

ARABIC-TURKISH LOANWORDS: MODERNIZATION AND OLD-AGE MARKER AS FACTORS TO DECLINE

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Abstract

The study attempts to shed the light on the hypothetical postulations that are based on empirical facts regarding the status of Arabic-Turkish loanwords¹. It comes to refute the traditional proposal that loanwords are unchangeable and firmly established after they had been borrowed, modified and adopted the linguistic system of the target language. This view is, undauntly, assumed to apply in case of Arabic². The study reports that linguistic and non-linguistic factors efficiently are leading to a remarkable decline to the use of most Arabic-Turkish loanwords. Linguistic modernization is the factor, reflected in social trends of prestige, cultural attitude, and media impact as dynamics of modernization that reduce the

¹. The use of the term loanwords instead of borrowed words is due to the current usage of the concept without neglecting that (borrowing) is as more inclusive to cover other linguistic sorts such as affix which has its role within the study. For more, see Al-Qinai (2001), who makes no substantive difference between the concepts of borrowing, loaning and adoption. However, the main purpose of th study may come to show the metaphor of the concept-borrowing and loaning- of not returning them back, but abandon them too.

². I adopt the term (Arabic) to alternate between dialectal or colloquial and standard Arabic. I expect that majority of loanwords to be used in colloquial rather than standard. The speakers of Arabic have taken different attitude when confronted to Turkish words that have been entered to their language. They adopted lexicons and morphemes as well. For more, see Hockett (1958).

frequent use of such loans. The second factor is seen in old generation passing away. This status of old-age generation is attributed as a lexical marker- and undoubtedly maintainer- of these loans. This status of decline is, substantially, covered in classical and archaic words abandonment, including some Arabic –Turkish loanwords as marked by the old generation, while the young generation prefer to use more prestigious, modernized and standard forms even in dialectal and informal speech. These factors are directly associated with the decline and less use of Turkish loanwords in Jordan as well as Arab countries around.

Keywords: Arabic, decline, loanwords, modernization, Turkish

Introduction

Since the sixteenth century, the Othman Empire ruled Arab countries in both Africa and Middle East. This ruling continues up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the era, cultural influence has had its impact on Arab society. Jordan as well as other Arab countries have undergone Turkish ruling, incorporated some Turkish words in both colloquial and formal variety of Arabic. However, during that time, Arabic has loaned some Turkish words of military, proper names, names of plants, equipment, food items, functional linguistic words, and morphological forms such as adjectival suffixes³ that indicate profession. This can be seen as in table (1):

³. This sort of loaning is known as functional, related to morphemes that perform a particular function in the structure such as لي -li and جي -gi. These loan suffixes function as profession indicators that are added to original Arabic words such as coffee waiter in which (gi) is added in final position to coin the name of the man who prepares and serves coffee.

Turkish	Arabic	Meaning
belki	بلڪي	perhaps
kubri	كوبري (in Egyptian dialect)	bridge
oda	اوضه (in Egyptian dialect)	room
aywa	ايوه	Affirmative reply (yes)
Boza	بوظه	Ice-cream
kahvece	قهوجي	Coffee waiter
shawish	شاوئيش	solder
duğri	دغري	straight

Table 1: Turkish loanwords in Arabic

Some of these loanwords have been adopted by Arabic society and linguistic system, widely used in most dialects, and became integrant part of its structure and literature. On the other side, some other words were widely used till the mid of the twentieth century, and have been abandoned and declined⁴. Therefore, I expect to other word to encounter the same situation in future.

In fact, looking deeply to the historical structure of these loanwords, one may claim that not all of these words are originally Turkish, but rather, they are observed to be originally borrowed to Turkish from Arabic, and have undergone certain morphological change⁵. Then they were loaned by Arabic speakers in a semi-cyclic process as Turkish words. The process seems as in stage- figure (1):

⁴. I noticed that some of these words have acquired the identity of Arabic such as (paşa, topuz, Tencere). On the other side, some words are observed to be a part of the previous literature and rarely used such as pastırma- jerked meat and bayram -feast.

⁵. With a little difference, it seems that such words have undergone a new process of clipping by adding a new morpheme at the final part of the modified word as in(jamu) from (jameil) and (Jalu) from (Jaleil). The phenomenon strengthens the term loan as relevant to our study in the sense that a language loaned some words to another might at certain point of time to get them back.

