



Diglossic Situation In Sorani Kurdish Dialect

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ABSTRACT

Diglossia is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that has deduced the interest of many sociolinguists. The first linguist is Ferguson (1959) who introduced the concept of diglossia to explain the distribution of naturally related varieties in different situations of the same speech community. One is a standard language where it is used as formal language in written and spoken communities and it is mainly learned in the way of education. While the other variety is used for normal interaction and communication. This is an attempt to investigate the diglossic situation of Sorani Kurdish dialect in Iraqi Kurdistan Region. Also of the problematic situation of using formal language in official institutions and informal language for daily communication.

INTRODUCTION

This research aims at studying the sociolinguistic of a diglossic situation in Sorani Kurdish, especially Erbil, Silemani and Garmyan dialects, to discover whether a diglossic situation exists or in progress. The study hypothesized to make a distinction between the formal and informal language of Sorani Kurdish dialects in the



morphology, lexicon and syntax levels and adopting the diglossic situation of Erbil, Silemani and Garmyan dialects. The Diglossic concept and its features are mentioned which includes high versus low varieties and diglossic extension. After that, the study extends to language varieties and specifications in which the diglossic phenomenon is explained regarding the chosen levels of each dialect. The main findings demonstrate how people communicate in the selected provinces. The study assesses that in the regions, formal and informal varieties are found in speakers based on their social status and to whom they speak with where formal variety is used mostly for those people who have high social status or educated and informal variety is used for less educated or lower class people.

Statement of the Problem

Diglossia is a sociolinguistic phenomenon where two or more varieties of a language, the informal and formal varieties, are used in a speech community. Each variety has domains of its use. The informal variety is used by ordinary people which is colloquial language and sometimes it is labelled as Low variety. The formal variety is used as an official language which is spoken in formal situations such as governmental institutions, mass media, political speeches, preachers' speech and official occasions as a result it is called high variety.

The Sorani Kurdish varieties, especially Erbil, Silemani and Garmyan varieties, have diglossic situations and if they do not know their functions and usage in the speech community, they would not be mutually intelligible. So each variety should know how they are used in community and their concord with formal language with regarding morphology, lexicon and syntax. Therefore, the varieties could be better understood in communication when the differences and similarities are investigated.

In Iraqi Kurdistan Region, Sorani Kurdish is a standard language of Erbil, Silemani and Garmyan provinces, though it is not dedicated to whole parts because some provinces use Northern Kurmanji Kurdish (Bahdini). The study is an attempt to tackle the possibility of having a diglossic situation in the mentioned varieties of Southern

Kurmanji Kurdish which means (Sorani Kurdish) which is the main concern of the study. Each explained part will be related to the Standard English language.

Concept of Diglossia

Diglossia is the use of two different varieties of a language in the speech community Kurdish. As Mackey (1993) points out, diglossia is a rather old phenomenon: The use of different languages (in one speech community) is of great antiquity. Even in pre-literate times, speech forms for myth and ritual were not the same as those used in everyday conversation. (p.xiii).

The present linguistic situation of Kurdish can be explained by employing the concept of diglossia, a situation where two or more varieties of a language coexist in the same language community. Ferguson first developed the term diglossia in 1959, and defines it as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, in the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.
(p.336)

As stated by Ferguson, the key component in diglossia is the concurrence of two languages all through one speech community. One language is called the high variety (H) and the other one the low variety (L), with every variety having its very own specific functions. There are few features that set the H and L varieties separated from one another in diglossic speech communities. These features are function, prestige, literary heritage, standardization, acquisition, stability, lexicon, grammar, and phonology.



Diglossia: High vs. Low

The Two varieties of a language in a community are called (high) and (low), the first being commonly a standard variety utilized for high purposes and the second regularly a low spoken vernacular. At that point, the most significant sign of diglossia is specializations, (high) being suitable in one lot of situations, (low) in another. Reading a newspaper out loud is (high), yet talking about its contents in (low) works commonly held for (high) incorporate sermons, political speeches... and so on. (Low) is normally gained at home as a mother tongue and keeps on being utilized through life. (High) then again, is learned through school and never at home (Saleh, 2010: p.77).

