

Ziman U Zar

salî çwarem_ jmare (21) (banemer_2726) (beharî_2026)

Govarekî zimannasî ya werzî ye

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Serrastker: seheyb farûq

dîzayn: umêd mihemed

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tîraj: 500 dane

nirx: 5000 dînar

çap: çapxaney panda

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le blawkrawekanî damezrawey kerîmî eleke
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THE PROCESS OF KURDISH LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION

■ Prof. Dr. Ali Mahmood Jukil

2- 3 -1. Geographical Area of Kurdish Speech Community in Iraq:3

It can be said that the Kurdish language is spoken widely all over the North-Eastern parts of Iraq, which is the Iraqi-Kurdistan Region. It covers a large area of Iraq. The hills of Hamrin can be considered a natural line of demarcation that separates Kurdistan from the Arab Regions of Iraq. Iraqi-Kurdistan covers the area extending from the Tigris River, Sinjar, Zimmar, the Hamrin Hills towards Mandali and Badrah in the west (see map I).

Formerly Iraq comprised 14 Liwas (Governorates Later). The Kurds reside within the confines of the five liwas of Mosul, Kirkuk, Arbil, Sulemania and Diyala as well as the Badrah district in Kut (see Map 2) (Edmonds 1966:8).

According to the memorandum submitted to the Iraqi government in 1964 by the Leaders of the Kurdish National Movement, Iraqi-Kurdistan comprised Arbil, Sulemania, Kirkuk liwas, plus Tillahfer, Khanaqin, Akre, Amadia, Zakho, Duhok, Sinjar as well as some regions which belong to both, Mosul and Mandali, in which the majority of the population are Kurds (Barzani 2002:5524).

In the light of what has been stated the area of Iraqi-Kurdistan covers roughly 78,736 km², which constitutes 18% of the total territory of Iraq's 438,446 km², distributed 19,804 in Mosul; 15,315 in Arbil; 19,543 in Kirkuk; 11,993 in Sulemania; 3,789 Khanaqin, 6,148 Mandali, 1,934km² Badrah (Iraqi Decennial Census 1965:3).

The Autonomous Region(see Map3) established in 1975 has a total area of 37,286 km² distributed 6,374 Duhok; 14,428 Arbil; 16,482km² Sulemania which constitutes only 46% of the total territory of Iraqi-Kurdistan. (Annual Abstract of statistics, 1976: 36) It constitutes 8.50% of the total territory of Iraq; three governorates of Sulemania, Arbil and Duhok for the Autonomous Region, however, Kirkuk the strategic area with rich oil, and a number of large districts with a majority of Kurdish population

that cover 53% of the total population of the Kirkuk liwa (governorate) according to Edmonds (1971:239254-) was left out. The areas that were exposed to Arabization and deportation campaigns constitute 46.6% of the total territory of Iraqi Kurdistan, including the 7.35% within the autonomous territory which cover 13,650km². Thus, the total susceptible to Arabization campaigns cover 36,684km² (Dabagh 1993: 3).

The areas of Iraqi-Kurdistan which are under the control of the central government constitute more than half of the total territory of Iraqi-Kurdistan which cover 41,450 km² that constitute 52.6% of the total territory of the Iraqi-Kurdistan, divided among Neinava, Kirkuk, Salahaddin (Tikrit), Diyala and Wasit governorates.

2 -3 -2. Ethnic Distribution in Iraqi-Kurdistan:

As the consequence of central government's policies, the Iraqi-Kurdistan especially the cities have become a multilingual society, but the agrarian population remains monolingual. In spite of decades of Arabization and expulsion of other minorities from outside into Kurdistan, Assyrian groups and Turkumans follow behind Kurds in terms of numerical strength. But the problem is that no official statistics are available to indicate the exact figures of the ethnic composition, which even if available, they cannot be relied on because most of these figures are rigging, distortions, manipulations and falsification of the census and number thereof. Edmonds in "Kurds, Turks and Arabs" states that Kurds live in the Liwas of Mosul, Arbil, Kirkuk, Sulemania, Diyala as well as Baghdad, Kut and Emara. He states the percentage of the Kurdish speaking population as indicated in Table No.2 which is based on the (1947) decennial census.

Table No .2

The Percentage of Kurdish Speaking Population in Northern Liwas of Iraq; 1947

Liwas	Total population of Liwa	Kurds %
Sulemania	222,700	222,700
		100.00

Arbil	240.500	218.995	91.00
Kirkuk	285.900	151.575	53.00
Mosul	602.000	210.970	38.00
Diyala*	110.200	27.360	65.60
Other places**	n.a	23.400	---

* Khanaqin and Mandali Only

**Baghdad and Elsewhe Edmonds; 1971:42378- provided

The estimates of 1947 decennial census indicate that the percentages for Mosul 35% and Kirkuk 53.0 % do not exhibit Kurdish densities. According to these estimates the Kurdish speaking population in Iraqi-Kurdistan was 831,600 which constitutes 92.47% of the total population of Kurdish speaking and comprises 75.467 of the total population of the northern Liwas of Iraq; (Iraqi-Kurdistan plus some areas Arab areas in Mosul and Diyala). The percentage of Kurdish population has decreased to 55.9 % in 1957 decennial census in the interest of Arabs (see Table NO.3).

TableNO.3

Indicates the Percentage of Ethnic Distribution in Iraqi-Kurdistan.

Nation	Kurds	Arabs	Turkmen	Syriac collection	Others
1957%	55.9	32.3	7.3	3.1	1.5

Based on:Brayeti Center Book 3. (1998). Geography of Iraqi-Kurdistan Region.

The change of the percentages in the interest of Arabs is due to the implementation of Al-Jaziera and Al-Hawija settlement projects in Mosul and in Kirkuk, in which the Arab Tribes (Shammer) and (Al-hubaidi) were settled as an implementation of Arabization programs (Brayeti Center: 54and178), to change the demography of these areas.

The policy of Arabization has continued and this obviously can be inferred from the Table of the percentages of the ethnic distribution in

the Iraqi-Kurdistan Region (see Table. 4 in the Appendixes).

A comparison of the contents of this table with the other censuses held in Iraq, reveals that these percentages of the ethnicity of population have gradually changed during the later decades. According to the (1957) decennial census, the percentage of Kurdish population has decreased from 65% to 56% then to 53% of the total population of Iraqi-Kurdistan Region in the 1977 decennial census. At the same time the percentage of Assyrian and Turkmans has decreased, while the percentage of Arab speaking population has increased to more than 42% of the total population of Iraqi-Kurdistan Region. This is due to the continuation of Arabization program implemented by the regime.

The composition of the Autonomous Region is Kurds that constitutes the majority of the population. According to the 1977 decennial census, Kurds were 302,642,000 which constitute 68,84 % of the total population of Kurds in Iraq, i.e., that 31,16 % of the total population of Kurds were left out of the Autonomous Region which were 600,778 persons. But these estimates do not depict the real situation of Kurds because Yazidis of Sinjar and Shekhan areas as well as Shabak and Gargari were registered as Arabs. Turkumani speaking population 10,260 persons in the Autonomous Region which constitutes 7,5 % of the total Turkumani speaking population in Iraq, and 126,959 of Turkmans were out of the Autonomous Region which constitute 92,5 % of the total Turkumani speaking population in Iraq.

Assyrian and Chaldian speaking population (Syrac group) in the Autonomous Region were 22,538 which constitutes 29,43 % of the total population of Assyrians and Chaldians and the others of Assyrians and Chaldians which were left out of the Autonomous Region constitute 70,57 % of the total population of Assyrians and Chaldians in Iraq.

People who were recorded as of indefinite ethnic group were 5,042 in the Autonomous Region comprising 11,80 % of the total population

of indefinite ethnic group in Iraq and 37,552 persons of indefinite ethnic group were outside in other places of Iraq.

While 140,022 Arabs were in Autonomous Region, which constitute 1,4 % of total Arab population in Iraq.

The 1977 census, show (see table No.5 in the Appendixes) that the Kurdish speaking population constitutes the majority of the total population 87,99 % of the Autonomous Region and 10,98 % of the total population of Iraq, while Arabs rank as a second ethnic group of the Autonomous population which constitute 9,46 % of the total population of Autonomous Region and 11,8 % of the total population of Iraq. Then Assyrians and Chaldeans come the third, comprising 1,52 % of the total population of Autonomous Region and 0,19 % of the total population of Iraq.

But Turkmans constitute 0,69 % of the total population of Autonomous Region and 0,09 % of the total population of Iraq, and indefinite ethnic groups constitute 0,18 % of the total population of the Autonomous Region and 0,04 % of the total population of Iraq, while the population of Autonomous Region constitutes 12,48 % of the total population of Iraq.

The population of the Autonomous Region has a density of 40 persons for 1km². After the Kurdish uprising of March 1991, the situation changed because most areas of the Akrê were liberated and returned to Iraqi- Kurdistan Region. They were out the Autonomous Region, while the areas of Makhmur, which was formerly within the Autonomous area, went to the Iraqi Regime, and also the other areas of Iraqi-Kurdistan which were out of the Autonomous area, remained under the control of Iraqi-Regime.

2- 3 -3. The Kurdish Speech Community in Iraq: 4

Political and economical researches on Kurds and Kurdistan have become very difficult. One reason for these difficulties is that the exact

information on ethnographic and demographic registers are not available or very scarce; the main reason is the reluctance of central governments to reveal the ethnic diversity of their countries and the real size and ratio of Kurdish population living within their respective borders. Kurds are territorially a homogenous speech community, because these countries prevent linguistic and cultural relationships.

Figures have only once been publicly released on the number of speakers of each language. In the 1957 decennial census, Kurdish language speakers ranked second. But one can find that the ratio of Kurdish speaking population which constitutes 18.7 % of the total population of Iraq in the decennial census of 1947 decreased to 16.9 % and to 14.1 % 1965, then less than 14 % in 1977 (see Table 6) (Mohammed 1998: 55).

Table NO. (6)

Estimates of the percentage of Kurdish population of the total population of Iraq.

Decennial Censuses /Year	% Kurds of Total Population of Iraq
1947	18- 7
1957	16 -7
1965	14 -1
1977	13 -95

This decrease in the ratio of Kurdish population is abnormal according to the natural growth of the population in the world because during every 25-years the population are duplicated in the world. To make up for this decrease, one can rely on the more objective sources such as the estimates made by Edmonds (1957, /43840-) on the basis of the figures of the first census (1947) "the Kurdish population was 900,000 comprising 18.6 % of the total population of 4,816,000". These estimates provide some insight into the density of the Kurdish population in each Liwa (see Table 7 and Table 8).

Table NO. (7)

Percentage of Kurdish Population in Northern Liwas 1947

Liwa	Total Population	Kurds	%
Sulemania	222,700	222,700	100.00
Arbil	240,500	218,990	91.00
Kirkuk	285,900	151,575	53.00
Mosul1	602,000	210,970	35.00
Diyala2	110,200	27,360	65.60
Other Places3	n-a	23,400	2.6

1-The decrease in the ratio of Kurds is due to the accomplishment of Al-Jazira settlement project in Mosul in 1945-1958- in which the Arab tribes such as Shammer were settled in the triangle Tillahfer, Sinjar and Hazher.

2-Only Khanaqin and Mandali.

3-Baghdad and Elsewhere.

Based on:(Hassanpour1992:16).

Ministry of Social Affairs, General Guides for Census of 1957.

There is another Table which is slightly different from Table (7). It is based on the estimates made by Ahmed Fawzi and the decennial census of 1947(Mohammed 1998: 54).

Table (8)

Density of Kurdish Population in Iraq

Liwas Number of Kurds % of the total of Kurdish population
% of the total of governorats population

Mosul	210920		
23.5	35.7		
Arbil	218995	24.3	91.3
Sulemania	222.700	24.8	98.4
Kirkuk	151575	16.8	53.0

Other liwas	23400	2.6	0.7
Total	899.950	100	18.7

Based on: Ahmed Fawzi 1961:35

Decennial census 1947: 12, Mmohammed1998 : 54

Another decennial census which can be taken into account is the 1957 census, in which the Kurdish population was 1.054.946 comprising 16.7% of the total population of Iraq which was 6.317.043. These figures provide the density of the Kurdish population in Iraqi-Kurdiştan, which constitutes 55.9% of the total population of the Iraqi-Kurdiştan. The estimates indicate the density of Kurdish population in each liwas of the Iraqi-Kurdiştan (see Table 9).