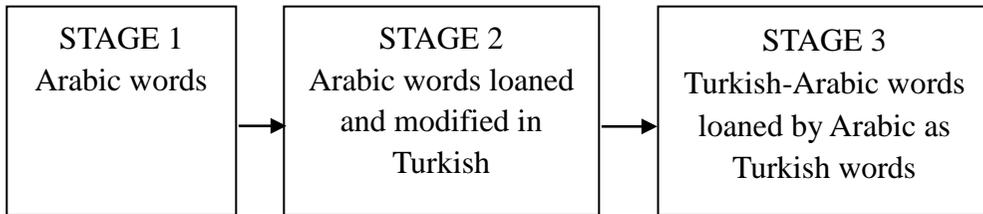


Figure 1: shows the stages loaning of Arabic-origin Arabic-Turkish loanwords

The linguistic modification to loanwords is represented by phonological aspect as pertinent with morphological properties that have had an impact on the attitude of native speakers of Arabic. They felt and observed the oddness of the new form of Turkish in use. Further, they were conscious to the etymological property of such words. Discrepancy of speakers' attitude could be a motive for certain and intended linguistic change. Some other words bear uncivilized properties when they are used especially by speakers. For instance, the word (evet) in Turkish has been modified into (aywa) in Arabic to mean (yes). This Turkish alternative term to Arabic (Naʿm) shows a sort of disloyalty to Arabic. Moreover, the selection of such term is said to be marked uncivilized and primitive in informal context.

In fact, Arabic loanwords in Turkish have not been used as they are in Arabic. For instance, the name of the prophet (Muhammad) has been modified into (Mehmmed) for a particular reason which for some seems purely linguistic. That is, such intended modification was to avoid using Prophet Muhammad name by people when they are abusing and insulting as to be prohibited according to Islamic rules. However, it seems that such attitude of the religious name resulted into anomalous loans to speakers of Arabic, and has never adopted as they are in Turkish. This draws a picture that loaning comes to fulfill the need of language but not to increase the bulk repertoire with unnecessary words.

The idea is that certain loanwords have been adopted due to the necessity to call new items. This loaning, obviously, have had a consonance with Arabic linguistic system and cultural context. Thus, what consolidate the existence of Turkish in Arabic, and the tendency to accept and use Turkish words seems to stem from the fact that such words have carried new object to the Arabic circumstantial world. Items that have never been known and found in Arab society such as names of food and equipment might be the most prominent that have had much opportunity for loaning. In contrast,

some Turkish words have been rejected due to exceeding the level of acceptance. Nowadays, we notice that some of the words which are still circulated and being sensed as original words of Arabic, and some are declining and approximately might vanish in future.

In contrast to the long period of ruling, Turkish did not affect in Arabic as expected. Presumably, and according to the era of ruling, there should be more loanwords than the existed number. See Holes (2004: 307). Further, there was a limited impact observed in dialectal and colloquial rather than in standard Arabic as Ugli (2012) says that “*the Turkish words started enter to Arabic, and the few entered to Standard Arabic Dictionaries, but the more entered the colloquial dialects of Arabic*”(p. 9). Thus, we further can say that the resistance of Arab intellectuals, who in a reaction to rejection the Turkish ruling, refused to incorporate Turkish words within the formal literature of Arabic. The political decision of the Turkish Empire towards replacing Arabic by Turkish could be taking as an essential motive for Arab society disaffection with Turkish. The status has been reflected in less loans and use of Turkish. This socio-cultural phenomenon comes to support Sapir’s (1920) quotation:

Are there resistances of a more intimate nature to the borrowing of words? It is generally assumed that the nature and extent of borrowing depend entirely on the historical facts of culture relation; that if German, for instance, has borrowed less copiously than English from Latin and French it is only because Germany has had less intimate relations than England with the culture spheres of classical Rome and France. (p. 208)

The major motives to low extent of loaning are mentioned in the quotation in cultural, historical and linguistic perspectives those which have their own impact to the nature and level of loaning. The cultural motive can be seen in the resistance of the intellectuals at the time, and their preference to protect Arabic and Islamic identity. The linguistic motive appears in self-dissatisfaction of some linguistics categories, seemingly anomalous to the Arabic linguistic system. Linguists instead followed the Germanic approach when the process of loaning words from Turkish considered a threat to Arabic identity and nationalism. Therefore, they relied on other Germanic linguistic formulation to form new lexicons as mentioned by Sapir (1921) that:

