

INVESTIGATING REPRESENTATIONS AND CAUSES OF LINGUISTIC INSECURITY IN MÊRGESORÎ SPEECH COMMUNITY/ ERBIL

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ABSTRACT:

Linguistic insecurity as a mental and emotional construct can be realized in various forms. The current study deals with seven manifestations and causes of this sociolinguistic phenomenon in Mêrgesor District of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. In the literature, no studies have examined linguistic insecurity as an intralinguistic phenomenon among the speakers of the Kurdish varieties in the region. Besides, the relatively small population in Mêrgesor District speaks a variety of Badînî subdialect, called Mêrgesorî, while it is dependent on the domineering Soranî subdialect for education and administration. Such imbalances and dependences can always shape language attitudes that control individuals' linguistic behavior. The study employs a questionnaire and semi-structured interview as tools. The participants are 135 Mêrgesorî speakers and four language experts from the area. The findings of the study reveal that out of the seven linguistic insecurity forms only one is not found in the community. One of these forms, i.e., feeling guilty for code-switching, is an original manifestation that had no reference in the literature. The results also reveal that mostly the social factors, along the linguistic purism and essentialism ideologies, should be blamed for the persistence of linguistic insecurity in the community. The current study is important in the sense that it shows how language attitudes regulate the linguistic performance of Mêrgesorî speakers in different situations and domains. It also reinforces the previous studies over the existence of a diglossic situation in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

KEYWORDS: Linguistic Insecurity, Language shaming, Code-Switching, Linguistic Purism.

1. Introduction

This study deals with linguistic insecurity (henceforth LI). It can be defined as a negative feeling, a damaging attitude or a psychological complex that individuals may develop against their native varieties of speech. It is also referred to as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, because it sources from social and linguistic parameters that discourage individuals from using their native speech patterns.

In the literature one can find plenty of studies that have examined Kurdish speakers' LI only indirectly. These studies examine the status of the Kurdish language and the linguistic rights of Kurdish speakers under the hegemony of other nations such as Turks, Arabs or Iranians. Examples are Sherwani and Barlik's article in 2020, titled "*The present status of Kurdish language in Turkey: A sociolinguistic study of Van community*" and Hassanpour, Sheyholislami and Skutnabb-Kangas' 2012 article, "*Introduction/Kurdish: Linguicide, resistance and hope*". Furthermore, such studies have examined interlinguistic situations. To the best of the researchers' knowledge, there have been no studies so far that deal with LI as an intralinguistic phenomenon.

Therefore, this study tackles LI as an intralinguistic phenomenon among Mêrgesorî native speakers, who

reside in Mêrgesor District. The district is mainly home to speakers of the Mêrgesorî variety of Badînî Kurdish subdialect and is located north east of Erbil, the capital city of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI).

The study covers six LI forms that have been suggested by renowned scholars in the field. Another form, feeling guilty for code-switching, is introduced by the researcher in this study. In fact, the six forms constitute the entire manifestations of LI that are proposed in the literature, except one. This is the Labovian LI, which focuses on the correct language usage. Examining this form requires construction of an independent specific tool, called index of LI. The tool generates a relatively big amount of data that can only be covered in an independent study.

The following research questions are addressed in this study:

- 1- To what extent do the seven forms of LI are represented in the Mêrgesorî Speech Community?
- 2- What social and linguistic factors are behind the existence of LI among members of the Mêrgesorî Speech Community?

This study can contribute to a better understanding of the native Mêrgesorî speakers' attitudes towards their own speech patterns and the Kurdish varieties that they frequently interact with. It can also uncover the potential

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challenges they encounter regularly. Such a knowledge may also inform the language policy and planning in the KRI.

2. Theoretical Background on Linguistic Insecurity

The term LI was introduced by Labov, in his 1966 study of the English variety of the New Yorkers. He described LI as a negative feeling that accompanied the New Yorkers who aspired for speaking the Standard American English. The reason was that they regarded their regular linguistic patterns as incorrect and as an index of their socioeconomic backgrounds.

However, LI may not be confined to concerns of the correct usage of a single language. It could exist among speakers of a language which has a lower status in the community. As Bouchard (2023) explains this type of LI is tied to feelings of "inferiority" on a social level. This negative evaluation of the variety's ranking by its native speakers makes them mistrust their variety (Ogunniyi, Abiodun and 'Dapo, 2023: 41).

So far, mainly four models or frameworks for the study of LI have been suggested. The first one, suggested by Labov, focuses on the linguistic norms. Francard's framework, on the other hand, distinguishes four forms of LI that could be realized from the speakers' discourse (Bouchard, 2024b). These include the speakers' cultural and linguistic dependence on an exogenous model, their demeaning discourses against their own native speech patterns, their employment of strategies to compensate for their variety's unequal status in the face of the prestige or standard variety, and the language experts' pessimism about the future of the variety or language (Francard, 2020: 30; Francard, 2021: 19-20). Clearly, Francard's first representation is the same as the Labovian LI.

Following Francard, Calvet also introduced his model, which focused on language contact situations. He distinguished between the intralinguistic and the interlinguistic LI. According to him, LI could be an interlinguistic phenomenon in polyglottal societies, where only one language or more enjoy prestige. As for the intralinguistic manifestation, LI can arise in multi-dialectal communities in which different varieties of the same language have unequal status (Calvet, 2006:133-145). He called the intralinguistic LI as the formal LI or the Labovian one.