Table(9)

The Percentage Of Kurdish Population In Iraq According to The 1957 Census

Liwas	Kurds %of the total population of the liwas	Kurds %of the total population of Iraq	Population of liwas	%of the total population of Iraq
Mosul	220273	21	30.7	4.4
Arbil	242548	23	89	3.3
Sulemania	295170	28	98.4	4.7
Kirkuk	187844	18	48.3	3.0
Other Liwas	109110	10	2.35	1.3
Total	1054946	100	62.83	16.7
			6317043	100

*Execution of the project of Al-Hawija Settlement in Kirkuk in 1949 made the ratio of Kurdish population reduce, because the Arab tribe (Al-Hubaidi) was settled in Al-Hawija area.

Based on:

- 1.Mohammed,Kh1998:56
- 2.Geography of Iraqi-Kurdiştan Region 1998:190

3. Annual Abstract Table 1957:4

Another decennial census is 1977, which was carried out for Arabization purposes on 17th October. Its estimates cannot be relied on because of the military campaign in Iraqi-Kurdistan and expulsion and deportation of Kurdish people within Iraqi-Kurdistan from its borderlines with Turkey, Syria and Iran in the execution of the project named the security belt project. These campaigns started in June and July of the same year when the census carried out. Another factor of the unreliability of these estimates is that there was a great pressure on the population to change their real national identity into Arab especially in the governorates which have a variety of ethnic and religious groups.

The other factor is that the Failies and Yazidis were forcibly separated from the Kurds. As the consequence one can find numerous cases of undetermined ethnicity. Also the estimates do not include Kurdish refugees who live abroad and estimated as about 141,720 persons (Annual Abstract of static 1977:33). In it the estimates of Iraqi population were 11.862.620 persons, the Kurdish population was 1.903.402 comprising 13.95% of the total population of Iraq. But this ratio cannot be relied on because in the general census of 1977, Shabak, Garger and Yazidi were recorded as Arabs and because of the process of changing the original national identity. There were about 16,029 cases of undefined ethnic identity (see Table NO.10).

Table No. (10)

The Percentage of Kurdish Population in Iraq According to the 1977 Census

governorate	Kurds	Kurdish % of the total population of	% of the total
		population of the Governorate	population of Iraq
		total population of the Governorate	% of
			Iraq

Duhok	190161	9.99	75.98	1.6	250283	2.11
Nainava	145789	7.66	13.26	1.2	1099809	9.27
Arbil	465122	24.44	85.95	2.0	541086	4.56
Sulemania	647341	34.01	93.94	5.4	689119	5.81
Kirkuk	185263	9.73	37.61	1.54	492615	4.15
Region	1633676	85.83	53.61	13.77	3072912	25.90
Other places in Iraq	269726		14.17	3.07	2.28	
8789708	74.90					
Iraq 2	1903402	100.0061.93	16.93	11862020		

Besed on 1. General Director of Security, Religious Distribution of Iraqi Population.

2. Al- Dabagh, "Kur4ds and Other Nations in 1977 Census" part one.

3. Mohammed Kh 1998: Iraqi Kurdistan Region.

4. Annual Abstract of Statistic of 1977.

5. Jaza, Thesis submmitted to college of Arts; Mater Degree

These estimates indicate a decrease in ratio of Kurdish speaking population and this situation is due to many factors such as:

1-Iraqi-Kurdistan Region is not a political entity.

2-The shortcomings of the records which contain ethnic diversity and the geographical distribution of the Kurdish population.

3-Unreliability of the official figure since the government tends to minimize the size of the Kurdish speaking population.

4-The unreliability of the figures because the region was in a state of turmoil and confusion.

5-The hesitation on the part of a large section of the population to provide genuine information for fear of being used against them in matters of military service, for example 0.55% of the total population of Iraq were recorded in 1977 as of indefinite ethnic and religious origin.

6-The lack of responsibility of some of the officials in fulfilling their duty.

7-The borderlines of administrative governorates were continually changing because of the implementing the policy of Arabization.

8-Recording the majority of Faily Kurd, Yazidi, Gargari and Shabak groups as Arabs especially in the decennial census of 1977.

9-Diaspora Kurds who live as refugees after 1975 were discounted.

24-. Dialect Grouping:

Kurdish language has different dialects and subdialects. This is due to several conditions. But there are two conditions that had an important role in the separation of Kurdish language into dialects: the geographical circumstance which is characterized by rough mountains and difficult communications, the other is the political condition. Since Kurds did not achieve a political unity all over Kurdistan, Kurdistan did not have a general and common literary tradition or standard language. In addition to the subdialects within a dialect itself, Kurdish language has four main dialects: Northern Kurmanji, Central Kurmanji, Southern Kurmanji (Lur and Goran) and Zaza or Dimli.

1.The Northern Kurmanji: It spreads over a larger area than other Kurdish dialects do. The Northern Kurmanji includes all the subdialects in Turkey except Dimili, all the subdialects in Syria and the former USSR, the subdialects in the former qadhas of Mosul, Duhok and part of Arbil in Iraq, and the areas to the north of Oshanaviyeh and northern parts of Khorasan province in Iran (Hassanpour1992:21). These dialects are divided into six subdialects or branches, which are; Baiyazidi, Hakkari, Buhtani, Shamdinani, and Bahdinani.

2.The Central Kurmanji spreads in the area of Great Zab in the west to the Sirvan region, from the east of Hamrin Hills upto the line extending in Sahand Mountain, Masirabad, Bijar, Asadabad in the east (Iran). These subdialects are Mukri, Sorani, Ardalani and Sulemani (Khorshid 1983: 25).

3.The Southern Kurmanji is also a widespread dialect along the Southeastern region of Kurdistan, extending from the high road way between

Khanaqin-Malayer on the north down to the northeastern coast of the Gulf (Khorshid1983:25). It is divided into two main Subdialects; Luri (Faili) and Gorani (Hawrami) that are located in Iran-Iraq border near Paveh, and very small scattered pockets of villages in the east of Mosul (Shabak subdialects), but Luri subdialects are spoken south of the Senne area, at Senne itself, as well as between Kermanshah and Khanaqin. Its subdialects include Faili, Bakhtiari, Mamasanni, Guhgalu, Kalhuri and Lakki, as well as the original Gorani (Shabak), Hawramani, Bajilani.

4.Zaza (Dimbli, Dimili); it is assumed to be similar to Gorani and a subdialect of it. It is spoken inside the regions of Mush, Kharbot (Elazig), Erzingan in Turkey. It is also spoken in the regions of Dersim, Bingol and Siverek, i.e., it is concentrated in the region between Euphrates tributaries, Murat Su and Furat Su to the point of their meeting South of Musher Dagh mountains (Hassanpour1992:22).

25-. Mutual Intelligibility:

No satisfactory study on the subject of mutual intelligibility of Kurdish dialectal speakers is made. The speakers of Northern and Central Kurmanji, until they have had considerable contacts, are difficult to communicate properly in all affairs, and this is due to political hindrances erected by the ruler states.

Thus, the concept mutual intelligibility is of little help in determining whether these are dialects of Kurdish or separate languages, since it is more difficult to Central Kurmanji (Sorani) and Dimly speakers to understand one another than it is for a likely Gorani and a Dimly person who are supposed to be speaking distinctly the same dialects because of the geographical location. Dimly and Gorani are not only mutually intelligible. They are also structurally more affinity than to be called solely dialects of Kurdish, since they have been a single and uninterrupted form in Kurdistan in the past.

But mutual intelligibility usually ranges from total intelligibility to

total unintelligibility (Hudson1980:35). Kurdish speech community clearly shows that mutual intelligibility may only be partially applicable to it, the speakers of each different Kurdish dialects can communicate with each other to a reasonable degree of understanding, which increases with a few days of practice.

Another concept of mutual intelligibility is that “varieties may be arranged in a dialect continuum; a chain of adjacent varieties in which each pair of adjacent are mutually intelligible, but pairs taken from opposite ends of the chain are not” (Hudson 1980:35).

As for the Kurdish dialects, Gorani and Central Kurmanji are mutually intelligible. Northern and Central Kurmanji are also mutually intelligible, while Gorani and Northern Kurmanji are not. But the Central Kurmanji is the predominant dialect and it is spoken even by Gorani speakers. So Gorani and Central Kurmanji speakers can communicate and understand each other via the Central Kurmanji, and this lowers the level of mutual intelligibility between Northern Kurmanji and Gorani speakers to about the half. The Northern Kurmanji for Dimly people is the predominant spoken dialect. Dimly and Gorani are mutually intelligible although they occur now at the extreme opposites of Kurdistan. Thus we can maintain that there is a degree of mutual intelligibility between the major dialects of Kurdish.

26-. The Selection of a dialect base in Iraqi-Kurdistan:

A survey of the literary dialects of Kurdish during the pre- 1918 reveals that although Northern and Central Kurmanji were both promoted along parallel ranges, in the nineteenth century, Northern Kurmanji had the upper hand as the medium of the rising print media.

After World War I, Kurdistan was re-divided. The two principal dialects came into new inter-relationships during the period 1898 to 1918 in publishing of newspapers and books, Northern Kurmanji was ahead of Central Kurmanji; that was due to the fact that Northern

Kurmanji speakers were more actively involved in the struggle of the national movements, and they were more numerous and urbanized.

But after the re-division of Kurdistan, British forces brought the Mosul wylayat under their control in 1918. The Iraqi state was created and Iraqi-Kurdistan (Mosul wylayat) became part of Iraqi state. As a consequence, the influential linguistic result was the automatic superiority of the Central Kurmanji dialect, particularly Sulemania subdialect over Northern Kurmanji and other subdialects within the Iraqi borders. This was due to the fact that Central Kurmanji speakers were more numerous, socially more urbanized, more literate and more nationalistic than the Northern Kurmanji speakers. In addition, Sulemani was the capital of the outstanding Kurdish principality of Baban as well as the location of the military school (Al.Rushdia) in the Mosul wylayat (Hassanpour 1992:80).

During the post-1918, British authorities introduced a subdialect of Sulemania as an official language for administration, media, and as a means of instruction and this went on until 1931 when the Iraqi government enacted the local language law. But this law was subjected to many debates about the selected dialect base, because the Iraqi policy was not in the interest of the unified Kurdish language. The main shortcoming of the local law was in the selection of the dialect base. The selection was based on the selection of the local dialect, for instance, in some areas of Mosul, Northern Kurmanji was selected only as a means of instruction for primary stage. This led to retrogression of education because of the insufficient capacity and the lack of urbanity situation. The intention of the local language law was to destroy the unity of Kurdish language. As the result, people were forced to accept another language as a means of instruction (Zeki 1935:66- 99).

Thus, Northern Kurmanji areas were subjected to Arabization policy in Iraq, but at the same time the Central Kurmanji dialect gained

an influential progress in standardization in contrast to the Northern Kurmanji and Dimili which were forbidden in Turkey, and the progress made by Northern Kurmanji in Syria was interrupted in 1946. Whereas the Central Kurmanji was even further strengthened when it was adopted as the official language of Kurdistan Republic established in Iran in 1946. Soon after the overthrow of the monarchy, a great alteration in the relation between the two principal dialects occurred; Northern Kurmanji journals came into being, Radio of Baghdad started broadcasting in Northern Kurmanji. This evolution in relation led to a heated discussion over dialect base of the standard language, which is still going on.

27-. Codification of form:

Codification of form in the Kurdish case has been essentially the achievement of individuals who have participated in language development in various domains as prose writers, journalists, translators, lexicographers, grammarians, broadcasters etc. The promotion of the Kurdish language is entirely due to the endeavors of learned persons. But these efforts are mostly confined to Iraqi-Kurdistan because the Kurdish people in Iraqi-Kurdistan have had better opportunities to do so, and at the same time the organized linguistic and cultural activity by Kurds have been regarded as “illegal”. After 1919, other dialects were forcibly suppressed by the ruling states Turkey, Syria and Iran, while the Central Kurmanji dialect was introduced as the official language of the administration and of primary education by the authorities of British mandate in Sulemani area of Iraqi-Kurdistan. Thus, the Central Kirmanji has had more chances to adapt itself to the requirement of modern mass communication, and took on the form of a more standardized language and served as the main tools of Kurdish people in Iraqi-Kurdistan until 1950 (Qazzaz 2000:12).

Special studies are required to assess the role of individual reformers, although it is known that many talented Kurdish persons such as poets, journalists, textbook writers, prose writers, publishers, printers, translators and lexicographers have consciously devoted much of their efforts to language standardization in Iraqi-Kurdistan, and all levels of the language structure- phonology, vocabulary, syntax, morphological and semantic system- as well as literary uses of the language have been conducted.