Latin-German words like kredibel “credible” and French-German words like “reussiere” “to succeed” offered nothing that the unconscious

mind could assimilate to its customary method of feeling and handling words. It is as though this unconscious mind said: "I am perfectly willing to accept kredibel if you will just tell me what you mean by kred-." Hence German has generally found it easier to create new words out of its own resources, as the necessity for them arose. (p. 208)

This linguistic motive has an impact to some way the acceptance of Turkish words in Arabic. This motive goes simultaneously with new inventories that were unknown to Arabs. On the other side, Arabic linguistic system is assumed to delimit loaning as in modifying prophet Muhammed name. Thus some Turkish words have been heard by Arab society as odd to be adopted. However, the cultural-historical stance of the Turkish Empire is represented in the political decision that had been taken by Atatürk with his (Kamalian Revolution) in order to revive and preserve Turkish nationalism from foreign inputs. This step has been considered by some Turkish linguist as a (Language Revolution), ordered to purify Turkish from foreign words. The revolution has taken the following procedures to enrich Turkish language:

1. Lexicology: They started writing dictionaries such as (Turkish Dictionary) by Hussein Kadem (1924).
2. Reviving: The Turkish linguists searched in ancient books for things that have no modern Turkish names, and listing these words in order to use them in current Turkish.
3. Generation: They generate rules for new words, and added suffixes to them for the purpose of forming new ones.
4. Compounding: As the process of merging two words together that includes foreign words in order to Turkishizing them.

This policy of the Empire to purify Turkish has had an impact to the countries that have been ruled by. Consequently, Turkish words entered into dialects of Arabic. Undoubtedly, some have taken the form of standard even with the effort of intellectuals to maintaining Arabic pure from foreign words. As said earlier, the effort and resistance of Arab Educated Movements were observed in the minimal impact of Turkish words in Arabic. They strongly believed that Arab Nationalism maintains the dogma that the border from western Morocco to the Arabian Peninsula must be united by one linguistic and cultural background. This nationalism encompasses other two essential concepts namely, Arabism and Islamism, which have integrated intrinsic relationship. See (Miller 2003).

Turkishizing Movement

The concept (Türkçeleştirme) is used to refer to the endeavor of the Turkish rulers represented by Touranic Policy of the Union and Progress Committee (1889-1906) aimed to Turkishizing the entire aspects of Turkey, including the ruled Arab states. The policy involves replacing Arabic with the Turkish. The project started with official schools which were dominated by the ruler. The Turkish tried to officially legitimize Turkish in law, army, education and journalism of bi- side -Turkish and Arabic. Journalism Turkishizing has appeared in some common and main newspapers such as (Alwqa'e) in Egypt and Al-wzeraa in Baghdad. Hence, with such step, people were imposed to learn Turkish in order to get a job in such fields.

The official decision of the empire might be unconscious to the estimated consequences of Turkishizing Arabic, which absolutely has been interpreted by Arabs to undermine and conceal the identity of Islamic culture represented by Qur'an as written in Arabic. This policy was not based on logical and objective vision in the sense that replacing Arabic by Turkish could be seen as unthinkable turn which consequently could produce different sorts of challenge. One reason to this idea is based on the belief of Arabs in all classes that replacing Arabic by Turkish means a further loose of land and grants legitimization to the ruler. Therefore, they intentionally used to resist by all means and ways to the Turkish policy. Arab society, and particularly, educated people were all conscious of the fact that using Turkish officially means a legitimacy and credit for a long ruling.

Arab Resistance

Despite the attitude of the Turkish Empire, which represented by imposing Turkish to Arab countries, but, as said earlier, there were some efforts of refusal by the elite of educated to Turkishizing Arab societies. Obviously, Arabic was the language of education regardless the efforts of the rulers and several tokens of adoption Turkish. Arab arising movements against the policy of Union and Progress Committee represented in establishing some organizations such as Qahtanian Committee (1909). As a response to the Turkish policy, certain Arab movements emerged such as the Arabic Young Committee (1911) in Paris, and Decentralized Management Party (1912). All Arab sorts of resistance were calling Arabic to be the official language. The linguistic opposition to the policy was observed in the lexicographer refusing to insert Turkish words within Arabic dictionaries in

spite of the large number of words of objects that do not exist in the Arab linguistic raw material at the time of ruling.

