposition | N |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 141. | oppression | N |
| 142. | organ | N |
| 143. | organise | V |
| 144. | organism | N |
| 145. | parliament | N |
| 146. | party | N |
| 147. | passport | N |
| 148. | pathology | N |
| 149. | PDK | Initialism |
| 150. | petrol | N |
| 151. | Petroleum | N |
| 152. | photograph | N |
| 153. | PKK | Initialism |
| 154. | plan | N |
| 155. | Pluralism | N |
| 156. | police | N |
| 157. | position | N |
| 158. | Post | N |
| 159. | Post/mail | N |
| 160. | practical | N and Adj. |
| 161. | practice | N |
| 162. | pragmatic | N |
| 163. | principle | N |
| 164. | process | N |
| 165. | profession | N |
| 166. | program | N |
| 167. | project | N |
| 168. | propaganda | N |
| 169. | psychology | N |
| 170. | PUK | Initialism |
| 171. | quality | N |
| 172. | radical | N and Adj. |
| 173. | radicalism | N |
| 174. | radio | N |
| 175. | ready | N |
| 176. | realism | N |
| 177. | realty | N |
| 178. | referendum | N |
| 179. | reform | N |
| 180. | regime | N |
| 181. | renaissance | N |
| 182. | report | N |
| 183. | reporter | N |
| 184. | role | N |
| 185. | routine | N |
| 186. | ruler | N |
| 187. | satellite | N |
| 188. | veto | N |

| | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 189. | self- determination | N |
| 190. | seminar | N |
| 191. | shovel | N |
| 192. | site | N |
| 193. | social | N |
| 194. | socialism | N |
| 195. | socialist | N and Adj. |
| 196. | sociology | N |
| 197. | staff | N |
| 198. | standard | N |
| 199. | strategy | N |
| 200. | syndicate | N |
| 201. | system | N |
| 202. | systematic | N and Adj. |
| 203. | systematically | Adv. |
| 204. | tactic | N |
| 205. | tank | N |
| 206. | team | N |
| 207. | technic | N |
| 208. | technical | N |
| 209. | technocrat | N |
| 210. | technology | N |
| 211. | telecom | N |
| 212. | Television/tv | N and Initialism |
| 213. | terminal | N |
| 214. | terror | N |
| 215. | terrorist | N |
| 216. | theory | N |
| 217. | TNT | Initialism |
| 218. | totalitarian | N |
| 219. | tragedy | N |
| 220. | UN | Initialism |
| 221. | UNESCO | Initialism |
| 222. | UNHCR | Initialism |
| 223. | video | N |
| 224. | voting | N and Adj. |
| 225. | WFP | Initialism |
| 226. | workshop | N |

# Bibliography

Abdulla, J.J. (1980) *Some aspects of language purism among Kurdish speakers*. PhD. University of York.

Ahmad, M. (1986) *The Phonemic System of Modern Standarad Kurdish*. PhD. University of Mishingam.

Aitchison, J. (2001) *Language change: progress or decay?* 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Al-Khatib, M. and Al-Ali, M. (2010) 'Language and cultural shift among the Kurds of Jordan', *Sky Journal of Linguistics,* 23(1), pp. 7-36.

Al-omoush, O. and Al Faqara, W. (2010) 'The Adaptation of English Loanwords into Jordanian Arabic', *Journal of Language & Literature,* 2, pp. 27-39.

Al-Qinai, J.B. (2000) 'Morphophonemics of loanwords in Arabic', 30 (2.).

Ameen, W. (2004) *Le Yasa Dengyakani Zimzni Kurdi (The Phnological Rules in Kurdish)*. Erbil: Arass Press and Publishers.

Appel, R. and Muysken, P. (1987) *Language contact and bilingualism.* London: Edward Arnold.

Archanjo, R. and Arpacik, D., (2016) 'Kurdish Language Class in New York: A Platform for Social, Political and (Inter) personal Engagement'. *Bellaterra Journal of Teaching & Learning Language & Literature*, *9*(2), pp. 14-31.

Arslan, S. (2015) *Language Policy in Turkey and Its Effect on the Kurdish Language*. MA. Western Michigan University.

Asia Times Online (22nd October 2002) [Online]. Available at: http://www.atimes.com/atimes/MiddleEast/DJ22Ak01.html (Accessed: 3rd June 2014).

Azeez, R.A. and Awla, H.A. (2015) 'A Survey on Loanwords from English to Kurdish', *International Journal of Kurdish Studies,* 2(1).

