

Formal Linguistic Insecurity in Hewlêrî Speech Community

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Abstract

Formal linguistic insecurity (FLI), also known as the Labovian linguistic insecurity, is a manifestation of linguistic insecurity. In this manifestation speakers of a variety regard another language or variety as the reference for correct usage. They may deem their speech patterns incorrect or less correct than those of the norm variety. This study examined FLI quantitatively among members of the Hewlêrî speech community, who reside in the capital of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, KRI. For this purpose, 155 individuals were chosen in order to fill out a test that contained 12 double-questions. In each pair, the options in the A part were identical with those in the B counterpart. These options were related to phonological, vocabulary and grammatical variables and contained words or sentences from three relevant varieties of Hewlêrî, the Semi-Standard Soranî and Sîlêmanî. The A questions required the participants to choose the option that they regarded as the most correct, while their B counterpart asked them to indicate their usual usages. The discrepancies between the norm options and the usual options were calculated, according to a scale of FLI. The researcher had designed the scale by amending the scales in the previous relevant studies. The results suggested that almost half of the respondents suffered from high levels of FLI. The figure was nearly three times higher than the rate of those who did not feel FLI at all. The study is important because it demonstrates how the existence of a prestige variety can alternate the perception of linguistic accuracy by speakers of a local variety and affect their evaluation of their native variety. In terms of methodological implications, the study has incorporated vocabulary and grammatical items in the test of FLI, which is a new development to the Labovian framework.



About the Journal

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1. Introduction

The term linguistic insecurity (LI) is used in sociolinguistics to describe a feeling of inferiority, a language complex, or a negative attitude towards one's first language (L1) or a variety of speech. Therefore, various definitions of the term focus on either the emotional, or the attitudinal or both these aspects of LI. For example, Hall (1950) blames the hegemony of the dominant or the standard varieties for the creation of LI. He defines LI as a psychological complex that the speakers of non-prestige varieties suffer from (Hall, 1950: 157). To Jantri & Phusawisot (2021: 36), LI refers to the speakers' feelings of anxiety and self-doubt over their patterns of linguistic usage. Labov (1972: 117, 126) lists some behaviors and tendencies that signal the existence of LI. He includes hypercorrection, individuals' wide-ranging stylistic shifts and their inclination for employing perceived correct forms as signs of LI.

LI seems close to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence in relation to language. Symbolic violence refers to indirect forms of domination. It is reflected in various practices, and involves "symbolic instruments such as languages, images, signs, semantics and meanings" (Bourdieu, 1980, cited in Al-Asbahy, 2021:4). The concept of language hierarchy plays a central role in both LI and symbolic violence. However, there are differences between the two. Symbolic violence in language focuses more on the unconscious historical, social or political parameters that impose the variety of the dominant groups as the legitimate form of language. This is while LI concentrates more on the manifestations, feelings and attitudes that are caused by this linguistic domination. One of these manifestations is that individuals may suffer from FLI. In terms of the relevant disciplines, symbolic violence is more treated as a topic for discourse analysis, whereas LI is investigated as a sociolinguistic phenomenon.

Returning to the topic of LI, it should be noted that other scholars have also suggested different forms of LI. For instance, FLI was originally introduced by Calvet (2006). His taxonomy of LI includes three types: FLI, statutory LI and identity LI. He describes FLI as an intralinguistic phenomenon among speakers who think their variety is not as correct as the standard or the norm variety (Calvet, 2006:133-145). Calvet explains that FLI is another term for the model of LI that Labov had already introduced. In his model, Labov highlights correctness, norm and language status as reasons behind LI. According to him, the linguistically insecure individuals have "an observable recognition of an exterior standard of correctness" (Labov, 1972: 254).

2. Problem Statement

The phenomenon of LI has not been studied in relation to the Kurdish language varieties so far, i.e., as an intralinguistic phenomenon. There are several studies which can be only indirectly related to intralinguistic LI. Some examples are Hassanpour, Sheyholislami and Skutnabb-Kangas (2012), Kolçak (2016), Sheyholislami (2017) and Sherwani and Barlik (2020). These studies take either an interlinguistic or an intralinguistic approach. Some of them examine the linguistic rights of Kurdish speakers and suppression of Kurdish language in countries like Iran and Turkey. While those with an intralinguistic approach, investigate the unbalanced relations of dominance, status and normativity among Kurdish varieties. In all these studies the concept of LI is disguised and implied. Similarly, there are also studies about language attitudes which discuss LI indirectly. Therefore, this study is an attempt to bridge this gap by investigating the intralinguistic manifestation of LI. It examines FLI among Kurdish Hewlêrî speakers from Erbil. Thus, the study attempts to find out what variety of Kurdish is conceptualized by Hewlêrî speakers as the ideal Kurdish usage and how this perception has affected their linguistic behavior. A strong indication of FLI is the widespread and frequent code-switching into a variant of Kurdish language that is becoming a standard version of Central Kurdish. This variant is labelled the Semi-Standard Soranî in this article. The code-switching into this variety is not exclusive to Hewlêrî speakers. Many other Kurdish speech community alternate into the Semi-Standard Soranî in various contexts. So, by studying the Hewlêrî speech community perhaps similar linguistic behaviors and common linguistic threats against other Kurdish varieties in the KRI could be predicted.

3. Sampling and Sample Size

The participants for this study were from the Hewlêrî speech community who reside in central Erbil, the KRI capital. To identify the speech community, it is essential to provide a brief account of the Kurdish language classification in the KRI.