Accordingly, as due to the previous state of affairs, we see how Turkish majorly is restricted to dialects of Arabic but not in the Standard. Lexicography was one of the means to purely revive Arabic against the foreign loan words. One of the remarkable efforts against Turkishizing policy has been done by *Butrus Al-Bustani* (1883-1919) in his dictionary (*Muhit Al-Muhit*). The dictionary has been composed on the basis of ancient dictionaries such as (*Al-Muhit*) for *Al-Fairouz Abadi*. In his effort, *Al-Bustani* tried to rely mainly on Arabic sources for new ideas and objects in a step that was interpreted as a deep consciousness to purify Arabic from foreign sources. The same procedure has been already adopted by the ruler under the name of (*Kamalian Revolution*) relying on ancient manuscripts, books and document as means to purify Turkish. However, the limitation of Turkish to Arabic could be attributed to several reasons which held consensus among scholars of both sides. One is that, being the language of *Qur'an*, and replacing it with Turkish is believed to be a step to undermine, obliterate and destruct the religious identity of Arabs. The same tendency corresponds with the Arab cultural and historical pride, which had been seen as inviolable. This was the public attitude of the project of Turkishizing enterprise. On the other side, the intellectuals, thinkers and linguists attitude appeared in refusing Turkish as a school medium of teaching, publishing books and journals in Arabic exhibiting the heritage and in abdicated identity as a rejection to the entire ruling in all aspects.

That is, with such scenario, Turkish words were due to the previous analysis to be limited in Arabic. But the decline of use in recent decades and current stage is assumed to have different factors. The two factors of the less use and the speculated decline of the Turkish loan words seems plausibly efficient and identical with language evolution as will be explained in the next section.

Hypotheses

Arabic loanwords from Turkish could be classified into three types. The first one is that those which have been abandoned since long time. The second type is those that have acquired a formal property like Arabic vocabulary, and are being used by most of Arab speech community. So they are firmly used and undistinguished from Arabic terms. They can be standard

in particular context. Loosely speaking, no persuasive explanation to why they have got this property over others? The third type is that those which are probably declining⁶ from varieties of Arabic. In this work, I assume that the second type of loanwords have had crossed the stage of borrowing and became loanwords in Arabic dialects, adopted and definitely used as originally stemmed from Arabic source. On the other side, some Turkish Arabic loanwords that are reflected in the third type are in decline from the use due to the following factors:

1- Language modernization as a reasonable and rational impact, linguistically represented by certain formula as a reflex to advance of education and media impact of language change. Globalization is a sort of standardization. The later provides with a modernization to the social trend which involves language. The social phenomenon has intensive impact and considered as an outcome of language decline according to Hieber (2012). This state gives speech community the prestige of having a real language according to Garvin (1995:16). Arabic society in Jordan and other countries⁷ as well are affected by mass media for the purpose of prestigious position which can be manifested via style and spoken form of language. This state of affairs, leads absolutely to abandon some of the archaic⁸ -seemingly unfavorable- expressions including some Arabic-Turkish loanwords as felt to characterize speaker's identity as illiterate or immoderate. From this perspective, there appeared a tendency to a hyper-correcting for a prestigious individuals and societies that seek for more recognition via imitating a higher dialect and selecting vocabulary and expressions of high-level societies.

2. Decline of Arabic-Turkish loanwords from the daily use can be attributed further to old generation passing away. This assumption is based

⁶. I used the expression here not to mean a total or an entire vanish of words, but rather the low tendency for no longer use of particular linguistic Turkish loans. The fact is that such words will still survive but in the written literature or for some requirements at certain social need of particular contexts.

⁷. The paper will mention the same stance in neighboring countries that have undergone Turkish ruling, loaned words from, and maintain the same assumption of such loans decline. Thus, beside Jordan, countries as Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Algeria and Egypt have received the same interview questionnaire that has been designed for Jordanian respondents.

⁸. The concept of archaic words and expressions can involve both Arabic and Arabic-Turkish words.

on the observation of the interview questionnaire that old people of both males and females know and use these words well. Generally, these loanwords are marked by elders. This fact permits to speculate that such generation of over 60 years old death will show a remarkable decline of this sort of loanwords. Obviously, there is a tendency among some educated old generation equivalent to the young tendency to use much elevated style. In doing so, the practice ensures avoiding less prestigious vernacular forms. However, in spite of the this fact, there are some Turkish words in Arabic, which are maintained equivocally in the mind of the old, and the probability of transition of such words to the present and coming generation is not asserted, and replacing them with available equivalent modern words is more prospective.