Aziz, H. (2005) *Seliqey Zimanewany Grifty Zmany Kurdy (Linguistic Intuition and Problem of Kurdish)*, Slemany: Iraq.

Basir, K. (1974) 'Zimani Netawaiaty Kurdi (Kurdish National Langauge)', *Kori Zanyary Kurdi,* 2, pp. 15-16.

BBC, (14 March 2016) *who are the kurds?* [Online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-29702440 (Various access).

British Counsel, (2013) *The English Effect* [Online]. Available at: https://www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/policy-insight-research/research/the-english-effect (Accessed: 2 February 2016).

Campbell, L. (1998) *Historical linguistics: an introduction.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Cannon, G. (1996) *The Japanese Conributions to the English language: An Historical Dictionary*. Germmany: Harrassowitz Verlag. Wiesbadan.

Crystal, D. (1992) *An encyclopedic dictionary of language and languages*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Crystal, D. (1997) *English as a global language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2010) *The Cambridge encyclopaedia of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Curnow, T.J. (2001) 'What language features can be 'borrowed'', *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance: problems in comparative linguistics*, pp. 412-436.

Dako, K. (2002) 'Code-switching and lexical borrowing: which is what in Ghanaian English?', *English Today,* 18(03), pp. 48-54.

Darwesh, S. (2015) 'Brayati Yekemin Rozhnamey Kurdy (Brayati is the first Kurdish newspaper)', *Xebat,* 2nd March, p.5.

Denscombe, M. (2014) *The good research guide: for small-scale social research projects*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Department of Foreign Relation (2009) *The Kurdistan Regional Government Department of Foreign Relations* [Online]. Available at: http://dfr.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?p=25&l=12&s=010000&r=332 (Various access).

Edmonds, A.J. (n.d.) The Dialects of Kurdish.

Esmaili, K.S. & Salavati, S. (2013) 'Sorani Kurdish versus Kurmanji Kurdish: An Empirical Comparison'. In *ACL (2)*, pp. 300-305.

Evripidou, D. (2001) *Lexical Borrowing: A Study of English Loanwords in the Greek Cypriot Dialect*. MA. Lancaster University.

Fattah, M. (1997) *A Generative Grammar of Kurdish.* PhD. University of Amsterdam.

Fattah, M. (2006) *Chand Layaneki Morphology Kurdy* (*Some Aspects of Kurdish Morphology*).  Sulaimany: Cultural Centre Press.

Faxri, N. (1987) 'Rebazy Be Kurdi Kirdny Zrawe (The method of Kurdification of Terminologies)', *Journal Karwan,* (144), pp. 123-136.

Filipović, R. (1968) 'Semantic extension changes in adaptation of English loan-words in Serbo-Croatian', *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia,* (25-26), pp. 109-119.

Fromkin, V., Rodman, R. and Hyams, N.M. (2003) *An Introduction to language.* 9th edn. Boston, MA: Cengage Wadsworth.

Gautier, G. (1996 April) 'Dirêjî Kurdî: a lexicographic environment for Kurdish language using 4th Dimension'. In *5th International Conference and Exhibition on Multilingual Computing (ICEMCO)* (5), pp. 1-26.

Ghazi, H., 2009, April. 'Language standardisation and the question of the Kurdish varieties: The language debate in Iraqi Kurdistan'. In *Paper delivered at the conference The Kurds and Kurdistan: Identity, Politics History* (pp. 2-3) [Online]. Available at: http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/582 (Accessed: 15 November 2016).

Görlach, M. (2003) *English words abroad.* John Benjamins Publishing.

Gumperz, J.J (1982) *Discourse strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gunter, M.M. (2010) *Historical dictionary of the Kurds.* Scarecrow Press.

Hafez, O. (1996) 'Phonological and morphological integration of loanwords into Egyptian Arabic', *Égypte/Monde Arabe,* (27-28), pp. 383-410.

Haig, G. (2004) The invisibilisation of Kurdish: The other side of language planning in Turkey. na.

Haig, G. and Matras, Y. (2002) 'Kurdish linguistics: a brief overview'. *STUF-Language Typology and Universals,* 55(1), pp. 3-14.

Hama Khorshid, F. (1983) *Kurdish language and the geographical distribution of its dialects*. Ishbeelia Press.

Hamawandy, A. (2012) 'Derivational Morphemes in English with Reference to Dialects in Kurdish', *Journal- Humanity Studies,* 7, pp. 20-39.