Basically, Kurdish language is regarded as a macro-language, having several dialects and subdialects (Sheyholislami, 2015: 30). In the literature there are several classifications of Kurdish dialects, subdialects and varieties, such as Central Kurdish and Northern Kurdish, etc. The classification introduced by Hama-Khurshid was used in this study to label some of the relevant codes in Erbil. The variety of the Central Kurdish dialect that is spoken in central Erbil is called Soranî (Hama-Khurshid, 2008: 54). However, Soranî branches into further geographical and tribal-based strands such as Hewlêrî, Rîwandîzî, Ballakayefî, Xoşnawetî, etc. Speakers of different strands of Soranî reside in central Erbil. However, only those who said they were originally from Erbil or its suburbs were included in this study. They were 155 individuals who were selected through a multi-stage clustering technique. This is a random method of sampling. The technique is used for sampling in large geographical areas, in which step by step the sample is narrowed down. The initial clusters in Erbil were selected, on the basis of the six municipalities of the city. Twelve neighborhoods from central Erbil were selected randomly, two from each municipality. Then, randomly local markets, public offices and high public schools from each neighborhood were chosen. Once again, from those subclusters smaller units were randomly formed. The clustering process continued until some people were identified as respondents.

Regarding the sample size, the literature provides several examples of sociolinguistic studies that start with big sample sizes. Nevertheless, eventually a very smaller ratio of the chosen sample is analyzed. Therefore, some sociolinguists call for selection of smaller samples. For example, Labov (1966) maintains that linguistic usage is more regular than other social behaviors. This is because members of a speech community generally aim at effective communication which limits the level of variation. This means there is no need for a large sample size (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 28). The researcher also consulted statisticians over the size. They all agreed that 120-150 cases would be enough for this study.

4. Methodology

This research follows a qualitative method of study. Theoretically, it follows Labov's model for measuring FLI. The measure includes a language test which is called index of Hewlêrî FLI. The details of the test are provided in 4.2.

4.1 Research Questions

The study aims at answering the following three questions:

- 1- To what extent do the participants from the Hewlêrî speech community feel FLI?
- 2- What variety is the norm for the Hewlêrî participants?
- 3- In statistical terms, which type of linguistic items, i.e., phonological, vocabulary or grammatical variables, cause more FLI among members of Hewlêrî speech community?

4.2 Hewlêrî Index of FLI

FLI is a measurable phenomenon. Based on Labov's study (1966), three stages should be followed to quantify the levels of FLI. First of all, the linguistic items for the study should be identified. Then, all the different forms of those items in the norm variety and the variety under investigation should be included in the test. It should be noted that the norm variety here means either the standard variety or the variety that possesses the highest ranking in the society. So, the index includes lists of linguistic items which can have two or more forms in different varieties of the same language. In the last stage of the process the researcher should create a scale for measuring the levels of FLI among the population. The scale should be consistent with the number of the items in the index. As for the size of the data, Labov's test contained 22 items. Owens and Baker (1984) and Fowler-Graham (1985)'s tests contained 18 items. For this study, a test with originally 15 items was designed.

Regarding the content of Labov's test, it included several phonological variables for calculating New Yorkers' FLI level. The words in the index were pronounced differently by them and by the speakers of the Standard American English. In the test, Labov asked the respondents to indicate which forms they regarded as correct and which ones they used habitually. The test results showed the high rate of unidentical responses for the A/B questions was directly proportional to the higher levels of FLI among New Yorkers (Labov, 1966: 475-477).

Following Labov's framework, the Hewlêrî index of FLI questions presented a set of double questions. They contained phonological, lexical and grammatical variables from Hewlêrî, Silêmanî and the Semi-Standard Soranî. The initial question in each pair asked the participants to indicate the most correct usage from multiple options. The other question in the pair required them to choose their regular usage from the same options. The multiple options in any of the double questions indexed clear phonological, lexical or grammatical differences among the relevant varieties. The questions were designed jointly by the researcher and Kurdish language academics who were either native Hewlêrî or native Silêmanî speakers.

4.3 Measuring Hewlêrî Speakers' FLI

The index that each participant had filled out was scored, according to the following scale:

- 1- If the participants had chosen the same options for the A/B counterparts of a single double question, they would get 0 on that item. This meant they were secure on that item.
 - 2- If they scored 0 on all double questions, they would be described as enjoying total formal linguistic security (TFLS).
 - 3- If they had chosen different options for the A/B counterparts of a single double question, they would get 1. This meant they were not secure on that item.
 - 4- If their unsecure answers ranged between (1-3), their level of insecurity was described as low.
 - 5- If their unsecure answers ranged between (4-6), their level of insecurity was described as moderate.
 - 6- If their unsecure answers ranged from (7-12), their level of insecurity was described as high.
- It is worth mentioning that scale was designed on the basis of 12 questions. This is because three of the original questions were excluded from the index for validity reasons.

4.4 Validity and Reliability

As mentioned before, there were originally 15 double questions in the index. The phonological, vocabulary and grammatical differences were each represented by five double questions in the index. The Cronbach's Alpha test was applied for the reliability of the index. The result, 0.867, indicated a high level of reliability.

As for validity, the Pearson correlation Sig. (2-tailed) was applied. Three double questions recorded values greater than the reference point 0.05. These were one question related to phonological variables and two questions related to vocabulary variables. Furthermore, for the face validity and content validity, the index was amended by a jury of more than eight academics. Additionally, it was piloted before the actual data collection phase. The recommendations by the academics as well as the feedback from the volunteers (during the pilot phase) were duly considered in the modification of the tool.

5. Data Analysis

In the following subsections the results related to phonological items are presented first, followed by the vocabulary and grammatical items, respectively. The table in each section shows the content of the questions related to each category. The pie charts, on the other hand, demonstrate the selection percentages from each variety.

It should be noted that the notation system used here for transcribing the Kurdish texts and the names of the varieties is the Latin-based Bedîrxanî alphabet system. The system does not contain any symbols for the two phonemes /h/ and /ç/. Usually, the first phoneme is transcribed as [h] and the second as an apostrophe. Therefore, the Kurdish examples with these phonemes are transcribed in Bedîrxanî, but for their interpretation the IPA symbols for these phonemes are used.

