

# اعتماد الأسماء التجارية الأجنبية بوصفها كلمات عربية أصيلة في اللهجة العراقية (دراسة لغوية)

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## الخلاصة

تهتم هذه الدراسة بالتحري عن استعمال أسماء المنتجات والشركات بشكل استثنائي للأشارة الى الأشياء التي غالباً ما تكون جديدة او غير مألوفة وذلك من خلال احتكاك الناس من الحضارات والبلدان والمدن المختلفة بعضهم ببعض في مواقف اجتماعية متعددة، ويسمُح هذا الاحتكاك والتواصل لمواطني بلدٍ معين بتبادل الكلمات والافكار والمنتجات مع مختلف اللغات واللهجات والأمم الأخرى ولأغراض متنوعة، ويُعرف هذا الموضوع بـ "الاقتراض اللغوي" والكلمات التي يتم استعارتها للغة العربية تُسمى بالكلمات المُقترضة ويُطلق عليها تسمية (Loanwords) في اللغة الانكليزية، كما ان ورود مثل هذه الكلمات يأتي على المستويين العامي والرسمي في العراق ويمكن للمعنيين إدراك ذلك. وتتنوع هذه الكلمات بشكل كبير من المجال العلمي الى المجال الاجتماعي ومن الأسماء إلى الأفعال ومن الكلمات التي تُستعمل من الكبار بالعمير الى الكلمات المُستعملة من الشباب ومن الكلمات المُستعملة من الطبقة العليا الى الكلمات التي تتداولها الطبقة المنخفضة، ويُمكن أن تدل هذه الكلمات بالأساس على أسماء تجارية لشركات أو منتجات ويتم تداولها بوصفها كلمات أصيلة في اللغة العربية. تنقسم هذه الدراسة الى اربعة اجزاء: يتضمن الجزء الاول المقدمة: مشكلة البحث وفرضيته واهدافه، وغيرها، ويتناول الجزء الثاني منهج البحث وتعريف الاقتراض وأنواعه وأسبابه وتركيبه اللغوي، وغير ذلك، ويُقدم الجزء الثالث الاستنتاجات البحثية التي تم التوصل اليها، اما الجزء الرابع فيتناول مناقشة الاستنتاجات.

# Genericization of Foreign Brand Names in Iraqi Arabic: A Linguistic Study

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## ABSTRACT

The study aims at investigating the exceptional use of companies and products' names to refer to things that are new or unfamiliar. This usually happens when people from different cultures, countries or cities come into contact with each other in different social situations. This contact leads people of one culture to exchange words, concepts and even products with various other cultures and nations for different purposes. This linguistic exchange is known as 'borrowing' and the words being borrowed are 'loanwords'. Brand loanwords are regarded as a special case of interest as they are used colloquially and/or formally by people in Iraq and they vary enormously from scientific words to social words, from nouns to verbs, words used especially by the older generation and those used only by the young one, words used by the upper class and those used by the lower class, etc. However, any of such words could be a brand name that stands for a company or a product. This manuscript is divided into four sections: introduction, method, results and discussion.

## 1. Introduction

This section is concerned with introducing the major pillars of the study: the problem and its hypotheses. It places the limitations for the research and indicates the means of collecting the data to prove or refute these hypotheses. It also states the objectives for conducting such a research. It is divided into subsections for the purpose of giving more illustrative details about the adoption of certain foreign names as authentic into Arabic.

### 1.1 The Problem

The function of this section is to state the problem of the study by providing authentic examples for the concerned linguistic phenomenon from Baghdadi Arabic. Taking linguistic forms, such as morphemes, words and expressions from one language and/or dialect by another is a process known as 'borrowing'. Linguists, such as Larry Trask (1996), Grover Hudson (2000), and David Crystal (2006) believe that the term 'borrowing' does not suit this process, although it is the most common term in language studies. That is because the borrowing-language does not usually return loans to lending-language, and simultaneously the lending-language does not lose the loans being borrowed by any other borrowing-language. There are still cases when the borrowed word is no longer used by the speakers of the original source, such as the Arabic words حَتْمًا 'hatman' and حَقًّا 'hagan' meaning *really* and which were borrowed by Persian and are no longer used by Baghdadis nowadays. In this regard, Trask (1996: 18) suggests the term 'copying' for this process. He says "A better term might be 'copying' but 'borrowing' has long been established in this sense." That is why many terms are concurrently used in this paper to explain the words being adopted into Arabic. In the process of borrowing, there seems to be three components: the borrower, the medium, and the lender:

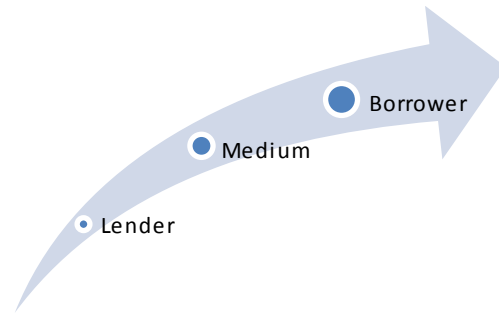


Figure 1: Borrower-Lender Relationship

A variety of linguistic forms have been borrowed all the time from different sources, for various objects and ideas usually in speech and to a lesser extent in writing. Thus, people sometimes do not know the original source language from which loans were borrowed. Many Baghdadis, for example, think that loans are either of English or Turkish origins, though many loans were borrowed from other languages, such as Persian and French. Misunderstanding takes place between the addresser and the addressee in speaking and/or writing, when the addressee does not understand the foreigner or when the addresser expects the addressee to know the loan.