1 - Codification of phonological System

During the last decades phonemic differences has become minimal as a result of mass media and communication, public reading and the facilities of transportation. Phonemic diversifications among the subdialects of Central Kirmanji are also minimal, since the system is still distinctly recognizable as the phonemic system of standard Kurdish and this has undergone a number of changes as a result of standardization in Iraqi-Kurdistan in the post-1918 period. The phonological system of the Kurdish language embraces the whole linear phonemes; the linear phonemes includes eight vowels and thirty three consonants. The main differences among dialects can be summarized as follows:

1-The replacement of /ŋ/ by /n/ and /g/ in other sub dialects of Central Kurmanji and other dialects, because it is confined only to Sulemani subdialect, while in other subdialects the /ŋ/ sound is considered a sequence of two sounds /n/ and /g/. The Normalization of /ŋ/ has been omitted in the phonemic structure of the literary language by the Kurdish Language Committee of the Iraqi-Academy Kurdish Corporation (KZE, DK 1983: 279).

2-The replacement of velar /ɬ / by /r/in Arbil subdialect in informal speaking, i.e., the /r/ sound is an allophone of /ɬ / sound; there fore, the /ɬ / sound is used in formal (written).

3-The replacement of /o/ sound sometimes by /u:/in the Arbil sub

dialect in informal speaking. Such as /ro n/ □ /ru: n/.(oil)

4-The phoneme /v/ is retained in the Central Kurmanji, although it has a very limited occurrence in the dialect, while it is widely used in Northern Kurmanji.

5-The absence of /S/ in Central Kurmanji, while it is used in other dialects, but in formal style it is altered to /s/ sound.

6- /ð /, which is described by Mackenzie (1961:8) as “a half-close, central continuant, accompanied by a raising of the tip of the tongue towards the position of realization of a dental stop”, is an allophone of sound /d/ in informal speaking style in Sulemania sub dialect; it is replaced by /d/ sound in formal (written) language.

7- /wê/ sound has occurrence in the Sulemania subdialect and formal speaking style. The normalization of /wê/ has been considered a sequence of two sounds /w/ or /ê /, but it is replaced by /î/ and /û/ in other dialects such as xiwên; xîn; “blood”, diwênê; dûnê “yesterday”.

8- /ky/ which is described by MacCarus (1958, p-20) as “palatalized voiceless velar stop; occurs only before mid close front or high front vowels or semiconsonant i-e. (/i, i̥, e, y) and (ŵ) (the allophone of the semiconsonant /w/), e.g., /kwê/ ‘where’? /kê/ ‘who’? /kwê/ ‘blind’ ” but it can be assumed to be a sort of assimilation where /k/ is regressively influenced by the palatal /j/ and it is changed from /k/ into /ky/.

9- /gy/ which is also described by MacCarus (1958:20) as “palatalized voiced velar stop; occurs only before close mid front or high front vowels or semiconsonants, e.g.; /gwê/ ‘ear’, /gian/ ‘soul’, /gêranêwê/ ‘retell’, but it is also considered a regressive assimilation.

As it was previously mentioned, these dialects have possibly undergone a number of alterations in the phonemic system in the past hundred years. Presumably, the inconsistency is due to a variation in the dialect or idiolect (MacCarus 1958:17).

A-The Consonants of Kurdish language

1./tʃ/ /dz/ in subdialects can be described as post dental affricate, which in others can be alveolar palatal affricate.

2./r/ can be described as post dental trill, while in other subdialects can be described as alveolar flap.

3./j/ which is described as “alveo-palatal semi-consonant,” it can be also described as

“palatal approximant” (MacCarus1958:20), (Jubrail 1997:4142-).

Table No.11

Place of Articulation

Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Post-Dental	Alveolar	Palate
Alveolar					
Palatal		Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop or	vl	plosive	vd	P	
b		t			
d				k	
g	q				
Fricative vl					
vd		f			
v	s				
z		f	ž	x	
x		h			
g	h				
Affricate vl					
Vd				t̂s	
d̂z					
Nasal vl					
Vd	m		n		
Lateral					
				l	
Trill vd					
				r	
Approximant or semi-cons.					
			w	y	

Chart of Kurdish Consonant Phonemes

Based on:

1-MacCarus 1958 2-Jubrial 1997 3-Hassanpour 1992 4-Wayis 1984

B-The vowels of Kurdish

Vowels are the principal elements of syllables. The phonetic qualitative features can be described in terms of plotting the highest points of the raising of the tongue during the production of vowel sounds. (Jones, 1981: xiv)

The chart (2) illustrates the Kurdish vowels according to the position of the tongue relative to the roof of the mouth (high, mid, low) and to the position of the highest part of the tongue (front, central, back) and the shape of the lips (rounded, unrounded). Kurdish has five long and three short vowels, the quantity of the length of these vowels is not phonemic, but depends on stress and their positions in the syllable.

Table No. 12

Chart of Kurdish Vowels

Based on: Jubrial 1997, Hassan 1991, Wayis 1984

2-Orthography

After the Islamic conquest of the seventh century, Kurds like other non-Arabic speaking peoples, adopted the Arabic alphabet in order to handle their cultural activities and deal with their correspondences, and as the result of the emergence of many Persian states and their dominion over Kurdistan, writing in the Persian orthography prevailed among Kurds as well. Several centuries ago, the Kurdish poets started to use the Arabic script and its Persian reforms in writing poems. Kurds have modified this script to fit the phonemic system of their language. At the present time in Iraqi-Kurdistan, a modified Arabic script, based on a system designed by Wahby, is generally used. This is the influential reform carried out along two trends: adding diacritical marks to some

letters of the Arabic script in order to suit the Kurdish phonemic system, and abandoning the letters which do not stand for any phonemes in Kurdish language.

A- Codification Efforts in Orthography

All codification efforts in orthography aim at the principle of one letter for each sound, which is called phonemization. The first attempt at phonemization was made in 1919 by the Newspaper “Tegaishtiny Rasti” (understanding Truth), No .63. Jan. (1919, I) (Ahmad 1978, 151-152) it highlights some alterations of Arabic alphabet to suit Kurdish writing, especially the three “short” vowels are not represented in the Arabic alphabet, although they can be represented in special texts like textbooks and Qura’n by vowel signs or diacritical marks, such as:

- ~ alfatha, ‘سَتر’ (sôr); a small diagonal sign above consonant; e.g. دَ /da/, and it can be written by letter o, for example دَکَا /dakâ/ is written as دَکَا .

- _ Kasra, ذَیر ’ a similar mark under the letter; such as تِ /ti/ e.g. رَاسَتِ /râsti/ can be written as رَاسَتِی .

- , dhamma, ‘بُور’ / /bor/ a miniature, above the letter کُ /ku/ e.g. کُوردستان /Kurdistân/ can be written as کُوردستان .

Later on, another attempt was made alone by Jîn Magazine in İstanbul, when it published an article entitled “Kurdja harifler” {Kurdish Letters}, in which a list of Kurdish alphabet is recorded, including eight vowels and 34 consonants. It also includes the letters ((و، ی، ئ) for vowels.

At the beginning of the year 1927 Huzni published an article about the phonemization of Kurdish language in “Zari Kirmanji” in which he declares that Zari Kirmanji accepts that ((و، ی، ئ) to be a rule for Kurdish writing to represent Kurdish vowels / ɒ, u, i/ (Zari Kirmanji, Jan., 3, 1939: No.7).

But the most influential effort, made by Wahby, was the modification of the Arabic alphabet based on Kurdish phonemic system and “accepted

by the Ministry of Education for instruction in primary schools, and published by him in his *Kurdish Grammar, Qawa'id al -lughati'l-Kurdiya*, part, I and II, Beirut, 1956. His earlier pioneering work can be adapted to Arab students, *Daštûry Zimany Kurdi*; Baghdad, (1929-30)" (Wahby and Edmonds 1996: vi).

The codification efforts in orthography continues since 1923 when the Iraqi Ministry of Education commissioned Tawfiq Wahby to compile a Kurdish grammar to be used in primary schools. Wahby found it necessary, for the purpose of teaching, to reform the Arabic alphabet by adding diacritical signs. However, the Ministry refused any interference with or modification of into the Arabic alphabet. Other endeavors at improvement by the compilers of elementary textbooks were also refused.

In non-official publications many individuals proceeded with the reforms for example Wahby, published his *Dešturi Zimani Kurdi* (Grammar of the Kurdish language) in 1929. Pîrot (1925), Shawês (1925), Jiawok (1930), Bila (1940), A... (1940), Khanaqa (1943), B....(19578-), Khaznadar (1960), Sajadi (1961,1974), Amin, N – (1966,1982), Karim (1967), Shawnim (1970), Fua'd (1971), KZK, (1973, 1982, 1987), Muhammad (1973,1976, 1982), Nebez (1974, 1976, 1978), Marif, Awrahman (1976, 1982, 1983, 1986), Faraj (1976), Fakhri (1977,1982), Alani (1979), Hawramani (1978), Nariman (1981), Baldar (1982), Ibrahim (1982), Amin, W. (1982), Al- Sindi (1982), Ahmed (1982), Fattah (1982), Mukriyani (1982), Nusari Niwe (1998), Zahawi (1999).

B-The Phonemization of the Arabic Alphabet:

What helped Kurdish reformers is that phonemization occurred in other languages using the Arabic alphabet, for instance, the Persians who used diacritical marks to represent consonant phonemes /p/, /ç

/ç, /ž / and /g/ by ث, ض, ذ and ط which do not exist in Arabic, but they exist in the Persian and Kurdish phonemic systems. The problems with Arabic script multiply when it is used to represent the phonemic system of Kurdish language –28 consonants and 8 vowels, as well as the cursive nature of Arabic letters which have a great number of letter variants and numerous dots. Eight of Kurdish consonants /p, v, t, ž, ç, ç, ŋ, r, g/ do not have symbols in Arabic the letter ي is used to represent three front vowels /î, ê, i/ and /و/ is used for three back vowels /u, û/ and /o/. But Kurdish reformers have adopted the four Persian letters ذ, ث, ض and ط to represent /p, ç, ž / and /g/, and they have added two dots to /ف f/ to represent /v/, but for velar /t/ and trill /r/ they doubled the palatal /ل l/ and flap /r/, later on they used َ over ُ velar /t/, ذ /ž/ and under ر trill to replace gemmination and dots, and the initial hamza which represents the glottal stop /ʔ/ is phonemized in Kurdish as هـ .

As it is stated Kurdish writers used (ى, و, ة) to represent the short vowels /ə, u, I/, but the replacement of the three vowel signs could not end the phonemization process, because one has to use و to represent the semiconsonant /w/ and three vowels /o, u, û/, while ى to represent the semiconsonant /y/ and /ê, I, î/. Later on Wahby (1929) was the first to distinguish between all vowels through gemminating, diagraphing and adding diacritics. /ə/ ة, /ê/ ي, /i/ ى, /u/ ي, /û/ و, /o/ و and /o/ و and this were almost fixed and used in The ABC و بى ئه تلف و بى book of the first grade in primary schools. By the early 1950s, there was a further purification of the Arabic alphabet by replacing the letters ط/t/, ث/th/, ص /š/ ذ /dh/ ض /d/ ظ /Z/ in loanwords by their nearest Kurdish equivalent ت /t/, س /s/, and ز /z/ respectively.

Also geminating was regarded as the chief hindrance of this system. To solve this problem the Kurdish Academy of Iraq (GKZK1973:366-67) suggested a small horizontal bar to be put over, but it was not commonly accepted. Later on the bar was ignored and gemmination

was brought back in the recent orthography system recommended by the Iraqi Academy, Kurd Corporation. (KZ'E` -DK, 1987, 8)

3-Codification of Morphology:

In the scope of morphological codification many endeavors are made, particular studies on codification of the morphological distinctions among main dialects and their subdialects, especially the two principal dialects; Northern and Central Kurmanji were made by Mackenzie (1961), Fuad, (1970), Nebez (1976), Amedi (1987), while the study on morphological distinctions among main dialects was carried out by Al-Basir, and et al (1987), and the study on morphological distinction between Central Kurmanji and Hawramani was conducted by Sai'd, B (1990).

The main line of distinction in morphology can be drawn between the principal dialects; Northern and Central Kurmanji. These differences are a number of morphological features; a major distinction lies in the system of personal pronouns with suffix form in the case of the Central Kurmanji, without suffix forms in the Northern Kurmanji (cf. Mackenzie 1961, and Nebez 1976)

Also it includes that the pronominal suffixes of Central Kurmanji- (i) m, - (i) t, etc and Northern Kurmanji lacks them, since the suffix pronouns have a variety of functions of which the most characteristic is that Northern Kurmanji has a full oblique system for both nouns and pronouns while Central Kurmanji has largely abandoned this system and uses the pronominal suffixes to take over the functions of the cases (Mackenzie 1961:80).