The last typology of LI was suggested by Abtahian and Quinn. It based on language shaming practices. The first type of LI occurs either when members of a speech community are scolded for communicating in their mother tongue or when using this code is not allowed or discouraged. The second happens to those young members of a speech community who are censured by the more linguistically skillful older members. The young people's inability to speak their mother tongue "correctly" causes this form of LI. The third type arises when the solidarity, or identity or authenticity of native speech community members is doubted or withdrawn. The only reason for this shaming is that they are unable to speak their native variety. (Abtahian and Quinn, 2017: 142-143).

Regarding the signs that signal the existence of LI, Labov mentions hypercorrection, wide stylistic variation, and consciously using norm patterns that indicate a person experiences LI (Labov, 1972: 117,126). Even if speakers

attempt to hide their accent and/or to match their usage with that of the publicly esteemed or authoritative code, they display LI (Levasseur, Bouchard and Ntiranyibagira, 2023: 18). Boudreau suggested another sign in 1982 study that refers to speakers' decision for keeping silent than speaking at the presence of those speakers whose varieties enjoy more prestige, (Bouchard, 2024a; Bouchard, 2024b). The most dramatic sign is perhaps when speakers abandon their native variety out of LI (Levasseur, Bouchard and Ntiranyibagira, 2023: 18).

3. Methodology

The proposed frameworks show overlap of the LI signs, LI types, LI manifestations and LI causes. Due to such intersections, for the current research a framework which encompasses almost all the suggested LI manifestations is constructed. This includes devaluing discourse, experts' pessimism, employment of compensation strategies by native speakers (by Francard), silencing among speakers of dominant varieties (by Boudreau), code-switching (by Labov, as well as Levasseur, Bouchard and Ntiranyibagira) and abandoning native variety (by Levasseur, Bouchard and Ntiranyibagira). Besides, the native speakers' feeling guilty over code-mixing is also included in the design. As for Abtahian and Quinn's shaming practices, they are examined as reasons for LI in the speech community under investigation. As explained before, the Labovian or formal LI it is not dealt with in this study for space restrictions. This is because it requires an index of LI to compare Mêrgesorî to other relevant varieties of Badînî. The index requires transcription and translation of the linguistic items and a huge deal of explanation for the grammatical differences between the codes.

Since some of these manifestations are examined through the questionnaire and some through interviews with language experts, the study falls under a mixed method approach.

3.1 Sampling:

Labov (1966) and Sankoff (1980) both reject big numbers of respondents for linguistic research, on the ground that practical communication reduces the degree of heterogenous usage among members of a speech community (Milroy and Gordon, 2023:28). Therefore, for the quantitative part of the study, a total of 135 literate respondents who were all native Mêrgesorî speakers were chosen. They were residents of central Mêrgesor township and the neighboring Goretû subdistrict. They were chosen through the multi-stage sampling technique. This is a random and probability method of sampling, which is used for large or scattered geographical areas. In this method, the intended area is divided into several clusters. Then some clusters are chosen randomly. From those clusters, once again, smaller clusters are selected. The process of narrowing down the clusters continues until the eventual selection of respondents (Tavakoli, 2012:382).

For the qualitative part of the study, four language experts for Mêrgesorî speech community were chosen through judgmental sampling. The pre-condition for their selection was that they should be from Mêrgesor District and they should at least hold an MA degree in Kurdish language. However, because most of the older Kurdish language experts from the area held BA degrees, only young experts

were left to be chosen. Furthermore, the researcher visited Mêrgesorî educational directorate and the schools to find female Kurdish language experts, but it turned out there were no female experts from the district who have an MA degree in Kurdish language.

3.2 Tools and Data Collection Procedures :

Two tools were employed in this study: a questionnaire for the respondents and semi-structured interviews with the language experts.

The questionnaire included four sections. Apart from the items in section one, which collected the respondents' demographic data, the items in the other sections were designed as rating scale questions. Section two asked the respondents to self-assess their linguistic competence in three relevant varieties of Kurdish. Section three included items about language attitudes, speech community and identity. Section four covered questions which specifically addressed LI forms and their causes.

The interviews also contained rating scale questions about code-switching patterns and language attitudes. They also included open-ended questions about language ideologies and the linguistic and non-linguistic factors behind LI.

The questionnaires were distributed and collected by the researcher during November and December 2024. They were analyzed using ANOVA test. The reliability and validity of the tool was confirmed through Cronbach's Alpha measurement and the Pearson tests for validity.

As for the interviews, they were conducted by the researcher on a face-to-face basis in February 2025. They were all recorded, transcribed in Kurdish and then translated into English. The necessary strategies, such as avoidance of leading questions, were applied to the best of the researcher's abilities to ensure neutrality in the data collection phase.

3. Findings and Discussion

3.1 Manifestations of LI in Mêrgesorî Speech Community:

The manifestations which were checked with the language experts and those which were confirmed by the respondents are presented under two separate subheadings below.

3.1.1 Manifestations Discussed with Language Experts:

These include the devaluating discourse, abandoning native variety, code-switching and experts' pessimism towards the future of Mêrgesorî.