The inspiration of this study comes from a conversation that took place in a car between two brothers who intended to go to a wedding party for offering their congratulations. The younger brother in the mid forties used the English verb 'cancel' within

his Arabic discussion and hence the older brother, who was in the sixties, did not understand what his younger brother said or meant and this compelled the addressee to ask 'What? What do you mean?'

Loan-forms may have an impact on the vocabulary of the borrowing-language. In most cases, the borrowing-language has its native equivalents for the new words and expressions borrowed but for some reasons, explained in the next section, those loans are borrowed and sometimes used in the standard language. This causes concern to Arabs about their language, as it is one of the most widely spoken languages and one of the six world languages. Anshen states that "Arabic, of course, has tremendous prestige as the holy language of Islam as well as a long and important literary tradition", (2003: 710). It has been a lending-language for many other languages for many centuries, especially where Islam is a dominate religion. A lot of English scientific words in use now were originally borrowed from Arabic, such as 'algebra', 'almanac', 'alkali'; names of liquids, such as 'alcohol', 'simoom', 'sherbet'; names of animals such as 'camel', 'cat', 'gazelle'; names of brands, such as 'Mocha' and 'Arabesque, etc. Copying loans is a normal phenomenon in the social - linguistic interactions between speakers of different cultures and nations. Arabic, meanwhile, has borrowed many English words referring to almost all aspects of life, including brand names of products or companies, and replaced their genuine equivalents, such as 'air-condition', 'battery', 'plug', 'toilet', 'switch', 'cigarettes', 'Tide', 'oven', 'Ford', 'Valium', 'makeup', 'fabrication', 'Primus', etc. Moreover, some of the English words - adopted into Arabic - are originally French, Greek, or Latin. So, borrowing works into different directions, i.e., each language gives and takes. But, the quantity of borrowed words into each language is not alike, since languages naturally follow a barter system where linguistic items are exchanged for others and the dominant language is usually the richer one. That is because

Borrowing of words can go in both directions between the two languages in contact, but often there is an asymmetry, such that more words go from one side to the other. In this case the source language community has some advantage of power, prestige and/or wealth that makes the objects and ideas it brings desirable and useful to the borrowing language community. For example, the Germanic tribes in the first few centuries A.D. adopted numerous loanwords from Latin as they adopted new products via trade with the Romans. Few Germanic words, on the other hand, passed into Latin.

(Kemmer: 2003)

The exchange of words relies mainly on nations' education and cultural contact between the speakers of the borrowing and lending languages. A problem takes place when people have native equivalents but give them up to get new terms - due to reasons discussed in the next section - especially when such new terms are merely brand names.

## 1.2 The Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that Baghdadis generally tend to borrow nouns more often than other parts of speech. In the meanwhile, majority of loan nouns are originally English or adopted from other languages through English. It also hypothesized that brand names can

both be foreign and native and it is possible to substitute them by employing a number of commercial and productive mechanisms.

### 1.3 Scope of the Study

This study is devoted to collecting, recording and analyzing all brand-names adopted into Arabic of Baghdad Province and are frequently used as generic terms, whether in the formal or colloquial form.

### 1.4 Data of the Study

1. Personal observations.
2. Checking out documents, newspapers, websites, etc. produced by different institutions.
3. Books, articles, encyclopaedias, etc.
4. Questionnaire conducted at colleges.

### 1.5 Objectives of the Study

The study has the following objects:

1. to identify, collect and record all brand names that are borrowed and commonly used as generic names in Baghdad;
2. to develop a greater language awareness about the use of foreignisms;
3. to analyze loans through various linguistic disciplines and find out the type of words borrowed from other languages into the area.

Nevertheless, the first section above gives a thorough introduction to the main points of the whole study. It establishes the general framework according to which the points are clarified.

## 2. Method

The purpose of this section is to identify, record and analyse all loan brand names (whether native or foreign) that are commonly used as generic in the Baghdadi dialect of Arabic. It also gives detailed explanations for the possible motives of borrowing, its methods, and its types by providing illustrative examples in both English and Arabic along with their transliterated forms. It also indicates the three techniques used to conduct the research paper.

### 2.1 The Procedure

Recording loan words is a complicated task since linguistic items can be invisible and visible elements and the whole process depends on all language skills - listening, speaking, writing and reading. Systematic observations and practical questionnaires can also be required. Recording the number of mammals, for example, in a certain area could be easier than collecting loanwords in the same area. This is partly due to various linguistic and paralinguistic features, such as tangibility and visibility. A researcher of such a study needs not only time but he/she also needs to follow an organized procedure. Therefore, there are techniques by which loan-forms can be collected.

The most valuable technique is **listening**, where many loan-forms can be traced. This would seem well-organized when the researcher engages people into different conversations of various interesting topics in order to find as many loans as possible in their speech. The disadvantage of this technique is that it requires time more than other techniques.

The second technique is **questionnaire** that was carried out through the college students where interviewees/informants are asked for words and expressions which - according to their perception - are foreign or strange to the mother-tongue. This can also be efficiently accomplished through a radio or TV program, which was not accessible at that time. However, questionnaires are also very helpful, but with some problems, as the informants sometimes start to invent words which do not exist at all, or make up hybrid words which are not used in the area. The other slight disadvantage about this technique is that informants do not usually abide by the instruction of the questionnaire (stated in Appendix 1) and accordingly they report a substantial number of different types of loan words that are irrelevant to the brand names under the scope of the study. This number of words is seen valuable in studies that cover other linguistic aspects.