5.1 Phonological Items

Out of the twelve questions in the index, the first four concerned the very obvious differences between the relevant varieties in terms of phonological differences.

Table 1: Details of Phonological Items in Three Varieties

	Hewlêrî	Semi-Standard Soranî	Silêmanî	Translation
1	<u>Mizgefteke</u> <u>dûr e.</u>	<u>Mizgewteke</u> <u>dûr e.</u>		The mosque is far.
2	Le <u>sûcekî</u>	Le <u>sûcêkda</u>	Le <u>sûcêka</u>	In a corner
3	Rojek her <u>dêt.</u>	<u>Rojêk</u> her <u>dêt.</u>	<u>Rojêk</u> her <u>yêt.</u>	One day it will eventually come.
4	<u>Haciz mebe.</u> <u>‘Adiz mebe.</u> <u>‘Êdiz mebe.</u>	<u>‘Aciz mebe.</u>		Do not be upset.

Item 1 contains the /f/ vs. /w/ difference. There are a number of words in Hewlêrî subdialect which are different from the Semi-Standard Soranî in that their /w/ sound is replaced with /f/, like *newt* and *neft* (meaning *oil*) or *hewt* and *heft* (meaning *seven*).

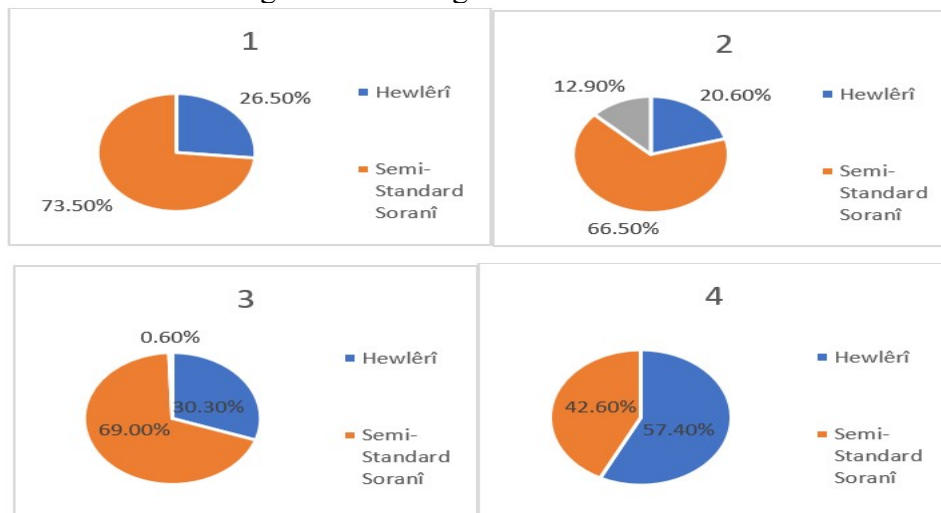
Item 2 examines two differences. First, the equivalent for the indefinite suffix /êk/ in the Semi-Standard Soranî is /ek/ in Hewlêrî. Second, in combination with the preposition *da* (meaning *in*), in Hewlêrî the preposition is changed to /î/ sound. The succession of /ek/ with /î/ leads to assimilation and production of /ç/ sound. On the other hand, the Semi-Standard Soranî and Silêmanî forms are identical, except for a single sound. In Silêmanî the preposition undergoes elision and its /d/ sound is dropped. Therefore, the Semi-Standard Soranî form displays the most intact version of the word in the sense that all its parts are pronounced without assimilation or reduction.

Similarly in Item 3 the same /êk/ suffix is examined in combination with another phonological variable from Silêmanî. Hewlêrî speakers' "*Rojek her dêt*" is different from the Semi-Standard Soranî only in the vowel realization of the suffix. However, both options are different from the Silêmanî choice in which the verb "*dêt*" in the sentence is changed to "*yêt*."

The fourth phonological item represents a phenomenon typical of the Hewlêrî speech community and some other speech communities in the KRI. After borrowing many Arabic words that contain either the voiceless pharyngeal fricative, the /ħ/ phoneme, or its voiced pair, the /ʕ/ phoneme, Hewlêrî speakers have usually nativized such words, either interchanging these phonemes with one another or by substituting them with other phonemes. This is obvious through the three Hewlêrî versions of the Arabic word *‘Aciz*. The initial pharyngeal sound /ʕ/ in the word is either replaced with /ħ/, or if it is kept, two of the following sounds of the word are changed. None of these changes occur in the borrowed version of the word in the Semi-Standard Soranî.

The percentages of respondents' answers for the four phonological items are provided below. Since the impact of other dialects on the idiolect of the speakers is not considered in the current study, only the results of the responses to the A questions of each pair are reported. To remind the reader, the A questions required the respondents to choose the most correct option.

Pie Charts 1: Selection Percentages of Phonological Choices



Except item 4, the rates of choosing the Semi-Standard Soranî are higher than other varieties. The figures reveal that a considerable number of Hewlêrî literate speakers are conscious of the typical phonological aspects of their variety, as compared to other codes of Soranî. This is especially evident in item 2, in which the percentage of choosing the Semi-Standard Soranî phrase is over three times greater than the Hewlêrî phrase. Likewise, the proportion of the Semi-Standard Soranî word to the Hewlêrî one in item 1 is approximately three to one. Again, in item 3 the Semi-Standard Soranî option was marked as the more correct option by 69%, a ratio over two times as great as the rate of Hewlêrî option. Yet, the nativized words seem to shift the paradigm slightly, where the Hewlêrî figures outpoint the Semi-Standard Soranî rate with a difference of 14.8%. Perhaps one reason for this overtaking could be attributed to the fact that there were three choices from Hewlêrî, compared to a single one from the Semi-Standard Soranî.