Hasanpoor, J. (1999) *A study of European, Persian and Arabic loans in standard Sorani.* Uppsala University.

Haspelmath, M. (2008) 'Loanword typology: Steps toward a systematic cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowability', *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology,* 35, pp. 43.

Haspelmath, M. and Tadmor, U. (2009) *Loanwords in the world's languages: a comparative handbook*. Walter de Gruyter.

Hassanpour, A. (1992) *Nationalism and language in Kurdistan, 1918-1985*. Edwin Mellen Pr.

Haugen, E. (1950) 'The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing', *Language,* 26(2), pp. 210-231.

Hawlati newspaper (7th December 2011) '*Tuanasazy Bernamayaki Nayab Belam (Human Capacity Development Program HCDP* is an outstanding program, however' [Online] Available at: https://issuu.com/hawlatikurd/docs/hawlati789 (Accessed: 30th December 2011).

Heath, J.G. (1984) 'Language contact and language change', *Annual Review of Anthropology,* pp. 367-384.

Helimi, R. (1975) 'Bujandinawey Ziman (Reviving Language)', *Journal of Korri Zanyari Kurdi,* 3(part one), pp. 143-198.

Hoffmann, Z., 2011. *Ways of the world's words: language contact in the age of globalization*. Peter Lang.

Hudson, G. (2000) *Essential introductory linguistics.* Malden, Mass; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Jones, D. (2011) *Cambridge English pronouncing dictionary.* Cambridge University Press.

Jukil, A. (2004) *The Process of Standardization with Reference to English and Kurdish Language*. PhD. Salahaddin University.

Kachru, B.B. (1994) 'Englishization and contact linguistics', *World Englishes,* 13(2), pp. 135-154.

Karadaghi, R. (2009) *The Azadi: English-Kurdish dictionary.* Tehran, Iran: Ehsan Publishing House.

Krtalic, M. & Hasenay, D. (2012) 'Newspapers as a source of scientific information in social sciences and humanities: a case study of Faculty of Philosophy, University of Osijek, Croatia', *World Library and Information Congress, 78th IFLA General Conference and Assembly*.

Kurdish Academy of language (2008) [Online]. Available at: http://www.kurdishacademy.org (Various access).

Kurdistan Regional Government [Online], Available at: http://cabinet.gov.krd/?l=12 (Various access).

Lipski, J. (2005) 'Code-switching or borrowing? No sé so no puedo decir, you know', *Selected proceedings of the second workshop on Spanish sociolinguistics*, pp. 1-15.

Lynch, J. (n.d.) The Indo-European Language Family Tree [Online]. Available at: http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/language.html (Accessed: 5th August 2016)

MacKenzie, D.N. (1961) 'The Origins of Kurds', *Transactions of the Philological Society,* 60(1), pp. 68-86.

MacKenzie, D.N. (1962) *Kurdish Dialect: Studies.* Oxford University Press.

Marf, A. (2000) *Barhama Zmanawaniakanm (The Corpus Linguistic Studies)*. Sulemany: Sulaimany University Press.

Marif, A. (1975) 'Wiahey Zimani Kurdi (Words of Kurdish Lanaguge)', *Journal of Korri Zanyari Iraqi,* 3, pp. 40-55.

Matras, Y. (2015) 'Why is the borrowing of inflectional morphology dis-preferred?', *Borrowed Morphology,* 8, pp. 47-80.

211

Matras, Y., (2011). Universals of structural borrowing. *Linguistic universals and language variation*, pp. 204-234.

McMahon, A.M.S. (1994) *Understanding language change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meyer, C.F. and Nelson, G., 2006. Data Collection. *The Handbook of English Linguistics*, *36*, p.93.

Mirawdali, K. (1993) 'KURDISTAN: TOWARD A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL DEFINITION', *The International Conference: The Kurds Political status and Human Rights* Washington, D.C, March 17-19. London: The Kurdish Information Centre, pp. 4-27.

Mohammadi, H.A.M., A Comparative Study of Phonological System of Kurdish Varieties. *Journal of Language and Cultural Education*, *2*, p.3.

Mohideen, S.H. (2009) 'A study of English loan words in selected Bahasa Melayu newspaper articles', *Language in India,* 9(4), pp. 16-205.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2006) *Multiple voices: an introduction to bilingualism.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell.