Another objective way, which relies completely on **personal observation**, is to physically check and read documents, letters, newspapers, websites, receipts, etc. produced by different institutions to find out any written use of loan brands. The advantage of this technique is when the researcher visually checks a list of famous companies and/or their products and figures out if their brand names have been adopted as generic words in Arabic. Appendix 2 at the end of the study encloses a sample of such documents, where the brand names are underlined to give them more attention to the words borrowed.

All these three techniques are employed together in this study, which usually takes a considerable time to complete. It is worth mentioning that it should be updated as linguistic changes take place from time to time, especially in our fast growing world.

## 2.2 Techniques of Borrowing

It has been indicated above that loan-forms are borrowed into any language through different media, which could be done directly or indirectly. That is, loan-forms are either copied **directly** from the source language (lending language) or copied **indirectly** through an intermediate language (a third language). The words 'bodyguard' and 'Kleenex' are borrowed directly from English without any intermediate language. The words 'ماركة' *'marka'* meaning *brand* and 'كافتيريا' *'cafeteria'*, for example, are borrowed indirectly from Greek and Spanish respectively into Arabic through English. In this regard, Fromkin et al (2003: 512) corroborate that "A language may borrow a word directly or indirectly." The following figure illustrates this process:

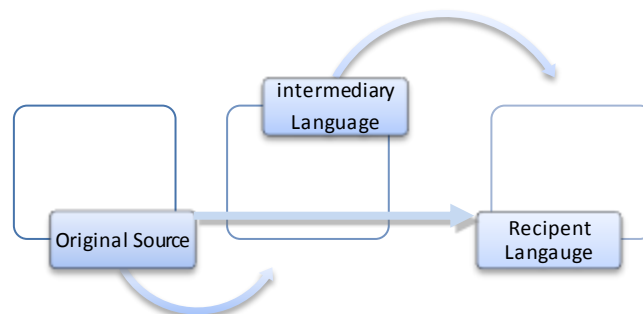


Figure 2: Techniques of Borrowing

## 3. Results

In the section, the data that are relevant to the discourse and collected by the questionnaire are discussed sequentially so as to come up with logical results and justify the discussion of the study.

### 3.1 Motives of Borrowing

Attempts are made by people - whether spontaneously or intentionally - to enrich their vocabulary. English, for example, has become very rich in the last centuries as terms and expressions are constantly borrowed from almost all languages. This would sometimes lead to a situation where a speaker has two synonymous terms for the same concept/object in their language/dialect such as 'freedom' and 'liberty' but each one was adopted from a different language: the former is French and the latter implies the influence of Italian culture. In some cases, each term has different connotations, for example, the Arabic word مرشح 'murashah' meaning *filter* carries a connotation of being an old word. Although the two terms (*murashah* and *filter*) are synonyms, Baghdadis use the latter more often than the former to refer to the same apparatus. The only interpretation for such borrowing is that people find it necessary to differentiate between the old and the new in their culture and this phenomenon consequently leads to enriching their vocabulary.

So, the motives for borrowing vary from people to people and from culture to culture. Arabic, for example, has a huge number of words more than many other languages and therefore many people think that necessity to copy words from other languages does not seem to be a major reason. So, the goal of this section is to find out the reality of such thoughts and the true motives.

#### 3.1.1 Necessity

According to the number of loan brand names recorded for this study, lack of vocabulary in the borrowing-language or dialect sounds to be the first motive to copy loan-forms from other language or dialect. Though Arabic is a very elaborate language, its speakers copy loans from other languages. That is because of the development in the different fields of technology and inventions by cultures of the recipient languages, which consequently lead to the growth of their vocabulary. Therefore, people in Baghdad have either to copy native forms invented by speakers of other Arabic dialects, especially in other Arabic-speaking countries, or borrow loans from foreign languages. Most people, for example, use the loan موبايل 'mobile' whereas a few use the invented native forms نقال 'naqqal' literally meaning *mobile* or خليوي 'khilawi' literally meaning *cell-phone*. In this regard, Blake (2008: 222) indicates that "Languages frequently borrow words from other languages, particularly words for new artifacts and ideas." Because of necessity, loan-forms 'cream' 'capsule' 'medal', etc. are usually used in Baghdad. Based on these grounds, words of measurements, like 'meter', 'gigabyte', 'megabyte', 'kilo', 'ton', etc. and many brand names (foreignisms) like 'Tide' for any type of *detergent*, 'Valium' for a type of medical *sleepingtablets*, 'Kalashnikov' meaning *rifle*, etc. have been borrowed into Arabic. Names of currencies, vehicles, products and even most cities - such as 'dollar', 'Chevrolet', 'iPhone', 'London' respectively - are always transliterated into Arabic since they are international semantic signifiers and used likewise almost everywhere.

In trade register, the number of such words is higher but only some - that stand for very famous, useful, or unique products - pass into the general vernacular of Baghdadi people. "Loanwords give evidence of the nature of political, social, or cultural relations between language groups", (Hudson, 2000: 247). Without such relations, words of any sort would not be used by speakers of these groups. So, the trade register can be influenced by a number of factors such as the aforesaid relations, merchants importing/exporting the products, TV channels, commercials, celebrities making commercials, quality and quantity of

product, etc. This provides an opportunity to such social class to use brand names connected to products being imported from other foreign countries, as they are most probably the first to deal with them. This is why some linguists believe that loans used by the upper class are more than those used by the lower class.