Items 2 and 3 contained variables from the Silêmanî variety. In both items the ratio of choosing Silêmanî variables is considerably low, in comparison to the Semi-Standard Soranî proportion. In item 3 only 0.06% of respondents ticked off the Silêmanî sentence as the norm, a figure 50.5 times smaller than the rate of the Hewlêrî choice and even 115 times less than the proportion of the Semi-Standard Soranî form. This also could mean that a big proportion of Hewlêrî participants can recognize the concerned phonological items typical of Silêmanî. However, the rate increased in item 2, because 12.9% of the respondents marked the Silêmanî phrase as correct. Nevertheless, the figure is still five times smaller than the rate of the Semi-Standard Soranî phrase. The percentages of choosing the Hewlêrî option in this question is also higher than the Silêmanî option with a difference of 7.7%.

5.2 Vocabulary Items

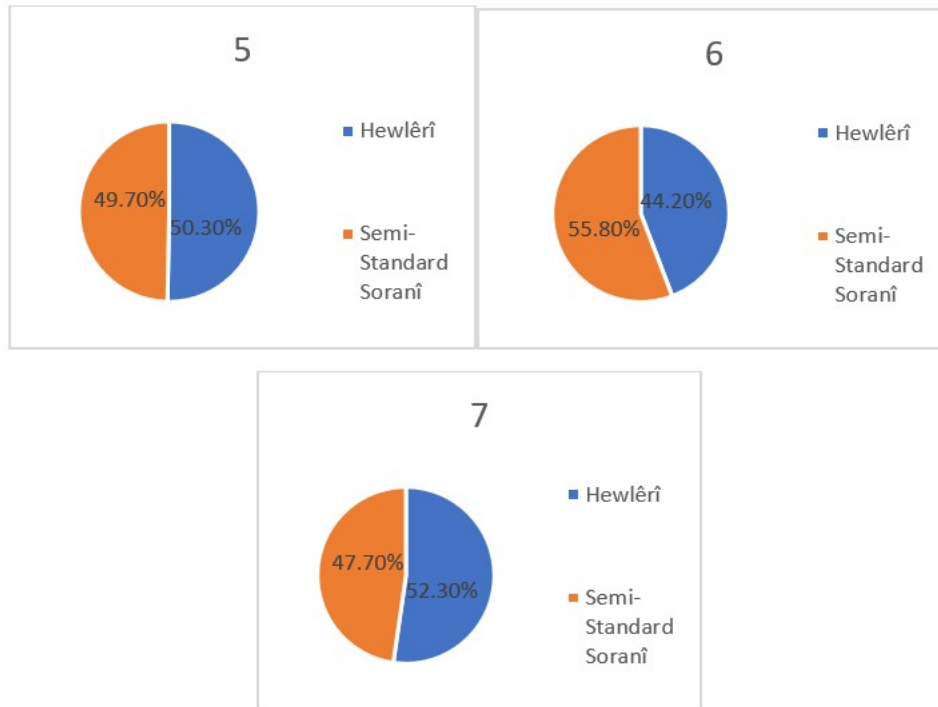
The three vocabulary items included in the index are tabulated below. They contain only sentences from the Hewlêrî variety and the Semi-Standard Soranî.

Table 1: Details of Vocabulary Items in Two Varieties

	Hewlêrî	Semi-Standard Soranî	Translation
5	<u>Mebestî mêrdkirdin nîye.</u>	<u>Mebestî sûkirdin nîye.</u>	She does not mean to marry.
6	<u>Derozekereke hat.</u> <u>Derewzekereke hat.</u>	<u>Siwalkereke hat.</u>	The beggar arrived.
7	<u>Balîfekem nerm e.</u>	<u>Serînekem nerm e.</u>	My pillow is soft.

The underlined words in the sentences are the different lexemes used in the two varieties for the same referents. Only in item 6 two options from Hewlêrî were provided. This is because, when piloting the index, some of the respondents suggested adding *derewzeker* to the Hewlêrî options, in order for the index to be more representative. Nevertheless, the difference in pronunciation of these two Hewlêrî forms is insignificant for the analysis here. The percentages for all the choices are provided below.

Pie Charts 2: Selection Percentages of Vocabulary Choices



Although in phonological items, generally the Semi-Standard options overtook the Hewlêrî choices, with respect to vocabulary, a minor shift is observed. In item 7, the proportion of selecting the Hewlêrî options is 4.6% bigger than the Semi-Standard Soranî choice. The difference is lower in item 5, reaching only 0.6%. Still, once again the Semi-Standard Soranî ratio surpasses that of Hewlêrî with a difference of 11.6% in item 6.

5.3 Grammatical Items

The five remaining items of the index concerned grammatical variables.

Table 3: Details of Grammatical Items in Three Varieties

	Hewlêrî	Semi-Standard Soranî	Silêmanî	Translation
8	<u>Sûstîtim.</u> <u>Sûstîme.</u>	<u>Sûstûme.</u>	<u>Sordûme.</u>	I have washed it.
9	<u>Leger wî dêm.</u> <u>Legell wî dêm.</u> <u>Leger ew dêm.</u>	<u>Legell ew dêm.</u>		I will come with him.
10	<u>Engo derronewe?</u>	<u>Êwe derronewe?</u>	<u>Êwe erronewe?</u>	Are you leaving?
11	<u>Bew parey merrî dekrîn.</u> <u>Bew parey merr dekrîn.</u>	<u>Bem pareye merr dekrîn.</u>	<u>Bem pareye merr ekrrîn</u>	We buy sheep with this money.
12	<u>Kunekey nabtewe.</u> <u>Kunekey nabîtewe.</u>	<u>Kunekey nabêtewe.</u>		Its hole does not open.