3.1.1.1 Devaluating Discourse:

There were four statements in the questionnaire which contained either negative or positive attributes about Mêrgesorî variety. However, due to reliability measures, they had to be disregarded. Instead, the language experts were asked to indicate to what extent devaluating discourses exist in Mêrgesorî speech community. They were asked if Mêrgesorî speakers explicitly state that their variety is not a good version of Kurdish. There was unanimity among

them over the absence of this LI form in Mêrgesorî speech community. On the contrary, two of the experts believed that many Mêrgesorî speakers openly express their pride in their variety, hailing it as the tongue of a region, famous for Iraqi Kurdish revolution leadership and achievements of Kurds in general. However, Francard believes if speakers of a variety show pride in their variety, this means they are trying to compensate for a feeling of inferiority or fears of legitimacy of an endogenous variety, labelling this tendency "regiolectal valorization" (Francard, 1993:16).

3.1.1.2 Abandoning Native Variety :

The experts were asked if they have observed any instances of Mêrgesorî speakers abandoning their native variety and shifting towards another language or another Kurdish variety. Three of them thought no members of this community have swapped their native variety for another code permanently. The other expert, however, knew about a few Mêrgesorî speakers that had abandoned their mother variety for Soranî. He explained, due to the public administrative procedures and the schooling process that are conducted mainly in Soranî, these individuals and their speech community is constantly exposed to Soranî and this can change their attitude about the practicality of their native variety. As stated by Grenoble and Whaley, in order to adapt to a context in which a variety other than their native variety is advantageous to them, speakers may give up using their native speech patterns. They relate the decreased efficiency of the native variety to "an intricate matrix of variables dealing with the community's self-identity, its relationship with other groups, the degree of political autonomy of the group, its access to avenues of material prosperity", among other factors (Grenoble and Whaley, 1998: 22).

3.1.1.3 Experts' Pessimism:

Generally, the experts refuted the possibility that Mêrgesorî variety will die or undergo complete assimilation by being absorbed in either of the dominant variety in the KRI. Yet, recurrent in their discourse over the future of the variety was language change and borrowing, which is a natural process happening to any language described as vital. One expert saw language contact situations as a threat against a bright future for the variety. Meanwhile, others either thought such situations will positively enrich the variety or they believed the variety will be equally influenced by both Soranî and the general Badînî, while surrendering to neither.

3.1.1.3 Code-Switching:

For the phenomenon of code-switching, the language experts were presented with a number of situations for Mêrgesorî speakers' code-switching behavior. They were asked to rate the code-switching tendencies in each situation from zero to four. The details are given in the following table.

Table: 3.1.1.3 Code-Switching Tendency among Mêrgesorî Speakers

Statement	Expert1	Expert2	Expert3	Expert4
A. When they believe Mêrgesorî is not a good version of Badînî.	0	1	1	0
B. When they feel they are in a formal context.	1	2	3	1
C. When they believe Mêrgesorî is not rich enough to express their message completely.	0	3	2	0
D. When they are among a group, most of whom are Soranî speakers.	3	3	3	3
E. When they are among a group, most of whom are the general Badînî speakers.	0	1	1	0

It is obvious that all the contexts can generate LI by forcing individuals to alternate code. Obviously, the scores by two experts, experts 1 and 4, are identical. Although experts 2 and 3 gave different scores than the other pair, the general assessment of the situations by all experts are close. Besides, all experts unanimously agreed that a great number of Mêrgesorî speakers alternate their code among a majority of Soranî speakers.

3.1.2 Manifestations Confirmed by Respondents:

These include compensation strategies used by Mêrgesorî speakers, their silencing among an audience dominated by either Soranî or the general Badînî speakers, and feeling guilty over code-mixing.

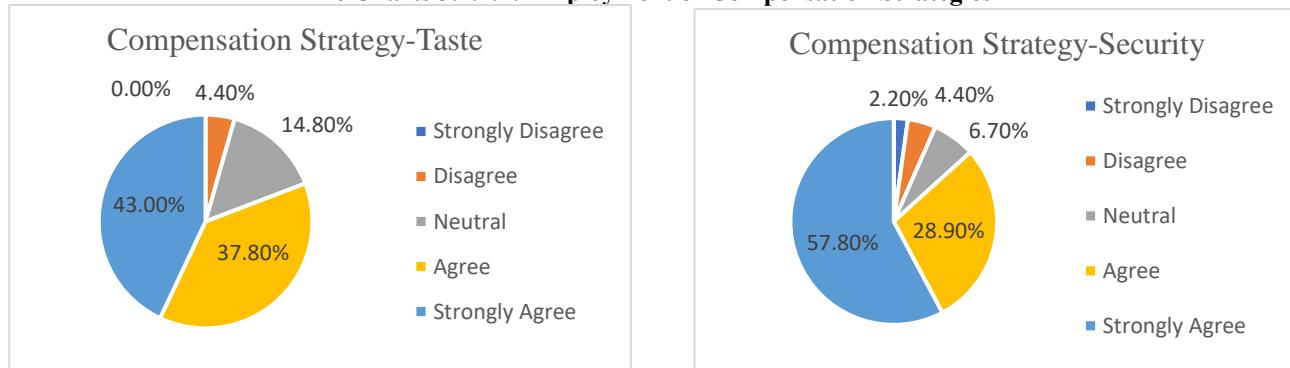
3.1.2.1 Employment of Compensation Strategies :

When a single variety or more hold high status in a community, the speakers of lower varieties tend to exhibit solidarity with their native speech patterns in different

ways. They employ compensation strategies such as claiming covert prestige, a term introduced by Labov in 1966. According to Hudson overt prestige refers to the fact that the speakers of non-standard or low-ranking varieties accept that the varieties associated with the upper classes are correct. However, to compensate for the low status of their native varieties, they associate negative personality traits with the speakers of high standing codes. On the contrary, they highlight the positive virtues of the members of their own speech communities (Hudson, 2001: 211). This double-edged compensation strategy is called covert prestige.