First, and notable, each of the two varieties has a lot of functions dispersed over the various areas. The H variety is the one utilized in educational, administrative, and religious discourse, while the L variety is frequently confined to personal circles and value-based cooperation. Second, the H variety is highly valued by the individuals from the network, regardless of whether they are completely equipped in it or not. Indeed, it is viewed as the "Genuine" language they speak or ought to talk while the vernacular is viewed as a brief and degenerate version of it and one that came about principally as a result of the absence of education. Third, the total of the literary body that a network records in the written structure are in the H variety. Oral poetry and narratives might be delivered in the vernacular as long as they are not recorded or published in written form. Fourth, the L variety is the assortment that is transmitted naturally and children start to officially learn the H variety just when they start school. The L variety is the native language of all individuals from the network while no one has native competence in the H variety. Most of the speakers never accomplish more significant levels of competence in H variety, particularly in societies with high paces of illiteracy. Fifth, the H variety is completely depicted and dictionaries and grammar books are accessible for its teaching and learning while the L variety stays underportrayed (Sayahi, 2014: p.5-6).

Diglossia extended

Fishman (1967: p34) contended that functional circulation is the most basic part of a diglossic situation and, thusly, the term is concerned with discrete languages gave they are in complementary distribution. He recognized bilingualism, as the individual capacity to utilize more than one language and diglossia as the social part of the languages being used inside the same speech community. Bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic behaviour whereas diglossia is a characterization of a linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level.

Diglossia and Communication

The way that in diglossic cases, the speakers know about the relatedness of their L variety to the H variety assumes a job in their disposition towards the two varieties and how they go about use and transmission. Bilingual speakers are, then again, completely mindful that their languages are discrete languages, each with its history and standing. This is additionally valid on account of creole languages as in one of the characterizing cases referred to by Ferguson, French and Haitian Creole (Coulmas, 2002).

Eckert (1980: p.157) recommended that diglossia could prompt language shift in situations where two unique languages are included, as occurred in her case-study of Gascon and French in southern France. She contends that diglossia is certifiably not a stabilizing instrument for language upkeep but instead that "diglossia organized the shift". As she would see it, as one of the languages infringes upon areas where the other variety is utilized, the community slowly moves from the less renowned variety.

As indicated by Hudson (2002a: p.8–9), "social circumstances" lead to the presence of diglossia, which, once set up, advances dissimilarity between the two varieties concerned. Despite the fact that it is difficult to follow with extraordinary exactitude how basically unclear varieties can build up a diglossic relationship or how linguistic variation, as found in all languages, can prompt a useful distribution so intense that it



prompts the beginning of isolated varieties, it is not hard to demonstrate how, in fact, extra structural divergence can be easy to come by under diglossia.

Diglossia as a Problematic Phenomenon

Ferguson's paper about "Diglossia" in 1959 has been subject of discussion among researchers. The necessity of the concept of diglossia as a term that defines two varieties of the same language in the same community was the agreement point among researchers such as (Fishman, 1967; Britto 1986 and Hudson, 2002). The term has been more modified, redefined and extended than almost any other idea in sociolinguistics maybe because of general approval of Ferguson's concept. Indeed, as Kaye (2001: p.121) points out, no other theme has created such tremendous research in sociolinguistics throughout the most recent five decades. A significant part of the discourse revolves around the way that the concept of diglossia is utilized rather liberally in sociolinguistics and is frequently extended to language circumstances that are not diglossic in the Fergusonian sense. Besides, diglossic research of the past and present have not yet created a definite, contemporary theoretical framework of diglossia (Hudson, 2002: 2), in this way leaving the field open to both new stimulus and overuse.

Language Varieties and Specifications

Investigations are about formal and informal language of Sorani Kurdish and the three dialects Erbil, Silemani and Garmany which are taken into consideration.

The random speeches are recorded and observed from various people of the three varieties who they are in different social statues. Despite this, the speeches are taken out from written texts and books that are about Sorani variety. The investigations are in the level of morphology, syntax and lexical entities so far. The levels will be explained and show how the people of the Sorani dialect and specially the three mentioned varieties use language in their daily life. In each subsections the Standard English is explained to understand better about the Sorani Kurdish Varieties and correlates with English language.



Articles

Articles are grammatical words or affixes accompanying a noun and identifying definiteness or its absence. It may vary for gender and case in language with gender distinctions and a formal case system (Downing and Locke, 2006: p.417).