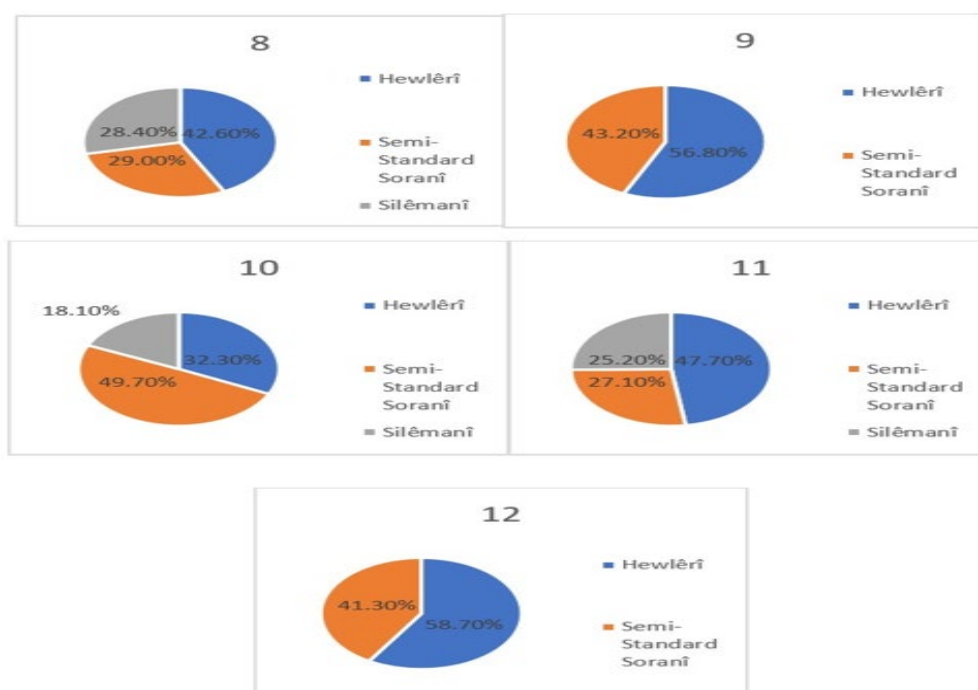
All items included variables from Hewlêrî and the Semi-Standard Soranî. Items 8, 10 and 11 also contained variables from Silêmanî. Although across the items there were only one option per other

varieties, items 8, 9, 11 and 12 consisted of more than one option from Hewlêrî.

Item 8 examined the conjugation of the verb *wash* in the three codes. Two versions of Hewlêrî conjugation were included in the index. The difference between the Hewlêrî and Semi-Standard Soranî options lies in the way that the inflectional suffix for the present perfect tense is fused with the personal pronouns after the base *şûşt*. All the single words are polysynthetic in structure, but each displays a different order of morphemes. Although the order is alike in the Semi-Standard Soranî and Silêmanî polysynthetic words, there is a difference in the vowel of the base, i.e., /û/ and /o/. In item 9, there are three versions of the relevant sentence in Hewlêrî. The first two contain a 3rd person singular pronoun, *wî*, which is different from the Semi-Standard Soranî pronoun, *ew*. Although the third option contains the Semi-Standard Soranî pronoun, due to the pronunciation of the preposition *leger* (meaning *with*), it is still regarded as Hewlêrî. In Hewlêrî some words containing the /l/ phoneme are pronounced in a way that their /l/ sound is replaced with /r/ (Ebadi & Mozafari, 2015: 264). Also, item 10 examines the different versions of the 2nd person plural pronoun. In Hewlêrî, it is *engo*, while in the two other varieties *êwe* is used. Therefore, in this question the difference between the Semi-Standard Soranî and the Silêmanî options is in the verbal prefix. In the former verbs in present and present continuous tenses take the prefix *de*, whereas in the latter the /d/ sound of the prefix is dropped.

With regard to item 11, it shows the differences among the varieties in terms of demonstrative pronouns and case marking of nouns. The two Hewlêrî versions are identical, except for the existence of an accusative case marker in the first. It can be observed that in casual speech usually Hewlêrî speakers add this case marking. However, in careful speech, it is often missing. The difference between the Hewlêrî and the Semi-Standard Soranî options is both in the use of the case marker as well as the use of a different demonstrative pronoun. Whereas in Hewlêrî for the close and far objects the same pronoun, *bew*, is used identically, in the other varieties *bew* is used to refer to something far from a speaker-centered position, and *bem*, for a close one. So, what sets the two other varieties apart is again the difference in the aforementioned verbal prefix. The last item is also concerned with verb conjugation for the 3rd person singular in simple present tense. Contrary to the Semi-Standard Soranî pattern, for some verbs in Hewlêrî the /ê/ sound in the base is either dropped, as the case in the first Hewlêrî option, or it is replaced by /î/, as seen in the second option.

Pie Charts 3: Selection Percentages of Grammatical Choices



Obviously, in terms of the grammatical items, the three codes turned out to be the norm for different ranges of respondents. In item 8, while the percentages of the Semi-Standard Soranî and Silêmanî are very close, the rate of choosing the Hewlêrî options is higher than that of both varieties by a maximum of 14.6%. Also, the last two items show a greater inclination towards Hewlêrî choices as the norm. Although once again in item 11 the rates of the two other varieties are very close (with the Semi-Standard Soranî only 1.9% higher than Silêmanî), they both fall behind the Hewlêrî proportion by a difference of maximum 22.5%. In item 12, which contains only two varieties, the rate of choosing the Hewlêrî options is 17.4% higher than that of the Semi-Standard Soranî. In item 9, the difference is smaller, reaching 13.6%. It is only in item 10, where the Semi-Standard Soranî legitimacy once again surfaces. Nearly half of the respondents chose the Semi-Standard Soranî option over the others. Still, nearly one-third of the respondents preferred the Hewlêrî construction as the norm, a figure 14.2% bigger than the proportion of the Silêmanî choice.