To address the existence of compensation strategies among Mêrgesorî respondents, they were asked to rate two statements. The first attributed taste to Mêrgesorî variety and denied it to the general Badînî subdialect. The second associated more security to situations where Mêrgesorî respondents' interlocutors were ingroup members not the general Badînî speakers.

Pie Charts 3.1.2.1: Employment of Compensation Strategies



Generally, the proportions of those who agreed or strongly agreed with the statements were higher. Overall, some 80.8% of respondents attributed more taste to speaking in Mêrgesorî than the general Badînî. In total, also 86.7% believed that if their interlocutor is an ingroup member

than a general Badînî speaker, they feel more secure. The high rate of employment of the compensation strategy suggest that Mêrgesorî respondents appreciate the higher status that the general Badînî possesses. This appreciation, which may not necessarily be explicitly expressed, shows

their acceptance of Badînî's overt prestige. Yet, to make up for the lower status of their variety, Mêrgesorî speakers deny the positive attributes of taste and security to contexts with Badînî speakers. For them, these are the encouraging features that set the boundaries between ingroups and the Badînî outgroups. By explicitly expressing these differences they claim covert prestige for Mêrgesorî.

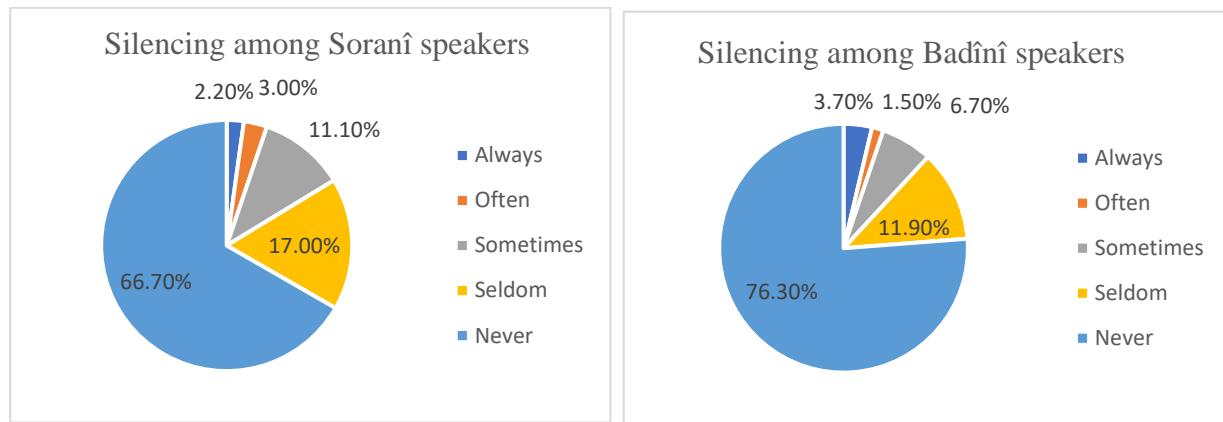
3.1.2.2 Silencing among Speakers of Dominant Varieties :

The speakers of the varieties with lower social standing may be discouraged to speak at the presence of an

audience, who is predominated by speakers of the commanding and high-status varieties. This reluctance might be attributed to humiliation and criticism. Additionally, since it is the individual speaker who voluntarily chooses to speak or to keep silent, this form is also regarded as a LI manifestation.

In this study, the respondents were asked to rate their frequency of silencing, when they are surrounded by mainly Soranî or the general Badînî speakers. These codes are the two domineering subdialects in the KRI.

Pie Charts 3.2.1.2: Silencing among Mainly Soranî/ General Badînî Speakers

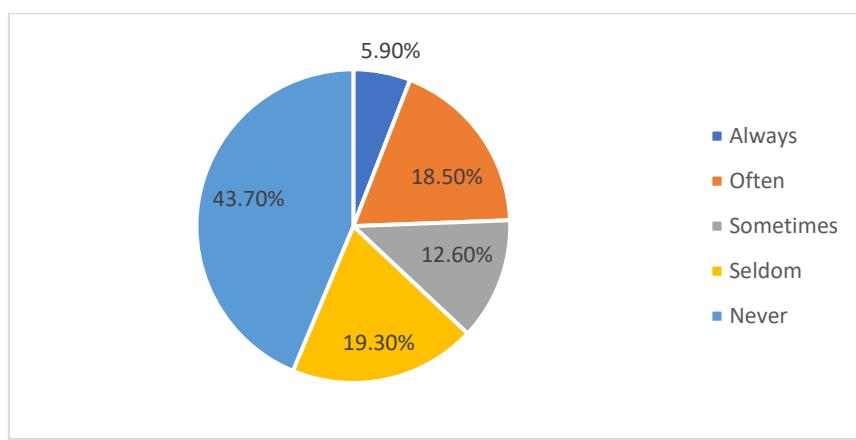


The majority of respondents indicated they were never discouraged for speaking, due to the presence of speakers of the commanding varieties. However, generally less than 17% reported they either always or often or sometimes preferred to keep silent. The rest said they seldom surrender to the pressure.