Nabaz, J. (1976) *Zmany Yakgrtuy Kurd*y (*A Unified Kurdish Language*), West Germany: NUSKE.

O'Leary, C.A. (2002) 'The Kurds of Iraq: Recent history, future prospects', *Middle East Review of International Affairs,* 6(4), pp. 17-29.

Oxford University Press (2010) [Online], Available at: http://www.oed.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk (Various access).

Palmer, C.C. (2008) *Borrowed Derivational Morphology in Late Middle English: A Study of the Records of the London Grocers and Goldsmiths*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

Petryshyn, K., 2014. *English loanwords in electronic media discourse in Ukraine*.

Poplack, S., Sankoff, D. and Miller, C. (1988) 'The social correlates and linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and assimilation', *Linguistics,* 26(1), pp. 47-104.

Rahimpour, M. and Dovaise, M.S. (2011) 'A phonological contrastive analysis of Kurdish and English', *International Journal of English Linguistics,* 1(2), p73.

Roach, P. (2000) *English phonetics and phonology: a practical course. Cassette 1 & 2.* 3rd ed.. edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ruijgrok, B., 2009. English loanwords in Japanese.

Sabir, R. (2008) 'Kurdish united language and Kurdish alphabet', *Kurdology,* 1(1), pp. pp. 34-77.

Sadik, Y., 2013. Democracy process and problems in Iraqi Kurdistan (No. 151). Orsam Report.

Sajadi, A. (1974) 'Wishey Zimani Kurdi (Words in Kurdish Langauge)', *Journal of Korri Zanyari Kurdi,* 2(part one), pp. 148-178.

Sharifi, S. (2013) 'A Comparative Study of Word Formation processes of Ilami kurdish and English', *Open Journal of Education,* 1.

Sheyholislami, J. (2010) 'Identity, language, and new media: the Kurdish case', *Language policy,* 9(4), pp. 289-312.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Sheyholislami, and Hassanpour (2012) 'Concluding remarks',

Stubbs, M. (2001) *Words and phrases: corpus studies of lexical semantics.* Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Tatsioka, Z. (2008) 'Code-switching and English Loanwords in the Greek Media', *NewcastleWorking Papers in Linguistics,* 14, pp. 129-144.

Thackston, W.M. (2003) Sorani Kurdish- A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings. Renas Media.

Thackston, W.M. (2006) Kurmanji Kurdish: A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings. Renas Media.

The Constitution of the Rojava Cantons [Online], Available at: https://civiroglu.net/the-constitution-of-the-rojava-cantons/ (Accessed: 16 August 2016).

The Global newspaper (2008) [Online], available at: http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Xabat+celebrates+49th+year+of+publication.-a0217265276 (Various access).

The KRG high REPRESENTATION to the UK [Online]. Available at: http://uk. gov. krd/pages/page.aspx?lngnr=12&smap=030000&pnr=25 (Various access).

The Kurdish Institute of Paris (1992) [Online]. Available at: http://www.institutkurde.org/images/cartes_and_maps/iraq_dissident_areas_1992.jpg (Accessed: 13th October 2014).

The Kurdish Project (2014) [Online]. Available at: http://thekurdishproject.org (Various access).

Thomason, S.G. (2001) *Language contact.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Thomason, S.G. and Kaufman, T. (1988) *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics.* Berkeley; London: University of California Press.

Thompson (10th October 2014) 'Kurdish' [Online]. Available at: http://aboutworldlanguages.com/kurdish (Accessed: 5th August 2016).

Travel Iraqi Kurdistan, (N.D.) [Online]. Available at: http://www.traveliraqikurdistan.com/home/welcome/ (Accessed: 2nd August 2016).

Van Hout, R. and Muysken, P. (1994) 'Modeling Lexical Borrowability', *Language Variation and Change,* 6(1), pp. 39-62.

Weinreich, U. (1953 and 1966) *Languages in contact: findings and problems.* 9; 7. pr. edn. The Hague: Mouton.

*Xebat* newspaper (2015) [Online], Available at: http://www.xebat.net. (Accessed: 5 January 2016).

Yildiz, N. and Akbarov, A. (2012) 'Borrowing words from Turkish to Kurdish', *Global Advanced Research Journals*, 1 (11), pp. 425-427.

Yule, G. (2010) *The study of language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zebari, I.A. (2012) 'Conversational Code-Switching between Arabic and Kurdish in Duhok City', *International Journal of Science and Research*, 3, 9, pp. 2460-2465.