Fromkin et al explain "English is also a lender of copious numbers of words to other languages, especially in the areas of technology, sports, and entertainment. Words and expressions such as 'jazz', 'whisky', 'blue jeans', 'rock music', 'supermarket', 'baseball', 'picnic', and 'computer' have been borrowed by languages as diverse as Twi, Hungarian, Russian, and Japanese" (2003: 514). Some of the abovementioned words are irreplaceable in Arabic as it does not have native equivalents for such names, e.g. *jazz* and *whisky*, whereas others - such as *computer* and *picnic* - are replaceable. A few - such as *baseball* and *supermarket* - are used simultaneously with the native equivalents as in 'كرة القاعدة' 'korat alqaeda' and 'متجر كبير' 'matjar kabeer' respectively which are calques. This is confirmed by the fact that

Perhaps the most obvious reason is sheer necessity. People need to develop words for new and unfamiliar concepts - new technology, new plants and animals, and in the example above, new and unfamiliar foods . . . there is nothing odd about the suggestion that we have concepts for which we lack words.

(Radford et al, 1999: 254).

In many cases, Iraqi people in general like to be specific in exchanging information with one another. Thus, addressers are required to give detailed information to their addressees straightaway, for example, they do not only say 'خبز' 'khubez' which is a general word referring to 'bread' but they immediately specify the type of bread that they are interested in by saying, for instance, 'صمون' 'simon', which was a brand name of a French bakery in Baghdad. A very common example is that all Iraqis refer to rice by adopting the word 'تمن' 'temen' meaning *ten men* which - according to many people - was an Indian brand name imported at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. Though it is a brand, 'Kleenex' is also adopted as a generic name referring to *tissue* or *paper handkerchief* in many languages including English and the Arabic equivalent 'منديل ورقي' 'mandeel wargi' often appears in formal texts. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary also lists Kleenex as a generic name. The brand names 'Primus' and 'Thermos' are both adopted as generic words in Iraqi colloquial Arabic. The former refers to a square type of *ice-container* and the latter is usually specified to *carafe*. They replaced the Arabic words 'حاوية' 'hawia' and 'قنينة' 'quneena' correspondingly. For those who usually purchase 'Nido' at homes, they occasionally use the brand to denote milk. More recently is the use of the brand 'دي إتش ال' standing *DHL* to refer any mail post. The best interpretation that can be given is that the government post services have become so slow and ineffective and this has gradually led people to use DHL for their delivery. So, this acronym has gradually been growing up as an intact generic Arabic name, which is the only originally brand acronym traced in Baghdadi Arabic.

Vehicle brand names are also used in Baghdad, such as Ford, Tata, Coaster, and more recently Kia which all refer to sizes of minibus 'حافلة صغيرة' 'hafila sagheera'. Many people asked for the motives of using the aforementioned brand and almost all gave the same answer - they want to have easy and straightaway conversation without being asked for further details. Other common examples are the brands 'Nivea' and 'Vaseline' that both refer to



*body-care cream*, whose Arabic equivalent is مرطب بشرة 'muratib bashara' that is also used. Necessity for adopting words from other languages is caused either by **the total lack of native equivalents**, or by speakers' attempts to give **a more detailed piece of information**. The second one is the case with most Iraqi people who desire to communicate with one another in a shortened and detailed language. Arabs like to speak or write with a short and understandable speech. In this regard, there is a famous Arabic proverb خير الكلام ما قل ودل 'khair al-kalam ma gal w del' meaning *the less said, the better* which is very much similar to English proverb 'Brevity is the soul of wit'. The pieces of evidence to be given here are the two Iraqi brand names زاهي 'zahi' referring to a *dishwashing liquid* and راعي 'raai' standing for *cooking oil*. Both of them are used instead of the original generic words سائل غسيل 'sael ghaseel' and زيت طبخ 'zait tabukh' respectively. This means that people's use vastly depends on a number of factors, such as the type of commercials made by different sorts of media, the quality of products presented to customers, the competitive price, etc. which are somehow related to the next subsection.

### 3.1.2 Prestige

Prestige is the second motive after necessity in terms of the number of loan brands adopted by Baghdadis as generic. It is a linguistic phenomenon that exists in many languages, for example, most of French loans such as 'parliament', 'court', 'attorney', 'sergeant', etc. were copied into English, because French used to be the most prestigious language in Europe at that time and it was also the language of administration and government in England. English has also been a lender to other languages. Fromkin et al state that "English is also a lender of copious numbers of words to other languages, especially in the areas of technology, sports, and entertainment" (2003: 514). Many English loans, which are used in Baghdad, have Arabic equivalents but the borrowers usually want to look prestigious and impressive before others by showing their skills of speaking foreign languages or using foreign words. There are two classifications of such words: those which still look prestigious like 'bodygard' for *bodyguard*, 'tob' for *top*, 'lok' for *lock*, etc., and those which lost their prestigious status like 'mboez' meaning *boss*, 'yefaiyk' meaning *fake*, 'Motta' meaning *ice-cream*, etc. Hudson states a reasonable justification for those who copy loanwords from other languages: "One reason for using a word from such a language is to pretend, just for a moment, to be a native speaker with whatever social characteristics we associate with the stereotype" (1996: 55-6). Therefore, prestige is the principal reason for borrowing words and expressions from other languages, especially Turkish and English, into Arabic. Baghdadis, for instance, use the brand name براون 'Braun' to mean a *shaving machine of a good quality*.