3.1.2.3 Feeling Guilty over Code-Switching:

For this manifestation, the respondents were asked to express how often they felt guilty for mixing the commanding varieties with their native speech patterns.

Pie Chart 3.1.2.3 Feeling Guilty over Code-Mixing



Interweaving exogenous elements with mainly endogenous ones in speech never troubled 43.7% of respondents or the majority of them. Nevertheless, the rest experienced uneasiness and feeling of guilt in various frequencies. For instance, 5.9% said they were always sorry for code-mixing.

Perhaps some language ideologies are behind both this feeling and the ensuing LI. According to Ingrid (2016), language ideologies, such as the linguistic essentialism,

stipulate that acquiring the native language is a matter of personal responsibility. Furthermore, these ideologies presuppose an imaginary level of competence for in-groups. Therefore, if speakers mix codes, it means that they are lazy, because they have failed to reach the imaginary level. Thus, other in-group members find a pretext for shaming them. Even the speakers might blame themselves for their perceived deficiencies. This

conceptualization of failure, in addition to the shaming practice, induces LI.

3.2 Reasons for LI among Mêrgesorî Speakers:

Generally, the Mêrgesorî speakers' LI can source from two reasons: the language shaming habits and considerations

of appropriateness. The data for the first reason was collected from the respondents and the second from the language experts.

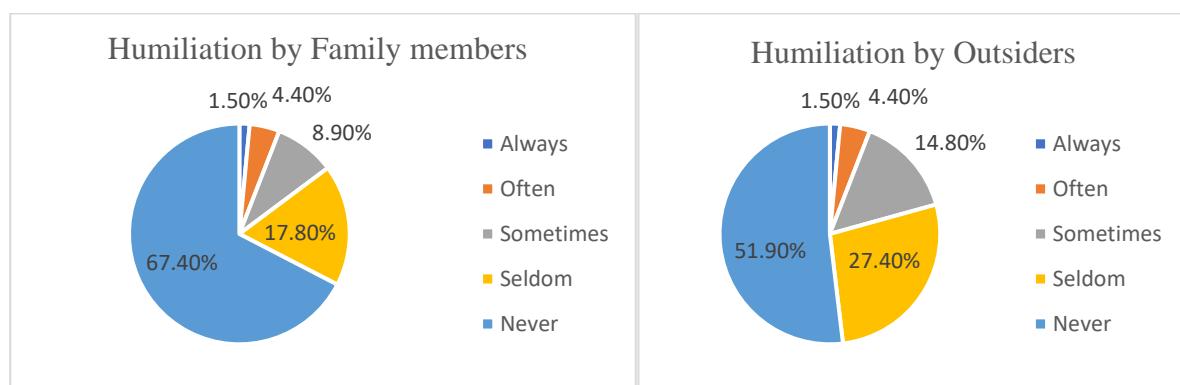
3.2.1 Language Shaming:

As explained in 3.1.2.3, language shaming can cause LI. But what is language shaming? Piller (2017) defines it as "(social) media campaigns or face-to-face interactions that deride, disparage or demean particular ways of using

language". The author adds, as a form of social stigma, the practice has harmful impacts, such as social alienation and lack of self-esteem.

The respondents for this study were asked to indicate how frequently their family members or outsiders humiliated or rebuked them for not meeting an imaginary level of correct usage. They were also asked to indicate how often they were verbally excluded from their speech communities, due to their perceived inefficiencies in their native variety. Furthermore, they were requested to indicate how much do they agree to a statement which explicitly contained an interpretation of the linguistic essentialism. The sentence specified that anyone who regards themselves as a native original Mêrgesorî speaker, should know and speak the variety.

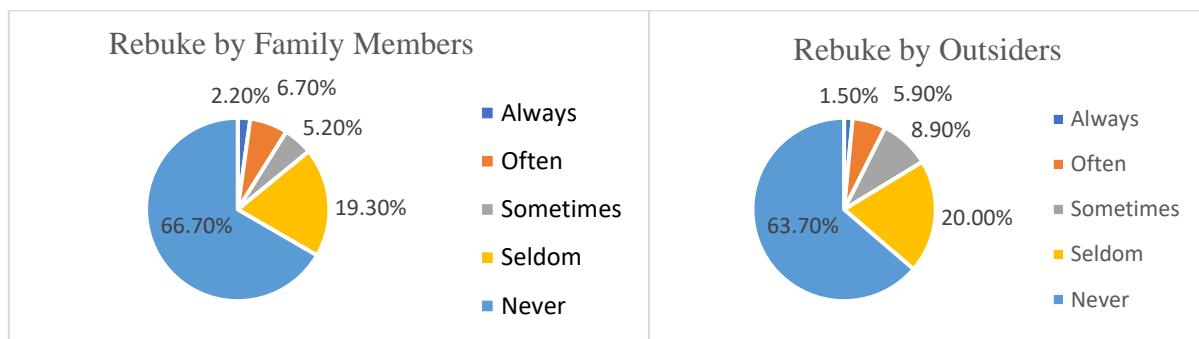
Pie Charts 3.2.1.1 Humiliation Habits



By comparing the values of the two charts, it turns out that an equal number of respondents were always or often mortified by both family members and other people for

using Mêrgesorî inappropriately. Still, the majority of respondents reported they were never or rarely humiliated by both parties.