5.4 Index Results & FLI Levels

After scoring the respondents' tests, according to the scale introduced in 3.2, the following results were obtained.

Table 4: Levels of FLI among Hewlêrî Participants

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Security	25	16.1	16.1	16.1
Valid Low insecurity	26	16.8	16.8	32.9
Moderate insecurity	30	19.4	19.4	52.3
High insecurity	74	47.7	47.7	100.0
Total	155	100.0	100.0	

The table shows that while half of the participants suffered from high FLI, approximately one-sixth of them felt TFLS. A slightly higher rate experienced a low level and almost one-fifth of them experienced a moderate level of FLI.

6. Findings, Discussion & Limitations

In accordance with the order of the research questions, first the results related to the FLI levels are presented and discussed in the following parts, followed by the results related to the norm variety and the category of linguistic forms and the degree of LI.

6.1 High Levels of LI among Hewlêrî Participants

The first research question aimed at assessing the levels of FLI among the participants. The figures in *Table 4* show that 47.7% of participants experienced high FLI, compared to 16.1% who showed no signs of it.

Participants' selection of the most correct usage revealed that for most of them the correct forms did not belong to their speech patterns. As mentioned before, if speakers regard a variety beyond their own as the reference, this will automatically increase their FLI level. Another reason for the high FLI among participants could be attributed to the options in the index. Some of the questions in the index contained more than one option from Hewlêrî. Even in those items sometimes the respondents chose a form of Hewlêrî, which was different from their regular usage. Although such incompatible choices decreased the respondents' TFLS score, they generally raised the percentage of Hewlêrî variables as the norm.

6.2 Presence of Exogenous Norm of Correctness

The second research question concerned defining the norm variety for the participants. If the majority of them believe Hewlêrî is the reference, it means they follow an endogenous model of correctness. Otherwise, the model is described as exogenous.

In order to discover which variety they have internalized as the norm, a simple calculation was performed. For this purpose, the participants' responses for the A parts of the double questions were considered. The sum of selections from each variety was divided by the total number of the

questions in the index. Thus, the Semi-Standard Soranî with a total percentage of 49.59% secured the first place as the norm, followed by Hewlêrî, with 43.30%. All in all, a relatively very small ratio of Hewlêrî participants, 7.1%, seemed to turn to Silêmanî for decisions of correctness.

One important note about the proportion of selections from Hewlêrî should be provided. The figure, 43.30%, is significant and can suggest the existence of an endogenous model of correctness. However, the selections from Hewlêrî options were not as predictable and regular as those from the Semi-Standard Soranî. Consequently, in this context it is difficult to assume an endogenous model of correctness for the participants. On the contrary, it could be claimed with certainty that the Semi-Standard Soranî represents an exogenous model for them.

Focusing more specifically on the Semi-Standard Soranî, there are important reasons that have made it the reference for Hewlêrî participants. The variety has gained a high degree of prestige, compared to the rest of the Kurdish varieties in the KRI. It is the variety that is heavily used in the official domains and in schooling. Besides, the diglossic situation in the KRI strengthens its status. In this diglossic situation, the Semi-Standard Soranî is seen as the High (H) variety. Meanwhile, all other Kurdish codes, including Hewlêrî, are regarded as the Low (L) varieties. This diglossic relationship is also confirmed by other linguists. For instance, Rasheed's (2021) study proves the presence of an H variety in the KRI. The author refers to this variety as "Kurdi Petî" (or Pure Kurdish) (Rasheed, 2021: 266). The designation is only another term for the Semi-Standard Soranî, which has no native speakers.

Furthermore, the reason for the selection of Silêmanî options as the norm by 7.1% of participants also requires clarification. It should be noted that back in 1950s schooling in Kurdish language began with the Silêmanî variety. Silêmanî was also the variety of literature for a long time. However, nowadays this variety does not command such authority because it has been replaced with the Semi-Standard Soranî in official contexts. Furthermore, all participants were literate, so they were conscious of the linguistic power imbalances in the community. Thus, their selection of the Silêmanî forms could only be attributed to their failure in truly distinguishing between Silêmanî and the Semi-Standard Soranî. This is perhaps due to the similarities between the two codes. To elaborate more, although the Semi-Standard Soranî originated from Silêmanî, nowadays it has distanced itself from Silêmanî. According to Sheyholislami, it is now being enriched by influences from Hewlêrî, Mukrîyanî and Erdelanî varieties (Sheyholislami, 2015, 34). Yet, there are still some individuals who advertise Silêmanî as the norm variety.

6.3 Correspondence between Type of Linguistic Categories and Feeling LI

The third research question was whether there is any interrelation between the category of the linguistic variables and the FLI levels. It is observed that, with respect to the category of the linguistic variables, generally the Hewlêrî participants were most conscious and insecure about the phonological peculiarities of their variety. They thought they were not correct enough as the Semi-Standard Soranî forms. As mentioned before, sometimes the proportion of the Semi-Standard Soranî phonological variables was three times greater than that of the Hewlêrî choices. Overall, in the four phonological items, the Semi-Standard Soranî variables were marked as the most correct options by 62.75% of respondents. This figure was nearly two times greater than the rate of selections from Hewlêrî, 33.7%. The Silêmanî phonological variables were regarded as the norm by only 3.37% of the respondents.

Nevertheless, the respondents seemed more confident with the vocabulary items, because the selection percentages of both the Semi-Standard Soranî and Hewlêrî seemed approximately close to each other. Yet, considering all the vocabulary items together, nearly 58% of the respondents indicated the vocabulary items from Hewlêrî as the norm.