In English there are two articles, definite *the* and indefinite *a* with *an* a variant of the latter before vowels. In some varieties, above all in second language varieties in Africa and perhaps in Asia the distinction in article may be known versus unknown rather than definite versus indefinite, reflecting usage in the background languages of speakers.

Definite Article “The” in Standard English

"The" is used with countable and uncountable nouns that are singular and plural nouns when the noun is specific.

1) The Novel that I read last week was great.

In this sentence, "Novel" is a singular, countable noun. It is also specific because of the phrase "that I read last week." The writer and reader (or speaker and listener) know which Novel is being referred to.

2) The Novels assigned for this semester are very useful.

In this sentence, "Novels" is a plural, countable noun. It is also specific because of the phrase "for this semester." The writer and reader (or speaker and listener) know which Novels are being referred to.

3) The information you gave me was very helpful.

In this sentence, "information" is an uncountable noun. However, it is specific because of the phrase "you gave me." It is clear which piece of information was helpful.

In Standard English, definite article “The” is used in the following categories of nouns:

- "The" is used in the specific proper nouns of Buildings, Seas and oceans, Rivers, Deserts, Periods and history events, Bridges and Parts of a country,
- In general, use "the" with plural proper noun as *the* Hamreens (as in the Hamreen Mountains)
- Use "the" when the noun being referred to is unique because of our understanding of the world as we say The Earth, the sun and the moon.

Definite Article "(a)ka" in Sorani Kurdish Dialect

The Definite State: Singular nouns are made definite ('the') by adding the suffix - (a)ka (i.e. -aka after consonants, *u*, *e*, and *î*, and -ka after the vowels *a*, *â*, and *o*). The combination *îaka* often results in a vowel contraction to *eka*, sometimes so spelled in Kurdish.

- 4) pyaw → pyâwaka the man
5) de → deaka the village

In Sorani Kurdish (aka) is used for definite article and added as suffix to noun but sometimes the formal usage is neglected. Though there are some allomorphs of the (aka) definite article which includes (ka, aka, yaka).

Ex:

- 6) Pyawa qisat khoy kird u roesht.

The man talked and gone.

This form of using (a) in Piyawa mostly is used in Silemani dialect informally.

Sometimes the definite article will be changed as we can see in Erbil dialect where the (y) would be added between the noun and suffix (aka)

Ex:

- 7) Chryaka dakuzhetawa.

The lamp is turning off.

Indefinite Article “A” or “An” in Standard English

“A” and “An” are used with non-specific or generic singular countable nouns.

EX:

8) I do not have a bicycle.

In this sentence, "bicycle" is a singular countable noun that is not specific. It could be any bicycle.

9) I would like to eat an apple.

In this sentence, "apple" is a singular countable noun that is not specific. It could be any apple.

Indefinite article “A” is used before a noun that begins with a consonant sound like a book, a pen....etc.

Indefinite article “An” is used before a noun that begins with a vowel sound such as an elephant, an American...etc.

10) He would like to live in a large house. The house should have at least three bedrooms and two bathrooms.

In the first sentence (first mention), "a" is used because it is referring to a non-specified house. In the second sentence, "the" is used because now the house has been specified.

Indefinite Article “(yèk, yè)” in Sorani Kurdish Dialect

The indefinite article is formed by (yèk, yè) and (yèk) is reduction of (yek) morpheme. The sign of the indefinite singular (‘a, any, some’) is an unstressed enclitic -(y)èk (i.e. -èk after consonants and -yèk after vowels) added to the end of the absolute singular noun.

11) pyaw ‘man’ → pyâwèk ‘a man’

12) rozh ‘day’ → rozhèk ‘a day’

The construction ...*i zor* ‘many, a lot of’ also takes a preceding indefinite singular noun, (èk) is for indefinite. In some varieties indefinite article (èk) which used in formal form is changed to (ak) in Erbil dialect and elision of (k) in Silemani and Garmyan dialect.

Ex:

13) Kurak hatbu lo marman.

A boy came to our home.

In formal usage, the sentence would be like (Kurek Harbu bo malawaman)

Ex:

14) Mamostaye waney awtawa.

A teacher was teaching a lecture.