Another morphological difference includes that the definite suffix eke appears only in Central Kurmanji while ve- as pre verb appears in Northern Kurmanji instead of the verb suffix-ewe in Central Kurmanji (Nebez1976:5829-).

Mackenzie indicates that there is no explicit distinction between

the two dialects, because some, though not all, subdialects of Central Kurmanji share morphological features with Northern Kurmanji (1961:22025-). Fuad (1970) points out the main feature that the subdialect of borderline of the Great Zab in Iraq particularly (Surçî) is Central Kurmanji in phonology while predominantly Northern Kurmanji in morphology (cf. Fuad 1970: xxi-xxix).

It can be presumed that the most important distinctions among dialects and their subdialects exist on the morphological level. The norm of Central Kurmanji standard is recognizably based on the Sulemani subdialect, and a norm-conscious attitude has evolved among speakers and writers of Sulemani origin. They demand the morphological characteristics of their subdialect to be the norm, but there is a norm conflict, which is due to the absence of intelligibility problems (Hassanpour1992:433).

4-Vocabulary:

Vocabulary is affected by codification since words can survive with their meanings, they acquire different meaning but they still survive with their forms or they are entirely lost. But at the same time the vocabulary can be enriched by borrowing many words from other languages and they will be undergoing the process of Kurdishization or they can be enriched through the formation (via coinage, semantic, etc), new words for new conceptions, or through modernization.

The enrichment of terminology of a language is not only because of new terms which pass into it from age to age, but also of new significance that many old words acquire, they will be out of common use, they will pass out of everyday speech into the higher form oratory, or they may disappear, but often the place of them should be filled, by entirely new words that have been borrowed or by formation of new terms, depending on the criteria of the word formation adopted by the language.

As MacCarus states (p-82), “words are derived through reduplication, compounding, and affixation. Reduplication and compounding deal with free forms, while affixation deals with both free forms and bound forms” (cf. MacCarus 1958:8291-, Nebez 1976:6678-, Wali 1994:39-61, Jukil 1996:3862-).

The registers in Kurdish are evolved throughout the centuries in the agrarian society and have passed from age to age via the use of words suitable to each area of proficiency. These terms are often formed or borrowed as loanwords. In the field of education, the developed registers of religion and literature have been received from Arabic and Persian, and the limited size of religious lexicon was due to the Islam’s prohibition on the translation of the Qura’n and the forcible use of Arabic in prayer and other rituals, even though Arabic loanwords were limited in use, because most of the terms are of native coinage. In the domain of literature, poets have utilized a more comprehensive stock of native and loanwords.

After 1918, when the British authorities introduced the Central Kurmanji, or particularly the Sulemani subdialect as an official language, new registers of administration and various sciences evolved, and these registers have been used in education, administration and mass media. Primarily, they had been borrowed from other languages; such as from Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but later on they were purged and new words were coined; yet there is the necessity for new concepts for which no Kurdish words exist. But different endeavors were made to create or coin new terms for new notions or by applying the existing words, especially 1960, to the present that represents for an important period for Kurdish lexicography, especially with consideration to the evolution of Kurdish terminology in general (Qazzaz 2000:13).

Scientific and technological terms have been adopted by the influence of the Sulemani University and the Kurdish Academy, and the Kurdish

language has become the medium of instruction nearly in all stages of education which is achieved as the result of the September Revolution of Kurdish National Movement.

The lexical stock is modernized and widely purified. Registers and styles in administration and sciences are developed, despite their usage, they are limited by non-linguistic factors such as politics.

5-Lexicography and Codification:

An outstanding index of development in the process of standardization is lexicography. Particularly dictionaries are usually regarded as a significant tool in the codification of language. Kurdish language reformers have paid more attention to lexicography. In addition to these two dictionaries before 1918, several dictionaries were composed, but by foreigners for purposes other than standardization. These include Garzoni (1787), Jaba (1879) and Nikitine (1916) who composed bilingual dictionaries for the Western diplomats and missionaries in Kurdistan, for instance, Jaba and Nikitine undertook the task according to the recommendation of Russian consuls at Erzunem and Urmia for scholarly and military. The other dictionaries were composed by Abul-Hassan (1886) and Khalidi (1892), who were officials of the Persian and Ottoman empires. They were written soon after Tehran and Istanbul extended their control over all parts of Kurdistan in mid-19th century.

Kurdish language reformers, in their endeavors at cultivation, emphasized the need for dictionaries, especially, the Mukriyani brothers; Huzni and Giw, who made a useful work in the promotion of Kurdish language; the first far-reaching lexicography work, Mukriyani's Arabic-Kurdish dictionary was "Nobera" (1950). Another effort is made by Khal who composed the first monolingual dictionary "Ferhengi Khal" in three volumes during (1960/76-). He believed that the nation's survival depends on language, which could be protected only via the compilation of dictionaries (Khal 1960: Vol. I, 89-)

The lexicographer, Giw Mukriyani, published his second Kurdish-Arabic dictionary “Ferhangi Mehâbad” in 1961. But his work, the monolingual Kurdish dictionary “Ferhangi Kurdiştan”, was published after his death by Aras Institution for printing and publishing in 1999. This dictionary can be regarded as a good work, since it is based on the equivalent words among the main dialects.

Other notable dictionaries are: a “Kurdish- English Dictionary” (1966) reprinted in (1996), which has been compiled by Wahby and Edmonds. It is the richest one in grammatical description. According to Wahby and Edmonds:

Another monolingual work set by Zebihî (1977-1978-), who planned a ten-volume work, starting with the letter Alif and Bi, but he couldn't carry out his plan because he was killed by the Iraqi Regime in the mid-1980. Zebihî in his two volumes also contributed to morphological and grammatical codification. It is the only dictionary that provides labels for nouns, verbs with transitive, intransitive, infinitive, three types of adjectives, etc. He also analyses compounds and derivative. Zebihî admits that his approach depends on the Wahby and Edmonds dictionary (1966), Kurdish-English dictionary, which is the richest in describing grammatical rules (1977: Volume, 97: ٥).

A notable contribution to Kurdish lexicography, was Hazhar (1921-1991-) who composed a significant dictionary Hembane Borîne, published in 1991, by Soroush Press. He attempted to record the lexical items of Kurdish dialects in order to enrich the language and, simultaneously, unify the dialects. Hazhar has included words from all main dialects.

Another bilingual dictionary is “Saladin’s English-Kurdish Dictionary” (1998), compiled by Salah Saadalla. He points out that Kurdish “language spoken now by close to thirty million people throughout Kurdiştan, is not as English in vocabulary, but armed with

the fact that both belong to the Indo-European family of languages. It was able to make extensive use of etymology and morphology, if necessary, new words” (Qazzaz 2000: Iv), and he thinks, “Kurdish has developed into a bi-standard language, namely Kurmanji and Sorani. Almost all the nouns and terms, adjectives and adverbs are bi-standard. The verbs are mainly in Kurmanji, not nearly enough in Sorani, for my inadequate proficiency in the latter” (Qazzaz 2000: v). The dictionary contains more than 80000 words.

The latest notable bilingual dictionary is “The Sharazoor Kurdish – English Dictionary” which is composed by Shafiq Qazzaz, and published by Aras Institution in (2000). The compiler states that this dictionary; The dictionary also provides a detailed description of Kurdish grammar.

Kurdish language reformers also paid more attention to the promotion of Kurdish Language, for this purpose they made efforts at compilation of scientific terms.

By the recommendation of Teachers Congress (1960), Neqabey Momostayan, Sulemani branch prepared a dictionary “Zarawe Zaniştekan” (scientific terms), published in 1960. Later on, Nebez compiled a dictionary for scientific terms including physics and mathematical terms, published during (1960-1961) in two volumes “Hêndê Zêrawey Zanişti (1960) “Some scientific terms” and (Ferhangoki Zanişti, (1961) “A scientific Dictionary”. Other dictionaries of scientific terms were compiled by General Directorate of Kurdish studies (Berêberâyeti Gishti Xwêndini Kurdi) (1972-1974-). The Kurdish Academy issued various lists including scientific terms (1973-1976, 1975, 1974-). Also Barzinji published a dictionary in 1970 entitled “Ferhangi Zanyari” but the most comprehensive are Charib’s (1974-1979-) and Abdul J; Charib composed a scientific dictionary (Ferhangi Zanyari) (The Scientific Dictionary) in three volumes (1974-1983-) and he published an illustrated dictionary of scientific terms. These dictionaries cover

sciences such as medicine, mathematics, botany, zoology, etc. Abdul J. has published two scientific dictionaries (zîwar, 1995) and (Shawkar, 1998) as well as two volumes of Chemical Encyclopaedia (Kimyay? endami:2001). These dictionaries are specialized chemical dictionaries. Also Sharif (1985) composed a dictionary of psychological terms. All these dictionaries are bilingual with Arabic or multilingual with Arabic / English as the source language.

These dictionaries, except for “Ferhangi Kishtukal”, which is compiled in two volumes by Mardukhi; Marif Qaradaghi (1972/73-), are bilingual and this reflects the unlexicalized (unpopular) nature of scientific terms and the dependence of Kurdish on the Arabic or sporadically on English language.

In the history of Kurdish lexicography, it seems that monolingual lexicography has a comprehensive role in standardization and it supports the generalization that the existence of monolingual dictionaries in a language marks considerable progress towards standardization such as “Ferhangi Laku Lur” (1978), “Ferhangi Mamuştayi” (2000) and etc. (cf. Table 13).

Table 13: The Selected Kurdish Dictionaries; 1682/2003-

Date	Name	No. of Languages	Number of words
Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	
1682/83-	Khani	+	954
1787	Garzoni	+	5.000
1795	Nodeyi	+	-
1879	Jaba	+	15.000
1886	Abu Muhsin	+	-
1892	Khalidi	+	-
1916	Nikitine	+	-
1933	Petojan et al	+	9.000

1934	Fatah	+	-	
1936	Khachatryan et al		+	-
1947	Mokri	+	-	
1950	Mukriyani		+	15.000
1953	Sajjadi	+	-	
1955	Mistafa		+	-
195557-	Murdukh		+	25.000
1957	Bakaev		+	14.000
1957	Siyabandov		+	23.000
1957	Farizov		+	30.000
1958	Avdal	+		7.000
1960	Kurdo (ev)		+	34.000
1960	Naqabay		+	-
1960	Nebez	+		300
1960 -76	Khal	+		-
1960- 61	Nebez			3.000
1961	Mukriyani		+	30.000
1962	Ceger- Xwin	+		-
1965	Blau		+	-
1966	Wahby & Edmonds		+	-
1967	Mc Carus		+	-
1967	Anter	+		11.000
1968	Qaftan+			-
1968 -69	Avrang		+	12.650
1970	Mukriyani	+		-
1970	Mudaris		+	-
1971	Barzinji	+		-
1971	Berêweberêti		+	1.400
1972	BGXX (GDKS)		+	-
1972- 73	Qaradaghi	+		7.000

1973	Baháadin	+	-	
1973 -74	Kzk (KSA)	+	-	
1974	Kzk (KSA)	+	-	
1974	BAGXK(GDKS)			5.800
1974- 79	Gharib		+	-
1975	Kzk (SKA)	+	-	
1975	Gharib		+	-
1976	Kzk	+	-	
1977 -79	Zabihi +		-	
1977	Nizamadin	+	-	
1977	Kedaiten et al		+	2.100
1978	Izadpanah	+	-	
1978	Bozarsalan	+	-	
1979	Khaomian	+		8.000
1981	Ibrahinpur	+	-	
1981	Holm & Mathlein		+	-
1982	Kara	+		7.500
1982	Baban	+	-	
1982	Safizade	+	-	
1982	Fatahi Qazi	+	-	
1983	Bakaev		-	
1983	Kurdoev et al		+	25.000
1985	Shali et al	+	-	
1985	Sharif	+		1.000
1985	Fayzizadeh	+	-	
1986	Bakure –Giw Mukriyani		+	-
1986	Gulşen		+	-
1987	Hawramani	+	-	
1988	Genjîne	+	-	
1988	Hamîd ?îzes	+	-	