The grammatical variables could be described as the variables that moderately settled Hewlêrî participants' minds. The selection rate of Hewlêrî forms was greater, 47.62%, compared to that of the Semi-Standard Soranî forms, 38%. Meanwhile the selection percentage of Silêmanî forms reached only 14.3%.

Also, by comparing the rates of Silêmanî phonological variables and its grammatical variables, it turned out that Hewlêrî speakers can somewhat recognize Silêmanî phonological patterns better than its grammatical patterns.

6.4 Limitations

There is one limitation of this study that must be acknowledged. In the category of the vocabulary items, only vocabulary items from Hewlêrî and the Semi-Standard Soranî were compared. The researcher and the language experts who contributed to designing the index of FLI tried their best to find distinct vocabulary items with the same referent in the three relevant codes. But all the lexical items in the Semi-Standard Soranî which had equivalents in Hewlêrî were used identically by Silêmanî speakers. In other words, in terms of vocabulary items, the index designers could not find lexical equivalents that could set the three varieties apart. Besides, it was not possible to have two identical options for the purpose of comparison among the three varieties, because this would create issues for the statistical results.

Additionally, the options from the varieties were consistently presented in a fixed order: Hewlêrî, Semi-Standard Soranî, and Silêmanî. So, if there were only two varieties to be compared, the variables had to be from Hewlêrî and the Semi-Standard Soranî. Therefore, the researcher decided to include the variables under the Semi-Standard Soranî slot in the index.

7. Conclusions

The findings of this study suggest that nearly half of Hewlêrî participants experienced high FLI and only a small proportion of them showed no traces of the phenomenon at all. This considerable proportion of FLI is not caused by subtle invisible forms of coercion by the dominant social groups. Rather, it can be attributed mainly to participants' literacy and formal schooling. They seemed to have internalized the rules of grammar and usage of Kurdish through schooling and/or working in official settings. The variety of Kurdish that is used in these domains across the Soranî-dominated areas of the KRI is the Semi-Standard Soranî. Obviously, the participants were aware of the variety's prestige and sought to demonstrate compliance with its usage.

Regarding the norm variety, generally the results revealed the existence of an exogenous model of correctness. The norm variety is the Semi-Standard Soranî. Regarding Hewlêrî, a considerable percentage of participants indicated Hewlêrî as the norm. However, due to the irregularity of their selections, Hewlêrî could not be regarded as an endogenous model of correctness.

As for the categories of the linguistic variables and their relationship with the levels of FLI, phonological variables indexed the sharpest differences and hence they caused the greatest insecurity. On the contrary, the vocabulary items caused the least insecurity, followed by the grammatical items.

The results were consistent with Labov's (1966) model that the social ranking of a variety can change speakers' attitudes towards its correctness. Furthermore, consistent with Calvet (2006)'s taxonomy, the results reveal an intralinguistic insecurity which can also be described as statutory LI.

On methodological grounds, the study offered a development into the Labovian model. While Labov's index contained only phonological variables, the Hewlêrî index of FLI contained variables from three linguistic categories: phonological, lexical and grammatical.

Regarding the methods to diminish the different manifestations of LI in general, some solutions can be suggested. These can include amending the language policy and planning and raising public consciousness about linguistic rights and the intricate linguistic landscape in the KRI. In relation to FLI, any solution should aim at changing local variety speakers' attitudes towards the practicality of their speech patterns. This could be done by creating a sense of balance between the practicality of the norm variety and that of the local varieties. The norm variety has already turned to a code specific to several domains such as government agencies and schooling. But it is possible to highlight the practicality of the lower-ranking varieties in informal contexts. For instance, the TV dramas are increasingly produced in vernaculars to promote their status among relatable audience. Also, the government agencies can involve in the process by explicitly promoting the local varieties,

like Hewlêrî, as cultural treasures that need to be maintained and protected. Failure to create such a balance will augment devaluing discourses and attitudes against the local varieties. Eventually, the situation will lead more and more local variety speakers to shift to the norm variety and this will threaten the survival of these varieties.

As for the recommendations for further studies, the researcher suggests investigating the FLI of other Kurdish speech communities in the KRI. Hewramî or Surçî or Goran speech communities represent good examples for this purpose. They all have distinctive speech patterns from the Semi-Standard Soranî but have to speak this norm variety in official settings.

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نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌وایی فه‌رمی له کۆمه‌لگه‌ی زمانه‌ی هه‌ولێریدا