Pronouns

Pronoun is a word that is used instead of a noun or noun phrase. Pronouns refer to either a noun that has already been mentioned or to a noun that does not need to be named explicitly. They show the differentiation of person and number in singular and plural forms in a sentence; pronouns are in concord with verbs same as in nouns. There some types pronouns in Sorani Kurdish and each of them functions in different position of a sentence (Rozakis, 2003: p.9).

Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are words that are used as substitute of a noun or noun phrase. They refer to either a noun that has already been mentioned or to a noun that does not need to be named specifically (Aarts and MacMahon, 2008: p.514)

English personal pronouns functions as subject of the sentence. There is male, female and neuter gender indication of pronouns in the third person singular. The pronouns are illustrated below.

Persons	Function as Subject	
	Sing.	Pl.
1 st	I	We
2 nd	You	You
3 rd	He/ She/ It	They

It is obvious that in 3rd person singular, “he, him” are used for male, “she, her” are used for female and “it” is used for animals, trees and non-living things.

Sorani Kurdish has three persons (first, second and third) and two numbers (singular and plural) as English language; but there is not distinct pronoun forms for male, female and neuter gender in Sorani Kurdish variety while it can be found in other varieties. Principal forms are shown in the table for Erbil, Silemani and Garmyan varieties. There is not any distinction of personal pronoun while functioning as subject or object in a sentence.

Persons	Erbil Dialect		Silemani Dialect		Garmyan Dialect		Formal Usage	
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1 st	Emin	Eme	Min	Ema	Min	Ema/ Yema	Min	Ema
2 nd	Atu	Ango	To	Ewa	Tu	Ewa/ Yawa	To	Ewa
3 rd	Ew	Ewan	Ew	Ewan	Ew	Ewan	Ew	Ewan

We can see that 3rd person singular and plural in the three varieties and the formal usage are in concord. 1st person singular and plural of Erbil variety and 1st pr. pl. of Garmyan variety are not same as formal usage. While in 2nd person sing. and pl. of Silemani are totally accord with formal usage of the personal pronoun but the other two varieties are not. Though, the personal pronouns’ enclitics of Sorani Kurdish (m,

man, t, tan, y and yan) have the same form and function in the three dialects with formal usage.

Possessive Pronoun

Possessive pronouns refer to things or people that belong to someone or something (Stageberg, 2010: p.131).

English language has two classes of possessive pronoun and each one has its own function in the sentence.

First class one has indication of the pronoun and the thing which belongs to it.

Persons	Possessive Pronoun 1 st class	
	Sing.	Pl.
1 st	My house	Our house
2 nd	Your house	Your house
3 rd	His house Her house Its house	Their house

Possessive pronouns in the second class give the meaning as a whole

Persons	Possessive Pronoun 2 nd class	
	Sing.	Pl.
1 st	Mine	Ours
2 nd	Yours	Yours
3 rd	His/ Hers/ Its	Theirs

The main possessive pronouns in Sorani Kurdish are of two types. First one we can use personal pronouns after a noun phrase which are attached by (izafa *i* vowel).

Ex:

15) *Otombely min kamtr banzin dakhwa.*

My car consumes less kerosene.

The personal pronouns are used according to the dialects that are used at time of speaking. The example above is used for formal communication.

16) *Khani tu xoshtra* (Erbil Dialect)

Your house is more comfortable.

17) *Poli ewa paktra* (Silemani Dialect)

Your (pl.) class is tidier.

18) *Kanishki yama zeraka* (Garmyan Dialect)

Our daughter is clever.

We can conclude that the construction of the possessive pronouns are same in the three dialects while using personal pronouns which are attached to the noun by izafa (*i*) vowel. Concerning second type the person-suffixes are following noun directly without any other additions. Person-suffixes are (m, man, t, tan, i and yan) and they are equivalent in the three varieties in use.

Ex:

19) *Pilkm hatawa mare.* (Erbil Dialect) *My aunt came home.*

20) *Maltan awadanbet.* (Silemani Dialect) *Have better life.*

21) *Shamyan khward.* (Garmyan Dialect) *They ate watermelon.*

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are used to distinguish the person or thing being referred to from other people or things, they indicate proximal and distal of someone or something whether singular or plural; they are identical to the demonstrative adjectives (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1992: p.107).

Demonstrative pronouns in English language express a two way distinction “proximal” to refer to a thing that is rather close to the speaker, in contrast “distal” to point to things which are away from the speaker. They show contrast in singular and plural.