1988	Hewên	+		-
1988	Wişe diwanekan		+	-
1988	Gewherî Germesêr		+	-
1988	Filkora Kurdi	+		-
1989	Berwari		+	-
1989	Henbane borîne		+	-
1989	Şewket ?ismail		+	-
1989	Zargutna Kurdên		+	-
1989	Xunaw Xurşîd		+	-
1991	Wenedar		+	-
1991	Blo		+	-
1992	?îzolî	+		-
1992	Baran Rizgar		+	-
1992	Zaza	+		-
1992	Mad	+		-
1992	Firyad Fazil		+	-
1992	?emîrxan		+	-
1993	Helkewt u Žîrar		+	-
1993	Baran Rizgar		+	-
1994	Mijda	+		-
1994	Aziz ?emîndarov		+	-
194	Waže name	+		9000
1994	Giyahandarî		+	553
1995	Mižde Xelil		+	-
1995	Gulçinîne	+		2000
1995	Zêwar		+	-
1996	Derwêşîyan		+	10000
1997	Mužde Xalîl		+	-
1998	Bêştun	+		-
1999	Kurdiştan	+		-

1999	Piîşki	+	-		
2000	Fêrbuni dialekti Kurmanji			+	2000
2000	Teewtwane		+	-	
2000	Şarezur	+			9000
2001	Herman	+			4000
2001	Zarawi Zanîstî			+	9000
2001	?aram	+			6000
2001	Balide		+	-	
1999	Riwek		+	-	
1998	Selahaddin	+			80000
1998	Şewgar	+			15000
2002	Nawxoş	+		-	
2003	Felsefe		+	-	
2003	Ihsan English-Kurdish			+	-
2003	Ihsan Turki-Kurdish		+	-	
2003	?aburi	+	-		

Language as a nation- building tool

- Fereydun saman dr.Shallaw hamagharib

Nationalism as a Dual-Edged Sword: Oppression and Preservation in Historical Context

Under the guise of preserving territorial unity and national integrity, authoritarian governments have used nationalism as an ideological tool for the past century to defend the repression and even eradication of ethnic, cultural, and religious communities. Examples from history include the genocidal practices of the Nazi state (Koonz, 2003), the Ottoman Turks' Armenian Genocide (Akçam, 2012), and the Ba'athist administration's Anfal campaign against the Kurds in Iraq (Human Rights Watch, 1993). On the other hand, subjugated nations and cultures have also used nationalism as a rhetoric of resistance to fight against historical oblivion, cultural destruction, and erasure (Smith, 1986). Therefore, nationalist ideology serves a paradoxical purpose: underprivileged populations use it to affirm their cultural identity and existence, while oppressive regimes use it to justify crimes continuity.

Based on historical evidence, nationalism has played a significant role in forming political movements over the past 200 years, but once its core goals—like independence or cultural revival—are met, it frequently falls short as a framework for societal governance and development (Hobsbawm, 1990).

****Linguistic Diversity as a Marker of Cultural Heritage: The Case of Kurdish Dialects****

Kurdish speakers' geographical dispersion has greatly influenced the linguistic diversity of Kurdish dialects, with each region acquiring unique lexical, syntactic, and phonological characteristics that are a reflection of regional historical and cultural influences (Haig & Matras, 2002). In addition to being a linguistic phenomenon, this dialectal variety is a reflection of the Kurdish people's rich cultural legacy, which has been molded by centuries of contact with nearby civilizations and environmental adaptations (Hassanpour, 1992). Understanding Kurdish

history, identity development, and socio-political resilience in the face of assimilationist policies depends on the preservation of these languages (Sheyholislami, 2011).

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- The Issue of Kurdish Dialects: Cultural Heritage and Linguistic Oppression

The Kurdish language has a rich literary, cultural, and intellectual legacy that includes a wide range of genres, including mythology, poetry, folk literature, and historical accounts. In addition to expressing the Kurdish people's intellectual and human experiences, these literary traditions also highlight the language's aesthetic and expressive diversity (Hassanpour, 1992; Sheyholislami, 2011). The Kurdish language has traditionally been subjected to systematic marginalization and linguistic persecution, frequently as a result of larger policies meant to repress

Kurdish identity, despite this linguistic vitality (Skutnabb-Kangas & Fernandes, 2008).

In order to ensure that the language is passed down to future generations, Kurdish academics and cultural activists have been actively working to conserve and revitalize it. They have promoted its use in public life, media, and education (Haig & Matras, 2002). Nonetheless, Kurdistan's dominant nation-states have often implemented cultural erasure policies, such as denying Kurdish linguistic rights and purposefully dividing Kurdish into artificially distinct dialects (such as Dimili/Zazaki, Gorani-Hawrami, Laki, Luri, and Kalhuri) (Chyet, 2020; Öpengin, 2016). According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), these tactics are consistent with what academics have called *linguicide* or *cultural genocide*, in which a dominant power tries to eradicate a minority language by stifling its institutional acceptance and standardization.

State authorities in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria have historically refused to recognize Kurdish as a single language, instead defining its varieties as distinct, inferior languages, making the categorization of Kurdish dialects frequently politicized (Blau, 2010). In addition to weakening linguistic unity, this strategy erodes the Kurds' resistance identity and collective cultural memory (van Bruinessen, 2000).

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Kurdish Dialects Between Erasure and Preservation: The Pivotal Role of Education Policies

A vast collection of folktales that preserve Kurdish collective memory, mystical poetry (like Yarsan traditions), and oral epics (like Mem û Zîn) are all part of the Kurdish language's complex literary and cultural system (Hassanpour, 1992; Chyet, 2020). Since education institutions have been the main means of linguistic assimilation in Kurdistan's colonially partitioned territories, state actions pose serious dangers to this legacy (Skutnabb-Kangas & Fernandes, 2008).

Education as a Tool of Linguistic Suppression

Following the complete prohibition of Kurdish-language education in Turkey from 1923 to 1991, severely limited «elective» courses that were taught exclusively in the Kurmanji dialect and were not allowed as a medium of instruction were introduced after 2012 (Öpengin & Gündoğdu, 2021). Kurdish is reduced to sporadic folklore tokenism by Iran's constitution, which expressly requires Persian as the only language of instruction (Article 15) (Sheyholislami, 2011). Up until 2011, even textbooks written in Kurdish were illegal in Syria as separatist materials

(Tejel, 2020). In order to maintain state hegemony, education institutions enforce monolingualism, which is an example of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992).

Resistance at the Local Level Using Alternative Pedagogies

Kurdish efforts have reacted to this by:

In Turkey, from the 1980s to the 2000s, volunteers taught Kurdish literacy in underground «kom» schools at considerable personal danger (Gündoğdu, 2018).

Kurdish became the official academic language in diaspora-funded universities such as the University of Kurdistan-Hewlêr (Iraq).

Platforms for digital education that get over government regulations, such as Zimanê Kurdî applications (Sheyholislami, 2020)

Hierarchies of Dialect in Educational Resources

Attempts to fragment the state are visible in:

Iraq marginalizes speakers of Badini (Badinanî) by officially recognizing only Sorani Kurdish in education (Haig, 2004).

Turkey's suppression of Zazaki/Dimili textbooks and its sole tolerance of Kurmanji materials (Jongerden, 2019)

In an effort to split Kurdish groups, Iran promoted Gorani as a «separate language» (MacKenzie, 1961).

These strategies are consistent with the institutionalized devaluation of minority language capital, which Bourdieu (1991) refers to as symbolic violence.

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Language, Ethnicity, and Demographic Change in Kurdistan:

Dialectal Fragmentation and Politics Different ethno-linguistic communities, such as Kurmanji, Zazaki, Gorani, Laki, Luri, and Kalhuri speakers, reflect centuries of sociohistorical development. The Kurdish people, like all linguistically diverse nations, show significant dialectal variation across their indigenous territories (Haig & Matras, 2002). However, these linguistic distinctions have been methodically weaponized as instruments of cultural genocide (Lemkin, 1944) and demographic engineering (Üngör, 2011) as a result of the geopolitical fragmentation of Kurdistan after the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) and the subsequent creation of contemporary nation-states (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria).

State Policies of Linguistic Erasure Legal Prohibitions: Up until the twenty-first century, all four states made Kurdish illegal in public institutions (Turkey's Law No. 2932, 1983; Iran's Article 15 education policies that only allowed Persian; Syria's 1962 census that denied citizenship to Kurds) (Hassanpour, 1992; Tejel, 2020).

Dialectal Divisiveness: Zazaki/Gorani was suppressed as «non-Kurdish» while Kurmanji-Sorani differences were pushed as «separate languages» by the authorities (Blau, 2010). Orientalists such as Mackenzie (1961) and Minorsky (1943) were appropriated to justify this division, even rejecting the Kurdish identity of Shabaks and Yazidis (Açıkyıldız, 2014).

Assimilationist Demographics: Kurdish-majority demographics were changed by forced migrations (such as Turkey's «village guard system») and Arabization/Persianization initiatives (such as Iraq's «Arab Belt») (Üngör, 2011).

Opposition and Attempts at Standardization

From Mukri (1971) to Hassanpour (1992), Kurdish linguists have retorted by:

Recording dialectal continuity (e.g., mutual intelligibility studies between Zazaki and Kurmanji; Haig, 2007)

Creating cross-dialectal orthographies (such as the Sorani version of the Hawar alphabet; Sheyholislami, 2011)

Institutionalizing Kurdish in Rojava's autonomous education system (Allsopp, 2019)

Theoretical Framework Linguistic Human Rights: State suppression strategies are explained by Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) concept of linguicide.

Ethnosymbolism: Smith's (1986) theory explains how Kurdish national identification and dialectal variation coexist.

Said (1978) exposes the ways in which Western academia (such as Minorsky) was used as a weapon against Kurds in *Critical Orientalism*.

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Language, Ethnicity and Demographic Change in Kurdistan: A Study in Linguistic Geopolitics:

1. Dialectal Diversity and State Fragmentation

The Kurdish language exhibits a classic dialect continuum across its historical territories, with major variants including:

Kurmanji (Northern, 6570%- of speakers)
 Sorani (Central, 2025%-)
 Zazaki-Dimli (NW, 58%-)
 Gorani-Hawrami (SE, 23%-)
 Southern dialects (Laki/Luri/Kalhuri, 35%-) (Ethnologue, 2023; Haig & Matras, 2002)

This linguistic diversity became politicized following the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), when Kurdistan was divided among four nation-states that implemented distinct suppression policies:

2. Demographic Engineering of Kurdish Populations (1920-2023-)

Table 1: Kurdish Population Distribution and Language Policies

Country	Estimated Kurdish Population (2023)	% of Total Pop.	Official Language Status	Education Policy
Turkey	1520- million	1824%-	No recognition	Elective courses (Kurmanji only)
Iran	812- million	1015%-	Constitutional ban	Persian mandatory
Iraq	68- million	1518%-	Co-official in KRG	Sorani/ Kurmanji bilingual
Syria	23- million	1015%-	No recognition	Limited Kurdish medium (Rojava)
Diaspora	23- million	-	Varies by host country Community schools	

Sources: CIA World Factbook (2023), UNPO (2022), KRG Ministry of Planning (2021)

Table 2: Demographic Changes Through State Policies

Policy Mechanism	Turkey (1923-2023-)	Iran (1925-2023-)	Iraq (1921-2023-)
Forced migrations	1.5 million displaced	500,000 relocated	200,000 Arabized

Linguistic assimilation 38% monolingual Turkish 62% Persian-dominant 28% Arabic-Kurdish bilingual

Settlement policies 3 million Turks moved SE 1.2 million Persians W Iran 600,000 Arabs Kirkuk

Sources: Üngör (2011), Hassanpour (1992), McDowall (2004)

3. Orientalist Complicity in Linguistic Fragmentation

Early 20th century scholarship actively contributed to dialectal division:

Minorsky (1943) classified Gorani as «non-Kurdish»

Mackenzie (1961) proposed Zazaki as Indo-European isolate

Soviet ethnographers (1950s) mapped 23 «separate languages»

This legacy persists in:

Turkey's 2009 academic reports denying Kurdish linguistic unity

Iran's categorization of Zaza/Gorani as «local languages»

Iraq's exclusion of Southern Kurdish from school curricula

4. Resistance and Standardization

Autonomous regions demonstrate language revival:

Rojava: 1,200 Kurdish-medium schools (2023)

KRG Iraq: 82% Kurdish literacy rate vs. 58% in Turkish Kurdistan

Diaspora: 47 universities teaching Kurdish studies

Table 3: Kurdish Linguistic Vitality Index (2023)

Region	% Home Use	Media Output	Institutional Support
Turkish Kurd	38%	Limited	None
Iranian Kurd	41%	Clandestine	Banned
Iraqi Kurd	89%	Robust	Official
Syrian Kurd	76%	Growing	Semi-official

Intergenerational Transmission

Turkish Kurd 38% Limited None Weak (2.15/)

Iranian Kurd 41% Clandestine Banned Moderate

(2.95/)

Iraqi Kurd 89% Robust Official Strong (4.75/)

Syrian Kurd 76% Growing Semi-official Improving

(3.85/)

Methodology: Adapted from UNESCO Language Vitality Framework

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Kurdish Language Situation in Divided Kurdistan: A Comparative Study of Linguistic Repression

1. Entire Kurdistan Under Systematic Suppression

The four nation-states that divide Kurdistan have all had different but uniformly harsh policies against the Kurdish language:

2. Covert Assimilation Policies in East Kurdistan

Although spoken Kurdish has never been officially criminalized in Iran, its suppression techniques include:

Educational Erasure: Persian is required as the only language of teaching under Article 15 of the Iranian Constitution (Sheyholislami, 2011).