The couple factors that are listed above can be seen to have salient impact on the destiny of such loans in Arab speech community. The factors with respect to the sorts of Turkish loanwords can be divided into internal and external as advocated by Labov (1994). The internal-motivated decline is manifested by the type of loanwords that have been abandoned in earlier stage of Turkish ruling. In spite of this declaration, I assume that the internal structure of these Turkish words in Arabic has a significant role in decline due to its oddness and primitiveness as some respondents declared. On the other side, the externally-motivated decline is guided by social considerations that can be seen clearly in both hypotheses that are aforementioned.

The significant variable in this questionnaire interview is age. Thus, other variables such as gender may have no remarkable impact on the results. Both masculine and feminine respondents have equivalent responses towards the use of these loans. However, education as a variable is expected to have a significant impact in both the young and elders. It is assumed to assemble the negative view for using these loans for both groups of age-respondents.

Methodology

In this work, I collected some Arabic-Turkish loanwords from different sources in Jordan and countries in neighborhood. I resorted to data collection from the elders and who still remember the story of Turkish ruling to Arab world. From this perspective, we can say that age is the essential respondents' property that has its significant role enlightens the work. I prepared a questionnaire for data collection to measure the level of

hypotheses speculation of such loans vanish and decline, which in fact is based on the attitude of respondents from Turkish loanwords use in Arabic in their communication with the community.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire adopted in this work has been designed on the basis of selecting random sample of respondents from Arab countries of Jordan, Palestine, Syria, Algeria, Egypt and Iraq, which have been ruled by Othman Empire, therefore, have loaned words from the empire. In countries rather than Jordan, I circulated the questionnaire to friends there, instructed them of how to record the data, and write down any further significant observations. The questionnaire includes ten questions conducted in the form face to face interview with the respondents who are mainly from different areas in these countries for both old (from 60-above) and young (18-27). The set of questions came to find the validity of the assumptions and level of the continuous trend upon abandoning Arabic-Turkish loans from the use, which leads absolutely to decline.

The questions are designed to check the difference that already expected to appear between the elder and the young. In particular, they are in two main forms: some have been structured to check if the respondents are familiar with the word. For instance, they have been asked if they know words such as shawish (solder), Kazma (shovel) and ma^ʿash (salary). The further form of questions takes the structure of (Choice) which comes to ensure the attitude of each group from the use of the loans. In this respect, a question such as (would you prefer to reply by na^ʿam or aywa?) and (Do you prefer to use kabout or jackiet?) are said to be asked to see the respondents reliable attitude from the loans and give a quantitative percentage for both groups as shown in result section below.

Result

As shown in table 2 below, the result of the statistics of interview questionnaire comes to prove the theoretical part as mentioned earlier. Obviously, there seems a tendency to abandon the so-called archaic Arabic words. Once again, this tendency involves Arabic-Turkish loanwords in all of the countries that have been ruled by Turkish Empire according to the question-response and observations recorded from respondents. The table shows a correspondence with the assumptions that appears with the expected

results of high percentage tendency of elders to use the loans which provides with reliable evidence to decline after their death. On the other side, the young show low tendency as a response of language modernization as explained in the second hypothesis previously. In spite of this consistent outcome, there, in fact, some exceptions as will be explained later.

Country	No. of Respondents	Result in Percentage			
		Support less Use		Support Use	
		Young	Old	Old	Young
Jordan	50	48%	4%	46%	2%
Palestine	50	45%	6%	44%	5%
Syria	50	44%	8%	42%	6%
Algeria	50	47%	14%	36%	3%
Egypt	50	42%	17%	33%	8%
Iraq	50	40%	24%	26%	10%
Average	50	44.33%	12.16%	37.83%	5.66

Table 2: shows the result of the questionnaire analysis of the interviews

In both of respondents' categories, the streams of the significant outcomes as seen in the table can be said to support our assumptions aforementioned. Modernization as essential impact carried by young generation and to some extent by old also proves the linguistic shift from the Turkish loans to modern and more elevated style of words. The estimated result seems in the young attitude of the entire raw of countries of 88.66% who do not tend to use the Turkish loanwords in Arabic in both formal and vernacular forms of Arabic. This state reveals how attitude of the present and upcoming future generation will approximately result into Arabic-Turkish loans decline. The 11.33 % of respondents who tend to use the expressions that contain such loans is restricted to non-educated and non-modernized young who live in rural areas.