In daily life, one may meet **language counterfeiters** who are proud of speaking different foreign languages. In this case, it is quite possible for linguists to find **fake borrowings**, where the borrowed words have no roots in the lending language or they are not similar by any means. This happens when Arabic-speaking people want to look prestigious before others and thus start borrowing morphemes, words and expressions that may sound English but they are not actually used in English. In this regard, Trask points out the same sociolinguistic phenomenon with the English-speaking people:

English-speakers with a somewhat limited command of French were trying to borrow something from French, but got it wrong, and wound up inventing some fake French and borrowing that. . . the reason is a simple one: prestige. . . Consequently, many

speakers of English (and of other languages) were eager to show off their command of their prestigious language by spattering their speech and writing with words and phrases borrowed from French.

(1996: 19)

A possible example for this case in Arabic is the word دوانز 'duwanz' referring to a *specific recurring sound in the engine when its fuel is burnt improperly*. The researcher attributes the use of the aforementioned word to the English expression 'two sounds'. This is partly because the first borrower was possibly unable to articulate the word correctly and wanted to spatter his speech with English-looking terms. The aforementioned transliterated word 'duwanz' can be divided into two syllables: the first is 'du' that most probably refers to two and the second is 'wanz' that could refer to sounds where the last phoneme is voiced /z/. Many Baghdadis were accustomed to prestigiously using the brand name كتريلار 'Caterpillar' to refer to *any male footwear with thick sole and heel*. This seems to be gradually vanishing as many competitive foreign and native brands are being introduced into the market. The more recently prestigious half-adopted brand is كنتاكي 'Kentucky' originally form 'KFC' to indicate *any type of fried crispy chicken* which is also replaced by دجاج مقرمش 'dijaj muqarmash' meaning *crispy chicken*. However, prestige is not always the case, as people are sometimes ignorant and have no idea what to say in Arabic, as stated below in the next sub-section.

### 3.1.3 Ignorance

While high-class people use foreign words to look prestigious, low-class people use foreign words mainly because of ignorance. This is the general view about borrowers in Iraq. In most cases, people copy loans from other languages just because they are unaware of the fact that there are native equivalents for those loans in their language. Thus, some people use the native forms whereas most, especially the illiterate ones, use the foreign forms. A very distinguished example is that most Iraqis use the word دارسين 'darseen' for *cinnamon* which is borrowed from Persian, whereas a few know the native equivalent قرفة 'qarfeh'. Though, recently some people have started to use the latter to refer to *inner bark of cinnamon tree* and the former denotes *cinnamon powder*.

Rarely, people borrow a part of the loan-form to refer to something; therefore, it can be regarded as a case of 'synecdoche', which is generally defined as a figure of speech where addressers use the name of the part to denote the name of the whole or vice versa (i.e. they use the name of the whole to refer to the name of the part). An eminent example of ignorance is the use of the Persian word زرده 'zerdeh' meaning *yellow* to refer to a kind of a *yellow sweet*.

The state inactive institutions and media are held accountable for not promoting the native equivalents among their population who become unable to use, retrieve or coin their own words to refer to concepts or objects, that are either totally new or have existed before in a different form or under different name, such as ديتول 'Dettol' for any *antiseptic* and any *disinfectant* to prevent infection in wounds or to clean floor from bacteria. The Arabic equivalents معقم 'muagim' or مطهر 'mutahr' are almost used simultaneously. Other similar brand is براسيتول 'brasitol' for *Paracetamol* meaning any *pain reliever* and it sounds that the Arabic equivalent مُسكن 'musekin' is less widely used. Another common example is the famous brand name تايد 'Tide' meaning *detergent* whereas the Arabic equivalent منظف

'munadef' is infrequently used. Institutions are sometimes so slow in promoting the Arabic version of a foreign brand name such as 'Nestlé' نستلة 'nestla' that is used to denote *anychocolate bar*.

In this regard, place names are also used in Baghdadi Arabic to refer to products which were originally imported from them, such as: 'Motta' موطا referring to *ice-cream* and 'bharat' بهارات referring to *spices*. The former is a city famous for companies producing ice-cream and it is located in Venice, Italy and the latter is the old name of India which is known for producing and exporting spices to Iraq. They are both used in favor of other Arabic terms - 'muthlajat' مثلجات and 'mutaibat' مطيبات respectively - which are used formally. However, many loans have been being borrowed into Arabic due to ignorance of users who usually need to continually communicate with one another. It represents their failure to properly look for, retrieve or use the native equivalents. Moreover, the use of loan words - by the less educated or low income people in general - sounds funny before the educated people in many situations as the former are unable to pronounce the loan forms properly.

### 3.1.4 Euphemism

In this subsection, the number is highly decreased since euphemism is the least active reason for borrowing loan brand names from other languages in comparison to the abovementioned motives, especially necessity. This is mostly because words that fall within this type are mostly social-related words that are used as one way to speak courteously and/or to avoid the sense of embarrassment. Thus, many Latin, Greek and French forms, for instance, were adopted into English as euphemisms. That is because English equivalents had acquired taboo or negative connotations in the course of time, as in the use of the *post mortem* for 'death', *expectorate* for 'spit', *Durex* for 'condom', etc. Farb indicates that:

After the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, community began to make a distinction between a genteel and an obscene vocabulary, between the Latin words of the upper class and the lusty Anglo-Saxon of the lower class. That is why duchess *perspired* and *expectorated* and *menstruated*-while a kitchen maid *sweated* and *spat* and *bled*.