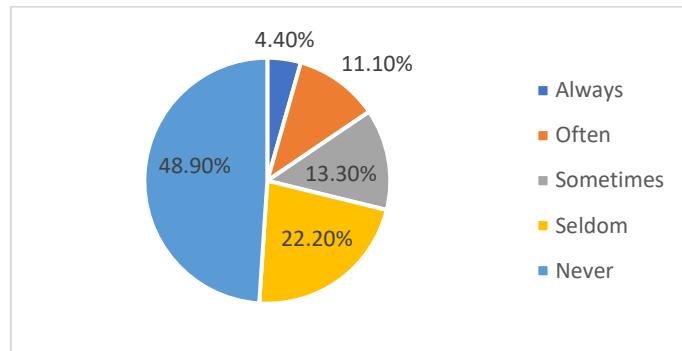
Pie Charts 3.2.1.2 Rebuking Habits



As indicated by the charts, 33.4% of respondents were rebuked by family members and 36.3% outsiders for code-mixing and the rest were all immune against this form of the language shaming habits. Rebuking native members of a speech community over their code-mixing can be interpreted in terms of the linguistic purism ideology.

Langer and Nesse define linguistic purism as attempts to purify language from either undesirable or foreign elements. Therefore, one form of language shaming is to do with whether speakers use purely linguistic forms from their own variety or mix codes in their performance (Langer and Nesse, 2012: 607-608).

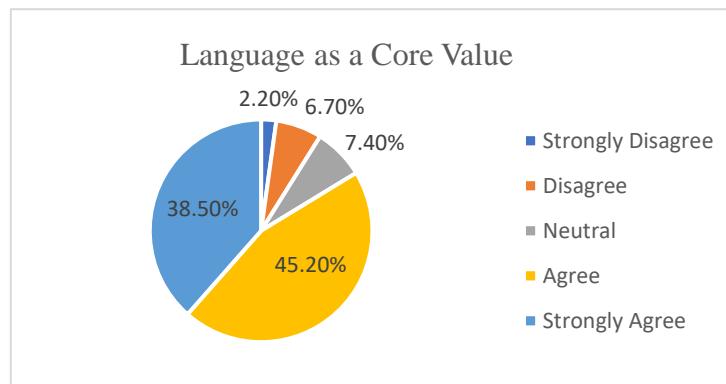
Pie Chart 3.2.1.3 Exclusion from Speech Community over Mistakes in Native Variety



Just less than half of the respondents said they never faced verbal exclusion from Mêrgesorî speech community. The other half, however, heard kins and outsiders labelling them as out-groups, for committing mistakes in their

native variety. The proportion of those, whose identity as native speakers of the speech community was always or sometimes withdrawn, reached 15.5%.

Pie Chart 3.2.1.4 Shaming for Inability To Speak Native Variety



The statement, which was presented to the respondents here, expressed linguistic essentialism. It said that Mêrgesorî is a core value of the culture of Mêrgesorî speech community and all members of this community should speak it. Embedded in the statement was also a guarantee for shaming and expelling any member who does speak the variety. The majority of respondents supported the ideology and only less than 10% of them rejected it. This linguistic essentialism ideology, which can also be regarded as an interpretation of the linguistic purism, can threaten the identity of those who regard themselves as the members of a speech community (Langer and Nesse, 2012: 607). Abtahian and Quinn specify that such a threat may get as substantial as depriving the individuals of their identity as native members of a speech community (Abtahian and Quinn, 2017:142-143).

It should be noted that Mêrgesorî has vitality and that there are no official pressures against Mêrgesorî speech community to shift to any of the two domineering Kurdish varieties in the KRI. Therefore, Mêrgesorî speakers' emphasis on upholding the variety as a core value and the persistence of the language shaming habits may only source from the perception of a threat against the variety. Perhaps this threat is based on numerical strength of Mêrgesorî speech community. The size of this community

is definitely very smaller than either the Soranî or the general Badînî speech communities, two varieties which are dynamically affecting Mêrgesorî.

3.2.2 Considerations of Appropriateness:

This factor surfaced in the language experts' discussion of the reasons behind code-switching. They correlated Mêrgesorî speakers' tendency for code-switching to their evaluation of the situation or the domain of language use. They thought the formal situations push Mêrgesorî speakers to alternate codes. Also, the preferred alternative code for them is Soranî and not to the general Badînî. However, the experts specified that these formal situations were of two types: the formal situations within Mêrgesor District and the ones in the Soranî or the general Badînî zones. The former did not lead to any considerable amount of code-switching, since the majority of employees working in the public and private offices in Mêrgesor District are either native Mêrgesorî speakers or are out-groups that can speak Mêrgesorî. The latter type, however, leads to code-switching, but only in Soranî zones. This is because Mêrgesorî speakers do not see that much difference between their variety and the general Badînî, according to the experts.

According to the ratings by the experts, the greatest level of code-switching occurs when the Mêrgesorî speakers are

surrounded by a majority of Soranî speakers. They stressed this code-switching occurs, despite a relative degree of mutual intelligibility among Mêrgesorî and Soranî speakers. This means achieving a more efficient conversation and building solidarity with Soranî interlocutors count as the most important considerations for Mêrgesorî speakers in such situations.