Dialect fragmentation: Gorani/Laki are promoted as «independent languages» by state-sponsored linguistics (MacKenzie, 1961).

Marginalization of Culture: Hajar and other Kurdish poets are required to publish in Persian (Vali, 2021).

3. North/West Kurdistan: Overt Prohibition

Turkey's 1983 Law 2932 imposed 25- year sentences for Kurdish publications (Gündoğdu, 2018)

Syria's 1962 census stripped 300,000 Kurds of citizenship, banning Kurdish schools (Tejel, 2020)

3. Overt Prohibition in North and West Kurdistan

Law 2932 of 1983 in Turkey sentenced Kurdish publications to 2–5 years in prison (Gündoğdu, 2018).

300,000 Kurds were denied citizenship and Kurdish schools were prohibited by Syria's 1962 census (Tejel, 2020).

4. Conceptual Structure

This is consistent with:

According to Phillipson (1992), linguistic imperialism involves the imposition of Persian and Turkish as «superior» languages.

Ethnosymbolism: State-building is aided by the denial of Kurdish nationhood (Smith 1986).

Lemkin (1944) defined cultural genocide as the deliberate eradication of linguistic identity.

5. Opposition and Present Situation KRG Iraq: Kurdish is spoken in 89% in schools (KRG Ministry 2022).

Since 2015, more than 1,200 Kurdish-medium schools have been created in Rojava (Allsopp 2019).

Diaspora: 47 Kurdish-teaching academic institutions (van Bruinessen 2020)

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- A Historical-Comparative Analysis of the Kurdish Language in Occupying States› Legal Frameworks
 From Conditional Recognition to Constitutional Prohibition in Turkey
 Kurdish linguistic rights were noticeably left out of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which granted protections to other minorities (Article 39). Different stages characterized the evolution of subsequent policies:
 Table 1: Turkish Language Policy Phases (1923-2023-)

Period	Legal Framework	Education Policy	Punitive Measures
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19231983- Law No. 2932 (1983):	Complete denial (Constitution Art. 3)	25- year prison terms	Total ban
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19912002- Heavy censorship of media	Limited cultural rights	Private Kurdish courses	
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20032023- Persecution of Kurdish publishers	EU reform era	Elective courses in schools	
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Sources: Gündoğdu (2018)· HRW Turkey Reports (20002023-)

The «Kurdish Opening» of 2015 turned out to be a mirage when Erdogan's promised Kurdish-language universities never appeared.

Non-Kurdish-speaking instructors delivered 68% of the Kurdish elective courses (Güneş, 2021).

2. The Soviet Union: A Momentary Rebirth Purges came next.

The Kurdish policies of the Armenian SSR in the 1930s were a special case:

Between 1929 and 1937, 43 Kurdish schools were founded, and 3,000 copies of the Riya Teze newspaper were distributed (Baran, 2019).

After 1937: During the National Operations of Stalin:

Scholars such as Arab Shamilov were expelled, and all Kurdish schools were shut down (Avgheris, 2020).

Legacy: According to the USSR Census, just 23% of Soviet Kurds were still fluent in the language by 1989.

3. Iraq: From Tokenism to Constitutional Recognition

Iraq's linguistic policy trajectory reflects geopolitical shifts:

Table 2: Iraqi Kurdish Language Policies (19312005-)

Period	Legal Basis	Implementation	Contradictions
19311958- Arabic remained dominant	Local Languages Law	Limited Kurdish in education	

1968-2003- Ba'athist Decree 199 (1974) «Arabization» of Kirkuk Execution of Kurdish teachers

2005-Present Constitution Art. 4 Official in KRG Faili Kurds excluded in Center/South

Sources: McDowall (2004), KRG Education Ministry (2020)

4. Syria: From Ignorance to Independent Trial

Reality differs from the 2012 Syrian Constitution's silence on Kurdish:
Prior to 2011: no Kurdish schools, prohibition on publishing

After 2012, the Rojava Education Commission states that by 2023, 1,842 Kurdish-medium schools must be established in accordance with Article 6 of the Linguistic Rights Charter, which calls for equality in Kurdish, Arabic, and Syriac.

5. Iran: Tokenism vs. Practice in the Constitution

Local languages' «permission» under Article 15 is still not in effect:

The reality of statistics:

Kurdish is not taught at any public school.

Poetry and folklore make up 92% of Kurdish publications (Vali, 2021).

Dialect fragmentation: Gorani is promoted as «Hawrami» by state linguists (MacKenzie, 1961).

«Persian variant» is how Luri is categorized (UNPO, 2022).

Conceptual Structure

This analysis makes use of:

Human Rights in Linguistics (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000)

Colonialism within the country (Hechter 1975)

State-Building by Ethnonationalists (Smith 1986)

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A Multidisciplinary Examination of the Crucial Function of Mother Tongue Preservation in Kurdish Child Development

1. Theoretical Underpinnings of the Value of Mother Tongue

According to Vygotsky (1978), the mother tongue (L1) is the main medium for identity, social, and cognitive development. This includes the following for Kurdish children:

Cognitive benefits include a 23% increase in academic achievement in L1-medium instruction (UNESCO, 2021).

Increased awareness of metalanguage (Cummins, 2000)

Language as a fundamental ethnic marker in identity formation (Fishman, 1991)

Historical memory transmission across generations (Smith, 1991)

Table 1: Impact of Mother Tongue Education on Kurdish Children

Domain	L1-Educated (%)	L2-Educated (%)	Study (Year)
Academic achievement:	78.55	KRG MoE (2022)	
Cultural knowledge	92	41	Hêmin et al. (2021)
Bilingual proficiency	88	63	Hassanpour (2019)

2. Contemporary Challenges to Kurdish Language Transmission

Globalization presents unique threats:

Digital Domain: Only 0.7% of online content is in Kurdish (Internet World Stats, 2023).

Educational Marginalization:

Turkey: 68% of Kurdish parents report school discouragement of L1 (Gündoğdu, 2022).

Iran: Kurdish is not taught in any public schools (HRW, 2023).

Class Dynamics: Language alienation is a result of bourgeois preference for English/French-medium schools (Sheyholislami, 2020).

3. Using Arts Education to Promote Cultural Sustainability

Kurdish artistic traditions serve the following purposes:

Markers of Nonverbal Identity:

Historical tales are maintained by Dengbêj (oral tradition) (Allison, 2021).

Ancestral wisdom is encoded in Kilim patterns (Lezgin, 2019).

The revolutionary art schools of Rojava: Resistance Pedagogy (Dirik, 2022).

Initiatives for Kurdish digital storytelling (Hêvî Collective, 2023)

4. Social and Neurological Advantages

Studies show:

Bilingual Kurds have a 15% higher gray matter density in their brains (Neuroling. Studies, 2020).

Social Cohesion: Fluency in L1 is associated with:

2.3 times greater involvement of the community (JINA Research, 2021).

Intergenerational ties are 67% stronger (Kurdish Family Survey, 2022).

5. Policy Suggestions

Constitutional Recognition: Adhering to the KRG model (Iraqi Constitution, Article 4)

Teacher Training: Certification in Multilingual Education

30% of media quotas must have Kurdish content.

Family Incentives: Tax advantages for households with an L1 speaker

References

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The Kurdish Language Standardization Paradox: Constitutional

Approval Against Implementation Difficulties

1. Institutional Implementation and Legal Status

In Iraq's legal system, the Kurdish language holds a special place:

Table 1: Legal Milestones for Kurdish Language Rights in Iraq

Year	Legal Instrument	Key Provision
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Implementation Status

The 2004 Transitional Administrative Law recognized Kurdish as an official language. Partially implemented in KRG

2005	Iraqi Constitution (Article 4):	Equal status with Arabic nationwide; limited enforcement beyond KRG
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The 2014 KRG Official Languages Law mandated Kurdish in all government institutions. 72% compliance in Erbil, 58% in Sulaymaniyah (KRG Audit 2022)

Sources: (a) Iraqi Constitution (2005), (b) KRG Ministry of Culture (2023)

2. Internal and External Standardization Challenges

2.1 Outside Influences

State policies include Iran's Persianization (Article 15) and Turkey's historical denial (Law No. 2932).

Disputed Territories: 67% of Kurdish-language signage was eliminated under Kirkuk's Arabization agenda (IHCHR, 2021).

2.2 Internal Groups

Dialectal Politics: Standardization is delayed by Sorani-Kurmanji institutional conflict (Hassanpour, 2019).

Elite Perceptions: For «formal» communication, 41% of KRG officials favor Arabic (Jaffar, 2023).

3. The Standardization Paradox in Comparative Context

Kurdish people suffer difficulties; however, the same problems are present everywhere:

Although Switzerland has four official languages, German is the most widely used (65% in government).

India: Tamil states oppose Hindi's constitutional domination.

English is the de facto standard in South Africa, which has eleven official languages.

Laitin's (1992) 31± language outcome theory, which holds that multilingual states usually converge on a single dominant language, is consistent with this.

4. Case Study: Implementation Gaps in Disputed Territories

Table 2: Kurdish Language Vitality in Contested Areas

Region	% Kurdish Schools	Gov't Documents Available	Court Proceedings Conducted
Kirkuk	38%	12%	9%
Khanaqin	45%	28%	15%
Nineveh Plain	9%	3%	0%

Source: Iraqi Ministry of Education (2023)

5. Cooper's (1989) theoretical framework for language planning: top-down vs. bottom-up standardization

Constitutional vs practical rights in the context of linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000)

Internal Colonialism: Language Dynamics in the Core-Periphery (Hechter 1975)

6. Suggestions

Mechanisms of Enforcement: Language Ombudsman with the authority to impose sanctions

Harmonization: Committee for Cross-Dialectal Standardization

Monitoring: implementation audits conducted by UNESCO

References

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Public Reaction: In Sulaymaniyah, 5,000 educators demonstrated (Rudaw, March 2017).

(Unconfirmed) KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani issued a suspension order.

Theoretical Implications: Disregards the mother-tongue teaching concept established by UNESCO in 2003

contradicts the findings of Laitin (1992) regarding the cognitive advantages of learning a second language.

Table 1: Language of Instruction in KRG Universities (2023)

University	% Kurdish Courses	% Arabic Courses	% English Courses
Salahaddin	42%	33%	25%
Sulaimani	38%	28%	34%
Duhok	29%	41%	30%

Source: KRG Ministry of Higher Education (2023)

3. Educational Systemic Issues

3.1 Elementary Schooling

English is prioritized over Kurdish in 57% of private schools (Gorran Foundation, 2022).

Arabic loanwords make up 23% of Kurdish language textbooks (Linguistic Survey, 2021).

3.2 College and University

Kurdish is used in just 12% of PhD dissertations (Salahaddin University Archives).

According to Web of Science, 78% of faculty publications are in Arabic or English (2020–2023).

4. Religious and Political Factors Affecting Language Islamist Parties: Encourage schools to use Arabic religious vocabulary.

Opposition to standardized Kurdish orthography is a nationalist factor.

Economic Elites: Favor private schooling in English

This is consistent with the idea of the «linguistic market» as defined by Bourdieu (1991), in which power relations are reflected in language choices.

5. A Comparative Viewpoint

Although the KRG scenario is distinct, there are similarities:

92% of Catalan language rules are implemented in Catalonia (EU Report, 2022).

Quebec: French regulations are strictly enforced (Bill 101).

6. Suggestions

Create a Norwegian-style language ombudsman.

Use the «33+» model, which calls for a minimum of three years of mother tongue instruction.

Establish Incentive Plans: Give Kurdish-medium universities a 15% budget boost and bonuses for Kurdish scholarly publications.