Demonstratives	Proximal	Distal
Singular	This	That
Plural	These	Those

22) *This is beautiful.*

These are expensive.

That is good.

Those are important.

In Sorani Kurdish, the demonstrative pronouns are (am.....a, am.....ana for proximal) and (aw....a, aw.....ana for distal) used formally and in Silemani Dialects. Garmyan Dialect used the two forms (am/ay....a, am/ay.....an for proximal) but for distal is same as formal usage. Concerning Erbil Dialect the situation is different where (aw....a, aw.....ana) is used for both directions but sometimes by adding (ehe) suffix after demonstrative pronoun indicates the distal position.

23) *Aw karana sarnagre. (Silemani Dialect and formal language)*

This kinds are not working.

Distal demonstrative pronoun (aw.....ana) is used for plural noun (kar)

24) *Aya chashtakay bird. (Garmyan Dialect)*

This is the one who took the male.

Proximal demonstrative pronoun (aya) is pro-form of singular noun phrase which functions as subject of the sentence.

25) *Awanehe wa lo maktabe daron. (Erbil Dialect)*

Those are going to school.

Distal demonstrative pronoun (awanehe) is used as pro-form of plural noun phrase which functions as subject of the sentence.

Borrowing

Borrowing is one of the many processes of linguistic change. All languages change, and the process is especially visible in the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic systems (Wright, 2004: p.151). Borrowing is one of the sources of lexical change. Borrowing is not limited to the lexical level but involves a complex process of interaction between at least two languages. there are many words of English that are borrowed from other languages, for example, *chauffeur* (French), *campus* (Latin), *bazaar* (Persian), *yoghurt* (Turkish) and so on. There are so many lexical entities which are derived or originated from other languages, especially neighbouring languages, in the Sorani Kurdish. The significant influence of borrowing words in Sorani Kurdish is Arabic in the northern Iraq, then other languages. Some words are illustrated below with their origins.

26) *Muhafatha (Parezga) – Governorate*

Sayara (automobel) - Car

Kalam (penus) – Pen

Kitab (partuk) – Book

Hamish (parawez) - footnote

Though there are some words are used in a variety but others may not use such as:

27) Surahi (*Dolka*)

28) Qapi (*Darga*)

They are used informally speaking in Garmyan Dialect where the words are originated from Turkish language.

29) Qaldirma (*Payzha*) (ladder/ stairs)

30) Qapatkirdn (*Dakhistin*) (closing)

These are used informally speaking in Erbil Dialect, the words are originated from Turkish language.

Passive voice

A verb is in the Passive Voice when its form shows that something is done to the person or thing denoted by the Subject; in other words the focus is on the Object or the Receiver of the action. The Passive Voice is so called because the person or thing denoted by the Subject is not active but remains passive. The Passive is used when the agent is unknown, unimportant or obvious from the context, to make more polite or formal statements, when the action is more important than the agent, as in processes, instructions, events, reports, headlines, new items, and advertisements or to put emphasis on the agent (Aarts and MacMahon, 2008: p.331-332).

English language has a specific grammatical construction of passive voice and its components, as the main form is the *patient* (the person or thing under goes of the action) *auxiliary verb be* and *the past participle of the main verb* which denotes the action, moreover, *the agent* (doer of the action) can be added by using preposition *by* which is optional.

Ex)

31) Present tense

He crushes the car. (Active)

The car is crushed. (Passive)

32) Past tense

You delivered the letters. (Active)

The letters were delivered. (Passive)

In Sorani Kurdish like English, to change an active voice to passive there is a rule that should be followed as mentioned; the subject of the sentence is removed and the object replaces it, after that the root of the verb is taken and passive voice morpheme (-r) is attached to the verb, then (a) morpheme for past and (ê) for present are added in order to indicate the tense of the action. Finally, pronominal suffixes are attached to the verb according the singularity or plurality of the object. Concerning the Kurdish Dialects of Sorani, passive voice has the same construction as formal language, thought, there are some changes while the verb root is taken and added items to it will have differences.

In the past tense, Erbil and Silemani Dialects have the same construction as formal language, while Garmyan will be different as shown in the examples below.

Ex)

33) Mamosta talabakay wargirt. (active)

Talabaka wargira. (Passive)

The student was accepted.