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پوخته

نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌وایی فه‌رمی، که هه‌روه‌ها به نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌وایی لباڤیش ناو ده‌بردریت، جۆریکی تایبه‌تی دیارده‌ی نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌واییه‌، که تینیدا ئاخوهران کۆدیکی به‌ده‌ر له زمان یان شیوه‌زار یان بنزاری ره‌سه‌نی خۆیان وه‌ک پێوه‌ ده‌بین. ئه‌وان به به‌راوردکردنی ده‌رپه‌نه‌کانی زمان یان بنزاری ره‌سه‌نی خۆیان له‌گه‌ڵ کۆده‌ پێوه‌که‌، ره‌نگه‌ ده‌رپه‌نه‌کانی خۆیان به نادرست یان لاواز بزانن. ئه‌م توێژینه‌وه‌یه‌ له‌ناو کۆمه‌لگه‌ی زمانه‌ی هه‌ولێریدا به‌ریازی چه‌ندایه‌تی له‌م دیارده‌یه‌ی کۆلیوه‌ته‌وه‌. به‌شداربوونی توێژینه‌وه‌که‌ ۱۵۵ ئاخوهری بنزاری هه‌ولێری بوون، که به شیوازی نمونه‌وه‌رگرنتی پۆلینه‌ندیکراو و هیشوویی چه‌ند قوناغی ده‌ستنیشان کران. به‌مه‌به‌ستی دیاریکردنی ئاسته‌کانی نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌وایی فه‌رمی له‌ناو ئه‌م ئاخوهرانه‌دا، به‌شداربووان تاقیکردنه‌وه‌یه‌کی ۱۲ پرسارییان وه‌لام دایه‌وه‌. هه‌ر پرساریک دوو لقی له‌ خۆ گرتبوو. جیاوازییه‌ فۆنۆلۆجی و وشه‌یی و ریزمانیه‌کانی نیوان بنزاری هه‌ولێری و سلیمانی و نیمچه‌ ستانداردی سوێری له‌م پرساریانه‌دا له‌سه‌ر شیوازی پرساری بژارده‌یی بۆ به‌شداربوون خرابوونه‌ روو. به‌شداربووان داوایان لیکرابوو له لقی یه‌که‌می هه‌ر پرساریکدا ئه‌و بژارده‌یه‌ی که به راست و دروستترین ده‌برینی ده‌زانن، ده‌ستنیشان بکه‌ن. له لقی دووه‌می هه‌ر پرساریکیدا داوایان لیکرابوو له هه‌مان بژارده‌کان ئه‌و ده‌برینه‌ ده‌ستنیشان بکه‌ن که خۆیان به‌رده‌وام به‌کاریان ده‌هێنن. وه‌لامه‌کانی هه‌ر به‌شداربوویه‌ک به‌گۆره‌ی پێوه‌ریک هه‌سه‌نگاندنیان بۆ کرا. به‌به‌رچاوتری پێوه‌ری به‌کارهاتوو له توێژینه‌وه‌کانی پێشوودا، توێژه‌ری پێوه‌ریکی نوێی بۆ ئه‌م توێژینه‌وه‌ دانا. ئه‌نجامه‌کان ده‌ریانخست نزیکه‌ی نیوه‌ی به‌شداربووان ئاستیکی به‌ریزی نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌وایی فه‌رمیان هه‌یه‌. ئه‌مه‌ش له‌کاتیکیه‌ که ته‌نیا نزیکه‌ی یه‌ک له‌سه‌ر شه‌شیان به‌هیچ جۆریک ئه‌م هه‌سته‌یان نیه‌. گرینگی ئه‌م توێژینه‌وه‌یه‌ له‌وه‌دایه‌ که ده‌ریده‌خات چۆن هه‌بوونی شیوه‌زاریکی پێگه‌ به‌رز ده‌توانیت بۆچوونی ئاخوهرانی شیوه‌زاریکی لۆکالی سه‌بارت به راست و دروستبوونی شیوه‌زاره‌که‌یان بگۆریت. له‌رووی لیکه‌وته‌کانی میتۆدۆلۆژییه‌وه‌ش، تاقیکردنه‌وه‌ی نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌وایی فه‌رمی له‌م توێژینه‌وه‌یه‌دا بژارده‌ی وشه‌یی و ریزمانیه‌ی له‌خۆ گرتبوو، که ئه‌مه‌ش په‌ره‌سه‌ندنیکی نوێیه‌ له‌ میتۆدی لباڤی.

وشه‌ سه‌ره‌کییه‌کان: نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌وایی، کۆمه‌لگه‌ی زمانه‌ی هه‌ولێری، نه‌بوونی ئاسایشی زمانه‌وایی لباڤی، راستووه‌ستی، پێوه‌

انعدام الأمن اللغوي الرسمي في مجتمع الكلام الهوليري

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الملخص

انعدام الأمن اللغوي في السياقات الرسمية والمعروف بالانعدام الأمن اللباڤي ايضاً وهي احدى تجليات انعدام الأمن اللغوي عندما يعتبر متحدثو احدى اللهجات لهجة أخرى او لغة أخرى معياراً للاستخدام اللغوي اما لهجتهم اما غير مقبولة او اقل من اللهجة او اللغة المعيارية . حللت الدراسة هذه الظاهرة كمياً في الجماعة اللغوية الهوليري، المقيمين في أربيل (عاصمة إقليم كردستان - العراق) وشملت 155 شخصاً مستخدماً تقنية العينة الطبقيّة العنقودية متعددة المراحل . يتكون الاستبيان من اثنا عشر سؤالاً مزدوجاً (متقابلان أ-ب) عن الاختلافات الصوتية والدلالية والقواعدية حيث يتكون كل منه من خيارات متطابقة من اللهجات الأربيلية والسورانية الشبه القياسية والسلیمانية . يختار المستجيب الإجابة الصحيحة في اسئلة (أ) بينما في (ب) ما يستخدمه عادة ، وتم الاعتماد على مقياس انعدام الأمن اللغوي لحساب التباين بين الاختيارين. صممت الباحثة المقياس بتعديل المقاييس المستخدمة في الدراسات السابقة ذات صلة بهذه الدراسة . تقترح النتائج معاناة حوالي النصف من المشاركين من مستويات مرتفعة من انعدام الأمن اللغوي الرسمي (FLI) وتبين الأرقام بانهم ثلاثة اضعاف الذين لا يعانون منه نهائيًا. تتمثل اهمية الدراسة في انها تسلط الضوء على تأثير وجود النوع المرموق (اللهجة المرموقة) على كل من ادراك الدقة اللغوية للمتحدثين بالنوع (اللهجة) المحلي و تقييمهم لهجتهم الاصلية . شملت الدراسة على عناصر المفردات و النحو في اختبار انعدام الأمن اللغوي الرسمي و يعد تطوراً جديداً في الاطار اللابوڤي وهذا من التدايعات المنهجية للدراسة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: انعدام الأمن اللغوي، مجتمع الكلام الهوليري، انعدام الأمن اللغوي اللابوڤي، الصحة، المعيار