(1975: 80)

The same phenomenon can be found in the Arab World, where people copy foreign forms from other languages, especially from those with which Arabs have direct contact - like English, French and to a less extent Turkish - so as to avoid the taboo connotations of their Arabic equivalents. Thus, they borrowed كُندم 'condom' from English and تواليت 'toilet' from French, whereas the Arabic equivalents are correspondingly واقي ذكري 'waqi thakari' and مرافق 'marfiq'. Allan and Burridge state "Using words borrowed from other languages to function as euphemisms is characteristic of many languages" (1991: 20). Some words like 'Santé/Santy' سانتتي are unclear as they may either stand for a brand name of a product previously imported to Iraq for *women period pads*, or a French noun meaning *health* that was probably borrowed as a euphemism to replace the Arabic equivalent فوطه 'futta' that had acquired taboo connotations. Likewise, Iraqis say 'soutien' in favor of حمالة الصدر 'hamalt alsadr' to mean *bra* and the only difference is that 'soutien' is not brand name.

In a few cases, loan-forms are used to conceal the truth about a certain issue, such as the use of the word 'cancer' in an Arabic conversation instead of سرطان 'seretan'. Hudson gives an interpretation of why people use foreignisms:

In fact, probably the original intent of the first 'borrower' of a word of another language is to use it just for the occasion, when speaking with persons who, like the speaker, know the source language. But when a word is so borrowed, and when others hear the borrowing and find it useful, they repeat it, and with repetition the foreign word becomes familiar in the borrowing language.

(2000: 246)

People sometimes borrow foreign words and expressions to use them only in certain occasions, say, to hide something from others who may get scared, worried, embarrassed, excited, etc. from knowing the truth. This issue is related to the phenomenon of taboo, where people prefer to use euphemisms, whether foreign or native forms, to conceal the truth behind the taboo connotations of the previous forms. Some of such loans have passed into the daily use, like صاك 'sak' which was probably adopted from the English verb 'suck' and it is used by Iraqis to mean *sexy, attractive*. In the contradictory, the word 'cancer' is still confined to very special occasions and has not yet passed into the daily Baghdadi vernacular.

### 3.2 Types of Loan-forms

In the view of the aforementioned motives of adoption, this section sheds a light on the nature of words in general and brand names in particular when they are adopted into Baghdadi Arabic. It also gives a reasonable interpretation of why adaptation takes place in terms of orthography, phonology, semantics, etc. when words are adopted. Many examples are illustrated, translated, and transliterated to give a better understanding how such adaptation occurs.

When speakers of a certain language adopt a word from another language, they may or may not pronounce/use it in the same way as the native speakers of that language do. This may be due to the diversity in linguistic rules between the lending-language and the borrowing-language. Loan-forms are also adopted from various languages which accordingly have different linguistic structures. Therefore, the first classification - which is employed in this study - is based on the linguistic structure of loan forms. Another classification rests on whether loans are intellectual or concrete: intellectual forms refer to ideas, feelings, etc. whereas concrete forms refer to tangible matters, such as physical objects, products, etc.

#### 3.2.1 Intact Loans

Loan-forms are sometimes borrowed into Arabic without any change in their linguistic structure. That is, borrowers keep the new loans intact; they pronounce loans as if they were native speakers of the recipient language. A few loans of this type appear in Baghdadi Arabic - though recently increasing - such as *hall, wire, camera, visa*, etc. and some brands include *IPhone, Vista, Huawei, Tide, Nivea, Dettol, IPod*, etc. which are all known as 'basic loans'. Moreover, Sinha uses the expression 'pure loanwords' to refer to this type, (2005: 173). In Arabic, they are referred to as كلمات دخيلة 'kalimat dakheela'. Brand names are only modified semantically by using them as generics - rather than only brands as

in their original source - to refer to any object of the same type, i.e., one brand name is overgeneralized by Iraqis to represent all other similar brands of the same type. In this case it also indicates a sort of broadening where “the meaning of a word becomes broader, that word means everything it used to mean, and more” (Fromkin, 2003: 515). Therefore, due to the fact that Arabic has its own orthographic system, the intact loan in this study refers to the adoption of meaning as well as phonemes into Arabic from other languages that use different writing systems (mainly Latin). This type is referred to as

### 3.2.2 Modified Loan

When loan-forms are borrowed into a language, they are usually modified and changed in order to fit the linguistic structure of the borrowing-language. Many loan-forms used in Arabic are linguistically modified by a type of affixation or with a substantial change. Thus, the pronunciation, shape, or meaning of the loan is accommodated to suit the Arabic linguistic system. They are referred to as *كلمات معربة* ‘*kalimat muaraba*’ meaning *arabized words*. The modified loans are classified below into subtypes as per their structures:

#### 3.2.2.1 Phonological Structure

Any language has its own phonological structure, i.e., a number of phonemes (and allophones) that are put together to produce words in a systematic manner so as to construct the communication between individuals or groups. Trask (1996: 24) states that “Every language has its own phonological system: its own collection of available speech sounds and its own rules for combining these sounds into pronounceable words.” Therefore, a word pronounced by its native speakers may not remain intact when it is copied by speakers of another language. The English word ‘top’ meaning *excellent*, ‘spring’ as *a twisted piece of movable metal*, ‘laptop’ and ‘lamp’ are pronounced differently when they are borrowed into the Arabic of Baghdad Province. So, Baghdadis always say ‘tob’, ‘sibring’, ‘labtob’, and ‘lamb’ because the phoneme /p/ is not available in Standard Arabic and in most Arabic dialects. At the same time, the English consonant cluster of the word ‘spring’ is divided into two syllables by inserting stress in between the consonants.