Another consideration of appropriateness is tied to the Mêrgesorî speakers' perception of the richness or poverty of their variety. If they feel, their variety does not provide them with the means to express their messages easily and completely, they turn to other varieties, as stated by the experts. Of course, in modern linguistics, there is no room for describing a language as poor or rich. What the experts referred to is the amount of codification of the variety. As compared to the two commanding varieties in the KRI, Mêrgesorî does not enjoy high levels of codification. This means its speakers might struggle to find the necessary vocabulary and terminologies to express their messages in some situation, like when they attempt to explain a specific topic about statistics or chemistry.

Another important issue related to consideration of appropriateness for code-switching in formal situations is related to the preferred alternative code. The experts agreed that this code is mainly the Semi-Standard Soranî. This is a version which is also used in the media and across the public offices in Erbil province and many other Soranî-populated zones. However, the Mêrgesorî speakers also have the option to convert to Hewlêri variety of Soranî, which is spoken in Erbil. Mêrgesorî speakers' inclination for converting mainly to the Semi-Standard Soranî, rather than other offshoots of Soranî alludes to the presence of a diglossic situation. In this situation the Semi-Standard Soranî can be regarded as the High variety and the rest of the Kurdish varieties as Low. There are a few studies that demonstrate some aspects of the diglossic situation in the KRI's Soranî zones. For instance, Rasheed proves in his 2021 study that Soranî speakers choose to speak the formal version of Soranî in official domains. The current study reveals not only Soranî speakers, but also Mêrgesorî speakers abide by the requirements of the diglossic situation in Erbil. Their choice of the Semi-Standard Soranî is not exclusive to Erbil; It occurs in all Soranî zones. Additionally, in his dissertation, Saady (2009) states a diglossic situation is gradually developing in Erbil. Nearly two decades past this study and with the spread of mass media channels across Erbil, this diglossic situation has certainly earned a higher level of recognition.

3.3 Conclusions:

This study aimed at investigating to what extent seven LI forms existed among members of the Mêrgesorî speech community. It also sought to explain the socio-linguistic factors behind this phenomenon. It turned out that six manifestations existed to a more or lesser degree among the respondents. These were manifestations proposed by Francard, Labov, Boudreau, and Levasseur, Bouchard and Ntiranyibagira. The experts' pessimism and employment of compensation strategies were proved to exist. The first manifested itself as a weak concern and the second as a strongly visible indication. The devaluing discourse from Francard's model was reported as not existing in the community. The code-switching manifestation also

existed to a considerable degree, which was the strongest among the Soranî-domineering audiences. There were also some few cases of the abandonment of the native variety. As for silencing among speakers of the majority varieties, nearly less than one third of the respondents indicated suffering from this LI realization. The last from was feeling guilty over code-mixing, which more than half of the respondents suffered from in various frequencies.

Regarding the reasons for LI, the study revealed that two major ideologies of linguistic purism and linguistic essentialism derive language shaming practices. Generally, half of the respondents confirmed falling victim to such practices, which can also threaten the identity of Mêrgesorî speakers. Yet, sometimes LI is incited by supposing Mêrgesorî as an inappropriate code for communication in some contexts, such as the formal situations. The results also suggested that mainly the non-linguistic and the social factors should be blamed for LI in Mêrgesorî speech community. The community's location on the border between the Soranî-zone and the general Badînî-zone, its dependence on the Soranî-speaking Erbil for administration, and its members' formal education in Soranî affect language attitudes towards the practicality and status of Mêrgesorî.

With respect to the realizations of LI, this research offered two developments. First, it adopted a quantitative measure for revealing the existence of employment strategies by Mêrgesorî speakers, while the original model by Francard offers a qualitative framework. The second development was the introduction of another manifestation of LI, i.e., feeling guilty over code-switching.

One limitation of the study is perhaps related to the devaluing discourse by speakers. Originally four five-point Likert scale statements in the questionnaires investigated this LI manifestation, which focuses on language attitudes. However, the respondents' answers to these questions had to be ignored for clashing with reliability measures.

Therefore, one suggestion for further studies is investigating the Mêrgesorî speakers' attitudes towards their native variety. This can help in either confirming or refuting the findings of the current study, including Mêrgesorî speakers' pride in their variety or the absence of the devaluing discourse. The second suggestion is investigating the circumstances of language shift among Mêrgesorî speakers. This is because, according to the current study, there are a few cases of Mêrgesorî speakers who have abandoned their native variety for Soranî.