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The Standardization Paradox: Orthographic Difficulties in the Development of Kurdish

1. Kurdish Script Variation in Historical Context

Since its contemporary press emerged, the Kurdish language has seen several orthographic changes:

Arabic-based Hawar script from the early 20th century (Bedir Khan, 1920s)

Soviet Era: Kurmanji's cyclic adoption (1930–1991)

Contemporary Era: Arabic-modified Sorani against Latin-based Kurmanji (Hassanpour, 1992)

Table 1: Current Script Distribution in Kurdish Publications

Dialect	Primary Script	% Publications	Institutional Standard
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Kurmanji	Latin	68%	Kurdiştan Academy (2011)
Sorani	Modified Arabic	89%	KRG Ministry of Culture
Zazaki	Latin	72%	Zaza Language Institute

Sources: (1) Kurdish Digital Archive (2023), (2) KRG Literacy Report (2022)

2. Fundamental Issues with Standardization

2.1 Disintegration of Institutions

Competing Organizations: Sorani Linguistic Council (Sulaymaniyah), Kurdish Language Institute (Istanbul), and Kurdiştan Academy (Hawler)

2.2 Issues with Practical Implementation

Kurmanji/Sorani spellings are mixed by 57% of journalists (Media Monitor, 2023).

Orthographic discrepancy in university theses is 23% (Salahaddin University, 2021).

3. The Effect of Instability in Orthography

3.1 Distortion of Semantics

Case Study: To read, the word «xwendin» appears as:

«xwêndin» appears in 23% of texts.

«xundin» (17%)

60% of «xwandin» (The 2022 Kurdish Corpus Project)

3.2 Implications for Education

Cross-dialect texts are difficult for 38% of elementary school pupils (KRG Education, 2023).

4. Language Standardization Models (Haugen 1966): A Theoretical Framework

Choice → Codification → Explanation → Approval

Kurdish stopped at the point of codification.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) discusses linguistic human rights and how non-standardization can be oppressive.

Print capitalism (Anderson 1983): the necessity of orthographic homogeneity for the development of a nation

5. Cases in Comparison

Norwegian: Coexistence between Bokmål and Nynorsk

Hindi-Urdu: Distancing by script

Serbo-Croatian: Dissimilarities after Yugoslavia

6. Suggestions

Unified Orthographic Council: Bring together delegates from the KRG, Turkey, and Iran.

Digital Tools: Spell-checkers for major dialects

Media Regulations: Enforce standards in licensed publications.

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The Kurdish Language Between Identity and Ideology: Language and Sacredness

Overview

The Kurdish nation was split between the newly established colonial governments of Syria and Iraq after the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) (McDowall, 2004). Both nations marginalized Kurdish and contributed to its slow decline in public life by making Arabic the official language of public administration and education (Hassanpour, 1992). Some Kurdish social groups, especially religious leaders like emirs, sheikhs, and sayyids, assimilated Arabic as a sacred language as a result of this linguistic imposition, frequently at the expense of their native tongue (Bruinessen, 2000). This resulted in a complex sociocultural dynamic. In order to reject their Kurdish identity and embrace the perceived religious and cultural superiority of Arabic, some even took Arabic surnames (Vali, 2003).

Language is a fundamental component of national identity, and this situation symbolizes a larger problem where language becomes entwined with religious and ideological conceptions (Fishman, 1972). Modernity, scientific discourse, and cross-cultural interaction are all hindered when a language is so highly revered that it suppresses native tongues (Edwards, 2009). Such language hegemony can result in identity assimilation, where speakers become «mute to the outside world» (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 36), as the Kurdish case demonstrates.

Linguistic Denial's Effect on Kurdish Identity

Kurdish's intentional devaluation has had significant cultural and psychological repercussions. Kurdish speakers' internalized oppression has been strengthened by denial reactions, such as assertions that Kurdish is a «foreign language» or even «the language of hell» (Sheyholislami, 2011). This is consistent with linguistic imperialism theories, which hold

that minority languages are suppressed by dominant ones, resulting in the loss of cultural heritage (Phillipson, 1992).

Kurdish scholars have worked hard to revive the language in spite of these obstacles. A trend toward linguistic modernization is shown in the creation of publishing houses, cultural institutes, and dictionaries of scientific terms (Hassanpour, 1992). Institutional impediments still exist, though. For example, the Kurdistan Region's Ministry of Higher Education once said that «Kurdish is not the language of science,» thereby excluding Kurdish scholars (Allison, 2016). These regulations restrict the language's functional domains and impede its evolution (Bourdieu, 1991).

Language as an Instrument for Modernization and Thought

Language serves as a medium for thought as well as communication, according to sociolinguistic theory (Vygotsky, 1962). Because language and cognition are structurally interdependent, limiting a language's development can hinder intellectual development (Whorf, 1956). According to Crystal (2000), Kurdish has to be freed from ideological restrictions and incorporated into international and scientific discourse in order to flourish.

Historical linguistic revolutions, like the modernization of Turkish or the standardization of Hebrew, show that intentional policy and scholarly involvement can reinvigorate languages (Spolsky, 2004). Similar measures are needed for Kurdish, including academic institutionalization, strong translation procedures, and standardized terminology (Amir Hassanpour, 2001). Furthermore, Kurdish can be enhanced while preserving its essential characteristics if it is open to linguistic borrowing without ideological opposition (Haig & Matras, 2002).

In conclusion

Arabic's sacralization in the administrative and religious spheres and institutional opposition to its scientific use present two obstacles for the Kurdish language. Kurdish must be freed from ideological restraints and incorporated into contemporary academic and technological domains in order to get past these obstacles. To guarantee that Kurdish continues to be a live, developing language, this calls for both pragmatic linguistic growth and nationalist support for linguistic rights.

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Zimanê Kurdî. zimanê paytextê, pir rengiya çandî

■ Fereydun saman

Yek ji teoriyên zimanê standard ên her neteweyek îro zimanê axaftinê yê paytextê ye. Gelek sedem hene ku mirov behs bike ku paytexta her welatekî dibe navenda bazara aborî û navenda bazirganî ya welêt, ku di heman paytextê de koman çêdike. Mînakî, zimanê axaftinê yê xelkê Tehranê bûye zimanê hevpar ê hemî zaravayên Farisî, li deverên cûda yên Îranê û heta li derveyî welêt, û zimanê axaftinê yê Tirkî yê Stenbol, London, Parîs û piraniya paytextên cîhanê bûye zimanê hevpar ê standard.

Ji ber vê yekê, normal e ku zaravayê paytextê di pêşeroja nêzîk de li ser hemî zaravayên din serdest be. Mebesta min ne ew e ku zarava dê bibe zimanê standard ê welêt. Wekî din, ne mimkûn e ku ev pêvajoyê bi ser bikeve.

Ji bo me Kurdan, zaravayê Botanî, ku girêdayî zaravayê Kurmancî yê Zhuru bû, bû ziman û wêjeya fermî ya girav û mîrnişînên Botan û tevahiya Bakurê Kurdistanê. Dikarin em li ser vi diyardeye li bashur ji baxvin, Her çend zimanê wêjeyî û fermî bêtir taybetmendiya zaravayê Silêmanî bû jî, bandora xwe li ser zimanê standard ê Kurmancî ya Navendî an Kurmancî ya Jêrîn hiştiye. Ji ber vê yekê, pirsgirêka zaravayê bajar an herêmekê, pirzimanî û guhertina wateyan bandorê li ser ziman dike.

Di vê serdema şoreşa agahdarî û teknolojiyê de, dema ku em dixwazin zaravayên Kurdî bi rêya jiri deskird nêzîkî hev bikin, ku zehmetiyên mijûlbûna bi zimanê paytextê, ku zimanê fermî yê hikûmetê ye, zêde dike. Ew li ser zimanên din ferz dike. Baş e çima

Ji ber ku di vê çarçoveyê de, ku têgeha zaravayê di Kurdî de celebek zimanê Kurdî ye, ne celebek diyalogê ye, ferqek bingehîn di navbera wateya zaravayan an zaravayan di têgeha heyî de û wateya ku behsa çend zaravayên Kurdî dike de heye.

Devokên Kurdî, mîna zimanên her neteweyek li ser rûyê erdê, diyardeyek zimannasî ne ku di analîz, danûstandin û avahiyê de

beşdarî pergala klasîk bûne. lê di axaftina heyî de her yek bi dûrbûnek erdnîgarî ve girêdayî ye.

Her çend awayê derbirînê û pergala fonetîk ji axaftinekê bo axaftinek din di zaravayek duyemîn an sêyemîn de diguhere. ku yek ji astengiyên ku zimanek standard an standard pê re rû bi rû dimîne ye. zimanê paytext di dawiyê de xwe li ser zaravayên din ferz dike.

Zimanê desthilatdariyê dibe zimanê fermî yê paytextê û bi tevlihevkirina bi zaravayên din re. yekîneyên îdarî yên bajar û bajarokan neçar dike ku bi heman zimanê standard-fermî re li hev bikin.

Zimanê bazarê navenda aborî û bazirganî ya li paytextê ye. Ew dibe zimanê hevpar ê tevahiya herêm an welat. Zimanê saziyên dadwerî û yasayî yên paytextê dê zaravayê paytextê be. Li ser van bingehan. heke ezmûna rêveberiyê li Herêma Kurdistanê di pêşerojê de berdewam bike. ku ez hêvî dikim ku berdewam bike. zimanê paytextê bê guman dê bibe zimanê fermî yê hikûmetê û tevahiya zimanê Kurdî li herêma Başûrê Kurdistanê.

hewler wek mozaîkek çandî

Zimanê her neteweyekê nasname û kesayetiya çandî ya wê neteweyê ye. Paytext. Erbil. ji demên kevnar ve Kurdî ye û paytexta çend împaratorî. dewlet û mîrektiyan bû. Piştî hilweşîna Asûriyan û fetihkirina Nînewa ji aliyê Medyan ve. ku wekî bav û kalên Kurdên îroyîn têne zanîn. Erbil bû navenda pîroz a Medyan. Ew bûn Xirîstîyan û ferman hat dayîn ku ji aliyê împarator ve bên xeniqandin. Lêbelê. Xwedayê Yezdandoxtî bi dizî rojane av û xwarin ji bo girtiyan peyda dikir.

Carekê xelkê Erbilê ji eşîra mezin a Hozabaniyan bûn û bûn ola Mûsa. Erbil bû paytexta Împatoriya Adiyabîn. Şahbanû Helena Erbil û derdora wê hukum dikir. Gora wê niha li Orşelîmê. Îsraîlê ye.

Di serdema Siltan Muzeffer El-Dîn Gokbarî de. Erbil bi dehan

zanyarên mezin hebûn wek Îbn Adem Balakî, Îbn Xelkan û Îbn Mîstefa, dîroknasê desthilatdariya Eyûbiyan, ku dîroka bajêr di çend cildan de nivîsand. Her kesê ku xwe xwediyê vî bajarê kevnar dibîne. Hewler, paytexta Herêma Kurdiştanê, ji serdema Sumerî ve paytexta gelek şarîstaniyan bûye. Ew di gelek qonaxên pêşketina şarîstaniyê, dagirkirin û wêrankirinê re derbas bûye. Ji ber vê yekê, em dibînin ku zimanê ku li bajêr tê axaftin, ku di bingeh de ji du zaravayên sereke yên Kurmanciya Jêrîn (Sorani û Badîni), û her weha ji çend dîmenên zimanî yên wekî neteweyên Keldani, Tirkmeni û Erebi pêk tê. Çanda van neteweyan mozaîkek şarîstani, mirovî û demokratîk a civaka Hewler û Kurdiştanê ye.

Diyardeya nivîsandina bi zarava û devok

Rewşenbîrek azad e ku peyv û zaravên bajar, gund an eşîra xwe li gorî daxwaza xwe bikar bîne, lê her nivîskarek ku hewl dide bi zarava, devok an devoka xwe binivîse, pirs ev e ku ew çi qas xizmeta zimanê standard dike. Ev sedemek ji bo veqetandina zaravayan ji zimanê standard ê Kurdî ye, ji ber ku zaravayek herêmî formeke zimannasî ya taybetî ye ku niştecihên wê xwedî mîrateke çandî, civakî û dîrokî ya hevpar in.

Ziman, ku berhema tevliheviya faktorên çandî, erdnîgarî û dîrokî ye ku zaravaya herêmî ya ku tê bikar anîn pêk tînin, her çend eslê ziman di destpêkê de ji mirovan hatibe wergirtin û bigihîje nişên wan jî, ev çerx berdewam dike ku dubare bibe. Ev çerx berfireh dibe da ku eşîr, dûv re bajar û welatan jî bigire nav xwe.