An important remark about the phonological structure of the English loan words used in the Arabic of Baghdad Province is that most of them, whether intact loans or modified, are pronounced relatively closer to British English rather than General American English. The word ‘capsule’, for example, is pronounced as /kæbsu:lə/ rather than /kæbsela/ where the latter form refers to *drug addicts*. In the next section ‘Hybrid Loans’, one can see how and why the phonological structure of the loans changes. Some sounds are available in one language but missing in another: there is no human language with all sounds. Moreover, there is no phonetic correlation between English as an Indo-European language and Arabic as a Semitic language.

However, an interesting observation about Iraqis is that they are able to pronounce sounds that are not available in Standard Arabic but colloquially used in their local dialect, such as /g/ in ‘gigabyte’ and ‘goal’, /ʒ/ in ‘pleasure’ (French), /v/ in ‘oven’ and ‘Ivan’ (Slavic), /tʃ/ in چهره - ‘chehra’ (Persian noun meaning *face*). Many even pronounce /p/ which is not available in the standard language and some can even make a distinction between /p/ and /b/.

#### 3.2.2.2 Morphological Structure

The morphological structure of the loan-forms usually changes due to the linguistic structure of the borrowing-language, as in the next section ‘Hybrid Loans’ where the

morphological structure of the loans changes due to the addition of affixation(s). However, it is rare to find a morphologically modified loan without affixation. For example, people changed the morphological structure of the word *hello* when it was adopted into Arabic as a first phone response, by deleting its first letter (sound) and hence it has become 'ello', or saying 'hop' meaning *stop*.

### 3.2.2.3 Syntactic Structure

Borrowers sometimes change the syntactic structure of the loan-forms by modifying their parts of speech, say, from verb to noun, from adjective to verb, etc. The English verb 'lock' لوك is used as an adjective in the Baghdadi colloquial Arabic and it roughly remains intact in terms of other linguistic features. The loan 'mechanes' مجنص (literally meaning *with chance*) is modified as an adjective to mean *lucky*. The same thing happens to the abovementioned word 'boss' that is modified to an adjective مبوز 'mboez' with a disapproving meaning of *boss-looking* or *contemptible*. Although the study is specifically concerned with brand names, it is worth mentioning that most loanwords adopted into Arabic are nouns, which signify new invented objects, software applications, products, cities, companies etc. which are normally referred to by nouns rather than other parts of speech and it would be effortless to adopt them in their original syntactic form. That is why a few loans are syntactically modified to meet the borrower's required linguistic need.

### 3.2.2.4 Semantic Structure

All brand names, along with a few other loans that are adopted into Arabic, are semantically modified, such as 'Tide' تايذ (referring to any *detergent*), 'Dettol' ديتول (referring to any *antiseptic substance*), 'Valium' فاليوم (for any *sleeping tablet*), 'cowboy' كايوي (for any *jeans*), 'globe' گلوب (any *light bulb*), etc. Most of these loans are brand names which are used in place of native generic names. An interesting example in this concern is the semantic change of the aforementioned word 'suck' صاك to mean *attractive* or *excellent*, whereas its original English meaning is *bad* or *disapproving*.

### 3.2.3 Hybrid Loans

In English, there are two types of morphemes: free and bound. A free morpheme can be used exclusively with full meaning, whereas the bound morphemes should always be attached to the free morpheme to slightly change the form of the loan word to fit the new conventional rules of the recipient language. Hybrid loans are those forms which have a foreign root (which is a free morpheme) and an Arabic affix (prefix, infix or suffix) and vice versa. The affix is added to loanwords to suit the linguistic structure of Arabic. The morphological ways by which hybrid forms can be constructed in Arabic are discussed below with examples illustrating the similarity with their English counterparts. Crystal (2006: 225) writes "There are also many hybrid forms where a foreign root is given an English affix, as in *Afrikanerdom*, and *Afrikanerism*, or where two languages are involved in a blend, as in *Anglikaans*." 'Loan blends' is another name for this type of loans suggested by some linguists such as Richards & Schmidt (2002) and Crystal (2003 & 1996). However, there are cases where Baghdadis use their native roots attached with foreign affixes, as in 'akhlaqsiz' اخلاقسز and 'tarbatsiz' تربيتسز for *unethical* and *immoral* - where the suffix 'siz' was borrowed from Turkish to mean *without*. Moreover, all aforementioned loans - whether intact or modified - can be hybrids when they are attached to the bound morphemes that mark Arabic nouns:

number, gender, case, diminutive and definiteness, where the latter is not discussed here due to the limitations of the study.

### 3.2.3.1 Number

The word 'e-mail' is borrowed into Arabic as a singular form without any change in its linguistic structure ايميل, but when people use it in a plural form (emails) they usually add the native suffix ات (-at) to the word and becomes ايميلات 'emailat'. This has certainly some exceptions since plural forms in Arabic take different forms. Many loans are modified in this way as in the table below:

#	Intact Loans		Modified Loans		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Adaption	Plural
1	Mota	Motat	Nestlé	نستلة / Nestla	Nestalat
2	Kleenex	Kleensat	Thermos	ترمز / Tremez	Tramiz

Table No. 1

### 3.2.3.2 Gender

Arabic is similar to Russian and Spanish in terms of gender, where most words are either feminine or masculine. So, when words are borrowed from other languages, they are immediately adapted either to a feminine form or a masculine one. The linguistic structure of some loans, becoming feminine in Arabic, are changed by adding to them the suffix هـ or ة (roughly similar to *h* and *t* respectively in English) that denote femininity. The English words 'list' and 'bush', for example, are adapted to feminine in Arabic and thus they become لسته 'listeh' and بوشه 'busheh' by adding the suffix هـ to them. If they appear without this suffix, borrowers could be accused of code-switching by speaking English rather than Arabic. So, the word لست 'list' appears only in the English context, and بوش 'bush' could refer to US President George Bush. Loan brand names such as 'Motta' and 'Braun' also become feminine in Arabic but they remain intact as if they were in the original form, whereas intact loan brands such as 'Kleenex' and 'cream' are treated as masculine.