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لیکولینهوه له سیما و هۆکارهکانی نهبوونی ناسایشی زمانهوانی له کۆمەلگەی زمانی میرگەسۆر / هەولێر

پوختە:

نهبوونی ناسایشی زمانهوانی دیاردهیکی هزری و هەستیی، که به شیوازی حوزراوچور خۆی دەنیینیت. تویزینهوه بەردەست لیکولینهوه له حوت له سیماکان و هەروهەا هۆکارهکانی ئەم دیارده زمانهوانیه کۆمەلایتییه له ناوچەی میرگەسۆری هەریمی کوردستانی عێراق دەکات. تویزینهومکانی پیشتو له هەریم بە هیچ شیومیک، و مک دیاردهیکی نتوان شیومزار و بىزارهکانی کوردی، لیکولینهومیان له نهبوونی ناسایشی زمانهوانی نەکردووه. هەروهەا، ناوچەی مەلێزىدرار نموونەیکی باشە بولیکولینهوه لەم بابەتە. کۆمەلگەیکی تازادەیک بچوک له ناوچەی میرگەسۆردا دەزیت و بە شیوازاریکی بادینی دەناخیت کە لەم تویزینهومیدا بە میرگەسۆری ناو دەبردەت. ئەمەش لەکاتیداکیه کە ئەم کۆمەلگەیه بۆ پەروەردە و کاروباری ئىداری دەکویتە بن دەسەلاتی بىزاری سۆرانی. ناھاوسەنگی و دەسەلاتی لەمچوڕە بەردەوام دەتوانن بۆچوونی زمانی ئەتو درووست بکەن کە کاریگەرییان لەسەر رەفتاری زمانهوانی ئاخیومران هەمیه. بەمکار هەناری ریبازیکی تیکەل، تویزەر فۆرمی راپرسی و چاوپینکەوتى نیمچە ریکخستوو بەکار دىنیت. ١٣٥ ئاخیومری میرگەسۆری و چوار شارەزای زمانی له ناوچەمکە هەلەبەزىدرىن بۆ و لامانەعە پرسیار مکانی تویزەر. ئەنجامەکانی تویزینهومکە دەریدەخەن له حوت جۆرەکی نهبوونی ناسایشی زمانهوانی، تەنیا یەک جۆريان له کۆمەلگەکەدا بۇونى نبیه. جۆریکی نوبى نەبۈونى ئاسایشی زمانهوانیش، کە هەستکردنە بە گۇناھبارى بەھۆى تیکەلکەردنى شیومزار مکان. لەلایەن تویزەر لەم لیکولینهومیدا پىشکەش كراوه. سەبارەت بە هۆکارەکانیش، وەک دەرەکەوتى بەشیوەکی سەرەکی فاکتەرە کۆمەلایتییەکان و ئایدۇلۇزىيائى پەتىخوازى و ئىسەتىشىالىستى زمانهوانی هۆکارى سەرەکی نەبۈونى ئاسایشی زمانهوانىن لەناو ئاخیومرانی میرگەسۆریدا. گرینگى ئەم تویزینهومیدا لەمدايە کە دەریدەخەن چۆن بۆچوونەکانی رەفتاری ئاخیومرانی میرگەسۆری له ھەلۆمەرچ و بارودقۇخى بىباوازدا رىيک دەخەن. هەروهەا، ئەم تویزینهومیدا جەخت له تویزینهومکانی پىش خۆی دەکاتمەو سەبارەت بە ھەبۈونى دیاردهى دايگۈزىيە لە هەریمی کوردستانی عێراق.

کليلە و شەکان: نەبۈونى ئاسایشی زمانهوانی، دیاردهى شەرمەزارکەرنى ئاخیومران بەھۆى زمانهوا، گورىنى شىومزارى ئاخافتى، پەتىخوازى زمانهوانى.

دراسة تمثيلات وأسباب انعدام الأمان اللغوي في مجتمع اللغة ميركە سور / أربيل

الملخص:

يمكن تجسيد انعدام الأمان اللغوي كمفهوم ذهني وانفعالي بأشكال مختلفة. تتناول الدراسة الحالية سبع تجليات وأسباب لهذه الظاهرة في قضاء ميرك سور في إقليم كردستان العراق. لم تتناول أية دراسة سابقة انعدام الأمان اللغوي كظاهرة لغوية داخلية بين اللهجات الكردية في المنطقة. تعد المنطقة مثلاً جيداً، كون الكثافة السكانية في المنطقة منخفضة نسبياً ويتقددون نمطاً لغونياً من لهجة بادينية فرعية، المسمى ميرگ سورى، لكن اللهجة السورانية تهيمن على التعليم والإدارة في المنطقة. نتيجة لعدم الاتزان اللغوي تتكون مواقف لغوية تسيطر على السلوكيات اللغوية لسكان المنطقة. تستخدم الباحثة المنهج المختلط لدراسة انعدام الأمان المختلط في المجتمع، بين متحدثي المنطقة عن طريق كل من الاستبيان و المقابلة الشبه المنظمة. تم اختيار ١٣٥ متحدثاً وأربع خبراء لغة من المنطقة. تبين النتائج إن شكلًا واحدًا فقط من بين سبع أشكال من انعدام الأمان اللغوي غير موجود في المجتمع الميرگ سورى و تعد الشعور بالذنب للتناوب اللغوي احدي هذه الأشكال و التي تعتبر احدي التجليات الأصلية والغير موجودة في الدراسات السابقة. كذلك تبين النتائج ان من أسباب وجود الظاهرة في المجتمع العامل الاجتماعي و النقاء اللغوي والأيدلوجيات السائدة. تکمن أهمية الدراسة في اظهار كيفية تنظيم المواقف اللغوية لمحتجي المنطقة في المواقف والميادين المختلفة وتعزز الدراسات السابقة حول وجود حالة الازدواج اللغوي في إقليم كردستان العراق.

الكلمات المفتاحية: انعدام الأمان اللغوي، التشهير اللغوي، التبديل اللغوي، النقاء اللغوي.