The table shows, on the other side, that old age respondents' attitude is rationale. The analysis of their answers to the questions produces 75% as who perform usage to these loans. This reflects and supports the presumption that they as loans-markers will probably play a central role to decline the use with time-passing. Furthermore, the significant observation seems in 23.66% of old age people who do not prefer to use such words. They are observed to be either conscious of the necessity to use more prestigious expressions that do not involve odd uncivilized words or they are educated and living in

modern civilized society in which primitive non-elevated style of speech is seen as odd and highly criticized. The table might have non-correspondence due to the percentage of each group- old and young- with reference to the data received. However, in fact, each country has different attitude, and idiosyncrasy for using such loans. For instance, some Iraqi and Egyptian respondents' responses show a positive tendency to use Arabic-Turkish loans as a part of daily life, which psychologically attributed to the proud of preference to use their own distinguished dialects, or they can be characterized as traditionalists who advocate preserving heritage in all aspects and perspectives.

Remarks

The negative attitude towards the use of Arabic-Turkish loans can be mainly attributed essentially to the fall of the Othman empire. See Crystal 2000: 68. This fall led inevitably to destabilize the words loaned, which consequently yields decline of the temporal, restricted and mostly vernacular Arabic-Turkish loans. The state of affairs shows that the lack of written official records has had its substantial impact of such rapid decline.

A further observation that can be noticed from the conducted interview-questionnaire in Syria is that the geographical neighboring has its impact on the respondents of north Syria. Those respondents have been seen to show a positive tendency to maintaining Arabic-Turkish loanwords in their daily language style. This state can be attributed to the impact of the Turkish speech community on northern Syria cities such as Aleppo.

The results from both respondents' categories -old and young- show that there is a conscious knowledge towards Arabic-Turkish loans. This consciousness imposes to avoid them especially in formal use. However, in certain scenes, particularly, old-to-old context of communication there seems a possibility to use such loanwords. Moreover, in informal unconscious way of communication, there seems also a tendency among those who are familiar with such words to insert them within the raw of speech communication.

Do words really decline?

The history of languages proves in evidences the fact of language death and loss. This, in turn, can be seen in words to have the same state of decline due to the less use and entirely undocumented linguistic heritage.

From the results of the questionnaire, there can be seen a consensus among the respondents to adopt a similar form of language practices across the Arab world. This form is taking the modern urbanized style and requires abandoning the traditional rural styles. The state of affairs tells that words can die when intergenerational language transferring stopped or interrupted, or other language differences emerged to the children. Thus, many individuals of the current generation have a strong tendency to substitute their personal valuations which involve language. They have intrinsic tendency to replace and assimilate more modern language style that no more spoken by them before. Thus, our style of speech is different from our grandparents' style. They have not adopted and get used to the same way we receive modern society aspects of speech. This inevitably encodes that the style of our grandparents is charged with Turkish loanwords will not exist no longer and hence accelerate Turkish loanwords decline.

Conclusion

The anticipated result of the questionnaire, in the research, can be said to go side-by-side with linguistic view regarding Arabic-Turkish loanwords decline. The percentage of each country gives an indication to modernization and elders as lexical markers to be dynamics to loans decline. Modernization, here, comes as interpretation to the substantial issue that the rise of the middle class can be claimed to be the engine of language evolution. The state here is interpreted in middle class seeking for social value stereotypically assimilated the upper class which operates currently as the trigger to language evolution and style change. What is, generally observed in modern societies of Arab world -which all are covered by mass media that improves regularly the spoken style of the community- is that individuals consciously upload self-monitor to their speech style, trying to reflect a modern style approximately imitates upper and standard form of Arabic and empty of the odd Arabic Turkish loanwords.

However, in spite of the positive result as expected, there seems a possible way by which such loans can be revived through memorizing folklore. In such scenario, traditional films can play essential role since they are performed in Arabic dialects that encode vernacular form that involve Arabic-Turkish loanwords. Form the other side, we can say that despite the low phonological symmetry of these loans, but some are firmly and to some extent formally used in Arab world-life. This can be attributed to the lack of

Arabic equivalent or substitute lexical concepts- during the Othman ruling- to the new items entered from Turkish into Arabic.

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