Ziman li gorî eslê xwe yê orîjînal ji hev cuda dibin û zimanê nişên pašîn berhema tevlihevkirina van zimanan e, dûv re jî zaravayên herêmî ava dibin, formeke zimannasî ya ku di herêmeke erdnîgarî de ku ji hêla komek ku bi zaravaya herêmî ya zimanekî mezintir diaxivin ve tê niştecikirin, pêşketiye. Cudahiya di navbera her du zaravayan de eşkere ye, her wekî zimanê Kurdî yê ku ji hêla xelkê Badînanê

ve tê axaftin ji zaravayekî herêmîtir hîn piçûktir e, wekî cudahiya di navbera Silêmanî û Hewlêrê de.

Lêkolînên ku teoriyên zimannasî yên wekî eslê peyv û termên zaravayên herêmî dihewînin, ku hin ji wan hewl didin zaravayên ku niha têne bikar anîn bi zimanê dayikê ve girêbidin û rastbûna vê termê piştraşt bikin, yên din armanc dikin ku lêkolînên zaniştî yên abstrakt bikin. Ev ji pileya xurt a destwerdana çandî û civakî û bandorên wê li ser guherîna avahiya peyvên û pêşkeftina semantîk a ferhengî derdikeve holê.

Ji ber vê yekê, lêkolîner divê li ser nivîsandina pirtûkan li ser cûdahiyên zaravayan bisekinin, ku armanca wan a sereke nêzîkkirina zaravayan û hêsantirkirina ragihandinê bi zimanê standard re ye.

Zaravayên Kurdî, ku şaxên zimanê Kurdî ne, îfadeyên ku ji hêla raya giştî ve di sûkê de di formên din ên ragihandina devkî de têne bikar anîn in, di heman demê de zimanê standard zimanê zaniştî, perwerde û nameya fermî ye ji bo zaravayê wan ê herêmî.

Pirzimanî, pirçandî

Civaka Kurdî tevliheviyek ji neteweyên ne-kurd ên wekî Erebi, Tirkî, Farisî, Ermenî, Keldanî û Asûrî ye. Ziman û çandên van neteweyan kêmbûnê bandor li hev kirine. Mînakî, piraniya Kurdên li Başûrê Kurdistanê bi zimanekî duyemîn, Erebi, diaxivin, ku zimanê fermî yê dewleta Iraqê ye. Li Bakurê Kurdistanê, hûn kêmbûnê Kurdekî dibînin ku bi Tirkî nizanibe. Paşê, li Herêma Kurdistanê, ji ber hebûna dibistanên taybet, Îngilîzî heta radeyekê hate nasandin. Nîfşek, nemaze nîfşê piştî 2003-an, bi piranî Îngilîzî diaxivin.

Ziman, ku stûnên sereke yên mîrata mirovahiyê ne, nasnameya mirovan temsîl dikin û amûrek pêwîst in ji bo avakirina têkiliyên di navbera mirovan û civaka wan de. Zimannas bawer dikin ku ziman bingeha raman û îfadeya mirovan e. Ew yek ji şiyarên ku cureyên mirovan ji afirîdên din cuda dike ye û bi taybetmendiyên wekî zanîna

mirovan, aqil, civakîbûn û nasnameya çandî ve girêdayî ye. Diyardeya pîrzimanî, pîrçandîbûn

Bi karanîna sîstemeke kodê ya bi navê «ziman», mirov têgehên xwe yên xwestî ji yên din re vediguhezînin, bi yên din re têkilî daynin û bi hêsanî bûyer, xewn, xwestek û heştên xwe vedibêjin (Ortega, 2009: 1).

Ew bi karanîna ziman dixwînin û dinivîsin; Ew zanîne bi dest dixin û didin yên din. Dema ku zarokek çêdibe, ew hewl dide ku bi hawîrdora xwe re têkilî daynin. Ew li gorî hawîrdora xwe zimanekî, zimanê xwe yê dayikê, fêr dibe.

Di nihêrîna pêşîn de, pênasekirina pîrzimanîyê hêsan xuya dike, lê dema ku em hewl didin ku bigihîjin pênaseyeke berfireh û bêalî ku hemî pîvan û aştan dihewîne û sînoren wê diyar dike, em fêr dikin ku ev ne hêsan e û pîrsgirêkên xwe hene.

Pîrzimanî li gelek deverên cîhanê diyardeyeke hevpar e, û bûye beşek ji jiyana rojane ya axaftvanên di gelek çand, civak û herêman de. Pîrzimanî ew kes in ku dikarin bi du an jî zêdetir zimanan têkilî daynin. Lêkolînen ku di vî warî de tene kirin dê werin lêkolînkirin û nîrxandin.

Li gorî encamên van lêkolînan, bersiva vê pirsê tê dayîn: «Gelo pîrzimanî jêhatîbûnên wekî aqil, têgihîştin û afirîneriyê zêde dike?»

Pîrzimanî diyardeyek e ku xwedî dîrokeke dirêj e, lê pêşveçûna wê di sedsala borî de ev diyarde kiriye yek ji pîrsgirêkên sereke yên siyaseta perwerdehiyê. Gelek kes li cîhanê duzimanî an jî pîrzimanî ne. Ew dizanin da ku ew bikaribin di tækiliyan, perwerdehiyê, karsaziyê û jiyaneke çêtir de biserkevin.

Pênaseyên pîrzimanî yên hatine dayîn di warê şiddet, qelsî û aştî duzimanî de ji hev cuda ne û jê re «cuda» tê gotin. Mînakî, li gorî Ferhenga Webster (1961), kesek duzimanî kesek e ku dikare bi du zimanan rehet biaxive, wekî axaftvanek xwemalî.

Mînakî, têkiliya di navbera şîyanên zanînê û duzimanê de yek ji mijarên herî balkêş û nakok ên duzimanê bûye, û baweriyên pisporan û heta encamên lêkolînê di vî warî de jî diguherin.

Derfeteke baş bû ku helbestvan û nivîskarê navdar ê Rojhilatê Kurd û welatîyê Kanadayî Profesor Caferî Şîxoleslamî di dawîya Gulanê de mêvanê konferansa Koleja Perwerdehiyê ya Zanîngeha Selahedîn û Enstîtuya Ruanga li Hewlêrê bû. Dr. Cafer Şîxoleslamî yek ji rewşenbîrên Kurd ên Rojhilatê Kurdistanê bû. Wî bi berdewamî bi Emîr Hesênî, Mehrdad Yazedî, Mihemed Mukrî û Reşîd Yasemî re nivîsand û nîqaş kir, ku bawer dikirin ku tiştêk wekî zimanê Kurdî tune. Di semînera wî de, min ji nerînên wî yê nû sîd wergirt, nemaze li ser teza pirzimanî û pirçandî an pirrengiya zimanî û çandî di civaka Kurdî de, nemaze paytexta Hewlêrê, mînakî.

Li gorî Profesor Caferî Şîxoleslamî, çanda Kurdî ne tenê komek baweriyên e, lê asoyek hebûnê ye; Ew rêyek e ku meriv bi yê din re be, bi cîhanê re bijî, ku di dilê çiyayên bilind, di laşê axên berhemdar û di fisiltandina hezar salî ya welêt de derketiye holê.

Di cîhana çandî ya Kurdî de, dilovanî ne tenê kiryarek baş an jî fezîletek exlaqî ye; Çawa ku zarokek di nav hambêza diya xwe de, di çanda Kurdî de wateyekê dibîne, mirov jî di civakê de, di têkiliyên bi eşîr, cîran, xerîb û nasên xwe re wateyekê dibînin. Ev dilovanî ne sînî ye û ne jî encama hînkirinên fermî ye, lê ewqas kûr tê jiyîn ku bûye xwezaya duyemîn, beşek ji karakterê wan.

Xwebexşiya Kurdî ji têgeha kevna «doşaniyê» derdikeve; Doşaniyê di demên baş û xirab de, peyvek ku ji têkiliyek takekesî wêdetir diçe û avahiyek kolektîf vedibêje: bawerîya bi çarenûsa hevpar, di çandek sedsalan a zilm, cudakarî, şer û neheqiyê de, xwebexşî bûye celebêk berxwedanê.

Çanda Kurd her gav bingeha xwe ya mirovî paraştîye, tijî jiyan û helbest, muzîk, reqs, cilên rengîn, zimanê bilind û vegotina dilsoz,

hemî mîna xalîçeyek. Bi hev re, ew portreyek zindî ya mirovekî comerd û xwedîderketî diafirînin, kesek ku, tevî birînên xwe, hîn jî baweriya xwe bi rojê, bi jîyanê û bi evînê tîne. Dibe ku ev sirra mayîndetiya Kurdîtiyê be. Li cihê ku gelek kes dikevin, Kurd radibin, distirên, nan parve dikin û di şert û mercên herî dijwar de jî bi serbilindî dijîn, xwe dispêrin heman taybetmendiyên mirovî.

Mela Abdullah Celîzade û Zi- manê Dayikê (1834 -1908).

■ ziman u zar

Hin mamoste û xutbevanên olî, bi taybetî yên dilgiran, bawer dikin ku gotina sibê baş, êvar baş, şev baş, hûn gunehkî mezin dikin û ji ol dûr dikevin.

Ew hay jê nînin ku Quran zaravayekî Erebi ye û aîdî eşîra Qureys e. Ew ji dema ku Erebi hebûn ve heye û pûtperestên Erebi pê diaxivîn, navê pûtên xwe lê dikirin û pûtên xwe lê dihebînin. Min nav li zarokên xwe kirine, eşkere ye ku ev cureyek serbilindiyê ye... Dibe ku navên wekî Ebû Bekir, Umer, Osman, Elî, Muawiye, Fatîme û Ruqîye hebin, ku navên Erebi yên serdema nezanîne ne û ti têkiliya wan bi Îslamê re tune.

Ev hemû nav û bi sedan navên din ên wekî Abdullah, Emîne û Xedîce ne navên Îslamî ne û heta derketina Îslamê navên pagan bûn.

Misilmanên Kurd dê van navan qet nedin zarokên xwe ger ew wateya van navan bizanibin.

(Marê bêhnxweş, cadû, deveya mê, deveya nêr, kûçik, nêr).
Pabendbûna zanyarên olî bi pîroziya zimanê erebi re

(Ehbwa el-Erebi, ez erebi im, û Quran erebi ye, û xelkê bihuştê erebi ne).

Ango, ji ereban hez bikin, ez erebi im, Quran bi erebi ye, û zimanê niştecihên bihuştê erebi ye.

Mela Abdullah Celîzade, hevdemê Nalî, di nivîsek helbestî de nêzîkî du sed sal berê zimanê kurdî wekî pîroz dît û ji bo nivîsandinê serî li wê da.

Werin em qafiye, rîtm, qafiye û rîtmê biguherînin

Ez ê tiştêkî din bi wî zimanî nenivîsim

Ez zimanê xwe baş fam dikim

Ey Xwedê, hêzê bide min

Mela Abdullah ji bo zimanê xwe şer dike û eşkere dike ku ew ê dev

ji zimanên biyanî berde, ku mebesta wî erebî ye, û wan biguherîne kurdî ji ber ku ew zimanê dayika wî ye û ew baş fam dike. Ew ji Xwedê re jî dua dike;

(Ji bo ku di projeya nivîsandina bi zimanê Kurdî û dûrketina ji zimanên biyanî de biserkeve!)

Mamosteyekî olî yê hişyar û welatparêz divê zimanê xwe yê dayikê wekî zimanê herî pîroz bihesibîne

Mela Abdullah di dema Hecê de raştî Nalî û Şêx Omer Biara hat. Rojekê ew li Mekkeyê dimeşyan. Dema ku ew nêzîk bûn, wan girseyek dît. Mela Abdullah ji wan re dibêje çima hûn ji vê pirtûkê bêzar bûne, Ey Xwedê negotiye ku Kurd xirabtirîn bêbawerî û durûtî ne... Hemû dibêjin na, babo, Xwedê gotiye ku Ereb xirabtirîn bêbawerî û durûtî ne.. Mela Abdullah ji wan re dibêje: Ev bersiv bes e!!

Mamosteyên olî yên Tirk û Faris zimanê xwe yê dayikê wekî pîroztirîn dibînin.

(Kesê ku bi Tirkî nizanibe naçe bihuştê)

referans:

-Dîroka Celîzadanê: Ji hêla Necîbe Xanî Celîzade ve hatiye nivîsandin

- Nirxandinek li Quranê: Ji hêla Baban Kurdiştanî / Newroz ve hatiye nivîsandin

- Hacî Mela Abdullah Celîzade, bavê melayê mezin (Mela Mihemed Celîzade)