### 3.2.3.3 Case

The genitive case of the Arabic pronouns has inflectional endings that mark possession. All basic loan-forms, such as those mentioned above, are in the common case: 'filter', 'hall', 'wire', etc. where the inflectional endings are not used as if they were in subjective or objective cases. Thus, they are modified in this subsection to demonstrate the genitive case by adding inflectional endings to them. So, people say فلترهم 'filterhum' (*their filter*), هولنا 'hallna' (*our hall*), تشيرتها ti-shirtha' (*her t-shirt*), etc. Arabs usually combine the enclitic possessive pronouns with nouns (whether native and foreign). Such pronouns are somehow similar to English attributive possessive pronouns as in 'My house is nice' since they are used together with nouns. In the genitive case, the borrowed noun 'glass', for example, is directly combined with an enclitic possessive pronoun:

هم / hum (*their*) → گلاصهم 'glasshum' (*their glass*),

نا / na (*us*) → گلاصنا 'glassna' (*our glass*),

ها / ha (*her*) → گلاصها 'glassha' (*her glass*), or

ي / i (my) → 'glassi' (my glass).

Thus, these inflectional endings in form of suffixes are actually combined possessive pronouns and their use depends on the addresser's requirement, intention and the context in which they use the language. However, the main function of this detailed explanation is to demonstrate that adding these inflectional endings/suffixes to the loan nouns in Arabic constitute not only the genitive case but also constitute the hybrid loans.

### 3.2.3.4 Diminutives

Diminutive is a formation of a word that refers to the smallness of noun, whether it shows intimacy, warmth, endearment, affection, or contempt. Trask defines 'diminutive' as "a derivational affix which may be added to a word to express a notion of small size, often additionally . . . a notion of warmth or affection" (1993: 82). Many words in Arabic have diminutive forms which are constructed differently. A few loan-forms borrowed into Arabic are put up in diminutive forms, which are usually used in a funny way or in the rural areas, such as 'تاير' 'tyre' and 'فلتر' 'filter' which become 'توير' 'twaier' and 'فليتر' 'fleter' in the diminutive forms. In this regard, Crystal maintains that 'diminutive' is a term used in morphology to refer to an affix with the general meaning of 'little', (1997: 116). Hybrid loans of this type are not common in the Arabic of Baghdad Province.

### 3.2.4 Reduced Loans

Sometimes borrowed linguistic forms are reduced to have a simple and easy on-going interaction between participants. An example is the loanword 'ريموت' 'remote' or 'ريمون' 'rimon' instead of 'remote-control'. This could be an example of ignorance on the part of many participants. Another example - partly mentioned above - is the phrase 'حلى زردة' 'halwazerda' meaning *yellow sweet* where the first part 'halwa' is Arabic and the second part is originally Persian. It must be considered to be a hybrid form in Iran but a loan reduced form in Iraq (where only 'zerda' is used).

### 3.2.5 Calques

A calque is widely known as 'loan translation' and is a special type of borrowing. It refers to the direct translation of word or expression, element by element. Blake views

A 'calque' or 'loan translation' is a word or phrase using native morphemes but translating a word or phrase in another language morpheme for morpheme. For instance, *marriage of convenience* is modelled on French *marriage de convenance*.

(2008: 286)

There are a few foreign calques in Arabic under the scope of study. But a famous example that is used in all Arabic dialects is 'ناطحة السحاب' 'natihat alsehab' for (*skyscraper*). Other calques in Arabic are the expressions 'المنطقة الخضراء' 'almantaqa alkhedhraa' for (*the green zone*), 'حرب النجوم' 'harab alnejoom' for (*the star war*), 'حديث النجوم' 'hadith alnejoom' for (*star talk*), 'سباق الموت' 'sibaqalmot' for (*the death race*), 'الحزام الأخضر' 'alhizam alakhdar' for (*green belt*), 'الثقب الأسود' 'althugab alswad' for (*black hole*), etc. The circulating sentence in the Iraqi media nowadays is the calque 'الإجراءات الامنية المشددة' 'alejraat alemniah almushddeh' for (*the tight security procedures*). Radford et al state that when a new concept is introduced from one



society, speakers of other languages may use their own native linguistic resources to coin a new word or phrase for that new concept, (1999: 255). That could be why all such loans are translated word-by-word from English. Unlike other types of loans, calques seem better than borrowing the direct foreign elements since they provide protection to the native equivalents and enrich Arabic in terms of new concepts at the same time.

#### 4. Discussion

Nouns are adopted more than other parts of speech into the colloquial Baghdadi Arabic because new products, technologies, machines, animals, plants, etc. are usually introduced with original names and they are much easier to coexist with the Arabic linguistic system. This is very evident in the borrowing of brand names. Thus, Hypothesis No. 1 is accepted. Most loan-forms are borrowed from English. This proves Hypothesis No. 2 of the study. Moreover, most loanwords are concrete - referring the contemporary invented devices, objects and software applications that are introduced as products along with their original brand names (foreign or native), which can be substituted by other brands or generics. This consequently confirms Hypothesis No. 3.

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