The sentence is past tense and the verb root (wargir) is added by (a) to form passive voice which is common on the formal language, Erbil and Silemani Dialects.

34) Nali chashtakay khward. (active)

Chashtaka Khwrya. (Passive)

The meal was eaten.

This type of passivation of past tense is used in Garmyan Dialect where the verb root (khwr) is added by (ya).

In the present tense, the case is quite different where Erbil Dialect concords with formal language while Silemani and Garmyan Dialects are not.

Ex)

35) Krekarakan darakan daban. (active)

Darakan dabirdren. (Passive)

The trees are taken.

Passivation of this sentence is used in formal language and Erbil Dialect where the construction will be

Dar [O] ak [dif. Art.] an [pro. Nom. Suf. Pl.] + da [present ind.] bir [verb root] re [pass. Ind.] n [pro. Nom. Suf. Pl.]

36) Diktor anjamaka abine. (active)

Anjamaka abinre. (passive)

The results are seen.

Passivation of this sentence is used in Silemani and Garmyan Dialects where the construction will be

Anjam [O] aka [dif. Art.] + a [present ind.] bin [verb root] re [pass. Ind.]

Conclusions

There is a very clear observation of using formal and informal Sorani Kurdish and its dialects. In Southern Iraqi Kurdistan region the diglossic situation develops due to mass media and unified language use in official institutions. The Social levels show the rate of diglossia in Sorani Kurdish Community where less diglossic situation is



observed at high class and more diglossic situation in lower class is observed. Sorani Kurdish speakers, who prefer to switch between formal and informal varieties depending on the nature of conversation. They choose to use informal language (e.g. at home, at work or in markets). However, in reading, writing and in formal contexts (e.g. academic institutions, mass media or governmental establishments) they use formal language. Dialects of Sorani Kurdish can be regarded as a sign of healthy intellectual achievement and development in the area of Kurdish sociolinguistics and its accredited fields of study.

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دۆخی دایگلووسی له دایه لیکتی زمانی سۆرانی

پوخته:

دایگلووسیا دیاردیه کی زمانه وانى کۆمه له و بۆته جیی سه رنجی زۆریک له زانه وانه کانی کۆمه ل. فیرگه سۆن (1959) یه کهم زمانه وان بووه که چه مکی دایگلووسیا ناساندوو و شیکردنه وهی به وه بۆ کردوو که دوو دایه لیکتی به ستر او به یه که وه دابهش بوونه به سه ر باریکی جیاوازا له کۆمه لگا. یه کیکیان زمانی ستاندارده که وه ک زمانی فه رمی به کارده هینریت له نووسین و خویندنا و وه له په روه رده و خویندن ئه م زمانه فیرده بین. دیا لیکته که ی تر بۆ قسه کردن و په یوه ندى ئاسایی به کار دیت. ئه م توپزینه وه یه هه ولدانیکه بۆ لیکۆلینه وه له دۆخی دایگلووسی له دایه لیکتی زمانی سۆرانی له هه ری می کوردستانی عیراق و هه روه ها دیاری کردنی گرفتى به کارهینانی زمانی فه رمی له دامه زراوه فه ریه کان و زمانی نافه رمی بۆ گفتمۆگر کردنی روژانه.

الوضع ازدواجية اللغة في اللهجة الكردية السورانية

المخلص:

إن ازدواجية اللغة هي ظاهرة اجتماعية لغوية استدعت اهتمام العديد من علماء اللغة الاجتماعية. أول عالم لغوي هو فيرغسون (1959) قدم مفهوم ازدواجية اللغة لشرح توزيع الأصناف ذات الصلة بشكل طبيعي في مواقف مختلفة من نفس مجتمع الكلام. إحداهما هي لغة قياسية حيث يتم استخدامها كلغة رسمية في المجتمعات المكتوبة والمنطوقة ويتم تعلمها بشكل أساسي في طريقة التعليم. بينما يتم استخدام الصنف الآخر للتفاعل والتواصل الطبيعي. هذه محاولة للتحقيق في حالة ازدواج اللغة من اللهجة الكردية السورانية في إقليم كردستان العراق. أيضاً من إشكالية استخدام اللغة الرسمية في المؤسسات الرسمية واللغة غير الرسمية للتواصل اليومي.